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INDEX

LUIGI ARATA	<i>Erbe leporine nella medicina greca antica</i>	9
CHRISTER BRUUN	<i>New Prosopographical Data Derived from Roman Lead Pipe Inscriptions</i>	19
ROBERT CONNAL	<i>Rational Mutiny in the Year of Four Emperors</i>	33
ULRIKE EHMIG & RUDOLF HAENSCH	<i>Harmonia mundi – Eine indigene Gottheit, griechische Mythologie und römische Übernahme</i>	53
MIKA KAJAVA	<i>wa-no (KN Ch 5724)</i>	59
TUA KORHONEN	<i>On Human-Animal Sexual Relationships in Aelian's Natura Animalium</i>	65
MIIKA KUHA	<i>Note intorno alla tradizione manoscritta di Chronica Venetiarum di Benintendi de' Ravagnani</i>	79
CHRISTIAN LAES	<i>Latin Inscriptions and the Life Course. Regio III (Bruttium and Lucania) as a Test Case</i>	95
MIKA RISSANEN	<i>The Hirpi Sorani and the Wolf Cults of Central Italy</i>	115
OLLI SALOMIES	<i>The Nomina of the Samnites. A Checklist</i>	137
FEDERICO SANTANGELO	<i>Sullanus and Sullani</i>	187
HEIKKI SOLIN	<i>Analecta epigraphica CCLXXII-CCLXXXV</i>	193
MARGARITA SOTIRIOU	<i>Bacchylides Behind His Metamorphoses: The Poetic Identity of a Lyric Narrator in the late 5th century BC</i>	239
	<i>De novis libris iudicia</i>	253
	<i>Index librorum in hoc volumine recensorum</i>	345
	<i>Libri nobis missi</i>	351
	<i>Index scriptorum</i>	361

NEW PROSOPOGRAPHICAL DATA DERIVED FROM ROMAN LEAD PIPE INSCRIPTIONS*

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The impressive volume charting ancient archaeological finds in the territory of Velletri near Rome by Manlio Lilli¹ contains some previously unknown data of prosopographic nature. In particular, the work presents three previously unpublished inscriptions on lead pipes (*fistulae*), which all merit further comment.

1. The woman [---]lia Calligone

The lead pipe inscription [---]LIAE CALLIGONES, of which a good photo is published by Lilli,² is previously unknown. The *fistula* on which the text appears is labelled "materiale sporadico", i.e. it lacks a securely recorded provenance, but the pipe apparently comes from a site near Via Appia Nuova called "La Pilara" and is now in private ownership ("conservata da un abitante della zona"). The piece of lead pipe is only 90 cm in length, the diameter is given as 0.25 m (which,

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¹ M. Lilli, *Velletri Carta Archeologica. Velletri – Le Castella (IGM 150 II SO – 158 IV NE)*, Roma 2008.

² Lilli (cit. n. 1), 538 no. 501.

if measured correctly, means that the pipe is of enormous size),³ while the letters are said to measure only 0.7 cm in height.⁴

The name *Calligone* is somewhat unusual, in that Heikki Solin's authoritative inventory shows only three occurrences of this Greek *cognomen* in Rome.⁵ In the index to *CIL X*, which includes Velletri, the name does not appear at all, nor is it present in *CIL XIV*, which covers the region around Rome. Two of the cases recorded by Solin are found in late-antique Christian inscriptions (*ICUR* 7480, 21706), while one seems to be earlier (*CIL VI* 14091 *Kalligoneti*). None of these women bear a family name, while our case from Velletri does so. The name is fragmentary and there are several ways in which to complete it, though for statistical reasons the extremely common *Iulia* would be the strongest candidate. As for dating this stamp, the style of lettering in *fistula* inscriptions must be considered even less of a reliable dating criterion than when interpreting inscriptions on stone. Yet the quality of the well-executed letters and their "square" appearance would seem to point to sometime in the late second or early third century.⁶

As always when dealing with a name on a lead pipe, a central concern is to determine the status and function of the person in question. In the context of inscribed *fistulae*, one may note that women's names are occasionally found on lead pipes from the Castelli Romani region (with surroundings), which is adjacent to Velletri. In particular, from Velletri itself there is the incomplete stamp [---] *Quartillae Egnatiae Taurinae* [---] (*Suppl. It.* 2, 52 no. 17 = *AE* 1984, 160), in which it may well be that two women are recorded.⁷ Altogether, in central Italy outside Rome and Ostia, female names in the genitive are found on *fistulae* in some twenty cases, including women of the imperial family twice.⁸ There is a

³ C. Bruun, *The Water Supply of Ancient Rome. A Study of Roman Imperial Administration*, Helsinki 1991, 138–9 on the maximum size of known lead pipes. I suspect a typographical error may have inflated the number as given.

