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# The Epigraphic Cultures of Late Antiquity

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## DEDICATED TO ETERNITY? THE REUSE OF STATUE BASES IN LATE ANTIQUE ITALY

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Visitors to the Roman Forum cannot fail to notice the base of a statue dedicated to the *fides* and *virtus* of the imperial army by the Roman senate in AD 406 (Fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> Located in front of the Curia and next to the arch of Septimius Severus, and measuring approximately 2.7 m in height, it was a fitting expression of the political and diplomatic intricacies of the early 5<sup>th</sup> century. The monument commemorated the Roman victory over the Gothic invader Radagaisus, while it also enshrined the memory of the general Stilicho in a space populated by images of Emperors and heroes of the Roman past.<sup>2</sup> In spite of its historical significance, the physical appearance of the monument (or what is left of it) seems to confirm the traditional historical narratives and prejudices about the history of the later Roman Empire. It is a reused base, which had previously belonged to an equestrian monument. The original statue was removed, the base was turned on its side, and a new inscription was carved, following the new orientation. The holes in which the older statue was once placed are still visible on the long side (the original top) and, as a quick glance

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1 For the sake of convenience and shortness, I will refer to the standard epigraphic publication, followed by a reference to the LSA database, where further discussion, references, and photographs of the monuments can be found.

CIL VI 31987 (cf. p. 4800) = LSA 1363: *Fidei virtutiq(ue) devotissimorum / militum dom(i)-norum nostrorum / Arcadi Honori et Theodosi / perennium Augustorum / post confectum Gothicum / bellum felicitate aeterni / principis dom(i)ni nostri Honori / consiliis et fortitudine / inlustris viri comitis et / [[magistri utriusq(ue) militiae]] / [[[Fl(avi) Stilichonis bis co(n)s(ulis) ord(inarii)]]] / s(enatus) p(opulus)q(ue) R(omanus) / curante Pisidio Romulo v(iro) c(larissimo) / praef(ecto) urbi vice sacra / iterum iudicante*. The identity of the honorand is disputed in this case (the statue might have represented either one of the virtues mentioned in the inscription or the Emperor Honorius, much less likely Stilicho himself; cf. also the following note); for discussion see BAUER 1996, 20 f.; WEISWEILER 2012b, 333 f.; CHENAULT 2012, 126.

2 Stilicho's name was erased after his downfall in AD 408. See MACHADO 2013, 50–62 for the political context.





Fig. 1: Base for a statue of the fides and virtue of the Roman army, from the Forum Romanum in Rome (CIL VI 31987 = LSA 1363). Photo: Author (EDH F022570).

reveals, the base was already broken and fixed in Antiquity. Two metal clamps were used to keep it together, and the inscription had to be carved in the space between them. It is not known whether the metal clamps on the front and the dowel holes on the side were covered with stucco or plaster at the time of reuse, or whether they were left visible to passers-by. In any case, it is almost certain that the very dimensions and proportions of the base would have helped to make it stand out among the older monuments in the area.<sup>3</sup>

The practice of reuse was not exclusive to Rome. All around Italy, statues with their inscribed bases were still dedicated to deities, rulers, and patrons throughout the 4<sup>th</sup> century and, in certain areas, well into the 5<sup>th</sup> (continuing for longer in the *urbs Roma*).<sup>4</sup> As scholars dealing with this material have often pointed out, a large proportion of the surviving statue bases that we know were older monuments, reemployed in the late antique period. However, although frequently noted in epigraphic publications, this phenomenon has not attracted the attention it deserves.<sup>5</sup>

3 See GIULIANI/VERDUCHI 1987, 77 f. for a detailed discussion of the monument and its surroundings.

4 Cf. MACHADO 2010 for a study of the end of the ‘statue habit’ in late antique Italy.

5 BLANCK 1969, covering the whole period of Antiquity, is important but insufficient. ALFÖLDY 1984 pays greater attention to the phenomenon, but does not discuss it in detail.

The practice of reuse has recently begun to receive greater consideration, but apart from the study of the inscriptions of Lepcis Magna (in *Tripolitana*) and a few (earlier) case studies, the rich Italian material still awaits a systematic analysis.<sup>6</sup>

This (relative) oversight becomes more problematic at a time when scholars put increasing emphasis on the importance of the material support onto which inscriptions were carved, on their physical context and on what this might reveal about the monuments and the societies that we study.<sup>7</sup> More crucially, the reuse of bases calls into question a central aspect of the classical statue habit and epigraphic culture: the relationship between writing, monument, and memory.<sup>8</sup> This was acknowledged in Ammianus Marcellinus' criticism of Roman senators, who thought that they could be made immortal by having statues of themselves set up. It was emphasized by Q. Aurelius Symmachus when he observed that the statue dedicated by the Roman senate to Theodosius the Elder would "consecrate him among the ancient names".<sup>9</sup> This relationship was, furthermore, explicitly stated in inscriptions all over Italy (using phrases like *ad aeternam memoriam*).<sup>10</sup> However, as a visit to any museum or epigraphic collection will show, this ideal was far from reality: bases were adapted, inscriptions were erased, and new dedications were carved, ensuring the creation of new memories and, in most cases, the obliteration of the names that once identified these monuments. In other words, we are dealing with a practice that, rather than occasional or irrelevant, was at the centre of late antique epigraphic culture, raising important issues about the very function of ancient inscriptions.

The aim of this chapter is to analyse the evidence available for the reuse of statue bases in late antique Italy, in order to understand it as a social practice. My focus here is not on individual cases, nor on providing a catalogue of all known reused bases, but to discuss the more general aspects of this behaviour and to consider what it might reveal about the late antique epigraphic culture. In order to do this, the following discussion will focus on a specific set of questions. In the first place, how can we define 'reuse'? The reuse of a statue base was a specific subset within a broader type of behaviour, and this must be considered here. We must then ask the following questions: how specifically late antique was this practice? What practical

- 6 The most recent fascicles of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* and the electronic edition of the inscriptions from Aphrodisias (ala2004) are good examples of recent epigraphic work that takes due note of this phenomenon. For the material from Lepcis Magna, see BIGI/TANTILLO 2010 and also the paper by I. TANTILLO, in this volume, pp. 213–270. For further references, cf. the important studies of KAJAVA 2003; SHEAR 2007; and CORSARO 2010.
- 7 See the observations of PANCIERA et al. 2006, on the occasion of the publication of the volume of the *Supplementa Italica – Imagines*, dedicated to *Latium Vetus* (SupplIt Imag. *Latium Vetus* 1). For a good example of the increased focus on the archaeological context of inscriptions, see RUCK 2007. This topic is also one of the central themes of the *Sonderforschungsbereich 933 "Material Text-Cultures"*, based at Heidelberg University; cf. <http://www.materiale-textkulturen.org/>.
- 8 On this issue, see the interesting observations of WOOLF 1996 (with further bibliography). For the situation in Late Antiquity, see HEDRICK 2000, 89–130.
- 9 Respectively: Amm. 14, 6, 8 and Symm. rel. 9, 4.
- 10 E. g., in CIL IX 1596 = LSA 1746 and AE 1968, 124 = LSA 1726 (Beneventum); CIL X 4560 = LSA 1963 (Trebula Baliniensis); CIL XIV 2919 = LSA 1684 (Praeneste); cf. WITSCHERL 2007, 117 f.

issues were associated with it? How did it affect the management of monumental heritage in late antique Italian cities? Finally, to what extent did this practice affect the way contemporaries saw these monuments and their inscriptions? A short conclusion will bring these issues together. I have listed all the bases that I identified as reused in the appendix (see below pp. 353–357), organized according to provenance or place of discovery. In order to make this material more useful, I have marked those which bear an earlier inscription and/or traces of earlier decoration.

## DEFINING REUSE

Although the practice of reusing decorative or building material was not exclusive to the late antique period, scholars agree that the visible employment of older material was a typical feature of late antique cityscapes.<sup>11</sup> Recent decades have been marked by an intense debate concerning the ideological or pragmatic character of the use of *spolia*, i. e. whether pieces and elements of older monuments were incorporated into new structures for their symbolic value or not.<sup>12</sup> Although in some cases ideology seems indeed to have played an important role in the selection and display of decorative elements, this was carried out in a context of an enormous availability of older architectural and building material.<sup>13</sup> This is true even in the case of inscriptions, frequently reemployed as part of pavements, sometimes turned upside down, in a context that (deliberately?) denied their ideological value.<sup>14</sup> It seems, in fact, that the scale and diversity of forms of reuse reached such magnitude in Late Antiquity that the ideological and the pragmatic interpretations should not be seen as mutually exclusive. The meaning of a reused piece depended on the context in which it was employed, and could frequently raise conceptual issues; but this does not alter the fact that there was a wide range of pieces from which one could choose from.

These issues are of crucial importance for the practice of reusing statue bases, and it is precisely for this reason that we must define what type of reuse is being considered here. We know of a number of late antique and early medieval examples, from the city of Rome, of statue bases reemployed as either decorative or building material. Particularly the area around the Curia, in the Forum Romanum, was a veritable treasure trove of this type of material during the excavations of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The inscribed front of a base, found during the demolition of San Adriano (the church inserted into the Curia), was cut and adapted for reuse as part of the chancel of the early medieval church. As the surviving part of the inscription informs us, this was one of the many monuments set up by the *praefectus urbi* Ga-

11 For a recent overview on the employment of *spolia*, see the articles collected in ALTEKAMP/MARCKS-JACOBS/SEILER 2013. BARKER 2010 is a good discussion of the wider issues involved in this practice.

