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SUPPLEMENTARY PAPERS
OF THE
AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES IN ROME
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SUPPLEMENTARY PAPERS

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BY

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PREFATORY NOTE

THE number of Papers of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome which had accumulated since the publication of Volume I was so great that the Committee on Publication was obliged to make a selection of these to be included in Volume II. Of the remainder some of the shorter papers were published in the *American Journal of Archaeology* and elsewhere, while some were reserved for later volumes of the Supplementary Papers.

The papers published in the journals are as follows, including a few which were published by members of the School without being submitted to the Committee in charge of Volume II:

- C. D. CURTIS, Coins from Asia Minor, *A.J.A.* XI (1907), pp. 194-195.
- A. M. HARMON, "Ignis a romphaea," *Rh. Mus.* LXII (1906), pp. 159 ff.
- C. R. MOREY, Inscriptions from Rome, *A.J.A.* X (1906), pp. 427-428.
- A. W. VAN BUREN, Notes on Dr. D. M. Robinson's *Inscriptions from Sinope*, *A.J.A.* X (1906), pp. 295-299.
- A Bronze Statuette from Norba, *A.J.A.* X (1906), pp. 415-419.
- The Temples at Ostia, *A.J.A.* XI (1907), pp. 55-56.
- The Temples of Castor and of Concord in the Roman Forum, *Class. Rev.* XX (1906), pp. 77-84.
- On the Temples of Castor and of Concord in the Roman Forum, *B. Ph. W.*, Jan. 27, 1906.
- On the Temples of Castor and of Concord, *Class. Rev.* XX (1906), p. 184.
- An Inscription of the Charioteer Menander, *A.J.A.* XI (1907), pp. 179-181.
- Note on Pliny, *Epp.* III. 6, IX. 39, *Class. Rev.* XIX (1905), pp. 446-447.

For previous publications of the Papers of the School see Prefatory Note to Volume I (1905).

The final decision in matters of detail has been left to the authors, who are therefore responsible for the opinions expressed in their papers. This is especially the case with the article on the Palimpsest of Cicero, *De Re Publica*, since the author only has had access to the original manuscript.

The cost of publication of this Volume has been met by a grant of three thousand dollars from the Carnegie Institution. For this generous assistance the Managing Committee of the School desires to express its great obligations.

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THE ADVANCEMENT OF OFFICERS IN THE ROMAN ARMY

AN interest in the consideration of the advancement of officers in the Roman army was first aroused by the discovery, in 1820, on the Caelian Hill in Rome, of two stone pedestals, each inscribed with the names of about a thousand soldiers of *Cohors V vigilum*. One of the two bases was erected in 210 A.D.; the dedication of the other was a few years earlier. On the later stone the names of the *principales* or non-commissioned officers are grouped at the head of the lists of the centuries to which they belong in the order of their rank. Besides, many individuals whose names appear on the earlier dedication among the private soldiers are indicated on the later pedestal as *principales*. Many of those, moreover, who are given as non-commissioned officers on the earlier stone are found occupying more advanced positions on the later one. Thus it has been possible to determine the relative importance of the different positions held by the non-commissioned officers in the *vigiles* and the successive steps in their advancement.¹

Cauer, in his study of the *principales* in the Roman army, has collected all the epigraphic material throwing light upon the advancement of the officials included in his work.² But his investigation is limited to the legions and the troops forming the garrison of Rome. *Principalis*, a term which I have translated roughly as non-commissioned officer, indicated any person ranking between the private soldiers and the centurions.

As regards the advancement to higher ranks, several investigations have appeared, dealing chiefly with the promotions from the post of *primus pilus*, or ranking centurion, to the prefectures and tribunates, the positions generally identified with the military service of members of the equestrian class.³

In the present paper I have extended the investigation of Cauer as regards advancement to all the official positions in the Roman army of every branch of the service, adding, of course, to his results in the narrower field, the evidence furnished by the inscriptions which have come to light since the appearance of his article. In the Table of Promotions will be found tabulated all the epigraphic evidence for the

¹ The results of the evidence thus furnished will be found tabulated in O. Kellermann, *Vigilum Rom. Latercula duo Coelimontana*, Rome, 1837; Wilmanns, *Exempla Inscriptionum Latinarum*, I, p. 483; Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, II, pp. 557-559. The two inscriptions appear as *C.I.L.* VI, 1057 and 1058.

² Cauer, *De Muneribus Militaribus Centurionatu Inferioribus*, *E.E.* IV, pp. 355-481. Cauer's results regarding the advancement will be found in Marquardt, *op. cit.* II, pp. 559 and 560.

³ I have, in the Table and Plan, distinguished the primipilate from the other grades of the legionary centurionate. This is required for convenience of discussion. The primipilate is not to be considered as in any way distinct in fact. The *princeps* and *hastatus*, second and third centurions of the legion, will be found, in the Table, under *centurio*.

advancement of officers in the Roman army. On the basis of this, I have prepared the Plan, indicating the relative rank of officers in the Roman army. The present paper is essentially an index to the inscriptional evidence for the advancement of Roman officers. The vast majority of the inscriptions indicated in the Table are those from which the career of an officer is inferred from a list of positions mentioned in the ascending or descending order. Only epigraphic material is admitted to this collection of evidence. The literary references which might be compared with the inscriptions are interesting but usually of little importance. They will be found in the works cited in the notes. The collection includes only positions of a purely military character. The *legati Augusti pro praetore* were governors of provinces as well as commanders of armies, and are therefore excluded. In all cases, moreover, offices of a civil character intervened between the lower military positions occupied by men of senatorial rank and the command of legions and provinces. For the same reasons the higher prefectures find no place in the discussion. All extraordinary commands and temporary commissions are omitted. Thus, in the second century and first part of the third, centurions were detailed from their legions and assigned to *numeri* as their *praepositi* or commanders.¹ In the same way, centurions and decurions were entrusted with the command of certain of the cohorts and *alae* of the auxiliary troops.² In both these cases there is no real promotion. The man performs the duties of commander of an auxiliary corps, but his rank remains that of centurion. When subsequently he is advanced, his promotion is really from the centurionate.

Legionary centurions served on the staff of the provincial governors, *legati Augusti pro praetore*, sometimes in charge of the *stratores*, sometimes as drill-masters of the *equites singulares* assigned to the governor, again as commanders of these same picked horsemen.³ The position of these centurions in the presence of the *legatus* had, no doubt, an important influence on their subsequent advancement by securing his favor. They retained, for the time being, however, their rank as centurions of the legion and are so classed in this paper. In most cases the inscriptions indicate the connection with the legion.⁴ The appointment of a legionary centurion to serve on the staff of his superior commander is not, therefore, to be considered as an advancement in rank.

The function of the *praefecti fabrum* in the imperial period is obscure. Their

¹ *C.I.L.* VIII, 2494; VIII, 18007, 18008; Cagnat, *L'Année Épigraphique*, R.A. XXVI (1895), no. 20, p. 275. The same practice was sometimes followed in the case of the decurions in auxiliary corps: *C.I.L.* VIII, 9745.

² *C.I.L.* III, 1918, 8739, 11936, 14370²; VII, 371; VIII, 10949, 21560; Brambach, *C. I. Rh.* 1583; Cagnat, *L'Année Épigraphique*, R.A. XIII (1889), no. 54; XVII (1891), no. 5.

³ Cf. von Domaszewski, *Die Religion des römischen Heeres*, pp. 30-32.

⁴ *C.I.L.* II, 4114, 4083 (. . . *c(enturio) legionis (septimae) G(eminae) Fel(icis) praep(ositus) simul et camp(idoctor)*), cf. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, I, p. 483, no. 2416; III, 7904 (Dessau, *op. cit.* p. 483, no. 2417), 10360 (. . . *c(uram) a(gente) Aur(elio) Victorino c(enturione) leg(ionis) (secundae) Ad(iutricis)* . . .); VIII, 2749; Cagnat, *L'Année Épigraphique*, R.A. XVIII (1891), no. 146 (. . . *c(enturio) leg(ionis) (tricesimae) Ulp(iae) curam agens stratorum et peditum singularium co(n)s(ularis)* . . .). At a later period these departments of the staff may have been organized in such a way that the centurions were permanently detached from their legions. Thus we may have in *C.I.L.* VIII, 7050. . . . *Felix primi(pi)laris leg(ionis) (tertia) Cyrenicae (st)rator in Arabiae* . . ., an advancement from *strator (centurio stratorum?)* to *primus pilus*.

duties were probably rather civil than military. They have been excluded from the discussion. When the office of *praefectus fabrum*, or any extraordinary or temporary command intervenes in a series of military commands between two regular, purely military positions, the latter are regarded as consecutive steps in advancement.

All positions in the fleet are excluded from consideration except the promotion from navarch, or *centurio classis*, to the legionary centurionate.

The *frumentarii* were legionary soldiers detailed for service outside their legions. They acted as a sort of imperial police. (Cf. Hirschfeld, *Die Sicherheitspolizei im röm. Kaiserreiche*.) Legionary centurions, called *centuriones frumentarii*, or *frumentariorum*, were entrusted with their command. The ranking *centurio frumentarius* was called *princeps peregrinorum*. The headquarters of the corps were at Rome, the so-called *castra peregrina*. In general, the inscriptions of the *centuriones frumentarii* do not indicate connection with any legion.¹

In some cases the inscriptions show very clearly that the position of *centurio frumentarius* was an independent step in the advancement.²

In any case, the connection of the *centurio frumentarius* with his legion must have been merely nominal. This is shown by an inscription discovered in the House of the Vestals in Rome (*N.S.* 1883, p. 458): *pro salute domini nostri imperator(is) Severi Alexandri Pii Augusti . . . Genio sancto castror(um) peregrinorum T(itus) Flavius Domitianus domo Nicomedia quod speculator leg(ionis) tertiae Parth(icae) Severianae vovit hastatus leg(ionis) (decimae) Fretensis princeps peregrinorum reddedit.*

It is evident that the person mentioned in this inscription ranked as *hastatus* in the *Legio X Fretensis* at the same time that he held the position of *princeps peregrinorum*. But his command of the *frumentarii* required his presence in Rome, although the legion of which he was nominally a member was stationed in Palestine. In view of these circumstances, I have in all cases treated the *centurio frumentarius* as forming an independent step in the advancement.

In the Plan accompanying this paper³ the different positions are arranged according to their relative rank, the inferior grades being placed in the lower part of the sheet, the higher ones above. The various branches of the service are distinguished in vertical sections; *numeri*, *cohortes*, *alae*, *legiones*, etc. In each of these divisions the *principales* are arranged, as far as possible, under their corresponding chiefs, as the *beneficiarius tribuni* under the *tribunus militum*, the *cornicularius praefecti vigilum* under the *praefectus vigilum*, etc. The relative rank of the different offices varied slightly from time to time. But in general the plan will be found to represent the state of affairs that prevailed during the first three centuries of the empire.

¹ Exceptions are *C.I.L.* II, 4150; III, 1980, 4787, 4861 (it is not certain that *fr.* in this inscription is an abbreviation for *frumentarius*), 7041, 7420; VI, 423.

² *C.I.L.* XI, 5215 (=5216, cf. *C.I.L.* III, 7795) . . . *cent(urioni) frum(entario), subprincipi peregrinorum, adstato et principi et primo pilo leg(ionis) (septimae) . . . ; C.I.L.* VI, 1636 . . . *trib(uno) coh(ortium) (decimae) pr(aetoriae) (undecimae) urb(anae) (tertia) vig(ilum), praef(ecto) leg(ionis) (secundae) Ital(icae), primo pilo leg(ionis) (tertia) Gall(icae), c(enturioni) frument(ario) . . . ; C.I.L.* II, 484 . . . *primipilo leg(ionis) (tertia) Aug(ustae) Piaae Vindicis, principi peregrin(orum), centurioni frumentar(io), centurioni legion(is) decimae. . . .*

³ It is an extension of the table in Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, II, p. 559.

The advancement begins with the *principales*.¹ These were usually selected from the common soldiers. In some instances persons of the decurial class in the municipalities were made *principales* immediately upon their enlistment, on account of their better education. It will be observed that the advancement from *principalis* to centurion in the troops of the garrison of Rome was in all cases after service as *evocatus*. The term of service in the praetorian cohorts was sixteen years. At the end of this period the most efficient soldiers were invited to continue their service indefinitely, with increased pay and rank, as *evocati*.² The *evocati* formed a regular position in the official system, with duties and functions of its own, and must not be considered as a mere "seminarium" or training-school for centurions.³

Probably a large number of *evocati* never became centurions. Yet so far as we know all of the centurions of the *vigiles* were selected from the *evocati*. The further advancement was regularly from the centurionate in the *vigiles* to that in the urban, then to that in the praetorian cohorts.

The legionary centurionate was recruited, in general, from the following sources:

1. Centurions of the troops stationed in Rome, advanced to legionary centurionates of higher rank from the position of *centurio cohortis praetoriae* (Table of Promotions, 39), *centurio trecentarius* (same Table, 56) or *centurio cohortis urbanae* (45⁴). In most cases the *centurio trecentarius* (57), and in some instances the *centurio cohortis praetoriae* (41), was promoted directly to the primipilate. Regarding these promotions, see Mommsen, *E. E.* V (1884), p. 142 ff.

2. *Principales* of the city garrison promoted directly to the legionary centurionate. These are from the positions of *beneficiarius praefecti praetorio* (15), *cornicularius praefecti praetorio* (66 and 67 to *primus pilus*), *optio speculatorum* (120), *cornicularius praefecti vigilum* (68), and *cornicularius praefecti annonae* (65). It has been observed above that the only door to promotion to city centurionates lay through service as *evocatus*.

3. Legionary *principales*. Promotions to the legionary centurionate from these positions have been discussed by Baehr (*De Centurionibus Legionariis Quaestiones Epigraphicae*, Berlin, 1900, pp. 1-2). It appears that a service of at least ten years must have been required previous to promotion to the centurionate. Both *principales* serving on the staff of superior officers (14, 61, 62, 64, and 97), and those occupying tactical positions (83, 104, and 157), as well as the *aquilifer* (5), are promoted to the legionary centurionate.

4. Centurions or decurions of the auxiliary corps. These promotions are made from the positions *decurio alae* (80, cf. Baehr, *De Centurionibus Legionariis Quaestiones Epigraphicae*, Berlin, 1900, p. 6), *decurio cohortis* (82), *centurio cohortis* (49), and the *decurio equitum singularium Augusti* (84). Mention might here be made of the promotions from *centurio classis* (48) and *navarchus* (101 and 102), as well as from *eques*

¹ Cf. Vegetius, 2, 7; Tarrutenius Paternus, *Digest.* 50, 6, 7. Regarding the duties of these petty officials, see Marquardt, *op. cit.* II, pp. 544-557; Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, II, pp. 16-18.

² Regarding the service of the *evocati*, see Schmidt, *Die Evocati*, *Hermes*, XIV (1879), pp. 321-353, and Mommsen, *E. E.* V (1884), pp. 142-154.

³ Cf. Cauer, *op. cit.* p. 480, and note; also Mommsen, *op. cit.* p. 153, note 2.

⁴ References like this are to the Table of Promotion.

singularis Augusti (89). It will be observed that in the case of *C.I.L.* VIII, 2354 (cf. 82) and *C.I.L.* V, 522 (cf. 49) the individuals were legionary soldiers before being appointed decurions or centurions in the auxiliary troops. Legionary soldiers were often made non-commissioned officers in the auxiliary divisions.¹

In the inscription *C.I.L.* VIII, 9045 we can only infer a promotion from the position of *decurio alae* to the legionary centurionate on the basis of the subsequent career.²

In many instances officers began their military career as centurions. These were usually persons of equestrian rank. In some cases they may have belonged to the so-called decurial class in the municipalities.³ There are many passages in the literature which indicate that young men of the better classes often solicited of the emperor an appointment as centurion. They wished to make a serious profession of arms, unlike the majority of officers of the upper classes, who only served a year or two as a means of obtaining political preferment. Many of the young men of equestrian rank who thus petitioned for a position as centurion were induced to do so by straitened financial circumstances.⁴ Many inscriptions give a military *cursus honorum* in which the centurionate is the lowest position mentioned. Most of these probably refer to the class of officers which we have just mentioned, young men of equestrian birth who accepted appointments as centurions, abandoning, for a time at least, the privileges of their rank. But in some instances it is possible to suppose that positions lower than the centurionate have been omitted in the inscriptions, either to conceal a humble origin or as being of comparatively little importance. We are left in doubt, therefore, as to whether the career in these cases actually began with the centurionate. Unless the inscriptions contain some further indication of the origin of the individuals mentioned in them we cannot cite them as illustrating the sources from which the centurions were recruited. In a few instances we find phrases which dispel this uncertainty. The inscriptions containing the expression *centurio ex equite Romano* or its equivalent are *C.I.L.* III, 1480; V, 7865 (-7866); VI, 3584; VIII, 1647; VIII, 14698; X, 1127 (cf. IX, 1582 and 1583) and *C.I.G.* 2803. In two instances we find *primus pilus ex equite Romano* (*C.I.L.* III, 750 and IX, 951). In only one case (*C.I.L.* X, 1127) does the career extend beyond the primipilate. It is probable that in many other instances of military careers in which the primipilate or centurionate is given as the first position occupied the personage was originally of equestrian rank as in the cases above, although this circumstance is not mentioned. An officer of this class who had passed the primipilate

¹ See (79), note, and compare *C.I.L.* III, 647, 8438; *C.I.L.* VIII, 9391.

² Regarding this inscription, see Baehr, *op. cit.* p. 6. The words of the inscription are . . . *a mil. primop. trib. coh. IIII vig. ex. dec. al. Thracum.* The order in which the various positions were occupied is doubtless as follows: *decurio alae, centurio legionis, primus pilus, tribunus cohortis vigilum.* As will be shown later (cf. pp. 8-9), the primipilate regularly precedes the tribunate of one of the cohorts forming the garrison of the city of Rome.

³ See Karbe, *op. cit.* pp. 38-45; Seeck, *Der Untergang der antiken Welt*, II, p. 18; Madvig, *Kleine philologische Schriften*, p. 532 ff.; Dio Cassius, 52, 25, 6. The latter represents Maecenas as advising Augustus to admit to the senate certain of the officers who had served as centurions, not those who had been promoted from the ranks, but those who had commenced their military career as centurions (*τῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἑκατονταρχησάτων*).

⁴ References to the passages in the literature illustrating this custom will be found in the works cited in note 3.

and entered the real equestrian career might consider it superfluous to indicate that he belonged by birth to that order in which his military advancement had reinstated him.

6. Another class of officers of equestrian rank who occupied the centurionate consisted of those who were appointed centurions after having filled one or more of the positions reserved for members of the equestrian order. The inscriptions and the positions successively filled are as follows :

(1) *C.I.L.* II, 2424 — praefectus cohortis, centurio, primus pilus, tribunus cohortis vigilum.

(2) *C.I.L.* X, 5829 — praefectus cohortis, tribunus legionis, centurio, primus pilus, tribunus cohortis vigilum.

(3) *C.I.L.* XI, 3801 — praefectus cohortis, primus pilus, tribunus militum.

(4) *C.I.L.* XII, 2455 — praefectus equitum, primus pilus, tribunus militum.

(5) *C.I.L.* XII, 4371 — praefectus (legionis or castrorum), primus pilus, tribunus militum.

All officers who had occupied the position of *primus pilus* or ranking centurion formed a class or order called *primipilares*, and enjoyed special rewards and privileges. (Cf. Suetonius, *Gaius*, 44; Karbe, *op. cit.* pp. 6-9, 35-37; Madvig, *Kleine philologische Schriften*, p. 535 ff.; Schmidt, *Die Rangklasse der Primipilaren*, *Hermes*, XXI (1886), pp. 590-596.) For our purpose the *primipilares* may be divided into two classes, those who after reaching the primipilate retired from the army and those who continued to serve as officers. The latter were probably reserved for a time on the staff of the commanding officers or the emperor for temporary commissions and extraordinary commands (cf. Karbe, *op. cit.* pp. 17-19). Later some of them were advanced to the regular equestrian commands, the tribunates and prefectures.

Throughout the republic, as Madvig has shown (*op. cit.* pp. 477-560), a gulf existed between the centurionate and the commands reserved for persons of the equestrian class, *militiae equestres*, which was rarely, if ever, crossed. The primipilate, therefore, was the highest position open to the ambition of the common soldier. The higher officers were always men of equestrian rank. The census which determined the minimum of property requisite for membership in the two privileged classes was, therefore, the basis of this essential distinction in the nature of military command. Under the empire, on the contrary, many ex-centurions were advanced to tribunates and prefectures, the *militiae equestres*. The primipilate became the chief gateway by which persons of modest rank and fortune might hope to gain admission to the positions usually reserved for the members of the privileged classes. Yet the principle of distinction, based on the census, which had prevailed throughout the republican period, was still observed. For upon all *primipilares* or *ex-primipili* was conferred by the emperor a sum of money sufficient to qualify them for admission to the equestrian class.¹

In some cases the primipilate was held twice; that is, in two different legions. In some instances the two primipilates were held consecutively, in others with one or more superior commands intervening. In the former case the fact is indicated in the

¹ See Seeck, *op. cit.* II, p. 20. Regarding the question as to whether the *primipilares* were actually admitted to the equestrian class, see Karbe, *op. cit.* pp. 9-12; Schmidt, *Die Rangklasse der Primipilaren*, *Hermes*, XXI, pp. 590-596.

inscriptions by the words *primus pilus bis*. In the latter the second primipilate is given as *primus pilus iterum*. In this second case, then, the officer apparently takes a backward step from some equestrian position to the primipilate: cf. Karbe, *op. cit.* pp. 29–35, also Mommsen's note to *C.I.L.* V, 867. These retrograde movements will not be found in the Table of Promotions. I give them here, indicating in each instance the position preceding the second primipilate:

(1) tribunus cohortis praetoriae (*C.I.L.* V, 867).

(2) tribunus cohortis praetoriae (*C.I.L.* VI, 1636).

The inscription reads *primus pilus bis*, but falls evidently under this same category.

(3) tribunus cohortis praetorianae (*C.I.L.* V, 1838=1839).

(4) tribunus cohortis praetorianae (*C.I.L.* X, 5829).

(5) tribunus cohortis (*C.I.L.* X, 1711).

(6) praefectus equitum alae¹ (*C.I.L.* XI, 712).

In the majority of cases, it will be observed, the second primipilate follows the *tribunus cohortis praetoriae*. This is natural, since the first primipilate leads regularly to a tribunate in the city of Rome. In (1) and (6) the second primipilate is followed by the *praefectus legionis*. In all the others the officer after his second primipilate is made a procurator. In (1) the procuratorship follows the legionary prefecture. In (6) alone no procuratorship is attained. It would seem that the emperors offered the hope of a procuratorship to induce trusted officers to receive a second time the important post of *primus pilus*. Regarding the regular positions above the primipilate the reader should consult Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, II, pp. 458, 459, 460, and 474; Seeck, *op. cit.* pp. 21–23. Regarding the tribunates and prefectures, one should observe that while young officers of senatorial families are occasionally found in other branches of the service, they usually appear in the inscriptions as *tribuni militum legionum*. The command of the auxiliary cohorts and *alae* devolved almost exclusively upon officers of equestrian birth. Omitting a few isolated examples of promotion, the positions to which *primipilares* were advanced are the following:²

1. *praefectus cohortis*; cf. (141). An examination of the inscriptions will prove that all of them can be dated as not later than the reign of Vespasian. This fact, taken in connection with the small number of inscriptions which indicate a promotion to the *praefectus cohortis* from the primipilate,³ prove the inexactness of the statement made in Marquardt's *Römische Staatsverwaltung* (II, p. 474) that the commanders of auxiliary cohorts were appointed from the *primipilares*. The command of auxiliary cohorts was generally reserved for men born in the equestrian nobility. Those of this class who served more than one year held this office first, being later promoted to the positions of *tribunus militum legionis* or *tribunus cohortis*, finally to the *praefectus equitum alae*; cf. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, III, p. 543. An equestrian service of three years was, however, exceptional; cf. Seeck, *op. cit.* II, p. 27.

¹ A municipal office intervenes between this and the second primipilate.

² Compare Karbe, *op. cit.* pp. 22–20; Baehr, *op. cit.* pp. 7–14; Seeck, *op. cit.* p. 19 ff.

³ There are only four as compared with ninety-four examples of the advancement from *praefectus cohortis* to *tribunus militum*; cf. (128).

2. *praefectus equitum alae* (142). It is noticeable that we find at least as many examples of a promotion to this, the highest of the regular *militiae equestres*, as to the *praefectus cohortis*, which is the lowest. But all antedate the close of the reign of Vespasian; cf. Baehr, *op. cit.* p. 11.

3. *tribunus militum legionis* (149).¹ With the single exception of the inscription appearing in Cagnat, *L'Ann. Épigr. R.A.* 1899, no. 176 (cf. Baehr, *op. cit.* p. 54), all these examples are probably not later than the first century.²

Generally throughout the period of the Empire, and exclusively during the second century, the *tribuni militum legionis* consisted of young men of senatorial birth who were obliged to serve a year as officers before commencing a political career, and officers of equestrian rank, usually those who had already completed one year of service. We may be surprised, then, to find so many examples of *primipilares* promoted to the legionary tribunate during the first century. This is especially noteworthy when we consider that during the early part of this period there were not tribunates enough for all the candidates of senatorial birth; cf. Suetonius, *Aug.* 28. It will be observed that among those advanced from the primipilate to the legionary tribunate are the three examples already given (cf. p. 6) of officers who were made *primipili* after having occupied equestrian commands; cf. *C.I.L.* XI, 3801; XII, 2455 and 4371. During the first century we find all the examples of the promotion from *tribunus militum legionis* to *praefectus castrorum*; cf. (195).

4. *praefectus castrorum*, later *praefectus legionis* (140 and 144). Regarding the nature of this position see Wilmanns, *E.E.* I (1872), pp. 81–105. Wilmanns has shown how close a relation existed between the primipilate and this command (*op. cit.* p. 89). After the period of the Flavian emperors, with two or three exceptions, the *primipili* were promoted to the prefecture under discussion or to one of the tribunates in the city of Rome; cf. Baehr, *op. cit.* p. 13. See also Seeck, *op. cit.* II, pp. 21–22.

5. *tribunus cohortis vigilum* (148). In many cases *primipili* were promoted directly to the position of

6. *tribunus cohortis urbanae* (147), or even to that of

7. *tribunus cohortis praetoriae* (146). With a very few exceptions,³ all commanders of the cohorts forming the garrison of the city of Rome, whose careers are indicated by the inscriptions, had been previously *primipili*. Baehr (*op. cit.* pp. 13–14) has collected from the literature a number of instances of persons promoted from the primipilate to the tribunates in the city of Rome. It appears that the city tribunates were even more exclusively reserved for the *primipilares* than was the command of the auxiliary corps for officers of equestrian birth. No doubt the emperors could more safely entrust

¹ I include here all inscriptions in which the position is indicated only by the words *tribunus militum*. In a few instances, of course, the words may stand for *tribunus militum cohortis*, not *tribunus militum legionis*.

² The inscription *C.I.L.* XI, 1836 (cf. 132 and 143), might be added as an exception, since it gives a position, possibly extraordinary in its nature, as intervening between *primus pilus* and *tribunus militum*. This inscription, dating from the middle of the third century, would seem to indicate that after the senatorial class to a great extent withdrew from military service, the *primipilares* were again admitted to the legionary tribunate.

³ *C.I.L.* V, 6478 and III, 249. These indicate a career commencing with the tribunate of a praetorian cohort. It is possible that in both instances inferior positions, including the primipilate, have been omitted.

their own safety and the tranquillity of the capital to these tried and experienced soldiers than to the young officers of the superior classes; cf. Seeck, *op. cit.* II, p. 22.

It will be of interest to determine from the evidence for the promotion of officers in the Roman army, as collected in this paper, what conclusion we may draw regarding a question already several times discussed, whether a common soldier or *principalis* could entertain any expectation of an advancement extending through the primipilate to the tribunes and praefectures. The question may be put a little more definitely with reference to the material of the present article. Most of our examples of promotions from the primipilate to the higher positions (cf. pp. 7-8) are drawn from inscriptions mentioning military careers which apparently begin with the primipilate. In a few of them the ordinary centurionate is the lowest position given. In only five instances do we find careers commencing with a position as *principalis* in the praetorian cohorts: *C.I.L.* VI, 1645;¹ XI, 19;² XI, 395; XI, 6055; XIV, 3626. We have one example of an auxiliary soldier advanced to the primipilate, and later to a tribunate: *C.I.L.* VIII, 9045 (cf. p. 5). We find not a single instance of a legionary soldier passing through the primipilate to one of the higher positions.³

In the large majority of cases the persons advanced from the primipilate to superior commands apparently began their career as legionary centurions.⁴ Are we to believe that all these officers began their service as centurions, or are we to suppose that in many instances the indication of earlier service as common soldiers and *principales* has been omitted?

We may view the question from another standpoint by taking into consideration the inscriptions indicating advancement from subaltern positions as far as the primipilate. The Table of Promotions, 5, 14, 15, 48, 49, 61, 62, 64, 65, 66, 68, 80, 82, 83, 84, 89, 91, 92, 93, 94, 97, presents seventy-two examples of promotion from the *principales* to the centurionate in the legions or the garrison of Rome.⁵

In only ten of these is it certain that the career extended as far as the primipilate.⁶ Of these ten inscriptions two mention persons who became centurions in the garrison of Rome after having been *principales* and *evocati* in the praetorian cohorts: *C.I.L.*

¹ The career is given: . . . *p. p. duci leg. Dac. cornic. praef.* . . . The order has probably been confused. The primipilate must have preceded the command of a legion. Cf. Karbe, *op. cit.* p. 44.

² The inscription reads as follows: . . . *p. p. leg. XXII Primig. p. f. praef. leg. XIII Gem. c(enturioni) leg. XV Apollin(aris).* . . . The expression *p. p.* has been interpreted *p(rae)p(ositus)*. In my opinion it should be read *p(rimus)p(ilus)*. In this case the order has been confused. The primipilate, of course, precedes the praefecture of a legion.

³ Yet in *C.I.L.* XII, 3177, a person who had been a legionary *principalis* reaches a higher command without passing through the primipilate.

⁴ In most cases those whose careers are given as commencing with the primipilate must have previously served as ordinary centurions; for the primipilate was, in a certain sense, a reward for earlier service.

⁵ The positions of auxiliary centurion and decurion, as well as the corresponding commands in the fleet, are here reckoned as *principales*.

⁶ To the number of examples of *principales* who were advanced as far as the primipilate *C.I.L.* XI, 390, ought probably to be added (cf. Karbe, *op. cit.* p. 43). This inscription mentions a *primus pilus*, indicating that he had previously been a legionary soldier. But some positions as *principalis* must have intervened between the period of his service in the ranks and that of his centurionate. I omit the case of *C.I.L.* XIV, 3626, which is doubtful. Cf. (43).

XIV, 4007 ; XI, 5646 ; four were given a legionary centurionate after having been *principales* and *evocati* in the praetorian cohorts : *C.I.L.* III, 7334 ; X, 3733 ; XI, 19, 395 ; two passed from praetorian *principales* to the legionary centurionate without having been *evocati* ; *C.I.L.* VI, 1645 ; XI, 6055 ; two had been *principales* in the auxiliary troops : *C.I.L.* VIII, 9045, 14854. We have only one probable example of a legionary soldier or *principalis* advanced to the primipilate : *C.I.L.* XI, 390.¹

It appears that the soldiers of the praetorian cohorts had a decided advantage over the legionaries as regards advancement, since the former were eligible for service as *evocati*.² The legionary *principalis* usually reached the centurionate between the ages of thirty and forty, after he had served at least ten years ; cf. Baehr, *op. cit.* p. 4. Before he could pass through the fifty-nine different grades of the legionary centurionate his term of service, twenty years, would generally have expired. In any case he was too old upon reaching the primipilate to continue his service further. As has already been said,³ the term of service in the praetorian cohorts was sixteen years. At the end of this period the most efficient soldiers were invited to serve as *evocati* for an indefinite period, with increased emoluments and a prospect of future advancement to the centurionate. The centurions for the city service, as well as many of those for the legions, were supplied from the *evocati*, and they were doubtless regularly preferred to the legionary candidates for promotion.

We have observed that the centurions may be divided roughly into two classes, those who commenced their military career with the centurionate and those who were advanced to that position from the ranks. To judge *a priori* we should expect to find that those who were promoted from the centurionate to higher commands belonged to the former class ; for they would as a rule be men in the prime of life. At the same time they would possess not only the practical experience of the other centurions, but the culture and intelligence of the higher classes. This supposition is corroborated by a consideration of the inscriptions. For we find that only one-seventh of those who are promoted to the centurionate reach the primipilate ; cf. p. 9. At the same time we find scarcely a single example of a legionary soldier advanced to the primipilate and then to one of the higher commands.⁴ As a rule we may say that those who were advanced beyond the primipilate were officers who began their career as centurions, and in exceptional cases soldiers of the praetorian cohorts who had been promoted to the centurionate.⁵

The officers, prefects and tribunes, who owed their position to advancement from the centurionate, usually called *viri militares*, probably became more numerous as the higher classes withdrew from military service. Unfortunately the inscriptions of the third century are not in themselves sufficient to prove this. Were the inscriptional

¹ An inscription not included in the Table ; cf. note, p. 9.

² The praetorian soldiers were mostly recruited from Italy, while the legionaries were mainly provincials.

³ See p. 4.

⁴ In the inscription *C.I.L.* XII, 3177, the career is : *signifer*, centurion, tribune. Perhaps some indication for *primus pilus* is to be supplied.

⁵ Cf. Karbe, *op. cit.* pp. 42-43 ; Seeck, *op. cit.* II, p. 20. A promotion given in Tacitus (*Ann.* I, 20) may be noticed : . . . *Rufus diu manipularis, dein centurio, mox castris praefectus*. . . . This would seem to be very exceptional unless Rufus began his service in the praetorian cohorts.

evidence more plentiful we might find in this period examples of legionary *principales* who were advanced to the primipilate and finally to the equestrian positions.¹

¹ It has been conjectured that in the third century the centurionate became the first position in the regular equestrian *cursus honorum*; cf. Hirschfeld, *Römische Verwaltungsgeschichte*, I, p. 249; Karbe, *op. cit.* p. 45; Baehr, *op. cit.* p. 14. The inscriptional evidence is insufficient to prove this.

TABLE OF PROMOTIONS

IN the following table are indicated all inscriptions giving the promotion of officers of all ranks in the Roman army.¹

The material is grouped according to the various steps in the order of advancement for which the inscriptions themselves offer evidence. In each instance the lower position is placed on the left of the page, the following one on the right.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. a commentariis praefecti legionis | . . . optio; ² <i>C. I. L.</i> V, 7004. |
| 2. a libellis praefecti praetorio | . . . optio (cohortis praetoriae); <i>C. I. L.</i> VI, 627. |
| 3. a quaestionibus praefecti praetorio | . . . evocatus (coh. praet.); <i>C. I. L.</i> VI, 2755; XI, 2108; <i>B. C.</i> 1899, p. 43. |
| 4. a quaestionibus praefecti urbi | . . . tesserarius (cohortis urbanae); <i>C. I. L.</i> IX, 1617. |
| 5. aquilifer | centurio; <i>C. I. L.</i> XII, 2234; Brambach, <i>C. I. Rh.</i> 1752. |
| 6. aquilifer | curator veteranorum; <i>C. I. L.</i> V, 3375, 5832. |
| 7. architectus (coh. praet.) | tesserarius (coh. praet.); <i>C. I. L.</i> XI, 20. |
| 8. beneficiarius consularis (beneficiarius legati Augusti pro praetore viri consularis). | commentariensis consularis (commentariensis legati Augusti pro praetore viri consularis); Le Bas-Waddington, <i>Voyage Archéologique</i> , 2225, . . . (Β)ενεφ (ικάριος), καὶ ἀκομενταρήσιος καὶ κορνικουλάριος καὶ ἑκατόνταρχος γενόμενος τῆς ἡγεμονίας). |
| 9. beneficiarius consularis | cornicularius; ³ <i>C. I. L.</i> VIII, 17635. |

¹ With the exceptions already noted: cf. pp. 2-3.

² In all cases where the branch of the service is not specified, as here, it is to be understood that the position is in one of the legions.

³ It is often difficult to distinguish between different classes of *cornicularii* and *beneficiarii*. They fall naturally into different groups according as they are assigned to service in attendance on governors of imperial

10. *beneficiarius consularis* *cornicularius praefecti legionis*; *C. I. L.* VIII, 17625.
11. *beneficiarius legati Augusti (viri non consularis*¹) *cornicularius legati Augusti (viri non consularis)*; *C. I. L.* XII, 2602.
12. *beneficiarius legati (legionis?)* *optio*; *C. I. L.* III, 12411 (Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, I, no. 2666b). We cannot determine in this case whether the office is *beneficiarius legati Augusti legionis* or *legati pro praetore*. The inscription gives only *b(ene)f(iciarius) lega(ti)*. See Cauer, *op. cit.* pp. 387-388.
13. *beneficiarius legati (legionis?)* *decurio cohortis*;² *C. I. L.* VIII, 17619 (= 2226).³
14. *beneficiarius legionis* *centurio*; *C. I. L.* VIII, 17626 [b(ene) f(iciarius)] leg(ionis) III Au[g(ustae)ex]pleta statione promotus ad[(centurionatum)] leg(ionis) II Italicae. It is not certain whether the *beneficiarius legionis* depended on the legate or the prefect of the legion. Regarding the *officium* of the *praefectus legionis* see von Domaszewski, *Die Religion des römischen Heeres*, p. 83.
15. *beneficiarius praefecti praetorio* *centurio*; Brambach, *C. I. Rh.* 1077.
16. *beneficiarius praefecti praetorio* *cornicularius praefecti annonae*; *C. I. L.* XI, 20.
17. *beneficiarius praefecti praetorio* *evocatus (coh. praet.)*; *C. I. L.* V, 3371; VI, 2794; IX, 5839 (= 5840); XI,

provinces, legates, or prefects of legions, or military tribunes. As regards the governors of provinces, moreover, we must distinguish between those of consular and those of praetorian rank. For the *principales* serving on the staff of the former may be expected to rank higher than those holding corresponding positions in relation to the latter. The inscriptions rarely give the titles of *beneficiarii* and *cornicularii* in full. In many instances, as in the present inscription, there is no indication of the special service to which the individual was assigned. I have attempted to avoid all possibility of error or uncertainty by arranging these *principales* in as many groups as there are different indications given in the inscriptions themselves.

¹ See note 3, page 12. The inscription cited as an example of this promotion was found near Geneva, in a province not governed by an imperial legate of consular rank. In cases where the dependence of the *principalis* is indicated by the words *legati Augusti pro praetore* only, we may be reasonably sure that he did not serve on the staff of a governor of consular rank. For otherwise he would indicate the higher rank of his chief as conferring increased dignity on his own position. Cf. Cauer, *E. E.* IV (1881), p. 385.

² When *cohors* is mentioned without the indication of the branch of the service, it is to be understood that the reference is to a cohort of the auxiliary troops.

³ The same difficulty presents itself here as in No. 12. The inscription has *dec(urio) coh(ortis) Hispanor(um) ex b. le. tempore votum solvit*. The stone was found at Vazaivi, where a small detachment of auxiliary cavalry was stationed under the command of a decurion. The soldier was doubtless an auxiliary trooper before being named *beneficiarius*. This would explain his subsequent promotion to the decurionate; cf. *E. E.* IV (1881), p. 385, note by Mommsen. Wilmanns interpreted the abbreviations as *ex beneficiario legati*, but the *C. I. L.* prefers *ex [p]le(to) tempore*.

- 395; XI, 710; XI, 5696 (=5674); XI, 5960; Brambach, *C.I.Rh.* 993; Cagnat, *L'Année Épigraphique R. A.* X (1899), no. 190.
18. beneficiarius tribuni (coh. praet.) . . . singularis praefecti praetorio; *C.I.L.* III, 7334.
19. beneficiarius tribuni cohortis . . . signifer; *C.I.L.* V, 898.
20. beneficiarius tribuni (coh. praet.) . . . optio (coh. praet.); *C.I.L.* IX, 5809.
21. beneficiarius tribuni (coh. praet.) . . . singularis praefecti praetorio; *C.I.L.* III, 7334.
22. beneficiarius tribuni (coh. praet.) . . . tesserarius (coh. praet.); *C.I.L.* II, 2610; III, 2887; XI, 710.
23. beneficiarius tribuni (coh. urb.) . . . a quaestionibus praefecti urbi; *C.I.L.* IX, 1617.
24. beneficiarius tribuni (coh. urb.) . . . tesserarius (coh. urb.); *C.I.L.* III, 2887.
25. beneficiarius tribuni (coh. vig.) . . . optio (coh. vig.); *C.I.L.* X, 3880.
26. beneficiarius tribuni (coh. vig.) . . . vexillarius (coh. vig.); *C.I.L.* VI, 2987.
27. centurio centurio (coh. praet.); *C.I.L.* XIV, 2523.
28. centurio centurio (coh. urb.); *C.I.L.* II, 4461; XI, 6057.
29. centurio centurio frumentarius; *C.I.L.* II, 484.
30. centurio centurio trecenarius; *C.I.L.* III, 7534; X, 5064; XI, 395, 710, 5646, 6224 (?).
31. centurio dux legionis; *C.I.L.* VI, 1645.
32. centurio praefectus alae; *C.I.L.* XI, 707 (= Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, I, no. 2705).
33. centurio praefectus cohortis; *C.I.L.* III, 8736.
34. centurio (hastatus) princeps peregrinorum; *N.S.* 1883, p. 458.
35. centurio protector; *C.I.L.* XI, 4787.
36. centurio (hastatus) subprinceps peregrinorum; *C.I.L.* III, 7795 (cf. XI, 5215).
37. centurio tribunus militum; *C.I.L.* XI, 394.
38. centurio tribunus militum (cohortis); *C.I.L.* XII, 3177.
39. centurio (coh. praet.) centurio; *C.I.L.* VI, 1056 (cf. IX, 1582, 1583; XI, 1127); XI, 395 (princeps); XIV, 4007.
40. centurio (coh. praet.) centurio trecenarius; *C.I.L.* II, 4461; X, 686, 5064; XI, 2112, 5646, 6057; *B.C.* 1899, p. 43.
41. centurio (coh. praet.) primus pilus; *C.I.L.* V, 795a (cf. 934);

	VIII, 2624; X, 4872 (see <i>E. E.</i> IV (1881), p. 241); X, 6229; XIV, 2523.
42. centurio (coh. praet.)	protector; <i>C. I. L.</i> XI, 837 (= Dessau, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> , I, no. 2778).
43. centurio (coh. praet.)	tribunus (coh. vig.); <i>C. I. L.</i> XIV, 3626. ¹
44. centurio (coh. urb.)	centurio (coh. praet.); <i>C. I. L.</i> II, 4461; V, 795a (cf. 934); X, 5064; XI, 395, 2112, 5646, 6057; XIV, 3626, 4007; <i>B. C.</i> 1899, p. 43.
45. centurio (coh. urb.)	centurio; <i>C. I. L.</i> XI, 710.
46. centurio (coh. vig.)	centurio (coh. urb.); <i>C. I. L.</i> VI, 2755; X, 5064; XI, 710; XIV, 3626, 4007.
47. centurio (coh. vig.)	centurio (statorum); <i>C. I. L.</i> VI, 2794; XI, 395, 2112, 5646, 6224; <i>B. C.</i> 1899, p. 43.
48. centurio classis	centurio; <i>C. I. L.</i> XI, 4654 (= Dessau, <i>op. cit.</i> I, no. 2231).
49. centurio cohortis	centurio; <i>C. I. L.</i> III, 8747 (?); V, 522; VIII, 3005; Brambach, <i>C. I. Rh.</i> 787.
50. centurio frumentarius	centurio; <i>C. I. L.</i> VIII, 2825.
51. centurio frumentarius	primus pilus; <i>C. I. L.</i> VI, 1636.
52. centurio frumentarius	princeps peregrinorum; <i>C. I. L.</i> II, 484.
53. centurio frumentarius	subprinceps peregrinorum; <i>C. I. L.</i> III, 7795 (cf. 5215 = 5216).
54. centurio statorum	centurio (coh. praet.); <i>C. I. L.</i> XI, 6224.
55. centurio statorum	centurio (coh. urb.); <i>C. I. L.</i> X, 5064; XI, 395, 2112, 5646; <i>B. C.</i> 1899, p. 43.
56. centurio trecenarius	centurio; <i>C. I. L.</i> III, 7534; X, 5064; XI, 6057.
57. centurio trecenarius	primus pilus; <i>C. I. L.</i> II, 4461; III, 454 (= III, 6984 = 13648 = 14187 = Dessau, <i>op. cit.</i> I, no. 2663); III, 2917, 3427 (?), 6224 (= 7591); VI, 3618; XI, 395, 2112, 5646.
58. centurio trecenarius	praefectus legionis; <i>C. I. L.</i> III, 3427.
59. commentariensis consularis	cornicularius consularis; Le Bas-Waddington, <i>op. cit.</i> no. 2225.

¹ I insert this promotion here to avoid any possible confusion. It is probable, however, that the advancement followed a somewhat different course. A promotion from the centurionate in the praetorian cohorts to a tribunate would be very extraordinary and entirely unprecedented so far as we can judge from the epigraphic evidence. The inscription reads: . . . *p. p. his procuratori M(arci) Antonini Aug(usti) praef(ecto) leg(ionis) (secundae) Traianae fortis (ducenario) trib(un)o c(o)hortis (septimae) praetoriae (quartae decimae) urbanae (tertia)e vigil(um) centurio c(o)hortis I pr(aetoriae)*. . . . The letters *p. p.*, the abbreviation for *primus pilus*, should probably be taken as indicating a step in the advancement intervening between the centurionate and first tribunate.

60. commentariensis tribuni cornicularius praefecti urbis; *C.I.L.* IX, 1617.
61. cornicularius¹ centurio; *C.I.L.* XIII, 1832; Brambach, *C.I.Rh.* 1304.
62. cornicularius consularis centurio; Brambach, *C.I.Rh.* 1559 (cf. *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*, XI (1892), p. 316 ff., and *Jahrbücher des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande*, LX, p. 52); Le Bas-Waddington, *op. cit.* no. 2225.
63. cornicularius legati Augusti evocatus; *C.I.L.* XII, 2602.
(viri non consularis)
64. cornicularius legionis² centurio; *C.I.L.* VIII, 702.
65. cornicularius praefecti annonae centurio; *C.I.L.* XI, 20.
66. cornicularius praefecti praetorio centurio; *C.I.L.* III, 3846 (= Dessau, *op. cit.* 2652); VI, 1645 (= Dessau, *op. cit.* 2773); X, 1763; XI, 3108, 6055 (= Dessau, *op. cit.* 2743).
67. cornicularius praefecti praetorio primus pilus; *C.I.L.* IX, 5338 (= Dessau, *op. cit.* 1325); *N.S.* 1885, p. 490.
68. cornicularius praefecti vigilum centurio; *C.I.L.* VI, 414; XI, 5693 (= 5694 = Dessau, *op. cit.* 2666).
69. cornicularius tribuni (coh. praet.) evocatus; *C.I.L.* II, 2610; III, 7334; VI, 2440; XI, 5646.
70. cornicularius tribuni (coh. urb.) cornicularius praefecti urbi; *C.I.L.* IX, 1617. Regarding this position see Cauer, *op. cit.* pp. 391 and 392, Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, II,² p. 1020, and Hirschfeld, *Die Sicherheitspolizei im römischen Kaiserreich*, *Sitzungsb. der k. preuss. Akad. der Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1891.
71. curator fisci (coh. praet.) cornicularius praefecti praetorio; *C.I.L.* X, 1763.
72. curator fisci (coh. praet.) cornicularius tribuni (coh. praet.); *C.I.L.* II, 2610; III, 7334; VI, 3661 (?); XI, 5646.
73. curator fisci (coh. praet.) evocatus; *C.I.L.* VI, 627; *B.C.* 1899, p. 43.
74. curator fisci (coh. urb.) optio ab actis urbis; *C.I.L.* VIII, 4874; IX, 1617.

¹ See note 3, p. 12. We learn from the inscription only that the individual was a *cornicularius*, and we can only conjecture to what officer he was assigned.

² See note 3, p. 12. In the present inscription we find only the indication that the service of the official was in a legion: . . . *meruit speculator et cornicularius legionis. Initium vitis (= centurionatus) vitae fuit finis.* This is the only example of a *cornicularius legionis*, so-called, where the number or other designation of the legion is not given; cf. Cauer, *op. cit.* p. 416.

75. curator statorum tribunus (coh. vig.); *C.I.L.* XI, 6055.
76. curator turmae (alae) custos armorum (alae); *C.I.L.* VIII, 2094.
77. custos armorum (alae) signifer (alae); *C.I.L.* VIII, 2094.
78. custos armorum beneficiarius legionis; ¹ *C.I.L.* II, 4168.
79. custos armorum (numeri) signifer (numeri); *C.I.L.* III, 11135.²
80. decurio (alae) centurio; *C.I.L.* III, 6154 (*candidatus*, cf. von Domaszewski, *op. cit.* X, p. 19 ff.); *C.I.L.* VIII, 2354; 9045. (The various positions mentioned in this inscription have been confused. See note, p. 5.)
81. decurio (alae) praefectus cohortis; *C.I.L.* III, 647, 8739.
82. decurio (cohortis) centurio; *C.I.L.* III, 11213.
83. decurio (equitum legionariorum?) centurio (hastatus); *C.I.L.* II, 1681.³
84. decurio (equitum singularium Augusti) centurio; *C.I.L.* VIII, 2817; *N.S.* 1891, p. 129 (= Dessau, *op. cit.* I, no. 2213).
85. duplicarius (alae) decurio (alae); *C.I.L.* VIII, 2354.
86. dux legionis tribunus (coh. praet.); *C.I.L.* VI, 1645.
87. eques (coh. praet.) optio equitum (coh. praet.); *C.I.L.* VI, 2440.
88. eques (coh. praet.) tesserarius (coh. praet.); *C.I.L.* XI, 6350.
89. eques singularis Augusti centurio; *C.I.L.* II, 4147. Regarding the *equites singulares Augusti* and their commanders see Henzen, *Ann. dell' Ist.* XXII (1850), p. 34 ff., and LVII (1885), p. 278 ff.
90. eques singularis Augusti decurio (equitum singularium Augusti);

¹ See note 3, p. 12.

² The advancement is given in this inscription as follows: . . . *miles leg(ionis) (decimae) (quartae) G(eminiae) librarius s. . . custos arm(or)um signifer optio octavi pr(incipis) pr(ioris) candidatus*. . . . The *cursus honorum* is given in the ascending order, and we find *signifer* preceding *optio*, the reverse of the regular order of promotion in the legion (cf. this Table, 107). As *candidatus*, or *optio* in expectation of the centurionate, this personage must have been a legionary *principalis*. But we need not suppose that he was *custos armorum* or *signifer* in a legion. In the auxiliary cavalry the regular promotion was from *custos armorum*, as is shown by *C.I.L.* VI, 225, where the different positions are arranged as follows in a descending order: . . . *decurio, duplicarius, sesquiplicarius (duplicarius corresponds to optio, and sesquiplicarius to tesserarius of infantry divisions), signifer, custos armorum, curator*. In the present inscription we may assume that the *principalis* was promoted from *signifer numeri* to *optio legionis*. Cf. von Domaszewski, *Archäologische-Epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, X, p. 19.