⁴ Letters of such minuscule size are practically unheard of on lead pipes.

⁵ H. Solin, *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom. Ein Namenbuch*, Berlin – New York 2003², 95 (cf. p. 1445 for a possible fragmentary instance).

⁶ H. Dressel, "Fistulae urbanae et agri suburbani," *CIL XV* (1899) 906–13, esp. 912.

⁷ See M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier, *Prosopographie des femmes de l'ordre sénatorial (I^{er}–II^e siècles)* I, Lovanii 1987, 300 no. 340 *Egnatia Taurina*.

⁸ The references are (only one reference per stamp is given): *CIL XV* 7778, 7798, 7800, 7822, 7829–31, 7833, 7835, 7853, 7880; *AE* 1905, 208; 1984, 160; 1994, 341; 2006, 437; *Inscr. It.* IV.1 620; *Epigraphica* 24 (1962) 67; *Epigraphica* 73 (2011) 319; *NSA* 1931, 280 no. 110. I intend to present a full study of these instances in my "Women and Wealth in Roman Italy" (in progress).

clear pattern in these names, in that for the most part these women can clearly be identified as being of senatorial rank, bearing "good" traditional senatorial names (Crispina, Rufina, Agrippina, Priscilla, etc.). There are some exceptions, however, such as the stamp *Aeliae Aste* (CIL XV 7829) or *Claudiae Aug. l. Actes* (CIL XV 7835). In the latter inscription, we find both a Greek *cognomen* and the designation of imperial freedwoman (but Acte, Nero's mistress, was a woman of note⁹). One further Greek *cognomen* occurs in this group, in the stamp *Atriae Moscharus c. f.* (CIL XV 7831.1–2 = EE IX 732a–b). Atria Moscharo appears to have been of senatorial rank, since *c(larissima) f(emina)* is a more likely reading than *G(ai) f(ilia)*, the filiation typically being inserted between *gentilicium* and *cognomen*. Therefore we cannot rule out that Iulia Calligone was also a woman of means, and that in our stamp she appears in the capacity of owner of the conduit, regardless of her carrying a Greek *cognomen*. (The alternative would be that she was a manufacturer and that the complete stamp read [*ex off. Iu]liae Calligones.*)¹⁰

2. Ti. Claudius Liberalis, likely a *plumbarius*

Another discovery by Manlio Lilli at Velletri comes from a site called Colle de' Marmi along the Via Appia Antica. Among the items found on the site there is, in the possession of the "vecchio proprietario dell'abitazione", a piece of lead pipe, broken at both ends and 24 cm in length, with a diameter of 5.5 cm, which carries the inscription TICLLIBERA[---] (letter size 2.6 cm). The editor completed the reading of this inscription as *Ti. Cl(audi) Libera[li]s (centurionis) coh. V pr.*, with reference to CIL XV 7432 and to the historian Flavius Josephus, who mentions a centurion called Λιβεράλιος (BJ 6,262). This reconstruction is difficult to accept, for a variety of reasons.¹¹

The lead pipe stamp CIL XV 7432 is not a particularly good parallel, because that inscription is only known from a manuscript that gives the beginning of the text as CLLIBE, followed by a gap where the letters are missing, followed

⁹ On the literary sources and rich epigraphic evidence for Claudia Acte, see A. Mastino – P. Ruggeri, "Claudia Augusti liberta Acte: la liberta amata da Nerone ad Olbia," *Latomus* 54 (1995) 513–44.

¹⁰ The female gender of [---]lia Calligone by no means rules out that she might have been a *plumbaria*, a manufacturer of the lead pipe. For a list of female manufacturers, see Bruun (cit. n. 3), 343–4.