12 See, for example, the views of DEICHMANN 1975; KINNEY 1997; WARD-PERKINS 1999; and LIVERANI 2004.

13 Cf. COATES-STEPHENS 2001 and COATES-STEPHENS 2007 (especially for statues).

14 A point made in COATES-STEPHENS 2002.

binius Vettius Probianus in the Forum Romanum, (probably) in AD 377.<sup>15</sup> The date for this reuse is uncertain, but it is possibly contemporary with the building of the church in the early 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>16</sup> Four late antique bases were discovered during the demolition of what Giacomo BONI identified as a bell tower, but what was probably a podium of earlier date, in the same area.<sup>17</sup> In Mediolanum (Milan), a statue base dedicated to Maximian was used as building material in the city walls erected during the reign of that same Emperor.<sup>18</sup> Reusing a base as building material was a way of turning it into something else, and there are similar examples from all over Italy (and the rest of the Empire). Although these might reveal important aspects of late antique and early medieval attitudes to inscribed monuments, they are not so central for our understanding of the culture that produced these inscriptions.

What interests us here is the reuse of bases as bases. This was, of course, part of the wider process of spoliation and appropriation of earlier structures, but it corresponds to a specific category of reuse, in which the object's function remains the same, even in a different context.<sup>19</sup> As the example of the statue celebrating the Roman imperial armies in the Forum Romanum shows,<sup>20</sup> this was not just a physical process of recycling, but also a form of giving new meaning to an artefact that already signified something. Other types of monuments, like altars, were also converted into statue bases, and these will be considered here to the extent that they might help us understand the practice of employing an older piece for a new dedication. But it is to the transformation of an inscribed statue base into the base of a monument of a new honorand, with a new inscription, that we will pay particular attention.

Identifying a reused base is not always an easy task. Contrary to other parts of the Empire, Italy is remarkable for the number of inscribed stones known only through manuscript tradition, where there is no hope of studying these objects in a proper fashion. However, even the surviving bases raise difficulties of their own. The old volumes of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, for example, give us the occasional description of statue bases, but only rarely do they record traces of reuse. This is more often noted when a base has more than one inscription, but it is common for different texts belonging to a same monument to be published as independent inscriptions. In these cases, autopsy (or a good photograph) is essential. Identifying reuse can, at times, be straightforward, especially when the epigraphic field (i. e. the surface in which the inscription was engraved) is rough, irregular, or deeply carved. This is, for example, the case of the dedication to Constantius II,

15 CIL VI 41337 (cf. p. 4727) = LSA 1433. It is still not absolutely clear whether Gabinius Vettius Probianus should be identified with the *praefectus urbi* of AD 377 (PLRE I Probianus 4) or – less likely – with that of AD 416 (PLRE II Probianus 1).

16 The church was founded by Pope Honorius I (625–38): HÜLSEN 1927, 261; MANCINI 1967/68.

17 See discussion in COATES-STEPHENS 2002, 293. The bases are CIL VI 36959 = LSA 1374 (for Theodosius I); CIL VI 36947 = LSA 1364 (for Maximian); and CIL VI 36952 = LSA 1367 (for Constantine I). The fourth base remained uninscribed.

18 CIL V 5807/08 = LSA 1604/05. See COATES-STEPHENS 2002, 278 f., and further discussion in MIRABELLA ROBERTI et al. 1993, 23.

19 See the considerations of ECO 1999, 463–465.

20 See above n. 1.



Fig. 2: Base for a statue of Emperor Constantius II, from Aeclanum (CIL IX 1117 = LSA 1718). Photo: Author (EDH F022005).

from Aeclanum (*Apulia et Calabria*), now in the National Archaeological Museum in Naples (Fig. 2).<sup>21</sup> Another base celebrating the same Emperor, this time belonging to an equestrian monument dedicated in the Forum Romanum, reminds us that such identifications are not always so easy. In this case, the new dedication was carved on what was originally the side of the monument, where no traces of reuse can be seen. The latter is only indicated by the faint traces of the erased letters of an earlier inscription towards the top margin of the right side, the original front. Here, a point chisel was used, instead of the claw-chisel employed for the finishing of the other sides.<sup>22</sup> The craftsmen in charge of setting this statue up were particularly careful, and the fact that it was reused probably passed unnoticed by contemporaries. These difficulties make any attempt at generalization questionable, to say the least, and quantitative approaches are virtually impossible. In spite of these difficulties, however, it is worth considering this practice as a way of approaching the epigraphic culture of Late Antiquity.

21 CIL IX 1117 = LSA 1718.

22 CIL VI 1158 (cf. p. 4330) = LSA 858 (for a full documentation).

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## REUSE IN LATE ANTIQUE ITALY

The reuse of statue bases was not something new in Late Antiquity. At least since the Hellenistic period, cities and communities all around the eastern Mediterranean had re-dedicated statues according to specific needs, a practice that seems to have become more frequent with the arrival of the Romans.<sup>23</sup> In 167 BC, L. Aemilius Paullus famously adapted a monumental column, originally intended for a statue of king Perseus of Macedon, in order to honour himself.<sup>24</sup> The people of Athens were particularly known for re-dedicating statues to Roman patrons and other benefactors, carving new inscriptions on their bases.<sup>25</sup> The practice seems to have been quite normal, as suggested by an inscription from Lindos (on Rhodes) in which (among other financial measures) the city council offered the possibility of re-dedicating statues in exchange for money.<sup>26</sup> Not everyone welcomed this practice. Cicero observed, in a letter to Atticus, that he hated “false inscriptions on the statues of others”.<sup>27</sup> The most famous reference in this context is of course Dio Chrysostom, whose oration 31, a speech delivered to the Rhodians in the late 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, is a strong indictment of this practice. In his opinion, the re-dedication of statues and their bases represented a real threat to the traditional relationship between patrons and communities, as well as to the reputation of the Rhodians themselves. That the practice was widespread is confirmed by a speech of Favorinus, this time criticising the Corinthians.<sup>28</sup>

In contrast with the abundance and eloquence of the evidence available for the eastern Mediterranean, our picture for the West is not so clear, at least until the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. There is literary evidence for the removal of large numbers of statues from public spaces in Rome, usually in order to clear up areas that were overcrowded with these monuments, but we do not know their final destination.<sup>29</sup> As Eric VARNER suggested, the removal of statues of ‘bad’ Emperors from public spaces must have involved the storage of monuments originally dedicated to them for later reuse.<sup>30</sup> The problem, however, is that evidence for the actual reuse of statue bases is much rarer, as far as I know. The elder Pliny mentions a statue of

23 BLANCK 1969, 65–94 is essential here. For the particularly rich case of the sanctuary at Oropos, see LÖHR 1993.

24 Polyb. 30, 10, 1–2; Liv. 45, 27, 7; Plut. Aem. 28, 4. For a discussion of the monument, see JACQUEMIN/LAROCHE 1982, 207–218.

25 SHEAR 2007; KEESLING 2010; and KRUMEICH 2010 discuss the epigraphic and archaeological evidence from Athens. See also Paus. 1, 2, 4 and 1, 18, 3, mentioning statues dedicated to Romans and non-Romans. See also, for Corinth, Paus. 2, 9, 8 and 2, 17, 3 (a statue of Orestes re-dedicated to Augustus).

26 ILindos 419, ll. 30–44; discussed in KAJAVA 2003, 72–74.

27 Cic. Att. 6, 1, 26: *odi falsas inscriptiones statuarum alienarum*.

28 Passed down to us as Dio Chrys. or. 37, 42. For a recent discussion of these speeches, see PLATT 2007.

29 E.g., Liv. 40, 51, 3 and Plin. nat. 34, 30 for the Republic; Cass. Dio 60, 25, 2–3 for the early Empire.

30 VARNER 2004, *passim*, esp. 2, 60, 70. For actual examples of portraits of ‘bad’ Emperors that were later reworked into the likenesses of other rulers, see BERGMANN/ZANKER 1981. Suet. Otho 7, 1 mentions the re-erection of statues of Nero during the reign of Otho, suggesting that they

Hercules wearing a tunic (unique of its kind in Rome), set up by the *rostra* in the Forum, whose base bore three dedicatory inscriptions, “so many were the rivalries connected with this statue and so highly was it valued”, but this is mentioned precisely to emphasize the uniqueness of this object.<sup>31</sup>

There is also some epigraphic evidence for the western provinces, albeit much poorer than for the East. At the Saalburg in *Germania superior*, the dedicatory inscription of a statue originally set up by a *centurio* was modified, with the name of a new dedicator (an *optio*) being carved instead.<sup>32</sup> In Thugga (*Africa proconsularis*) a number of imperial statue bases were reused in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century to honour other Emperors.<sup>33</sup> The overall picture is that, whilst the practice was certainly known in the West (including Rome and Italy) during the early imperial period, it was not as common as in the East; it is only towards the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century that we see the widespread practice of reusing statue bases in this part of the Empire. In fact, it is the enormous scale and general character of reuse that marks the late antique situation as different, and that has more serious implications for our understanding of the epigraphic culture of this period.

Although the poor state of the evidence makes any attempt at quantification problematic (see above), the sheer numerical relevance of this practice is very clear. Of the 710 late antique statue bases known and catalogued for Italy, 243 (34%) can be securely identified as reused. If anything, the bias in our information suggests that the proportion of reused material was much higher. Perhaps just as important as the quantities involved is the geographic diffusion of this practice. Unsurprisingly, the largest number of such pieces comes from Rome (c. 27% of all known reused bases). But this behaviour is also attested in 47 other cities in Italy, from *Aemilia et Liguria* in the Northwest to *Venetia et Histria* in the Northeast, and to *Apulia et Calabria* in the South (see the Map).<sup>34</sup> The practice was also consistent across time, marking some of the latest examples known to us from Antiquity. The last known (late antique) statue dedication from Italy, the column of Phocas in the Forum Romanum (dated to AD 608), was also a reused monument, demonstrating that the practice continued for as long as statues were set up in public.<sup>35</sup> In other words, the late antique practice of reusing statue bases was a phenomenon that was both discreet in its nature, relevant in its numbers, and intimately connected to the general statue habit as known in Antiquity.

had been kept in storage; cf. VARNER 2004, 67. For the fate of inscriptions mentioning Nero in Rome, see ECK 2002.