³ The decurion mentioned in this inscription is usually recognized as a decurion of the legionary horsemen, the *equites legionarii*. The advancement is indicated . . . *decurioni eq(uitum), centurioni hastato primo leg(ionis) (tertia)*. . . . *C.I.L.* XI, 1526 offers another example of a legionary decurion. At one time, at least, the legionary horsemen were inscribed on the rolls of the various centuries, as is shown by two inscriptions in which *equites legionarii* mention their centurions; *C.I.L.* III, 11230 and VIII, 2593. For information regarding the *equites legionarii*, who ranked as *principales*, see Delmer, *Hadriani Reliquiae, Pars I*, and von Domaszewski, *Die Religion des römischen Heeres*, pp. 88-90.

- Ann. dell' Ist.* LVII (1885), pp. 278-280.
91. evocatus centurio (coh. praet.); *C.I.L.* X, 3900 ; XI, 2662.
92. evocatus centurio (coh. urb.); *C.I.L.* XII, 2602.
93. evocatus centurio (coh. vig.); *C.I.L.* VI, 2755, 2794 ; X, 5064 ; XI, 395, 710, 2112, 5646 ; XIV, 3626, 4007 ; *B.C.* 1899, p. 43.
94. evocatus centurio ; *C.I.L.* III, 3470, 6359, 7334, 11129, 13360 ; V, 7160 ; VIII, 2852 ; IX, 5839 ; X, 3733 ; XI, 19, 1602, 5696, 5935, 5960 ; Brambach, *C.I.Rh.* 993 (= Cagnat, *L'Ann. Épigr. R. A.* 1899, no. 190).
95. frumentarius beneficiarius consularis;¹ *C.I.L.* II, 4154 ; III, 3020 ; VIII, 17627.
96. frumentarius beneficiarius tribuni ; *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*, II (1883), *Korrespondenzblatt*, 108 and 171.
97. frumentarius centurio frumentarius ; *C.I.L.* III, 2063. See footnote.
98. frumentarius optio (militum frumentariorum) ; *C.I.L.* XI, 1322 (= Dessau, *op. cit.* I, 2371).
99. librarius in praetorio tesserarius (coh. praet.) ; *C.I.L.* VI, 2454 (?), 2754 ; X, 1763.
100. librarius (numeri) custos armorum (numeri) ; *C.I.L.* III, 11135.
101. navarchus centurio ; *C.I.L.* VIII, 14854.
102. navarchus primus pilus ; *C.I.L.* X, 3348.
103. optio arcarius ; *C.I.L.* III, 644(?) ; VIII, 2554 ; cf. von Domaszewski, *Die Religion des römischen Heeres*, p. 83, and note 340.
104. optio centurio ; *C.I.L.* III, 3445, 12411, (opt(io) ad spe(m) ordin(is) ; cf. Dessau, *op. cit.* I, no. 2666 b), 11135 (see *Arch. Epig. Mitth. aus Oester.* X, p. 19, on meaning of term *candi-*

¹ Two lines of advancement were open to the *frumentarii*, promotion to the centurionate of their own corps and finally to the position of *princeps peregrinorum*, the commander of their central camp at Rome, and promotion to a position as *beneficiarius* in the legions. Perhaps the former was usually the career of those who were detached from their legions for service in Rome or in close relation with the headquarters there, while the latter was the lot of those who remained in the legionary camps or provincial headquarters. It may be observed that, in general, private soldiers are made *principales* in their own legions, while in the case of those appointed *frumentarii*, this is not necessarily the practice. Cf. *C.I.L.* II, 4154 . . . *probato in leg(ione) (sexta) Ferrata, translato frumentario, in legionem (septima) Gemina pia fideli* . . .

- datu*s), 14178; V, 942, 7004, 7872, 6423 (optio spei); VIII, 2554; Dessau, *op. cit.* 2441 (optionis ad spem ordinis).
105. optio cornicularius praefecti; *C.I.L.* III, 644(?); VIII, 2554. See von Domaszewski, *op. cit.* p. 83, and note 340.
106. optio eques; *C.I.L.* VIII, 2894 (= Dessau, *op. cit.* 2328).
107. optio signifer; *C.I.L.* III, 1124, 1202; VIII, 11301 (= 217).
108. optio (cohortis) decurio (cohortis); *C.I.L.* III, 11213.
109. optio (coh. praet.) curator fisci (coh. praet.); *C.I.L.* VI, 627; XI, 5646.
110. optio (coh. praet.) evocatus; *C.I.L.* V, 7160; XI, 19.
111. optio (coh. praet.) signifer (coh. praet.); *C.I.L.* II, 2610; III, 7334; VI, 2794, 3661 (?); IX, 1609, 5839; XI, 710; Brambach, *C.I.Rh.* 993 (= Cagnat, *L'Ann. Épigr. R.A.* 1899; no. 190).
112. optio (coh. urb.) signifer (coh. urb.); *C.I.L.* VIII, 4874; IX, 1617.
113. optio (coh. vig.) vexillarius (coh. vig.); *C.I.L.* XI, 1438.
114. optio ab actis urbis cornicularius tribuni (coh. urb.); *C.I.L.* IX, 1617.
115. optio carceris (coh. urb.) singularis tribuni (coh. urb.); *C.I.L.* IX, 1617.
116. optio equitum (coh. praet.) cornicularius tribuni (coh. praet.); *C.I.L.* VI, 2440.
117. optio equitum (coh. praet.) vexillarius equitum (coh. praet.); *B.C.* 1899, p. 43.
118. optio frumentariorum centurio frumentarius; *C.I.L.* VI, 3328 optio mil(itum) peregr(inorum) re[stabant] dies (quingenta tres) ut fieret c(enturio) (frumentariorum?)
119. optio frumentariorum navarchus; *C.I.L.* VIII, 14854.
120. optio speculatorum (coh. praet.) centurio; *C.I.L.* VI, 215 (see von Domaszewski, *op. cit.* pp. 91-94).
121. optio valetudinarii (coh. urb.) optio carceris (coh. urb.); *C.I.L.* IX, 1617.
122. praefectus castrorum praefectus equitum (alae); *C.I.L.* X, 6101.
123. praefectus castrorum praefectus exercitu qui est in Aegypto; III, 6809.
124. praefectus cohortis praefectus gentis; *C.I.G.* 4536 f. add.
125. praefectus cohortis praefectus equitum (alae); *C.I.L.* V,

- 4058, 6478; XIV, 2360 (?); Cagnat, *L'Ann. Épigr. R. A.* 1896, no. 80.
126. praefectus cohortis praepositus numeri; *C. I. L.* II, 1180; VIII, 9358.
127. praefectus cohortis tribunus militum (cohortis); *C. I. L.* II, 3851; III, 1193, 6302 (= 8162), 6450, 8046; V, 6995; VIII, 2394 (cf. 2395), 9047, 17904; IX, 5066, 5357; X, 4862, 4873, 6426; XI, 709, 5632, 5669, 6010, 6337; XIV, 171; *C. I. G.* 3497 (cf. 3484 b), 6771; Dessau, *op. cit.* I, 1327; Cagnat, *L'Ann. Épigr. R. A.* 1888, no. 66, and 1889, no. 11; *Mitth. des Arch. Inst. Griech. Abth.* IX, p. 262.
128. praefectus cohortis tribunus militum; *C. I. L.* II, 1086, 1970, 2103, 2637, 3237, 4114, 4132, 4136, 4140, 4189, 4251, 5794; III, 600, 1163, 1464, 5202, 5211 (cf. 5212), 5214 (cf. 5215), 5331, 5775 (cf. 5776), 14195; V, 875, 2841, 3356, 4957, 5126, 5266, 5267, 5829, 6969, 7425; VI, 798, 1449, 1523, 1607, 1625 a, b; VIII, 4292, 5363, 7039, 7079, 8934, 9990, 17900, 18217; IX, 4753, 4885 (cf. 4886), 5362, 5439; X, 3847, 5583, 5829, 6976, 7583 (cf. 7584), 7587; XI, 393, 623, 709, 3337, 4183 a, 4367, 4371, 5028, 5213, 5745, 5959, 6009, 6033, 6344; XII, 672, 1357, 2456; XIII, 1680 (= Dessau, *op. cit.* I, no. 1390); XIV, 2495, 2618, 2957, 3548, 3625; *C. I. G.* 3953 l; Brambach, *C. I. Rh.* 1099, 1120; *E. E.* VIII, no. 368 (= Dessau, *op. cit.* 2748); Dessau 2723; Cagnat, *L'Ann. Épigr. R. A.* 1888, no. 173; 1889, no. 177; 1890, no. 53; 1890, no. 151; 1892, no. 3; 1893, no. 93; 1893, no. 99; 1893, no. 120; 1896, no. 10; 1899, no. 176; 1899, no. 177.
129. praefectus equitum (alae) praefectus cohortis; *C. I. L.* XI, 6344 (= Dessau, *op. cit.* I, 2693).
130. praefectus equitum (alae) tribunus (coh. praet.); *C. I. L.* X, 3831; XI, 4368 (?).
131. praefectus equitum (alae) tribunus militum; *C. I. L.* X, 6101; XIV, 2960; Cagnat, *L'Ann. Épigr. R. A.* 1896, no. 80.

132. praefectus equitum singularium tribunus militum; *C. I. L.* XI, 1836.
133. praefectus legionis dux legionis (?); *C. I. L.* III, 99, 1919.
134. praefectus legionis tribunus cohortis (vigilum); *C. I. L.* VI, 1636.
135. praefectus numeri praefectus cohortis; *C. I. G.* 6771.
136. praepositus numeri tribunus (coh. praet.); Cagnat, *L'Ann. Épig. R. A.* 1889, no. 87.
137. praepositus numeri tribunus militum (cohortis); *C. I. L.* VIII, 9358.
138. primus pilus curator statorum; *C. I. L.* XI, 6055.
139. primus pilus dux legionis; *C. I. L.* III, 4855; VI, 1645 (?).
140. primus pilus praefectus castrorum; *C. I. L.* III, 2028, 6809, 14187 (= 454), 14514; IX, 3669 (?); XI, 5674, 5696; XIV, 2523; Cagnat, *L'Ann. Épig. R. A.* 1901, no. 127.
141. primus pilus praefectus cohortis; *C. I. L.* V, 4373, 6969; X, 4862, 5583.
142. primus pilus praefectus equitum (alae); *C. I. L.* V, 7007 (?). See Karbe, *De Centurionibus Romanorum Quaestiones Epigraphicae*, p. 18. It is probable that the person mentioned in the inscription was placed in charge of the *ala* as an extraordinary command. X, 3881; XI, 624, 712, 4368 (?), 6344.
143. primus pilus praefectus equitum singularium; *C. I. L.* XI, 1836.
144. primus pilus praefectus legionis; *C. I. L.* III, 1919, 5328, 6809, 7795, 14224 (= 12791); V, 79 a (cf. 934), 867; VI, 1599, 1636; VIII, 2624, 14854 (= 1322); IX, 4678; XI, 19, 1059 (?), 5215 (= 5216, cf. III, 1180=7795); Cagnat, *L'Ann. Épig. R. A.* 1902, no. 207.
145. primus pilus praepositus statorum; *C. I. L.* V, 8660; *N. S.* 1877, p. 33; 1885, p. 175.
146. primus pilus tribunus (coh. praet.); *C. I. L.* V, 1613, 1838 (=1839), 6513; VI, 1645 (?); XI, 6224 (?).
147. primus pilus tribunus (coh. urb.); *C. I. L.* VI, 1627, 2861; X, 4872; XI, 6224 (?), 2704 (?), 6057; *C. I. G.* 3711; Cagnat, *L'Ann. Épig. R. A.* 1889, no. 187 (= Dessau, *op. cit.* I, no. 1356).
148. primus pilus tribunus (coh. vig.); *C. I. L.* II, 2424;

- V, 534 (= 535), 867, 930, 1599, 7003; VI, 1599 (= Dessau, *op. cit.* I, no. 1326), 1626; VIII, 9045; X, 1202, 5829; XI, 395, 1711 (?), 2698; XIV, 3626 (?); cf. no. 43.
149. primus pilus tribunus militum; *C. I. L.* III, 381; V, 533; IX, 798, 996; X, 1262, 4868, 7348; XI, 712, 1056 (?), 3801; XII, 2455, 4371 (?); Cagnat, *L'Ann. Épig. R. A.* 1899, no. 176.
150. primus pilus tribunus militum (cohortis); *C. I. L.* XI, 6055.
151. protector praefectus legionis; *C. I. L.* III, 10406.
152. quaestionarius commentariensis.¹ *C. I. L.* II, 4156.
153. secutor tribuni (coh. urb.) optio valetudinarii; *C. I. L.* IX, 1617.
154. secutor tribuni (coh. vig.) beneficiarius tribuni (coh. vig.); *C. I. L.* VI, 2987.
155. sesquiplicarius (alae) duplicarius (alae); *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*, XII (1893), *Korrespondenzblatt*, 231. See note to no. 79 in this table.
156. signifer aquilifer; *C. I. L.* V, 3375, 5832.
157. signifer centurio; *C. I. L.* VIII, 11301 (= 217); XII, 3177.
158. signifer optio navalium; *C. I. L.* VI, 414; *C. I. Rh.* 1301, 1302. See von Domaszewski, *op. cit.* p. 16.
159. signifer (coh. praet.) beneficiarius praefecti praetorio; *C. I. L.* VI, 2794; IX, 5839; XI, 710; Brambach, *C. I. Rh.* 993 (= *L'Ann. Épig. R. A.* 1899, no. 190).
160. signifer (coh. praet.) curator fisci (coh. praet.); *C. I. L.* II, 2610; III, 7334; VI, 3661; X, 1763.
161. signifer (coh. praet.) evocatus; *C. I. L.* VI, 2379 a, 2-21 and 5-51; *C. I. L.* VI, 2578. See von Domaszewski, *op. cit.* p. 91.

¹ We have in the inscription the following words: *com(mentariensi) leg(ionis) (Septimae) G(eminae) f(idelis) quaestionario*. . . . Here, as in the case of the *beneficiarius* (no. 14 in this table), mentioning only the legion to which he belonged, we cannot be certain whether the *commentariensis* was in the service of the legate or prefect of the legion. It is even possible that he was detailed for service on the staff of the province, the mention of the legion serving only to identify the man, not forming part of his title. According to Mommsen (*E. E.* IV (1881), p. 421) *quaestionarii* were found only on the staff of *legati Augusti*, who were governors of provinces. But Cauer (*E. E.* IV (1881), p. 421) supposes that we have here an example of a *quaestionarius legionis*; that is, *quaestionarius legati legionis*. The offices in the inscription are given in the descending order. The relative position of *quaestionarius* in the provincial *officium* or staff is shown by *C. I. L.* VIII, 2751.

162. signifer (coh. urb.) curator fisci (coh. urb.); *C.I.L.* VIII, 4874; IX, 1617.
163. signifer (numeri) optio *C.I.L.* III, 11135. See note to no. 79.
164. singularis consularis decurio (alae);¹ *C.I.L.* III, 3494 (dcurio ex sing.), 10257 (= III, 3272) (dec. alae ex sing. cos.), 14513 (dcurio ex singularibus); Brambach, *C.I.Rh.* 1125 (dec. alae sing. cos.).
165. singularis consularis decurio (cohortis); *C.I.L.* III, 3350, 14693 (?). See note on preceding promotion.
166. singularis praefecti praetorio optio (coh. praet.); *C.I.L.* III, 7334.
167. singularis praefecti praetorio tesserarius (coh. praet.); *C.I.L.* VI, 2794; IX, 5839; XI, 5646.
168. singularis tribuni (coh. praet.) tesserarius (coh. praet.); Brambach, *C.I.Rh.* 993 (= Cagnat, *L'Ann. Épigr. R.A.* 1899, no. 190).
169. singularis tribuni (coh. praet.) beneficiarius tribuni (coh. praet.); *C.I.L.* III, 7334; X, 410.
170. singularis tribuni (coh. urb.) beneficiarius tribuni (coh. urb.); *C.I.L.* IX, 1617
171. speculator centurio (hastatus); *N.S.* 1883, p. 458.
172. speculator commentariensis (consularis); *C.I.L.* III, 2015.
173. speculator cornicularius (legionis); *C.I.L.* VIII, 702.
174. speculator (coh. praet.) a questionibus praefecti praetorio; *C.I.L.* VI, 2755.
175. strator decurio alae; *C.I.L.* VIII, 9370.
176. subprinceps peregrinorum princeps peregrinorum; *C.I.L.* VI, 354.
177. tesserarius eques (coh. praet.); *C.I.L.* VI, 2672.
178. tesserarius optio; *C.I.L.* VIII, 11301 (= VIII, 217).
179. tesserarius (coh. praet.) beneficiarius praefecti praetorio; *C.I.L.* III, 644 (?), 2887 (?); XI, 20.

¹In the immediate service of the *legatus Augusti pro praetore*, the governor of an imperial province, were detachments of picked horsemen and chosen footmen, the so-called *numerus equitum singularium* and the *numerus peditum singularium*. The former were selected from the auxiliary cavalry, the latter from the auxiliary infantry. The inscriptions permit no distinction to be drawn between these two bodies. One might assume that the *equites singulares* would be promoted to the position of decurion in an auxiliary cavalry troop, the *pedites singulares* to that of centurion in a cohort. But the *equites singulares* in the service of the provincial governor, like those at Rome in the headquarters of the emperor, the *equites singulares Augusti*, had their own decurions who, in some cases, perhaps, were chosen from their own number. See Henzen, *Annali dell' Ist.* LVII (1885), p. 280, no. 29.

180. tesserarius (coh. praet.) evocatus ; *C. I. L.* VI, 2454.
181. tesserarius (coh. praet.) optio (coh. praet.) ; *C. I. L.* II, 2610; VI, 2794 ; IX, 1609, 5839 ; Brambach, *C. I. Rh.* 993 (= Cagnat, *L'Ann. Épigr. R. A.* 1899, no. 190).
182. tesserarius (coh. praet.) signifer (coh. praet.) ; *C. I. L.* X, 1763.
183. tesserarius (coh. urb.) optio (coh. urb.) ; *C. I. L.* IX, 1617.
184. tesserarius (coh. vig.) optio (coh. vig.) ; *C. I. L.* XI, 1438.
185. tribunus (coh. praet.) praefectus cohortis ; *C. I. L.* V, 6478.
186. tribunus (coh. praet.) praefectus legionis ; *C. I. L.* XI, 2704 ; XIV, 3626 ; Dessau, *op. cit.* I, no. 1356.
187. tribunus (coh. praet.) praefectus vigilum ; *C. I. L.* XI, 1836.
188. tribunus (coh. praet.) tribunus militum (legionis) ; *C. I. L.* XI, 395.
189. tribunus (coh. urb.) praepositus numeri ; Cagnat, *L'Ann. Épigr. R. A.* 1889, no. 187.
190. tribunus (coh. urb.) tribunus (coh. praet.) ; *C. I. L.* III, 3126 ; V, 534, 867, 930, 7003 ; VI, 1626, 1636 ; IX, 4678 ; X, 795² ; X, 1187 (cf. VI, 1056 ; IX, 1582 and 1583), 4872, 5829 ; XI, 395, 2704 ; XIV, 3626.
191. tribunus (coh. vig.) tribunus (coh. urb.) ; *C. I. L.* V, 534, 867, 930, 7003 ; VI, 1626, 1636 ; X, 1187 (cf. VI, 1056 ; IX, 1582 and 1583), 5829 ; XI, 395, 1836, 2698 ; XIV, 3626.
192. tribunus militum (cohortis) praefectus (alae) ; *C. I. L.* III, 1193, 8046 ; VIII, 2394 (cf. 2395), 9358, 17904 ; IX, 262, 5357 ; X, 4873, 6426 ; XI, 709, 5632, 5669, 6337 ; XIV, 171 ; Dessau, *op. cit.* I, no. 1327 ; Cagnat, *L'Ann. Épigr. R. A.* 1888, no. 66 ; 1889, no. 11 ; *Mitth. Griech. Abth.* XI, p. 262.
193. tribunus militum (cohortis) tribunus militum ; *C. I. L.* II, 2213, 3851 ; III, 320, 386 ; X, 4579 ; XI, 1937, 6117 ; *C. I. G.* 6771 ; Dessau, *op. cit.* 2700.
194. tribunus militum praefectus (alae) ; *C. I. L.* II, 1086, 2103, 2637, 4239, 4251 ; III, 320, 386, 388, 600, 5211 (cf. 5212), 5044, 5214 (cf. 5215), 5331, 5775 (cf. 5776), 6075, 7130 ; V, 875, 2841, 3356, 5266 ; VI, 1449, 1523, 1607, 1625 a-b ; VIII, 619, 8934, 9990, 10500, 17900, 20139 (= 8323) ; IX, 996, 1619, 2355,

- 2568, 3610, 4753, 5363 (cf. 5364),
 5439; XI, 393. 969, 1597, 3337, 4367,
 5213, 5959, 6011, 6033; XII, 392,
 1357; XIII, 1680 (= Dessau, *op. cit.* I,
 no. 1390); XIV, 2495; *C.I.G.* 3991
 (see Hirschfeld, *Verwaltungsgeschichte*,
 p. 247); Dessau, *op. cit.* no. 2674, 2700,
 2723; Brambach, *C.I.Rh.* 896; Cagnat,
L'Ann. Épig. R.A. 1889, no. 177; 1890,
 no. 151; 1892, no. 39; 1893, nos. 91 and
 120; 1894, no. 158; 1896, no. 10; *West-*
deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und
Kunst XVIII (1899), *Korrespondenzblatt*,
 no. 58.
195. tribunus militum praefectus castrorum; *C.I.L.* III, 381;
 IX, 798, 3672; X, 1262; XI, 1056; X,
 4868.
196. tribunus militum tribunus (coh. vig.); *C.I.L.* XI, 1836.
197. tribunus militum (cohortis) praepositus numeri; *C.I.L.* VIII, 9047.
198. vexillarius equitum (coh. praet.) . . . curator fisci (coh. praet.); *B.C.* 1899,
 p. 43.
199. vexillarius equitum (cohortis) . . . decurio (cohortis); *C.I.L.* III, 8762.

ROMAN MONUMENTAL ARCHES

THE purpose of the present paper is to discuss briefly the origin of the so-called "triumphal arch," and to describe in chronological order such examples as still remain, or have been accurately described before their destruction.

The monuments in question consist of large, free-standing bases for statues, pierced by one or more passageways, and placed generally over a road. The façades visible from the road are decorated with pilasters, or with columns, either engaged or free, and often with a great variety of ornamental detail and reliefs. The sides are usually left plain, and on this account the monuments may to some degree be considered as sections of a wall, or better yet, as sections of an arcade. In the Janus arches, which have passageways intersecting at right angles, all four sides are treated as of equal, or of nearly equal importance.

In a few cases city gates have the form and decoration of monumental arches, and on this account will be included in this paper. With these exceptions it seems best to exclude city gates from our discussion. The majority of them have no more claim to consideration in this connection than have the arched entrances to any Roman monument, as, for example, the Colosseum. In recent years two important lists of arches¹ have been published, both purporting to give merely the monumental examples, but in reality making little distinction between the two classes of structures. The list of Professor Frothingham contains 466 numbers, and embraces everything from a beam placed over a road in the time of the Kings (*tigillum sororium*), down to a city gate in Spain, known only from an inscription, and dating from 589 A.D. On the whole the list is very accurate, and has been of great assistance in making the present compilation. To obtain such a mass of material, Professor Frothingham has gone carefully over a large number of works of travel, and has noted every reference to gates or arches. Especially in the case of the East has this process been fruitful, but the result is misleading. The present list omits all arches unless they have been visited and described in some detail by careful modern explorers. Doubtless this method will lead to the omission of some important remains, but on the whole greater accuracy will ensue. The majority of the arches described have been visited by the writer.

The function of the free-standing arches was to bear inscriptions, bas-reliefs, and statues, either of the emperor, of members of the imperial family, or of private individuals.² They had no practical use, and were simply elaborate and honorary bases, similar in intention to the columns of Trajan and Antoninus Pius.

¹ Graef in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*; art. *Triumph- u. Ehrenbögen*. Frothingham, *A.J.A.* VIII, 1904, p. 1 seq.

² e.g. inscriptions from the arches of Pola (No. 8); Aix-les-bains (No. 9); Constantine (No. 64); Mustis (No. 70); Cillium (No. 79); Arch of Arcadius (No. 79, note 5). Also Tuccabor (N. Africa), *C.I.L.* VIII, 14851; and Zara (Dalmatia), *C.I.L.* III, 2922.

The term "triumphal arch," as generally applied to such structures, is misleading, and should be used with caution. To the Romans before the end of the Empire it was practically unknown. It occurs only once in their literature, and that at the end of the fourth century.¹ In addition the term is found in four inscriptions, but these are all late, and from North Africa.² On the other hand, arches were often decreed as the result of triumphs,³ and bore triumphal ornaments,⁴ but they were not erected till a later period and their function in this case was merely to bear the ornaments and statues.

The majority of the articles in the archaeological dictionaries and other publications bearing on the subject⁵ assume that triumphal arches derive their origin from primitive constructions in wood, erected hastily over roads on the occasion of triumphs, and adorned with wreaths and trophies. In the course of time more durable material was employed for this purpose, it is said, and finally the arches were erected, as we know them, as permanent monuments. In the many descriptions of triumphs, however, and in other literature, we find no mention of arches except in the sense of bases, bearing inscriptions and statues. Moreover, as evidence of their real purpose we have the direct statement of Pliny:⁶ *Columnarum ratio erat, attolli super ceteros mortales, quod et arcus significant novicio invento*. In other words, the custom of placing honorary statues on columns and in other conspicuous places had long been in vogue in Rome, but not till the end of the Republic was the arch used for the purpose, *novicio invento*, although arches had existed before. The early arches, or *fornices*, as they were often termed with no change of meaning, were rarely of a monumental character, but might be arched passageways of any kind.⁷ The arch of Verres (71 B.C.) is the only example before imperial times of an arch bearing honorary statues.⁸

Professor Huelsen in a recent article⁹ shows that the other pre-imperial arches

¹ Ammianus Marcellinus, XXI, 16, 15 (361 A.D.): *Constantius . . . pravo proposito . . . triumphalis arcus ex clade provinciarum, sumptibus magnis, erexit in Gallis et Pannoniis titulis gestorum adfrixis. . .*

² 1. *C.I.L.* VIII, 8321: Arch at Cuicul (216 A.D.). 2. *C.I.L.* VIII, 7094-7098: Arch at Cirta, for Caracalla. 3. *C.I.L.* VIII, 14728: Arch at Ghardimau (379-83 A.D.). 4. *C.I.L.* VIII, 1314-14817: Fragment of an inscription with late letters from Schauwasch.

³ See Dion Cass. XLIX, 15; LI, 19; LVI, 17; LX, 22. Also Tac. *Ann.* II, 41; XIII, 41.

⁴ *C.I.L.* XI, 1421 (4 A.D.): *Utiq(ue) arcus celeberrimo coloniae nostrae loco constituatur ornatu(s) spoleis depictarum aut in fidem receptorum ab eo gentium, super eu(m) st)atua pedestris ipsius triumphali ornatu circaque eam duae eq(uest)res inauratae Gai et Luci Caesarum statuae ponantur*.

See also Martial, VIII, 65, referring to an arch erected in honor of the return of Domitian in 93 A.D., and bearing a quadriga drawn by elephants; and Juvenal, X, 136, *summo tristis captivus in arcu*, and note the reliefs with chained captives, etc. at Orange, Carpentras, and St. Remy, and the frequent occurrence of Victories in the spandrels.

⁵ e.g. Durm, *Baukunst d. Römer*, p. 350; Gaudet in Daremberg et Saglio, I, p. 391.

⁶ Plin. *N.H.* XXXIV, 27.

⁷ From two Spanish milestones (*C.I.L.* II, 4701, *a Baete et Jano August.*; and *C.I.L.* II, 4702, *ab arcu unde incipit Baetica viam Aug(ustam) [restituit.]*), we see that the words *Janus* and *arcus* were sometimes used interchangeably as well.

⁸ Cic. *Verr.* II, i, 154. This arch is known only from this one reference: *Huius fornix in foro Syracusis est, in quo nudus filius stat, ipse autem ex equo nudatam ab se provinciam prospicit*.

⁹ *Festschrift zu Hirschfelds 60tem Geburtstage*, p. 423.

were probably small and unimportant. They were six in number, and all situated in Rome. Three of them are known only from a reference in Livy,¹ who says they were erected in 196 B.C. by L. Stertinius, from spoils won during the Spanish campaign. They were surmounted by gilded statues. Of the character of these statues we have no further knowledge. From the situation of two of the arches before the small temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta in the Forum Boarium, we may reasonably suppose that they were small, and it is possible that they served as gateways to the temple enclosures.

The fourth of these arches also is known from Livy.² It was erected by P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Major beside the road leading to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. It was ornamented with seven statues and two horses, all of which were gilded, but that these *signa aurata* were honorary statues can by no means be shown. They may have been very small.

The fifth arch is mentioned only by Orosius (V, 9, 2), *Gracchus (fugit) per gradus qui sunt super Calpurnium fornitem*. In this case the author is of dubious authority, and the text does not state that the arch stood there at the time of Gracchus. It might easily have been a later construction, and have been mentioned merely to locate the steps. This point has hitherto been overlooked.

The sixth of these arches, and the only one of which any remains are left, was erected in the Forum in 121 B.C. by Quintus Fabius Maximus in memory of his successful campaign against the Allobroges.³ From the many references in literature to the location of the arch,⁴ it is evident that the group of fragments found in 1882⁵ belongs to this monument. These fragments are now lying beside the Sacra Via east of the Regia. They consist of several large blocks of tufa and travertine, among which are nine travertine voussoirs, with a two-stepped archivolt in high relief. From the curve of these it has been calculated that the passageway had a breadth of about 4.70 m. The fragments are not *in situ*, and the literary references and reports of the excavations locate the original situation only approximately. It may be assumed that the arch once spanned the Sacra Via somewhere near the present location of the remains. References to finds made in 1540-1546 show that still more was then in existence. At that time also were found several fragments of inscriptions,⁶ which are preserved only in copy, referring to Q. Fabius Maximus, grandson of the original builder, to L. Aemilius Paullus and to P. Cornelius Scipio. The reports of the finds make no reference to the size of the letters, and it is impossible to decide whether the inscriptions stood above the arch under honorary statues, or in some position lower down, being merely memorial tablets.

This completes the list of pre-imperial arches. Only one bore honorary statues,

¹ Liv. XXXIII, 27, 6.

² XXXVII, 3, 15.

³ See Mommsen, *Annali dell' Istit.* 1858, p. 175.

⁴ Cic. *Planc.* 17; *Verr.* I, 19; *de Or.* II, 257, cum schol. p. 133, 393, 399, Or.; Seneca, *Dial.* II, 1, 3; schol. *Pers.* IV, 49; Treb. *Vita Salonini*, I, 4.

⁵ See Lanciani, *N.S.* 1882, pp. 222-226. Additional fragments have been discovered in the course of the recent excavations of Sig. Boni.

⁶ *C.I.L.* VI, 1303-1304.

and all were probably small and of simple construction. The material used was soft tufa, which was not suitable for durable constructions, or travertine, which, though harder, was too coarse for sculptured decoration. It was not until the beginning of the Empire that increased wealth and the influence of the East led to the introduction of marble, and made possible the richly carved structures of which so many remains still exist.

When the arches were placed over roads, triumphal processions naturally passed under them, but no especial significance was attributed to this fact. An exception might seem to be offered by the *Porta Triumphalis* at Rome.¹ Here began the triumphal processions after they had formed outside the city in the Campus Martius. But the emphasis in this case is not laid on the monument itself as a part of the triumph, but on the fact that at this point the procession entered the city and the triumph proper began. Moreover, the *Porta Triumphalis* is never termed *arcus*, and we know absolutely nothing of its size or ornamentation, and are only approximately certain of its location.²

The question of how much the Romans owed the Greeks in this use of the arch has been much discussed. The Greeks developed the three great orders of architecture, and they used to some extent the arch. At Oeniadae in Acarnania there are several city gates crowned by true arches which date from the third century B.C.³ At Sicyon also, and in other Greek cities, true arches exist which date from an early period. At Ephesus the Austrians have recently found a gate with arched side openings dating from Hellenistic times.⁴ A study of Hellenistic reliefs shows a limited use of the arch in gateways,⁵ and one example⁶ of what appears to be a filling of the spandrels with bas-reliefs. Of more frequent occurrence is the use of architectural features, such as isolated columns, as bases for statues. Later on in Pompeian frescoes this becomes very common, and amidst the maze of architectural details, the projecting ledges often become bases for statues and other objects. Such evidence, however, should be used with caution.⁷ Another Greek practice which has bearing on this subject was the placing of arched tetrastylae at important street crossings in many of the cities of Asia Minor. Unfortunately very little remains of these to show their construction and decoration. From all of these elements the Romans drew, but as in the case of the amphitheatres, basilicas, and baths, the combination of the elements is their own invention, and the result is different from anything before known.

In examining the component parts of the Roman arches, we find in the same monument the Greek order applied both to a flat wall and to an arched opening, and these

¹ Cf. also its late parallel in the *Porta Aurea* at Constantinople.

² From Joseph. *Jud.* VII. 5, 4, we learn that it lay near the Villa Publica, between this, the temple of Isis, and the Circus Flaminius.

³ Powell, *A.J.A.* VIII, 1904, p. 137 seq.

⁴ Not yet published in detail. See *Jahrb. d. Ost. Arch. Inst.* 1900, Beibl. 89.

⁵ See Schreiber, *Hellenistische Reliefbilder*, pls. XXIII, LXXXIX.

⁶ *Ibid.* pl. LXXXIX.

⁷ In a recent article (*Festschrift zu Hirschfelds 60tem Geburtstage*, p. 417) Professor Loewy shows an instance of an arched construction bearing an equestrian statue, and argues from this that it must reproduce a practice which was much earlier than is generally admitted, since probably this detail was borrowed with most of the others from earlier prototypes. The theory is ingenious, but the evidence as yet seems too scanty to be of much value.

two separate elements so harmoniously coördinated that the resultant type of building has served as a model for architects ever since.

As regards the effect upon the beholder, the first steps in thus changing the structural meaning of the Greek order were not quite as drastic as they are generally represented. In the systems of decoration involving engaged columns, with the corresponding members of the entablature merely indicated against a flat wall, these members produce an effect quite apart from their real structural value. When part of a known construction is before the eyes, the imagination instinctively fills in that which is lacking, and in the case in question, the wall, which is the real supporting member, assumes a relatively unimportant position. This is especially true in the early arches of which the flat surfaces were left undecorated. The introduction of reliefs destroyed more and more the illusion, and about the time of Hadrian the last attempt at deception was given up by the separation of the columns from the wall. Henceforth over these free-standing columns the entablature projects as a ledge, which sometimes bore statues, but which has no connection with the arch itself in any structural sense.

Naturally at different periods, and even in the structures of any given period, the details vary greatly, but almost without exception the general scheme of decoration resolves itself into a frame, consisting of pilasters, or of columns which were either engaged or free-standing, single or double, and with the outermost either on, or near, the outer corner of the pier. These supports bear the main entablature, above which an attic supported quadrigae, statues, and trophies. In no case have any of these last-mentioned decorations survived *in situ* to the present day, but numerous representations on coins show how frequently they were employed. As was stated above, the columns and other members have little or no structural connection with the arch proper, which consists merely of a huge, rectangular block of concrete or masonry, through which is cut a vaulted passageway.

For the ornamentation of the ends of the passageway the Greek orders were again adopted. The architrave was bent to form the archivolt. At the four corners of the opening were placed impost supports, consisting generally of pilasters, with or without bases, either facing the façade (Gavii, No. 19), or the passageway (Titus, No. 28), or else completely sheathing the corner (Orange, No. 17), and provided either with capitals, as in the early arches (Susa, No. 4) and in some later arches which follow no given rule (Announa II, No. 58), or more generally with a simple moulding as support for the archivolt. This moulding was either adapted to the pilaster as its capital, springing directly from the wall (Rimini, No. 1), or else it was continued through the passageway as marking the entire length of the impost of the vaulting (Orange, No. 17). Variations in this custom occur frequently, the impost moulding being continued as an ornamental band in the opposite direction along the façade, or often carried completely around the pier. This last is very common in North Africa. In still other cases the impost moulding is present with no supporting pilaster (Ancona, No. 34), but often the presence of a base moulding indicates the corner of the pier as fulfilling the function of a pilaster (Arch of Constantine, No. 78). Very frequently the passageway is not vaulted except for the archivolt at either extremity, and is

provided with perpendicular walls and a ceiling (Lambèse III, No. 55), but even in this case the impost moulding is often continued through the passageway, showing that the idea of the vault is the primary one. The vaultings were often richly coffered (Orange, No. 17) and the side walls used for reliefs (Titus, No. 28; Beneventum, No. 33).

The nature and decoration of the various members involved in this scheme of construction will be taken up in the discussion of the actually existing specimens. Suffice it to say here that the general development corresponds to that in the other varieties of Roman buildings, passing from simple forms, with little play of light and shade, to those in which the coördination and decoration of the members is arranged with regard to the best effect, and in which the projections are in proper proportion to the mass of the monument, not detracting from the enjoyment of the whole, and yet giving a sense of variety. Finally, in the structures of the later periods, a superabundance of detail destroys the effect which the otherwise harmonious proportions might produce.

We see from the above that the decoration of the façades of the monuments resolves itself in most cases into something like a framed picture, in which the central portion, that is to say the decoration of the opening, is framed by the members of the main supports and entablature. This, of course, refers only to arches of one opening, but may be extended to apply to those of two or three, in which case the treatment of the outer piers is the same as above noted, while the central pier or piers are provided generally with but a single support, which serves as part of the frame for the members on either side.

In the early arches there was usually no connection between the central portion and the outer frame. The keystone received no special treatment, and did not reach the main architrave. The spandrels were left free. Later the spandrels were often decorated, and either the crown of the arch was pushed up until it reached the architrave, or else the keystone was projected in the shape of a console to reach that point, which thus received an additional support. In such arches the archivolt, instead of being merely a bent architrave, assumes more nearly the function of a column, and the distinction between frame and framed portion becomes less sharp.

Above the main supports the entablature was either carried in a straight line (St. Remy I, No. 14; Arch of Gallienus, No. 71), or, as was generally the rule, was projected as a small ledge. In some instances this ledge projects above the individual columns or pilasters and is very narrow (Adalia, No. 37; Arch of Septimius Severus, No. 60). In other cases it is broad, and extends over the two central columns together (Orange, No. 17; Arch of Titus, No. 28), or over the pair on either side of the passageway (Pola, No. 8; Haidra, No. 54; Tebessa, No. 61). Above the main entablature was generally an attic. This was replaced in some early arches (Pola, No. 8; Aix-les-bains, No. 9; Orange, No. 17; Saintes, No. 24) by a row of pedestals for statues. Some early arches in Europe (Rimini, No. 1; Orange, No. 17; Verona, No. 19), and some later ones in North Africa (Mactaris I, No. 35) and the East (Antinoë, No. 38; Athens, No. 40), have triangular pediments. Of the elaborate bronze statues and chariots which crowned the whole, only a few fragments are preserved in some of the museums. According to tradition the bronze horses of St. Mark's in Venice came from an arch in the Forum of Trajan at Rome.

Of the seventy-nine arches described in this list, forty-six bear inscriptions. Of these inscriptions thirty-five may be at least approximately dated, and it is thus possible to arrange a chronological series of great accuracy.¹ As an aid in determining the origin and significance of the monuments, the inscriptions are of much less value, except in a negative sense, for they vary in no important detail from thousands of others.² This only confirms what has already been noticed in regard to the lack of literary evidence. In neither case does the commonly accepted designation of the monuments as *triumphal* receive support. It may be surmised from the late inscriptions from Africa with the words *arcus triumphalis*, that prototypes having this designation existed in Rome, but this use of the term is late, and has no connection with the original significance of the monuments. Later on, the descriptions of Rome refer to all arches indiscriminately as triumphal, under the influence doubtless of the reliefs on the Arch of Titus, and the inscription on that of Constantine. Still later, in Renaissance times, arches were considered as indispensable adjuncts of triumphs, and it is this later conception of their function which has influenced all subsequent study of the subject.

¹The position of the inscriptions of the arches does not offer the criteria for dating which might be expected. An examination of all the extant inscriptions shows an almost equal use of attic, frieze, and architrave, and also shows that at no given period was any particular position in vogue.

²In a paper read before the archaeological congress in Athens in April, 1905, and since published in the *Revue Archéologique* (vii, 1906), Professor Frothingham outlines his proposed interpretation of the arches as monuments of civic liberty, and quotes several inscriptions (Vaga, Dougga, Kasserin, Uzappa, Antioch, Patara, Tebessa, etc.) which mention the arches of those places as dedicated to the local deity or genius of the city. The arches, then, are to typify civic independence, and can in many cases be dated by determining at what period the place became of importance. The promised book on the subject is awaited with great interest. From the data given in the preliminary paper the evidence seems scanty. The inscriptions quoted are few in number, and are all provincial. When a city became of importance, it naturally could afford to build an arch, but this does not prove that the arch was built to typify the city's importance.

FIRST PERIOD

REIGN OF AUGUSTUS

IN taking up the description of the many extant arches we shall describe first with some detail the examples which are accurately datable, dividing them rather broadly into periods, and then by analogies of style connect with these as many of the other examples as possible. The reign of Augustus may be taken as marking the first great period in the construction of arches. We have seen that before this period the arches were few in number and known merely from brief references in literature. Of the arches themselves the few fragments of the Arch of Fabius are all that are left. In the period under consideration, few of the arches can be definitely dated, but on the other hand the characteristics of style are strongly marked, and the results attained may be accepted with confidence. The most characteristic type is that of the arch at Susa, with one opening, and with engaged columns sheathing the outer corners of the piers. The various architectural features which belong to an early period will be spoken of in connection with the examples on which they occur.

NO. 1. RIMINI (Italy). The first arch to which a definite date may be given is that of Augustus at Rimini, which according to the fragmentary inscription¹ was erected in 27 B.C. The monument forms a link between gates and arches, but has much in common with the free-standing arches. The sides were connected with the city wall, but in other respects the similar façades and the variety of ornamental detail give it a monumental character, which the early date makes of especial importance to this study. The top and sides have been greatly injured, but enough remains to give a fair idea of the original construction.

The arch has one opening 6.84 m. broad and 4.01 m. deep. The voussoirs are very large and cut to follow the curve of the two-stepped archivolt, which has only one-third their width. This gives an impression of weakness, as the outer line of the voussoirs cuts into the architrave above and the columns at the side. Probably when the arch was new the line of the jointing was less conspicuous. The keystone is ornamented in its upper portion by a bull's head in relief, which projects from, and slightly below, the architrave. An elaboration of this motive in later arches gave the console joining the inner and outer frames. Below the archivolt the impost moulding sheathes the corner in the shape of a pilaster capital, although there is no pilaster indicated below, and although the vaulting is continued through the opening with no inner archivolt (cf. Ancona, No. 34). In the spandrels are medallions with heads of Jupiter and Venus on the outer façade, and of Neptune and Minerva on the side facing the town. The outer frame consists of a channelled Corinthian half-column in the centre of each pier, resting on a low base with upper and lower moulding which encircles the pier on three sides. The entablature consists of a two-stepped architrave, plain frieze, and dentilated cornice.

¹ *C.I.L.* XI, 365.

It projects over the engaged columns, and stops dead against the wall, which is unornamented from this point to the outer corners of the piers. Another cornice, from a point just inside the projecting portion, enclosed a small tympanum, a sign of an early period (Orange, Gavii at Verona, etc.).

The attic, which bore the inscription, is separated by three courses of stone from the main cornice. Part of the inscription remains, but the entire upper portion of the monument has disappeared.¹

No. 2. AOSTA (Italy). To be closely connected in point of time with the foregoing is the arch of Aosta. This arch is of a purely monumental character. The entire upper portion above the frieze of the Doric entablature has disappeared, so that no inscription remains, but the awkwardness of such details as the broad archivolt cut by the columns, and the very short and broad impost pilasters, together with the presence of such early characteristics as the common base for the inner and outer frames, make probable the commonly accepted theory that the arch was erected shortly after the founding of Aosta in 25 B.C.

The arch rests on a concrete base and a three-course foundation. The material is a rather coarse pudding-stone of local provenience. The piers are built up solid and have no inner chambers, as was common later. The arch has one opening 8.86 m. broad and 8.87 m. deep. Completely encircling the piers, which are 5.31 m. in breadth, is a rather high pedestal with a moulding at the top and at the bottom, which acts as a common base for the impost and column systems. On account of this high pedestal the impost pilasters become much stunted. They are six in number, four of which sheathe the corner in the usual manner. The other two support the impost moulding in the centre of the passageway, a motive which occurs nowhere else. They are all very short and have plain, slightly projecting shafts and Corinthian capitals, above which runs the impost moulding. This use of both impost moulding and capital is generally early, and not at all common (Aquino, No. 3). The archivolt is too broad for the size of the arch, and above the impost is cut into for one-half of its width by the inner columns of the façade. The treatment in the vertical sense is better, as the crown of the archivolt reaches the architrave without cutting into it.

The main supports of both façades consist of four three-quarter unfluted Corinthian columns, the outer two of which are on the corners. In addition, each side of the arch has in the centre a similar half-column corresponding to the pilasters within the passageway. For this feature also there is no exact parallel (cf. the pair of columns at Orange). Between the columns on either side of the opening are shallow, narrow niches, fairly high up, which probably contained ornaments of some description. High and narrow niches are common in early arches. Later the feeling was for horizontal lines. Above the Corinthian columns runs a Doric entablature, consisting of a narrow architrave and a frieze with triglyphs and metopes. This combination of orders is rather unusual, but not without parallel, especially in the East (cf. Patara, Antinoë). The entablature projects over the corner columns and then over the inner

¹ For drawings of this and other Italian arches see Rossini, *Gli archi trionfali di Roma*, Rome, 1836. For a discussion of some of the architectural features see Wölfflin, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XVI, 1893, p. 11 seq.

two, which are thus coupled together. In later arches the pair at either side of the opening was usually coupled together. Of the attic nothing remains, though early drawings show that one once existed.¹

No. 3. AQUINO (Italy).² Certain early characteristics of the arch at Aquino seem to connect it more closely with the arch at Aosta than with any other, a supposition which is supported historically by the prosperous condition of the place at the time in question. Of this arch the entire upper portion above the columns has disappeared, and the sides are buried to one-half the height of the impost supports. Through the centre at present flows a mill-race. The arch is of small dimensions and has but one opening. The archivolt is undecorated and marked only by the line of the voussoirs, which are cut to follow its curve. The unchannelled impost columns are nearly free from the corner. They have Ionic capitals with three volutes, bearing a two-stepped impost moulding which springs directly from the corner columns of the arch and runs through the vaulted passageway. On each of the outer corners of the piers are two intersecting, engaged, unfluted Corinthian columns, of which those on the façades project for over half their diameter. Those on the ends are in lower relief, and of these not much over a third projects. The distance between the columns on



FIGURE 1.—THE ARCH AT AQUINO

the sides of the arch is 1.035 m. Corner columns of this type find their only parallel in arch construction at Rheims (No. 67), and to a much less degree at Laodicea (No. 68). At this last place only portions of the capitals intersect.

¹ For further details see Promis, *Le Antichità d' Aosta*, Turin, 1862.

² See Figure 1.

NO. 4. SUSÁ (Italy). The next arch which may be definitely dated is that of Susa. From the inscription we learn that it was erected in 9-8 B.C. by the neighboring tribes under the praefecture of Cottius, in honor of Augustus. The material is white marble from neighboring quarries, resting on a base of three courses of gray calcareous schist, which is used also in the pedestals and plinths of the columns. The blocks of marble were bound by iron clamps covered with lead. Most of these clamps have been removed, causing the many holes which are visible to-day.

The arch has one opening, 5.86 m. broad and 4.21 m. deep. At the impost of the three-stepped archivolt are slightly salient, unfluted pilasters, sheathing the corners and provided with Corinthian capitals. A marked advance over the previous arches is shown by the level of the bases of these pilasters, which is that of the base instead of the top of the pedestals of the columns, and by the narrower archivolt cut on voussoirs of the same width. The crown reaches the architrave, but the keystone does not project as a console, as was common later. The passageway is vaulted for its entire extent. The line of the impost is marked only by a slight fillet connecting the impost capitals. The outer frame consists of four fluted Corinthian columns, so placed on the outer corners of the piers that one-fourth of the flutings is concealed. The capitals are well worked out. The height of the columns is 7.56 m. They rest on projecting pedestals which spring from the wall of the façade at a distance of about their own width from the imposts. On the ends of the arch they are prolonged from one corner column to the other. Above the columns, the bands of the three-stepped architrave decrease in width from the bottom toward the top, in opposition to the usual rule, and the two lower bands incline outward from the top toward the bottom. The entire frieze is carved with reliefs. The cornice has between the dentils a great variety of rosettes. In the second compartment on the west side, near the northwest angle, is an eagle. None of these members project over the columns. Above is an attic, extending the entire width of the arch. On either face of this were identical inscriptions. Only the matrices for the bronze letters remain. The inscriptions are much injured, and a comparison of the two sides is necessary to secure the complete text.¹

The execution of the reliefs on the frieze is poor compared with the architectural excellence of the arch. On the west side (and probably formerly on the east, though nearly all traces of it have disappeared) is represented the drawing up of the treaty of alliance between Augustus and Cottius, who are shown sitting at tables at either end of the relief. On the north and south faces are nearly identical representations of the *suovetaurilia*. On both reliefs are numerous figures of priests, attendants, warriors, and musicians. On the relief toward the south only are represented Castor and Pollux standing beside their horses, one at either extremity of the relief. In front of them are two figures clad in togas, with attendants, of whom one is probably Augustus and the other Cottius.²

NO. 5. ARCH OF AUGUSTUS (Rome). Of all the arches of the Augustan age, only those of Rimini, Aosta, and Susa may be definitely dated. It remains now to connect as many as possible with these from analogies of style, or from the evidence

¹ *C.I.L.* V, 7231.