¹¹ Lilli (cit. n. 1), 684 nos. 810–2. The letters are tightly squeezed together, and the horizontal bars of L and E are very short.

by the name Restitutus, which must belong to the manufacturer, the *plumbarius*. In *CIL* XV, Dressel restored the first part of the stamp as *Cl(audiae) Libe[ralis]*, though why he thought that the name of a woman appeared in the stamp is not clear.¹² *Liberalis* is a common Latin *cognomen*, and although it can be borne by both men and women, it is much more common among men.¹³ The name is also the most common one beginning with *Libe[---]* (as can be seen in Kajanto's *Latin Cognomina*), which is why it makes sense to restore the *cognomen Liberalis* in both *CIL* XV 7432 and the new lead pipe stamp from Colle de' Marmi. It is, however, unwarranted to add anything more to the text, since there is nothing to indicate that Claudius Liberalis from the region of Velletri was a praetorian officer, or indeed a soldier at all.

If one were to look for homonymous persons, there are more likely candidates attested much closer to Velletri, although in no case is there a strong reason for identifying any of the other Claudii Liberales with the man mentioned on the *fistula*. From the territory of Tibur (Tivoli) some 30 km to the north as the crow flies (by road the distance is much greater) comes an inscription which mentions the Roman knight Ti. Claudius Ti. f. Qui(rina tribu) Liberalis Aebutianus, who takes credit for having held the offices of *praefectus fabrum*, *trib. mil. leg. III Cyrenaicae* and *decurialis Caesarum consulum praetorum* (*CIL* XIV 4239 = *ILS* 1013 = *Inscr. It.* IV.1 105). From Tibur derives also *CIL* XIV 3624 (= VI 3512), the epitaph of the sixteen-year old Ti. Claudius Liberalis, *praef. fabrum* and enjoying the right to an *equus publicus* (likely the brother of the former¹⁴). A better candidate may be a third man bearing the same name who appears in a brick stamp in the formula *ex fig(linis) Cl(audi) Lib(eralis) Sul(picianis)*, accompanied by the consular date for 123 CE (*CIL* XV 559). Many examples of the stamp were known to Dressel, the editor of the *CIL* entry, five of which had a secure prov-

¹² Thus also W. Eck, "Die *fistulae aquariae* der Stadt Rom. Zum Einfluß des sozialen Status auf administratives Handeln", in Idem, *Die Verwaltung des Römischen Reiches in der Hohen Kaiserzeit. Ausgewählte und erweiterte Beiträge* 2, Basel – Berlin 1998, 264 (first publ. 1982). The first lines in *CIL* X 5872 from Ferentinum read *D. M. Claudiae Liberalis ...*, but there is no reason why this woman should be the person mentioned in the lead pipe inscription from Rome.

¹³ I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, Helsinki 1965, 256: during the imperial period, three men of senatorial status are known to have carried the name; among commoners, 213 men and 19 women.

¹⁴ Thus H. Dessau, *ad CIL* XIV 4239, who also, *ibid.*, suggests that these men were somehow related to Aebutius Liberalis, to whom Seneca dedicated his *De beneficiis*.

enance. Four were from Rome, while the fifth was from the *ager Veliternus* (CIL XV 559.4), i.e. the same area as our *fistula*.¹⁵

One may also note that the fragmentary new stamp does not directly allow us to determine the function in which Ti. Claudius Libera[*lis*] appears on the *fistula*, since the grammatical case in which the name stands cannot be determined. As is well known, the simple genitive mostly, although not always,¹⁶ identifies the owner of the conduit and, hence, the owner of the property supplied by the conduit. The nominative case can very occasionally fulfill the same function,¹⁷ but normally it indicates the *plumbarius* and is followed by the term *fecit* or some shortened version of this verb.¹⁸ As it happens, a verb would have been quite a useful component in this stamp, since the nominative and the genitive of *Liberalis* have the same form. The case of the *gentilicium Claudius* is different; had it been written out in full one would immediately be able to distinguish between nominative and genitive. As matters stand now, only a verb at the end of the stamp could have made the situation clear, and, assuming that a *fistula* stamp served a practical function, one would therefore expect *fecit*, *fec.* or simply *f.* to have completed the stamp. This being the case, one cannot avoid the suspicion that Ti. Claudius Liberalis was in fact a *plumbarius* and not the owner of the lead conduit. There is nothing to preclude this interpretation.¹⁹ Judging from the photo of the inscribed *fistula* (which does not include a centimetre scale which would directly allow the viewer to determine the length of the fragmentary stamp), the preserved part of the stamp measures some 16.5 cm. If the stamp originally read *TiCILiberalis fec.*, this would bring the total length to about one Roman foot (29.6 cm), which is a very common size for an inscription on a *fistula*.²⁰ Thus, until evidence to the

¹⁵ I am not aware of any discussion of this Claudius Liberalis by experts on Roman brick stamps.