31 Plin. nat. 34, 93: *tot certaminum tantaeque dignationis simulacrum id fuit*.

32 CIL XIII 7448 (cf. EDH HD041980).

33 See HØJTE 2005, 63 f.

34 E. g., in *Aemilia et Liguria*: AE 1988, 573 = LSA 1610; in *Venetia et Histria*: CIL V 529 = LSA 1212; in *Apulia et Calabria*: CIL X 4 = LSA 1796.

35 Some late examples are CIL X 4859 = LSA 328 (from Venafrum; ca. AD 490–530); CIL VI 1716b = LSA 1420 and CIL VI 1716c (cf. p. 4742) = LSA 1421 (from Rome; late 5<sup>th</sup> or early 6<sup>th</sup> century). For the column of Phocas, see CIL VI 1200 = LSA 1313; the monument was probably originally erected in honour of an Emperor in the late 4<sup>th</sup> or early 5<sup>th</sup> century: BAUER 1996, 44–46, 112; WEISWEILER 2012b, 333. For the end of the statue habit in late antique Italy, see above n. 4.





Map: *The late antique provinces of Italy.* Design: T. WITTENBERG  
(after © Ancient World Mapping Center 2003).

In order to be properly understood, such widespread reuse of statue bases has to be considered in its specific context. In other words, why was there such a surge in the numbers of reused statue-monuments towards the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century? The most obvious reason is that there existed a very large amount of older statues and bases at the disposal of those setting up monuments in the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries. By the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, the prosperous cities of Italy that for centuries had enjoyed the benefits of both a rich elite and of a powerful imperial court nearby must have been crowded with statues dedicated by its citizens – that “strange practice on an

anthropological level” that helped to define classical city culture.<sup>36</sup> Such abundance raised difficulties of its own.

New building projects certainly had an impact on the survival rate of older statues, requiring their removal from public places. City administrators occasionally had to remove the monuments that overpopulated the spaces of ancient cities for, among other things, making way for new monuments.<sup>37</sup> The (fictitious) biography of the ‘usurper’ Piso, in the *Historia Augusta*, tells us that a *quadriga* voted by the senate had been removed and put in storage to make way for the construction of the baths of Diocletian, and that it had not been brought back into public view since.<sup>38</sup> The most obvious novelty during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century and in Late Antiquity was the building of city walls, especially in the North of Italy and in Rome. The construction of such defensive structures led to the demolition and decay of various classical buildings, and must have provided city administrators with the problem of what to do with this material.<sup>39</sup> Statues and their bases were also moved to new or more frequented places, probably due to the decay and/or abandonment of parts of the city, as inscriptions amply attest to in Italy and Africa, containing phrases like *ex locis abditis* or *translata ex sordentibus locis*.<sup>40</sup> Presumably, at least in some of these cases the removal and the following re-location of monuments did not happen at the same time, and statues and bases were quite often stored for at least a short while and sometimes for decades in some sort of depot.<sup>41</sup>

In the case of Lepcis Magna, where the statue bases have been the subject of an in-depth study by Francesca BIGI and Ignazio TANTILLO, most of the (epigraphic) material reused in the late antique period had been originally set up in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries, especially in the Severan period.<sup>42</sup> In the case of Italy, we must limit ourselves to those monuments whose original inscription (even if only partially surviving) can be dated with some degree of certainty. As the information available suggests, most of the reused bases had been originally erected between AD 150 and 310. This is for two reasons: firstly, as in the case of Lepcis, the period of the Antonine and Severan dynasties was characterized by a great number of dedica-

36 As SMITH 2007, 203 put it. For the prosperity of Italy, see PURCELL 2000, 423, who calls it “an imperial anomaly”.

37 As is clearly expressed in an inscription from Cirta in *Numidia* (ILAlg II 1, 631; dated to AD 160–62): *viam com[meanti]bus incomm[odam] par[tim] adstruct[is] crepi[dinibus] aequa[tisque] stautis quae it[er] fori angust[abant] ...*

38 HA tyr. trig. 21, 6–7; see COATES-STEPHENS 2007, 182. Although in *Africa proconsularis*, the case of the *forum novum* at Thubursicu Numidarum is very instructive; see WITSCHER 2007, 153–155.

39 See MIRABELLA ROBERTI et al. 1993. For Rome, COATES-STEPHENS 2001 has argued for the importance of the Aurelian wall for our understanding of the late antique statue-habit; on this topic, cf. also COATES-STEPHENS 2012.

40 CIL IX 1588 (Beneventum) and CIL XIV 4721 (Ostia). For further examples, see WITSCHER 2007, 122 f., 133 f., 139 f., 156. Cf. discussion in BRANDENBURG 1989; LEPELLEY 1994; and CURRAN 1994; see also the observations of SMITH 2007, 209 (dealing with Aphrodisias in *Caria*).

41 For such late antique depots of inscriptions and sculptures which were stored in order to reuse them in later times, see WITSCHER 2007, 156 f.

42 See the tables in BIGI/TANTILLO 2010, 256, 264–267 and 273–277. Cf. also the paper by I. TANTILLO, in this volume pp. 213–270.

tions, constituting a large body of material available for later commissioners; and secondly, the political instability that marked the periods AD 238–284 and 305–312 created a situation in which a significant number of monuments were removed from public view.

The most famous example of statue bases reused at a time of political instability is the group discovered during the excavation of the ancient basilica of Santa Maria in Luna (*Tuscia et Umbria*). All the bases found there, ten in total, contained dedications, but two of them were reused on more than one occasion.<sup>43</sup> The first one was originally set up in the Augustan period. It was first rededicated to Emperor Tacitus, who reigned for a short period in AD 275/76, and then rededicated to Emperor Carinus in AD 283 and, a few years later, to Diocletian. Although the earliest dedication was preserved, the ones to Tacitus and Carinus were more or less completely erased at the time of its later reuse. The other base also bears an early imperial dedication, to a *duumvir*. It was later re-dedicated to Magnia Urbica, wife of Carinus, probably at the same time as her husband's statue was set up. Like her husband's inscription, this one was also partially erased, probably when it was reused as a monument to Galerius, during the time of the first tetrarchy. A few years later, the base was reused one last time, in a celebration of Maxentius – but Galerius' inscription was not touched on this occasion.

Phases of political instability thus had a direct impact on the 'life expectancy' of statue bases. In Rome, we know of one base (now lost) that was originally dedicated to the usurper Magnentius in AD 350/51.<sup>44</sup> It was reused in AD 355 (as we know from the dating inscription on the side of the base), when the names of the usurper and of the urban prefect who had honoured him were erased, probably as a monument celebrating the victorious Constantius II.<sup>45</sup> We cannot be certain of this, however, because the base was put to new use yet again approximately 150 years later, in a dedication to an unstated subject by the *praefectus urbi* Fabius Felix Passifilus Paulinus, when the inscription of AD 355 was erased.<sup>46</sup> Besides illustrating the impact of political instability on the survival and reuse of statue bases, these cases also show that there was a process of selection to decide what would be erased or preserved in a base. Texts of different dates and to different subjects could coexist in the same monument, suggesting that there was no contradiction between the statue on display and some of the dedicatory inscriptions. We usually tend to follow Dio Chrysostom's lead in viewing the epigraphic and sculptural landscape of ancient cities as essentially stable, when actually we should leave room for more dynamism – a fact of which the citizens of late antique Rome and Luna (as well as the Rhodians, centuries earlier) were well aware. In order to understand this, how-

43 These bases are CIL XI 6956 = LSA 1617 and CIL XI 6957 = LSA 1618/19. See PODESTÀ 1890, for their discovery; and FROVA 1984, 20–24 as well as FRASSON 2013, 275–289 for a description of the bases. See further K. BOLLE, in this volume pp. 156–159. For a similar case from Tarraco in *Hispania Tarraconensis*, see J. VÉGH, in this volume p. 66 with n. 41.

44 CIL VI 1166a = LSA 1281.

45 CIL VI 1166b = LSA 1282.

46 CIL VI 1166c = LSA 1283. For Paulinus (PLRE II Paulinus 13), who was *praefectus urbi* in the late 5<sup>th</sup> century, see S. ORLANDI, in this volume pp. 419f. n. 80.

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ever, we must first consider how this system of removal, selection, and re-erection of statue bases worked.

### MANAGING REUSE

As the discussion in the previous section shows, it is impossible to identify a single or main cause for the widespread reuse of bases in late antique Italy. The bases of statues, like the monuments they supported, could be removed from sight and made available for new contexts for a variety of reasons. This would not have been possible, as the examples from Rome and from Luna suggest, without the important changes in the epigraphic culture of the peninsula between the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries, including important developments in the production and management of honorific monuments in Italian cities.

It has been noted that the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century were marked by a (relative) surge in the number of statue dedications in Italy. Rome took pride of place in this process, and the South of Italy was responsible for a considerably larger number of dedications than the North.<sup>47</sup> Not all cities joined this movement, but the overall picture is one of striking contrast with what is observed in other parts of the Empire (except for Africa).<sup>48</sup> It is, furthermore, one of reversal of a 3<sup>rd</sup>-century trend.<sup>49</sup> As the numbers themselves suggest, the reuse of statue bases that fuelled this movement was not the consequence of spontaneous and private initiatives, but of a complex administrative system. The surviving dedicatory inscriptions show that the reuse of bases was to a large extent carried out by local and imperial authorities, acting in an official context. The highest ranking officials in Rome, the *praefecti urbi*, were responsible for 40.9% of all reused bases in the city; lower officials, both imperial and local, appear in 20.9% of the dedications. Even extremely prestigious awarders of honorific statues, such as Emperors and the senate, are associated with reused bases.<sup>50</sup> The same official character of the practice can be seen in other Italian cities. Local magistrates and councils were responsible for 59.5% of the 89 reused bases whose awarders are known (for Italy, excluding Rome), whereas imperial officials (including governors) were responsible for 28.1% of them. In other words, the reuse of statue bases was not only an officially and publicly accepted but also a perfectly honourable practice, as the involvement of the Emperors suggests – despite the many imperial regulations (preserved in the *Codex Theodosianus*) that tried to curtail the widespread spoliation of existing monuments and the uncontrolled reuse of earlier pieces of architecture and sculpture.<sup>51</sup>