² See Terrero, *L'arc d'Auguste à Suse*. Turin, 1901.

of inscriptions or literature. Dion Cassius (LI, 19) mentions a *senatus consultum* granting to Augustus an arch in Brundisium and one in the Forum. This decree was passed in 30 B.C. In 20 B.C. another arch was decreed.¹ Whether these were actually erected, we have no means of knowing. There is a strong probability that the foundations of an arch situated in the Forum, between the temple of Castor and that of the deified Julius, should be identified with one of them. The concrete foundations show an arch of three openings. Upon this concrete still rest several large blocks of marble, exhibiting the careful workmanship of the Augustan age. The top moulding of the first course of stone has the simple graceful curve which marks infallibly the work of the best period, and as an added refinement of detail, the lower edge of the block above projects slightly to join the curve of the moulding below it. Two coins of the time of Augustus show arches with three openings.² As regards details, representations on coins should be used with caution. The smallness of the field led to a shorthand system of representing architectural features which is very apt to mislead. On the other hand, the fact that a coin represents a given construction is excellent evidence that such a building once existed.³

NO. 6. PHILIPPI (Greece). The arch of the famous battle-field of Philippi should probably be classed among the early ones of this period. It stands two kilometers from the acropolis and had no connection with the wall, so that there seems no reason for its existence except as a memorial of the battle (42 B.C.). The simplicity of its construction is an argument in favor of this early dating. The only ornamentation consists of impost and corner pilasters of which the capitals have rows of large, flat-lying acanthus leaves and no corner volutes. The width of the opening is 4.98 m.; the depth between the pilasters 4.35 m. The two upper bands of the architrave are joined in the centre and once bore an inscription in metal letters, of which the traces are too thoroughly obliterated to admit of its being deciphered. The monument is now mainly destroyed. The vault has fallen as well as most of the entablature. It was built without cement, of huge white marble blocks in alternately wide and narrow courses.⁴

NO. 7. CAPARRA (Spain). No accurate account of this memorial Janus arch has ever been published. Its decoration consists of engaged unfluted Corinthian columns resting on the same base as the projecting impost pilasters. Above each of these pilasters is a capital as well as an impost moulding (cf. Aquino, No. 3). On the inner corners of the piers are similar pilasters. Before the arch are two statue bases with inscriptions⁵ showing it was dedicated by M. Fidius Macer to two individuals, probably his father and mother.

NO. 8. POLA (Istria). Another early arch is that of the Sergii at Pola. From one of the memorial inscriptions⁶ to a member of the XXIXth legion, which was disbanded by Augustus in 27 B.C., the date is to be placed at about that period. Only

¹ Dion Cass. LIV, 8.

² See Cohen, *Aug.* n. 82; Babelon, *Vinicia*, n. 4.

³ See Jordan, *Top. der Stadt Rom*, I, 2, p. 211; Richter, *Jahrb. d. Inst.*, 1889, p. 151-162; Huelsen, *Röm. Mith.*, 1889, p. 244.

⁴ See Heuzey, *Mission archéologique de Macédoine*, Paris, 1876, p. 118.

⁵ *C.I.L.* II, 834. See Laborde, *Voyage en Espagne*, Paris, 1806-1820, II, pl. 177. ⁶ *C.I.L.* V, 50.

one façade was ever finished. The other was left rough and was probably enclosed. The arch has one opening, of which the stepped archivolt does not quite reach the architrave. Below the impost moulding are pilasters, which have sculptured panels both on the façade and facing the passageway. The moulding is carried through to the opposite façade. On either side of the opening are two fluted Corinthian columns, rather near together, on a common pedestal, which by a projection also receives the impost pilaster. The outer column is on the corner. There are Victories sculptured in the spandrels, and the vaulting is richly coffered. The entablature projects over each pair of columns. The frieze has a sculptured design, except for the space occupied by the inscription, which reads as follows: *Salvia Postuma Sergi de sua pecunia*.¹ Above is a broad cornice and an attic with three projecting pedestals which bear inscriptions, and probably once supported statues (cf. Aix-les-bains, No. 9).²

NO. 9. AIX-LES-BAINS (France). On account of its simplicity of detail, and the excellent cutting of the letters in the inscriptions, the funerary arch at Aix-les-bains may also be ascribed to this period. By funerary is meant an arch which served as a family memorial, and bore inscriptions corresponding to those on the monuments in a modern cemetery. The arch has one opening 3.69 m. wide and 0.775 m. deep. The piers are very narrow and the impost moulding springs directly from the corner pilasters. On account of the shallowness of the arch the pilasters completely sheathe the outer ends of the piers. They have plain shafts and Roman Doric capitals, and rest upon the same plinth as the supporting wall of the impost, which has no base moulding (cf. Ancona, No. 34). The voussoirs have triangular ends, which dovetail into the stones of the spandrels. The archivolt was marked by an almost invisible rim, and a slightly retreating band below. The entablature on the west façade has a two-stepped archivolt and a plain frieze, which project over the corner pilasters. On the east façade the frieze contains eight niches for busts, as specified in the inscriptions under each niche on the architrave below. Above the entablature a low attic had six other inscriptions, two of which have been destroyed. All of the inscriptions refer to friends and relatives of the man whose name appears in large letters running across the spandrels and archivolt on both façades: *L. Pompeius Campanus vius fecit*.³

NOS. 10 AND 11. ST. CHAMAS (France). Of similar construction, but of more architectural beauty, are the two arches at St. Chamas in the south of France, placed one at either end of a Roman bridge over the Touloubre.⁴ They are practically alike in every detail, so that a description of one will suffice. Here, too, the period is shown by the evidence of the excellently cut inscription, and the general simplicity of the architectural details. The opening is 3.555 m. broad and only 0.66 m. deep. The impost mouldings project from the piers above the slightly salient impost pilasters. The archivolt is sharply cut, and does not quite reach the architrave. The piers are broader than at Aix-les-bains, leaving 0.98 m. between the impost supports and the outer pilasters which sheathe the four outer corners. These are of the Corinthian order, with fluted shafts, cabled below. The entablature projects over the pilasters

¹ *C.I.L.* V, 50.

² See Th. Allason, *Picturesque Views of the Antiquities of Pola*, London, 1819, p. 18.

³ *C.I.L.* XII, 2473.

⁴ The distance between the arches is 22.785 m.

on the façades, but joins them on the ends, where they are but 0.485 m. apart. The frieze is ornamented with acanthus arabesques except for the portion occupied by the identical inscriptions on the outer face of each arch. The arrangement of the letters in the two inscriptions is different, and the one on the west face of the west arch is continued on the top band of the architrave. The inscription reads as follows¹: *L. Donnius C. f. Flavos flamen Romae et Augusti testamento fieri iussit arbitrato C. Donnei Venae et C. Attei Rufeii*. The cornice is completely covered with ornamental bands (egg and dart, etc.). Above the pilasters at both ends of both arches are low plinths bearing stone lions (four in all), of which one is said to be antique.²

The ornamental details on the cornice and frieze of the arches at St. Chamas seem to connect them closely with a series of arches also found in southern France, which have long been a puzzle to archaeologists. Numerous attempts at dating them have been made, with results varying about three centuries.³ The arches in question are of comparatively simple design, but are ornamented with a profusion of detail found usually at a later period of the empire or in earlier monuments from farther east under the influence of the Alexandrian and Pergamenean schools. Graef,⁴ misled by an erroneous attribution of the arch at St. Remy to 52 B.C.,⁵ calls it the earliest known arch in Europe and thinks that there must have been prototypes in Alexandrian cities, which were introduced into the West by workmen who were exiled from Alexandria or were imported thence. We shall see in the discussion of the arch that the date assigned is too early. Moreover the Alexandrian influence, while unquestioned as regards details of ornamentation, is most problematic in regard to arch construction as practised by the Romans, who used such monuments, as we have seen, merely as bases, adapted to show off to advantage the ornamental details which were applied to the surface, or to support the statues, which were placed above, or in niches. The arches in question are now generally attributed to the reign of Augustus. Absolute accuracy of dating is neither possible nor necessary, and these, together with a few others with early characteristics, will be treated of as Augustan, although some may border closely on the next period.

NO. 12. CAVAILLON (France). From the essentially similar treatment of the façades, the four-faced arch at Cavaillon should be closely connected with the two previously described. It has been moved from its original position and is much mutilated. The entire entablature and two of the archivolts have disappeared. The openings in their present condition average about 3.30 m. in width. The piers are very small, and with the exception of the impost supports, consist merely of Corinthian pilasters 0.705 m. broad, of which the shafts are entirely covered with excellently carved acanthus arabesques. From either side of these pilasters spring directly the ornate impost mouldings, of which the supports are undecorated and have no base moulding. The archivolt is entirely covered with ornamental bands. It is cut on voussoirs which follow its curve, and did not quite reach the architrave. In the small spandrels

¹ *C. I. L.* XII, 647.

² *Ibid.*

³ See Courbaud, *Le bas-relief romain*, for references.

⁴ In Baumeister, p. 1874.

⁵ A dating derived from an inaccurate work of Gilles, *Précis des monuments triomphaux dans les Gaules*, Paris, 1873.

are figures of Victories. The voussoirs run through the opening, which is only 0.84 m. deep, and have on their under side three large square coffers placed diagonally in larger squares, which last are separated by bands of smaller coffers.

NO. 13. CELENDERIS (Cilicia). This Janus arch is mentioned in this connection because of its similarity to the one just described. The date is less certain, as it lacks the well-cut decorative features. On the other hand it is better preserved, and has in addition to the similar lower members (*i.e.* corner Corinthian pilasters closely abutting against the impost moulding, and three-stepped archivolt), an entablature with a torus-shaped architrave, frieze, and ornate cornice, and above this the beginning of what was possibly a pyramidal cap (cf. Vienne, No. 18).

NO. 14. ST. REMY I (ancient Glanum, France). The so-called mausoleum of St. Remy is in reality only a Janus arch placed on a higher pedestal than usual, so that it cannot serve as a passageway. Its function was to serve as a base for two memorial statues, which stand above in a construction consisting of ten fluted Corinthian columns on a circular base, bearing a circular entablature with a scroll ornament on the frieze, and having a sugar-loaf cap with a scale-like covering. The base of the arch consists of several steps, above which is a high pedestal with small Ionic corner pilasters, between which are reliefs with battle scenes, the details of which continue over on the pilaster shafts. Between the capitals of the pilasters hang clumsy wreaths, held at three points by Cupids. This arrangement forms four loops of the wreaths, in each of which is a mask.

Above the pedestal is the square plinth upon which rests the arch. Upon the outer corners of the piers are four fluted three-quarter Corinthian columns. Within, the piers have straight sides and the ceiling is flat. The archivolt extends for about two-fifths the width of the piers. The impost moulding springs directly from the wall. The support below is salient only on the façade and is provided with a base moulding. The archivolt has a broad ornamental band and heads of Medusa in relief on the keystones. The frieze of the non-projecting entablature is ornamented with Sirens, Tritons, and sea-animals in relief. On the architrave on the east façade is the inscription, *Sex(tus), L(ucius), M(arcus), Iulii C(ai) f(ilii) parentibus suis*.¹ The date, judging by the cutting of the letters and the use of *ei*, could be no later than the first portion of the first century A.D.

NO. 15. ST. REMY II (France). The arch of St. Remy stands in close relation to the monument just described and is probably of the same period. It has one opening 4.68 m. broad and rests on a projecting foundation of two courses, the lower of which is partly buried. Running completely around the piers is a base moulding which serves as lower moulding for the pedestals of the column system and projects as a base for the salient impost pilasters. These have plain shafts, to which is adapted as a capital the impost moulding, which springs from the wall of the façade, and is afterward carried through the passageway. This moulding has a narrow frieze decorated with weapons and sacrificial objects in relief. The archivolt projects slightly from the vaulting of the passageway, which has richly decorated hexagonal coffers. The outer face of the archivolt has a rather heavy relief representing flowers,

¹ *C.I.L.* XII, 1012.

fruits, leaves, and grapes. The under surface has a more graceful design consisting of a conventionalized scroll. The crown does not reach the architrave. In the spandrels are well-cut figures of Victories in low relief. On either side of the opening are two



FIGURE 2.—THE ARCH AT CARPENTRAS

engaged channelled columns, the innermost near the impost, the outer on the corner of the pier. The capitals and entablature have disappeared. The columns rest upon a plinth and pedestals, which not only project beneath them, but are also carried along the façades and ends of the piers in lower relief. Between the columns both on the façades and on the sides are bracket-like mouldings which bore well-executed reliefs.

Those on the façades remain and represent in each case two captives, one male and one female, standing chained to a trophy. The reliefs on the sides were framed by ornate pilasters, of which only the lower portion remains. The attention paid to the sides of this and the two following monuments is worthy of note. It shows a unity of treatment of the arch taken as a whole, which has no parallel in Italy until the Arch of Constantine. In many cases the reason for the neglect of the sides lies in the lack of depth in the monuments. Those under consideration are very deep and have broad surfaces on the sides, which are adapted to receive ornamentation.

NO. 16. CARPENTRAS (France).¹ Of this arch the entablature and capitals of the columns have disappeared. The architectural features which remain correspond almost exactly to those at Susa (No. 4). There is a somewhat freer use of ornamental detail. Thus the impost pilasters have fluted shafts, which are cabled below, and on the sides of the arch between the columns are reliefs with trophies and captives similar to those of St. Remy II, but of poorer execution. The arch has one opening 3.55 m. broad and 3.87 m. deep. Unlike the arch at Susa, the archivolt projects from the vaulting of the passageway, giving an inner archivolt. To support this, the impost pilasters project from the wall. The impost moulding, which has various ornamented bands, is adapted to these as capitals, after which it is continued through the passageway with the same contours, but without ornamentation. The decorated archivolt did not reach the architrave. The engaged fluted corner columns are cabled below. Their pedestal continues across the end as at Susa, the only difference being that its lower moulding is continued around the piers, and serves as a base for the impost pilasters.

NO. 17. ORANGE (France). The most imposing monument of this series, and one of the most elaborately ornamented arches in existence, is that of Orange. The date of this arch has long been a subject of controversy. On the north side are holes in the architrave which from their regularity were evidently formed by the nails by which the bronze letters of an inscription were attached. From these holes the beginning of an inscription to Tiberius² has been made out as follows: *August. f. divi Iuli nepoti August.* The letters, however, were affixed after the monument was completed, for they covered the decoration of the architrave. This makes it quite possible that the date of the arch falls in the reign of Augustus. In favor of this view might be noted the general heaviness of the proportions, such as the disproportionate mass of the entablature and attic, so that the main opening does not reach to one half the height of the monument. In spite of the over-decoration of later arches, the matter of proportion was more carefully worked out. Another awkward feature is the way the ends of the gables on the sides destroy the line of the cornice on the façades. There is also some carelessness in the minor details. Thus the architrave is not stepped, but has its bands of decoration cut into a plain surface. The arch is the first extant example with three openings. It might be noted here that there is often little difference in decoration between arches of one and of three openings. The smaller passageways may well be regarded as transformed niches. Doubtless the niche in the earlier monuments first gave the idea

¹ See Figure 2.

² *C.I.L.* XII, 1230.

for this development. The breadth of the central opening is 5.81 m. ; that of the side 3.51 m. between the walls of the passageway. The crown of the smaller archivolts is higher than the level of the main impost. The treatment of the projecting imposts and archivolts, and of the inner vaulting is the same as at Carpentras (No. 16). On the outer and inner archivolts and on the impost mouldings are bands of flowers and fruits. On the pilaster shafts are arabesques. On either façade are four fluted Corinthian columns, of which two are between the main and the smaller openings, but are separated by some space from the imposts. The other two are on the outer corners. All are on projecting pedestals, of which the base mouldings continue around the piers. The entablature projects over the two central columns and has above them a gable, which reaches almost to the attic. The attic has one large pedestal in the centre, and one smaller one on either side. The entire space between the imposts of the smaller openings and the architrave is filled with a confused mass of Gallic weapons and military emblems pertaining to land battles. In the panels on either side of the gable are other groups with rostra, anchors, tridents, and various weapons used in naval encounters. In these some writers see Pergamenean influence.¹ On some of the shields are the names of the owners, as *Sacrovir*, *Boduacus*, *Mario*, etc.² The frieze has rather stiff groups of fighting warriors. On the north face this was never finished and the surface is left rough. On the large attic is a cavalry battle.

The other surfaces, such as the spandrels of the main opening, and the gable, have holes where bronze decorations were once affixed.

On the sides of the arch the pedestals are prolonged from one corner column to the other and bear in addition to the corner columns a unique feature in the shape of two similar columns at equal distances between them. The only parallel to this type of ornamentation is in the Janus arches, in the case of which a passageway is pierced between the two inner columns. Above each pair of these columns the entablature projects as a ledge. A gable extends from the outer corners to the same height as on the façade, because the distance between the outer columns on the ends is the same as that between the inner columns on the façades. Joining the projecting portions of the entablature, between the pairs of columns, an arched depression nearly fills the tympanum. The impost mouldings of the side arches are carried across the ends of the piers between the columns and serve as a base moulding for the reliefs above. These reliefs consist of trophies, which reach to the architrave, and have chained to them captives, similar to those at Carpentras and St. Remy. On the west end these reliefs are in part destroyed, and of the upper decoration but little remains. A door on this side leads to an inner room over the vaulting. The east end is better preserved. The frieze is ornamented with warriors as on the south façade. At either extremity of the gable are horns of plenty. Within the semicircular depression in the tympanum, of which the vaulting is decorated with stars, is a head with rays. Above, on either side of the gable, are figures of Sirens. Considerable portions of the arch as it stands have been restored. For further details the reader is referred to the excellent work of Caristie on the subject.³

¹ See Courbaud, *Le bas-relief romain*, Paris, 1899, p. 330 seq.

² *C.I.L.* XII, 1231.

³ Caristie, *Monuments antiques à Orange*, Paris, 1856.

NO. 18. VIENNE (France). To be mentioned in this series of arches because of the general similarity of the architectural arrangement, although the working out of the details was never completed, is the four-faced arch at Vienne. The scheme of decoration is simple, resembling that at Susa and Carpentras. The three-quarter columns on projecting pedestals at the corners have at present roughly made Doric capitals, which were evidently intended to be worked over into better shape and probably into the Corinthian order. The impost pilasters are slightly salient on the façades only. The impost moulding tapers off on the piers instead of springing directly from the wall as an impost capital. In the passageway this moulding is continued almost to the inner corner of the pier, so that it joins the moulding of the corresponding side opening with its top member only. The passageways are not vaulted, but together with the central space have a flat roof. The undecorated archivolt is probably also unfinished. It has an unfinished keystone which projects upward to the architrave. The entablature projects over the corner columns. Above the cornice is a square plinth and a slender pyramid 3.78 m. square at the base and 15.5 m. high. The distance from the ground to the base of the pyramid is 7.745 m. For this type of construction it would be difficult to find an exact parallel.

NO. 19. ARCH OF THE GAVII, VERONA (Italy). According to extant descriptions and drawings¹ another Janus arch stood at Verona until the year 1805, at which time it was completely destroyed. It was probably erected toward the end of the reign of Augustus. In point of style it stands midway between the arch at Aosta and that of Titus. The entire lower portion of the pier was treated as a base with top and bottom mouldings, bearing on projections both the impost pilasters and the engaged channelled Corinthian columns, of which two stood at either side of the opening on the main façades, one on the outer corner and one touching the impost capital. Between each pair of columns was a narrow high niche framed by small engaged columns and a pediment. The impost pilasters were provided with ornamental panels and Corinthian capitals. The other details are perhaps less certain, as in the drawings there is a tendency to restore missing portions. There was evidently a gable above the entablature. The sides of the arch seem to have been much narrower, and had for decoration only the corner columns and a much lower archivolt with no pilasters. Under the niches on the façades were the inscriptions: *C. Gavius C. f. Straboni*; *(M. Gavius) C. f. (Mac)ro*; and *Gaviae M. f.*² Twice within the arch occurred the inscription: *L. Vitruvius L. l. Cerdo architectus*.

NO. 20. POMPEII I (Italy). Of somewhat similar decoration is the arch to the east of the temple of Jupiter at Pompeii, which serves as one of the entrances to the Forum. All that remains is a moderately high base as at Verona, upon which rests the brick core of an arch of one opening. This core had once a veneering of marble. There now remain but a few traces of the engaged fluted columns, two of which stood on either side of the passageway. Closely adjoining the innermost of these were rather narrow impost pilasters. Between the pairs of columns are niches, shallow on the side toward the Forum, and evidently intended for statues. Those on the other side are deeper and may have served for fountains.

¹ Rossini, *op. cit.* pl. XIX.

² *C.I.L.* V, 3464.

NO. 21. POMPEII II (Italy). The corresponding arch on the other side of the temple has even fewer traces remaining. It is of more slender construction and had pilasters instead of engaged columns on the façades.¹

NO. 22. TRIESTE (Dalmatia). The ornamentation of the small arch at Trieste is simple enough to warrant us in classing it in this period, although the date is probably later than that of the inscription² referring to the erection of the city wall in 33 B.C.: *Imp. Caesar cos. desig. tert. IIIvir r. p. c. iter. murum turresque fecit*. The stepped archivolt reaches the architrave. It is supported by impost pilasters which project from the wall of the passageway. The passageway is not vaulted. Adjoining the impost pilasters are fluted Corinthian pilasters which sheathe the outer corners of the piers and support the non-projecting entablature.³

NO. 23. CORINTH (Greece). Only the foundations remain. The arch had one opening 3.65 m. broad and was ornamented with columns on at least one façade. Several coins⁴ show that an arch existed at Corinth from the time of Augustus. It is best represented on a mirror-case of the time of Nero, which is said to have been found at Corinth.⁵ This shows an arch of the early type, with corner columns, and surmounted by a quadriga.

¹ In this connection might be noticed the analogous arched brick base on the south side of the Forum, probably the smallest ever provided with a passageway. It is 4.20 m. broad, 4.20 m. deep, and has an opening running through which is not quite 1 m. broad. It evidently once bore a statue. On either side are somewhat lower bases. The dates of all these monuments are uncertain, but must be earlier than 79 A.D.

² *C.I.L.* V, 525.

³ Rossini, *op. cit.* tav. 18.

⁴ Sears, *A.J.A.* VI, 1902, p. 450.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 453.

SECOND PERIOD

TIBERIUS TO HADRIAN

A SECOND group embraces the arches from the time of Tiberius to that of Hadrian. Except for the unique example at Saintes, which follows no given order, and the arch at Spoleto, which is still on the plan of that at Susa, the arches before the time of Titus are either fragmentary, or known only from inscriptions. The other arches till the time of Hadrian either follow closely the plan of the Arch of Titus, or else they introduce new features, which will be taken up as they occur. Most of the arches may be dated with accuracy.

NO. 24. SAINTES (France). This arch is noteworthy as being the only early arch with two passageways. The only other example which comes within the scope of this paper, that of Announa II (No. 58) is much later. The arch of Saintes has been removed from its original position, where it once formed the entrance to the adjacent bridge. We have already seen bridge arches at St. Chamas, and later we shall find them of frequent occurrence. The date, 17 A.D., is derived from the inscriptions.¹ That on the frieze reads as follows: *C. Iulius C. Iuli Otuaneuni f. Rufus, C. Iuli Gedomonis nepos, Epotsorovidi pron(epos), sacerdos Romae et Augusti, ad aram quae est ad confluentem, praefectus fabrum d(at)*. Three other inscriptions, consisting of dedications to Germanicus, Tiberius, and Drusus, stood on the attic, probably below statues. This use of statue bases in the attic has already been noted as a feature in the earlier arches. The decoration of the arch is peculiar and has its only parallels in North Africa, and at a much later period. (Announa II, No. 58; Bouf-tis, No. 42; Zanfou, No. 62.) On all three piers the impost mouldings, which here take the form of small entablatures, are continued entirely around, dividing the piers horizontally into two portions. Below this entablature, not only at the imposts, but also on the outer corners of the outer piers, are Corinthian pilasters. Above the impost entablature on the outer corners of the outer piers are engaged Corinthian columns supporting the main entablature. The central pier is narrow and the archivolt of the two openings nearly touch. On this pier there is no support for the main entablature. The archivolt is three-stepped and touch the architrave with their crown.

NO. 25. SPOLETO (Italy). From Tacitus (*Ann.* II, 64) we learn that two arches to Drusus and Germanicus stood in the Forum of Augustus at Rome, one on either side of the temple of Mars Ultor.² Of these arches nothing remains. The date was about 19 A.D. At Spoleto there still exists an arch dedicated to these same princes. The type is that of the arch at Susa, and displays something of the awkwardness of construction which marked the earliest of the arches of the Augustan period. The arch has one

¹ *C.I.L.* XIII, 1036.

² *C.I.L.* VI, 911 ; Jordan, *op. cit.*, I, 2, 445.

opening 4.16 m. broad. The three-stepped archivolt is nearly twice the width of the Corinthian pilasters which support it. On the outer corners of the piers were unfluted Corinthian pilasters. The arch is much mutilated. Portions are concealed by the adjoining houses, and its piers are buried to one-half of the height of the imposts. Fragments of one of the corner pilasters have been built into an adjacent wall. Between the archivolt and architrave are fragments of two inscriptions, one to Germanicus and one to Drusus.¹ From these the date is placed at about 23 A.D.

No. 26. ARCH OF TIBERIUS (Forum, Rome). We have records of two arches of Tiberius. Of the one of these which was situated in the Forum, portions of the foundations remain. The other is known only from a reference in Suetonius.² The location of the arch in the Forum is made certain from the reference in Tacitus (*Ann.* II, 41), who says it was erected *propter aedem Saturni ob recepta signa cum Varo amissa ductu Germanici auspiciis Tiberi*.³ Recent excavations have laid bare a concrete foundation 9 by 6.3 m., between the northwest corner of the Basilica Julia and the Rostra. The arch was against the Clivus Capitolinus and probably could only be traversed by means of steps. At the foot of the nearest of the brick bases to the north of the Sacra Via have been piled a number of marble fragments, which probably once formed part of the decoration of the arch. Amongst them is a fragment of a huge inscription showing the upper portion of the words (*s*)*enatus populu(s)*. It is thought by many writers that the arch is represented on the marble balustrades of the Forum, between the temples of Concord and Saturn. Aside from the difficulty of seeing the arch in that position from the Forum, the fact that the arch there represented has but one impost moulding indicated, may show that it stood behind the temples and was in part concealed by them.

No. 27. ARCH OF CLAUDIUS (Rome). Of the arch which once spanned the Via Lata as an ornamental arch of the Aqua Virgo, only a few fragments of inscriptions and reliefs remain. The inscriptions consist of dedications, six in number, to the emperor and members of his family.⁴ The dedication to the emperor occupied a panel in the attic, of which panel nearly half still exists built into a wall behind the Barberini palace. The bronze letters have vanished, but the cuttings and holes for fastening them remain. The date is 46 A.D.⁵ The fragments of reliefs are two in number and are now on the porch of the Villa Borghese. They represent a group of Roman generals and standard-bearers in procession. This is the first arch in Italy where figures in any number were represented in relief (cf. Orange, No. 17; St. Remy I, No. 14).

No. 28. ARCH OF TITUS (Rome). The next arch of which any traces remain⁶

¹ *C.I.L.* XI, 4776, 4777.

² *Suet. Claud.* 11: *Tiberio marmoreum arcum iuxta Pompei theatrum, decretum quidem olim a senatu verum omisum, peregit.*

³ The arch is also represented on a relief on the Arch of Constantine as adjacent to the Rostra.

⁴ *C.I.L.* VI, 920, 921.

⁵ See *C.I.L.* III, 7061, for a similar inscription which probably stood on an arch at Cyzicus, in Asia Minor.

⁶ No trace remains of the arch of Nero which once stood on the Capitoline. It is known from Tacitus (*Ann.* XV, 18): *At Romae tropaea de Parthis arcusque medio Capitolini montis sistebantur decreta ab senatu. . . .* This may be the arch of Nero shown on a coin (Cohen, *Nero*, 306) as having one opening, and decorated with statues and reliefs.

is the fairly complete arch of Titus, which spans the Sacra Via at the highest point of the Velia. From the inscription,¹ we learn that the arch was erected after the death and subsequent deification of Titus (*c.* 82 A.D.).² Only the central portion, of Pentelic marble, is ancient. The rest of the structure was restored in 1822 by Pope Pius VII. The restorations are of travertine and include most of the attic and the outer half of both piers, except for some early fragments which have been built in. The work is very accurately and conscientiously done. The likeness of the ancient portions to corresponding details on the arch at Beneventum make certain the restorations along the same lines. In spite of its conspicuous situation the arch is not mentioned in literature and is represented only once among ancient remains and that in a distorted manner, on the relief of the Haterii, which is now in the Lateran museum. The arch suffered much during the Middle Ages, and at one time formed part of a fortress of the Frangipani, in which period possibly the lower portions of the reliefs were hacked away. Even in recent times a roadway passed through it, and the varying height of the ground level at different periods may be traced from the marks made by the hubs of passing wheels along the sides and on the corners of the passageway.

The arch has one opening 5.36 m. broad and 8.30 m. high. The whole monument is 13.50 m. broad, 15.40 m. high, and 4.75 m. deep. Both the pedestals of the columns and the impost pilasters have a common plinth, which completely surrounds the pier. A new motive is introduced in the impost system, in that the ornamental faces of the pilasters are turned toward the passageway instead of toward the façades. The impost moulding has carefully cut bands of decoration. It springs directly from the columns of the façades, and after projecting under the archivolt is prolonged without decoration through the passageway. On either side of the opening the façades had a pair of engaged fluted columns with Composite capitals, of which order these are the first examples. Those near the opening are mainly ancient. Those on the outer corners of the piers are restorations. They rest upon a common high pedestal, which is prolonged across the ends of the piers. The lower moulding of this pedestal is also prolonged through the passageway, projecting below the impost pilasters as their base. Above this moulding, between the imposts, is a sunken panel and then a broad plain band corresponding in height to that of the upper pedestal moulding and the column bases taken together, and serving as the lower member of the frame for the relief, which completely fills the space as far as the impost moulding. The archivolt projects from the vaulting, and is stepped without, plain within, and ornamented with a carved panel on the under side. The vaulting is richly coffered except for a small square relief in the centre of the crown, representing the apotheosis of the emperor.

Between the columns, both on the façades and on the ends, are narrow panels with simple borders. Below these panels, on the façades, are tall, narrow niches. In the northeast niche is a door leading to an inner stair. The narrow, rounded bands below the capitals of the columns are continued between the columns, both on the façades

¹ *C.I.L.* VI, 945.

² Of another arch which was dedicated to Titus on account of his Jewish victories and which stood in the Circus Maximus, only an early copy of the inscription remains. *C.I.L.* VI, 944 (Einsiedl.).

and on the ends of the arch. The entablature projects over the corner columns, and then over the central two, taken together. The archivolt reaches the architrave by means of a projecting console, which has a figure of Roma on the Colosseum side, and another, possibly of Fortuna, on the side toward the Forum. The spandrels are ornamented with Victories carrying standards, trophies, wreaths, etc. The frieze on the Colosseum side has reliefs showing soldiers bearing the god of the river Jordan on a litter. In front is a procession of animals for sacrifice, and other soldiers bearing booty. The execution is poor, the lines are stiff, and there is no grouping of the figures. The members of the high attic project over the columns in the same manner as the entablature below. The central panel on the Colosseum side bears the inscription. Probably an identical inscription was on the other side, but, if so, this has disappeared, and its place is occupied by a papal dedication.

Of much better technique than the figures on the frieze are the two reliefs within the passageway, which represent to one going through toward the Forum two processions moving in the same direction. That on the left is passing under a gate, possibly the Porta Triumphalis, and represents soldiers bearing the spoils from the temple of Jeru-



FIGURE 3.—THE ARCH AT ALCANTARA

salem. On the opposite side is represented the end of the triumphal procession, with Titus in a chariot conducted by the goddess Roma. Behind the emperor is a figure of Victory, who places a wreath upon his head.

No. 29. ALCANTARA (Spain).¹ A number of arches were erected during the reign of Trajan. The earliest of these is the bridge arch at Alcantara in the extreme west

¹ See Figure 3.

of Spain. It spans the roadway in the centre of the wonderfully well-preserved Roman bridge, by means of which the road from Madrid to Lisbon crosses the Tagus. The arch is of extremely simple design, and probably had no purpose but to carry the memorial tablets. The date (105-6 A.D.) is derived from the dedication to Trajan on the frieze.¹ The other inscriptions were probably four in number, although but one remains.² The panels on which they were presumably inscribed are sunk in the piers, two on either façade, closely adjoining the impost.

The stones of the arch, as of the whole bridge, are bossed, with the exception of those of the vaulting, which are smooth. For the first time we find no architectural features for supports. There are neither columns, pilasters, nor entablature proper. A simple impost moulding starts with a straight cut from slightly within the outer circle of the archivolt, and runs through the shallow passageway. The archivolt is marked only by the voussoirs, which are cut to follow its curve. Above, two simple mouldings, of which the lower touches the crown of the archivolt, enclose the band with the first of the inscriptions referred to above.

NO. 30. BARA (Spain). The arch at Bara is made of a soft stone, which weathers badly, and has twice been restored. The inscription, which was on the frieze, is known only from early copies.³ It read, *Ex testamento L. Licini L. f. Serg. Surae consecratum*. This L. Licinius Sura was a legate and friend of Trajan. The arch has one opening, 5.20 m. broad, flanked on either side by two channelled Corinthian pilasters, of which the outer ones sheathe the outer corners of the piers. From the inner pilasters spring the mouldings which form the only decoration of the imposts. Below the pilasters are high bases completely surrounding the piers.⁴

NO. 31. MARTORELL (Spain). The bridge arch at Martorell has been too badly damaged to merit much attention. It has one opening, 6.20 m. broad. On the outer corners of the piers were channelled pilasters resting on a high base, as in the last example. This feature, together with the use of bossed blocks similar to those at Alcantara, seems to warrant our assigning the work to this period rather than to that of Augustus.⁵

NO. 32. LABANDJA (Asia Minor). In connection with Nos. 29 and 31 may be mentioned the bridge arch at Labandja, although the lack of inscriptions makes the dating uncertain. The arch has one opening, 6.20 m. broad. The decoration consists of a simple impost moulding, which is prolonged around the piers. The voussoirs are cut to follow the curve of the archivolt.⁶

NO. 33. BENEVENTUM (Italy). In 115 A.D. at Beneventum was erected an arch to Trajan, of which the details correspond in almost every particular to those of the Arch of Titus, although the proportions are much larger. A sign of a later period is the increased use of reliefs, which in this case cover both façades. In point of execution the reliefs are poorer than those on the Arch of Titus. The field is more crowded and the workmanship not so good. They refer to actual events in the life of Trajan, whose

¹ *C.I.L.* II, 759.

² *C.I.L.* II, 760.

³ *C.I.L.* II, 4282.

⁴ See Laborde, *Voyage en Espagne*, Paris, 1806-20, I, pl. 40.

⁵ Laborde, *op. cit.*, I, pl. 17-18.

⁶ Laborde, *Asie Mineur*, Paris, 1837, pl. 14.

image occurs in all but two. There has been much discussion¹ as to the order in which the events depicted should be taken.

The arrangement of the reliefs on the façades is as follows : On either side of the inscription in the attic is one large panel, and between each pair of columns are four others, two of which are broad and two narrow, so alternating that the two broad reliefs are separated by one of the narrow ones. The second narrow relief fills the space formed by the marking off of the capital zone, which is done by prolonging the fillet below the capitals from one column to the other. This fillet is also prolonged across the ends of the arch, which are undecorated save for a central panel like the one which the restorer has given the Arch of Titus. This panel in Beneventum corresponds in height to the central narrow frieze of the façade. The other reliefs of the spandrels, keys, frieze, passageway, and vaulting correspond in position to those on the Arch of Titus.²

NO. 34. ANCONA (Italy). Although constructed in the same year as the last example, the arch at Ancona offers several differences in point of detail. It is of much smaller and narrower proportions.³ It stands on a high base and is approached by a flight of steps. The columns are Corinthian, and are closer together and less engaged than the columns at Beneventum. They rest upon pedestals having common top and bottom mouldings which are carried around the pier (but not through the passageway), and which also project under the plinths of the columns, so that each column has its own pedestal. The impost moulding has no corner supports whatever. The base moulding of the pedestals is not carried through the opening. The narrow archivolt does not reach the architrave except by a disproportionately large keystone, which projects not only above, but also below for several inches and extends through the passageway. The figures which ornamented the ends of the consoles are now much battered. Between each pair of columns on the façades are two shallow brackets, above each of which are three holes with incised connecting lines, which evidently once contained bronze ornaments of some description.

On the attic on the side toward the town are three inscriptions,⁴ two to Plotina and Marcina, and one to Trajan.

NO. 35. MACTARIS I (Tunis).⁵ The last extant arch of this period is situated in North Africa and introduces several new features of decoration which are peculiar to that region. For various reasons the building of arches in the Roman provinces of Numidia and Mauretania was especially popular. Material was easily obtainable from numerous quarries, and a certain grade of labor was always available in the shape of the legionaries of the many fortified camps. The arches have little or no relief decoration and often leave much to be desired in point of execution. On the other hand, on

¹ For descriptions of the reliefs and other details see Rossi, *L' arco Traiano di Benevento*, Naples, 1816; Rossini, *Archi trionfali*, Rome, 1836; Meomartini, *Monumenti antichi . . . di Benevento*, Benevento, 1880; Petersen, in *Röm. Mitth.* VII, 1892, pp. 178-192; Domaszewski, in *Jahresh. d. Oest. Arch. Inst.* II, 1899, pp. 173-192; Merrill, *T. A. P. A.* XXXII, 1901, p. 43 seq. ² For the inscription see *C. I. L.* IX, 1558.

³ The opening is but 3.00 m. broad.

⁴ *C. I. L.* IX, 5894.

⁵ See Figure 4. The negatives from which this and the other photographs of arches in Tunis were printed are the property of the Archaeological Commission of Tunis, and are reproduced with the permission of M. Gauckler, who very kindly placed the whole collection at my disposal.



FIGURE 4.—ARCH AT MACTARIS (1)

account of climatic conditions they have suffered less from time than those of most other countries, and they offer certain interesting differences of style.

The arch in question is situated at Maktar,¹ the ancient Mactaris, in Tunis. From the inscription² it was erected in 116 A.D. It has but one opening, 3.90 m.

¹The question of nomenclature in North Africa is a difficult one. Where the ancient and modern names are nearly alike, or where the modern names are unimportant and little known, the ancient names will be used. Otherwise it seems best to employ the modern designation of places. In the use of maps or in travelling they alone are useful, and as a rule they are more familiar and occur more frequently in literature than the ancient names.

² *C.I.L.* VIII. 621.

broad. The decoration of the façades consists really of three frames instead of two. The outer frame consists of two unfluted engaged Corinthian columns situated near but not on the outer corners of the monument. Between them and the main cornice is a space corresponding to two courses of the wall and probably filled by a block bearing the profile of the architrave and frieze, which do not continue along the façades. The second frame is made up of two shorter engaged unchannelled Corinthian columns, separated by some distance from those near the corner. They bear an entablature and a gable, which are indicated in relief on the wall of the façade. The point of the gable would have reached the main architrave had this been continued along the façade. Within the frame is still the impost system. The stones are now worn, but probably the archivolt was indicated by a raised band. The voussoirs are so large that their outer line is cut into by the architrave of the second frame. The impost is marked by a



FIGURE 5.— ARCH AT UZAPPA

simple moulding, which not only continues through the vaulted passageway, but also completely around the piers, except where it is broken by the columns of the two frames. The inscription appears on one façade only, on the frieze under the engaged pediment, which is broken into on that side by a deep rectangular niche. The cornices are ornamented with rather poorly executed egg and dart mouldings. Otherwise the arch

as it stands is without decoration. To be especially noted as characteristics of North African construction are the three frames of the opening; also the gable, and the prolonging of the impost moulding around the piers.

NO. 36. UZAPPA (modern Ksur Abd-el-Melek, Tunis).¹ The type of this arch is almost identical with that of Mactaris I. In this case the main frieze and architrave are continued along the façades. Between them and the outer columns are consoles with eagles in relief in front, and horned and bearded heads on the sides. The impost moulding is even more pronounced, in that it passes through the drums of the columns. The archivolt is marked by a narrow band with a raised border. The voussoirs are very large and are traversed by the shafts of the inner engaged columns. The frieze with the inscription² is not in relief, which leaves the pediment of the engaged columns apparently without support.

¹ See Figure 5.

² *C.I.L.* VIII, sup. 11924: *(geni)o civitatis Uzappae (A)ug. sac. d. d. p. p.* The date is uncertain and may fall in the next period.

THIRD PERIOD

HADRIAN TO SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS

THIS period is distinguished from the two preceding by the fact that within it the important innovation of free-standing columns was made, an innovation arising from the constantly increasing desire for elaboration. As has already been suggested, the result was far from satisfactory from an artistic standpoint. The columns are thrust forward with no reason for their existence, since they have nothing to support but the few inches of the entablature which projects over them. The wall assumes its true supporting function, and the inordinate mass of the piers is revealed with no relieving features. Moreover, the play of light and shade becomes so pronounced that it is out of all proportion to the size of the monument, and only from a great distance can the lines of the arches, which are often truly graceful, be appreciated.

NO. 37. ADALIA (Pamphylia). This large memorial arch is situated in the line of the city walls, and strictly speaking should be classed as a gate. It is flanked by towers and is not a free-standing base; but the duplicate façades, the wealth of ornamental detail, and the inscriptions give the arch such a monumental character that it is included in the present list. It has three openings, 4.15 m. broad and 3.325 m. deep. The impost moulding has no special supports. It surrounds the two central piers, and extends on the sides to the end pilasters. The archivolt does not reach the architrave. The two central piers are so narrow that the archivolt touches. The vaulting has richly carved coffers, in the centre of each of which is a flower or rosette of different design. At an unusual distance in front of each of the four piers (centre of column to wall 2.23 m.) stood a free, unfluted column of the Composite order, on a high pedestal. These have all disappeared but one. In place of the usual pilasters behind the columns are consoles which bear the entablature. At the extreme right and left of the outer piers are pilasters closely adjoining the towers. The entablature projects over each column separately. The frieze is ornamented with vine leaves. On the cornice are small lions' heads, two over each opening and one on either side of the projecting portion. A few traces only remain of an upper story and of a passageway between the towers. One inscription,¹ which, was seen by Beaufort, has now disappeared. It was dedicated to Hadrian and referred possibly to a statue or quadriga. The other inscription, of gilded bronze letters, was fastened to the architrave by leaden clamps, of which traces remain. It ran above all three openings. The beginning as copied by Stewart² read *αυτοκρατορι καισαρι τραιανω ανδριανω*. . . . The extra *ν* in the name of Hadrian is probably a mistake in copying. The date³ may have been

¹ Beaufort, *Karamania*, London, 1817, p. 128; *C.I.G.* III, 4339.

² See Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyliens u. Pisidiens*, I, Vienna, 1890.

³ Durr, *Die Reisen d. Kaisers Hadrian*, Vienna, 1881, p. 61.

130 A.D., the time of Hadrian's visit to that region. Lanckoronski¹ would read the words τ]η πατριδι over the central opening, and believes that the gate was dedicated by some private person, as were most of the constructions of the country.

No. 38. ANTINOË (Egypt). Of about the same date was the arch which stood in Antinoë, a city which was founded by the emperor Hadrian. Since its publication in the *Description de l'Égypte*,² nearly a century ago, it has been completely destroyed. The arch had three openings, of which the central (5.21 m. broad) was over twice the width of the smaller ones (2.46 m. broad). All four piers were also pierced transversely by still smaller passageways, 2.26 m. broad. The decoration offers a mixture of two architectural orders. The main lines are Doric. Two broad Roman Doric pilasters, sheathing the outer corners of either façade, and two others adjoining the main passageway, supported the Doric entablature and low gable. The base moulding and plinth of these were prolonged around the piers and formed also the bases of similar pilasters, which had projecting shafts and capitals on the inside of all the passageways, and at the corners of the transverse openings. On the façades they sprang directly from the main pilasters. The archivols were all three-stepped and narrow. That of the main opening reached but halfway from the impost to the architrave. Projecting from each of the four piers of the façades, low pedestals bore free-standing, unfluted Corinthian columns reaching to the height of the main impost only. Behind these and in relief against the pilasters of the main frame were narrow pilasters of the same height as the columns.³ Together they bore an entablature, which sprang directly from the main pilasters, and after projecting over the columns was carried along the façades above the smaller openings. Above this entablature, over each of the smaller openings, a framed window filled the space between the main pilasters as far as the architrave. Inside the central piers four spiral stairs led to two rooms over the side openings, lighted by the four windows of the façades. There was also a large room over the main passageway of which the means of lighting are not known.

No. 39. PALMYRA (Syria). From the arrangement of the pilasters, reminding one of the free column system of this period, in that one member stands before another, and from the amount and technique of the decoration, it seems best to class the arch of Palmyra with the other arches of Hadrian. The arch is of unique construction, in that the façades are not parallel. The façade toward the city is at right angles to the street over which it is placed. The other deviates about 15 degrees toward the east, probably to harmonize with some building on that side. Transverse passageways exist in the piers, one in the narrower of the piers adjoining the central passageway, two in the broader pier opposite, and two in the pier at the broad end of the arch. The crowns of their archivols lie under the impost mouldings of the lateral openings of the façades. On the east façade are four Corinthian pilasters with framed ornamental panels extending from top to bottom. Two of these are on the outer corners and two closely adjoin the imposts of the main passageway. Between

¹ See Lanckoronski, *op. cit.*

² *Description de l'Égypte*, Paris, 1821, *Antiquités*, p. 228, pls. 57 and 58.

³ Cf. Palmyra (No. 39) for another example of this superposing of pilasters.

these pilasters and the impost of the smaller openings, four similar pilasters appear as if placed behind, with only half of their surface showing. These probably bore the main entablature, which then projected over the still more projecting pilasters. None of the entablature is in place. The central opening is 7.63 m., the side 3.74 m. broad. All three have impost pilasters with panels and capitals, and richly decorated archivolt. The main impost capitals have an acanthus leaf merely on the outer corner. The rest is fluted. The smaller capitals have an entwining vine pattern in place of the fluting. Above the smaller openings are niches, which were probably once framed by small columns and an entablature. Within the arch the passageways are vaulted and coffered.

The west façade differs from the eastern in that the main entablature extends only over the central opening. The sides of the façade reach to the height of the portico, which ran along the street and abutted against the arch above the side openings. Thus the large corner pilasters are absent and the lower entablature is carried by simple corner pilasters and those which terminate the rows of columns of the portico. The last-mentioned pilasters have an ornamental scroll with a lion's head below the Corinthian capital.¹

NO. 40. ARCH OF HADRIAN (Athens, Greece). This arch follows no fixed type in its construction. For the single columns in the centre of the piers, the closest parallels are found in North Africa. (Zana I, No. 49; Zanfour, No. 62.) The arch has one opening, 6.10 m. broad. The two-stepped archivolt cuts into the architrave above. On the corners of the passageway are impost pilasters with Corinthian capitals, such as occur in Italy either in early arches, or in those which are much later than the one in question. At the ends of the piers are Corinthian antae. On either façade a pedestal in the centre of each pier bore a free-standing column. All four of these have disappeared. Over them projected the entablature. Above the entablature in the centre of either pier were once two smaller free columns, separated by a pilaster which still remains. Directly over the opening on either façade are two three-quarter columns separated from those on the other side by a marble screen, which terminated just beyond the columns in antae with Corinthian capitals. Above all of these members is an entablature similar to the one below, which projects over the end columns and over the central two taken together. Above the centre was a very small gable, having only the width of the two engaged columns. On the main frieze on the side toward the Acropolis is the inscription (*C.I.G.* I, 520) :

Αἰδ' εἰς Ἀθῆναι Θεσέως ἡ πρὶν πόλις.

On the opposite side is another :

Αἰδ' εἰς Ἀδριανοῦ κοῦχλὶ Θεσέως πόλις.

That is to say, all on one side belongs to Athens, the former city of Theseus ; all on the other belongs to Hadrian, and not to the city of Theseus.

NO. 41. BESANÇON (France). On account of the free columns, the arch at Besançon cannot be placed earlier than this period. The two-story decoration of the façades reminds one of the arch at Saintes. The arch has one opening, 5.63 m. broad and

¹ See Wood, *Ruins of Palmyra and Balbec*, London, 1827.

2.085 m. deep. It is built into the wall of the archbishop's palace, and the sides are partially concealed. The archivolt reaches the architrave by a projecting key. Below it is a far-projecting impost moulding supported by pilasters which on the main façade have each six small reliefs with scenes symbolic of the signs of the zodiac. The spandrels are deep sunk. The vaulting is covered and bore reliefs, as did the walls of the passageway, all of which are for the most part destroyed. On either side of the passageway are two free Corinthian columns on the same level as the impost pilasters, and of nearly the same height. Their shafts are decorated with bands of reliefs representing mythological scenes, such as Hercules with the Minotaur, Andromeda, Daedalus and Icarus, etc. The projecting entablature of these columns is on about the level of



FIGURE 6.—ARCH AT BOUF-TIS

the impost moulding. Above this entablature are two other smaller free Corinthian columns supporting the main entablature. Between the pairs of columns were also figures in relief.

NO. 42. BOUF-TIS (Tunis).¹ Another arch which follows closely the two-story decoration of the arch at Saintes is found at Bouf-tis. Near by are two inscriptions from arches,² one dating from 137 and one from 161–8 A.D. It is quite possible that one of these belongs to this arch. As is the case at Saintes, the impost moulding, and in this instance also a slightly projecting course below, extend completely around

¹ See Figure 6.

² *C.I.L.* VIII, 799, 801.

the piers. Below on either pier are two fluted Corinthian pilasters in low relief, situated a few inches from the outer and inner corners respectively. They are separated by a framed niche. Above the impost are other similarly situated pilasters with no niche between, of which the inner one has the lower portion of its shaft in relief against the voussoirs. There is no indicated archivolt. The interlacing of the main supports and voussoirs is most inartistic. At Saintes the inner pilasters are omitted (cf. also Announa, II, No. 58; and Fedj-Yesour, No. 43). The upper portion of the arch has entirely disappeared.

NO. 43. FEDJ-YESOUR (Tunis). This small arch of one opening is even more damaged than the last-mentioned example. The portion which remains follows more closely the analogy of Saintes than does the arch at Bouf-tis. Below the impost moulding, Corinthian pilasters sheathe all four corners of the piers. Above, the inner pilasters were omitted. The voussoirs are very large, and have no indicated archivolt. Of the upper portion only the voussoirs and a trace of one of the corner pilasters remain.

NO. 44. SBEITLA I (ancient Sufetula, Tunis). The arch is in reality an entrance to a temple enclosure, and has but one ornamental façade. It represents, however, a type of arch construction peculiar to North Africa, and is almost exactly paralleled by the next example (Mactaris II), and therefore merits description. The attic has nearly all disappeared. On the remaining portion are fragments of dedications¹ to Antoninus Pius, M. Aurelius, and L. Verus, which place the date between 140 and 143 A.D. The arch has three openings, of which the central one is 3.15 m. and those on the sides 1.52 m. broad. The side openings are very low (in the deeper arch at Mactaris II they are replaced by niches) and do not reach to the impost moulding of the main opening, which, as at Uzappa (No. 36), is carried across the façade, cutting through the four engaged unchannelled Corinthian columns. These columns rest on pedestals, and are situated one on either side of the main opening, and one near (but not on) each of the outer corners. Above the columns the entablature and attic project over the outer two and over the inner two taken together. The archivolts are very narrow, but the voussoirs are broad, and reach to the architrave above. Between the columns above the impost moulding are framed rectangular niches.