¹⁶ Bruun (cit. n. 3), 72–76, 81–95; C. Bruun, "Velia, Quirinale, Pincio: note su proprietari di *domus* e su *plumbarii*," *Arctos* 37 (2003) 27–48, esp. 36–43.

¹⁷ Among the *fistulae* discovered at Rome, see, for instance, CIL XV 7398 α , 7424 α and γ , 7453 γ , 7487, 7561.

¹⁸ In addition, the term *offinator*, or an abbreviation thereof, occasionally identifies a manufacturer.

¹⁹ There would definitely have been space to include the verb, possibly abbreviated to just the letter F, at the end of the stamp. Furthermore, in lead pipe stamps the use of the *praenomen* is common both among those individuals whose name appears in the genitive and who thus are considered owners, and among the *plumbarii*. For *plumbarii* bearing a *praenomen*, see, e.g., CIL XV 7597, 7598, 7609, 7610, 7616, 7617, 7618, 7626, 7627.

²⁰ The suggested text would add seven letters to the nine that can be read (almost nothing

contrary surfaces, the most likely interpretation is that at Velletri we are dealing with a *plumbarius* called Ti. Claudius Liberalis. The homonymous person on the *fistula* found in Rome (*CIL* XV 7432) is probably a different person, since these *tria nomina* are quite common, as we have seen, and nothing new can be said about the function in which he appears on the Roman lead pipe.

3. The senator Asellius Rufus Aemilianus

The most significant new inscription presented by Lilli is mentioned in a document from 1560, in the *Liber Consilare* of Velletri. According to this local record, "in loco vulgo dicto la Pilara della Fagiola" many lead pipes were found, of which some carried the inscription B C ASELLI RVFI AEMILIANI.²¹

Numerous inscribed Roman lead pipes were found and recorded in earlier centuries,²² and surviving objects or corroborating information have shown that such early reports are quite often trustworthy. This is likely the case here too, for it seems that we are dealing with a previously known person, although the lead pipe inscription interestingly enough enables us to complete his name. Asellius Rufus Aemilianus is the only person among those revealed by these new *fistula* stamps from Velletri who is likely to be a senator, a conclusion which is based on his onomastic formula. Lilli did not dwell further upon this discovery, but a consultation of *PIR*² turns up the entry A 1211, under which is registered a senator called Asellius Aemilianus. References to him occur in Cassius Dio, Herodian, and the *Historia Augusta*, as well as in a few epigraphic and numismatic sources. He must have been suffect consul in the period 177/180 CE, for he is known to have been *leg. Aug. pr. pr. Syriae* c. 187–190 (*IGR* III 1262) and *procos. Asiae* in 192/193 (Herod. 3,2,2–3, who simply calls him Αἰμιλιανός).²³

of the A is preserved). That stamps of c. 1 *pes* in length were quite frequent is shown in my "Uniformità e prassi quotidiana nella manifattura degli stampi per le fistule plumbee nella zona di Roma e a Ostia", *Boll. Mon. Mus. Gall. Pont.* (forthcoming).

²¹ Lilli (cit. n. 1), 537 no. 498.

²² One may note that about one third of the entries in *CIL* XV 7235–7734, where Dressel published the *fistula* stamps from Rome known around the year 1900, depends on a manuscript tradition; see further my forthcoming Introduction to the edition of the lead pipe stamps in the Vatican Museum.

²³ G. Alföldy, *Konsulat und Senatorenstand unter den Antoninen. Prosopographische Untersuchungen zur senatorischen Führungsschicht*, Bonn 1977, 190–1, suggested that the consulship belong in 177, considering that the proconsulship is dated to 192/193. E. Dąbrowa,

As Edward Dąbrowa (n. 23) has remarked, it is to be expected that Asellius held some office(s) in the 180s CE, after the consulship and before the governorship of Syria. There is numismatic evidence that he was *leg. Aug. pr. pr. Thraciae*, but this task of praetorian rank necessarily dates to before the consulship; in this context he appears as Ἀσέλλιος Αἰμιλιανός.²⁴