47 See MACHADO 2016 for a discussion of these developments.

48 For the situation in Africa, cf. the paper by I. TANTILLO, in this volume pp. 213–270.

49 PATTERSON 2006, 122.

50 The numbers refer to a total of 110 bases whose awarders can be identified.

51 See the laws collected in Cod. Theod. 15, 1; for discussion, cf. e.g. GEYER 1993; ALCHERMES 1994.

In the case of an honour in form of a statue-monument set up in public, the local authorities were necessarily involved. At the same time, the large numbers, the dimensions and the weight of the monuments suggest that a high degree of institutionalization was required, at least in the case of the larger Italian cities. It is therefore likely that there was some type of administrative system for the identification, removal, storage, and reworking of these bases. This is certainly what happened in late antique Rome, where a specific official was responsible for the care of statues, the *curator statuarum*.<sup>52</sup> This would explain how specific urban prefects were able to mobilize relatively large numbers of statues and bases, such as Fabius Titianus in AD 339–41 and 350/51 (five reused bases, ten in total) and Gabinius Vettius Probianus in (probably) AD 377 (four reused bases, eight in total).<sup>53</sup>

We might form a clearer picture of how this system worked if we specifically consider those bases bearing inscriptions that record the identity of the agents responsible for setting up these monuments, i. e. those identified in the inscription as “having taken care” of the dedication.<sup>54</sup> Of all the Italian dedications recorded in the LSA database, I have identified 36 that make this reference (20 from Rome), not all of them on reused bases.<sup>55</sup> Even in these cases, the agents identified as responsible are people of a very high profile, like urban prefects in Rome, provincial governors, and *curatores rei publicae*.<sup>56</sup> In the case of Rome the official known to have been in charge of this specific task – the *curator statuarum* – is only mentioned in one dedication, which is now unfortunately lost.<sup>57</sup> Two dedications to Vestal virgins record the role of *factores*, the attendants formally connected to the ritual activities of the college.<sup>58</sup> The official character mentioned above is reinforced by the fact that one dedication from Canusium (*Apulia et Calabria*), which was set up between AD 326 and 333 by a *corrector Apuliae et Calabriae*, reused a base that had originally been assigned a location on a public place by the city council.<sup>59</sup>

It is probable that Italian cities of some importance had adequate storage spaces for these monuments.<sup>60</sup> Whether these were managed privately or by public authorities – or both – is impossible to know, but an interesting parallel is offered by the information available for building material, more specifically columns. A (reused) papyrus from Arsinoe or Oxyrhynchus in Egypt, datable to the 4<sup>th</sup> century, lists a number of columns for reuse, including their measurements, material, and state of

52 See CHASTAGNOL 1960, 51 f.

53 See CIL VI p. 4726 f. for Titianus (cf. PLRE I Titianus 6); for Probianus, see above n. 15.

54 As suggested by KAJAVA 2003, 70.

55 There are ten reused bases, four new, and 22 that are impossible to identify within this sample.

56 Urban prefects (examples): CIL VI 1194 = LSA 305; CIL VI 1188 = LSA 1306; CIL VI 31987 = LSA 1363 and CIL VI 31403 = LSA 2584. Governors: CIL V 7248 = LSA 1607; CIL X 1128 = LSA 1862 and CIL X 1247 = LSA 1868. *Curatores rei publicae*: CIL XIV 2919 = LSA 1684; CIL IX 1561 = LSA 1724 and CIL X 4865 = LSA 1977.

57 CIL VI 1708 = 31906 = 41318 = LSA 1416.

58 CIL VI 2136 = LSA 1480 and CIL VI 2137 = LSA 1482.

59 CIL IX 329 = LSA 1693, with the inscription *l(ocus) d(atu)s d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)* on the side (see AE 1999, 511a).

60 Cf. above n. 41.

preservation.<sup>61</sup> In Rome, Pope Sixtus III (432–440) is recorded as reusing porphyry columns that had been stored at the time of Constantine over a century earlier.<sup>62</sup> In these cases, it is likely that a public system of storage (and inventory) was in place. We also know of the case of the temple of the *fabri navales* in Ostia, however, where a number of columns were found in the courtyard, some of them engraved with the name of a certain Volusianus, a *vir clarissimus*.<sup>63</sup> It is impossible to be certain of the ownership of this depot, whether public or private, but this example suggests that material ready for reuse must have been accessible to others than the local authorities – although the latter were normally the ones directly concerned with the setting up of statues. This is also suggested by the (reused) base of a statue erected in Capua (*Campania*) by the *ordo* and the *populus* of Hadrumetum, capital of the province of *Byzacena*. The inscription records a monument honouring the former governor of *Byzacena*, Brittius Praetextatus, set up after he had retired from office. The dedication was carried out by Flavius Sergius Codeus, a *vir perfectissimus*, who was sent by the Hadrumetans for this specific purpose.<sup>64</sup> The fact that a foreigner could arrive in an Italian town and provide for the erection of a reused monument indicates that this system of storage was accessible even to those who came to Italy from far away and for a short period of time.

Unfortunately, this information does not tell us much about the practicalities of reuse or, in other words, about what happened to the base between the moment when it was removed from view and the time of its (second) exhibition to the public. It is probable that the removal of bases (and statues), their storage and preparation for reuse were carried out by corporations like the *marmorarii* and specialists like the *scriptores titulorum*, whose existence is recorded in inscriptions.<sup>65</sup> This type of work would fit well with the description carved in a famous (but much earlier) bilingual inscription from Sicily (*tituli heic ordinantur et sculpuntur aidibus sacreis qum operum publicorum*), usually taken to be part of an advertisement for a local workshop specializing in the production of inscriptions.<sup>66</sup>

In any case, the involvement of workshops and specialists was essential for the practice of reuse, as adaptations had to be made to the bases (let alone the statues) in

61 P.Lond. III 755 (pp. 221–223). The papyrus was found in Oxyrhynchus, but the petitions on the *recto* were addressed by the people of Arsinoe to the Prefect of Egypt. See LUKASZEWICZ 1979 and PAPACONSTANTINOU 2013, for the text and discussion. I would like to thank P. LIVERANI for these references.

62 Lib. pontif. 36 (Xystus), 7 (ed. DUCHESNE 1955 I, p. 234): *hic constituit columnas in baptisterium basilicae Constantinianae, quas a tempore Constantini Augusti fuerant congregatas, ex metalla purphyretico numero VIII ...*

63 CÉBEILLAC-GERVASONI/CALDELLI/ZEVI 2010, 202–205 no. 57.2; cf. discussion in PENSABENE 1999, 765. It is disputed whether the *Volusianus* v. c. named on the columns is the *praefectus urbi* of AD 365 (PLRE I Volusianus 5) or that of AD 417/18 (PLRE II Volusianus 6), the latter hypothesis having won more favour in recent times.

64 CIL X 3846 = LSA 1935. For the men named in this text, see PLRE I Praetextatus 2 and Codeus.

65 The *marmorarii* are attested to in different parts of the Empire. For Rome, see CIL VI 9550–9556. For a possible *scriptor titulorum*, see CIL VI 9557.

66 CIL X 7296 (probably dating to the late Republican period).



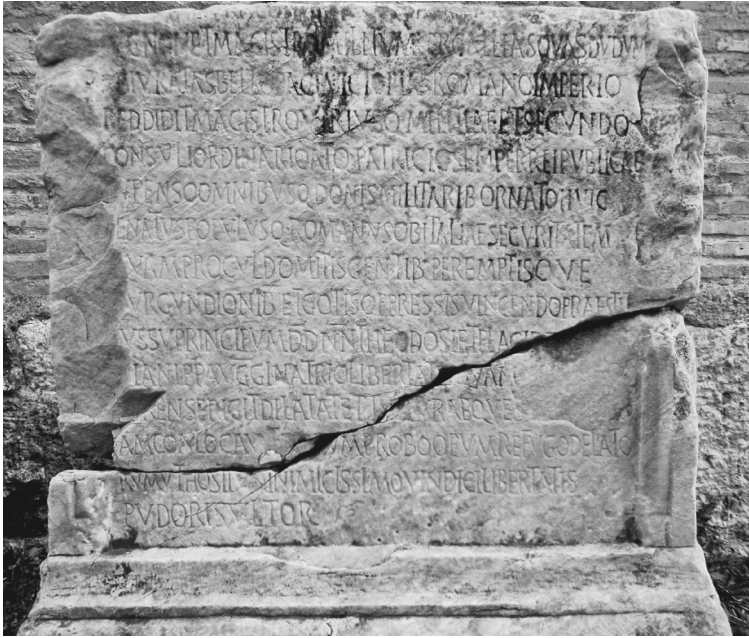


Fig. 3: Base for a statue of Aetius, from the Forum Romanum in Rome (CIL VI 41389 = LSA 1434). Photo: Author (EDH F023129).

most cases. Earlier inscriptions had to be erased (if the base was not turned around), which was usually done by removing the original surface of the epigraphic field. By doing this, stonemasons were able to take advantage of the original moulding of the base, enhancing the appearance of the text. This was only part of the work, however, and usually further adaptations were required to prepare the old piece for its new use. The base of the statue dedicated to the *magister militum* Aetius in Rome, from around AD 439, is a good example (Fig. 3). The original inscription was carefully removed with a claw chisel, while the moulding that surrounded it was preserved almost in its entirety (although it is now mostly lost). However, the lower part of the moulding had to be cut at the bottom in order to make room for a text that was certainly longer than the original one.<sup>67</sup> Not every stone was treated to the same high standards as this one, however. In the case of a statue base found at Tusculum (*Campania*) and dedicated to the Emperor Maximian by the *ordo Labican(orum) QQ(uintanensium)*, the erasure of the previous inscription was not properly carried out, and parts of the original text (datable to AD 196) are still legible.<sup>68</sup>

The type of stone available, the skills of the stonecutter, and the intentions of the commissioner could demand different solutions. A broken limestone base found in the forum of Aquileia (*Venetia et Histria*) contains two inscriptions of different

67 CIL VI 41389; see the full discussion in LSA 1434.

68 AE 1900, 133 = LSA 1681; see also SupplIt Imag. Latium Vetus 1, 404.

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dates. The earlier inscription (dating to the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century) is only incompletely preserved: *Concordia / Aquileiensem et / Concordiensem / -----*. The later inscription, datable to the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, reads: *Sept(imius) Theodulus v(ir) c(larissimus) / correc(tor) ornavit*. The new inscription, in two lines, was carved between the first and the second lines of the old text, which was perhaps covered over with plaster or stucco.<sup>69</sup> Theodulus, the (Christian) governor of the province *Venetia et Histria*, is known to have rededicated (at least) two other bases in the forum of Aquileia, both of which were equally reused.<sup>70</sup> One of them had the word *Herculi*, part of an earlier inscription, preserved on the crown. Claudio ZACCARIA has suggested, based on the dowel holes and marks on the top of the base, that it belonged to a statue of Hercules of the Farnese type.<sup>71</sup> If this is correct, the personnel in charge of carrying out the orders of the governor limited themselves to the erasure of parts of the original inscription (the text on the epigraphic field) and to the carving of the new one. Even the statue might have been reused in this case.