NO. 45. MACTARIS II (Tunis). The arrangement of details on this arch offers a close parallel to the one just described (Sbeitla I). The main difference lies in the substitution of low pilasters for the engaged columns. The columns have disappeared, but probably once stood free on pedestals in front of the pilasters. The depth of the arch is very great, so that the side openings of the arch at Sbeitla I here become merely niches on either side. Above the impost moulding were no niches.

NO. 46. JERASH (Syria). From datable inscriptions found on adjacent buildings of about the same period, and from its architectural features, this arch may be described at this point. It has three openings, of which that in the centre is exceptionally high. On the façade are four engaged columns on high pedestals, two of which adjoin but do not touch the main imposts, while two are at some distance from the outer corners, much in the style of Sbeitla I. This method of leaving the outer corners free in a system

¹ *C.I.L.* VIII, 228.

involving engaged columns is unusual outside of North Africa. The columns are unique in that the bases have a calyx of acanthus leaves resembling a misplaced capital. The side openings are much injured. The central passageway has impost pilasters with Corinthian capitals slightly narrower than the three-stepped archivolt. Above the side passageways are rectangular niches with a base moulding, which probably once supported flanking columns. The upper portion of the arch has been destroyed.

NO. 47. PATARA (Lycia).¹ The architectural scheme of this arch is very simple. It is built of large blocks of stone, which are smooth for several inches at the joints, and have a low, rough boss in the centre. There are three openings, of which the central is 3.58 m., and the two on the sides 2.60 m. broad. All of the openings are 2.40 m. deep. The two central piers are 3.30 m. and the two end piers 1.78 m. broad. They are unornamented to the height of the narrow impost moulding, which surrounds them on the same level on all sides except at the ends of the arch. The archivolts of one broad band are on voussoirs of like width. The central one is slightly higher,



FIGURE 7.—ARCH AT PATARA

but does not reach the Doric entablature which crowns the arch. This entablature has no supporting pilasters. On either façade, closely adjoining the archivolts and slightly above the impost mouldings, are projecting consoles, one on each end pier (except for the east pier of the north façade), and two on each of the central piers, making eleven in all. They probably once bore statues or busts. Some of the inscriptions with which all of them were probably furnished are still plainly legible.² Above the central pairs of consoles are deep rectangular framed niches, which break into the triglyph frieze of the entablature.

NO. 48. TRIPOLIS (Tripoli). This is the best-preserved and most elaborately decorated of the Janus arches which are still in existence. As is shown by the inscrip-

¹ See Figure 7.

² *C.I.G.* III, 4270-4282. Also see Benndorf and Niemann, *Reisen in Lykien u. Karien*, Vienna, 1884, p. 116, p. XXXVI.

tion, it was erected in 163 A.D.¹ The arch is constructed of huge blocks of white marble without cement. The main façades are about 12.5 m. broad. The others are about 10 m. The archivolts are two-stepped and reach the architrave. On both the outer and inner corners of the passageways are impost pilasters with sculptured panels. They have Corinthian capitals and an entablature with an ornate frieze, which is continued through the passageway around the piers. The soffits of the archivolts have sculptured panels and the vaulting is coffered. Over the centre was a dome which rested on an octagonal cornice (cf. Laodicea, No. 68). In the spandrels are Victories. On the outer corners of the piers are Corinthian pilasters, on the shafts of which are sunk panels with carved ornaments. They rest on pedestals which bear reliefs of vases, tripods, etc. Flanking the opening of the main façades are similar pilasters with fluted shafts. Between the pilasters on either side of the main façade are niches, above which are circular medallions with busts. Between the medallions and the architrave are reliefs, each with two winged Cupids holding a garland. The space between the pedestals was also ornamented. On the side façades, in place of niches between the corner pilasters and the imposts, are reliefs with trophies, victors in chariots, etc. The frieze of the entablature is also sculptured except for the portion bearing the inscription. The upper part of the monument has been badly damaged.²

NO. 49. ZANA I (ancient Diana Veteranorum, Algeria). Near this arch were found fragments of two identical inscriptions,³ containing dedications to M. Aurelius and L. Verus, dating from 165 A.D. These do not certainly belong to this monument, but the style of decoration is unquestionably of the period under consideration. The principal feature of the ornamentation consists of two detached, monolithic, unchanneled, Corinthian columns standing on pedestals on either side of the single opening. Behind them on the wall are Corinthian pilasters. We have already had an example in the arch at Athens (No. 40) of single free columns in front of the piers, and shall find others in North Africa (cf. Zanfour, No. 62). In this case the pilaster adjoins the impost, leaving a blank wall 1.65 m. wide between the pilaster and the outer corner of the pier. The passageway is 4.50 m. broad. The archivolt has bands of decoration, and in the centre a figure of Diana, the protecting goddess of Diana Veteranorum. The archivolt rests on a broad impost moulding resembling the capital of a pilaster, with meanders and egg and dart mouldings, below which are two rows of leaves. The coffers of the vaulting have in the centre rosettes and bunches of vine leaves. The entablature has a convex (torus) profile and a broad cornice. Nearly all of the attic has been destroyed.⁴

NO. 50. TIMGAD (Algeria).⁵ Of probably the same date, although generally attributed to Trajan, is the arch at Timgad. The west gate was of similar construction to this arch, and has fragments of a dedication to M. Aurelius and L. Verus,⁶ dating between the years 166 and 169 A.D. Moreover, the style of the architecture with detached columns could not be much earlier. Fragments of two identical inscriptions were found at the foot of the arch, which merely state that the town was founded by

¹ *C.I.L.* VIII, 24.

³ *C.I.L.* VIII, 4591.

⁵ See Figure 8.

² See Playfair, *Travels in the Footsteps of Bruce*, London, 1877.

⁴ See Gsell, *Monuments antiques de l'Algérie*, Paris, 1901, I, pp. 164-165.

⁶ See Gsell, *op. cit.* I, p. 168.

Trajan in 100 A.D. They read¹: *Imp. Caesar divi Nervae f. Nerva Traianu(s) (A)ug. Germanicus pontif. m(ax.) tr(i)b. pot. IIII. (co)s III. p. p. co(l) Marc(i)anam Traianam Th(a)mugadi per [LEG III] Aug. fec. (L. M)unat(io) Gallo leg. Aug. pro. pr.*

The arch² has three openings, of which the central is 4.73 m. and the sides 2.50 m. broad, between the walls of the passageway. The depth of the arch is 3.08 m. The upper portion has been considerably restored. The material is sandstone of local provenience, with the finer details in limestone and marble. The passageways are not vaulted, but have perpendicular walls and a ceiling. The impost moulding and pilasters spring from the flanking pilasters on the façades and are cut into below by their pedestals. Within the passageway they project far from the wall under the inner archivolt. The moulding is not carried through the passageway. The archivolt of the central openings is three-stepped and does not reach the architrave. The archivolts of the side openings are two-stepped and reach the architrave-like brackets which form the lower members of the frames of the niches, one of which is over each side passageway. Above these brackets, ornamental marble corbels on either side of the niches once bore small flanking columns of marble, above which the projecting entablature still remains. This is on a smaller scale than the main entablature, which does not continue across above the side openings, but after projecting over the main columns on either side, ends directly against the wall. The centre of the space thus left is occupied by the small entablature in question.

The cornice of the main entablature not only projects as described, but is also carried in duplicate over the space above the niches as a circular pediment. This pediment springs from the outer extremities of the portions of the entablature which project over the flanking pair of columns of the main supports. The main supports consist of four unchannelled Corinthian pilasters, in front of which, on the same high pedestals, are detached, fluted, Corinthian columns, cabled below, of white limestone. Two of these are between the large and small openings, and on the west façade have on their capitals sculptured eagles with thunderbolts. The other two closely adjoin the opposite side of the small openings.



FIGURE 8.—ARCH AT TIMGAD

¹ *C.I.L.* VIII, 17842. 17843.

² See Gsell, *op. cit.* I, pp. 174-176.

On the outer corners of the piers are pilasters similar to those behind the columns. The entablature projects over all the columns separately, and is carried around the arch except over the side openings. Above is a low attic with a terminal entablature, which is for the most part destroyed.

Against the ends of the arch abuts a low wall of late construction. From the date and orientation of the buildings situated within this wall it seems probable that it replaces the wall of the first city, although no trace of this early wall has as yet been found. On the west side of the arch, in front of the piers, are two depressions in the pavement, 1.78 m. square and bordered by a groove 0.24 m. wide. These squares are not quite oriented with the arch, and the one on the north side extends for some little distance under the pier as if it existed before the construction of the present arch. It is conceivable that these outline the shape of the piers of an earlier gateway of simple design, which was destroyed when the present arch was erected.

NO. 51. LAMBÈSE I (Algeria). At Lambèse are two arches of the time of Commodus. The date of the first of these is given by fragments of two identical inscriptions.¹

The arch is situated in the western portion of the town over the road leading to Verecunda. It has one opening, 3.76 m. broad and 1.19 m. deep. The archivolt is indicated by a raised band upon the much broader voussoirs. On the key on either façade are busts, an unusual feature in North Africa. One represents a woman with a turret crown; the other is indistinct. On the key of the vaulting were also sculptures, of which only a sword in a scabbard can be made out. A narrow impost moulding springs directly from the pilasters on either side of the passageway, and the base moulding of these pilasters is prolonged through the opening. On either side of the passageway on either façade are two unfluted pilasters, the outer of which are near the corners of the piers. Projecting from the inner pilasters at the height of the imposts are consoles, which possibly bore columns flanking niches between the pilasters, and were matched by like consoles on the outer pilasters. Unfortunately nearly all of the sides and the entire upper portion of the monument has disappeared.

NO. 52. LAMBÈSE II (Algeria). Of similar construction is the other arch of this period, of which fragments of the inscriptions from the attic also exist.² On this arch the outer pilasters are on the corners of the piers and the inner ones are slightly farther from the opening, so that the impost moulding which springs from them extends beyond the archivolt. The passageway is 3.65 m. broad and 1.045 m. deep. The archivolt is two-stepped and does not quite reach the architrave. Between the pilasters at either side of the opening are niches with arched tops. Of the upper portion of the monument but little remains.

NO. 53. ARCO DI DRUSO (adjoining the Porta San Sebastiano, Rome). This arch is popularly attributed to Drusus,³ but has none of the characteristics of such an early period. A close examination of the existing remains shows that the monument was much more elaborate than is generally supposed, although it was never completely

¹ *C.I.L.* VIII, 2698 and 18249.

² *C.I.L.* VIII, 2699, 18112, 2700, 18246.

³ See Sueton. *Claud.* 1, for reference to the arch of Drusus, which was erected over the Via Appia.

finished. It had once three passageways, of which only the central one remains. The existence of the opening to the west is shown by a course of blocks above the impost moulding, which, judging from their profile, were evidently once joined by the lower voussoirs of the passageway. Moreover, the two existing piers have their original width, and with the single columns in front of them belong most probably to the system of arches of three passageways with a single column in front of each of the four piers. The only two exceptions to this rule (Athens, No. 40, and Mustis, No. 70) are both provincial. The material is travertine, which was once completely faced with marble. The portions of the marble facing which remain are the voussoirs for the first course of the vaulting and the keystone for its entire depth. On the surface of these broad voussoirs is indicated a very narrow two-stepped archivolt, which is broken above by the keystone. The keystone projects on either façade and was doubtless destined to be ornamented in some manner.

All of the voussoirs project to some distance from the travertine surface of the piers. Their upper level falls one course short of reaching the architrave (cf. Dougga, No. 66). The impost mouldings are also of marble and were continued around the piers. The blocks on which they are carved project from the piers to the level of the voussoirs, before the moulding proper begins. It is evident that the surface of the piers was brought up to the level of these projecting portions by means of a veneering of marble. On the under side of the impost moulding in the passageway are still visible the metal dowels by means of which this facing was fastened. From slight cuttings in the travertine, and from the projecting of the impost moulding on the façade, but not in the passageway, it is evident that below the imposts were pilasters with a broad face on the façades, and a very narrow one toward the passageway. After projecting over these, the impost moulding was carried around the central piers, of which the one to the west is practically complete. The piers rest on a travertine foundation of several courses. The existing passageway is 5.34 m. broad and 5.615 m. deep.

Of the columns only two are left, one on either side of the passageway on the south façade. They are of Numidian marble and fluted and have Composite capitals of white marble. They stand on high pedestals with no pilasters on the wall behind (cf. Athens, No. 40, and Mustis, No. 70). Over the columns separately project the architrave and frieze of the entablature, of which only the projecting portion remains. The frieze was never finished, but is left rough in places. That other columns existed is shown by a similar piece of projecting entablature, which is built into an adjacent wall. The upper portion of the monument is at present occupied by a cross section of an aqueduct, built of brick, and probably dating from a later period than the arch. Into its surface on the north side are built fragments of an ornate cornice of a fairly late period, and a trace of a pediment, which is too fragmentary to enable one to attribute it to an earlier period than the free columns would indicate. Certainly the cornice, which is much better preserved, could not be earlier than the columns. Over the south façade is a slight trace of a similar pediment.

FOURTH PERIOD

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS TO CONSTANTINE

IN this period we find arches generally having free columns in front of pilasters. There are many signs of decadence, but mainly in the execution of details. The proportions of the arches are often very good. The reliefs, when they occur, are overcrowded and of poor workmanship, and as regards decoration in general, the tendency



FIGURE 9. — ARCH AT HAIDRA

is to overcrowd the members to which it is applied. The mouldings and cornices lack the refinement of line and simple curves found in earlier construction.

NO. 54. HAIDRA (ancient Ammaedara, Tunis).¹ Taking up first several arches from North Africa, we find at Haidra a carefully constructed but very heavy arch of

¹ See Figure 9.

one opening, 5.74 m. broad. The piers are 4.35 m. broad and 6.40 m. deep. The general plan is the same as that of Mactaris II, although no opening or niche occurs between the pilasters. A peculiarity of this arch, reminding one of the arch at Adalia (No. 37), is the distance of the columns from the piers. The measurement from the centre of the columns to the pilasters is 2.08 m. The entablature, with decorated architrave and a very high frieze, is carried forward over these columns on either side of the opening, and then across to the outer column, the pilasters of which are situated near the



FIGURE 10.—ARCH AT LAMBÈSE (III)



FIGURE 11.—ARCH AT ANNOUNA (II)

corners of the piers. This gives the effect of two porticoes in front of the arch, rather than of a column system of decoration for the façade. The result is far more pleasing than the isolated projections at Adalia. The decorated impost moulding is continued around the piers except between the pairs of pilasters from which it springs on either side. There is no impost pilaster and no archivolt. The extreme depth of the monument and the high frieze give it the heavy appearance already alluded to. It dates from 195 A.D., as is shown by the inscription on the frieze.¹

No. 55. LAMBÈSE III (Algeria).² At Lambèse are two other arches of similar construction. The first of these is situated at the end of the Septimian Way, which joins the town to the camp, and probably dates from the same period as the road.³ The type, to judge from the portion which remains, is the same as that of Timgad (No. 50). Of the three openings, that in the centre is 5.01 m. and those on either side 2.345 m. broad between the walls of the passageway. They are all 2.07 m. deep. The passageways, with their flat ceiling, are exactly as at Timgad. The central archivolt did not reach the architrave. There are no niches above the side archivolts, which reach the level of the main imposts. The narrow pilasters of the main supports (four on each façade,

¹ *C.I.L.* VIII, 306. No. 307 is another somewhat similar inscription from the same arch.

² See Figure 10.

³ See Gsell, *op. cit.* I, pp. 176-177, for this and the following arch.

as at Timgad) have marble bases. The pedestals which they had in common with the detached columns (which are no longer in existence) are higher in proportion to the width than those at Timgad, and reach nearly to the imposts of the side openings. A peculiar feature is the additional depth of the side piers, which on each façade project 0.34 m. from the imposts of the side openings. These imposts spring from this projection instead of from the side pilasters of the main supports, which are situated near the centre of the projecting piers. The pedestals of the side columns are of the same size as those in the centre, and therefore project 0.34 m. farther than these, so that the four columns when in place were not in line. At the outer corners of the piers are pilasters which project only on the ends, although the base-moulding sheathes the corner and joins that of the adjacent pilaster at the end of the façade. Of the columns, of the capitals of the pilasters, and of the entablature nothing remains.

NO. 56. LAMBÈSE IV (Algeria). Of similar construction to the last example, and therefore probably of the same period, is an arch situated at the same end of the town. The workmanship is poorer, and the structure contains fragments of earlier buildings. The arch presents a striking appearance on account of the alternate courses of light and dark stone used in its construction. The main opening is 4.95 m. and those on the side are 2.235 m. wide. The depth is 2.07 m. The arch has been much damaged. Part of the central and one of the side archivolt stand, while of the columns and entablature nothing remains. The impost mouldings of the side openings have a profile only towards the passageway. On the façades they are flush with the wall of the pier. The end piers are of the same depth as those in the centre, and have no pilasters on the outer corners.

NO. 57. ANNOUNA I (ancient Thibalis, Algeria). This arch follows closely the plan of Mactaris II. It is included in this period rather than in the preceding, from the poor execution of the details, and from the use of higher column pedestals which follow more the analogy of the examples last described. The single opening (4.17 m. broad and 0.78 m. deep) has on either side two Corinthian pilasters, of which the outer is very near the outer corner of the pier. The free columns which once stood in front of these have disappeared. The narrow impost moulding is continued around the piers without cutting into the pilasters. The archivolt does not reach the architrave. The base of the monument is still buried, and the entablature, save for a few blocks, is destroyed. There are no niches between the pilasters.¹

NO. 58. ANNOUNA II (Algeria).² This arch not only follows its much earlier prototype at Saintes in having two passageways (a feature found only in these two, among free-standing arches), but it is also provided with the same two-story system of ornamentation. It is assigned to this period from the analogy of the details to other constructions of the time, and from the apparent connection with the arch just described, which faces it on the other side of a paved area, probably the Forum.

The arch is much damaged. Half of the central and one of the side piers are still standing. Of the archivolt which connected them, but a few of the voussoirs are in place. The passageways are 3.32 m. broad. The piers are 2.18 m. broad and 1.76 m.

¹ See Gsell, *op. cit.* I, p. 187.

See Figure 11.

deep. They are surrounded by the impost mouldings, below which on all four of the corners are small, fluted pilasters with rude Corinthian capitals, of which the leaves are merely indicated, with no detail. Between the impost and entablature are no indicated supports. The architrave has a very debased profile and the frieze is narrow. The arch is constructed entirely of large blocks of stone, with no rubble core.¹

No. 59. OUM-EL-ABOUAB (ancient Seressita, Tunis).² This arch of one opening, 5.11 m. broad, is somewhat on the order of that of Bouf-tis (No. 42), although in this



FIGURE 12.—ARCH AT OUM-EL-ABOUAB

case the supports are not doubled, and the pilasters (two on either side of the opening) continue through the impost moulding to the architrave. They rest on a high pedestal formed of the lower portion of the pier, which is surrounded on all sides by a top

¹ See Gsell, *loc. cit.*

² See Figure 12.

and a bottom moulding. The impost moulding also surrounds the piers except where it is broken by the shafts of the pilasters. As at Bouftis, the inner pilasters are close to the opening, so that above the impost they are in relief against the voussoirs. The outer pilasters are near the corners of the piers. On one façade they are fluted and cabled for their entire height. On the other they are left plain. Inside the passageway on one of the piers is the inscription¹ which reads : *Testamento C. M. . . . Felicis Armeniani equo publico adlecti optima memoriae civis, arcus . . . ad cuius ornamenta Armenia Auge mater et Bebenia Pauliana soror liberalitate sua HS XXV mil. n. erogaverunt et die dedic. sportulas decurionib. et epulum et gymnasium municipib. dederunt, item municipium Seressitanum ad amplianda ornamenta quadrigam publica pec. fec.*

NO. 60. ARCH OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS (Rome). The most elaborate arch of this period is situated in the Forum at Rome. There are three main passageways, of which that in the centre is 6.77 m. and those on the sides are 2.96 m. broad. In addition to these there are transverse openings in the two central piers connecting the three passageways. The ornamented impost mouldings of the transverse openings spring from the pedestals of the columns on the façades on either side of the main passageway, through which they continue as far as the transverse openings. They then pass through the transverse openings and after projecting under the archivolt stop against the walls of the side passageways. The archivolt of these openings are sunk. Those facing the main passageways have ornamental bands. All of the vaultings are coffered. The main impost moulding returns to the early system and springs directly from the wall beside the archivolt instead of from the pilaster, and continues through the passageway. There is no inner archivolt. Below the impost there are no pilasters, and the supporting wall, which has not even a base moulding, is cut into in a most inartistic manner by the impost mouldings of the transverse openings. The ornate archivolt does not reach the architrave except by the projecting key. This has scrolls on the sides, and bears on the front in high relief a figure of uncertain meaning. The upper portions of the spandrels have winged Victories bearing trophies. Below them are representations of the four seasons in the shape of winged *genii* bearing suitable attributes.

The treatment of the smaller openings is similar to that of the central one. The impost mouldings are not only continued through the passageway, but are also carried around the end piers after springing from the wall beside the pilasters at the end of the façades. Aside from this the ends of the arch are undecorated, save for a plain band at the same height and of the same width as the main impost moulding, and starting likewise from beside the end pilasters of the façades. The keys of the side openings bear figures in relief and project above to the narrow frieze. In the spandrels are river gods.

In front of each pier is a high pedestal, made still higher by a plinth of three courses, which gradually recede from the bottom toward the top. On the three faces of each pedestal are figures of prisoners with Phrygian caps, conducted by Roman soldiers. The same groups recur repeatedly on different pedestals. Above the pedestals are free-standing, fluted Composite columns, with slightly projecting pilasters of the

¹ C.I.L. VIII, 937.

same style on the wall behind. These bear the entablature, which projects over each column separately. The frieze is rather narrow, and is at present undecorated. Above is an attic with a high plinth and base moulding, and above all is a dentilated cornice. All of these members project over the two end columns only, and enclose a broad panel with a narrow, ornamental border. On the panels of either façade are still visible the duplicate inscriptions, of which only the cuttings for the inset bronze letters remain.¹ The words *optimis fortissimisque principibus* are inscribed over an erasure, which from the original holes for fastening the bronze letters can be read as *P. Septimio L. fil. Getae nobiliss. Caesari*; i.e. an inscription to Geta, whose name after his murder was everywhere erased.

The interior of the attic is hollow and approached by a flight of steps in the south pier. Representations of the arch on coins² show above the attic the emperor in a chariot with trophies on either side, and over either end of the arch an equestrian figure.

Above the keys of the side openings on each façade are narrow friezes with an ornamental border. They represent the goddess Roma reviewing the spoils from the East. Between each of these friezes and the main architrave are two other reliefs occupying the entire space between the pilasters, and having but a slight line of demarcation. They represent sieges of cities, triumphal entries, and other events of the eastern campaigns. On one of them (below to the right, on the west façade) is represented a battering ram making a breach in the walls of a besieged city.³

The base of the arch is of travertine with a coating of marble. The rest is made of common marble with better varieties for the columns. At the time of its construction it did not stand over a road, but was approached by a flight of steps on the side toward the Forum. Later a road passed under it, and in the Middle Ages an alley of elms connected it with the Arch of Titus. As late as 1803 the side openings were walled up and rented as shops.⁴

NO. 61. **TEBESSA** (Algeria).⁵ This is a Janus arch, of which the decoration closely resembles that of the arch at Haidra (No. 54). The date is 214 A.D. The monument is square and all the façades are alike. The passageways are 4.60 m. broad and 8.30 m. deep. The piers are 3.17 m. square and the whole arch is 10.94 m. square, including the pedestals and columns. In front of each pier on either side of the passageway is a broad pedestal of nearly the width of the pier, of which the central portion projects as far as the bases of the columns, while the sides project still farther and bear the columns. The lower moulding of the pedestals is carried completely around the pier; the upper moulding merely along the façades. The detached columns are fluted and monolithic. The capitals are Corinthian, as are those of the

¹ *C.I.L.* VI, 1033.

² Cohen, *Sept. Sev.* Nos. 53 and 140.

³ See Rossini, *op. cit.* pls. 50-59; Jordan, I, 2, p. 213; Reber, pp. 102-107; Gilbert, III, p. 191.

⁴ The so-called Arch of the Money Changers of about this date is not really an arch at all, but consists of two small piers (3.20 m. apart) with Composite pilasters at the corners supporting a continuous entablature. The date as gathered from the inscription (*C.I.L.* VI, 1035) is 204 A.D. The whole is covered with reliefs and ornaments of various descriptions, including representations of the royal family in which the figure of Geta is chiselled out, as is his name from the inscription. See Reber, p. 345; Jordan, I, 2, p. 470.

⁵ See Figure 13.

unchannelled pilasters on the wall behind. The entablature projects over the pair of columns on either side of the passageways, as at Haidra. The architrave has bands of decoration and a small cornice above. The frieze is high (1.25 m.) and had inscriptions over each of the openings. On the southeast façade is one of Caracalla, of the



FIGURE 13. — ARCH AT TEBESSA

year 214 A.D. On the northwest façade is a dedication to Julia Domna, the mother of the emperor. On the northeast façade are fragments of an inscription of Septimius Severus.¹ The one to the southwest is destroyed. The impost mouldings extend around the piers except where they are broken by the pilasters of the façades. The archivolt is on broad voussoirs which reach the architrave. On each keystone was a small relief, and above this a medallion filling the space to the architrave and taking the place of the projecting consoles of other arches. On the southeast façade is a head of Minerva in the medallion and a Medusa below. To the northwest is a figure of a woman with a turreted crown, possibly Fortuna, the goddess of Theveste. Below is an eagle with a thunderbolt. The other figures are for the most part destroyed. There are no inner archivolt, and the vaulting is without coffers. Above the central

¹ *C.I.L.* VIII, 1855, 1856, 1857.

space within are traces of a coffered ceiling. The whole monument bore some elaborate construction, which was possibly crowned with a dome. All that remains is a covered aedicula on the southwest side, framed by two Corinthian antae in front of very short walls. In front of these are small, free-standing, unfluted Corinthian columns. Above these is an entablature with a broad frieze and cornice. Gsell¹ surmises that there were three other similar constructions with arched openings between, and above them all a cupola. The arched openings would have come diagonally over the corners of the arch, giving an octagonal outline to the construction.

On the inside of the arch, to the right as one enters the city, is an inscription² setting forth the various bequests of C. Cornelius Egrilianus to the town, including the building of the arch itself. On the opposite side of the passageway are fragments of what was once a list of sixty-four days for the gymnasia.³

The arch is now built into the wall of the town, but once stood free. An inscription,⁴ found in tearing down an adjacent wall, probably refers to restorations of the arch undertaken in 355-60 A.D.

NO. 62. ZANFOUR (ancient Assuras, Tunis). This arch closely follows the last example in point of time. The inscription in honor of Caracalla on the frieze,⁵ shows that it dates from 215 A.D. The inscription is now in eleven fragments.

The type of the arch is represented by several examples in North Africa. It is similar to that of Mactaris II, except that it had but one column before an unfluted Corinthian pilaster in the centre of each pier. These columns have now disappeared. The passageway is 5.60 m. broad. The archivolt is very narrow. The impost moulding continues around the piers except where it is broken by the pilasters.

NO. 63. MEDEINA (ancient Althiburos, Tunis).⁶ This arch resembles No. 62 in that the entablature has but a single support in the centre of each pier. On this account it is included here, although the date is uncertain. Of the inscription from the frieze,⁷ only the letters IVSD remain. The passageway is 5.40 m. broad. At about one-third the distance from this to the outer corner of either pier is an engaged, unfluted Corinthian column, which reaches to the prolonged impost moulding only. Above the impost moulding pilasters which are now partially destroyed reached to the architrave. As neither the base moulding of the piers nor the impost moulding extended along the ends, the monument may have been a gate to some enclosure. The two-story form of decoration has but few parallels (cf. Saintes, No. 24, and Bouftis, No. 42).

NO. 64. CONSTANTINE (ancient Cirta, Algeria). This arch was destroyed some sixty years ago.⁸ It had one opening, 5.75 m. broad, and followed the usual type of the period in having two detached columns on pedestals before each pier. The inscription,⁹ in which occurs the words *arcum triumphalem*, has already been referred to (p. 26). The builder, M. Caecilius Natalis, is mentioned in *C.I.L.* VIII, 6996, which dates from 210 A.D.

¹ *Op. cit.* I, pp. 180-185.

⁴ *C.I.L.* VIII, 1860.

⁷ *C.I.L.* VIII, 1832.

² *C.I.L.* VIII, 1858.

⁵ *C.I.L.* VIII, 1798.

⁸ See Gsell, *op. cit.*

³ *C.I.L.* VIII, 1859.

⁶ See Figure 14.

⁹ *C.I.L.* VIII, 7094, 19434; 7095-7098.

No. 65. DJEMILA (ancient Cuiculum, Algeria). On this arch is another of the inscriptions with the words *arcum triumphalem*. The date is 216 A.D.¹ The arch is constructed of fine, hard limestone. The one opening is 4.34 m. broad. The impost moulding has various ornamental bands and a row of acanthus leaves. On the east



FIGURE 14. — ARCH AT MEDINA

façade, at either extremity of the archivolt, is a head in relief. On either side of the passageway are two unfluted pilasters on high pedestals (cf. Haidra, No. 54; Announa I, No. 57, etc.). The columns which stood before these have disappeared. The entablature projected over each pair of columns and each projecting portion was probably crowned with a pediment formed of a single block of marble. Three of these, and a fragment of the fourth, lie near the arch on the ground. Between each pair of pilasters is a semicircular niche, which is arched and ribbed at the top in imitation of a shell.

¹ C.I.L. VIII, 8321.

NO. 66. DOUGGA (Tunis).¹ This arch is unique among those ornamented with detached columns in that the outer pilasters sheathe the corners of the piers. If the inscription found in the neighborhood belongs to the arch, the date is in the reign of Alexander Severus.²

The arch has but one opening, 3.925 m. broad and 1.53 m. deep. The impost moulding has a very debased profile. It starts from the inner pilasters of the façades, and continues through the passageway. The voussoirs extend unbroken to the inner pilasters on the sides, and above to the course below the architrave. The archivolt is extremely narrow. Between the inner pilasters on the course below the architrave are alternating circular and diamond-shaped frames, with rosettes in the centre. The base of the piers projects 1.06 m. from the façades, and once bore the pedestals of the detached columns. None of the columns are now *in situ*, but there are many fragments of them on the ground near the arch. The pilasters which stood behind the columns are for the most part uninjured. They are fluted and have their lower portion cabled to the height of the imposts. The outer ones sheathe the outer corners of the piers. Between the pair on either side of the passageway is a framed rectangular niche. Below the frames of these niches, at the level of the impost mouldings, are bracket mouldings of a better profile.



FIGURE 15. — ARCH AT DOUGGA

NO. 67. RHEIMS (France).³ The traditional dating of this arch in the reign of Julian is clearly erroneous. The style of the reliefs makes probable its attribution to the period under discussion. The whole monument is unusually broad (33 m.). Of the three passageways, that in the centre is 5.07 m., and those on the sides 3.24 m. broad. All are 4.515 m. in depth. All of the imposts are at the same level. The archivolts are ornate, and have heads in relief on the keystones. That in the centre is somewhat higher than the other two, but does not reach the architrave. The vaultings are coffered and have in the centre of each a relief, framed by a frieze of weapons and figures. In the centre is the emperor, with figures of the four seasons. In

¹ See Figure 15.

² *C.I.L.* VIII, 1485.

³ See Figure 16.

the side passageways are representations of Leda, and of Romulus and Remus. The impost mouldings spring from the wall, and are carried around the pilasters. The pilasters have a broad, decorated surface on the façades, but are extremely narrow within the passageways. The impost moulding is continued through the opening without being carried around the narrow face of the pilasters. On each façade are eight engaged Corinthian columns, fluted, and with the lower portion cabled. They are distributed in a unique manner, two on each pier, so that six adjoin the passageways and one is on each of the outer corners. At either end of the arch are two similar columns, also on the corners, so that they intersect the corner columns of the façades. The only parallel¹ to this is found at Aquino (No. 3). The entablature has disappeared except for portions of the architrave. It projected over the columns



FIGURE 16. — ARCH AT RHEIMS

of the façades in pairs, and over the end columns singly. Between each pair of columns on the façades are small niches with broad frames and crowned by pediments. Above these are medallions with busts in high relief. They are each supported by two winged figures. Between the columns at the ends were similar niches and medallions.

NO. 68. LAODICEA (Syria). This is a Janus arch of uncertain date, but is generally ascribed to this period. It has two broad and two narrower façades. On the main façade the broad archivolt reaches the architrave. It has a stepped profile both without and within, and is supported by pilasters with Corinthian capitals. Closely adjoining these, and close to the outer corners of the piers, are unfluted Corinthian columns, of which the upper portions of the capitals reach the corner and intersect the capitals of the similar pilasters on the sides. The fillets below the capitals are also carried around the corner from the columns to the pilasters (cf. Rheims, No. 67, and Aquino, No. 3, where the shafts as well as the capitals intersect). The cross passageways are narrower, but are treated similarly. The entablature has a narrow frieze, with a curved profile and a dentilated cornice. It projects over the columns, and on

¹ At Laodicea (No. 68) portions of the capitals intersect.

the main façades forms a gable over the passageway. These gables occupy almost the entire height of the attic. Above the attic is another entablature.

Above the whole monument is a cupola of eleven courses and a key (cf. Tripolis, No. 48, and Tebessa, No. 61). This cupola rests upon an octagonal cornice-moulding within the arch, supported at the corners by pendentives, which are triangular in shape and gradually taper to a point below. The first course of the cupola within has a sculptured frieze of shields, cuirasses, and helmets.

NO. 69. ZANA II (ancient Diana Veteranorum, Algeria). This arch of three openings dates from 217 A.D., as is shown by the inscription¹ from the attic. The type resembles that in Lambèse III (No. 55), but there are no corner pilasters, and the side piers are no deeper than those in the centre. The central opening is 3.90 m. broad. Those on the side are narrower and reach only to the height of the main imposts. The central archivolt reached the architrave. The passageways have vertical walls as in Lambèse III (No. 55). In front of each pier is the usual pedestal bearing the Corinthian pilasters. The columns have been destroyed. The entablature projected over the columns separately. On the attic one fragment of the inscription remains. The remainder is on the ground below. In Byzantine times the arch was incorporated into a fortress.²

NO. 70. MUSTIS (Tunis). A fragmentary inscription shows that this arch was erected in 238 A.D.³ Only the piers are now standing, supporting a few of the lower voussoirs, which show the profile of the two-stepped archivolt. The single passageway is 4.43 m. broad and 2.13 m. deep. In the centre of each pier on either side of the opening is a pedestal, which once bore a column. Of the piers themselves, the only ornament consists of the impost moulding and the prolonged base-moulding of the pedestals, both of which completely surround them. There were no pilasters behind the columns, a feature we have noticed at Athens (No. 40) and in the so-called Arch of Drusus at Rome (No. 53), but not before in North Africa. For the single columns in front of the piers compare the examples at Athens (No. 40) and Zana I (No. 49).⁴

NO. 71. ARCH OF GALLIENUS (Rome). This arch probably had three passageways, although only the central one remains. The piers on either side of this are 1.40 m. broad and 3.50 m. deep, and the passageway itself is 7.30 m. broad. On the outer corners of the piers are unfluted Corinthian pilasters which support the non-projecting entablature. Springing from the pilasters are broad impost mouldings, which continue through the passageway. The three-stepped archivolt reaches the two-stepped architrave, which bears the inscription.⁵ At either end of the arch are traces of what were probably smaller side passageways.⁶ The only remains are a few of the lower blocks of the piers, which nearly fill the space between the pilasters at the ends of the central piers, and judging from the unfinished surfaces above them, probably reached to the height of the main architrave, but certainly no higher. At the

¹ *C.I.L.* VIII, 4598.

² See Gsell, *op. cit.* I, pp. 177-179.

³ *C.I.L.* VIII, 1577; sup. 15572.

⁴ At Bosra (Arabia) is an arch of three openings, of which no satisfactory description is at hand. The inscription dates from 244-249 A.D. (*C.I.L.* III, 99) and shows that the arch was dedicated to Julius Julianus.

⁵ *C.I.L.* VI, 1106.

⁶ See Rossini, *Archi trionfali*, Rome, 1836.

level of the main impost mouldings are mouldings similar to those of the central opening. They spring from the corner pilasters on the ends of the arch, and after forming a re-entrant angle continue along the abutting blocks. These blocks rest on a base which fills the space between the pilasters, and is on a higher level than the pilaster bases. From these details it would seem that on either side of the main arch were lower abutting arches of which the piers were of less depth. The imposts were on the same level as those in the centre.

NO. 72. SBEITLA II (ancient Sufetula, Tunis).¹ The second arch at Sbeitla resembles the second at Mactaris (No. 45). The passageway is 5.60 m. broad, and 3.55 m.



FIGURE 17. — ARCH AT SBEITLA (II)

deep. There is no raised archivolt, but the voussoirs reach the architrave. The impost mouldings continue around the piers except between the pairs of pilasters. On either side of the passageway a broad pedestal of nearly the width of the pier projects 1.70 m. The lower moulding of this is carried around the pier. The pedestal is rather low, and bore both of the detached columns, which stood two in front of each pier. None of the columns is *in situ*, but numerous fragments are still visible in the

¹ See Figure 17.

neighborhood of the arch. Behind the columns were the usual unfluted pilasters. At the level of the impost between each pair of pilasters is a small, framed, rectangular niche. The entablature has an ornate architrave, a very high frieze, and a small cornice, all of which project over the columns in pairs. Above is an attic which projects over the columns singly. From the inscription¹ we learn that the arch dates from the time of Diocletian and Maximian. The names of the emperors were erased from the inscription after their death.

NO. 73. ARCH OF DIOCLETIAN (*Arcus Novus*, Rome). This arch stood over the Via Lata, the modern Corso, near the spot at present occupied by the church of Sta. Maria in Via Lata, and was probably erected in honor of Diocletian and Maximian.² It was destroyed by Innocent VIII (1484-92). From the arch came the fragments of reliefs³ which were found near the church.⁴ On the reliefs are represented trophies and human figures, one of which, in the garb of an Amazon, writes the words *Votis X et XX* upon a shield.⁵

NO. 74. SALONIKI (ancient Thessalonica, Macedonia). According to the investigations of Kinch⁶ this arch is the largest of which any remains exist, being really a Janus arch with three passageways in one direction, and one in the other, and surmounted by a dome. At present there remains part of one of the main façades, and on the inner side of one of the piers the spring of the vaulting of the cross passageway. That it had a dome is shown by the arrangement of the bricks above the central passageway on the inside, which are laid as if they once received a construction of that nature. The monument is constructed of blocks of stone, with brick facing, and possibly had once a stucco or marble covering over the bricks. The two existing (central) piers are faced on all four sides with alternating vertical and horizontal slabs of marble, which bear a great variety of reliefs. Above these on three sides of the piers run the main impost mouldings. The side imposts have disappeared. The two central piers are preserved, and fragments of the one to the northeast are built into a house. The main opening has a width of 9.70 m., which is the greatest known. The vaulting is of brick. The side passageways were 4.85 m. broad. They are less deep than the central opening, and their vaulting is inset for some distance in the central piers. The wall above the central opening is higher than the walls on the sides, probably for the same reason as at Palmyra (No. 39), because the porticoes on either side of the street abutted over the side openings. Above each of the central piers is a shallow niche.

The date (between 297 and 305 A.D.) is derived from evidence in the reliefs,⁷ on which we find represented two emperors and two imperial princes. In 297 Galerian vanquished Narses, king of Persia, and one relief with the inscription *ποταμὸς Τύγρις* represents an Oriental people as vanquished. Moreover, Galerian was the first

¹ *C.I.L.* VIII, 232.

² See *Notit. reg.* VII; *C.I.L.* VI, 31383; Ulrichs, *Beschr. Rom.* III, 3, p. 89; Richter, *Topog.* p. 261. Also Jordan, II, pp. 7, 102, 417; and Huelsen, *Bull. com.* 1895, p. 46.

³ Matz-Duhn, No. 3525.

⁴ Marliani, *Topog.* ed. 1534, p. 130.

⁵ *C.I.L.* VI, 31383. Also cf. Arch of Constantine.

⁶ Kinch, *L'arc de triomphe de Salonique*, Paris, 1890.

⁷ See Kinch, *op. cit.*

emperor to inhabit Saloniki. The execution of the reliefs varies, but some are excellently carved.¹

NO. 75. KHAMISSA (ancient Thubursicum Numidarum, Algeria). Finally may be mentioned two arches of uncertain date, but which are certainly not earlier than this period. The first, that of Khamissa, is situated at the entrance to the Forum of that city. It has three openings, of which the central is 3.40 m., and the side 2.35 m. broad. All three are 1.33 m. deep. The only decoration consists of the base mouldings on the piers, which extend along the façades but not through the passageways, and the impost mouldings, which surround the piers. There is no raised archivolt. The entire upper portion of the monument above the voussoirs has been destroyed. On the side away from the Forum the arch is approached by steps, and could never have had columns on that side at least. The Byzantines incorporated it into a defensive wall, which partially accounts for its present state of ruin.²

NO. 76. CARNUNTUM (Austria). The second arch of uncertain date is the Janus arch of Carnuntum. It is placed in this period because of the similarity of its construction to that of adjacent buildings, of which the date is shown by inscriptions, and because fragments of earlier buildings are used in its construction.

Two piers are standing, with a passageway between them which is 5.85 m. broad. The material is brick, with a covering of stucco. The impost mouldings are of stone, and continue through the passageway. The archivolts, also, were probably of stone. Traces of vaulting to the east show that the whole was a Janus arch, with two other piers which have disappeared. The area in the centre is paved and has a circular base in the middle. This shows that the arch did not span a road, and makes probable the supposition that it was a memorial of some description.

¹ For three other inscriptions of this period from arches which have been destroyed, see *C.I.L.* III, 450 (from Lesbos); *C.I.L.* VIII, 4764 (Marcomades, North Africa); *C.I.L.* VIII, sup. 15516 (Dougga, North Africa).

² See Gsell, *op. cit.* I, p. 174.

FIFTH PERIOD

CONSTANTINE TO END OF EMPIRE

THIS final period demands but brief treatment. Except for the arch in the Forum Boarium and that of Constantine, little remains but a few inscriptions. The workmanship in the extant specimens is careless, and large use is made of fragments of earlier constructions.

NO. 77. JANUS QUADRIFRONS (Rome). The location of the Janus arch in the Forum Boarium corresponds very well to that of the *arcus Constantini* mentioned in the *Notitia*,¹ and in addition the roughness of its construction, and the use of material from other buildings, seem to justify its assignment to the period in question. Four piers, 5.25 m. broad, support the intersecting barrel vaulting. To lessen the weight of the vaulting, empty amphorae form part of the material with which it is constructed. The passageways are 5.70 m. broad, and have the unusual height of 10.60 m. Each pier has a base moulding which completely surrounds it, and another moulding higher up which projects on the façades only, and has on the sides toward the passageways a framed panel of torus profile. The high impost moulding has the same profile as the entablature. It is carried around the piers with a projecting surface toward the passageways only. On the façades it is flush with the wall.

On either side of the passageway on each façade are six arched niches, three above and three below the impost moulding. On the west and east façades all of the niches, on the north and south façades only the central ones of each set of three, are deep. Of the false niches, probably those near the outer corners were not hollowed out because a deep niche on each side of a corner would have weakened the construction. Those near the inner corners received the same treatment for the sake of symmetry. The deep niches have a shell-like top with grooved ribs. On all of the niches the bands of the archivolts continue through the imposts to the base.

The archivolts of the passageways reach the architrave by projecting keystones which are ornamented with scrolls on the sides, and with figures in relief in the centre. Still recognizable are the figures of Minerva to the north, and of Roma to the east. Of the entablature, the frieze is narrow and has a torus profile. Fragments of columns found near the arch lead to the supposition that there were once small columns between the niches both above and below the impost mouldings. In one of the piers a stairway leads to the top of the arch.

NO. 78. ARCH OF CONSTANTINE (Rome). Although including in its construction a great many portions of earlier buildings, the general effect of this arch is little

¹ *Notit. reg. XI*; Richter, *Topog.* p. 182; Rossini, *Archi trionfali*, tav. 62.

inferior to that of the earlier monuments. The amalgamation of the various elements is well carried out. It is principally in the poorer execution of the details in the parts dating from the time the arch was constructed that the late period is recognizable. The plan is much like that of the Arch of Septimius Severus, except that here are no transverse passageways.

The central passageway is 6.58 m., the two side ones are 3.30 m. broad, and all are 7.40 m. deep. The main impost mouldings spring from the pilasters. The side impost mouldings spring from the wall. All are carried through the passageways, and in addition, the side mouldings spring from the wall on the outer corners of the piers as if they had pilasters below, and are carried across the ends of the arch. The vaulting is not coffered.

The pedestals below the columns have not the high bases of the Arch of Septimius Severus, and reach only to two-thirds the height of the side imposts. Both the upper and lower mouldings of the pedestals continue around the piers, the lower in profile, the upper as a raised band of the same height. The Corinthian columns are fluted and have their lower portions cabled. The entablature and members of the attic project above the columns singly. Within, the attic is hollow, and is approached by a stairway in the west pier. On the central panel on either side of the attic is an inscription.¹ In addition, below the architrave, above the side openings on the west façade, are the words *SIC X, SIC XX*; on the east façade, *VOTIS X, VOTIS XX*. Below the impost moulding in the main passageway are the words *Liberatori urbis, fundatori quietis*.

The arch is ornamented by a great variety of bas-reliefs of various degrees of excellence. Of the time of Constantine and of poor execution are the Victories, with captives at their feet on the front of the pedestals, and the chained barbarians on the sides, and also the Victories and river gods in the spandrels, and the long, narrow reliefs over the side openings and across the ends of the arch. Of like execution are the medallions above this narrow frieze on the ends, which imitate the excellent examples of the façades. Finally, the greater portion of the ornamental detail is badly executed and is clearly of a late period. On the other hand, the columns and pilasters, portions of the entablature, including the lower member of the cornice, and the remaining reliefs, are of superior execution, though not all of the time of Trajan. The eight reliefs on the attic, for example, situated two over each side passageway on either façade, seem to belong to the time of the Antonines.²

The early portions of the arch are erroneously supposed to be from an arch of Trajan's, which once stood in his Forum. The columns, however, if any portion of them date from that period, could not come from an arch, because at that time detached columns had no place in arch construction. Moreover, the four sections of bas-relief which are built into the arch, one on either side of the central passageway, and one on either end of the attic, belong to a continuous frieze of over 45 feet in length; too large to find a place on any arch. Of good workmanship, also, are the statues of captive barbarians which stand above the projecting ledges of the entablature in front of the attic. But an arch of the time of Trajan would not have offered projections broad enough to serve as bases for such statues.

¹ *C.I.L.* VI, 1139; date 315 A.D.

² See Petersen, *Röm. Mitth.* 1889, p. 314 seq.



FIGURE 18. — ARCH AT CILLIUM

The best executed of all the bas-reliefs are the eight medallions, situated two above each side opening on either façade, between the narrow frieze and the panel below the architrave.

No. 79. CILLIUM (Tunis).¹ This arch as it stands dates from a restoration of about 312 A.D.² It offers but few decorative features. The passageway is 3.65 m. broad and 2.02 m. deep. The piers are 3.14 m. broad. On their lower surface are traces of what were probably pilasters on the earlier arch. The impost mouldings surround the piers. The only other decoration at present consists of a low, double cornice enclosing an attic. Corresponding to the traces of the pilasters are projecting blocks below the lower cornice, supporting a projection of all the members above. The inscriptions are two in number. The first is of the early arch; the second has letters of a later period, and dates, according to Mommsen,³ from a restoration of the arch by Constantine and Licinius in 312, after the overthrow of Maxentius.⁴

This completes the list of Imperial arches. The popularity of this class of monuments is attested by the number of the remains and the widespread area over which they are distributed. The fondness for such forms of decoration has survived to the present day, and scattered throughout Europe are numerous modern ornamental arches, some imitating the antique, and some of original design. Among the better-known examples may be mentioned the Siegesthor in Munich, the Marble Arch in London, the Arch of the Republic in Marseilles, the Arch of Triumph of St. Petersburg, the Arc du Carrousel and the enormous Arc de l'Étoile in Paris, and the Washington Arch in New York.

¹ See Figure 18.

² *C.I.L.* VIII, 210.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ A few other arches, now destroyed, are known merely from inscriptions, as follows:

1. Arch at Constantine (Algeria), c. 360 A.D.; *C.I.L.* VIII, 7037-7038.
2. Arch at Hencir Gouçat (Algeria), 375-8 A.D.; *C.I.L.* VIII, 10702, 17616.
3. Arch of Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius (Rome). Stood near the approach to the Aelian bridge (Richter, *Topog.* p. 256); *C.I.L.* VI, 1184; date 382 A.D.
4. Arch of Arcadius, Honorius, and Theodosius (Rome). Situated probably near the last example (Richter, *Topog.* p. 257); *C.I.L.* VI, 1196; date 405 A.D.

THE PALIMPSEST OF CICERO'S *DE RE PUBLICA*

A TRANSCRIPTION, WITH INTRODUCTION

Being a supplement to: *Ciceronis liber De Republica rescriptus: Codex Vaticanus 5757¹, Mediolani apud U. Hoepli, 1907.*

By ALBERT WILLIAM VAN BUREN

PREFATORY NOTE

THE transcription and introduction here presented are the result of an agreement made in the year 1903 between the Vatican Library and the American School of Classical Studies in Rome. At that time the Vatican Library suggested that, as its publication in facsimile of the palimpsest of Cicero's *De Re Publica* was not to be accompanied by a transcription of the under writing, the School would be doing a useful work if it should prepare such a transcription, with an introduction treating of the subjects connected with the palimpsest which were not to be discussed in the Library's publication itself. Realizing the assistance which such a transcription and introduction would afford to all interested in the *De Re Publica*, the Director agreed to adopt the suggestion, and I prepared the transcription in the years 1903 and 1904. In order not to cause unnecessary wear to the palimpsest itself, I used a copy of the facsimile most of the time while making the transcription, referring to the palimpsest itself for those portions of the text which were not clear in the facsimile. In a few instances, where I should have been glad of the opportunity to consult the palimpsest itself concerning certain questions which arose while I was revising my work in America, I had to content myself with the use of the facsimile alone. In my notes I occasionally quote DuRieu's collation (in *Schedae Vaticanae*, Lugduni-Batavorum, 1860), either for corroboration of my statements or as containing statements which are of value, but which I feel that my own observation does not warrant me in making myself.

As this is not an independent publication, but is designed to accompany the facsimile, I have not considered myself obliged to record *minutiae* after the manner, *e.g.*, of Studemund. For these, and also for the variation in hand in the corrections, the reader is referred to the facsimile.

I wish to record my obligation, in connection with this work, to Professor Richard Norton, former Director of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome; to

Professor Ludwig Traube of Munich, the sad news of whose death reached me only a few weeks ago; to Professor Hanns Oertel of Yale University; and to the members of the Committee on Publication, Professors Rolfe, Bennett, and Platner.