Assuming that the lead pipe inscription from Velletri concerns the same man,²⁵ the new information about his name now adds some new possibilities to our information about the career of Asellius Aemilianus. *PIR*² S 951 (from 2006) registers a certain [---]ellius Rufus, who was governor in Moesia Inferior at some point during the period 184/192 (*AE* 1987, 893). The common view among scholars today is that the name should be restored as [Su]ellius Rufus and that the man belonged to a well-known senatorial family from Beneventum in Italy. Some time ago, Giuseppe Camodeca suggested that the governor not be identified with the *clarissimus iuuenis* Cn. Suellius Rufus Marcianus known from another inscription (*AE* 1986, 155 from Puteoli; see *PIR*² S 953). According to Camodeca, the *iuuenis* Cn. Suellius Rufus Marcianus is identical with a man who appears as Suellius Marcianus and *leg. Aug. pr. pr.* in Thrace under Commodus, c. 186 CE (later, in 192 CE, he is thought to have been *curator operum publicorum* in Rome; see *PIR*² S 950).²⁶ In Camodeca's view the governor of Moesia Inferior called [---]ellius Rufus is the father of the *iuuenis* and indeed ought to have been called Cn. Suellius Rufus (in order to explain the *cognomen* Rufus born by the young man).²⁷

The Governors of Roman Syria from Augustus to Septimius Severus (Antiquitas I: 45), Bonn 1998, 125–7, prefers to date his consulship to c. 179/180, and places him in Syria c. 187 to c. 190. Briefly mentioned in P. Leunissen, *Konsuln und Konsulare in der Zeit von Commodus bis Severus Alexander (180–235 n. Chr.)*, Amsterdam 1989, 222, 262; F. Hurlet, *Le proconsul et le prince d'Auguste à Diocletien*, Pessac 2006, 74.

²⁴ Thus *PIR*² A 1211. Cf. now conveniently W. Leschhorn, *Lexikon der Aufschriften auf griechischen Münzen II. Ethnika und 'Beamtennamen'* (Österr. Akad. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl., Denkschr. 383), Wien 2009, 375.

²⁵ In principle, one can obviously not exclude that Asellius Rufus Aemilianus cited on the *fistula* is different from the Asellius Aemilianus who is known from literary, epigraphic and numismatic sources.

²⁶ G. Camodeca, "Quattro carriere senatorie del II e III secolo", *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio* I, Roma 1982, 529–45, esp. 536–9. One may note that *PIR*² S 950 disagrees somewhat about the date for the governorship of Thrace (dating it between 180 and 183), and harbours some doubts as to whether the governor and later *curator operum publicorum* is identical with the *clarissimus iuuenis*; on this, see further M. Horster, "Statthalter von Thrakien unter Commodus", *ZPE* 147 (2004) 247–58, esp. 256–7.

²⁷ Camodeca (cit. n. 26), 538–9.

To the discussion of this family tree and the somewhat hypothetical attributions of government offices can now, thanks to the *fistula* inscription, be added the putative senator Asellius Rufus Aemilianus. From a purely onomastic point of view, it is possible that the governor of Moesia Inferior instead was called [As]jellius Rufus and that it was our man who in the period 184/187 CE was *leg. Aug. pr. pr.* in that province, before moving on to Syria. This identification would be in accord with a certain administrative pattern which meant that the governorship of Moesia Inferior usually came earlier in a senator's career than that of Syria, which, with its three legions, was one of the most important provinces.²⁸

Finally some thought might be devoted to the two letters B and C on the lead pipe, which in the manuscript tradition precede *Aselli Rufi Aemiliani*, apparently with some space between them. While the letter B currently defies explanation,²⁹ the most natural interpretation is to take the letter C as standing for the *praenomen* *Gaius*, although there is nothing in particular that supports this suggestion. The senatorial family of the Asellii is otherwise very poorly known. The reference to a senator called Asellius Claudianus, who according to the *Historia Augusta* (*Sept. Sev.* 13,1) fell victim to the purges of Septimius Severus in the 190s CE, has led to the suggestion that we may here be dealing with a close relative, perhaps a brother, of Asellius Aemilianus. For various reasons this piece of information is problematic,³⁰ and in any case the *praenomen* of Asellius Claudianus remains unknown.

Thus, we are entirely dependent on onomastic evidence provided by common Asellii. Bearers of this *gentilicium* are absent from *CIL* XIV, while two Asel-

²⁸ Thus, for instance, A. R. Birley, *The Fasti of Roman Britain*, Oxford 1981, 28–9.