More radical forms of adaptation were also common. The equestrian base in the Forum Romanum that was turned on its side and dedicated to the virtues of the imperial armies is a good case in point (see above). Another example is provided by a monument set up in honour of the senator Vulcacius Rufinus in his house (Fig. 4), as it illustrates the type of work that could be involved in these initiatives.<sup>72</sup> It is a large base of white marble, of which the moulding around the epigraphic field was almost completely preserved.<sup>73</sup> The decoration on the sides was also kept in place: an *urceus* on the left and a *patera* on the right side. The upper part of the monument was cut, but some of the original surface, which was smooth and sloping, can still be seen. The surface of the top, on which the statue would have rested, is rough and uneven (dowel holes and marks of feet survive). Probably an altar in its first life, the base of Rufinus' statue required extensive reworking in order to be reused. For the people of Ravenna who dedicated this monument, reuse was not just an option for ready-made and cheaper material. It was part of the way in which they conceived their monuments, a culture that forced sculptors to develop specific skills and city administrators to incorporate one more task in their to-do lists.

The reuse of statue bases also had an impact on the very essence of how the specialized craftsmen worked, the laying out and engraving of the texts. Roman stonemasons had to find a balance between different elements when carving an inscription, from their technical expertise and type of commission, to the surface on which the text was to be inscribed. Although plenty of exceptions are known, it is commonly observed that early imperial monuments, especially in contrast with other

69 AE 1999, 697a–b = AE 2001, 1007a–b = LSA 2659. See ZACCARIA 2001 for further discussion of the monument; also for the date of Theodulus who seems to have acted as governor of *Venetia et Histria* between ca. AD 350 and 360.

70 InscrAq I 501 = LSA 1233 and AE 1996, 686a–b = LSA 1234; cf. the paper by C. WITSCHER, in this volume p. 45.

71 MASELLI SCOTTI / ZACCARIA 1998, 145–148.

72 CIL VI 32051 (cf. p. 4807); see LSA 1253 for a more detailed description. For Rufinus, see PLRE I Rufinus 25.

73 The base is 1.47 m high, 1.05 m wide, and 0,87 m deep.



Fig. 4: Base for a statue of Vulcacius Rufinus, from a domus on the Quirinal in Rome (CIL VI 32051 = LSA 1253). Photo: Author (EDH F022572).

periods, were characterized by carefully laid out inscriptions with guiding lines and letters of regular size, orientation and spacing. Another important characteristic was the distribution of the text, using the division of lines to emphasize specific elements of the epigraphic message.<sup>74</sup> This was more difficult to achieve when working on reused monuments. The inscription on the base of the statue dedicated to Aetius (see above) is a good illustration of this point (Fig. 3). The letters are small (2–2.5 cm) and closely set. This was done in order to fit a long text into the surface available, but the stoneworkers still had to remove the lower part of the moulding that framed the epigraphic field. Reuse affected particularly those monuments with longer inscriptions, reducing the legibility of the message. This can be seen even in prestigious dedications, such as those made in honour of aristocrats and imperial officials in the Forum of Trajan.<sup>75</sup> Scholars have described this type of lettering as *scriptura actu-*

74 The classic discussion of these issues is SUSINI 1966, esp. 18–30, but see also PANCIERA 1995, specifically for the Republican period but very useful in general. For a recent discussion, see BUONOPANE 2009, 59–71.

75 Cf. CHENAULT 2012, 103–124. Good examples are the inscription on the base of the statue dedicated to Nicomachus Flavianus (CIL VI 1783 = LSA 1247) and Merobaudes (CIL VI 1724 = LSA 319), the letters on which measured respectively 1.5–2 cm, and 2 cm. For the phenomenon of inscribing imperial documents on late antique statue bases in Rome, cf. WEISWEILER 2012a and 2012b, 336–348.



Fig. 5: Base for a statue of Turranius Decentius Benignus, from Beneventum (AE 1968, 123 = LSA 330). Photo: Author (EDH F021862).

*aria*, a specifically late antique style.<sup>76</sup> Although stylistic preferences were certainly an important element in the adoption of this type of lettering, the fact that these were inscribed official decrees rather than actual inscriptions,<sup>77</sup> as well as the very limitations of an adapted support for the inscription, certainly also played a role here.

The reuse of a statue base could affect the general distribution of the secondary text within the space available. The aforementioned inscription,<sup>78</sup> celebrating the virtues of the imperial armies in the Forum Romanum, for example, occupied a narrower space due to the presence of metal clamps. In Beneventum (*Campania*), the inscription (early 5<sup>th</sup> century) recording the statue voted by the local *ordo* to the *vir clarissimus* and *patronus* Turranius Decentius Benignus was carved according to a fault on the epigraphic field (Fig. 5: line 7 of the inscription).<sup>79</sup> However, not every oddity in the layout of a text was caused by the fact that a base was reused. One of the monuments dedicated by the urban prefect and *consul* Decius Marius Venantius

76 ILLUMINATI 1999, 690; cf. also HÜBNER 1895, 248 (who coined the expression), for further examples.

77 See PANCIERA 2012, 7, for the importance of this distinction.

78 See above n. 1.

79 AE 1968, 123 = LSA 330. For the honorand, see PLRE II Benignus.

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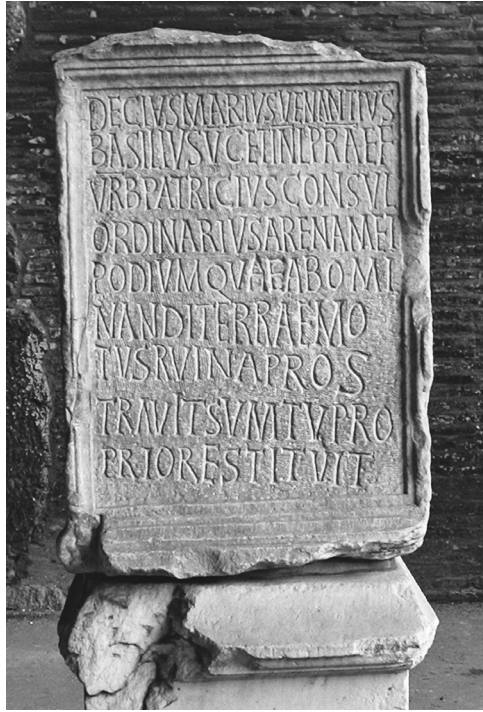


Fig. 6: Base for a statue dedicated by Decius Marius Venantius Basilius, from the Colosseum in Rome (CIL VI 1716b = LSA 1420). Photo: Author (EDH F022352).

Basilius (late 5<sup>th</sup> or early 6<sup>th</sup> century), in the Colosseum, has its lines arranged in an increasingly irregular fashion as the text progresses (Fig. 6).<sup>80</sup> The size of the letters, the (ir)regularity of the lines and the distribution of the text did not just impact on the ways in which epigraphic messages appeared and were communicated; they also had an impact on the ways in which these messages were read, as well as on the overall meaning of the monuments to which they belonged. In other words, they were part of a much broader change in the epigraphic culture of late antique Italy, and it is this aspect that we must now discuss.

#### A CULTURE OF REUSE

On the 1<sup>st</sup> of January AD 287, the *corpus corariorum magnariorum solatariorum* dedicated a statue to the Emperor Diocletian in Rome.<sup>81</sup> A few years later, the name

80 CIL VI 1716b = LSA 1420. For Basilius, see PLRE II Basilius 13; and CIL VI p. 4742 for the date of the inscription.

81 CIL VI 1117 (cf. p. 4325) = LSA 1255; see also SupplIt Imag. Roma 1, 193 for a photo and further discussion.

of Diocletian was partially erased and the monument was re-dedicated by the same group to the Emperor Constantine I. The result was the invention of a ‘new’ Emperor, Caius Valerius Aurelius Constantinus, combining the names of the two rulers. Unfortunately, we do not know much about the context in which this inscription was found, but the change in names alone is enough to raise a number of issues related to the topic that interests us here. Were the members of the *corpus* hoping this reuse would remain unnoticed, or was this mistake an oversight? Did it affect the identification of the statue on top of the base? What was the relationship between a dedicatory inscription and the object to which it was physically connected? In more general terms, what can the reuse of a statue base reveal to us about the epigraphic culture of late antique Italy?