It remains to express, on behalf of the School and of myself personally, our appreciation of the courtesy of the Vatican Library, both in enabling us to cooperate with it in an important undertaking, and also in affording me abundant opportunity to examine a fragile parchment which is one of the chief treasures in its keeping.

INTRODUCTION

It is the purpose of this introduction to furnish full information concerning the ligatures, abbreviations, syllabic division, and orthographical peculiarities of the text. As a rule, under each class I either give all the individual cases (referred to by page, column, and line), or, when that seems unnecessary, state the number of cases which I have found.

LIGATURES

These occur, without exception, at the end of the line or within a very few letters of the end.

<p>ae 87 cases. ae^c 5 cases. ae^s 223. I. 4; 276. II. 1. aes 67. I. 14. ant 278. I. 4. as 18. I. 2. er 160. II. 4; 207. II. 9. ne 4 cases. nos 73. II. 4. ns 16 cases. nt 64 cases. nta 24. I. 11. or 21 cases. or^{es} 116. I. 12. ori 159. II. 1. os 40 cases. ost 279. I. 15. re 9 cases. re⁻ 55. I. 15. ua 3 cases. ua (=uam) 300. I. 15. uae 5 cases. ub 260. II. 11. ue 44. I. 3.</p>	<p>ui 9 cases. uid 201. I. 14, 15. uis 299. II. 9. uis 199. II. 11. uit 48. II. 9. uit 202. I. 4. uitas 11. II. 15. ull 23 cases. ulto 297. I. 5. um 64 cases. umil 14. I. 14; 203. I. 8. umit 110. II. 14. un 3 cases. una 203. II. 7. un^c 58. I. 5. unt 109. I. 12. unū 251. I. 9. un^c 5 cases. unt 22 cases. uo 254. I. 14. up 129. I. 6. ur 60 cases. ura 203. II. 14; 208. II. 1. ure 249. I. 13.</p>
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uril	252. I. 1.	ushis	88. I. 3.
uri ^s	14. II. 5.	ut	14 cases.
ura	2. I. 7; 13. I. 1.	ute-	200. I. 6.
us	122 cases.	util	22. II. 6.
usa	12. I. 15.		

ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations in the text consist chiefly of those prevalent in inscriptions. They are as follows:¹

Praenomina:

a.	= aulus	130. II. 6.
c.	= gaius	41. I. 11; 44. II. 2; 74. I. 4; 201. II. 1; 210. I. 9.
g.	= gaius ²	42. II. 11; 63. I. 2.
l.	= lucius	10 cases.
m.	= marcus	7 cases.
* m̄.	= marcus	63. II. 4.
* m.	= manius	202. II. 12.
p.	= publius	11 cases.
* p̄.	= publius	204. II. 8.
q.	= quintus	12. I. 13; 273. I. 4.
sp.	= spurius	3 (4) ³ cases.
t.	= titus	271. I. 11.
ti.	= tiberius	249. I. 1.

Name of day:

non.	= nonis	279. II. 9.
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-bus, -que, etc.:

b.	= -bus	122 cases.
b.	= -bus-	106. I. 11½ (quib. da-); 287. I. 9 (rob. tam).
q.	= -que	230 cases.
q.	= quae	20 cases (of these, 11 corr. by - above, 5 by adding ^{uae}).
q.	= quae-, -quē-, quē-: q. ^{ueat} 158. II. 13; q̄. ^{uae} sitast (= quaesita est) 192. I. 7; q̄. rim ^{us} 206. II. 7; reliq- runt 221. II. 14.	

Political terminology:

cons.	= consul, -is, etc. (<i>sing.</i>) ⁴	56. II. 6; 59. II. 1.
cos.	= consules, -um, etc. (<i>plu.</i>) ⁴	7. I. 2; 41. I. 12; 130. II. 2; 130. II. 7.

¹ Those marked with the asterisk are not actually found in inscriptions, but are slight variants of epigraphical forms.

² This form occurs also in the Verona Livy; cf. Mommsen, *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1868, p. 161.

³ The numbers in parentheses include the cases due to corrections.

⁴ These abbreviations are of interest as perhaps giving an indication of the date of the Codex. The epigraphical abbreviations of *consul*, -es are discussed by De Rossi, *Inscr. Chr. Urb. Rom.* I, *Prolegomena*, XXI sqq. His conclusions are: Before the middle of the third century A.D., COS- (and perhaps COSS-) alone was used. Starting from the middle of the third century, to the names of the two consuls, given to-

mag·	= magistratus	120. I. 1.
populi r·	= populi romani	38. I. 9; 278. II. 9.
p· r·	= populum romanum	40. II. 12.
p̄ r̄	= populo romano (<i>abl.</i>)	259. I. 4.
resp·	= respublica	10 (11 ?) cases.
reip·	= reipublicae (<i>gen. dat. sing.</i>)	40 cases.
rei·p·	= reipublicae	249. II. 12.
r· p·	= reipublicae	187. II. 9.
reip̄·	= reipublicae	300. I. 4.
remp·	= rempublicam	35 cases.
rē p·	= rempublicam	6 cases.
rep·	= republica	41 cases.
r· p·	= republica	9. I. 18.
resp·	= respublicas	53. I. 2.
s· c·	= senatus consulto (<i>abl.</i>)	12. II. 5.
tr· pl·	= tribuni plebis (<i>nom. plu.</i>)	8. II. 16; 41. II. 9.
	= tribunis plebis (<i>abl. plu.</i>)	138. II. 1.

Miscellaneous:

p· bandum = probandum	235. II. 9.
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Numerals:

14 cases, including X uiri 41. II. 12; X· uiris 184. I. 8; XX uiris 138. I. 14.

The dash, -:

This, = m or n, is placed either directly over a vowel or above the space to the right of it. It occurs only at the end of the line, except in the following cases, where it is followed by one small letter: 11. II. 9; 14. II. 6; 115. I. 13; 199. II. 4; 203. II. 10; 250. I. 7. (This is not found in inscriptions of the classical period.)

The following abbreviations are used in headings and subscriptions:

cicer·	= ciceronis	10. II. 1.
exp·	= explicit?	10. II. 3.
inc·	= incipit	10. II. 3; 156. I. 2.
lib·	= liber	10. II. 3; 156. I. 2.

gether, were added COSS·, CONS·, somewhat later CONSS·, CCSS·. COS· gradually fell into disuse during the latter part of the third century. After that time there is no certain case of its occurrence. CONS· is first used in 249, 279, of two consuls. In the time of Diocletian CONSS· is regular. From that time on, CONS· = (*one*) consul, CONSS· = (*two*) consuls. But this rule is often disregarded through the blunders of the stonecutters.

Accordingly, the usage of this Codex — CONS· in singular, COS· in plural — points toward the transition period, *i.e.* the third quarter of the third century. However, this evidence does not seem sufficiently strong, in itself, to justify one in dating the Codex at so early a period; the scribe, in copying an earlier manuscript, may have retained the forms of abbreviation which he found there.

Compare Mommsen's discussion of the Verona Livy, in *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1868, pp. 31 ff. On page 158, he says: "Quo tempore Livii codex de quo agimus scriptus sit, certo determinari non potest, nisi quod uocabula quae sunt *consul* et *consules* sic notata CONS· et CONSS· ostendunt antiquarium qui librum scripsit non uixisse ante Diocletianum."

The following abbreviations are used at tops and bottoms of pages:

lib.	= liber	frequently at top of page.
de rep.	= de republica	frequently at top of page.
	(Also re p. pp. 42, 130, 244, 290; -rep. pp. 136, 184, 238; rep[.] p. 6; re-pub. pp. 248, 254; $\overline{de\ re\ p.}$ p. 194.)	
q.	= quaternio	frequently at bottom of page. (Sometimes with dash or flourishes.)
Q.	= quaternio	bottom of p. 38.

Numerals are frequent; note ζ = vi, pp. 14, 22.

SYLLABIC DIVISION

In this matter this Codex conforms in general to the principle, only recently recognized in full, that (1) a single consonant goes with the following vowel or diphthong; (2) when two or more consonants come together they are divided between the preceding and following syllables; but (3) in the case of a mute followed by a liquid, in ordinary speech, both are pronounced with the following vowel or diphthong.¹

	<i>Regular</i>	<i>Irregular</i>
lb	135 cases.	sub ⁱ lito ² 59. II. 8; sublicisset 72. II. 5; sublest 225. II. 11; sublire 260. II. 11; sublagreste 262. I. 4.
bld	41. II. 10.	
bth	81. II. 2.	
lbl	4 cases.	
lbr	208. II. 11; 261. I. 15.	
bls	88. II. 15.	
bslc	51. II. 9; 172. I. 13.	
lc	157 cases.	ne [?] l ^c cessaria 4. II. 1 (see note); ne ^l c (corr. to q) 21. II. 6; ne ^l c ^e ssitas 90. II. 9; hie ^l 168. II. 10; hi (e erased) ^e cotus 211. I. 7; ne ^l c ^e ssarias 231. I. 5.
clc	3 cases.	
clch	213. I. 2.	
clfr	234. I. 2.	
lcl	9 cases.	re ^l h 103. I. 15. c(g [?])l 232. I. 1.

¹ For fuller discussion, see Charles E. Bennett, *Appendix to Bennett's Latin Grammar* (1895), pp. 30 ff.; William G. Hale, *Syllabification in Roman Speech*, in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, VII. (1896), pp. 249-271; and Walter Dennison, *Syllabification in Latin Inscriptions*, in *Classical Philology*, I. (1906), pp. 47-68.

² It has seemed advisable to arrange these compounds in this column, although it is clear that the scribe considered the first element, at any rate in writing, as distinct from the rest of the word.

	<i>Regular</i>	<i>Irregular</i>
e qu	14. I. 8; 131. I. 12.	
l er	6 cases.	
e t	48 cases.	
e tr	4 cases.	
l d	163 cases.	ad esse 158. II. 9. ad liumxit 171. II. 9. prud(ādel. ?) dentissimi 164. I. 11.
d d	8 (9?) cases.	
d f	261. II. 4.	
d ff	257. II. 15.	
d h	161. II. 5; 190. II. 7.	dg n 300. II. 12.
d m	5 cases.	
d qu	79. I. 9; 279. II. 14.	
l dr	99. I. 9; 99. II. 11; 296. II. 10.	
d s	8 cases.	
d sc	283. II. 13.	
d u (cons.)	5 cases.	
l f	10 cases.	
f f	4 cases.	
f fr	93. I. 2; 107. II. 2.	
l fr	56. II. 2.	
l g	87 cases.	mag istratus 119. II. 5.
g g	232. II. 7.	
g n	30 cases.	
gn t	45. I. 1.	
l gr	4 cases.	
l h	12 cases.	
l	165 (166) cases.	l picius (=tullius) 31. II. 15.
l b	250. II. 6.	
l d	99. II. 6.	
l g	103. II. 8.	
l l	63 cases.	belluarum 286. I. 10.
l ph	16. I. 4.	
l s	63. II. 7.	
l t	25 cases.	
l u (cons.)	15. II. 10; 286. I. 10.	

<i>Regular</i>	<i>Irregular</i>
m 199 cases.	quã ñunda (=quam unda) 228. II. 11; quam obrem 128. I. 14; 216. I. 3; 222. I. 4; 223. I. 14; quem admodum 66. I. 3; 189. I. 14.
m d 3 cases.	
m m 26 (27) cases.	
{ - (where m or n might stand) }	
{ m 4 cases. }	
m n 57 cases.	añ mnis 173. I. 11.
{ - (where m or n might stand) }	
{ p 5 cases. }	
m p 34 cases.	
m pl 10 cases.	
{ - (where m or n might stand) }	
{ pl 117. II. 13; 278. I. 15. }	
m pr 11. I. 7; 21. I. 5.	
{ - (where m or n might stand) }	
{ qu 10 cases. }	
m qu 29 cases.	
m s 81. I. 9.	
m t 5 cases.	
m u (cons.) 5 cases.	
n 261 cases.	i anem 71. I. 10; i- est 279. II. 13; in eundi 281. II. 13; in imicum 286. II. 7; in i(del.)quitatibus 96. I. 14.
n b 58. I. 10; 179. II. 10.	
n c 29 cases.	
n ch 3. I. 7.	
n cl 92. II. 9.	
n cr 208. I. 9.	
nc t 6 cases.	
n d 100 cases.	
n f 9 cases.	
n fl 235. II. 5.	
n g 19 cases.	
n gr 4 (5) cases.	
n gu (cons.) 100. II. 13; 243. I. 6; 277. I. 14.	
n h 104. II. 14.	
n i (cons.) 4 cases (-in in comp.).	
n l 6 cases.	
n m 3 cases.	

	<i>Regular</i>	<i>Irregular</i>
n n	27 cases.	
n p	8 cases.	
n pr	59. I. 3; 259. II. 10.	
n qu	18 cases.	
n s	64 cases.	
in st	27. II. 7; 82. II. 6.	
n t	200 (201) cases.	
	[Note ^{e.} <u>sun</u> t t(del. ?) existunt 258. II. 7.]	
disserun ^{e.} t di	194. II. 9.	
nt qu	152. II. 2.	
n tr	7 cases.	
n u (cons.)	12 cases (con- or in- in comp.).	
n x	123. II. 8.	
p	75 cases.	
pl	4 cases.	
p p	13 cases.	
p pl	110. II. 13.	
p pr	53. II. 1.	
pr	45. II. 7; 127. I. 7.	
p s	16 cases.	
p t	22 cases.	
qu	60 cases.	
r	401 (402) cases.	
r b	22 cases.	
r c	8 cases.	
r ch	140. II. 5.	
r d	3 cases.	
r f	5 cases.	
r g	12 cases.	
r m	17 cases.	
r n	20 cases.	
r p	4 cases.	
trans l		40. II. 6; 267. I. 13.
trans m		39. II. 5.
ns t		15 cases.
ns tr		72. II. 8; 203. II. 10; 208. I. 14.
		[Note princeps [?] s 80. I. 4.]
		adsequen ⁿ t retur 124. I. 2; cu r 33. I. 6; fertur r 67. II. 13; inter emisse 290. I. 3; inter erat 94. II. 8; propter ea 86. I. 10; quar(r faint) re 202. I. 2.

<i>Regular</i>	<i>Irregular</i>
r qu 7 cases.	
r r 8 cases.	
r s 23 cases.	
r sp 253. II. 15.	
r t 71 cases.	
r th 46. I. 11 (168. II. 5).	
{ r u (cons.) 11 cases. { (of these 2 inter-, 1 per-, 1 propter-) }	
ls 52 cases.	ſ set 54. II. 6; tusculis se 64. I. 7; forta sse 110. II. 5; ſ sint 175. II. 8;
s c 21 cases.	grais s 228. II. 10; ses se 256. I. 2; s suis (=suis) 276. II. 15; s se 292. I. 12.
s cr 111. I. 3.	
s d 24. II. 2; 76. I. 3.	
s i (cons.) 237. II. 8.	
s m 4 cases.	
s n 43. II. 5.	
s p 13 cases.	
s qu 19 cases.	
s s 120 cases.	
i ipsis stratus 258. II. 3.	
s t 60 (61) cases. (incl. praes tare 54. I. 6; praes tare 276. II. 1; praes titisse 289. I. 11.) [Note s tirpe 48. II. 8.]	de spicientem 142. II. 6.
s th 277. I. 11.	
st qu 38. I. 3.	
s tr 24 cases.	
post tridie 60. I. 4.	
s u (cons.) 175. I. 2.	
lt 405 cases. [Note inperat talis (= . . . aliis) 117. II. 8; retine t 146. I. 9; ut t 258. II. 2; consulut (i corr. to t) t 292. II. 5.]	post ea 191. II. 8; 279. I. 15. [Note post t ^e tum (=post eum) 171. I. 6.]
lth 3 cases.	
ltr 13 cases.	
ltt 5 cases.	
septe et triginta 239. II. 9.	metuerit lis 214. I. 15; tot idem 66. I. 15.
	t r 174. I. 5. [Note et t 217. II. 6.]

	<i>Regular</i>	<i>Irregular</i>
x	26 cases.	ex emplari 81. II. 7; ex ulem 245. I. 11; ex acti 160. II. 5.
x c	6 (7) cases.	
x pl	216. I. 11.	
x pr	4. I. 2; 243. II. 12.	
x s	136. II. 2; 163. I. 7.	
x t	4 cases.	
ex ^{re} truet	81. I. 11.	

ORTHOGRAPHICAL PECULIARITIES

NOUNS, PRONOUNS, AND ADJECTIVES

First Declension:

<i>Nouns in -ia, dat. abl. plu. in</i>	
<i>-iis</i>	<i>-is</i>
10 cases.	u is manjib- 217. II. 8.

Second Declension:

<i>Nouns in -ius, -ium, gen. sing. in</i>	
<i>-ii</i>	<i>-i</i>
capitolii 15. II. 8.	
→	i enni 286. II. 13.
	horati 119. II. 8.
	iuli 41. I. 11; 42. II. 11.
	laeli 210. I. 13.
→	i mari 74. I. 4.
	opimi 73. II. 15.
	papiri 41. I. 11.
	pompili 171. I. 8; 217. I. 12½.
	potiti 119. II. 7.
tarquini	
tatii 3 cases.	tañti 272. I. 11.
tatii 271. II. 12.	
tiberii 213. I. 2.	ualeri 119. II. 7.
auxilii 219. II. 5.	
consilii 6 (7) cases.	consili 24. I. 4.
im(n)perii 7 (8) cases.	im(n)peri 135. I. 8; 185. I. 10; imperi ⁱ 161. II. 6.
ingenii 4 cases.	
iudicii 52. II. 2.	
negotii 125. I. 13; 247. II. 6.	

	→			
			praesidis ⁱ	258. II. 1.
			socis	213. II. 11.
spatiis	211. II. 10.			
studiis	9 cases.			
suffragiis	3 cases.			
	→		supplicis ⁱ	239. II. 6.
testimoniis	153. II. 8.			
uitiis	225. I. 6; 229. II. 12; →		uitis ⁱ	163. II. 12.
<i>Noun in -eus, dat. abl. plu. in</i>				
	-iis			-is
diis	27. II. 3.		dis	246. II. 14.
<i>Pronouns in -ius, etc., dat. abl. plu. in</i>				
	-iis			-is
aliis	5 cases.		alis	3 cases.
iis	15 (17) cases.		is	6 cases (incl. is 53. I. 4; is 291. I.
(hiis 188. I. 1; 229. II. 11.)				9); also eis 19. I. 9.
			isdem ⁱ	90. I. 5; sdem 64. I. 1.
<i>Adjectives in -ius, dat. abl. plu. in</i>				
	-iis			is
			iunis	279. II. 9.
aduersariis	89. II. 2.			
mediis	26. II. 10.			
necessariis	139. I. 12.			
	→		patris ⁱ	167. II. 13.
proletariis	94. II. 15.			
propiis ^r	49. I. 7.		propris	127. I. 7.
regiis	188. I. 1; 248. I. 2. →		regis ⁱ	218. II. 7.

*Third Declension:**i- and mixed stems, abl. sing. in*

	-e			-i
classe	94. I. 12.			
colle	67. II. 15; 68. I. 7.			
			exemplari	81. II. 7.
morte	130. I. 8; 256. I. 3.		mari	6 cases.

nocte 59. II. 8.
 parte 4 cases.
 [Note rege 12 (14) cases.
 sorte 179. I. 5.
 teste 268. I. 3.
 excelsiore 35. II. 11.
 firmiore 142. I. 7.

ⁱ
 omne (*abl.*) 146. I. 15.
 parente 41. II. 6

tarquiniense 32. I. 6.

^e
 reg⁷ (*abl.*) 271. I. 12.]
 siti (*abl.*) 244. I. 7.

incredibili 290. II. 4.
 inlustri 196. I. 7.
 leni 19. II. 14; 101. II. 2.
 militari 207. II. 2.
 mortalit^ā 67. II. 4.
 naturali 40. I. 4.
 nobili 180. I. 15.
 omni 19 (20) cases.
 pestilenti 261. I. 15.
 populari 116. II. 1.
 procliui 226. I. 5.
 recenti 256. II. 15.
 regali 115. I. 15.
 salubri 64. I. 9.
 simili 3. II. 10; 184. II. 11.
 singulari 237. II. 1.
 tarquiniensi 174. II. 8.
 tenui 114. I. 6.
 uaganti 82. II. 3.

Consonant-stem, irregular abl. sing. in -i

ⁱ
 iur^ē 124. II. 14 (but 8 cases of iure).

-i- and mixed stems, gen. plu. in

ⁱ
 -um
 optimatum 243. I. 5.
 titiensum 37. I. 3.
 ciuitatum 81. II. 12; 143. I. 6 (228. II. 1).
 familiarum (*gen. plu. of -ris*) 200. I. 14.

-ium
 optimatium 6 (7) cases.
 adulescentium 152. II. 9.
 ciuitatium 179. II. 3.
 familiarium 52. II. 5.
 locupletium 107. II. 6; 203. I. 10.

i- and mixed stems, acc. plu. in

-es	-is
a i. edes 35. II. 7.	artis 215. II. 7.
athenienses 226. II. 2.	atheniensis 1. I. 2.
ciues 106. I. 5; 129. II. 3.	ciuis 4 (6) cases.
ciuitates 237. II. 6.	ciuitatis 80. I. 12.
	classis 107. I. 12.
^e contractationis 113. II. 1.	finis 47. I. 12.
fines 47. I. 6.	fontis 253. II. 13.
gentes 165. II. 11.	gentis 17. I. 8; 28. II. 5.
optimates 298. II. 2.	optimatis 54. II. 2.
partes 267. I. 5.	partis 6 cases.
→	securis 120. II. 4.
	similitudin ^e is 159. I. 14.
	ardentis 88. I. 6.
	capitalis 116. II. 9.
	communis 166. I. 11.
	compluris 56. I. 7.
	diligentis 37. II. 10.
	grandis 205. I. 6.
	immanis 69. II. 11.
	inexpiabilis 14. II. 8.
	innumerabilis 64. II. 11.
	impendentis 75. II. 11.
	locupletis 93. I. 13.
omnes 3 cases.	omnis 17 cases.
plures 3 cases.	pluris 23. I. 12.
^t praepo ^e ntes 244. II. 9.	potentis 58. I. 2.
sapientes 79. II. 14.	sapientis 23. I. 15.
→	superior ^e is 280. I. 7.
	tris 272. II. 2.

Consonant-stem, irregular acc. plu. in -is

uirgin^eis 262. II. 2 (but uirgines 88. I. 15).

VERBS

-st for est

abrogat ^e ast 183. II. 5.	constitut ^e ast 41. I. 12.
bonist 13. I. 8.	ferest 249. II. 8.
condit ^e ast 241. II. 9.	iniquissim ^e ast 234. I. 13.

itast	31. II. 12.	uae	
memoriaest	119. I. 10.	q-sitast	192. I. 7.
modost	205. II. 9.	ratioest	41. II. 7; 200. I. 9.
natast	192. I. 11.	sublatast	35. I. 2.
plenast	204. I. 12.	uerendumst	21. I. 10.
positast	136. II. 7.	e	
		ullast	39. I. 7.

DIPHTHONGS

Confusion of ae and e:

These are frequently confused. In most cases the mistakes were corrected; *e.g.*
absurdae 295. II. 5; acerbae 183. II. 9.

Confusion of e and oe:

cepit (= cepit) 15. II. 3.

Retention of oe:

poenire 27. I. 3.

VOCALISM

Confusion of

e	and	i
ciuitates (<i>gen. sing.</i>)	58. I. 6.	
		e
		dilabatur
		226. I. 7.
i		
delecti	96. I. 6.	
i		
diceret	137. I. 4.	
i		
effecit	20. II. 11.	
i		
euertēret	189. II. 10.	
e i		
incendiret	136. I. 6.	
intellego	114. II. 2.	
i		
intellegi	267. I. 14.	
intellegi	296. II. 5.	
neglegi	233. II. 7.	
i		
olympiades (<i>gen. sing.</i>)	241. II. 11.	
i		
ueteres (<i>gen. sing.</i>)	228. II. 6.	
i		
uirtutes (<i>gen. sing.</i>)	180. I. 7.	

e	and	o
euers ^u - 180. I. 4.		opore 294. II. 7.

e	and	u
<i>In gerund and gerundive</i>		
<i>Verbs in -o, -ere:</i>		
-end- 84 (86) cases.		gerundis 15. I. 7.
<i>Verbs in -io, -ere:</i>		
-iend- 7 cases.		
<i>Verbs in -io, -ire:</i>		
-iend- 7 cases.		oriundum (in passage from Ennius) 149. II. 4.
eo, ire:		-eund- 5 cases.

Variation of i and u:

<i>In superlatives</i>	
i	u
224 (225) cases.	12 cases, as follows:
(I give only those words which are also spelt with u.)	aequissum- 203. I. 8.
facillim- 5 cases.	deterrim- 245. II. 9.
grauissim- 5 cases.	facillum- 21. II. 11.
maxim- 42 cases.	gratissum- 27. II. 5.
optim- 46 cases.	grauissum- 73. II. 3.
[Note optimat 17 cases.]	maxum- 14. I. 14; 17. I. 15; 251. II. 6.
	optum- 115. I. 3; 199. I. 3; 203. I. 7.
	optumat- 298. II. 13.]
	uitiosissum- 297. II. 9.

In other words

	i	
	ducatur 78. II. 8.	
<i>Confusion of</i>		
o	and	u
adh ^u oc 270. II. 14.		
cernit ^u r 180. I. 11.		
c ^u pnabulis 68. II. 3.		inuentur 203. I. 9.

WORDS IN -qu^o/u- AND -u^o/u-

<p>uol-/uul. uolgus, etc. 89. I. 12; 103. II. 8.</p> <p>uolneribus 92. II. 1.</p> <p>auolsum 63. II. 7.</p> <p>uolt 110. II. 13.</p> <p>uoltis 21. I. 8; 225. II. 10.</p> <p>-uos/-uus</p> <p>qu-/c. aequa 51. II. 2; aequitate 203. I. 3.</p> <p>reliqu- 10. I. 2; 82. II. 9; 119. II. 3; 177. II. 1; 193. I. 10; 211. I. 2; 232. I. 9; 293. II. 12; reliquios 35. I. 10.</p>	<p>uulgus, etc., 180. II. 4; 291. I. 4; 295. I. 6.</p> <p>uulnere 291. II. 15.</p> <p>?? uult 19. II. 14; uult 148. II. 11; 179. I. 14.</p> <p>uultis 224. II. 6.</p> <p>saluus 179. I. 13.</p> <p>aecus 96. I. 5; aecum 293. I. 4.</p> <p>cotidie 214. I. 3.</p> <p>[Note pecun- 129. I. 9; 204. I. 14; 292. I. 7.]</p> <p>relicu- 107. I. 9; 108. II. 10; 190. II. 13.</p>
--	--

<p>→</p> <p>qu^m/cum qu^om 12. I. 8.</p> <p>qu^om 22. I. 9; 202. I. 5.</p> <p>qum 16 cases.</p> <p>u lost (through the scribe's error?)</p> <p>u mortus 172. I. 10.</p> <p>quattor 108. II. 3½.</p>	<p>u qam 216. I. 3.</p> <p>qe 6. I. 7; 299. II. 11 (?).</p> <p>cum 121 (122) cases.</p>
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CONSONANTISM

▼ (CONSONANTAL)

▼ lost between vowels:

<p>boi^um 239. I. 13.</p> <p>de^utorum 80. I. 8.</p> <p>die (= diue) 149. I. 13.</p>	<p>u pacuiano 17. I. 4.</p> <p>pacu^ui 286. II. 6.</p>
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NASALS

Loss or insertion of m:

Within word	
<p>^m popilio 217. I. 5.</p>	<p>At end of word</p> <p>cursum 75. II. 15.</p> <p>cursum 226. I. 5.</p>
<p>adulescentia^m 275. II. 4.</p> <p>auctoritate^m (abl.) 295. I. 11.</p>	

disciplinam	177. I. 9.	regnantem	296. I. 2.
discriptionem (<i>abl.</i>)	177. I. 7.	reliquam	186. I. 8.
fortunam	217. I. 3.	reip-	75. II. 13.
naturam	295. I. 3.	rerum	4. I. 10.
partam (<i>m del. ?</i>)	290. I. 5.	sermonem (<i>abl.</i>)	190. II. 9.
providentiam (<i>abl.</i>)	157. I. 15.	societatem	95. II. 8.
que (=quem)	44. I. 3.		

Variation of

	an	<i>and</i>	n
		a	
		in	60. II. 4.
		a in	269. I. 5.
		s	
pergisne	43. II. 5.	uidene	99. I. 7.
uidesne	280. II. 11.		
uidetisne	68. I. 12; 245. II. 3.		
uisne	274. II. 9.		

Variation of

	ns	<i>and</i>	s
	→	n	
	→	ceses	253. I. 8.
milliens	203. II. 9; milliens	congrues	276. I. 13.
triciens	204. II. 14.		
		quinguesimo	279. II. 5.

Variation of

	nct	<i>and</i>	ct
nactum	34. II. 14.	nactus	189. II. 4; 274. I. 2.

MUTES

Variation of b and v :

^b acseruius	260. II. 5.	^u collocabit	271. I. 2.
^u adscibit	271. II. 5.	^b dayant	273. I. 12.
^u adscibit	283. II. 13.	^u gustabit	243. I. 7.
^u appellabit	135. I. 2; 220. II. 6.	^b indecillis	175. I. 12.
^{uim} audibus	295. I. 4.	^u insitiba	172. II. 14.
^b uello	71. II. 2; uelli	^u iohis	57. I. 6.
^b uelubis	14. I. 11; uellast	iuet (= iub-)	47. I. 3.
	300. II. 8 (but 3 cases of belu-).	^u laudabisse	193. II. 11.

lauor- corr. to labor- 3 cases.		^b i	
liuidin- corr. to libidin- 4 cases.		siuē	189. I. 9.
nouillior 103. II. 7.		^b	
per u breuiter 229. II. 9.		triuunt	234. I. 6.
		^b	
^u pr u batum 151. II. 2.		tuyero	273. I. 4.
		^u	
^b prouabiles 55. I. 14.		bellet	27. I. 1.
probatum 59. I. 7.		bita 33. I. 13 (but 13 cases of uita;	
		uitale 46. I. 2).	
		^u	
proba u isse 193. I. 2.		bolscā-	24. II. 4.
		^u	
adpro u al[uissent] 216. II. 15.		bouisse	38. II. 14.
		^b	
saluta u it 210. I. 4.		...]nem[...	235. II. 12.
^b siqi 91. II. 5.			

Variation of

	bs	<i>and</i>	ps
scribserint	119. I. 13.		scrips-
urbs	289. II. 1.		urps
			3 cases.
	bt	<i>and</i>	pt
scribtis	141. II. 2.		script-
			4 cases.

p, ph, f. See the Greek words, pp. 109 f.

sfaera, etc. 4 cases (but 4 cases of sph-).

Absence of **p** parasitic between **m** and **s**:

consumserint 221. II. 4.		sumsit	81. I. 9.
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p parasitic, between **m** and **t**:

sumptam 65. I. 5; sumptuosas 227. II. 2 (but su⁻lta 40. II. 1; sumtum 69. I. 10; sumtis 209. II. 11).

^p temptaret	281. I. 12.
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Variation of

	a	<i>and</i>	t
	<i>passim.</i>	<i>At end of word:</i>	
ad			at (for ad) 19. I. 3; 125. II. 6 (corr. to
			ad); 246. II. 2; 269. I. 9; 269. II. 1
			(t del. ?).
			atsint
			141. I. 15.
aliquod (=aliquod) 6 cases.			
aliquod (=aliquot) 41. I. 14; 277. II. 12.			
aliud 103. I. 6.			aliut
apud 4 cases.			6 cases.
			apud
			17 cases.

essed	91. II. 9.	eset	42 cases.
ed	3. I. 14; ed 59. I. 1.	et	<i>passim.</i>
haud	4 cases.	haut	145. II. 14; aut (=haud) 227. II. 8.
id	<i>passim.</i>	it (=id)	86. I. 1.
illud	5 cases.	illut	16 cases.
i- ^t cidid ^t	3. I. 11.		
inquit	13 cases.	inquit	37 cases.
nequid	201. II. 4.	istut	61. II. 9; 215. II. 3.
quod	<i>passim.</i>	quot (=quod)	40. I. 13.
quod (= quot)	23. II. 12; 66. II. 3.	{set	30 (32) cases.
sed	93 cases.	se	
ud (=ut)	161. II. 1.	{posset (=posse sed)	9. II. 4.
		Within word:	
adque	17 cases.	atque	59 (60) cases.
adqui	21. I. 9; 39. II. 12; 153. I. 4; 274. I. 2.	atqui	41. II. 12 (21. I. 9).
^d at ^d	(=datum) 77. II. 7.		
		^d si	
		qua ^d fragemo	296. II. 10.
		^t h	(see also pp. 109, 110).
		karth-	46. I. 11; 63. I. 6.
^h cartaginem	168. II. 6;		
^c between n and t:			
quin ^c tilibus	280. I. 12.		
Variation of			
		^c	
nec(g?)legat	152. I. 8; neclegere 161. II. 12; neclexit 249. I. 6.	^g	
		re ^g ere	85. II. 5.
		^c	
^h cartaginem	168. II. 6.	^k	
		karthag-	46. I. 11; 63. I. 6.
		^c	
ac ^b er ^c ius	260. II. 5.	^s	
		hos ^c	218. I. 14.
^{ss} e ^{ss}	(=esse) 200. II. 8.	ho ^s tilium	217. I. 6.

SPIRANTS

aut (=haud) 227. II. 8.	hortas	262. II. 1.
^h ominibus 8. II. 1.	^s nox (=nos)	166. II. 3.
inchoatum 3. I. 7; inchoatum 132. I. 3.		

Confusion between single and double consonants:

f(f)l: affuen[tia] 62. II. 15.	m(m): flamam 243. II. 1.
l(l): belu- 5 cases; beluarum 286. I. 10;	p(p): apput 79. I. 14.
¹ inbecilitas 62. II. 2.	

Loss of Syllable, Anaptyxis:

(Some of these instances are obviously mere blunders of the scribe.)

<i>Shorter form</i>		<i>Longer form</i>	
ⁱ aequabilis	230. II. 5.		
ⁱ auspcatu	189. I. 4.		
^a conprouisset	240. I. 7.		
disciplin-	10 (11) cases; discilinis 199. II. 10.	cubiculo	209. II. 12.
		discip ^p alina	173. I. 1.
		gubernacula	84. I. 7; 179. I. 6.
		hercule, mehercule	6 cases.
ⁱ muscorum	242. I. 3.	pericul-	10 cases.
saeclis	67. II. 2.	saecul-	4 cases.
		speculum	25. II. 11.
		uehiculis	3. I. 1.
^u uinclo 3. II. 8; uinclis 92. II. 9; uinclum 95. II. 5.		uinculum	169. II. 15; 251. I. 10.

Parasitic Vowel:[?]ispecies 109. I. 15.ASSIMILATION OF PREPOSITIONS IN COMPOSITION¹

<i>Not assimilated</i>	<i>Assimilated</i>
adf- 7 (9) cases (incl. adf- 266. I. 11).	acc- 29 cases.
	aff- (corr. to adf-) 177. I. 1; 261. II. 15.

¹ See the collection of material, with discussion, by Professor C. D. Buck, *Notes on Latin Orthography: Assimilation in Prepositional Compounds*, in *Class. Rev.* XIII. (1899), pp. 156-167.

adfl-	3 cases.		
adgn-	2 cases.		
adl-	228. II. 13.		
adm-	16 cases.		
adn-	230. I. 4.		
adp-	3 cases ; atp- 273. I. 7.		
adpr-	4 (5) cases.		
adr-	54. II. 9; 175. I. 13.		
ads-	19 cases.		
adsc-	6 cases.		
adsuetam	20. I. 13.		
adt-	3 cases.		
conf-	4 cases.		
confl-	50. II. 15.		
conl-	12 cases. (in conlat-, conlig-, conloc-, conloqu-, conlustr-).		
comm-	163. II. 2, 7; 271. II. 6.		
comp-	7. II. 2; 130. I. 5; 131. II. 9.		
conpruisset	240. I. 7.		
compensarem	259. I. 8.		
compl-	119. I. 7; 230. I. 14.		
const-	22 cases.		
consuet-	4 cases.		
ecferre	142. I. 14.		
ecflorescere	75. I. 11.		
ecfossus	137. I. 1.		
ecfrenati	234. I. 2.		
inb-	58. I. 10; 62. II. 2 (corr.); 175. I.		
inb-	12 (in ^b); 179. II. 10.		
infl-	18. I. 14.		
inl-	10 cases (inlecebras, inliberaliter, in- ludere, inlustr- 7 cases).		
imm-	7 cases (inmanibus, immens- 2 cases, immortales, immuta- 3 cases).		
app-	26 cases. [Note at ^p perniciosissimum 246. II. 2.]		
adsci ^u bit	283. II. 13.		
att-	9 cases.		
congr-	276. I. 13.		
coll-	8 cases (in colleg-, collig-, colloc-).		
comm-	41 cases.		
comp-	43. I. 14; 50. II. 13; 63. II. 9.		
compl-	56. I. 7.		
corr-	17. I. 14; 167. I. 15.		
cost-	199. I. 10.		
effic-, -fec-	11 cases.		
effrenatam	← 243. II. 5.		
imm-	8 (9) cases (imman- 4 cases, immi- nentem, immolare, immortal- 2 (3) cases).		

inp- 31 cases, as follows:

impedimentum 126. II. 11.
 inpell-, -pul- 3 cases.
 inpendi- 191. II. 14; 270. II. 6 (corr.).
 inpend- 75. II. 11; 136. I. 14.
 inpena 69. I. 6.
 inperat 117. II. 7.
 inperd (d del.?) itus 254. II. 2.
 inperi- 102. I. 11; 139. I. 9.
 inperi- 5 cases.
 inperitorum 166. I. 6.
 inperitit (last t del.?) 135. II. 13.
 inpetus 89. I. 11.

inpon-, -pos- 3 cases.
 inporta- 3 cases.
 inportun- 53. II. 8; 159. II. 15.
 inpur- 89. I. 15; 258. I. 3.

inpr- 10 (11) cases, as follows:

inpr^essit 3. II. 2.
 inpræmatur 83. II. 4.
 inprimis 7 cases.
 inprob- 90. I. 4; 259. II. 10.
 inr- 181. II. 9.
 inst- 21 cases.
 instr- 153. II. 9.
 obl- 22. I. 2.
 obs- 88. II. 14.
 obsc- 240. I. 6.
 obst- 279. II. 11.

imp- 33 cases, as follows:

impedit 254. II. 13.
 impend- 2. II. 13; 14. II. 9.
 impera- 3 cases.
 imperit- 60. II. 10; 241. I. 3.
 imperi- 22 cases.
 imperit- 60. II. 10; 295. II. 4.
 impl- 101. II. 10; 205. I. 5.

improb- 3 cases.

occ- 4 cases.
 off- 4 cases.
 opp- 8 cases.
 oppr- 5 cases.
 opt- 282. II. 1.
 ost- 3 cases.

redd- 230. II. 13.

succ- 66. II. 5; 175. I. 15.
 suff- 3 cases.

subn-	255. I. 14.	supp-	49. II. 9.
subp-	227. I. 10.	suppl-	3 cases.
subr-	4 cases.		
substr-	243. I. 11.	supt-	263. I. 15.
subt-	45. II. 14.		
transf-	181. I. 11.		
transl-	267. I. 13.	tram-	74. II. 15.

ASSIMILATION (DISSIMILATION) IN NON-PREPOSITIONAL COMPOUNDS, ETC.

	<i>Not assimilated</i>	<i>Assimilated</i>
-dqu-		quiequam 4 cases.
-md-	aliquamdiu 15. I. 15. ⁿ eamdem 236. II. 15. iamdiu 164. II. 13.	← iandudum 19. I. 1. quendam 17. II. 8; 199. II. 1.
-mp-	parumper 79. I. 9.	[Note tan mane 273. I. 10.]
-mm-		
-mqu-	numquam 8 cases. qualiscumque 283. I. 4. quamquam 4 cases. quascumque 230. I. 7. quemque 179. I. 15; 294. II. 6. quicumque 54. I. 14. quocumque 19. II. 13; 110. II. 12. tamquam 5 cases. umquam 4 cases. utrumque 234. I. 1.	[quieu-] q. 190. I. 9.] tanquam 133. I. 12. ^u inquam (=umquam) 133. I. 7.
-mu (cons.)-	quamuis 83. II. 3; 234. I. 1.	
-nc-	→	ⁿ nancisei 273. II. 13.
-npl-	^m simplex 235. II. 9.	← ⁿ
-nt-	[Note uoluntate 291. II. 10.]	uoluntas 150. II. 2; uoluntas 150. I. 12; ⁿ uoluntatum 4. I. 7.]

SIMPLIFICATION OF GROUPS OF CONSONANTS

*Not simplified**Simplified*

susc-	3 cases.
susp-	3 cases.

[Note influ^oxit 173. I. 4.]

exsanguem 277. I. 14.
 exist- 4 cases.
 ex
 spectaret 49. II. 2.

sust- 5 cases.

agnoscatis 190. I. 14.
 aspexit 263. II. 13.

[Note lex^s anxit 119. II. 15.]
 [Note ex erua (=ex serua) 32. I. 6.]
 exist- 1. I. 6; 58. I. 3.

expect- 7 cases.
 exta- 248. II. 12; 253. I. 6.
 extit- 7 cases.
 extru- 81. I. 11.
 exulem 245. I. 11.
 exulta- 160. II. 2; 255. I. 15.

GREEK WORDS

Greek words, except the more frequent, such as aegyptii, aetoli, alexander, were a source of difficulty to the scribe. The following are the words which caused error:

<i>Correctly</i>	<i>Incorrectly or unusually</i>
aratum 65. I. 13.	a ratum 132. I. 6. arcads(as?) I. 1. 1. areopogo 106. I. 13.
corinth- 168. II. 7; 227. II. 7.	us biris 27. I. 15. h {corintium 173. II. 3. {chorinthios 37. I. 15; -orum 173. II. 10.
lacaedem- 5 cases.	o cosme 8. II. 13. ? en nians 228. I. 7. ifigenia 286. I. 1.
peleponnesiacum 109. I. 7.	o olympium 165. I. 12. e o p l ponnesus 227. II. 13; p l ponnesum 228. I. 6. ic peripateto 189. I. 11.

philosophorum	79. I. 4.	philosopum 123. II. 14; filosofi 124. II. 1; filosofari 286. II. 15.
philus	198. I. 10; 209. I. 15.	philoteo ^a 34. II. 11. philus, -e 216. II. 11; 222. II. 15; 224. I. 10; phile 269. I. 6; pilus, etc. 20. II. 10; 21. I. 1; 21. II. 14; 44. I. 9; 128. II. 14; 201. II. 2; pu(corr. to pi)lus 209. I. 12.
platon-	7 cases.	philuntios (= phliunt-) 228. I. 1. ipsis stratus ⁱ 258. II. 3. plationem 243. II. 9. propylaea 109. II. 5.
pythagor-	8 cases.	pythagoras 296. I. 8; phythagoras 14. I. 15.
sphaera	65. II. 10.	sole ^{on} - 191. I. 9. sphaerae 65. I. 15; spheram ^a 66. I. 11; sphela 66. II. 7; sfaer- 44. II. 13; 103. I. 12; 140. II. 8; sferae 104. I. 14. ybarim ^s 296. I. 5.
thaletem	279. I. 11.	athleta ^{a e} (= a thalete) 104. II. 4. teseus ^h 277. I. 9. xerses 18. I. 13. xet hur h 286. II. 5. zmyrnae ^s 56. I. 5.

[Note: y (= υ) in Greek words, in 38 cases: assurios 24. II. 13.]

MISCELLANEOUS

tanto opere	103. II. 4; 181. I. 7.	magnopere ^o 56. I. 11.
repperiatur	46. I. 3.	

lib. iii

praeter arcads	serendo mali	
et atheniensis	qui in ^c ca causa	
qui credo tinē	eo plus auctori	
tes hoc interdic	tatis habent quia	
tum iustitiae ne	cum de uiro bo	5
quando existe	no quaeritur	
ret commenti	quem apertum	
sunt se de terra	et simplicem	
tamquam hos	uolumus esse	
ex aruis musca	non sunt in dis	10
los extitisse ad	putando ^{af} uēri	
haec illa dici so	non ueterato	
lent primum	res non mali	
ab iis qui mini	tiosi nega[n]t ent	
me sunt in dis	sapientem id	15

Primum codicis folium, littera A notatum, ad Ciceronis tractatum non pertinet.

V. 2, super E, litterae alicuius vestigium adesse uidetur.

V. 4, ad fin., UIA minus facile cernitur.

V. 14, de 1 extrema dubitari non potest, quamquam minus facile cernitur.

	Circo uirum bo	Semper iis an	et uehicularum	Sic uerba re	
	num esse quod	te oculos iudi	tarditati ea	b. in ^e prāssit	
	eum sua sponte	cia et supplicia	demquae	hominesq.	
	ac per se bonitas	uersentur nul	cum accepis	antea disso	
5	et iustitia delec	lum autem emo	set homines	ciatos iucu ⁻	5
	tet sed quod ua	lumentum es	inconditis	dissimo in	
	cut metu cura	se nullum inius	uocibus in	ter se sermo	
	sollicitudine	titia partum pre ^a	choatum	nis uinelo ^u	
	periculo uita	mium tantum	quiddam	conligauit	
10	honorum ui	semper ut time	et confusu ⁻	a simili etia ⁻	10
	rorum sit co ⁻	as semper ut	sonantis i ⁻	mente uocis	
	tra autem impro	adesse semper	cidiq̄ has et	qui uideban	
	bis semper ali	ut impendere	distinxit in	tur infiniti so	
	q[u]i scrupus in	aliquam poenā	partis e ^d ut sig	ni paucis no	
15	animis haereat	putes damua	na quaedam ⁻	tis inuentis	15

V. 4, ad fin., S minus
facile cernitur.

V. 9, ad fin., dubitari
potest, an uestigia litterae
alterius adsint.

	de rep		lib. ii	
	sunt omnes	uitam ne	genere ipso	tas atq. his ip
	signati et ex	^c essaria tum	ac iure regi	sis temporis
	pressi quib.	^{una} inmutabi	am	bus dictator
	et conloqui	lis et aeter	ⁱ quodqu æ erat	etiam est ins
5	a cum abse-	^{uae} na q. prima	obtinendam ad potentia-	titutus dece-
	tibus et indi	inpulit etia-	nobilium	fere annis
	cia uolum ^{n.}	ut suspicere	uel maximu-	post primos
	tatum et mo	mus in cae	uehementer	consules t
	numenta	lum nec frus	id retineba	largius no
10	^m reru prae	tra siderum	tur populi	uumq. id ge
	teritarum	motus intu	comitia ne	nus imperii
	teferen	eremur di	essent rata	uisum est et
	tur accessit	numeratio	nisi ea patru-	proximum
	eo numerus	nibusq. noe	adprobauis	similitudi
15	res cum ad	tium ac die	set auctori	ni regiae sed

V. 1, ad fin., C litterae
uestigia adesse uidentur,
chemicis intactae, et, ut
uidetur, erasae.

	de rep.		lib. ii	
	tamen om	gerebantur	minio sp. cas	in ciuitate
	summa	quod	sio cos. sēcu	compensatio
	nia cum auc	sed id fieri	con	sit et iuris et
	toritate a pri ⁻	natura re	tūtū segutus	officii et mu
	cipibus cede ⁻	rum ipsa co	est in quo de	neris aut et
5	te populo te	gebatur plus	fuit fortas	potestatis sa
	nebantur	culum sibi	se ratio sed	in
	magnaeque	iuris populus	tamen uin	tis magis
	res tempori	adseisceret	cit ipsa reru ⁻	tratibus et
	bus illis a for	liberatus a	publicaru ⁻	auctorida
10	tissimis uiris	regibus no ⁻	natura sepa ^a	tis in princi
	summo im	longo inter	rationem	pum consilio
	perio p ^{ae} rodi	uallo	idem tenet ⁿⁱ	et libertatis
	tis dictatori	Sexto decimo	quod initio	in populo sit
	bus atq. con	fere anno	dixi nisi ae	non posse hunc
15	sulibus belli	postumo co	quabilis haec	incommu

V. 7. de U super uersum,
post Q. scripto certe afir-
mare non ausim.

V. 2. punctum super U,
atque v. 3. punctum super
U primam, cerni non pos-
sunt.

V. 3. supra. N facile
cernitur, CO fortasse scrip-
tum est.

	de rep		lib. ii.	
	tabilem reip·	it illos in o ^h	plenam esse	Non modo
	conseruari	minibus grae	iustitiae	illud falsum esse
	statum nam	cis frenos	tum scipio ad	sine iniuria
	cum esset	nam etiam	sen ^t ior ue	non posset ^{se}
5	ex aere alie	sparte regna ^a	ro renuntio	hoc uerissi
	no commo	te theopompo	que uobis ni	mum esse si
	ta ciuitas plebs	sunt item	hil esse quod	ne iniuria
	montem sa	quinq· quos	adhuc de r· p·	non posset
	crum prius	ill ephoros ⁱ	dictum pu	set hoc ueris
10	deinde aue-	appellant in	temus aut	simum esse
	tinum occu	creta aute-	quo possimus	sine sum
	pauit	decem qui	longius pro	ma iustitia
	ac ne lycurgi	cosme uo ^o	gredi nisi erit	remp· geri nul
	quidem dis	cantur ut	confirma	lo modo pos
15	ciplina tenu	contra con sulare imperium tr. pl. sic illi contra uim	tum	se set si placet

V. 16, M altera minus facile cernitur.

V. 4, lineola per S alteram perducta haud plane cernitur.

V. 8, propter Augustinianam scripturam puncta alia cerni non possunt.

de rep.

in hunc die-
 hactenus re
 liqua satis
 enim mul
 5 ta restant
 differamus
 in crastinu-
 cum ita pla
 cuisset finis
 10 disputandi
 in eum disce-
 putandi fac
 tus est

M. TVLLI. CICER.**DE REP. LIBER. II.****EXP. INC. LIB. III.**

netur egeat pos
 tremo iur etiā^e
 optimo optinō
 omnib. miser
 rimus esse ui
 deatur contra
 autem ille im
 prob. laudetur.
 colatur ab o-
 nib. diligatur
 omnes ad eu-
 honores om
 nia imperia o-
 nes opes omnes
 undiq. copiae

conferantur
 uir deniq. opti
 mus omnium
 existimatione
 et dignissimus
 5 omni fortuna
 optima iudice
 tur quis tandē
 erit tam demēs
 qui dubitet utra
 10 se esse malit
 quod in sin
 gulis id est in po
 pulis nulla est
 tam stulta ciuitas
 15

VV. 11, 12, puncta alia
 cerni non possunt.

V. 8, Q minus facile cer-
 nitur.

	quae non inius	Esse mancinū	Sanxisset iura	legesque poena	
	tāe imperare ma	alter uir opti	nobis et omnes	non iustitia nos	
	lit quam serui	mus etiam sua	idem et idem nō	tra comprobā	
	re iustāe nec	sit rogationē	alias aliis ute	tur nihil habet	
5	uero longius	me ex s. c. ferē	rentur quaero	igitur natura	5
	abibo consul	te alter acerri	autem si iusti	le ius ex quo il	
	ego quaesiui	me se defendit	hominis et si	lud efficitur	
	quōm uos mi	si pudor quae	bonist uiri pa ^e	ne iustos qui	
	hi essetis in cō	ritur si probi	rere legib. qui	dem esse natu	
10	silio de numa	tas si fides ma	b. an quaecu	ra an uero in	10
	tino foedere	cinus haec at	q. erant at nec ^{int}	legib. uarieta	
	quis ignorabat	tulit si ratio cō	inconstantia	tem esse dicunt	
	q. pompeium	silium prudē	uirtus recipit	natura autem	
	fecisse foedus	tia pompeius	nec uarietatē	uiros bonos	
15	eadem in causa	antistat utrū	natura patitur	eam iustitia	15

V. 5, de ultima littera
dubitari potest.

V. 11, supra, ^{INT} haud
plane cernitur.

lib. .ii.