²⁹ Lead pipe stamps sometimes contain symbols or abbreviations, but they are normally placed after the name. It is impossible to read *[su]b c(ura)*, since the term *cura* is never abbreviated; *cura* is written out in full in some seventy instances on lead pipe stamps in *CIL* XV 7235–7913, *passim*. The reading *[su]b C. Aselli Rufi Aemiliani* is evidently impossible because the name stands in the genitive. A few cases of *sub* + ablative on *instrumentum domesticum* are known (see the two lead pipe stamps *CIL* XV 7271 and *AE* 1995, 249b, and *CIL* XV 7150, a bronze plaque).

³⁰ Most recently on the issue see D. Okon, *Septimius Severus et senatores: Septimius Severus' Personal Policy towards Senators in the Light of Prosopographic Research (193–211 A.D.)*, Szczecin 2012, 51–2. The discovery, in the 1970s, of a Roman senator called Sellius Clodianus (*AE* 1974, 11 = *CIL* VI 41261) cast suspicion on the presence of "Asellius Claudianus" in the list of proscribed senators given by the *Historia Augusta*; on the discussion, see G. Alföldy, *Die Krise des Römischen Reiches* (HABES 5), Stuttgart 1989, 164–78; C. Bruun, "Die *Historia Augusta*, die Proskriptionen des Severus und die *curatores operum publicorum*", *Arctos* 24 (1990) 5–14, esp. 6–9.

lii are found in *CIL* X (both from Puteoli) and eight in Rome (in *CIL* VI). Among these individuals, *Lucius* is the overwhelmingly most common *praenomen* with three attestations at Puteoli and two at Rome; in addition, *Aulus* appears once.³¹ Some scholars have considered it possible that the Asellii originated from North Africa;³² in *CIL* VIII, among a handful of bearers of this *gentilicium*, the *praenomen Gaius* is found once (26723), but so is *Quintus* (8985) and *Publius* (1678).

All in all, I see no reason for not including this *fistula* stamp among the genuine ones, which also means that Asellius Rufus Aemilianus can be included among the landowners of the region, likely at the turn of the second century CE.

4. *Furius Placidus vir clarissimus*, from Italy to France

In a recent publication, a team of three French archaeologists discuss the water supply of the Roman town of Durocortorum (Reims). The only epigraphic evidence used in the study is the stamp on a *fistula* which reads FVRI PLACIDI V C and is preserved in the local Musée Saint-Remi. Quite rightly the three scholars conclude that the inscription refers to a *v(ir) c(larissimus)*, a senator called Furius Placidus.³³ Did he own a building in Durocortorum which benefited from piped water? The authors have some doubts in this regard, and with reason, as will be shown, because the only thing that is known about the lead pipe is that it was acquired by the museum "lors d'un vente publique à l'hotel Drouot à Paris".³⁴

Although lead pipes at Durocortum were not unknown in Roman times (the authors, *ibid.*, refer to one or two anepigraphic pieces found *in situ*), it seems highly unlikely that the *fistula* carrying the stamp of Furius Placidus could be of local origin. In the early 1890s, a discovery was made in Campania, in the region of the Bay of Naples, reportedly near Pompeii, of an inscribed *fistula* carrying the stamp *Furi Placidi v. [c.]*.³⁵ One notes that the Italian stamp as reported did not

³¹ For Rome, see *CIL* VI 6.1. *CIL* X 2109 gives the two Lucii Asellii from Puteoli. One of them cites a third L. Asellius as his patron.

³² Leunissen (cit. n. 23), 82 n. 25.

³³ M. Arduin – A. Balmelle – Y. Rabasté, "L'eau à Durocortorum (Reims) à travers les aménagements hydrauliques", in C. Abadie-Reynal – S. Provost – P. Vipard (eds.), *Les réseaux d'eau courante dans l'antiquité* (Actes Coll. Nancy 2009), Rennes 2011, 147–58, esp. 156, the museum inventory no. is 981.4.1. The name is somewhat mistakenly given as Furius Placidius.

³⁴ See the previous note.