We tend to assume that the stonemasons and commissioners responsible for these monuments normally aimed to conceal their reuse. This is, in large part, a reasonable assumption, as suggested by the skill and effort applied to some of these pieces. At least to a certain extent, this is also because of our own tendency to associate reuse with economic troubles and decline. However, a significant number of cases indicate that reemploying an older piece was not always seen in a negative light. Bases reused in the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries frequently bear an earlier inscription containing an exact date (by referring to the *consules ordinarii* of the year in question) related to their original use on one of their sides.<sup>82</sup> It is possible that, while the original dedication on the front of the base had to be properly erased in order to make way for a new one, the inscription on the side was covered with stucco or plaster – although no trace of this survives. It has been noticed, however, that consular dating of this kind was a relatively rare practice, which means that the personnel in charge of finding bases for reuse seem to have made a conscious choice for these specific pieces.<sup>83</sup> If this was indeed the case, it is more likely that there was an interest in explicitly marking such monuments as older monuments.<sup>84</sup>

Many (if not most) late antique commissioners went to the trouble of erasing traces of a previous use as thoroughly as they could, but at least in some cases the reuse of a base did not require the obliteration of its history and, consequently, its cultural meaning. These could instead be incorporated into the new dedication. The reused bases from Luna, discussed above,<sup>85</sup> reinforce the idea that this practice was not something that had to be concealed at all means. One particular monument was dedicated to Diocletian after having been successively employed for an early imperial local notable and for the Emperors Tacitus and Carinus.<sup>86</sup> Even if the first dedication was covered with stucco (which cannot be proved), the fact that the inscriptions to Tacitus and Carinus were (partially) erased in the process of *damnatio*

82 E. g. CIL VI 1119a = LSA 819; CIL VI 1659 = LSA 1343; CIL VI 1662 = LSA 1349; CIL VI 36952 = LSA 1367; CIL VI 36954b = LSA 1370 and CIL VI 1157 = 40840 = LSA 1386 (all from Rome); CIL XIV 128 = LSA 1645 (Ostia); CIL XIV 2919 = LSA 1684 (Praeneste); CIL XIV 3594 = LSA 1689 (Tibur); and CIL IX 687 = LSA 1705 (Herdoniae).

83 See SALOMIES 1995, 270–271.

84 Cf., for an interesting early modern parallel, WRIGHT 2011, 14 f.

85 See above n. 43.

86 CIL XI 6956c = LSA 1617.





Fig. 7: Base for a statue dedicated to the “eternal happiness of the times” of Valentinian I, from Puteoli, S. Maria del Carmine (CIL X 1656 = LSA 331). Photo: Author (EDH F022023).

*memoriae* suggests that at least these sides of the base were left visible at the time of the Diocletianic reuse. The most interesting case, also discussed above, is the base used for a statue of Magnentius in Rome, reused in AD 355 after his downfall and again in the later 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>87</sup> These were exceptional situations, as they involved very high profile objects. It could be argued that *damnatio memoriae* was, in itself, a form of reuse; adding another dedicatory inscription or another statue to it would reinforce the effectiveness of the process.<sup>88</sup>

The possibility that two dedications could be combined is also suggested by the dedication of a statue to the “eternal happiness of the times”, from the reign of Valentinian I, in Puteoli (*Campania*) (Fig. 7). The dedication, commissioned by the governor of *Campania*, Avianius Valentinus, was carved on the lateral side of a large marble block.<sup>89</sup> To the left of this inscription, on the main side, the original dedication to the *Genius* of the *colonia* of Puteoli, made *pro salute* of the Emperor Antoninus Pius and the Caesar Marcus Aurelius, was left untouched.<sup>90</sup> The dedi-

87 CIL VI 1166a–c = LSA 1281–83.

88 See, for the period of Late Antiquity, HEDRICK 2000, 89–126.

89 CIL X 1656 = LSA 331; cf. CAMODECA 1980/81, 81 f. For Valentinus, see PLRE I Valentinus 7.

90 CIL X 1562.

cations to the *Genius* of the city and to the happiness of the times actually complemented each other. In fact, if anything the association generated by this act of reuse contributed to make the 4<sup>th</sup> century dedication more prestigious. It should be remembered that this type of association can also be seen in other types of monuments. A good example is the inscription added after the death of Constantine to one of the monumental city gates of Augustan date in Fanum Fortunae (*Flaminia et Picenum*), associating the two phases and the two reigns. The governor of the province, L. Turcius Secundus *signo* Asterius (son of a *praefectus urbi*), also added his own name to the monument, showing that not only Emperors could profit from earlier imperial inscriptions.<sup>91</sup>

The reuse of bases associated with the imperial image raises another set of issues related to the fate of the statues supported by them. Imperial statues had a special status in the Roman world, and this was still true in Late Antiquity. Attacks on these monuments, or even placing them next to effigies considered as unworthy, could be seen as an attack on the imperial ruler himself, being liable to severe punishment.<sup>92</sup> This did not prevent imperial statue bases from being reused. In AD 365, the *praefectus urbi* Ceionius Rufius Volusianus dedicated a statue to the Emperor Valentinian I in the baths of Caracalla. The dedication reemployed the base of a monument that had previously been used to honour Diocletian(?) in that same location.<sup>93</sup> Was this considered a lack of respect towards the imperial image? It is possible that the earlier inscription was covered with stucco (or some other material) when the new one was carved, but maybe this was not necessary: we are dealing with two imperial dedications in a space designed, on an ideological level, to celebrate the imperial power and munificence.

- 91 CIL XI 6218/19: *Divo Augusto Pio Constantino patri dominorum // Imp(erator) Caesar Divi f(ilius) Augustus pontifex maximus co(n)s(ul) XIII tribunicia potest(ate) XXX<V>II // imp(erator) XX{V}I pater patriae murum dedit // Curante L(ucio) Turcio Secundo Aproniani praef(ecti) urb(i) fil(io) Asterio v(iro) c(larissimo) corr(ectore) Flam(iniae) et Piceni*. The later inscription was carved in two lines (ll. 1 and 4), the first above and the second below the Augustan text. They were not equally legible: the earlier inscription had gilded bronze lettering (*litterae aureae*). For the governor of *Flaminia et Picenum*, see PLRE I Secundus 6.
- 92 See discussion in STEWART 1999, esp. 169 f. for the status of the imperial image. Cod. Theod. 15, 7, 12 (AD 394) banned the placing of imperial images next to those of charioteers and artists. Tac. ann. 1, 73 mentions the case of a member of the equestrian order accused of having sold a statue of Augustus.
- 93 CIL VI 1173 (cf. p. 4332). This base exhibits an interesting story of multiple reuse: it was first set up in an unknown town of Roman Italy, perhaps in honour of a local magistrate, as is demonstrated by an (additional) inscription on its back side (CIL VI 1173c: ... *ob dedicationem eius ded(icavit) decurion(ibus) / |(denarios) XXV et Augustalibus sing(ulis) |(denarios) XXV et / municibus |(denarios) V*), dated to AD 192. In the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century the base was brought to Rome in order to be reused as a monument in honour of an unknown person, perhaps Emperor Diocletian. The main dedication on the front side was later erased again, but on the right (or left?) side of the base the dating formula belonging to this second period of use has been preserved (CIL VI 1173b = LSA 1289; dated to AD 285), and its location is suggested by the fact that it had been set up by the supervisor of the baths of Caracalla: *Maxim(o) Aug(usto) / n(ostro) Diocletiano II co(n)s(ule) / sub Felice proc(uratore) Aug(usti) n(ostr(i) / therm(ae) Antoniniana(rum)*. Finally, the front side of the base was inscribed for a third time with the dedication to Valentinian I (CIL VI 1173a = LSA 1288).

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Fig. 8: Top of the base for a statue of Q. Flavius Maesius Egnatius Lollianus signo Mavortius, from Puteoli, Villa Cardito. Detail with dowel holes (CIL X 1695 = LSA 332).  
Photo: Author (EDH F022029).

It is unfortunate that we do not know what happened to most of the original imperial statues connected to reused bases. The number and position of the dowel holes on the top of a base previously dedicated to Emperor Carinus and later reused in honour of the senatorial patron Q. Flavius Maesius Egnatius Lollianus signo Mavortius,<sup>94</sup> in Puteoli, suggests that in this case a new statue (or one which was brought here from another place) was used (Fig. 8).<sup>95</sup> This made sense, as an imperial portrait was quite different in status as well as in appearance from the statue of a senator. Other forms of reuse did not require such care, however, as it is suggested by a number of reused bases showing traces of only one statue. In these cases, either the statue was also reused,<sup>96</sup> or another statue with the same dimensions would have to be produced or found.<sup>97</sup> It is worth remembering that the main complaint of Dio Chrysostom was concerned with the reuse of statues, and not of bases, a fact that, as

94 PLRE I Lollianus 5; see also U. GEHN, in this volume pp. 370–374.

95 CIL X 1695 = LSA 332 (between AD 337 and 342); cf. CAMODECA 1980/81, 78 f. (with n. 57), 100 f. The inscription for Emperor Carinus is CIL X 1655 (written on the back side of a reused base – the stone thus shows traces of three different phases).

96 For some examples for the reuse of earlier statues in late antique Puteoli, see WITSCHERL 2007, 134 f. For the practice of reworking earlier sculptures and portraits in Late Antiquity, cf. in general PRUSAC 2011; GEHN 2013; WITSCHERL 2015, esp. 334–336; as well as the paper by U. GEHN, in this volume pp. 363–405.

97 See, for example, CIL XIV 4455 = AE 1972, 71 = LSA 1661 (Ostia); CIL IX 1117 = LSA 1718 (Aeclanum); CIL X 3344 = LSA 1920 (Misenum); and AE 1972, 77 = LSA 2566 (Capua).



Fig. 9a: Base for a statue of Emperor Valens, later reused or re-erected by the praef. urbi Petronius Maximus, from the Forum Romanum in Rome. Front side (CIL VI 36956 = LSA 1372). Photo: Author (EDH F022820).

he pointed out, generated ridiculous situations (or. 31, 155–156). On the other hand, Pausanias (who also noticed this practice) does not seem to have been so bothered by this incoherence, even in the case of statues of gods, like Poseidon.<sup>98</sup>

As Dio and Pausanias make clear, the reuse of statues and their bases raised the issue of the relationship between the dedications and the physical context to which they referred. In general, inscriptions played an important role in the ways late antique men and women viewed and interpreted their surroundings.<sup>99</sup> They identified, gave meaning, and recorded the history and circumstances of the dedication of a monument. However, as the discussion above suggests, the relationship between an inscribed text and its immediate physical context was not necessarily direct. This is well illustrated by a statue base that is now to be seen in the central part of the Forum Romanum. The original dedication was erased and the base was reused

98 Paus. 1, 2, 4; cf. also 2, 9, 8 and 2, 17, 3 for his enquiries. Late antique ‘pastiche’ of this kind are quite well-known; for two examples from Aphrodisias and Aizanoi in Asia Minor (involving statues of Emperors and gods), see SMITH 2001 and MOSCH 1995; further U. GEHN, in this volume pp. 376 and 385.