	Sequi quae sit	goras et em	ferebant et	Opulentam	
	non eam quae	pedocles una-	enim illi in	refertamq.	
	putetur esse	omnium ani	iusto domi	cōepit et ma	
	enim hoc bo	mantium cō	nato atq. acer	xima auri ar	
5	ni uiri et iusti	dicionem iuris	bo aliquam	gentiq. prae	5
	tribuere id qui	esse denuntiāt	diu in rebus	da locuple	
	q. quod sit quo	clamantque	gerundis	tatus uotu-	
	q. dignum ec	inexpiables poe	prosperē for	patris capito	
	quid ergo pri	nas impende	tuna comi	lii aedifica	
10	mum mutis	re iis a quib. uio	tata est	tione persol	10
	us b tribuem yelu	latum sit ani	Nam et omne	uit et coloni	
	his non enim	male scelus	latium bello	as deduxit	
	mediocres ui	est igitur no	denicit et su	et institutis	
	ri sed maxumi	cere bestiae quo	essam pome	eorum a quib.	
15	et docti phytha	scelus qui uelit	etiam urbe-	ortus erat	15

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V. 7, "ex c. facta q" (DuR.).

V. 7, de ultima littera dubitari potest.

V. 15, H priorem deletam esse non liquet.

V. 14. ad finem. an QUOD scriptum fuerit, dubitari non potest.

de rep.

	dona magni	put ciuilis pru	iusta eadem	te aegyptiorū	
	fica quasi li	dentiae in	omnib. nunc	quae plurimo	
	bamenta praē	qua omnis	autem si quis	rum saeculo	
	darum del	haec nostra	illo ^u pacuiano	rum et euen	
5	phos ad apol	uersatur o	inuehens alita	torum memo	5
	linem misit	ratio	angulum cur	riam litteris	
	hic ille iam uer	uidere itine	ru multas et	continet bo	
	tetur orbis	ra flexusq.	uarias gentis	uem quenda-	
	cuius natu	rerum publi	et urbes des	putari ^a deum	
10	ralem motu-	carum ut	picere et oculis	quem apim aē	10
	adque circu	cum sciatis	conlustrare	gyptii. nominant	
	itum a primo	quo q. ^{uae} quae	possit uideat	multaq. alia	
	discite adq.	res inclinet	primum in illa	portenta apud	
	ϕϕgnoscere	retinere aut	incorrupta	eosdem et cu	
15	id enim est ca	ante possitis	maxume gen	iusq. generis	15

V. 9, de A super U, certius affirmare non ausim; U litterae deletionis uestigia nulla ad-sunt.

V. 11, tres ultimae litterae cerni non possunt; ET potius quam ANT adesse putes.

lib. ii

	beluas nume	^{n.} fauit iussisse	iandudum	ex omni se ^a	
	ro consecratas	dicitur quod	quaero et	natu pro ra	
	deorum dein	deos quorum	at quem cupio	ta parte esset	
	de graeciae si	domus esset o ^r	peruenire	^s et tamen est	
5	cut aput nos de	nis hic mundus	^p rudentem	ille prudens	5
	lubra magni	inclusos parie	fortasse quae	qui ut saepe	
	fica humanis	tib. contineri	ris tuim ille	in africa ui	
	consecrata si	nefas esse du	istum ipsum	dimus imma	
	mulacris quae	ceret post autē	est tibi ex eis	ni et uastae	
10	perse nefaria ^a	cum persis et	ipsis qui ad	insidens be	10
	putauerunt	philippus qui co	sunt bella co	luae coeracet	
	eamq. unam	gitauit et alexā	pia uel ut a te	et???bel?uam ^{???}	
	ob causam xer	der qui gessit	t ipso ordia	quocumq. [?]	
	ses inflamma	hanc bellandi	re tum scipio	^{??} It leui admo	
15	ri atheniensiu	causam infe	atq. utinam	nitu non ac	15

V. 10, supra, A minus
facile cernitur.

V. 3, ad fin., O minus
facile cernitur.

VI. 12, 13, 14. plures
litteras cernere non potui.

V. 7, sexta littera esse,
puncto supra posito, uide-
tur; sed valde incerta est.

V. 9, E tertia erasa est.

V. 10, super A, lineola,
quasi I litterae pars supe-
rior, adest.

de. rep.

	tu inflectit	latet in ani	Cati et pilus	tire uideare	
	illam fera-	mis hominu-	praeclarū ^a	qum et ipse sis	
	noui e tibi cu-	quaeq. pars	uero causam	quasi unicū	
	essem lega	animi mens	ad me defertis	exemplum a-	
5	tus saepe uidi	uocatur no-	quam me im	tiquae probi	5
	ergo ille in	unam aut fa	probitatis pa	tatis et fidei ne	
	dus aut poe	cilem ad subi	trocinium sus	q. sit ignota cō	
	nus unam	gendum fre	cipere uoltis	suetudo tua cō	
	coercet belu	nat et domat	ad ^t qui id tibi ī	trarias in par	
10	am et eam do	si quando id	quit laelius ue	tis disserendi	10
	cilem et hu	effēcit quod	rendumst si	quod ita facil	
	manis mo	perraro po	ea dixeris quae	lume uerum	
	ribus adsue	test namq.	contra iusti	inueniri putes	
	tam	et illa tenen	tiam dici solet ⁿ	et pilus heia ue	
15	at uero ea quae	da est ferox	ne sic etiam sē	ro inquit gerā	15

V. 7, Q in C mutata est,
erasa hasta.

	morem uo	debemus atq-	fuisse sapien	tis quoniam	
	bis et me obli	utinam quem	tiam tamen	id nomen il	
	nam sciens quod	ad modum	hoc in ratio	li tam restric	
	quoniam qui	oratione su-	ne utriusque	tâe tenent at	
5	aurum quae	usurus aliena	generis inter	certe summa	5
	runt non pu	sic mihi ore uti	fuit quod illi	laude dignos	
	tant sibi recu	liceret alieno	uerbis et ari ^t	quoniam sa	
	sandum nos	nunc ea dicē	^b us aluerunt	pietium prae	
	quam iustitiā	da sunt: I. furio	naturae prī	cepta et inue-	
10	quaeramus	pilo quae car	cipia hi autē	ta coluerunt	10
	rem multo ō	neades grae	institutis et	atque etiam	
	ni auro cario	cus homo et	legib. plūris ue	quod et sunt	
	rem nullam	consuetus quod	ro haec tulit	laudandae	
	profecto mo	commodum	una ciuitas	ciuitates et	
15	lestiam fugere	esset uerbis	si minus sapie-	fuerunt quo	15

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V. 9, neque c super Q,
neque deletionis eiusdem
litterae uestigia cerni
possunt.

V. 1, ad fin., punctum
cerni non potest.

lib. II.

		quod		
	Niam id est ī	Si aut italiae	dici possit tu-	a se ipso ins
	rerum natu	latium aut eius	laelius uideō	tituendo co-
	ra longe ma	dem sabinā	uideo iam	templando
	ximi consili	aut ^u holsca-	illum quem	q. discedant
5	constituere	gentem si sā	expectabam	ut ad imita
	eam remp. quae	nium si etru	uirum cui	tionem sui
	possit esse diu	riam si mag	praeficias of	uocet alios
	turna si sin	nam illam	ficio et mune	ut sese splen
	gulos nume	graeciam cō	ri huic sci	dore animi
10	remus in sī	lustriare ani	licet africa	et uitae suae
	gulas quanta	moue tueri	nus uni pae	sicut specu
	iam reperia	mus si deinde	ne nam in	lum praebe
	tur uirorū	assurios si	hoc fere uno	at ciuibus
	excellentīū	persas si poe	sunt cetera	ut enim in
15	multitudo	nos si haec	ut numqua-	fidibus aut

de rep.

	tibiis atq. ut	ex dissimil	Rebat quod bel ^u	ut poeni homi	
	in cantu	limarum uo	let graeciae fa	nes immolare	
		cum mode	na poenire quae	et pium et diis	
		ratione con	ne reficienda	immortalib.	
5		cors tamen	quidem grai	gratissimum	5
		efficitur et	putauerunt	esse duxerunt.	
		congruens	ut esset poste	uitae uero in	
		sic ex sum	ris ante os do	stituta sic dis	
		mis et infimis	cumentum per	tant ut cretes	
10		et mediis ¶	sarum sceleris	et aetoli latro	10
		interiectis	sempiternum	cinari hones	
		ordinibus	quam multi ut	tum putent la	
	ferre non	et sonis mo	tauri in axino	caedemonii	
	nt isque	derata ratio	ut rex aegypti	^{su} hos omnis agros	
15	concentus	ne ciuitas co-	^{us} biris ut galli	esse dictitarint	15

*Ceteras litteras plane
cernere non potui.*

*V. 10, init., fortasse ES,
non ET; ad fin., de ET
litterarum deletionem dubi-
tari potest.*

*V. 13, init., fortasse UT,
non ET.*

lib. ii.

	quos spiculo	demetunt nos	inuisius que inuisius	qui deniq. cu-	
	possent attin	uero iustissi	anima ullu-	omni homi	
	gere athenie-	mi homines	cogitare po	num genere	
	ses iurare etiā	qui transalpi	test qui qua-	nullam iu	
5	publice sole	nas gentis oleā	quam figu	ris commu	5
	bant omne-	et uitem serere	ra est homi	nionem nul	
	suam esse ter	non sinimus	nis morum	lam huma	
	ram quae ole	quo pluris sint	tamen inita	nitatis socie	
	am flugesue	nostra oliue	te uastissimas	tatem uelit	
10	ferret galli tur	ta nostraeq.	uincit beluas	Sed erit hoc	10
	pe esse ducunt	uineae quod	quis enim hunc	de genere no	
	frumentum	qum faciamus	hominem	bis alius apti	
	manu quaere	prudenter fa	rite dixerit	or dicendi lo	
	re itaque arma	cere dicimur	qui sinbi cu-	cus cum res	
15	ti alienos agros	iuste non dici	suis ciuibus	ipsa admonu	15

V. 8, "INITATE Ad-
modum probabile est a 2
ueram lectionem esse emen-
datam, sed nunc latet sub
Augustini loco correcto"
(DuR.).

	de rep-		lib ii	
	erit ut in eos	nes reges uo	dam mortu	um est enim
	dicamus qui	citauerunt	umque esse	quanta in si-
	etiam cui ^{~liberata iam}	qui soli in po	cum duode	gulos reges
	tate domina	pulos perpe	quadragin	rerum bona
5	tiones adpe	tuam potes	ta regnauis	rum et utiliu-
	tiuerunt	tatem habe	set annos	fiat accessio
	habetis igitur	rent itaq. est	tum laelius	sed sequitur
	primum or	^{s u} perius cassi	nunc fit illut	is qui mihi ui
	tum tyran	us et m. manī	catonis cer	detur ex om
10	ni nam hoc	lius est puri	tius nec tem	nibus in rep-
	nomen grae	^l us maccius	poris unius	uidisse pluri
	ci regis inius	regnum oc	nec hominis	mum itast
	ti esse uolue	cupare uo	esse consti	inquit scipio
	runt nostri	luisse dicti	tutionem	nam post eu-
15	quidem om	sunt et modo	reip. perspicu	seruius ^t ul

V. 1, de duabus ultimis
litteris dubitari potest; ex-
spectes OS, atque harum
litterarum ligatura adesse
potest.

lib. I.

	pi ⁱ us primus	tus ad epula ^s	nino ad uita ⁻	quaerere que ⁻	
	inius ^s po	regis adsiste	hominum	enim aucto	
	puli regna	ret non latu	adtinere di	rem de illo lo	
	uisse traditur	it scintilla in	xerit dein tu	cupletio ^r em	
5	quem ferunt	genii que ia ^a -	bero nescio	platone lau	5
	ex erua tar	tum eluce	african ^e cu	dare possumus	
	quiniense	bat in pueros	r ita memori	cuius in libris	
	natum cum	sic erat in o ⁻	ae proditum	multis locis	
	esset ex quo	ni uel officio	sit socratem	ita loquitur	
10	dam regis cli	uel sermo	omnem ista ⁻	socrate ut eti	10
	ente concep	ne sollers ita	disputatione ⁻	am cum de mo	
	tus	que tarqui	reieciss ^e et ta ⁻	ribus de uir	
	Qui cum famu	nus qui ad	tum de bita et	tutibus deni	
	lorum nu	modum par	de moribus	que de rep. dis	
15	mero educa	uos tum ha	solitum esse	putent nume	15

V. 2, an S secunda de-
leta sit, dubitari potest.

V. 7, "puerō" (Du R.).

V. 6, A ult. deletionis
lineolae uestigium solum
superest.

	de rep		lib. ii.	
	ros tamen	liam et in sici	lex illa tota	p. ualerius et
	et geometria ^a	liam conten	sublatast	fascēs primus
	et hermonia ^a	disse ut pytha	hac mente tu ⁻	demitti ius
	studeat pytha	gorae inue ⁻	nostri maio	sit cum dice
5	gorae morae ^e	ta perdisceret	res et conla	in re contione
	coniungere	eumque et cu ⁻	tinum inno	coepisset et
	tum scipio sunt	archyta ta	centem sus	^a i edēs suas de
	ista ut dicis set	rentino et	picione cognati	tulit sub ue
	audisse te cre ⁱ	cum timaeo	^o nis expule	liam postea
10	do tubero pla	locro multu ⁻	runt et reli	quam quod
	tonem socra	fuisse et philo	quios tarqui	in excelsiore
	te mortuo pri	^a teō comme ⁻	nios offen	loco uelidae
	mum in ae	tarios esse	sione nomi	coepisset ae
	gyptum disce ⁻	nanctum cu ⁻	nis eadem	dificare eo
15	di post in ita	que eo tempo	que mente	ipso ubi rex

V. 3, **E** alterius deletionis uestigia cerni non possunt.

V. 5, prope finem, **A** erasa esse uidetur.

	de rep.		lib. ii.	
	tullus habi	tratus ciue-	que adhuc	rinthios ui
	tauerat sus	romanum	est retentus	deo publicis
	picionem po	aduersus pro	nec potuit ti	equis equis
	puli sensit	uocatione-	tiensum et rha	adsignan
5	moueri ide-	necaret neue	ménsium	dis et alendis
	que in quo	ue uerberaret	et lucerum	orborum et
	fuit publico	prouocatio	mutare cu-	uiduarum
	la maxime	nem autem	cuperet no	tributis fuis
	legem ad po	etiam a regi	mina quod	se quondam
10	pulum tulit	bus fuisse	auctor ei su-	diligentis sed
	eam quae ce-	nt declara po-	ma glória	tamen prio
	turiatis co	tifici libris	gloria augur tatus	rib. equitum
	mitiis prima	significant	nauius no-	partibus secu-
	lata est	nostri etia-	erat	dis additis
15	ne quis magis	augurales	atq. etiam cho	∞ . a ccc. fecit

VI. 5, 6 — DuR. — “neue
ue
uerberaret eras. pr. ue.”
V. 12, ad fin., S non
modo puncto supra posito
notata esse uidetur, sed
etiam ipsa erasa esse.

V. 5, de puncto super I
posito, quamvis eranido,
dubitandum non est.
V. 11, puncta super ORI
minus facile cernuntur.

lib. ii

	equites nu	fudit belloq.	attingisse	quam inue	
	merumq. du	deuicit	neq. hoc inter	teratus error	
	plicauit post	atque eunde	eos qui dilige	ac tamen faci	
	quam bello	primum lu	tissime per	le patior non	
5	subegit aequo	dos maximos	secuti sunt	esse nos trans	5
	rum magna	qui romani	temporum	marinis nec	
	gentem et	dicti sunt fe	annales ul	inportatis ar	
	ferocem et	cisse accipi	e last umqua	tib. eruditos	
	reb. populi r.	mus eadem	in dubitatio	sed genuinis	
10	imminen	q. in capitolio	r ne uesatum	domesticis	10
	tem idemq.	ioui optimo	di inmorta	q. uirtutibus	
	sabinos cum	maximo bel	les inquit ma	adqui multo	
	a moenibus	lo sabino in	nilius quan	id facilius cog	
	r urbis eppulis	ipsa pugna u	tus iste est ho	nosces inquit	
15	set equitatu	uisse facien	minum et	africanus si	15

Q xvii

V. 2, post NEQ. fuisse
littera F uidetur, quae
lineola et puncto deleta,
postremo erasa est.

	de rep.		lib. ii.	
	progre ^m dien	aliunde su-	res multis	cum summa
	tem rep. adq.	ta meliora ap ^u t	dicendis ui-	esset aucto
	in optimum	multo nos esse fac	armento	ritas in sena ^a
	statum natu	ta quam sibi	rum a priua	tu populo pa
5	rali quodam	fuissent un	tis in publicu-	tiente atque
	itinere et cur	de huc trans	auerterant	parente ini
	su ueniente-	lata essent	laeuis aes	ta ratio st ut et
	uideris	adq. ubi pri	tumatio pe	consules set
	quin hoc ipso	mum extitis	rudum in	tr. pl. magis
10	sapientiam	sent	multa lege	tratu se ab
	maiorum sta	intellegesq. non	c. iuli p. papiri	dicarent
	tues esse lau	non fortuito p. r.	cos. consti	atqui xui ⁱ ri
	dandam quot	sed consilio	tutast	maxma po
	multa intel	et disciplina	Set aliquod	testate sine
15	leges etiam	confirma	ante a ⁿ ni ^s	prouocatio

Super V. 1, manu, ut videtur, posteriore, sed ante Aug. scripturam, exaratas has litteras legi — DE PERT ? ? O, lineolis paucis antecedentibus et sequentibus.

V. 4, ad S litteram, neque lineolam neque punctum cernere potui.

	de re p.		lib.	
	ne creare-	uiros alios	Quoniam est	Caelum pos
	tur qui et su-	subrogaue	integrum li	sideant ut u
	mum impe	runt quo	benter tibi lae	terq. possede
	rium habe	rum non	li ut de eo disse	rit tum ma
5	rèrent et le	similiter fi	ras equidem	nilius pergis
	ge scriberent	des nec ius	concessero i-	ne eam lae
	qui cum x̄ ta	titia lauda	mo uero te au	li artem inlu
	bulas sum	ta quo tame-	diamus nisi	dere in qua
	ma legum	e collegio	forte mani	primum ex
10	aequitate	laus est illa	lius interdic	cello ipse de
	prudencia	eximia g. iu	tum aliquod	inde sine qua
	q. conscrip	li qui homi	inter duos	scire nemo
	sissent in a-	nem nobi	soles putas ^{te}	potest quid
	num poste	lem l. sestiu-	componen	sit suum quid
15	rum dece-	cuius in cu	dum ut ita	quid alienu-

q. xxii

V. 11, A minus facile cernitur.

V. 14, supra, deletionis uestigia minus facile cernuntur.

de rep.

	Sed ista mox	Moria teneo	sexagign	publicarum	
	nunc audia	c. sulpicium	ta annis an	genus uide	
	mus philum quē	gallum doc	tiquior quod	tur mihi com	
	uideo maiori	tissimum ut	erat xxxiiii.	mune nobis	
5	bus iam de re	scitis homine-	ante prima-	cum illis po	5
	bus quam	cum idem hoc	olympiade-	pulis fuisse	
	me aut qua-	uisum dice	condita et a-	Sed quod pro	
	p. mucium co-	retur et esset	tiquissimus	prium sit in	
	suli tum pilus	casu apud m.	ille lycurgus	nostra rep.	
10	nihil noui uo	marcellum	eadem uidit	quo nihil pos	10
	bis adferam	qui cum eo	fere	sit esse prae	
	neque quod	consul fue	Itaq. ista ae	clarius id per	
	a me sit cogita	rat sfaeram	quabilitas	sequar si po	
	tum aut inue-	quam m. mar	atq. hoc tri	tero subtilius	
15	tum nam me	^{a u} cellius captis	plex rerum	quod erit eius	15

	de.	rep.		
	modi nihil	do nam in	omni m	accessi
	ut tale ulla i-	qua rep. est	tote sapientia	perare quam
	rep. repperia	unus aliquis	iuuet augere	plurimis frui [?]
	tur haec eni-	perpetua po	opes amplifi	uoluptatibus
5	uae. q. adhuc ex	testate prae	care diuitias	pollere regna
	ui pos ita mix	sertim regia	proferre fines	re dominari
	ta fuerunt	quamuis in	unde enim	iustitia autē
	et in hac ciui	ea sit et sena ^a	set illa laus [?]	prae ar
	tate et in la	tus ut tum fu ⁱ	summorum	omnibus [?]
10	caedemonio	et romae cu-	imperator	
	rum et in kar	erant reges	incisa monu	
	thaginien	ut spartae ly	mentis finis	
	sium ut tem	curgi legib-	imperii pro	
	perata nullo	ut ut et sit aliquod	gaut nisi ali	
15	fuerint mo	etiam populi	quid de alieno	

q xiii.

V. 9, ad fin., I litterae
super uersum scriptae ues-
tigia cernuntur.

V. 1, ad fin., M, non B,
satis facile cernitur; US
cernere non potui.

V. 6, ES, quod chemi-
cis intactum est, minus
facile cernitur.

V. 7, ad fin., ES cerni
non potest.

In magna parte huius
paginae Cic. scriptura cerni
non potest.

lib. 1

	quid igitur effi	puli sapientia	ac paene flu	Si alimenta	
	citur si sapien	dicendum pu	minib. ipsis	ex	
	tiae pareas diui	to et iam omit	obuium fer	spectaret a no	
	tiae potestates	tam alios nos	re conserva-	bis ac tantum	
5	opes honores	ter hic populus	dorum ciui	modo nostris	
	imperia regna	quem africa	um causam	ipsa commo	5
	uel priuatis uel	nus hesterno	eisque propriis	dis seruiens	
	populis sed quo	sermone a s	periculis pare	tutum perfu	
	nia de rep. loqui	tirpe repetiuit	commune	gium otio nos	
10	mur sunt inlus	cuius imperio	reliquis otiu-	tro suppedita	
	triora quae pu	iam orbis ter	neque enim	ret ^{r n} retar quill	10
	blice fiunt quo	rae tenetur ius	hac nos patria	illum ad quie	
	niamq. eadem	titia an sapien	lege genuit	tem locum	
	est ratio iuris	tia est e mini	aut educauit	sed ut pluri	
15	in utroq. de po	mo omnium	ut nulla qua	mas et maxi	
				mas nostri ani	15

V. 9, supra, de M dubi-
tari potest.

V. 5. COMMO ex CUM-
MO corr.

de. rep.

lib. i

	Mi ingenii cō sili ⁱ partis ipsa sibi ad utilita tem suam pig neraretur ta ⁻ tumque no bis in nostru ⁻ priuatum usum quan tum ipsi su peresse posset tremiteretti i am illa perfu gia quae su munt sibi ad	Excusatione ⁻ quo facilius otio perfrua ⁻ tur certe mi nime sunt au dienda cum ita dicunt ac cedere ad re ⁻ p. plerumque homines nul la re bona dig nos cum qui bus compara ri sordidum configere	et talis est quae que resp. qua lis eius aut na tura aut uo luntas qui il lam regit itaq. nulla alia in ciuitate nisi in qua populi potestas sum ma est ullum domicilium libertas habet qua quidem certe nihil po	test esse dolci us et quae si ae qua non est ne libertas qui dem est qui au tem aequa po test ese omitto dicere in reg no ubi ne obs cura quide ⁻ est aut dubia seruitus set in istis ciuita tib. in i quibus uerbo sunt li				5	10	15
--	--	--	---	--	--	--	--	---	----	----

V. 12. *init.*, T *erasa est* ;
ad *fin.*, *fortasse puncta*
super Tⁱ *adsunt*.

de rep

	beri omnes	tes imperii co-	ceteras uero	ris populo op	
	feruent eni-	silii publici iu	resp. ne appel	presso domi	
	suffragia ma-	dicii delecto	landas quide-	nantem no-	
	dant inperi	rum iudicu-	putant is no	tyrannum	
5	a magistra	q ^{uae} familiari	minibus qui	potius tamen	5
	tus ambiun	um uetusta	bus illae sese	inesse clemens	
	tur rogantur	tibus aut pe	appellari ue	tyrannus qua-	
	set ea dant ma	cunis ponde	lint cur enim	rex inportu	
	gis que etiam	rantur in li	regem appelle-	nus potest ut	
10	si nolint da-	bero autem	iouis optimi	hoc populo	10
	da sint et que	populo ut rho	nomine ho	rum intersit	
	ipsi non ha	dji ut rho ^s dji	minem do	utrum comi	
	bent unde ali	ut atheni ^s ϕϕ	minandi cu	domino an as	
	petunt sunt	ϕϕ nemo est	pidum aut in	pero seruiant	
15	enim exper	ciuium qui	perii singula	quin seruia ^{nt}	15

V. 8, initio, CUNIS in CUNIIS corr.

V. 11-14, deletionis uestigia, alia quam indicatiui, cernere non potui;

V. 14, lineolae per ES perductae minus facile cernuntur.

V. 15, supra, de τ litterae hasta superiore dubitari potest.

de rep.

lib. i

	quidem fieri	regio natus	do ^{ed} usus etia ⁻	do rudes nec	
	non potest quo	esset nam op	studio disce	uero nostra	
	autem modo	timatis quide ⁻	dendi et doce ⁻	quaedam est	
	adsequi pote	quis ferat qui	di essemus	instituenda	
5	rat lacaedemo	non popul ⁱ ϕ	auctores cu ⁻	noua et a no	5
	illa cum praes ^{tum}	concessus ^s	superiores	bis inuenta ra	
	tare putaba	et suis comi	ali fuissent	tio sed unius	
	tur disciplina	tiis hoc sibi no	in disputatio	aetatis claris	
	reip. cum bo	men adro	nibus ^ϕ x per	simorum ae	
10	nis uteretur	gauerunt	politi quoru ⁻	sapientissimo	10
	iustisque re	quid enim	res gestae nul	rum nostrae	
	gib cum est ^{se}	iudicatur is	lae inuenire ⁻	ciuitatis uiro	
	habendus	te optimus	tur ali in gere ⁻	rum disputa	
	rex quicum	doctrina ar	do prouabi ^b	tio repetenda	
15	que genere	tibus studiis	les in dissere ⁻	memoria	15

V. 9, d. E "et forte x"
(DuR.).

V. 9, C minus facile
cernitur.

de rep.

	Est que mihi ^a	Missum puto	Sunt enim om	tur illi optima	
	tibiq. quonda ^m	Nam cum p. a	nes qui in popu	tes si uero popu	
	adulescentu	fricanus hic	lum uitae necis	lus plurimum	
	lo est a p. rutilio	pauli filius fe	q. potestatem	potest omniaq.	
5	φρου ^s φο ζμνρ	riis latinis tu	habent tyran	eius arbitrio re	5
	nae cum simul	ditano cons.	ni sed se iob ^u is	guntur dicitur	
	essemus com	et aquilio cons	optimi nomine	illa libertas est	
	pluris dies ex	tituisset in hor	malunt reges	uero licentia	
	posita in qua	tis esse fami	uocari qum au	sed qum alius	
10	nihil fere quod	liarissimiq.	tem certi prop	alium timet et	10
	magnopere ^o	eius ad eum	ter diuitias aut	homo hominē	
	ad rationes	frequenter	genus aut ali	et ordo ordinē	
	omnium re	per eos dies	quas opes rem	tum quia sibi	
	rum pertine	ti	p. teneant est	nemo confidit	
15	ret praeter	se esse dixissent	factio sed uoca ^m	quasi pactio fit	15

V. 5, sexta littera primo
fuisse D, postea in O cor-
recta esse uidetur.

lib. -i-

	Inter populu ⁻	Riam nec accipe	fuit quod ipse ^{ed}	Cons. ess et	
	et potentis ex	re aut et facere	hominem di	essemus in cas	
	quo existit id	et accipere aut	ligebam et in	tris pertubari ^r	
	quod scipio lau	neutrum opti	primis dilige	exercitum	
5	dabat coniunc	mum est facere	bam et in pri	nostrum re	5
	tum ciuitates	impune si pos	mis patri meo	ligione et me	
	genus etenim	ses secundu ⁱ	paulo proba	tu quod sere	
	iustitiae non	nec facere nec	tum et carum	na nocte subi	
	natura nec uo	pati miserrimū	fuisse cogno	ito candens	
10	luntas sed in	digladiari se ⁻	ueram me	met plena lu	10
	becillitas ma	per tum faciē	mini me ad	na defecisset	
	ter est nam quā	dis tum accipiē	modum adu	tum ille cum	
	de trib. unu ⁻	dis iniuriis ita	lescentulo	legatus nos	
	esset opta du	qui primum	cum pater i ⁻	ter esset an	
15	aut facere iniu	illud adsequi	macedonia	no fere an	15

IV. 10-15 difficile cernuntur.

V. 13, punctum post **TRIB** minus facile cernitur.

V. 14, **ESSET**, aliquae litterae minus facile cernuntur; **N** post **OPTA** cernere non potui.

V. 9, ^u pallidissimum est, ut chemicis intactum.

V. 1, lacuna post scripturam existisse, ex eo quod in pag. 60, v. 1, uidetur, demonstratur. Lacunam **ET** litterarum spatium occupauisse probabile est.

V. 3, supra, de **R** dubitari potest.

de rep.

lib. i

	te quam con	nam suo lu	ma cum glo	nia neque hoc	
	sul est decla	mine non po	ria belli do	polliceor me	
	ratus haud	set attingere	mique uer	effecturum	
	dubitauit post	^a in tandem i ⁻	satos cum lo	ut ne qua par	
5	tridie palam	quid tubero	quar non co ⁻	ticula in hoc	5
	in castris do	docere hoc	mittam ut sit	sermone prae	
	cere nullum	poterat ille ho	inlustrior	termisita sit	
	esse prodigiū ⁻	mines paene	illa ipsa res de	tum laelius	
	idq. et tum fac	agrestes et	qua dispute ⁻	ego uero istut	
10	tum esse et cer	aput imperi	quam oratio	ipsum genus	10
	tis temporib.	tos audebat	mea nec eni ⁻	orationis quod	
	es semper fu	haec dicere	hoc suscepi	polliceris ex	
	turum cum	ill ^e uero et	ut tamqua ⁻	^{p e} cepto est	
	sol ita locatus	magna qui	magister per	igitur inquit	
15	fuisset ut lu	dem cum	sequerer o ⁻	africanus resp.	15

V. 1, lacuna partem Q litterae spatii occupauit.

V. 11, ad fin., ESSE adesse potest, quamuis enanidum; sed hunc locum in ipso codice non inuestigauit.

V. 12, lineola per S priorem perducta non cernitur.

V. 2, ad fin., quin S post O scripta fuerit, dubitari non potest.

	de rep.		lib.	
	res populi po	est non tam	Petu libera	Copiis aut qui
	pulus autem	^l inbecilitas	^t uissen nec g.	tus maximus
	non omnis	quam natu	duelius aulus	eneruauisset
	hominum	ralis quaeda ^m	atilius l. metel	^m aut marcellus
5	coetus quo	hominum	lus terrore	contudisset 5
	quomodo co ^m	quasi congre	karthaginis	aut a portis hu
	gregatus sed	gatio non est	non duo sci	ius urbis auol
	coetus multi	enim singu	piones oriens	sum p. africa
	tudinis iuris	larie nec soli	incendium	nus compulis
10	consensu et	uagum genus	ē belli punici	set intra hos 10
	utilitatis co ^m	hoc set ita ge	secundi san	tium moenia
	munione so	neratum ut	guine suo	m. uero cato
	ciatus eius au	ne in omniu ^m	restinxissent	ni homini ig
	tem prima cau	quidem re	nec id excita	noto et nouo
15	sa coeundi	rum affuen	tum maiorib.	quo omnes 15

V. 9. 1 prior ex parte
erasa esse uidetur.

V. 2. secundum DuRieu,
l. manus NT scripserat;
ad fin., punctum minus
facile cernitur.

V. 4. supra, super M
lineola certa. post M
punctum incertum est.

de rep.

lib. i.

	ⁱ Qui sdem reb-	la in his ur ⁿ hdis	Se descripta ⁻	rae genus in	
	studemus qua	set tempesta	cuius omne ⁻	quo solis et	
	si exemplari	tib. ad summa ⁻	ornatum et	ⁱ unae motus	
	ad industria ⁻	senectutem	descriptione ⁻	inessent et	
5	uirtutemque	maluit iacta	sumptam ab	earum quin	5
	ducimur cer	ri quam in il	eudoxo mul	que stellaru ⁻	
	te licuit ^t usculis	la tranquilli	tis annis post	que errantes ^a	
	^s e in otio delec	tate atq. otio	non astrolo	et quasi uage ^a	
	tare salubri et	iucundissi	gia ^e scientia	nominaren	
10	propinquo lo	me uiuere o	sed poetica	tur in illa sphae	10
	co sed homo	mitto innu	quadam fa	ra, solida non	
	demens ut is	merabilis ui	cultate uer	potuisse fini	
	ti putant cum	ros quorum	sib. aratum	ri atq. in ea ^o ad	
	cogeret eum	singuli saluti	extulisse hoc	mirandum	
15	necessitas nul	huic ciuitati	autem sphe	esse inuentu ⁻	15

V. 1, supra, I minus facile cernitur.

V. 7, supra, T minus facile cernitur.

V. 7, "I male dissecuit uocabula, quod II correxit erasa altera S" (DuRieu).

	lib. I.		lib.	
	archimedi	idem conuer	talitate credi	quod multis
	quod excogi	sionib. in ae	tum cum ia ⁻	iam ante sae
	tasset quem	re illo quod	inueterata	clis nullo alio
	ad modum	diebus in ipso	uita hominu ⁻	de mortalita
5	in dimssimil	caelo succe	ac tractata	te homines 5
	limis motibus	deret et quo	esset et cogni	credidissent
	inaequabiles	et in caelo sphe	ta sed pro	qui impulsu pa
	et uarios cur	la solis fieret	fecto tanta	trum quo illa ⁱ
	sus seruaret	eadem illa de	fuit in eo uis	se inuidiam
10	una conuer	fectio et inci	ingenii atq.	interitus ro 10
	sio hanc sphe ^a	deret luna tu ⁻	uirtutis ut id	muli pellerent
	ram gallus	in eam quae ^{metain}	de romulo	in contione
	cum moue	esset umbra	proculo iulio	dixisse fertur
	ret fiebat ut	terre cum sol ^a	homini agraes	r a se uisum
15	soli luna tot	l e regione	ti cederetur ^r	esse in eo colle 15

V. 14, ad fin., L posterius scripta esse uidetur.

V. 15, initio, L erasa esse uidetur.

V. 14, utrum AES an ES legendum sit. parum liquet.

V. 15, supra, R parum facile cernitur.

V. 8, ad fin., super A, I littera adesse uidetur, sed ualde incerta est.

	rep			
	romulum qui	nouum popu	sent discēn	celebritates
	nunc quiri	lum neq. ut	daq. que obser	inuenit quib.
	nalis uocatur	in ^u cnabulis	u essent	rebus institu
	eum sibi ma	uagientem	multa cons	tis ad huma
5	dasse ut popu	relictum et	tituit sed ea	nitatem adq. 5
	lum rogaret	adultum ia	sine inpensa	mansuetudi
	ut sibi eo in col	et paene pube	sic religionib.	nem reuoca
	le delubrum	rem	colendis ope	uit animos
	fieret se deum	tum laelius	ram addidit	hominum
10	esse et quiri	nos uero ui	sumtum re	studiis bella 10
	num uocari	demus et te	mouit uq̄ ide	di tam imma
	uidetisne igi	quidem in	q. mercatus	nis ac feros
	tur unius ui	gressum ra	ludos omnes	sic ille cum u
	ri consilio no	^{ne} tio ad disputa	q. conueniu	dequadragi
15	solum ortu	dum noua quae	di causas et	ta annos su 15

V. 6, "aduitum . . . ex
I facta est L" (DuR.).

V. 2, supra, punctum ulti-
mum minus facile cernitur.

V. 3, super **ESSENT**
nulla puncta cerni possunt.

de rep.

lib i

	ma in pace cō	tatem reip. re	Solens osten	Quid etiam	
	cordiaque	bus confirma	tatio neq. ora	^b bello illo ma	
	regnauiſſet	ⁱ tyſ religione	tio abhorrens	ximo quod	
	sequamur	atq. clemen	a persona ho	athenienses	
5	enim potissi	^{ae} tiam quī cum	minis grauis	et lacaedemo	5
	mum polybi	scipio dixisset	simi rem eni	ⁱ ni summa in	
	um nostrum	uerene inquit	magnam ad	ter se conten	
	quo nemo fu	manilius hoc	secutus quod	tione gesserunt	
	it in exquire	memoriae	hominibus.	pericles ille et	
10	dis temporib.	^e proditum sit	^r pertubatis i	auctoritate	10
	diligentior	africanae	anem religio	et eloquentia	
	excessit e uita	regem istum	nem timore	et consilio	
	duabus prae	numam py	que deiece	princeps cui	
	clarissimis	thagoraene ip	^a rēt adq. eius	tatis suae cu	
		[?] sius [?] discipulum aut cer			
15	ad diuturni	[?] te [?] pythagoreum fuisse	modi quiddam	obscurato	15

Versus 15 et is qui praecedit, pallidissimi sunt; litterae, super quas ? signum posui, aut minus facile aut nullo modo cerni possunt.

V. 15, ad fn., DAM posterius additum esse uidetur. V. 1, punctum super D cernere non potui.

de. rep.

lib. i

	Sole tenebrae	tempore fieri	tum non in	Quentata apud	
	factae essent	et necessario	grecie portus ^a	illos etiam in	
	repetente a	cum tota se	per se seruatos	grauissima-	
	theniensiuq̄	luna sub or	sed in barbari	ciuitatem nos	
5	animos sum	bem solis sub	ae signus co-	tram dicunt	5
	mus timor	iecisset itaq̄	fugisse ^h qua-	redundasse	
	occupauisset	etsi non om	adfixerat nec	nam uel exili	
	docuisse ci	ni intermens	uero leuita	um camilli	
	uis suos dici	truo tamen	tis athenien	uel offensio	
10	tur id quod	id fieri non	sium crude	comphemo	10
	ipse ab anaxa	posse nisi cer ^{...}	litatisque in	ratur a halae	
	gora cuius	intermenstruo	amplissimos	uel inuidia	
	auditor fue	to tempore	cy ⁱ us exem	nasicae uel	
	rat acceperat	qu ^h quod	pla deficiunt	expulsio lae	
15	certo illud	qu ^h dispu	quae nata e ^t fre	natis uel opimi	15
		tando ratio			

q. ui.

V. 10, M littera altera
duabus lineolis deleta est.

V. 11, in spatio post A,
erasae alicuius litterae (D
formae non dissimilis)
uestigia cerni possunt.
(I uidetur fuisse, secun-
dum DuR.)

	de rep.		lib. i.	
	clāmnatio	Silio ac peri	teterrimus	bes et quasi
	uel fuga me	culo sese in	et ex hac uel	circūhītus i-
	telli ^u el acer	illa uita atq.	optimatium	rebus publicis
	bissima ⁱ c. ma	otio conser	uel factiosa	commutatio
5	ri clades prin	uatos putant	tyrannica il	num et uicis 5
	cipum caedes	grauius eti	la uel regia	situdinum
	uel eorum	am de nobis	uel etiam per	quos cum cog
	multorum	queruntur	saepe popula	nosse sapien
	pestes quae pau	et amantius	ris itemq. ex	tis est tum ue
10	lo post secutae	sed haud faci	ea genus ali	ro prospicere 10
	sunt nec ue	le dixerim cur	quod ecflo	inpendentis
	ro iam nomi	cum ipsi disce-	rescere ex il	in guberna-
	ne abstinent	di aut uisen	lis que ante ^a	da rei ^h p. mo
	et credo quia	di causa ma	dixi solet mi	derantem
15	nostro con	ria tramittant	riq. sunt or	cursu atq. in ^m 15

	de rep.		lib. i.	
	sua potestate	tribus hic lae	fuerunt et	tis generi ho
	retinentes ^m	lius scio tibi ita	qui sunt pro	minum a na
	magni cuius	placere afri	cul ab ab aeta	tura tantum
	dam ⁱ eius et	can e saepe	tis huius me	que amorem
5	diuini paene	enim ex te au	moria com	ad commune ⁻
	est uiri itaque	diui set tame ⁻	memorare	salutem defe ⁻
	quartum quod	nisi molestu ⁻	eos desino ne	dendam ^d fatu ⁻
	dam genus	est ex trib. istis	quis se aut suo	ut ea ^u bis omni
	reip. maxime	modis rerum	rum in aliqu ^e	a blandimenta
10	probandum	publicarum	praetermissu ⁻	toluptatis otiq ⁱ .
	esse sentio quod	uelim scire	quaeratur u	uicerit nec ue
	est ex his que ^a	quod optimu ⁻	num hoc de	ro habere uir
	prima dixi mo	iudices nam	finio tantam	tutem satis
	deratum et	uel profuerit	esse necessi	est quasi arte ⁻
15	permixtum	aliquid ad cog	tatem uirtu	aliquam nisi

q. uiiii.

V. 2, "I in eo erat, ut scriberet: quia, ex A statim fecit S" (DuR.).

V. 9, punctum super M positum minus facile cernitur.

V. 7, de T prioris deletionis uestigiis certe affirmari non potest.

	de rep.		lib. 1.	
	Utare etsi ars	reapse non o	di in primis	Nes et gloria
	quidem cum	ratione per	debui tollere	quos ego exis
	ea non utare	fectio nihil	ac tamen si qui	timo etiam si
	scientia tame-	enim dicitur	sunt qui phi	qui ipsi remp.
5	ipsa teneri po	a philosophis	losophorum	non gesserint
	test uirtus in	quod quide-	auctoritate	tamen quoni
	usu sui tota po	recte hones	moueantur	am de rep. mul
	sita et usus au	teque ducatur	dent operam	ta quesierint
	tem eius est	quod ab his par	parumper ad	et scripserint
10	maximus ci	tum confir	que audiant	¶ functos esse
	uitatis guber	matumque	eos quorum	aliquo reip.
	natio et earu-	sit a quibus ci	summa est	munere eos
	ipsarum reru-	uitatibus iu	auctoritas	uero septem
	quasi istin an	ra descripta	apput doctis	quos graeci sa
15	gulis personant	sunt unde	simos homi	pientes nomi

V. 8, U prior in I per
rasuram corr.

V. 8, super E priorem,
dubitari potest an fuerit
scripta A.

de rep.

	Nauerunt o-	Conditas qui	nusquam	tasse set a uita	
	nis paen ^e ui	bus de reb. quo	est in graeco	hominum ab	
	deo in media	niam nobis	rum libris	horrentem	
	rep. esse uersa	contigit ut ide-	Nam princeps	et à maïorib.	
5	tos neq. enim	et in gerenda	š ille quo ne	reliqui disse	5
	est ulla res in	rep. aliquid	mo in scribe-	ruerunt sine	
	qua proprius	essemus me	do praestan	ullo certo ex	
	ad deŷorum	moria dignu-	tior fuit are	emplari for	
	numen uir	consecuti et	am sibi sum	maque reip.	
10	tuffis accedat	in explican	sit in qua ci	de generibus	10
	humana qua-	dis rationib.	uitatem ex	et de rationi	
	ciuitatis aut	rerum ciui	^{re} truet arbitra	bus ciuitatu-	
	condere no	lium quan	tu suo prae	tu mihi uide	
	uas aut con	dam faculta	claram ille	ris utrumq.	
15	seruare iam	tem non mo	quidem for	facturus es	15

V. 2, de E super A scripta
confidenter dici non potest.

V. 7, punctum quod super
R alteram cernitur delati-
onis signum esse uidetur,
quamquam de hac re dubi-
tari potest.

V. 5, punctum super S
positum parum facile cer-
nitur.

V. 10, G ex C facta est.

de rep.

lib. .i.

	enim ita in	facta sunt p̄	^{consul fuis} Nisi tum con	Aut cum ue	
	^r gessus ut que	et disputes no-	sul fuissem con	lis opitulandi	
	^{r ep} ipse perarias tri	uaganti ora	sul autem es	reip. quamuis	
	buere aliis	^{ne s d de} tio delixa in	se qui potui ni	ⁱⁿ ea præmatur	
5	malis quam	una rep. qua	cursum tenu	periculis nisi	5
	^P ut facit aut ꝑ	re perge ut in	issem a pueri	eo loco sis ut	
	ꝑꝑꝑ platonem	^{ti} stituis prospici	tia per quem	tibi id facere	
	socrates ipse	cere enim ia-	equestri loco	liceat maxi	
	fingere et il	uideor te re	natus perue	meque hoc i-	
10	la de uerbis	liquos req̄ges	nirem ad ho	hominum	10
	situ reuoces	persequentē	norem am	doctorum	
	ad rationem	quasi perfec	plissimum	oratione mi	
	quae a romu	tam remp. er	non igitur	hi mirum ui	
	lo casu aut	go inquit sci	potestas est	deri solet quod	
15	necessitate	pio cum ille	ex tempore	qui tranquillo	15

V. 3, de P secundae deletionē dubitari potest; supra, post EP, alterius P uestigia adesse uidentur, erasae, ut puto.

V. 10, ad fin., G ex U dum scribitur facta esse uidetur.

V. 1, supra, CONSUL FUIS, erasum, adesse uidetur; post FUIS, duae aliae litterae (ut SE) adfuisse uidentur.

de rep.

lib .i.

Mari guber tum etiam glo
 nare se negent riari solent
 posse quo didi se de rationi
 cerant nec u bus rerum
 5 quam scire publicarum
 curauerint aut constitu
 iidem ad gu endarum aut
 bernacula se tuendarum
 accessuros nihil nec didi
 10 profiteantur cisse umqua
 excitatis ma nec docere
 ximium fluc earumque
 tibus isti eni rerum scie
 palam dicere tiam non doc
 15 atq. in eo mul tis hominib.

ac sapientib. tur cum quod
 sed in illo gene est multo pro
 re exercitatis cliuius nulla
 concedenda necessitate
 putant quare remp. regere 5
 qui conuenit nesciant equi
 polliceri ope dem ut ueru
 ram suam rei esset sua uolu
 p. tum deniq. tate sapiente
 si necessitate descendere 10
 cogantur cu ad rationes
 quod est mul ciuitatis non
 to procliuius solere sin au
 nulla neces tem tempori
 premente bus cogeretur 15
 sitate cogantur

V. 3, D primae deletionis signa non cernuntur.

V. 7, de prima littera dubitari potest; mihi uidentur F in I mutata esse.

V. 10, de puncto super A alteram posito dubitari potest.

V. 15, deletionis signa minus facile cernuntur.

V. 5, lineola per C perducta minus facile cernitur.

de rep.

lib' ii

	tum it munus	Quando uti	docuitq sine	niō maxime	
	denique non	necesse esset	depopulatio	cultūms agro	
	recusare ta	haec plurimis	ne atque prae	rum perceptio	
	men arbitra	a me uerbis	da posse eos	q. frugum de	
5	re hanc reru ^r	dicta sunt ob	colendi agris ^s	fenditur ide ^r	5
	ciuilium mi	eam causam	abundari ^e co ^r	q. pompilius	
	nime negle	quod his libris	modis omni	et auspiciis ma	
	gendam sci	erat institu	bus amorem	ioribus inue ^r	
	entiam sapi	ta et suscepta	q. ^{h o} is tii et pa	tis ad pristin ^r	
10	enti propter	mihi de rep.	cis iniecit in	numerum	10
	ea quod om	disputatio q.	quibus facil	duo augures	
	nia essent ei	ne frustra	lime iustitia	addidit et sa	
	praeparanda	haberetur du	et fides con	cris et princi	
	quibus nes	bitationem	ualescit et quo	pum numero	
15	ciret an ali	ad rep. adeu ^r	rum patroimo ^{c i}	pontifices qui ^r	15

V. 9, supra, o parum facile cernitur.

V. 15, fortasse potius ^o post PATR adfuit, et punctum super M alteram, quae in N per rasuram corr. esse videtur.

lib. I

	que praefecit	gines uesta	autem mul	Puris atq. in	
	et animos pro	les omnisq.	titudine pre	manibus ad	
	positis legibus his	partis religio	sertim incita	uersariis de	
	quas in mo	nis statuit	ta miserum	certantem	
5	numentis ha	sanctissime	et periculosu-	uel contume	5
	bemus arde-	sacrorum	sit quam ob re-	liarum uer	
	tis consuetu	autem ipsoru-	neq. sapientis	bera subire	
	dine et cupi	diligentiam	esse accipere	uel expectare	
	ditate et bella-	difficilem ap	habenas cum	sapienti non	
10	di religionu-	paratum per	insanos atq.	ferendas ri	10
	caerimoniis	facilem esse	indomitos i-	as proinde	
	mitigauit ad	uoluit nam	petus uolgi	quasi bonis	
	iunxitq. prae	^a que perdisce-	^{non} cohibere pos	et fortibus et	
	terea flami	da quaeq. ob	sit neque li	magno ani	
15	nes salios uir	seruanda es	^e beris cum in	mo praeditis	15

V. 8, ad fin., post PI,
uestigia litterarum erasae
adesse uidentur.

V. 15, supra, de ^E du-
bitari potest.

V. 12, post QU, I
primo scripta, deinde
erasa esse uidetur.

de. rep.

lib. i.