³⁵ See *Atti Comm. Terra di lavoro Caserta* 24 (1893) 272 = *NSc* 1895, 326.

preserve the complete "Rangzeichen" *vir clarissimus*, but one might be inclined to ascribe this difference to a superficial study of a poorly preserved object. The situation is, however, somewhat more complicated. In fact, in the first reports the stamp was read as *Euri Placidius*(!).³⁶ The contribution in the *Notizie degli Scavi* from 1895 further stated that the lead pipe was deposited in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale at Naples, and there Giuseppe Camodeca was able to study it some time ago, after which the correct reading given above could be established.³⁷

In the museum at Reims, we are dealing with "deux fragments, de 47 et 25 cm de long(eure) pour 8 cm de large(sse), appartenant à la meme conduite",³⁸ while measurements of the lead pipe in the Naples museum are not currently available. Obviously the *fistula* which was the subject of the original report cannot have ended up in Reims. The same Italian site may, however, have yielded several pieces of lead piping, one of which carried a complete stamp. One may also note that Camodeca reported that the records of the Naples museum registered "un altro esemplare frammentario", which he could no longer find.³⁹

On the whole, it is not surprising that a *fistula* from Campania should have ended up at an auction in Paris. In the past, lead pipes were paid little attention by excavators and museum staff, even when they carried inscriptions. It is well known that there has been a tendency for lead pipes to disappear even after having been placed in a museum storage,⁴⁰ and some inscribed pieces have ended

³⁶ See the previous note.

³⁷ G. Camodeca, "Sulle proprietà senatorie in Campania con particolare riguardo al periodo da Augusto al III secolo", *CCG* 12 (2005) 121–37, esp. 135 n. 75, who also suggested that the *fistula* may in fact have its origin in the Phlegrean region, near modern Pozzuoli. Cf. G. Camodeca, "Ricerche su Puteoli tardoromana (fine III – IV secolo)", *Puteoli* 4–5 (1980–81) 59–128, esp. 104 (before his carrying out the autopsy). The *fistula* stamp was registered in C. Bruun, "*Instrumentum domesticum* e storia romana: Le fistule iscritte della Campania", in L. Chioffi (ed.), *Il Mediterraneo e la Storia. Epigrafia e archeologia in Campania: letture storiche*, Napoli 2010, 145–83, esp. 150.

³⁸ Arduin – Balmelle – Rabasté (cit. n. 31), 156.

³⁹ Camodeca 2005 (cit. n. 37), 135 n. 75.

⁴⁰ The publisher of *CIL* XV, Heinrich Dressel, in at least one instance (*ad CIL* XV 7484) complained ("frustra quaesivi") that some inscribed lead pipes from Rome could no longer be found in the storage where they had been placed. From a somewhat later period, one notices that a series of inscribed *fistulae* discovered in the region of Velletri in the early 1920s and deposited in the local museum could not be found during an inventory some sixty years later, see H. Solin – R. Volpe, "Regio I. Latium et Campania. Velitrae", *Supplementa Italica* 2, Roma 1983, 11–94, esp. 52–4 nos. 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 22.

up in collections outside Italy. Specifically, a number of Campanian *fistulae*, unearthed at the turn of the 20th century, were brought to the Kelsey Museum in Ann Arbor, Michigan,⁴¹ while other inscribed *fistulae*, some of which certainly had been discovered in Campania, can be found in the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto.⁴² The text discussed in the next section represents another example of this dispersal of Italian inscribed lead pipes.

Against this background, it is highly likely that the inscribed *fistula* now in the Musée Saint-Remi at Reims is of Campanian origin. There is no solid evidence for ownership of property by Furius Placidus in Durocortorum.

As for the Furius Placidus mentioned in the *fistula* from Campania, he would seem to be identical with M. Maecius Memmius Furius Baburius Caecilianus Placidus *c. v.*, who is honoured by the *regio Palatina* of Puteoli in *CIL X 1700* (= *ILS 1231*).⁴³ Among the administrative offices mentioned in this inscription is that of *praef. annonae sacrae urbis*, *praef. praetorio* and *consul ordinarius* (343 CE), while later, in 346/47 CE, he held the position of *praefectus urbis Romae*.⁴⁴

5. A new *plumbarius* from Rome, via Gothenburg⁴⁵

In the spring of 1909, a pioneering initiative by Vilhelm Lundström, Professor of Latin at Göteborgs Högskola (the precursor to today's Göteborgs Universitet) in Gothenburg, Sweden, brought a group of eight students, all with a recent degree in Classical Philology, to Rome. As can be seen in the report published at the conclusion of almost two months in Rome, the program was demanding and re-

⁴¹ See S. L. Tuck, *Latin Inscriptions in the Kelsey Museum: The Dennison and De Criscio Collections*, Ann Arbor 2005, 4–5 (background), 165–70 nos. 272–84 (lead pipes).