99 See ROUECHÉ 2006 for a discussion of the different ways in which texts and images interacted in Late Antiquity.

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Fig. 9b: Base for a statue of Emperor Valens, later reused or re-erected by the praef. urbi Petronius Maximus, from the Forum Romanum in Rome. Left side (CIL VI 36956 = LSA 1373). Photo: Author (EDH F022823).

by the *vicarius urbis* Placidus Severus as part of a monument for the Emperor Valens in AD 364/65 (Fig. 9a).<sup>100</sup> Some 70 years later, the base was reemployed one more time (or re-erected) by the urban prefect Petronius Maximus, but his short inscription does not state the recipient of that honour (Fig. 9b).<sup>101</sup> The 4<sup>th</sup> century dedication was preserved, and the new inscription was carved on the left side of the base, which probably required the erasure of an *urceus* (a *patera* is preserved on the right side). The reuse of the piece by a 5<sup>th</sup>-century *praefectus urbi* is remarkable for openly incorporating an imperial monument in the most prestigious place in the city. Perhaps more puzzlingly, one surviving dowel hole and the mark of a foot suggest that the statue faced the side with no inscription at all, which means that someone reading the 4<sup>th</sup>-century dedication would see the side of the statue, whereas readers of the 5<sup>th</sup>-century inscription would see its back.<sup>102</sup> This is a confusing case,

100 CIL VI 36956a (cf. p. 4355) = LSA 1372. For Severus, see PLRE I Severus 28.

101 CIL VI 36956b = LSA 1373 (cf. PLRE II Maximus 22: Maximus was *praef. urbi* for a second time between AD 421 and 439): *Petronius Maximus / v(ir) c(larissimus) iterum praef(ectus) urb(i) / curavit.*

102 We cannot completely rule out the possibility that a plinth was added on top of the base, but there is no trace of any fittings for it.

but it suggests the possibility that there was something new in the relationship between a dedicatory inscription and the monument dedicated, between the text and the statue to which it was physically connected. Late antique inscriptions on statue bases should not always be seen as name tags or captions, but as interventions that added meanings to an object. In this case, the reuse introduced a new instance of social agency into the life of the monument, as the urban prefect took on the role of shaping a prestigious city-space.<sup>103</sup>

The practice of reuse could affect the relationship between an inscription and its meaning in another way, by the very physical characteristics of its support. The reuse of bases bearing some type of decoration is a good case in point. A relatively high number of monuments have at least part of their original decoration preserved – 62 bases, or 25% of those reused. In some cases, the reason for preserving the original decoration was simply because the image depicted suited the nature of the dedication. This can be seen in the (reused) base of a statue dedicated to the Emperor Constans by the *praefectus annonae*, L. Aurelius Avianius Symmachus,<sup>104</sup> now at the Museo Nazionale Romano at Palazzo Massimo. The right side of the base is decorated with a relief of a ship related to the service of supplying Rome, which fell under the responsibility of the awarder of the monument.<sup>105</sup> Text and image go hand in hand, as both the relief and the inscription celebrate “the public good fortune”, made possible by the “clemency and virtue” of the Emperor, under the supervision of the prefect. The appearance of religious motifs can be seen in the same light, as in the scenes of religious celebration on the base of a statue dedicated to a patron, or in the scenes of apotheosis on the base of an imperial monument.<sup>106</sup>

Considering the ambiguous status of ancient sculpture within Christian circles,<sup>107</sup> it is tempting to consider the presence of decorative elements of a religious nature as evidence for some type of pagan religious zeal. Bases decorated with *paterae* and *urcei*, instruments connected to the performance of traditional cults, or embellished with flowery motifs traditionally associated with religious monuments, were a common feature in honorific dedications. In fact, the use of altar-like monuments as statue bases seems to have been a fairly common practice in early

103 See the remarks of GELL 1998, 6.

104 PLRE I Symmachus 3.

105 CIL VI 36954b = LSA 1370: *Felicitatem publicam / clementia et virtute / cumlanti d(omino) n(ostro) Fl(avio) Iul(io) / Constanti pio felici / victori ac triumphatori Aug(usto) / Aurelius Avianius Symmachus v(ir) c(larissimus) / praef(ectus) annonae d(evotus) n(umini) m(aiestati) q(ue) eius*. This base seems to have had a rather complicated history: the inscription on the front side (B) is carved in place of an erased earlier text (AI); the first erection of the monument is dated through the dedicatory inscription on the left side (AII) to AD 284. The question remains whether the depiction of the ship on the right side belongs to the original state of the base or not; see the comments by G. ALFÖLDY and A. SCHEITHAUER in CIL VI p. 4355: “*imago utrum sit tituli solius posterioris (B) an una cum tit. antiquiore (A) exsculpta, nescimus; nihil obstat, quominus iam titulus antiquior (A) dedicatus sit a praefecto quodam annonae, qui forsitan imaginem quoque exsculpi iuberet*”.

106 Religious celebration: CIL VI 1696 (cf. p. 4736) = LSA 1401, from Rome. Apotheosis: CIL IX 5579 = LSA 1794, to Constantius I, from Septempeđa.

107 See, for example, the classic study of MANGO 1963.





Fig. 10a: Base for a statue of Anicius Auchenius Bassus, from Neapolis, Via del Cerriglio/church of Santa Maria la Nova. Front side (AE 1892, 143 = LSA 326).  
Photo: Author (EDH F021983).

imperial times. As readers of Pliny the Elder are well aware, Romans (and Greeks) postulated a conceptual continuity between statues of deities, heroes, and men.<sup>108</sup> The words *ara* and *βωμό*ς could refer to statue bases as well as to altars, and Jim COULTON has recently discussed examples of bases that incorporated religious decoration of the type we have been discussing here.<sup>109</sup> As he has noted, this only occurred in specific cases, where the religious component of the dedication was meant to be emphasized. In the case of late antique Italy, the (re)use of previously existing altars as bases, as well as the reuse of bases with religious decoration, can be observed in dedications honouring Emperors, aristocrats, or simply in statues moved from one place to another. These did not necessarily have a precise religious meaning, but we should not exclude the possibility that a particular base was chosen in order to emphasize the sacral overtones of a monument. The reemployment of what was probably a large altar decorated with religious motifs as the base for a

108 Plin. nat. 34, 15–16; see also STEWART 2003, 184–195.

109 See COULTON 2005. For the West, cf. ALFÖLDY 1984, 36.

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Fig. 10b: Base for a statue of Anicius Auchenius Bassus. from Neapolis, Via del Cerriglio/church of Santa Maria la Nova. Left side (AE 1892, 143 = LSA 326). Photo: Author (EDH F021989).

statue of a powerful pagan aristocrat such as Vulcarius Rufinus, consul in AD 347 and praetorian prefect in AD 365, was an efficient way of highlighting his position as *pontifex maior* (Fig. 4).<sup>110</sup> As one should expect, the reuse of these objects posed difficulties of its own, as the top of the altar had to be cut off, creating a flat surface where the statue could be affixed.

110 See above n. 72.

Religion was not everything, however. There is evidence to identify Anicius Auchenius Bassus, urban prefect in AD 382, as a Christian.<sup>111</sup> And yet, the *ordo* and *populus* of Neapolis (*Campania*) honoured him with a marble statue placed on top of a beautiful base, decorated with religious imagery (Fig. 10a–b).<sup>112</sup> The epigraphic field was framed by a moulding adorned with leaves, birds, and jugs; on the top, a band of *amorini* holding garlands is visible; and both sides were decorated with trees and birds in a nest. The base was discovered next to another base – un-inscribed and decorated with an *urceus* and a *patera* – and an altar. It is not clear, from the information recorded by Antonio SOGLIANO, whether this was part of a small monumental complex in honour of a powerful patron and Roman senator, or whether these were pieces stored in preparation for reuse but never displayed in public.<sup>113</sup> In either case, the Neapolitans chose a base that was clearly outstanding in its appearance. One did not have to be identified as a pagan in order to recognize the special distinction associated with this piece.

Rather than necessarily meaning a religious commitment, the decoration of a base should be seen as an element that enabled the statue-monument as a whole to perform its function as a mechanism of social distinction and honour.<sup>114</sup> The incorporation of a decorative motif, be it an *annona*-ship, an *urceus*, volutes, or winged victories, was yet another possibility offered by the reuse of statue bases. It was available to those commissioning and preparing these monuments, emphasizing particular aspects of the dedication, singling out the object, and generating new meanings for the dedicatory inscription.

## CONCLUSION

The reuse of statue bases was a distinctive characteristic of the epigraphic culture of late antique Italy. Although impossible to quantify, the evidence available suggests that it remained common practice in all of Italy, throughout this period. This was not something new: by the time of Diocletian, Romans had certainly been reusing their inscribed monuments for centuries. However, as our evidence suggests, from the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century onwards, this was done on a much larger scale, and in a much more systematic way. This new situation was the product of very specific circumstances, primarily due to the fact that urban and political developments had made an enormous amount of material available for reemployment.