	Ulla sit ad re-	Entem sus	in tantis reb.	rum uideri	
	p. adeundi cau	cepturum ul	se etiam in me	solet naturae	
	sa iustior qua-	lam reip. par	diocribus uel	se consumi et	
	pareant	tem extra qua-	studiis uel of	senectute qua-	
5	ne improbis ne	si eum tempus	ficiis uel uero	sihi dari tem	5
	ue ab isdem	et necessitas	etiam nego	pus ut possint	
	lachelari rem	et coegerit qua	tiis contem	eam uitam	
	p. patiatu ⁿ r cu-	si uero maior	nendum ad	quae tamen	
	ipsi auxilium	cuiquam ne	un	essed redder	
	ferre si cupiant	essitas acci	ingitur pe	a	
10	non queant il	dere poss ⁱ et	ricula uitae tur	dyin naturae	10
	la autem ex	quam accidit	pisq. ab his for	pro patria po	
	ceptio cui pro	nobis in qua	mido mortis	tissimum red	
	bari tandem	quid facere	fortib. uiris op	dere uero illo	
	potest quod	potuissem	ponitur quib.	se loco copio	
15	negant sapi		magis id mise	sos ed disertos	15

V. 4, supra, ad fin., T
minus facile cernitur.

V. 2, ad fin., E, quae cum
A coniuncta est, erasa
esse uidetur; at nunc
facile cernitur.

	de rep.		lib. ii.	
	Putant cum	Uolneribus	neque exclu	ab aere dan
	calamitates	iis q̄ corpore	deretur suf	do eos qui aut
	clarissimoru ^r	aduerso in	fragiis ne su	non plus mil
	uitorum in	clarissima uic	perbum esset	le centum ae
5	iuriasq. iis ab	toria accepis	nec ualeret	ris aut omni
	ingratis inpo	set uitam ex	nimis ne es	noñ nihil in
	sitas ciuib. col	hostium tel is	set periculo	suum censu-
	ligunt hinc e	seruatam in	sum in quo	praeter caput
	nim illa et apud	ciuium uin	etiam uerbis	attulissent
10	graecos exe-	elis profudis	ac nominib.	proletarios
	pla miliadem	se et themisto	ipsis fuit dili	nominauit
	uictorem do	elem patria	gens qui eu-	ut ex iis qua
	mitoremque	quam libera	locupletis ad	si proles id est
	persarum no-	uisset pulsum	siduñhos	quasi proge
15	dum sanatis	atq. proterri	appellasset	nies ciuitatis

V. 4, deletionis lineola per U ducta minus facile ernitur.

V. 7. primo, ut uidetur, TELLIS (TELVS?): postea L altera crasa est.

V. 13, ad fin., fortasse fuit ADS.

V. 14, de UM litterarum deletionis signis dubitari potest.

V. 6, utrum lineola deletionis per N secundam ducta sit, dubitari potest.

de rep.

	Expectari	iure suffra	unum uoca	omnia atque	
	uideretur	gii et iis uale	mus et regnu-	horum triu-	
	illarum au	^a bjt in suffra	eius reip. sta	generum quod	
	tem sex et no	gio et is uale	tum cum au	uis si teneat	
5	naginta ce-	bit in suffra	tem est penes	illut uinclum ^u	5
	turiarum	gio plurimu-	delectos tu-	quod primum	
	in una cen	cuius pluri	illa ciuitas op	homines in	
	turia tum qui	mum inter	timatium ar	ter se reip. so	
	dem plures	erat esse in op	ⁱ bitro regi di	cietateh de	
10	censebantur	timo statu	citur illa au	uinxit non per	10
	quam paene	ciuitatem	tem est ciui	fectum illut	
	in prima clas	quin etiam	tas popularis	quidem ne	
	se tota ita nec	^c aycensis ue	sic enim appel	que mea senten	
	prohibebatur	latis ^{corni} hincinib.	lant in qua i-	ten tia optimum	
15	quisquam	proletariis	populo sunt	sed tolerabile	15

V. 13, ad fin., TEN era-
sum esse uidetur.

	de. rep.		lib. i.	
	tamen et ali	aut cupidita	Uideamus a-	benda quam
	ut alio possit	tibus posse ui	te quam ueni	ratio quaere-
	esse praesta-	detur aliquo	unt ali quidna-	da sit hic scipio
	tius nam uel	esse non in	sit de isto alte	quam uelle-
5	rex aecus ac	certo statu	ro sole quø sø	panaetium
	sapiens uel de ⁱ	set et in reg	lø quod nun	nostrum no
	lecti ac princi	nis nimis ex	tiatum est in	biscum habe
	pes ciues uel ip	pertes sunt ce	senatu neque	remus qui cu-
	se populus qua	teri commu	enim pauci	cetera tum
10	quam id est	nis iuris et co-	neque leues	haec caeles
	minime pro	silii et in opti	sunt qui se	tia uel studio
	bandum ta	matium do	duo soles ui	sissime solet
	men nullis	minatu uix	disse dicant	quaerere sed
	interiectis in ⁱ	particeps liber	ut non tam	ego tubero
15	quitatibus	tatis potest esse	fides non ha	nam tecum

V. 1, fortasse ET; puncta, si adsunt, pallidissima.

V. 14, supra, de ⁱ dubitari potest.

V. 15, initio. I primo adfuit, postea erasu est.

V. 5, "post U littera erasa est," recte Mau; supra, punctum adhuc cernitur.

VV. 5, 6, QUO SOLE deletum esse uidetur.

	de rep.		lib.	
	aperte quod	Manu quo	Set si uis laeli	quid ergo haec
	sentio loquar	etiam sapien	dabo tibi tes	quadringe-
	non nimis ad	tiorem socra	tes nec nimis	torum anno
	sentior in om	tem sole iudi	antiquo nec	rum aetas ut
5	ni isto genere	care qui om	ullo modo	urbis et ciui
	nostro illi fa	nem eius mo	barbaros in	tatis num ual
	miliari quiq̄.	di curam de	quid uolo ui	de longa est
	uix coniectu	posuerit eaq̄.	dene igitur	ista
	ra qualia sint	quae de natu	minus qua	quid adulta
10	posumus	ra quaerere-	dringento	uix ergo his
	picari sic adfir	tur aut maio	rum anno	annis qua
	mat ut oculis	ra quam ho	rum esse hanc	dringentis
	ea cernere ui	minum ratio	urbem ut si	romae rex e
	deantur aut	consequi pos	ne regibus sit	rat et super
15	tractare plane	sit aut nihil o-	uero minus	bus quidem

V. 10, supra, litterae
duae minus facile cer-
nuntur.

V. 8, super N, s plane
cerni non potest.

VV. 12, 13, in marg.,
uerba quae scriptura
prope cursiua scripta sunt
haud ita longo tempore
posteriora quam prima
manus esse uidentur.

V. 8, supra, A parum
facile cernitur; E prioris
deletionis signa non cer-
nuntur.

.de rep.

lib. i

	quid supra ius	barbarorum	um rerum	etiam in mor	
	tissimus et de	romulus rex	tum secessio	bo leui se ut il	
	inceps retro	fuit si ut grae	nem plebi ^s tu	le qui nauigat	
	usque ad ro	ci dunt om	prorsus ita ac	cum subito	
5	mulum qui	nis aut grae	ta pleraq. ut	mare coepit	5
	ab hoc tempo	cos esse aut	in populo essent	horrescere	
	re anno ses	barbaros ue	omnia est i	et ille ager in	
	centissimo	reor ne bar	quit ut dicis	grauescente	
	rex erat ergo	barorum	est uero inquit	morbo unius	
10	ne iste quide	rex fuit sin id	scipio in pace	opem inplorat	10
	peruetus mi	nomen mo	et otio licet e	sic noster po	
	nime ac pro	ribus dandu	nim lasciui	pulus in pace	
	pe senescen	est non lin	re dum nihil	et dom ⁱ im	
	te iam graeci	guis non grae	metuas ut in	perat et ipsis	
15	a cedo num scipio	cos minus	nauis ac saepe	magistratib.	15

V. 4, supra, de **ic**, quamquam parum facile cernitur, dubitandi causa nulla est.

V. 5. **E** erasa est, fortasse et per lineolam prius deleta.

V. 3, supra, **s** minus facile cernitur.

V. 7, de puncto super **U** posito dubitari potest.

V. 13, lineola per **O** alteram perducta minus facile cernitur.

de rep.

lib. i.

	minatur re	rum ipsum no	Syracusis ex	Nomen audis	
	cusat appellat	men uim su	urbe locuple	sem speciem	
	prouocat in	ae potestatis in am t dicat	tissima atque	ipsam non su-	
	bello sic paret	indicator qui	ornatissima	tanto opere ad	
5	ut regi ualet	dem ab eo ap	sustulisset cu-	miratus erat	5
	enim salus plus	pellatur qui	aliud nihil	enim illa ue	
	quam libido	a dicitur sed	ex tanta prae	nustior et no	
	grauioribus	in nostris u ^{libris}	da domum su	uilior in uol	
	uero bellis eti	des eum laeli	am deporta	gus quam ab	
10	am sine col	magistrum	uisset iussis	eodem arehi	10
	lega omne i-	populi appella	se proferri cu	mede factam	
	perium nos	ri uideo in	ius ego sfaere	posuerat in te-	
	tri penes sin	quid et scipio	cum persae	plo uirtutis	
	gulos esse uo	sapienter igi	pe propter arc	marcellus idē	
15	luerunt quo	tur illi uete	himeri gloria-	sed posteaqua-	15

V. 4, de puncto super I
primam posito certius ad-
firmare non ausim.

	de rep. ...		lib. 1.	
	Coepit ratio	dae atq. plenae	multitudo cu-	tis itaque si
	nem huius o-	uetus esse in	omni consilio	cyrus ille per
	peris scientis	uentum et	communi ac	ses iustissimus
	sime gallus	eam a ^a thleta ^e	potestate ca-	fuit sapientis
5	exponere plus	milesio pri-	reat et cum o-	simusque rex
	in illo siculo	mum esse	nia per populu-	tamen mihi
	ingenii quam	t ornatam post	geruntur qua-	populi res ea
	uideretur na-	autem ab eu-	uis iustum	enim est ut di-
	tura huma-	doxo cnidio	atque mode-	xi antea publi-
10	na ferre potu-	discipulo ut	ratum tame-	ca non maxi
	bat isse iudicari	ferebat plato	ipsa aequabi-	me expeten-
	fuisse dicebat	nis eandem	litas est iniqua	da fuisse illa
	enim gallus	r... illam astellis	cum habet	uidetur cum
	sferae illius	isq. caelo in	nullos gra-	regeretur u-
15	alterius soli	hererent es	dus dignita-	i nus nutu ac

q. u

V. 13, S prima incerta
est.

lib. ii.

	Modo si mas	ac decretis age	duodenigi-	Eosque ita dis	
	silienses nos	bant quonia-	ti censu ma	parauit ut suf	
	tri clientes per	distinctos	ximo dein	fragia non	
	delectos et pri-	dignitatis gra	de equitum	in multitu	
5	cipes ciues su-	dus non habe	magno nu	dinis sed in	5
	ma iustitia re	bant non te	mero ex om	locupletium	
	guntur inest	nebat orna	ni populi su-	potestate es	
	tamen in ea	tum suum ci	ma separa	sent	
	condicione	uitas atque hoc	to relicuum	curauitque	
10	populis simili	loquor de tri	populum dis	quod semper	10
	tudo quaedā	bus his gene	tribuit in	in rep. tene-	
	<small>seruitutis si athenenses quib-da-</small>	rib. rerum	quinque clas	dum est ne	
	temporibus	publicarum	sis seniores	plurimum	
	sublato areo	non turbatis	que a iunio	ualeant plu	
	pogo nihil ni	atque permix	ribus diuisit	i . . a rimurque	15
15	si populi scitis				

V. 8. **E** altera erasa est ;
supra, punctum adesse
uidetur.

V. 10, **S** prima fortasse
ex parte erasa est.

V. 15, punctum super **U**
positum minus facile cer-
nitur.

de rep.

	discriptio si	ⁱ tgnariis est	Rectissime qui	pecies praecla	
	esset ignota	^l data viiii. ce-	dem iudicas	ra oppidi aut	
	uobis explica	habeat quib. turias tot ¶	quae enim fuit	theatrum gy-	
	retur a me	^e cent. quattor centuri enim reliquae	tum atheniē	nasia porticus	
5	nunc ratio	¶ sunt octo	sium res qu-	aut propyla	5
	nem uidetis	solae si acces	post magnu-	ea nobilia aut	
	esse talem ut	serunt co-	illud pelopo-	ara aut admi	
	equitum cer	fecta est uis	nesiacum bel	randa opera	
	^{ri. e. . . .} tamine cum	^{pu} spoli uniuer	lum triginta	phidiae aut pi	
10	^{SEX} ¶ suffragiis	sa relicua	uiri illi urbi	raeus ille mag	10
	et prima clas	q. multo ma	iniustissime	nificus reimp-	
	sis addita ce-	ior multitu	praefuerunt	efficiebat mi	
	turia q. ad su-	do sex et no	num aut ue	^{ue} nime ro laelius	
	mum usum	naginta ce-	tus gloria ci	quoniam qui	
15	urbis fabris	turiarum	uitatis aut is	dem populi	15

V. 8, ad fin., R in N
corr. esse uidetur.

V. 9, supra, U ante RI
plane cernere non potui.

V. 10, supra, B minus
facile cernitur.

(Col. II.):

V. 2, supra, aliae litterae
sub macula fortasse latent.

V. 3, supra, post QUIB.
EX sub macula latere putes.

V. 4, supra, init., B
prima inferior est.

V. 5, lineolae minus
facile cernuntur.

V. 9, supra, aliam lit-
teram inter P et U adfuisse
non credendum est. quam-
quam lineola. hastae haud
dissimilis, cernitur.

V. 10, C in Q corr. esse
uidetur.

V. 7, ad fin., de - signo
dubitari potest. .

V. 15, de puncto super
I ultimam posito dubitari
potest.

lib iii

	res non erat	Uenio nunc	gratiam qua-	largitione-	
	quid quum de	ad tertium ge	commode	quaerunt	
	cemuirī romae	nus illud in	ordines des	aliquo plebi	
	sine prouoca	quo esse uide	cripti aeta	scito redde-	
5	tione fuerunt	buntur forta	tes classes	dorum equo	5
	tertio illo an	se angustiae	equitatus i-	rum consi	
	no cum uin	quum per popu	quo suffra	derate nunc	
	dicias amisis	lum agi dicu-	gia sunt eti	cetera quam	
	set ipsa liber	tur et ease in	am senatus	sint proui	
10	tas populi nul	populi potes	nimis	sa	10
	la res erat im	tate omnia ò	am stulte	m ciuiu-	
	mo uero id po	nia quum de quo	hanc	ae ho	
	pulus egit ut	cumq. uolt sup		neste uiue-	
	rem suam re	plicium sumit		d	
15	cuperaret	multitudo qu		ea est enim	15

V. 6, initio, an s litte-
rae super uersum scriptae
uestigia cerni possint, du-
bito.

V. 13, ad fin., SUP
(SUP?) haud facile cer-
nitur.

V. 11, utrum prima lit-
tera N an l sit adfirmare
non ausim.

“Huius quoque pagi-
nae ita interit scriptura,
ut uix uestigia reuocata
sint” (DuR.).

			lib. iiii.	
	prima causa	lybius noster	nudari ri puberem	tractationis ^e
	coeundi et	hospes nos	ita sunt alte	et amores
	id hominib.	trorum sti ⁱⁿ	repetita qua	soluti et libe
	effici ex rep.	tutorum	si fundame-	ri mitto aput
5	debet partim	neglegenti	ta quaedam	eleos et the
	institutis ali	am accusat	uerecundae	banos aput
	a legibus pri-	nullam cer	iuuentutis	quos in amo
	cipio discipli	tam aut des	uere exerci	re ingenuo
	nam pueri	tinatam le	tatio quam	rum libido
10	lem ingenu	gibus aut pu	absurda in	etiam permis
	is de qua gae ^r	blice exposi	gymnasiis	sam habet
	ci multum	tam aut una-	quam leuis	et solutam
	frustra labo	omnium	epheborum	licentiam
	rarunt et in	esse uolue	illa mifitia ¹	lacaedemo
15	qua una po	runt nam	quam con	nii ipsi cum

V. 1, de E super A pri-
orem posita dubitari po-
test; I alterius deletionis
signa cerni non possunt.

de rep.

	omnia con	lius praecla	deri praesta	rimus quare	
	cedunt in	re intellego	bilis quid eni	cogitabo romu	
	amore iuue	scipio te in is	optumo meli	lum aut pom	
	num prae	graece dis	us cogitari po	pilium aut ulla	
5	ter stuprum	cip	test qum au	regem fortā	5
	?		tem regis est	non tam illius	
	tenui sane		facta mentio	reip. paenite	
	m		occurrit ani	bit quam igi	
	di saepiu		mis rex etiā	tur relinquis	
	† i id quod ex		iniustus nos	populari reip.	10
10	cipiunt c		autem de inius	laudem tum	
	ple		to rege nihil lo	ille quid tibi tā	
	conced		quimur nūc	dem spuri rho	
	a lae		qum de ipsa	diorum apud	
	legi		regali rep. quae	quos nuper fui	15
15					

VV. 6-15, ceteras literas, ut in pergamento obfuscatō, cernere non potui; sed Maii temporibus plura cerni potuisse haud incredibile est.

VV. 5-15, in eodem statu, quo col. I. VV. 6-15, vel potius priore, sunt.

V. 7, lineola per E primam perducta minus facile cernitur.

lib. i

	mus una n ^l	populari mu	nomen opes	optimi putā	
	lane uidetur	nere fungerē	uacuae con	tur uirtute	
	esse resp. mi	tur quib. sena ^a	silio et uiue-	uero guber	
	hi uero uide	torio atrubiq.	di atque aliis	nate remp. quid	
5	tur et minime	autem conue	imperandi	potest esse prae	5
	quidem uitu	ticium accipie	modo dede	clarius cum	
	peranda rec	bant et in thea	coris plenae	is qui inperat	
	te dicis sed si	tro et in curia	sunt et inso	talis seruit ip	
	meministi o	res capitalis	lentis super	se nulli cupi	
10	nes erant idē	et reliquas o-	biae nec ulla	ditati cum quas	10
	tum de plebe	nis iudicaba-t	demformior	ad res ciuis ins	
	tum senatores	idem tantum	species est ci	tituit et uocat	
	uicissitudines	poterat tantiq.	uitatis quam	eas omnis co-	
	q. habebant	erat quanti	illa in qua o	plexus est in u ^l	
15	quib. mensib.	multitudo	p < > ntissimi	ia cupiditati	15

xli.

V. 4, fortasse A deleta
atque V super litteram ean-
dem scripta fuit.

V. 15, quamquam I ulti-
ma facile cerni non potest.
tamen ita scriptum esse
probabile est.

V. 8, T prior erasa esse
uidetur.

V. 15, PI ex D corr. esse
uidetur.

	de .rep.		lib. ii.	
	ipse nec leges	tire possent	itemq. ab o-	creatos sa
	inponit popu	nemo delec	ni iudicio	tis ostende
	lo quib. ipse no-	tus principes	poenaq. pro	rint reliquos
	pareat set su	quaereret dif	uocari lice	sine prouo
5	am uitam ut	ficultas ineu	re indicant	catione mag
	legem praetert	di consilii re-	xii. tabulae	istratus
	suis ciuibus	a rege ad plu	conplurib.	non fuisse
	qui si unus sa	res error et	legibus	l. q. ualeri po
	tis omnia co-	temeritas po	et quod pro	titi et m. hora
10	sequi posset	pulorum a	ditum me	ti barbati ho
	nihil opus es	multitudi	moriaest x	minum co-
	set pluribus	ne ad paucos	uiros qui le	cordiae cau
	si uniuersi ui	transtulit	ges scribse	sa sapienter
	dereꝫ optimu-	sic inter fir	rint sine pro	popularium
15	et in eo conse	mitatem uni	uocatione	conlularis
				lex anxit

V. 14, lineola per T
prioriorem perducta minus
facile cernitur.

V. 3, U in O corr.
V. 14, ad fin., FIR minus
facile cernitur.

	de rep-		lib. .i	
	ne qui mag·	de prouoca	lisq· uideant	^t Si terra pri
	sine prouo	tione subla	ceteri quid	mum uniuer
	catione crea	ta p̄ta sta	porro aut prae	sa deinde ea
	retur	tim securis	clarum putet	pars eius quā
5	neq· uero le	dē fascibus	in reb· huma	homines in
	ges porciae	demi iussit	nis qui haec	colant quam
	quae tres sunt	postridieq·	deorum reg	^{s. in} que no x exi
	trium porcio	sibi collega-	na perspexo	^a gu eius par
	rum ut scitis	sp· lucretiu-	rit aut diutur	te adf ixi plu
10	quicquam	subrogauit	num qui cog	rimis ignotis
	praeter sanc	suosq· ad eu-	nouerit quid	simi gentibus
	tionem attu	quod erat	sit aeternu-	speremus ta
	lerunt no	maior na	aut gloriosu-	men nostru-
	ui itaq· publi	tu lictores	quid uiderit	nomen uoli
15	cola lege illa	transire ius	quam parua	tare et uagari

V. 1, ad fin., punctum
exstare uidetur. **ISTRA-**
TUS cerni non potest; sed
hic locus chemicis tactus
non est.

^{K'}
V. 9, post **F, A**,
ut uidetur, erasum est.

	de. rep.		lib. i	
	latissime a	tus domina	Enim pietas	de in la ^b lorib.
	gros uero et	tus saepe etia ⁻	aut a quibus	et periculis for
	aedificia et	te ^t errimo	religio unde	titudo nempe
	pecudes et in	rum homi	ius aut genti	ab his qui haec
5	mensum ar	num inne ⁻	um aut hoc ip	disciplinis in
	genti pondus	sari ^h possessio	sum ciuile	formata alia
	adque auri	quam est hic	quod dicitur	moribus con
	qui bona nec	fortunatus	unde iustitia	firmarunt sa ⁻
	putare nec ap	putandus	fides aequitas	xerunt aute ⁻
10	pellare soleat	cui sol uere ⁱ	unde pudor	alia legibus qui ⁻
	quod earum	liceat omnia	continentia	etiam xeno
	rerum uide	non quiriti	fuga turpidi	craten ferunt
	atur ei leuis	um set sapie ⁻	nis adpeten	nobilem in
	fructus exigu	tium iure pro	tia laudis et	primis philoso
15	us usus incer	suis uindica	honestatis u ⁻	pum cum que

V. 1, supra, B sub
Aug. scriptura latere ui-
detur.

V. 15, init., FUM DuR.

de rep.

lib. i.

	reretur ex eo	tionē filosofi	Quem ad mo	longe ^u dco sapi	
	qu ⁱ adsequ ^r	possunt etia ⁿ	dum urbes mag	entia ipsa esse	
	retur eius dis	his qui illa dispu	nas atque in	anteponen	
	cipuli respon	tant ipsis et ^s q	periosas q ut ap	dos et quonia ⁿ	
5	disse ut id sua	praefendus	pellat ennius	maxime rapi	5
	sponde facerent	doctorib. q q	uis et castel	mur a ^d opes au	
	quod cogere ⁿ	que et enim	lis praeferen	gendas gene	
	tur facere le	istorum ratio	das puto sic eos	ris humani stu	
	gibus ergo ille	tam exquisi	qui his urbib.	demusque nos	
10	cius quid co	ta ^t q̄. si antepo	consilio atq.	tris cons ⁱ is et	10
	git omnis im	nenda bene	auctoritate	laxiorib. tutio	
	perio legumq.	constitutae	praesunt his	rem et opule ⁿ	
	poena quod	ciuitati publi	qui omnis ne	tiorem uitam	
	uix paucis per	co iur ⁱ et mo	gotii publici	hominum red	
15	suadere ora	rib. equidem	expertes sint	dere et ad hanc	15

V. 2, ad fin., R per lineolam deleta, postea crasa est.

V. 10, supra, i alteram uidit DuRieu.

V. 1, "cernitur restigium litterae nescio cuius super utraque F" (Du R.).

V. 3, supra, ad fin., uestigia nescio quae aegre cernuntur.

de rep

lib. i

	Uoluptatem	tionibus tam	Uolutare cui	Ex alto igno	
	ipsius naturae	certis tamq̄.	persuasum	tas ad terras	
	stimulis inci	inlustribus	sit appellari	tempestas et	
	tamur tenea	opponuntur	ceteros ho	in desertum	
5	mus eum cur	ab his qui con	mines esse so	litus detulis	5
	sum qui sem	tra disputant	lo ^s deos qui es	set timentib.	
	per ^f uit optimi	primum labo	sent politi pro	ceteris prop	
	cuiusque ne	res qui sint rep-	pris humani	ter ignoratio	
	quea signa au	defendenda	tatis artibus	nem locoru	
10	diamus q̄. re	sustinendi le	ut mihi plato	animaduer	10
	ceptui canunt	ue sane inpe	nis illut seu	tisse dicunt	
	ut eos etiam	dimentum	quis dixit ali	in arena geo	
	reuocent qui	uigilanti et	us perelegans	metricas for	
	iam p̄roces	industrio ne	esse uideatur	mas quasdam	
15	serint his p̄ ra	que tā̄ solu	quam cum	esse descriptas	15

V. 15, lineolae per I per-
ductae uestigia adesse ui-
dentur.

V. 6, de D deleta atque
S supra scripta dubitari
potest.

lib. ii

	Quas ut uidis	Ro semper	ritas maxi	priuatis dili	
	set ut bono	mihī et doctri	me florebat	gentissime	
	essent ani	na et erudi	quod cum	singulos ci	
	mo uidere eni-	ti homines	honore lo-	ues opera co-	
5	se hominum	et tuas ista	ge ^l escelerent	silio re tue	5
	uestigia que ^a	studia placu	ceteris uolup	bantur quo	
	uidelicet ille	erunt	tatibus erant	in statu reip-	
	non ex agri	tum laelius	inferiores	sp. cassium	
	consitura	non audeo	nec pecuniis	de occupan	
10	quam cerne	quidem in	ferme supe	do regno	10
	bat sed ex doc	quid ad ista	riores eoq.	molientem	
	trinae indi	scipio dicere	erat cuius	summa aput	
	ciis interpretæ	neque tam	q. gratior in	populum gra	
	tabatur qua-	te ^{ut} quam pilu-	rep. uirtus	tia florente-	
15	ob rem tube	aut man ⁱ an	quod in reb-	quaestor	15

V. 2, *supra*, EXCLAMAU-
UISSE, quod Maius legit,
haud plane cerni potest.

V. 15, "manⁱan" (Du
R.); *ultima* litterae ab-
normes sunt.

V. 15, *ad fin.*, B *et.*
pallidissima sunt.

	de re p.		lib. i	
	accusabit eu-	no post pri	dem tamen	facere siue re
	que ut audis	mo ^s cos. de	aequitate-	gi siue optima
	i ts cum pater	multa e sa ^t	et fidem ecce	tibus seruiant
	in ea culpa	cramento	autem ma	ita caritate
5	esse conpe	p ^s . tarpeius et	xima uoce	nos capiunt
	risse se dixis	a. aternius	clamat popu	reges consilio
	set cedente	cos. comitiis	lus neque se	optimates li
	populo mor	centuriatis	uni neque	bertate popu
	te mactabit	tulerunt a-	u pacis uelle pa	li et in compa
10	gratamq.	nis post res	e e rare liber	rando diffi
	etiam illa-	multis dice-	tate ne feris	cile ad elige-
	rem quar	dis ea xx. ex	quidem quic	dum sit quid
	to circiter	eo quod l. pa	quam esse	maxime uelis
	et quinqu	pirius p. pina	dulcius hac	credo inquit
15	gesimo an	rius censo	omnes chare	sed expediri

V. 10, de punctis super
RE positis dubitari potest.

V. 1, supra, de τ dubi-
tari potest.

de rep.

	que restant	oratio tantu-	^{f c} la atio genus	ni ab regib. ab	
	uix poterunt	inquit ut rite	aliut tyran	iis aut ^{em} princi	
	sic hoc incoha	ab eo dicendi	norum eade-	pes aut populi	
	tum relique	^{cipia} principiamus	q. oritur etia-	a quibus aut	
5	ris imitabor	quem unum	ex illa saepe op	factiones aut	5
	^a ergo ratum	omnium de	timatium	tyranni nec	
	qui magnis	orum et ho	praeclaro sta	diutius ^u inqua-	
	de rebus dice	minum re	tu cum ipsos	tenetur idem	
	re exordiens	gem esse om	principes ali	reip. modus	
10	a ioue incipi	^{docti in} nes doctique	qua prauitas	quod ita cum	10
	endum putat	expolire con	de uia defle	sit tribus pri	
	quo ioue aut	sentiunt quid	xit sic tanqua-	mis generib.	
	quid habet il	^{inquit} laelius et ille	pilam ^a reipiunt	longe praes	
	lius carmi	quid censes	inter se reip.	tat mea sen	
15	nis simile haec	nisi quod est	statum tyra-	tentia regiu-	15

V. 5. BO litterarum deletionis signa plane cerni non possunt. I. 4. 1 altera in A correctae est.

lib ii.

	regio autem	partium ac	caedemone	ille appella	
	ipsi praesta	tributum esse	appellabit ni	uit nomina	
	bit id quod erit	quasdam res	mis is quide-	uerunt sena	
	aequatam	seruatas iu	paucos xxxiiii	tum ut etia-	
5	et temperatu-	dicio uolun	quos penes	romulum	5
	ex tribus op	tatiq ^{ue} mul	summam co-	patribus lec	
	timis rebru-	titudinis	silli uoluit es	tis fecisse di	
	publicarum	haec consti	se cum impe	ximus tane-	
	modis placet	tutio primu-	ris summa-	excellit atq.	
10	enim esse quid	habet aequa	rex teneret	eminet dvis	10
	dam in rep.	bilitatem quan	ex quo nostri	potestas no	
	praestans et	d ^{am} magnam	idem illut se	menq. regi	
	regale esse ali	qua carere	cuti atq. in	um inperitit	
	ut auctorita	diutius uix	terpraetati	etiam populo	
15	te principum	possunt libe	quos senes	potestatis	15

V. 4. fortasse lineola
quoque per X primam
perducta est.

V. 13. de puncto super
T ultimam posito atque
lineola per eam perducta
dubitari potest.

	de. rep.		lib. ii.	
	aliquid ut et	quod pleru-	^{cu f} bilo ecfossu-	neglecturu-
	lycurgus et	q. euenit ex	^{se} esse praesen	negaret q. de ^{uae}
	romulus no-	sistat inius	te mortuu-	capite ciuis
	satiaris eum	tus est igitur	ⁱ deceret cum	romani ni
5	libertates sed	fragilis ea for	ipse potesta	si comitiis
	^{e i} incendires	tuna populi	tem summa-	centuriatis
	cupiditate li	^{uae} q. positast in	haberet quod	statui ueta
	bertatis cum	unius ut dixi	decemuiru-	ret
	tantum mo	antea uolu-	sine prouo	tertius est an
10	do potestate-	tate uel mo	catione es	n us x. uira
	gustandi fe	ribus	set uades ta	lis consecu
	ceris ille qui	Quare prima	^{po} men poscit	tus cum ide-
	dem semper	sit haec for	quod se le	ⁿ esset nec a
	inpendebit	ma et species	gem illam	lios subroga
15	timor ne rex	et origo ty	praeclara-	re uoluissent

q. xviii.

V. 2, N ex R corr. esse uidetur.

V. 3, super U priorem punctum erasum esse uidetur. Puncta illa super M sine dubio fortuita sunt. Ad fin., UUU in UUU, postea, eraso puncto et U, in UU-, corr. esse uidetur.

V. 10, post N, aut I aut T erasa esse uidetur.

	de rep.		lib. i	
	in hoc statu	oppositis n tr.	Te nec ciuili	ris fugendi ⁿ
	reip. quem di	pl-nullis aliis	sexo sed com	gratia subeu-
	xi iam saepe	adiunctis ma	muni ge natu ^{le}	dos non prae
	non poss ^{ses} ese	gistratibus	rae q̄. uetat ul	miorum aut
5	diuturnum	non prouao	lam rem es	gloriae causa
	quod non	catione ad	se cuiusqua-	adpetendos
	esset in om	populum co-	nisi eius qui	putet qui de
	nis ordines	tra necem	tractare et	nique ut afri
	ciuitas aequa	et uerbera	ut sciat qui i-	canum auu-
10	bilis	relicta ergo	peria consu	meum seri
	erat penes pri-	horum ex	latusq. nos	bit cato soli
	cipes tota rep.	iniustitia	tros in neces	tum esse di
	praepositis	subito exor	sariis non	cere possit ide-
	xx uiris nobi	ta est maxi	in expetendis	de se praedi
15	lissimis no-	ma pertur	rebus mune	care numqua-

V. 12, ad fin., super **E** fortasse adest **S**; ultima littera **I** formam habet; fortasse in **P** mutatu est.

V. 1, **N** litterae deletionis signa plane cerni non possunt.

V. 5, **A** litterae deletionis signa non adparent.

V. 2, **S** litterae deletionis signa plane cerni non possunt.

	de. rep.		lib. i.	
	Se plus ager ^o	do eripue	gis solos esse	Corum inue ⁻
	quam nihil	rit ciuibus	qui in foro	tis scribtisq.
	cum ageret	suis liberta	turbaque	se obectent ¹
	numquam	tem quam e	quicum co ⁻	quis uero di
5	sc plus agere	ius ciuem ar	loqui libeat	uitiorem que ⁻ 5
	numquam	chimedem	non habeant	quam putet
	minus solu ⁻	cum istam	quam qui nul	quam eum
	esse quam cu ⁻	ipsam sfae	lo arbitrio	cui nihil de
	solus esset quis	ram nihil cu ⁻	uel secum ip	sit quod qui
10	enim putare	agere uide	si loquantur	dem natura 10
	uere potest	retur de qua	uel quasi doc	desideret
	plus egisse	modo dice	tissimorum	aut potentio
	dionysium	batur effe	hominum	rem quap ^m
	tum cum om	cerit quis au	in concilio	illum omnia ^{qui}
15	nia molien	tem non ma	atsint cum	quae expec ^t 15

V. 8, littera antepaenultima F esse uidetur.

V. 8, "Arbitr: o, res-
tigitum litt. 1 erasae"
(DuR.).

V. 13, deletionis signa
minus facile cernuntur.

de rep.

lib. ii.

	tat consequa	imperium	disse ad id quod	sed id praes	
	tur aut beatio	qui magistra	quaesierat	tare singulis	
	rem quam	tus quod reg	laelius primu ^m	quod e tribus	
	qui sit omni	num potest	enim nune	illis totidem	
5	perturbatio	esse praesta ^m	ro definiera ^m	contraria	5
	ne animi libe	tius quam de	genera ciui	nullumque	
	ratus aut fir	spicientem	tatum tria	ex eis unum	
	miore fortu	omnia huma	probabilia	esse optimu ^m	
	na quam qui	na et inferio	perniciosa	sed id praes	
10	ea possideat	ra sapientia	autem trib.	tare singu	10
	quae secum	ducentem	illis totidem	lis quod e tri	
	ut aiunt uel e	nihil umqua ^m	contraria	bus primus ^{i.}	
	naufragio	nisi sempiter	nullumq. ex	esset modi	
	possit eferre	num et diui	eis unum es	ce tempera	
15	quod autem	num animo	se optimum	tum quod	15

*In hac pagina, deletionis
signa alia adesse mihi
persuadere non potui;
quamquam uestigia quae-
dam exstare punctorum
negare non ausim.*

lib. ii.

	autem exe-	ratio oratio	ius ut fuit	causam.	
	plo nostrae	q. describe	aput nostros	quod unius	
	ciuitatis us ^{us}	ret sin aute-	reges tame-	uitio praeci	
	sum non ad	sine ullius	illut excellit	pitata in per	
5	definiendu-	populi exem	regium no	niciosissima-	5
	optimum sta	plo genus ip	men neq. po	partem facil	
	tum ualuit	sum exqui	test eius mo	lime decedit	
	nam id fieri	ris optimi sta	di resp. non	Nam ipsum	
	potuit sine	tus naturae	regnum et	regale genus	
10	exemplo sed	imagine ute-	esse et uoca	ciuitatis n ^o a-	10
	ut ciuitate	dum est no	ri ea autem	modo non	
	maxima re	bis quonia-	forma ciui	est reprehe-	
	abse cerne	tu hanc ina	tatis muta	dendum	
	retur qua	ginem urbis	bilis maxime	Sed haut scio	
15	le esset id quod	et populi ni	est hanc ob	an reliquis	15

q. xxiii

V. 15, fortasse Q. hasta
erasa, in C correctae est.

	de. rep.		
		.	
		^o	
	Simplicibus	nen magis in	rum etsi mi
	longe ante	nostra quam	nime facile
	ponendum	in omni rep.	eas in ea rep. fu
	si ullum pro	noscere et sci	turas puto sed
5	barem sim	pio est omni	huius regiae
	plex reip. ge	no cum de illo	prima et cer
	nus sed ita	genere reip.	tissima est illa
	^{quo} h ad statu-	quod maxi	mutatio cum
	suum retine	^e mā probo q̄.	rex iniustus
10	t is ^s et autem	sentio dixē	esse coeperit
	status ut u	ro accuratius	perit illut ili
	nus perpe	tibi dicendu-	co genus et
	tua potesta	de commuta	est idem ille
	te et iustitia	tionibus rer	tyrannus
15	ⁱ omneque	rum publica	deterimum

V. 14, R altera erasa
esse videtur.

lib. .i.

	genus et fini	lentium prin	iusto quide-	dii genuerunt	
	timum opti	cipum sin per	rege cum est	o pater o geni	
	mum quam ^e	se populus in	populus orba	tor o sangue-	
	si optimates	terfecit aut	tus pectora	dis oriundu-	
5	oppresserunt	eiecit tyran	diu tenet desi	non eros nec	5
	od. quam ferme	num est mo	derium sicut	dominos ap	
	euenit habet	deratior quo	ait o ennius	pellabant eos	
	statum resp.	ad sentit et	post optimi re	quib. iuste pa	
	de trib. secun	sapit et sua re	gis obitum si	ruerunt de	
10	darium est	gesta laetatur	mul iter sese	niq. ne reges	10
	enim quasi	tueriq. nult per se	sic memorant	quidem set pa	
	regum id est	constituta-	o romule	triae custo	
	patrium con	remp. si quan	romule die	des set patres	
	silium populo	do aut regi ius	qualem te pa	et deos nec si	
15	bene consu	to uim populus	triae custode-	ne causa. quid	15

V. 3, U prior in O corr.
est.

V. 12, punctum super
O priorem Ciceronianae
scripturae probabiliter ad-
tribuendum est.

lib. . .

	enim adiun	mansisset eâ	quit ille notis	efficiant ne	
	gunt tu pro	dēm uolum	sima ergo illa	quid inter pri	
	duxisti nos	tas in eorum	secuntur eos	batum et ma	
	intra lumi	poteris si regu	qui pareant	gistratum dif	
5	nis oras uita	similitudo	principib. agi	ferant ferunt	5
	honorem de	permansisset	tari ab eo po	laudib. et mac	
	cus sibi datu	sed uides uni	pulo ut seruos	tant honori	
	esse iustitia	us inius inius	uoluntarios	b. ut necesse	
	regis existi	titia concidis	appellari eos	sit in eius mo	
10	mant man	se genus illut	autem qui in	di reip. plena	10
	sisset eadem	totum reip. ui	magistratu	libertatis es	
	uoluntas in	deo uero in	priuatorum	se omnia ut	
	eorum pote	quit et studeo	similes esse	et priuata do	
	ris si regum si	cursus istos	uelint eosq.	mus omnis	
15	militudo per	muationu	priuatos qui	uacet domina	15

V. 12, punctum super M positum minus facile cernitur.

V. 1, puncta super EA posita minus facile cernitur.

V. 3, punctum super B positum minus facile cernitur.

V. 10, punctum super I alteram positum minus facile cernitur.

lib. i.

	tione et hoc	tuat et iis blan	barbaros qua-	uoluerunt	
	malum usq·	diatur spernant	romano pu	utor neque	
	ad bestias per	q· discipuli ma	to et scipio	perantiquis	
	ueniat deni	gistros adules	adqui ad hoc	neque inhu	
5	que ut pater	centes ut senu-	de quo agitur	manis ac feris	5
	filium metu	sibi pondus ad	non quaeri	testib· tum lae	
	at filius patre-	sumant senes	mus gentem	lius uideo te	
	neclegat absit	autem ad lu	ingenia quae	scipio testimo	
	omnis pudor	dum adules	rimus gente-	niis satis ins	
10	ut plane ^{li} ibe	centium des	ingenia quae	tractum set	10
	ri sint nihil i-	celandant ne	rimus si eni-	aput me ut aput	
	tersit ciuis sit	sint iis odiosi	et prudentes	bonum iudi	
	an peregrinus	et graues ex	homines et	cem argume-	
	magister ut	quo fit ut etia-	non ueteres	ta plus quam	
15	discipulos me	serui se liberius	reges habere	testes ualent	15

V. 8, fortasse tertia
 littera G est.

	de		lib. .i.	
	tum scipio ute	iracundiae	si habemus	xeris.
	re igitur ar	dominatum	etsi ne nunc	
	gumento lae	animi tui no ^m	quidem tunc	
	li tute ipse se ⁻	mehercule	uero quis te	
5	5 sus tui cuius	inquit sed i	possit esse flo	5
	inquit ille sen	mitor archy	rentior aut	
	sus si quando	tam illum	de consiliis	
	si forte tibi ui	tarentinu ⁻	in posterum	
	sus es irasci	qui cum ad	prouidendis	
10	10 alicui ego	uillam ue	cum tu duob.	10
	uero saepius	nisset et om	huius urbis	
	quam uelle ⁻	nia aliter of	terrorib. de	
	quid tum cu ⁻	fendisse ac ^t	pulsis in om	
	tu es iratus	iusserat a te	ne tempus	
15	15 permittis illi	te tinfelicem i ⁻	esse prospe	15

V. 14, **TE** litterarum
deletionis signa non ad-
parent.

V. 15, **T** fortasse erasa
est.

“Non in lucem revocata
est subscriptio, quae si fue-
rit adscripta, rubro quo-
dam succo erata erat, quem
aqua abstulit” (DuR.).

DE RE · PVBLICA

INC · LIB · II

E I I E

DuR. — “Tituli alternis rubris nigrisque litteris exarati hae tantum renatae sunt.” “E I I E, id est: feliciter, ut rectissime Maius supplevit.” Probabile est etiam M· TVLLI CICERONIS ad initium supplendum esse.

ut in agrum
rutulorum
aboriginum
q. procederet

aut in ostio

tiberino que-

in locum mul-

tis post annis

rex ancus co-

loniam dedu-

xit urbem ip-

se conderet

sed hoc uir ex-

cellenti pro-

uidentiam

lib. ii

sensit ac uidit

non esse oppor-

tunissimos

situs maritimos

urbibus eis q̄

ad spem diutur-

nitatis conde-

rentur adq. i-

perii primum

quod essent

urbes mariti-

mae non so-

lum multis

periculis oppo-

sitae sed etia-

V. 15, M litterae deletio-
nis signa uerni non possunt.

V. 5, fortasse QUAE in
Q̄ corr. est.

de rep.

lib. i

	caec ⁱ is na ⁻	uolare terra	cedis idem	gubernatori	
	terra conti	quin eum no ⁻	in rep. singu	uni medico	
	nens aduen	modo esse set	lorum domi	si digni modo	
	tus hostium	etiam quis et	natus si mo	siinit iis arti	
5	non modo ex	unde sit scire	do iusti sint es	bus rectius es	5
	pectato ^s sed	possimus ma	se optimos ad	se alteri na	
	etiam repen	retim ^u s uero	ducor igitur	uem commit	
	tinis mult ^{is}	ille et naualis	et prope mo	tere aegrum	
	indicis et qua	hostis ante ad	dum adsen	alteri quam	
10	si fragore quo	esse potest qua ⁻	tior	multis ad ma	10
	dam et sonitu	quisquam ue ⁻	Et scipio tum	iora peruene	
	ipso ante denun	turum esse	magis. adsen	ro quenam ^a	
	tiat neque ue	suspiciariq. at ^{ue}	tiar laeli si ut	ista sunt quid	
	ro quisquam	nec uero cum	omittam simi	tu non uides	
15	potest hostis ad	uenit prae se	litudin ^e s uni	unius inpor	15

V. 6. "ex U facta est O" (DuR.).
 V. 8, lineola per U alteram perducta minus facile cernitur.
 V. 13, punctum post Q positum minus facile cernitur.

de rep.

	tunitate et su	to mira ^a qui	gerant uxo	^{ud} ita fastidiosae	
	perbia tarqui	dam exultas	res eodem iu	mollesq. me-	
	nii nomen	se populum i-	re sint quo ui	tes euadent ^a ci	
	huic populo	solentia liber	^{qu} ri in tanta li	uium ut si mi	
5	in odium ue	tatis tum ex	bertate canes	nima uis ad	5
	nisse regiu-	acti in exiliu-	etiam et equi	hibeatur im	
	uideo uero	innocentes	^e asilli deniq. li	peri irascan	
	inquit ^g ero	tum bona di	beri sint sic in	tur et perferre	
	etiam illut	repta multo	^a currunt ut is	nequeant ex	
10	uides de quo	rum tum an	de uia decede-	quo leges quo	10
	progredien	nui consules	dum sit ergo	que incipiunt	
	te oratione	tum demissi	ex hac infini	^{ut} neclegerent	
	^{plura} uiffa me dictu	populo fasces	ta inquit lice-	plane sine ullo	
	rum puto tar	tum prouoca	tia haec sum	domino sint	
15	quinio exae	tiones omni	ma cogitur	tum laelius	15

V. 12, de puncto super
~~NT~~ posito dubitari potest;
per lineolam ligatura de-
leta est.

	prorsus inquit	quasi nasci	ri deinde fir	neribus sae	
	expressa sunt	tyrannum	mitudinem	pe conmuta	
	a te quae dic	nam ut ex ni	quod et illa	ⁿ tantur no	
	ta sunt ab illo	mia potentia	prima facile	^u bis hoc in hanc	
5	atq. ut iam ad	principum o	in contraria	iuncta mo	5
	sermonis mei	ritur interi	uitia conuer	derate per ^q	
	morem reuer	tus principu-	tuntur ut ex	mixta con	
	tar ex hac ni	sic hunc ^m nifis	sistat ex rege	mutatione	
	mia licentia	liberum po	dominus ex	reip. non fer	
10	quam illi so	pulum liber	optimatibus	me sine mag	10
	lam liberta	tas ipsa serui	factio ex popu	nis principu-	
	tem putant	tute adficit	lo turba et co-	ⁱ uitis euenit	
	ait ille ut ex	sic omnia ni	fusio quod	ⁿ est nos enim cau	
	stirpe quada-	mia cum uel	quodque ip	sa conuersio	
15	existere et	in tempesta	sa genera ge	nis ubi in suo	15

V. 13, "Fortasse I. eraserat X quae postea invito scriptore in lucem rediit" (DuR.).

V. 13, de punctis super QUOD positis dubitari potest.

V. 3, M litterae deletionis uestigia minus facile cernuntur.

V. 4, fortasse N altera erasa est.

de. rep.

lib. i.

	quisque est	praecipien	ante oculos	que et rex et	
	gradu firmi	tis cuius et do ^{dam}	siue haec ad u	pater habere	
	ter colloca	centis et no ⁻	tilitatem uitae	tur omnium	
	tus et non	uobiscum co ⁻	constituta sint	magna auc	
5	subest quo	siderantis es	^a principibus re	toritas est mul	5
	praecipitet ac	se uideatur	rum publica	tique testes si	
	ac decidat sed	oratio mea	rum ut rex	quidem om	
	uereor laeli	quam ob re ⁻	putaretur u	nis multos ap	
	uosque ho	ingrediar i ⁻	nus esse in cae	pellari placet	
10	mines ami	ea q̄. nota sunt	lo qui nutu	ita consensus	10
	cissimi ac prud	omnibus quae	ut ait totum	se gentes de	
	dentissimi	sita autem	olymp h um	cretis uideli	
	ne si diutius	a nobis iam	homerus h o	cet principu ⁻	
	in hoc genere	diu sic enim	h er h is con	nihil esse rege	
15	uerser quasi	decerno sic	uerteret ide ⁻	melius quo	15

•q. xiii•

V. 6, ad fin., ΔC erasum
esse uidetur.

V. 11, ad fin., D erasa
esse uidetur.

	de rep.		lib. i ^o .	
	niam deos o ⁻	quam oculis	fert aut quis	tela ac demu
	nis censent	illa uiderunt	sit aut unde	tatio moru ⁻
	unius regi	quae nox ^s uix	ueniat aut	admiscentur
	numine siue	audiendo	etiam quid	enim nouis
5	haec in erro	cognoscimus	uelit denique	sermonibus
	re imperitoru ⁻	quinam in	nè ne nota	ac disciplinis
	posita esse et	quit laelius	quidem ulla	et inportan
	fabularum si	isti sunt et il	pacatus an hos	tur non mer
	milia didici	le qui natura	tis sit discer	ces solum ad
10	mus audia	omnium re	ni ac iudica	uenticiae
	mus commu	rum perues	ri ^{est} potest au	sed etiam mo
	nis quasi doc	tigand ^a os se ⁻	tem mariti	res ut nihil
	tores erudi	serunt om	nis urbibus	possint in pa
	torum homi	nes ^m hunc mu-	etiam quae	tris institutis
15	num qui tam	dum ex mente	dam corrup	manere in

V. 12, de lineola per O
perducta dubitari potest.

V. 1, ad fin., S^o erasa
est.

	de. rep.		lib. 1	
	tegrum iam	.l rant et uagan	esse inmuta	rerum poti
	qui incolunt	tur nec uero	bilis nihil fir	rentur num
	eas urbes no-	ullae res ma	mius facilli	quam consti
	haerent in	gis labefacta	mam autem	tisse ciuitatis
5	suis s ^h edibus	tam diu et car	in ea rep. esse	statum mul
	sed uolucris	h taginem et	concordiam	to iam id in
	semper spe et	corinthum	in qua idem	regnis ⁱ minus
	cogitatione	peruerterunt	conducat om	quorum ut ait
	rapiuntur	aliquando	nibus ex utili	ennius nulla
10	a domo lon	quam ^h hic	tatis uarieta	regni sancta
	gius adque	error ac dis	tibus cum alis	societas nec
	etiam cum	sipatio ciui	aliut expedi	fides [?] est qua
	manent cor	um quod mer	at nasci discor	re cum lex sit
	pore animo	candi cupidi	dias itaque	ciuilis sit soci
15	tamen exeur	tate et nau	cum patres	etatis uincu

q. xiiii.