⁴² Cited in Bruun (cit. n. 37), 171.

⁴³ See Camodeca 1980–81 (cit. n. 37), 102–4, and *PLRE I*, Placidus no. 2, an entry which does not cite the *fistula* stamp, nor does the *PLRE* attribute it to anybody else. Furius Placidus does not have an entry in the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*.

⁴⁴ For an extensive discussion of the sources, see A. Chastagnol, *Les fastes de la préfecture de Rome au Bas-Empire*, Paris 1962, 125–8. On Furius Placidus' family relations, see in more detail C. Settepani, *Continuité gentilice et continuité familiale dans les familles sénatoriales romaines à l'époque impériale*, Oxford 2000, 131, 140, 144.

⁴⁵ I wish to thank the Swedish participants in the "Inscripta" conference at the Swedish Institute in Rome in April 2010, organized by Anna Blennow (University of Gothenburg), who alerted me to the finds made by the team of V. Lundström, as well as the Firestone Library in Princeton where I was able to consult the series in which the texts were published.

warding.⁴⁶ At the time, it was possible to acquire ancient artifacts in Rome, which the participants did. The same issue of *Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift* (the annual report of the college) which reported on the course program also published short studies on twenty-three Latin inscriptions and on a number of objects belonging to the category of *instrumentum domesticum*, which had been brought back from Rome. Among these everyday objects (lamps, Arretine pottery, two brick stamps) also one inscribed lead pipe was presented.⁴⁷ It is summarily described ("two joining pieces of a lead pipe"), and the text is given as:

IVLIVS FELIX FECIT

This *plumbarius* can be added to the comparatively large number of Iulii who are found acting as lead pipe manufacturers in Rome and Central Italy, seven of them found in Rome, four at Ostia, and three from the wider area surrounding the capital.⁴⁸

It is worth noting that a *plumbarius* C. Iulius Felix, who bears an identical combination of *gentilicium* + *cognomen*, is previously known from an inscription on a *fistula* which reportedly was found at Velletri.⁴⁹ This discovery is reported in a letter from the 1880s and the current whereabouts of the lead pipe are unknown; it was described as being "di molta ertezza ed ha il diametro nel suo vuoto di quasi mezzo palmo romano".⁵⁰ The *duo nomina* Iulius Felix are extremely common, which is why it must remain uncertain whether we are dealing with the same *plumbarius* in these two cases. Assuming that the report from the 1880s accurately reported the find, we can in any case exclude the possibility that it is the lead pipe from Velletri which ended up being sold to Gothenburg some two decades later. Since we lack a more detailed physical description of the *fistula* brought to Sweden, the report that the find from Velletri had a diameter of half a "palmo romano" or ca 12 cm (which is a considerable size) does not help to determine whether the two finds might have belonged to the same conduit. It

⁴⁶ V. Lundström, "Göteborgs Högskolas kurs i Rom 1909. Redogörelse", *Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift* 16 (1910) v–xxi.

⁴⁷ See H. Armini, "Nyfunnen stämpel på blyrör", *Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift* 16 (1910) 113–4.

⁴⁸ Bruun (cit. n. 3), 315, 325, 332.

⁴⁹ Published in *Suppl. It.* 2, 53 no. 21; registered in Bruun (cit. n. 3), 332 and C. Bruun, "*Cognomina plumbariorum*", *Epigraphica* 72 (2010) 297–331, esp. 311.

⁵⁰ See H. Solin in Solin – Volpe (cit. n. 40), 53 no. 21.

would appear that the lead pipe in Gothenburg has been lost; at least it was not included when in 1976 a detailed study of all the Latin inscriptions at the Institute of Classical Studies in Gothenburg was published, at which time the other texts published by Vilhelm Lundström's pupils in *Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift* from 1910 were republished.⁵¹

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⁵¹ See B. Mattsson, "Latin Inscriptions at the Institute of Classical Studies in Göteborg", *Opusc. Rom.* 11 (1976) 105–22. Nor is our text cited in B. E. Thomasson – M. Pavese, *A Survey of Greek and Latin Inscriptions on Stone in Swedish Collections*, Stockholm 1997, where it could not have found place anyway, being a text on a lead pipe.