Reuse should not be seen as an aspect of a decadent civilization, but as an element that helped to define a specific epigraphic culture as different from the one that preceded it. It is not just the appearance and content of inscriptions that changed,<sup>115</sup> but the ways in which they were produced and brought together. The availability

111 See PLRE I Bassus 11.

112 AE 1892, 143 = LSA 326.

113 For a description of the finds, see SOGLIANO 1892. See discussion in AE 1892, 143 = LSA 326.

114 As observed by GELL 1998, 74.

115 For some of these changes, see the papers by S. ORLANDI and L. GRIG, in this volume pp. 407–425 and 427–447.



and the will to take advantage of older material raised the issue of how and where to store these pieces, as well as how to manage them. Bases had to be adapted, posing a number of problems for the workshops, corporations, and artisans connected to the production and restoration of such monuments. Even the most successful adaptations, however, represented a limitation for the stonecutter: the layout of the inscription, the irregularity of the lines, and the size and style of the lettering were among the elements that required new solutions. Stonecutters were certainly used to these tasks, but the reuse of a base presented difficulties of its own.

More importantly, reuse could play a defining role in the ways in which honorific inscriptions were read and understood, generating new associations and adding new meanings to a monument. If, in certain respects, late antique epigraphy might have been characterized by the rise of what scholars call the *scriptura actuarial*, at least in some cases it was marked by a more complex and indirect relationship between a text and its physical support. Elements like an original moulding, an older inscription with a dating formula, or a religious motif could be either erased or preserved, according to the interests and intentions of the commissioners as well as of the personnel involved in these initiatives. As the evidence discussed in this paper shows, the widespread and recurrent practice of reusing statue bases for the dedication of statue-monuments might have posed new difficulties for stonecutters and city administrators. At the same time, it offered them new possibilities, which contributed to forming the specific image of the epigraphic culture in late antique Italy.

The practice of reusing statue bases certainly represented an issue for those expecting a monument (and the memory of the honorand) to last forever. Statues were removed or reworked, inscriptions were erased and replaced with new ones, and even the original appearance of the base could be changed. And yet, as the evidence available also suggests, the relationship between memory, inscription, and monument still played an important role in the epigraphic culture of late antique Italy. Old and new dedications could be combined (whether in the case of *damnatio memoriae* or not), the original decoration could be preserved, and traces of the earlier inscription could be left visible, as a way of emphasizing the addition of new memories to the reused piece. The decision to reuse a statue base was not just based on material considerations and pragmatism: it was the product of a new and distinctly late antique epigraphic culture.



## APPENDIX:

## Reused Statue Bases from Late Antique Italy (Outside Rome)

Reference	LSA	Prove-nance	Honorand	Awarder	Earlier decoration	Earlier inscription
CIL X 763	1857	Aequana	Governor	Unknown	×	
CIL IX 2641	1779	Aesernia	Governor	Local Association		×
CIL X 5803	2036	Aletrium	Emperor	Local Association		×
CIL X 5805	2569	Aletrium	Emperor	Local Association		×
InscrAq I 501	1233	Aquileia	Unstated	Governor		×
AE 1996, 685	1234	Aquileia	Unstated	Governor		×
CIL XIV 2165	324	Aricia	Imperial official	Local Association	×	
AE 1968, 122	1725	Beneventum	Local elite	Unknown	×	
AE 1968, 123	330	Beneventum	Imperial official	Local Association	×	
CIL IX 1580	1737	Beneventum	Unstated	Governor	×	×
CIL IX 1590	1742	Beneventum	Imperial official	Local Association		×
CIL X 4576a	1965	Caiatia	Emperor	Local Association		
CIL X 4577	1966	Caiatia	Emperor	Unknown		×
CIL IX 329	1693	Canusium	Emperor	Governor	×	×
AE 1957, 43	1694	Canusium	Governor	Local Association	×	×
CIL IX 339	1696	Canusium	Local elite	Local Association		
EphEp VIII 477	401	Capua	Imperial official	Unknown	×	
CIL X 3846	1935	Capua	Governor	Local Association	×	
AE 1972 76	1936	Capua	Imperial official	Local Association	×	
AE 1978, 114	1938	Capua	Unstated	Governor	×	
CIL X 3857	1940	Capua	Local elite	Local Association	×	

Reference	LSA	Prove- nance	Honorand	Awarder	Earlier decoration	Earlier inscription
AE 1972, 75a-b	1941	Capua	Governor	Local Association	×	×
AE 1972, 81	1959	Capua	Unstated	Governor		
CIL X 4724	1968	Capua	Local elite	Local Association	×	
CIL X 5200	2028	Casinum	Local elite	Local Association	×	
AE 1856, 259	2057	Catina	Deity	Governor		
CIL IX 5684	1795	Cingulum	Imperial official	Local Association	×	
CIL XI 2115	1623	Clusium	Local elite	Local Association	×	
SupplIt 1, Falerii Novi 13	1628	Falerii Novi	Private/ aristocrat	Unknown		
AE 1971, 79b	2042	Formia	Aristocrat	Unknown		×
AE 1969/1970, 116	2043	Formia	Governor	Unknown		
AE 1988, 573	1610	Forum Germa[---]	Emperor	Local association		
CIL X 4725	1969	Forum Popilii	Local elite	Local association	×	
CIL IX 687	1705	Herdoniae	Emperor	Governor		×
CIL X 5348	2029	Interamna Lirenas	Local elite	Local association		×
EphEp IX 722	1681	Labicum	Emperor	Local association		×
AE 1991, 514b	1774	Larinum	Governor	Local association		×
CIL XIV 2074	1669	Lavinium	Emperor	Local official		×
CIL XIV 2075	1670	Lavinium	Emperor	Local official		×
CIL XIV 2076	1672	Lavinium	Emperor	Local official		
CIL XIV 2078	1675	Lavinium	Local elite	Local association		
EphEp IX 592	1677	Lavinium	Emperor	Local association		
CIL X 7229	2063	Lilybaeum	Emperor	Governor		×
CIL IX 791	1715	Luceria	Emperor	Local association		×

Reference	LSA	Prove- nance	Honorand	Awarder	Earlier decoration	Earlier inscription
CIL XI 6956c	1617	Luna	Emperor	Local association		×
CIL XI 6957b	1618	Luna	Emperor	Local association		×
CIL XI 6957c	1619	Luna	Emperor	Local association		×
CIL XI 6958	1620	Luna	Governor	Local association		×
CIL X 6003	2037	Minturnae	Emperor	Local association		
CIL X 3344	1920	Misenum	Imperial official	Local association	×	×
AE 1892, 143	326	Neapolis	Governor	Local association	×	
AE 1894, 89	327	Neapolis	Governor	Local association	×	
CIL X 1704	1906	Neapolis	Unstated	Governor	×	
CIL X 1646	1867	Nola	Emperor	Local association		
CIL X 1251	1869	Nola	Local elite	Local association		
CIL X 1256	1872	Nola	Local elite	Local association	×	
CIL XI 4094	2682	Oriculum	Local elite	Local association		
CIL X 7975	2076	Olbia	Emperor	Governor		×
CIL XIV 128	1645	Ostia	Emperor	Local association	×	×
CIL XIV 139	1651	Ostia	Unstated	Imperial official		
CIL XIV 461	1654	Ostia	Emperor	<i>praefectus urbi</i>		×
CIL XIV 4445	1661	Ostia	Imperial official	Local association		
CIL XIV 4716	1662	Ostia	Unstated	Imperial official	×	×
CIL XIV 4721	329	Ostia	Unstated	Imperial official	×	
CIL XIV 4696	1667	Ostia	Unknown	Unknown		
AE 1988, 217	2574	Ostia	Emperor	Imperial official		

Reference	LSA	Prove- nance	Honorand	Awarder	Earlier decoration	Earlier inscription
CIL XIV 4717	2582	Ostia	Unstated	Imperial official		
ILPaestum, 110	1845	Paestum	Governor	Local association		
CIL XIV 140	1652	Portus	Unstated	Imperial official	×	
CIL XIV 4449	1660	Portus	Imperial official	Local association		×
CIL XIV 2919	1684	Praeneste	Governor	Local association		×
CIL XIV 2934	1686	Praeneste	Private/ aristocrat	Local association	×	
CIL X 6441	2052	Privernum	Governor	Local asso- ciation		×
CIL X 1683	1903	Puteoli	Unstated	Governor	×	×
CIL X 1656	331	Puteoli	Deity	Governor		×
CIL X 1695	332	Puteoli	Governor	Local association	×	×
CIL X 1697	335	Puteoli	Private/ aristocrat	Local association	×	
CIL X 1702	339	Puteoli	Governor	Local association	×	
CIL X 1813	1911	Puteoli	Local elite	Unknown	×	
	1912	Puteoli	Local elite	Local association	×	
	1913	Puteoli	Governor	local association		×
AE 1976, 141	45	Puteoli	Local elite	Local association		
CIL X 1815	1914	Puteoli	Local elite	Local association		×
CIL X 1819	1918	Puteoli	Unknown patron	Local association		×
AE 1983, 197	42	Puteoli	Unstated	Unknown		
AE 1969/1970, 108	1923	Puteoli	Emperor	Governor		
AE 1972, 79	1924	Puteoli	Imperial official	Local association	×	×
AE 1969/1970, 107	1922	Puteoli	Emperor	Governor		
CIL X 4	1796	Regium Iulium	Governor	Local association	×	



Reference	LSA	Prove- nance	Honorand	Awarder	Earlier decoration	Earlier inscription
AE 1916, 102	1808	Regium Iulium	Governor	Local association	×	
CIL X 517	1847	Salernum	Emperor	Governor	×	
CIL IX 5579	1794	Septem- peda	Emperor	Local association	×	×
CIL X 4752	1970	Suessa	Governor	Local association		
CIL X 677	1851	Surrentum	Emperor	Local association	×	
CIL X 678	1852	Surrentum	Emperor	Local association		×
CIL X 679	1853	Surrentum	Emperor	Unknown	×	
CIL X 682	1855	Surrentum	Local elite	Local association	×	
CIL X 6313	2047	Tarracina	Unstated	Governor		×
CIL V 529	1212	Tergeste	Emperor	Local association		×
CIL XIV 3594	1689	Tibur	Unstated	Governor		×
AE 1948, 178	2073	Turris Libisonis	Emperor	Governor		
CIL X 4859	328	Venafrum	Governor	Local association		

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