V. 5, de puncto super
A posito dubitari potest.V. 15, supra, de punctis
utrisque dubitari potest.V. 10, lineola per I prio-
rem perducta minus facile
cernitur.V. 14, punctum super T
positum minus facile cer-
nitur.

	de rep.		lib. ii.	
	lum ius aute ⁻	debent esse	Enim serpit.	tam tulit qui
	legis aequale	eorum inter	sed uolat in	cum latinos
	quo iure so	se qui sunt ci	optimum sta	bello de ^{ci} uis
	cietas ciuiu ⁻	ues in eadem	tum institu	set adsciuit
5	teneri potest	rep. quid est	to tuo sermo	eos in ciuita
	cum par no ⁻	enim ciuitas	ne re ^s mp. post	tem adque ide ⁻
	sit condicio	nisi iuris so	tum numae	auentinum
	ciuium si eni ⁻	cietas ciuiu ⁻	pompili nepos	et caelium
	pecunias ae	teneri potest	ex filia rex	montem ad
10	quari non	cum par non	a populo est	iunxit urbi
	placet si inge	sit condicio	ancus mar	quosque agros
	nia omniu ⁻	ciuium si eni ⁻	cius constitu	ceperat diuisit
	paria esse no ⁻	pecunias ae	tus itemque	et siluas ma
	possunt iura	quari non	de imperio suo	ritimas om
15	certe paria	placet si inge	legem curia	nis publicauit

V. 3. lineola per C per-
ducta minus facile cerni-
tur.

lib. ii.

	quas ceperat	si quidem is	discip ^l ina	dam ferunt	
	et ad ostium	tius regis ma	doctior fac	demaratum	
	tiberis urbe-	trem habemus	ta esse ciuitas	corinthium ^h	
	condidit co	ignoramus	influcxit eni-	et honore et	
5	lonisq. firma	patrem ita est	non tenuis	auctoritate	5
	uit atq. ita cu-	inquit sed te-	qu ⁱ dam	et fortunis	
	tres e uiginti	porum illo	e grecia riuu ^a	facile ciuita	
	regnauiisset	rum tantum	lus in hanc	tis suae prin	
	annos st sed	ferre regum	urbem sed	eipem qui cu-	
10	mortus ^u ^{um} et lae	inlustrata	abundan	chorinthio	10
	lius laudan	sunt nomi	tissimus ^{m.} a	rum tyran	
	dus etiam is	na sed hoc lo	nis illarum	num cypse	
	te rex sed obs	co primum	disciplinaru-	lum ferre no-	
	cura est histo	uidetur insi	et artium fu	potuisset fu	
15	ria romana	ti ^u ba quadam	isse enim que-	isse cum mag	15

V. 9, de puncto super R
primam posito dubitari
potest.

V. 1, T litterae superior
hasta pallidior (et fortas-
se recentior) esse uidetur.

de rep.

	na pecunia	a tarquinie ⁻	pulo aliquis	tibus si uero	
	dicitur ac se	sibus atq. in ea	unus plures	ius suum popu	
	contulisse	ciuitate domi	ue diuitiores	li teneant ne	
	tarquinius	cilium et se	opulentiores	gant quicqua ⁻	
5	in urbem et	des colloca	q. extitisset tu ⁿ	esse praestan	5
	ruriae flore ⁻	uit ubi cum	ex eorum fas	tius liberius	
	tissimam cu ⁻	de f ^r matre fa	tidio et super	beatius quip	
	q. audiret do	miliis tarqui	bia nata esse	pe qui dominis	
	minatione ⁻	niensi duo	commemo	^s 1 int egum iu	
10	cypseli con	filios procre	rant cedenti	^b diciorum ^{mel}	10
	^{ri} de	auisset omni	bus ignauis	li pacis foede	
	firmatam fu	bus eos arti	^b et in ^{ec} illis	rum capitis	
	git patriam	bus ad grae	et adrogan	unius cuius	
	uir liber ac	corum disci	tiae diuitum	que pecuniae	
	^t foris et adsci	plinam eru	succumben	hanc unam	
15	tus est ciuis				15

V. 12, de puncto super V. 8, ad fin., "vesti-
 U posito dubitari potest. gia crasae s" (DuR.).

	de rep.		lib. i.	
	id est rite re-	Optimatiu-	sentio sic af	ribus relique
	p. rem populi	et uero ne	firmo nullj ^{am}	runt quam
	appellari pu	gant oporte	q ^d omnium	si placet quo
	tant itaque	re indomiti	rerum publi	niam ea quae
5	et a regum et	populi uitio	carum aut	tenebatis ipsi
	a patrum do	genus hoc to	constitutio	etiam ex me
	minatione	tum liberi po	ne aut discrip	audire uolu
	olere in liber	puli repudia	tionem aut	istis simul et
	tatem rem po	ri concordi	disciplinam	qualis sit et op
10	puli uindica	populo et om	conferenda-	timam esse
	ri non ex libe	nia referen	esse cum ea	ostendam
	ris populis re	ti ad incolu	quam patres	exposita quae
	ges requiri	mitatem et	nostri nobis	ad exemplum
	aut potestta	ad libertate-	acceptam ia-	nostrae reip.
15	tem atq. opes	suam nihil	inde a maio	accommo

V. 7, ad fin., "vestigia erasae s" (DuR.).

V. 14, T ultima fortasse ex parte erasa est.

V. 1, ad fin., F erasa esse uidetur, id quod de D est.
V. 12, ad fin., A erasa supra posita aegre crediderim.

	-de rep-		lib.	
	dabo ad eam	mea fert effe	ⁱ se ^{id} fortuito fa	te in optimo
	si potuero o-	ſſecero	ciet tam cito	rum consili
	nem illam o	tum laelius tuu-	euertetur qua-	is posita est ci
	rationem	uero inquit	navis si e uec	uitatium sa
5	quae est mihi	scipio ac tuu-	toribus sorte	lus praeserti-
	habend ^a u	quidem mu	ductus ad gu	cum hoc natu
	de optimo ci	nus quis eni-	bernacula	ra tulerit no-
	uitatis statu	te potius aut ^{de}	accesserit quod	^{summi} solum ut uir
	quod si tenere	^u maiorẽm di	si liber popul ^{us}	tute et animo
10	et consequi po	xerit institu	deliget quib-	praessent in
	tuero cumu	^{cum sis} tis clarissimis	se committat	becillioribus
	lat ^u æ m ^u nus	ipse maiori	^t deligeq. si mo	set ut hi etia-
	hoc cui me lae	bus aut de op	do saluus esse	parere sum
	lius praeposu	timo statu	uult optimu-	mis uelint ue
15	it ut opinio	ciuitatis que-	quemque cer	rum hunc op

V. 12. ad fin., minus
facile cernitur.

de. rep.

lib. f.

	timum statu-	li natos esse	Uelle set pau	p. conferre pos	
	prauis homi	optimos pu	cis nam om	sumus iste ^a	
	num opinio	tant hoc erro	nino haud	quidem artes	
	nibus euersu-	re uulgi cum	placere quod	si modo ali	
5	esse dicunt	remp. opes pau	si studia grae	quid ualent	5
	qui ignoratio	corum non	corum uos	ut paulum	
	ne uirtutes ^{i.}	uirtutes tene	tanto opere	Ac uacuant	
	quae cum in	re ^c oeperunt	delectant	et tamquam	
	paucis est tum	nomen illi	sunt alia li	inritent in	
10	in paucis iudi	principes op	beriora et	genia puero	10
	catur et cer	atium	transfusa	rum quo fa	
	nit ^{u o} apule-	tim mordicus	latius que ^a	cilius possint	
	tos homines	tenent re au	uel ad usum	maiora dis	
	et copiosos q tā	tem carent	uitae uel etia-	cere	
15	genere nobi	eo nomine	ad ipsam rem	tum tubero	15
		nam diuitiae			

V. 12, lineola per O
perducta minus facile cer-
nitur.

V. 14, lineola per E
alteram perducta minus
facile cernitur.

lib. ii .

	non dissentio	^{putem} Magis que	batio et totius	nissima lege	
	a te laeli set	renda quid	commuta	sanxerunt	
	quaero quae	enim mihi	tio reip. qui	^{uae} q. postea ple	
	tu esse maio	l. pauli nepos	duab. tabu	hiscito ca	
5	ra intelligas	hoc auuncu	lis iniquaru-	nuleio bro	5
	dicam hercu	lo nobilissi	legum addi	gatast libidi	
	le et contem	ma in famili	tis quibus eti	^{q.} nose omni	
	nar a te fortas	a atq. in hac	am quae di	imperio et	
	se cum tu ista	tam clara rep.	iunctis po	acerlye et	
10	caelestia de s	natus querit	pulis tribu	auare popu	10
	cipione que	<small>quo modo duo soles uisi sint non que rit</small> cur in una	i solent conu	lo praefue	
	sieris ego au	rep. duo sena	bia haec illi	runt nota	
	tem haec quae	tus et duo pae	ut ne plebi ^{e cum}	scilicet illa	
	uidentur a-	ne iam popu	patribus es	res et celebra	
15	te oculos esse	^{int} lis nam ut ui	set inhuma	ta monume-	15

V. 11, super QUE, A
littera cerni non potest.

V. 1, super QUE, A
littera cerni non potest.

V. 15, supra, T magna
ex parte sub Aug. scrip-
tura latet.

• de • rep •

lib. II. •

tis plurimis erat in algi
 litterarum do confugis
 cum decimus set milites
 quidam uer bellum illut
 5 ginius uir quod erat
 ginem filia- in manibus
 propter uni reliquisse
 us ex illis x. et primum
 uiris intem montem sa
 10 periem in fo crum sicut
 ro sua manu erat in simi
 interemis li causa an
 set ac mae tea factum
 rens ad exer deinde aue-
 15 citum qui tu- tinum ar

Sit institu
 itq. primus
 ut singulis
 consulibus
 alternis me-
 sibus lieto
 res praeirent
 ne plura in
 signia essent
 inperi in li
 bero populo
 quam in reg
 no fuissent
 haud medio
 cris hⁱoc ut

^{go}
 Equidem i-
 tellego uir
 fuit qui mo
 dica liberta
 te populo da 5
 ta facilius te
 nuit aucto
 ritatem prin
 cipum neq.
 ego haec nunc 10
 sine causa
 tam uetera
 uobis et tam
 obsoleta de
 canto 15

V. 8, *mihī non persuasum est, punctum ante X exstitisse.*

V. 1, *ad fin., - minus facile cernitur.*

	de rep.		lib. ii	
	sed inlustri	ut in populo	sas requisi	consequi po
	bus in perso	libero pau	uit ciuitate-	tuero ratio
	nis tempo	ca per popu	que optanda-	nibus eisde-
	rib-q. exem	lum pleraq-	magis qua-	quas ille uidit
5	pla hominu-	^a senatus auc	spernenda-	non in umbra
	rerumque	toritate et ins	quam mini	^{et} imagine ci
	definio ad quae	tituto ac mo	mam posuit	uitatis sed in
	reliqua ^h o	re gereren	non quae	amplissim ^a -
	ratio deri	tur atq. uti	^{e se} possit essed	a r. p. eni ^t par
10	gatur mea	consules	in qua ratio	ut cuiusq. et
	tenuit igitur	potestatem	rerum ciui	boni publici
	hoc in statu	haberent	lium perspi	et mali cau
	^a senatus ^{...}	tempore du-	ci posset effe	sam tanqua-
	^{...} remp. te-	taxat anni	cit ego ante-	uirgula ui
15	poribus illis	annuam	si quo modo	dear attingere

V. 9, supra, E prior
minus facile conuinitur.

	de rep.		lib. ii.		
	hiis enim re	it quantu ⁻	ranni inue ⁻	tarquinius	
	giis quadra	tenuerat	ta nobis in	non nouam	
	ginta annis	post obitum	ea rep. quam	potestatem	
	et ducentis	uel potius ex	ⁱ auspeatu ro	nactus sed	
5	paulo cum	cessum ro	mulus con	quam habe	5
	interregnis	muli deside	diderit no ⁻	bat usus inius	
	fere amplius	rium itaq.	in illa quam	te totum ge	
	prateritis	ut tum ^{re} ca pp	ut praescrip ^r	nus hoc regi	
	ex populoq.	re reges sic	sit plato ^{bi} siue	ae ciuitatis	
10	tarquinio	pulso tarqui	ipse socrates	euerteret sit	10
	tantum odi	nio nome ⁻	peripeateto ^{ic}	hoc regiae ci	
	um populu ⁻	regis audi	illo in sermo	uitatis euer	
	romanum	re non pote	ne depinxe	terit sit huic	
	regalis no	rat hic facul	rit ut quem	oppositus al	
15	minis tenu	tatem cum	ad modum	ter bonus et	15

q. xx.

V. 9, fortasse per O primam lineola perducta est.

V. 8, E litterae deletio-
nis signa minus facile
cernuntur.

V. 9, S prima erasa
esse uidetur.

V. 4, de U littera altera
minus liquet; sed quae
primo U fuit postea in O
corr. esse uidetur.

V. 11, Aug. scriptura
impedit quo minus puncta
singulis litteris adposita
cernantur.

	de. rep.		lib ii.	
	Sapiens et	qui consilio	... ^{gia} sularem cons	to nostrum
	peritus utili	et opera ciui	tituti	^a senatum cu-
	tatis digni	tatem tueri	fuerat fortas	sunt propter
	tatisq. ciuilis	potest p quod	se aliqua ra	unius libidi
5	quasi tutor	quoniam	tio maiorib.	nem omnia
	et procura	nomen mi	nostris in	nexa ciuiu-
	tor reip. sic	nus est ad	illo aere alie	liberata nec
	enim appel	huc tritum	no meden	tierq. ϕ post
	letur quicu-	sermonem	^{uae} di q. neq. ^{on} sole-	ea desitum
10	q. erit rector	nostro saepi	athenien	Semperque
	et gubernat	usque genus	sem non lo-	huic generi
	tor ciuitatis	eius homi	gis tempori	cum plebes
	quam uiru-	nis erit in re	bus ante fu	publicas ca
	facit et agnos	liqua nobis	gerant	lamine in
15	catis est eni-	oratione trac	Neq. post aliqua-	pendiis de

V. 9, punctum super **M** alteram positum plane cernere non potui.

V. 14, tertia littera **Q** fuisse uidetur, quae postea in **C**, erasa hasta, correctae est.

V. 1, de punctis super **AR** positis dubitari potest. Super uersum, post **GIA**, litterae erasae, ut uidetur, uestigia exstare puto.

V. 13, lineola per **S** perducta minus facile cernitur.

	de rep.		lib. ii	
	bilitata defi	tentia ^a sena	res nostros	hil ex te afri
	ceret salu	tus atque auc	et probab ^u is	canae his ma
	tis omniu-	toritas mi	se maxime	iores natu re
	causa aliqua	nueretur	et retinuis	quirunt ex
5	subleuatio	q ^{uae} tamen gra	se sapientis	me audies quid 5
	et medicina	uis et mag	sime iudico	in oratione
	q ^{uae} sitast	na remane	Cum ea sp ^{c p} icio	tua desider-
	quo tum co-	bat sapien	dixisset sile-	sane inquit
	silio praeter	tissimis et	tioque om	scipio et libe-
10	misso causa	fortissimis	nium reli	ter quidem 10
	populo natast	et armis et	qua eius ex	tum ille lau
	duob. tribu	consilio ci	pectaretur	da ^u isse mihi
	nis plebis per	uitatem tu	oratio tum	uideris nos
	seditionem	entibus quo	tubero	tram re [] cu-
15	creatis ut po	rum aucto	quoniam ni	ex te non de 15

V. 5, punctum post Q positum minus facile cernitur.

V. 2, B alt. deletionis signa minus facile cernuntur.

V. 7, de puncto utroque dubitari potest.

V. 14, lacuna angustior esse uidetur, quam ut in ea MP. existisse putes.

	de re p.		lib. 4.	
	nostra sed o ^{de}	hic africanus	rem uelis tol	quale sit illut
	ni reip. quae	puto nobis	lere ut eius	de quo dispu
	sisset laelius	mox de ins	rei de quaeri ^{qua e.}	tabitur intel
	nec tamen	tituendis co ^{et}	tur si nome ⁻	legi poterit
5	didici ex ora	seruandis	quod sit con	nisi quod sit 5
	tionem tua is	ciuitatibus	ueniat expli	fuerit intel
	tam ipsam re ⁻	aptiorem	cetur quid	lectum prius
	p. quam lau	tubero fore	declaretur	qua re quoni
	das qua disci	disserunt ^{e.}	eo nomine	am de rep. quae
10	plina quibus	di locum de	quod si con	rimus hoc 10
	moribus aut	optimo au	uenerit de ^{tum demum}	primum uide
	legibus cons	tem statu e	cebit ingre	amus quid
	tituere uel	quidem ar	di in sermo	sit id ipsum
	conserua	bitrabar me	nem unum	quod quae
15	re possimus	satis respon	quam enim	rimus 15

V. 2, neque punctum neque lineola facile cerni potest, sed lineola exstare uidetur.

V. 3, punctum super I alteram positum minus facile cernitur.

V. 11, lineola utraque minus facile cernitur.

	de rep.		lib. ii		
	cum adpro	gressione	africanum	ϕϕrum adue-	
	bauisseyt lae	maris et femi	ut deum co	tus periucun	
	lius nec uero	nae deinde	leret laelius	dus et pergra	
	inquit afri	a progeniâe	domi uicissi-	tus fuisset pla	
5	canus ita dis	et cognatio	laelium quod	citum est ut	5
	seram de re	ne ordiar uer	aetate ante	in aprico ma	
	tam inlustri	bisque quid	cedebat obser	xime pratuli	
	tamque no	sit et commo	uaret in pare-	loco quod erat	
	ta uti ad illa e	dis quidq. di	tis loco scipio	hibernum te-	
10	lementa re	catur defini	dein cum es	pus anni con	10
	uoluar quib.	am saepius	ⁿ set perpauca	siderent quod	
	uti docti ho	aput pruden	inter se uno	cum facere	
	mines his in	tes enim ho	an altero spa	uellent inter	
	rebus solent	ⁱⁿ mines et ma	tio conlocu	uenit uir pru	
15	ut a prima co-	xima rep. su-	ti scipionique ^o	dens omnib.	15

q. uiii

V. 15, E litterae deletionis signa cerni non possunt.

V. 1, E prima ex U facta esse uidetur.

V. 8, inter E et R, : pallidius apparet, ut a correctore scriptum.

V. 11, per N ita lineola perducta est ut N efficeretur.

de rep.

	que illis et iu	querendus	tatib. in quib.	quendam ui	
	cundus et ca	set agendu-	expetunt lau	tuperationis	
	rus m. mani	accuratius	dem optumi	non iniustae	
	lius qui a scipio	et dicendu-	et decus igno	timorem ha-	
5	ne ceterisq.	dignum ali	miniam fugi	ille rector re	5
	amicissime	quid horum	unt ac dedecus	rum publica	
	consalutat ^{us}	auribus hic	nec uero tam	rum auxit opi	
	adsedit pro	laelius quid	metu poena	nionib. perfe	
	ximus laelio	tandem age	q. terrentur	citque institutis	
10	tum philus no-	batis aut cui	quae est cos	et discilinis	10
	mihi uidetur	sermoni nos	tituta legib ^{us}	ut pudor ciuis	
	inquit quod	interueni	quam uere	non minus	
	hi uenerunt	mus quaesi	cundia qua-	adflictis arce	
	alius nobis	erat ex me	natura homi	ret quam me	
15	sermo esse	scipio ex me	ni dedit quasi	tus atque haec	15

V. 10, "philus, vestigium lineolae del. H" (DuR.).

V. 15, "vestigia lineolarum del. alt. ex me" (DuR.).

V. 15, ad fin., S ante I posita minus facile cernitur.

V. 13, F litterae deletionis uestigia cernere non potui; super F uestigia aliqua uidi a forma E litterae non abhorrentia.

	quidem ad	ut omnes et	anteferre om	C. laelio quid	
	laudem perti	communib.	nib. debeat	l. pilo. perfecti	
	nent quae di	commodis	quid enim po	us cogitari po	
	ci latius uberi	et suis uteren	test esse	test qui ne quid	
5	usq. potuerunt	tur nec bene	praeclarius	praetermitte	5
	ad uitam aute	uiui sine bona	quam qum re	rent quod ad	
	usumq. uiuē	rep. posset nec	rum magna	summam lau	
	di ea descrip	^{ss} esse quicquā	rum tracta	dem clarora	
	ta ratio ius	ciuitate bene	tio atque usus	uirorum per	
10	tis nuptiis legi	constituta	cum illaru	tineret ad do	10
	timis liberis	beatius quo	artium stu	mesticorum	
	sanctis pena	circa permi	diis et cogni	maiorumq.	
	tium deoru	rum mihi ui	tione coniū	morem etiā	
	larumq. fami	deri solet quae	gitur aut quid	^{hanc} a socrate ad	
15	liarum sedib.	sit tanta doc	p. scipione quid	uenticiam doc	15

V. 8. de punctis utrisque dubitari potest.

	trinam adhi	Si cui uidebitur	Mur ut intel	titutorum	
	buerunt quar	illa in optimis	legatis discre	morum con	
	^r e qui utrumq.	studiis et artibus	pare ab aequi	suetudinum	
	uoluit et potuit	quieta ui tae	tate sapientiā	q. describere	
5	id est ut quā	ratio bea tior	lycurgus au	non modo in	5
	maiorum ins	haec ciuilis lau	tem ille legum	tot gentib. ua	
	titutis tum doc	dabilior est cer	optumarum	ria sed in una	
	trina se instrue	te et inlustrior	et aequissumi	urbe uel in hac	
	ret ad laudem	ex qua uita sic	iuris inuentur	ipsa milliēns	
10	hunc omnia	summi uiri or	agros locuple	mutata demōs	10
	consecutum	nantur ut uel	tium plebi ut	trem ut hic iu	
	puto sin aliter	m. curius que-	seruitio cole-	ris noster in	
	sit utra uia pru	nemo ferro po	dos dedit ge	terpres alia nunc	
	dentiae deligē	tuit superare	nera uero si	manilius iura	
15	da tamen etiā	nec auro uel	uelim iuris ins	dicat esse de mu	15

V. 12, ante M, punctum plane cerni non potest.

V. 9, ad fin., UR potius quam OR adesse uidetur.

V. 9, de puncto super N posito dubitari potest.

de rep

	lierum lega	beat mulier	Et reperiret	borum mo	
	tis et heredi	cur uirgini ues	et tueretur al	mentis non	
	tatib. alia soli	tali sit heres	ter autem de	rerum pon	
	tus sit adules	non sit matri	ipsa iustitia	derib. exami	
5	cens dicere nō	suae cur autē	quattuor im	net illorum	5
	dum uoconia	si pecuniae mo	pleuit sane grā	fuit heroum	
	lege lata quae	dus statuendus	dis libros na-	eam uirtutē	
	quidem ipsa	fuit feminis. p̄.	ab chrysippo	quae est una	
	lex utilitatis	crassi filia pos	nihil magnu-	si modost ma	
10	uirorum gra	set habere si	nec magniei ^f	xime munifi	10
	tia rogata in	unica patri es	cum deside	ca et liberalis	
	mulieres ple	set aeris milli	raui qui suo	et quae omnis	
	nast iniuriae	ens salua lege	quodam mo	magis quam	
	cur enim pecu	mea triciens	re loquitur	i seipse diligit	
15	niam non ha	non posset	ut omnia uer	aliis nata potius	15

V. 13, fortasse super **ST** adest I; sed potius maculam adesse crediderim.

V. 7, ad fin., **US** ligatura pallidissima est.

V. 10, **E** alterius deletionis uestigia cerni non possunt.

V. 15, ad fin., **S** minus facile cernitur.

	quam sibi ex	nium quo o ⁻	Quorum ani	Sint eruditi	
	citare iacen	nib praestite	mi altius se ex	sint ueritatis	
	tem et in illo	runt sed eoru ⁻	tulerunt et ali	et uirtutis ma	
	diuino solio	et uoluntate	quid dignum	gistri dum mo	
5	non longe a	et copiam cau	dono ut ante	do sit haec quae	5
	sapientia co ⁻	sa uicit ius eni	dixi deorū	dam siue a ui	
	locare nec	de quo q̄rimus	aut efficere	ris in rerum	
	uero illis aut	ciuile est ali	aut excogita	publicarum	
	uoluntas de	quod natura	re potuerunt	uarietate uer	
10	fuit quae enī	le nullum nam	quare sint no	satis inuenta	10
	iis scribendi	si esset ut cali	bis isti qui de	siue etiam in	
	alia causa aut	da et frigida	ratione uiuē	istorum otio	
	quod omni	et camara et	di disserunt	ac litteris trac	
	no consiliū	dulcia sic es	magni homi	tata res sicut	
15	fuit aut inge	sent iusta et ī	nes ut sunt	est minime	15

V. 7, supra, ⁻ minus
facile cernitur.

	Quidem con	Mi quae natura	rere rutilius	le ex te audire	
	temnenda ra	quaeq. ciuilib-	quidem nos	quid sentias	
	tio ciuilis et dis	institutis ha	ter etiam sub	dixerat hoc il	
	ciplina populo	buit adiunge-	ipsis numan	le cum puer	
5	rum quae per	dam sibi etia-	tiae moenib-	nuntiauit ue	5
	ficit in bonis	doctrinam	solebat mecu-	nire ad eum	
	ingeniis id quod	et uberiore-	interdum eius	laelium domo	
	iam persaepe	rerum cogni	modi aliquid	que iam exis	
	perfecit ut in	tionem puta	conquireq ^{re} .	se tum scipio	
10	credibilis quae	uit ut ii ipsi qui	ras tandem ^e	calceis et ues	10
	dam et diuina	in horum li	incider ^a nt in	timentis sum	
	uirtus existe	brorum dispu	quid pilus tu-	tis e cubiculo	
	teret quodsi	tatione uer	ille de solib- is	est egressus	
	quis ad ea ins	santur nemo	tis duobus de	et cum paulu	
15	trumenta ani	est quin eos	quo stud ^e io phi	lum inambu	15

V. 11, de puncto super
I tertiam posito dubitari
potest.

V. 12, post P, U in I
per rasuram correcta est.

V. 15, "ex HI facta est
I" (DuR.).

de. rep.

lib. i.

	lauisset in por	^t quaesorios	dam quasi se	runt quam cu-	
	ticu laelium	quos cum o-	mina neq. re	locis manuq.	
	adueniente-	nis salutauis	liquarum uir	saepsissent eius	
	u et saluta ^{bit} eos	set conuer	tutum nec ip	modi coniunc	
5	qui una uene	tit se in porti	sius reip. rep	tionem tecto	5
	rant spuriu-	cu et coniecit	periatu ulla	rum oppidum	
	mummiu	in medium	institutio hi c	uel urbem ap	
	quem in primis	laelium fuit	^{c e} eotus igitur	pellauerunt	
	diligebat et c.	enim hoc in	hac de qua ex	^s delubri distine	
10	fannium et	amicitia qua	posui causa	tam spatiisq.	10
	quintum scae	si quoddam	instituti sede-	communib. omnis	
	uolam gene	ius inter illos	primum cer	ergo populus	
	ros laeli doc	ut militiae prop	^o te loco domi	qui est talis coe	
	tos adulesce-	ⁱ ter eximam	ciliorum cau	tus multitudi	
15	tes iam aetate	belli gloriam	sa constitue	nis qualem	15

V. 7, ad fin., C erasa est.

V. 8, supra, de E dubitari potest.

de rep.

	exposui om	^u rendam est	detis mors	nihilo minus	
	nis ciuitatis	^a que causa ge	tiberii grac	illis mortuis	
	quae est cons	nuit ciuitate-	chi et iam an	senatus alte	
	titutio populi	deinde aut uni	te tota illius	ram partem	
5	omnis resp.	tribuendum	ratio tribu	dissidentem	5
	quae ut dixi	^l est adiectis	natus diuisit	a uobis auc	
	populi res est	quibusdam	populum unu-	tore metello	
	consilio quo	aut suscipie-	in duas partis	et p. mucio ne	
	dam regen	dum est mul	^r obtectatores	que hunc qui	
10	da est ut diu	titudini atq.	autem et in	unus potest	10
	turna sit id	^{quare} omnib. cum	uidiſ scipiis	concitatis so	
	autem consi	^{ne} pes unum	initionis fac	cis et nomine	
	lium primu-	est omnium	tis a p. crasso	latino foede	
	semper ad ea-	summa reru-	et appio clau	ribus uiola	
15	causam refe	regem illum	dio tenent	tis triumui	15

V. 1, punctum atque lineola minus facile cernuntur.

V. 6, de puncto dubitari potest; littera quae post D est L fuisse uidetur, postea in I corr.

V. 11, super PII, uestigia quae ad ON pertinere putes cernuntur.

de rep.

lib. i.

	ris seditiosis	ⁿⁱ is autem nul	tum uero et	tur censes lae	
	simis aliquid	lus esse potest	populum ut	li discendum	
	cotidie noui	aut sit sane	unum habea	nobis ut istut	
	mouentibus	^{ui} ut sius est mo	mus et fieri po	efficere possi	
5	bonis uiris lo	do ne sit mo	test et permo	mus ipsum	5
	cupletib. per	lestus aut sci	lestum est ni	^o quid postulas	
	^r tubatis his tā	re istarum re	si fit et secus	^a scas artis que	
	periculosus	^u rum nihil at	esse sciemus	efficiant ut	
	rebus subue	etiamsi ma	et uidemus	usui ciuitati	
10	nire patiu	xime sciemus	si id effectum	ⁱ sūmus id eni-	10
	tur quam si	nec meliores	sit et melius	esse praecla	
	me audietis	ob eam scie-	^{es} nosse uictu	rissimum sa	
	adulescentes	tiam nec bea	ros et beatius	pientiae mu	
	solem alteru-	tiores esse pos	tum mucius	nus maximu-	
15	ne metuerit	sumus sena	quid esse igi	que uirtutis	15

V. 4, de puncto super I
posito dubitari potest.

V. 8, E tertia erasa est,
lineola fortasse prius per-
ducta.

V. 7, lineola per S pri-
mam perducta minus fa-
cile cernitur.

de rep.

lib. ii

	uel docume-	^{inde a} tatis de ali q-	tum etsse nec	cellens in re	
	tum uel officii	^e ramus quib-	tamen aduer	militari glo	
	um puto qam	^u cognitis spero	sante fortu	ria magnae	
	ob rem ut hae	nos ad haec	nam mortuo	q. extiterunt	
5	feriae nobis	ipsa uia perue-	^m rege popilio	res bellice fe	5
	ad utilissimos	turos earum	^s tullum hoc	citq. fidem et	
	reip. sermo	q. rerum ra	tilium popu	^a t scripsit de	
	nes potissimu-	^a tionem que	lus regem i-	^{u is} man/b. comi	
	conferantur	nunc instant	^{rrege} terrogante	tium et curia-	
10	scipionem ro	explicatuos	ⁱ ei comit	constituitq.	10
	gemus ut ex	cum id et phi	ⁱ tis curiatis	ius quo bella	
	plicet quem	lus et mani	^{t} craei p//po	indicerentur	
	existimet es	lius et mum	isq. de imperio suo ^{exemplo} [pompili]	quod per se ius	
	se optimum	nius admo	suluit curua	tissime inue-	
15	statum ciui	^{ad b} dum pro/a	tim cuius ex	tum sanxit	15

V. 15, supra, D minus facile cernitur; super U fortasse punctum positum est.

V. 13, supra, I ultima minus facile cernitur.

V. 14, U ultima in I per rasuram correcta est.

Sub I. columna, haec uestigia adsunt:

[?] ^{??} [?] [?]
s i dem o suo ex
[?] [?]
emplo pompili

V. 5, lineola per E alteram perducta ad deletionem non pertinet, sed fortuito facta est.

V. 6, F erasa est.

V. 8, punctum post B positum minus facile cernitur.

	de re p.		lib. ii.	
	li fetiay religio	quae ⁱ dam esse	facile in ciui	Erat in eo prae
	ne ut omne	populo mul	tatem recep	terea summa
	bellum quod	ta enim nobis	tus esset prop	comitas sum
	denuntiatu-	de eo genere	ter humani	ma in omnis
5	indictumq.	dicenda sunt	tatem atque	§ ipuis opis au 5
	non esset id	ne insignib.	doctrinam	xilii defensio
	iniustum es	quidem re	anco regi fa	ni largiendi
	se adq. inpiu-	gis tullus ni	milia ris	etiam benignitas itaque
	iudicaretur	si iussu popu	est fac tus	nitatis itaque
10	Et ut aduerta	l [] est ausus uti	usq. eo ut co-	mortuo mar 10
	tis animum	nam ut § sibi	siliorum o-	cio cunctis
	quam sapien	duodecim	nium parti	populi suffra
	ter iam reges	lictores cum	ceps et socius	giis rex est cre
	ho ^c nostri ui	fascibus an	paene regni	atus l. tarqui
15	derint tribuenda	tere l []ceret	putaretur	nus sic enim 15

V. 10, I in lacuna prius
exstitisse putes.

V. 15, "erasa I" DuR.
(scilicet quinta littera, in-
ter E et L).

V. 5, de lineolis per S
et P perductis dubitari po-
test.

de rep.

lib. i

	suum nome ⁻	num patru ⁻	re melior ego	nus in maxi	
	ex graeco no	numerum	cum mihi sit	ma arte qua ⁻	
	mine infle	et antiquos	in unum opus	illi in minimis	
	xerat ut in o ⁻	patres maio	hoc a paren	operae con	
5	ni genere hu	rum gentiu ⁻	tibus maiori	sumserint	5
	ius populi eo ⁻	appellabit quos	busque meis	set neque his	
	suetudine ⁻	priores sen	relictum pro	contentus su ⁻	
	uideretur i	ten tiam	curato adq.	q. de ista con	
	mitatus isq.	rog abat	administra	sultatione	
10	ut de suo im	a se adscitos	tio reip. non	scripta nobis	10
	perio legem	minorum	me in ^e ritio	summi ex grae	
	tulit princi	deinde equi	rem esse co ⁻	cia sapientis	
	pio legem tu	tatum ad hunc	fitear quam	simique ho	
	lit duplicauit	morem cons	opificem que ⁻	min ^e is reliq.	
15	illum pristi	tituit qui us	quam si mi	runt neque	15

V. 8, supra, - pallidius et, ut mihi uidetur, a correctore positum adest.

V. 14, de puncto super I alteram posito dubitari potest.

de rep.

lib. i

	Ea quae mihi	tem set ut unu-	hercule in	dicis animu-	
	uidentur a-	e togatis patris	quit scipio du	quoque con	
	teferre illis	diligentia no-	bito quin tibi	tulisti in ista-	
	audeo qua-	inliberaliter	ingenio praes	rationem et	
5	ob rem peto	institutum	titerit nemo	quasi artem	5
	a uobis ut me	studioq. dis	usu quidem	habeo maxi	
	sic audiatis	cendi a pue	in rep. rerum	mam gratia-	
	neque ut om	ritia incen	maximaru-	laelio spero eni-	
	nino exper	sum usu ta	facile omnis	multo uberio	
10	tem graeca	men et domes	uiceris quib.	ra fore quae	10
	rum rerum	ticis praecep	autem stu	a te dicentur	
	neq. ut eas nos	tis multo ma	diis semper	quam illa quae	
	tris in hoc prae	gis eruditum	fueris tene	a graecs no	
	sertim gene	quam litteris	mus quam	bis scripta sunt	
15	re antepone-	hic philus no-	ob rem si ut	omnia	15

de rep.

	tum ille permag	culum ne ^t de te	tis set suum	iter ad finiti	
	nam tu quide ⁻	de rep. dissere ⁻	statum tene ⁻	mum quoddā	
	expectatione ⁻	tem deficiat	tibus quae ge	malum prae	
	quod onus est	oratio	nera primum	ceps ac lubri	
5	ei qui magnis	hic scipio faci	sunt in iis sin	cum nam illi	5
	de rebus dic	am quod uul	gula uitii ^a que	regi ut eum po	
	turus est gra	tis ut potero	ante dixi dei ⁻	tissimum ne ^o	
	uissimum in	etiā ⁿ gredi	de habent per	minem tole	
	ponis oratio	ar i ⁿ disputatio	niciosa alia	rabili aut si	
10	ni meae et p ⁱ	nem ea lege	utia nullum	uoltis etiam	10
	lus quamuis	qua credo o ⁻	est enim ge	abili cyro sub	
	sit magna ta	nibus in reb.	nus illarum	est ad inmu	
	men eam ui ⁻	disserendis	rerum publi	tandi animi	
	ces ut soles q ^{ne}	utendum	carum quod	licentiam cru	
15	enim est peri	esse si erro	non habeat	delissimus il	15

V. 10, de lineola per **H** perducta dubitari potest.

V. 1, de lineola per **D** perducta dubitari potest.

V. 8, puncta super **A** et **M** posita minus facile cernuntur.

V. 7, lineola per **E** perducta minus facile cernitur.

V. 11, supra, **M** litterae dimidium solum cernitur.

de rep.

lib. ii.

	le phalaris cu	tempore aput	gandi et agro	nitas ipsa uel	
	ius in similitu	athenienses	rum et armo	sumptuosas	
	dinem domi	triginta co-	rum cultum	uel desidiosas	
	natus unius	sensus et fac	reliquerant	inlecebras	
5	procliui cur	tio iam athe	multa etiam	multas cupidi	5
	sum et facile	niensium po	ad luxuriam	tatum et quod	
	^e dilabitur ill ⁱ	puli potesta	inuitamen	de corintho	
	autem massi	tem omniu-	ta perniciosa	dixi id aut scio	
	liensium pau	rerum ipsi ne	ciuitatibus	an liceat de	
10	corum et pri-	alios requi	subpeditan	cuncta grae	10
	cipum admi	ramus ad fu	tur mari que ^a	cia uerissime	
	nistratiōni	rorem mul	uel capiuntur	dicere nam	
	ciuitatis fini	titudinis li	uel inporta-	et ipsa ^{e o} ph ^o po-	
	timus est qui	centiamq. co-	tur atque ha	nesus fere to	
15	fuit quodam	uersam pesti	bet iam amoe	ta in mari est	15

V. 6, de puncto super M
posito dubitari potest.

de rep.

lib. ii

	nec prater phi ^e	simul cum ci	quaedam	est malorum	
	luntios ulli	uitat ^{um} insti	uidetur ora	commutatio	
	sunt quorum	tutis et morib.	esse graeciae	numque gre	
	agri non con	atq. haec qui	nam e bar	ciae propter	
5	tingant mare	dem ut supra	baris quide-	ea uitia ma	5
	et extra pælo	dixi ueter ⁱ es	ipsis nulli erant	ritimarum	
	ponnesum en	sunt graeciae	antea mari	urbium quae	
	nianes et doris	coloniatarum	tumi p ^{ra} eter	ante paulo	
	et dolopes soli	uero quae est	etruscos et poe	per breuiter	
10	absunt a mari	deducta a grai ^a	nos alteri	adtingisset ta	10
	quid dicam i-	ñ in asiam qua-}	mercandi	men in hiis	
	sulas graeciae	ñunda non	causa latro	uitiis inest il	
	que fluctibus ^a	adluat ita bar	cinandi al	la magna co-	
	cinctae natant	barorum agris	teri quae cau	moditas et ubi ^{quod}	
15	paene ð ipsae	quasi adtexta	sa perspicua	que gentium ⁱ	15
		thraciam italiam sici liam africanam praeter unam magnesianam }			

V. 7, ad fin., de ñ dubi-
tari potest.V. 6, supra, de 1 dubitari
potest.

	de rep.		lib. ii.	
	Est ut ad aea-	romulus et ui	eodemq ^{ut} flu	quando et do
	urbem qua-	tia uitare qua-	mine res ad	mum summo
	incolas possit	quod urbem	uictumque ^{cultum}	esse imperio
	adnare et rur	perennis am ^m	maxime ne	praebitura-
5	sus ut id quod	nis et aequa	essarias no ^c -	nam hanc re
	agri efferant	blis et in ma	solum mari	rum tantum
	sui quascum	re late influ	absorberet	potentiam no-
	que uelint in	entis posuit	sed etiam in	ferme facilius
	terras porta	in ripa quo	uectas acci	ulla in parte
10	re possint ac	posset urbs et	peret ex terra	italiae posita
	mittere qui po	accipere ex ^{a.}	aut mihi iam	urbs tenere
	tuit igitur di	mari quo e	tum diuinas	potuisset
	uinitus et uti	geret et red	se ille uidea	urbis autem ip
	litates complec	dere quo re	tur hanc ur	sius natiua
15	ti maritimas	dundare et	bem sedm ali ^e	praesidia quis

V. 10, "Ex P facta B" (DuR.).

V. 11, de punctis dubitari potest.

V. 6, ad fin., UM potius quam AM adesse uidetur, quamquam de hac re dubitari potest.

V. 11, "Ex P facta B" (DuR.).

	de rep.		lib. 1	
	Est tam nec	tibus unus	us temerita	permisso otio
	legens qui no-	aditus qui es	tēmq· multo	suo quibus id
	habeat animo	set inter jes	rum mediu-	tuendum est
	notata plane	quiillinum	optimates pos	neq· commit
5	cognita cuius	quirinalem	sederunt lo	tendum ut
	is est tractatus	q· montem	cum quo ni	sua commoda
	ductusq· muri	maximo ag	hil potest esse	populus negle
	cum romuli	gere obiecto	moderatus	gi a principibus
	tum etiam re	fossa cingere	quib· remp· tu	putet nam ae
10	liquorum re	tur uastissi	entib· beatissi	quabilitas qui
	gum sapientia	ma	mos esse popu	dem iuris qua-
	definitus ex	atque ut ita	los necesse est	amplexantur
	omni parte	munita arx	uacuos om	liberi populi
	arduis prae	circumiectu	ni cura et co	neque serua
15	ruptisque mo-	arduo et qua	gitatione alis	ri potest ipsi enī

V. 1, ad fin., C potius quam G litterae uestigia
adesse uidentur.

V. 4, puncta super IL
posita minus facile cer-
nuntur.

de rep.

lib. I

	populi quam	betur honos	dem generis	lum ipsum per se	
	uis soluti ec	summ ⁱ et i-	ab iis qui eam	separatim ⁱ pro	
	frenatique	fimis qui sint	formam reip-	bo antepono	
	sint praecipu	in omni popu	maxim ^e lau	que singulis	
5	e multis mul	lo necesse est	dant disputa	illud quod co-	5
	ta ^b triunt et	ipsa aequitas	ri solent tum	flatum fuerit	
	est in iis is mag	iniquissima	laelius quid	ex omnibus	
	nus dilectus	sit quod in iis	tu inquit scipio	set si unum	
	hominum	ciuitatibus	e tribus istis	ac simp ^m plex p-	
10	et dignitatu-	quae ab opti	quid maxime	bandum	10
	aeque que ap ^a	mis reguntur	probas recte	regium	
	pellabitur ae	accidere no-	quaeris quod ⁱ	item ^{.b}	
	quabilitas ini	potest haec	maxime e tri	pri	
	quissimast cu ^e -	fere laeli et	bus quonia-	in	
15	enim par ha	quaedam eius	eorum nul	f	15

de rep.

	hoc loco ap	^s O sustenta	descripta uiuo	te uiderat si-	
	pellatur oc	ri unius op	tamen eo in	gulari impe	
	currit nome-	timi et sum	terfecto mul	rio et potesta	
	quasi patriu-	mi uiri dili	to etiam ma	te regia tum	
5	regis ut ex se	gentia adsunt	gis romulus	melius guber	5
	natis ita con	optimatē ^s	patrum auc	nari et regi ci	
	sulentis suis	qui se melius	toritate con	uitates si esset	
	ciuib. ^e ut eos co-	hoc idem fa	silioque quae	optimi cui ^s	
	eruantis stu	cere profite	regnauit	iusque ad illa-	
10	ius qua-	antur plus	quo facto pri	uim domina	10
	entis	que fore di	mum uidit iu	tionis adiunc	
	tem	cant in plu	dicauitque	ta auctoritas	
	is	ribus consi	idem quod	itaque hoc co-	
	tib.	lii quam in	spartae lycur	silio et quasi	
15	u	uno et ear ⁿ	gus paulo an	senatu fultus	15

V. 8, super E alteram,
punctum parum facile cer-
nitur.

	de. rep.		lib. 1	
	et munitus	piciis plurimu ^m	los cooptauit	locorum pos
	et bella cum	obsecutus est	augures et ha	sessionibus
	finitimis feli	romulus	buit plebem	ex quo pecunio
	cissime mul	nam et ipse pri ^{quod}	in clientelas	si et locupletes
5	ta gessit et cu ^m	ci ⁱ ipum reip ^m	principum	uocabantur
	ipse nihil ex	fuit urbem	descriptam	no ⁿ ui et suppli
	praeda domu ^m	condididit	quod quan	ci ⁱ s coercebat
	suam repor	auspicato et	te ^a fuerit utili	ac romulus
	taret locuple	omnibus pu	tate ⁱ post uide	cum septe et
10	tare ciuis no ^m	blicis rebus	romi	triginta reg
	destitit tunc	instituendis	multaq. dictio	nauisset an
	id quod reti	qui sibi essent	ne ouium et	nos et haec
	nemus hodie	in auspiciis ex	boyum quod	egregia duo
	magna cum	singulis tri	tum erat res	firmamen
15	salute reip. aus	bubus singu	in pecore et	ta reip. peperisset

V. 6, ad fin., uestigia
litterarum ACCC O ap-
parent, a correctore, ut
uidetur, scriptarum.

V. 9, de puncto super
E posito dubitari potest.

V. 9, non puto uestigia
— signi super uersum post
E alteram exstare.

de rep.

lib. ii.

	auspicia et ^a senatum ta-	sine eximia uirtutis glo ria	gendi procli ^t uis esse ratio	ta hominum uita errore	
	tum est con secutus ut cu-	atque hoc eo	cum imperiti facile ad cre	sublato fuis se cernimus	
5	subito sole obscurato non conpru ^a	magis est in romulo ad mirandum	dendum in pellerentur romuli aute-	nam si id quod graecorum inuestigatur	5
	isset deorum in numero conlocatus	quod ceteri qui dii ex ho minib. facti	aetatem mi nus his sesce-	annalibus roma condi ^e tast secundo	10
10	putaretur qua- opinionem nemo umqua-	esse dicuntur minus erudi tis hominu-	inueteratis litteris atq. doctrinis o-	anno olympia ⁱ des septumae In id saeculu-	
15	mortalis ad sequi potuit	saeculi fue ^s ^u runt et fin	nique illo an tiquo ex incul	romuli cae cidit aetas cu-	15

V. 15, de puncto su-
per E posito dubitari po-
test.

V. 2, post **ERRORE**,
erasa **S** (ut *DuR.* quo-
que uisum est).

de rep

	iā plena grae	pias quam qui	attulerit reg	aut flamam	
	cia poetarum	dam nominis	noūe eum spo	^{tan} esset tam quā-	
	et muscorum	^t errore ab eo	liauit aut etia-	^{non} quam facilius	
	esset minor	dem lycurgo	id quod eue	sit sedare qua-	
5	que fabulis	constituta-	nit saepius op	effrenatam	5
	nisi de ueteri	putant home	ⁱ timatum san	ⁿ insolentia	
	bus rebus ha	rum autem	guinem gus	multitudine-	
	beretur fides	qui minimu-	^u tabit ac tota-	tum fit illut	
	nam centum	dicunt lycur	remp. substra	quod apud pla	
10	et octo annis	gi [?] aetati tri	uit ac totam	tionem est lu	10
	postquam ly	ginta annis	remp. substra	culente dicta-	
	curgus leges	anteponunt	^b uit liquidini	si modo id ex	
	scribere ins	fere ex quo i-	suae cauæ	primere lati	
	tituit prima	telligi potest	putes autem	^o ne potuerunt	
15	posita est oly-	^{annis} permultis an	mare ullum	difficile factu	15

·q̄. xū.

V. 2, sexta littera, aut
T aut I, erasa est.V. 6, M litterae dele-
tionis uestigia facile cerni
non possunt.V. 10, I litterae dele-
tionis uestigia facile cerni
non possunt.

V. 14, U alt. in O corr.

de. re p.

lib. II.

	... sed rus est cona	magistratus	rella lucre	quiniorum	
	bor tamen cu-	et principes ni	tiae patris ac	esse iussit	
	enim inquit	si ualde len ^{es} et	propinquo	uidetisne igi	
	inexplebiles	remissi sint et	rum et recor	tur ut de re	
5	populi fauces	large sibi liber	datione su	ge dominus	5
	exaruerunt	tatem minis	p berbiae tar	extiterit uni	
	libertatis siti	trent insequi	quinii mul	usque uitio	
	malisq. usus	tur insimulat	tarumq. in	genus reip. j-	
	ille ministris	arguit prae	iuriarum	ex bono in de	
10	non modice	potentes re	et ipsius et fi	terrūmum	10
	temperatam	ges tyrannos	liorum ex	conuersu-	
	sed nimis me	uocat puto	ulem et rege-	sit hic est eni-	
	racam liber	enim tibi haec	ipsum et li	dominus	
	tatem sitiens	esse nota ue	beros eius et	populi quā ^e m	
15	hauserit tum	ro mihi in	gentem tar	graeci tyra-	15

V. 6, de B prioris deletionis signis dubitari potest.

V. 8, fortasse punctum super I alteram adest.

	de. rep.		lib. u.	
	num uocant	Et quasi pro	Regale qua-	Regi qui co
	nam regem	num at ^p per	explanatio	lerenturque
	illum uolunt	niciosissimu-	nem aequita	sine regum
	esse qui con	statum	tis in qua iuris	opera et labo
5	sulit ut parens	Simul atq. e	erat interprae	re ut eos nul
	populo con	nim se infle	tatio quod ius	la priuati ne
	seruatq. eos	xit hic rex i-	priuati pete	gotii cura a po
	quibus est prae	dominatu-	re solebant	pulorum re
	positus quam	iniustiore-	a regib. ob eas	bus abduce
10	optima in co-	fit continuo	qui causas a	ret nec uero
	ci	tyrannus	gri arui et ar	quisquam pri
	dione uiuen	quo neq. tae	busti et pascui	uatus erat dis
	di sane bonu-	trius neq. foe	lati atq. ube	ceptator aut
	ut dixi rep. ge	dus nec dis	res definieba-	arbiter litis
	nus sed tane-	hominibus	tur qui essent	sed omnia co
15	inclinatum			

V. 13, super REP. I
cerni non potest, fortasse
propter Aug. scripturam.

de re . pub.

	ficiebantur	bella gesserunt	asia ti. gracchus	uoluntate	
	iudiciis regiis	et eorum iura	perseueravit	nobis oboedi	
	et mihi quidē	coluerunt il	in ciuib. socio	unt terrore	
	uidetur nu	la aut diutur	rum nominis	teneantur	
5	ma noster ma	na pax numae	q. latini iura	etsi nobis qui	5
	xime tenuis	mater huic ur	neclexit ac foe	id aetatis su	
	se hunc mo	bi iuris et reli	dera quae si	mus euigila	
	rem uetere	gionis fuit qui	consuetudo	tum ferest ta	
	graeciae re	legum etiam	ac licentia ma	men de poste	
10	gum nam ce	scriptor fuis	nare coeperit	ris nostris et	10
	teri etsi hoc	set quas scitis	latius imperiū	de illa immor	
	quoq. mune	extare quod	q. nostram	talitate rei. p.	
	re fungeba	quidem huius	ad uim a iure	sollicitor quae	
	tur magna	ciuis propriu	traduxerit	poterat esse	
15	tamen parte	de quo agimus	ut qui adhuc	perpetua si pa	15

V. 1, ad fin., - signum
adesse uidetur.

	tris uiueretur	dem inqu it	Reportare	hoc idem sy	
	institutis et	laeli saepe cau	ergo illam rē	racusis urps	
	morib. q. qū	sas ita defen	populi id est rē	illa praeclara	
	dixisset laeli	disti ut ego nō	p. quis diceret	quam ait timae	
5	us etsi omnes	modo tecū	tum cum cru	us graecarū	5
	qui aderant	seruium gal	delitate unius	maxumam	
	significaba-t	bam collegā	oppressi essent	omnium au	
	ab eo se esse	nostrum quē	uniuersi	tem esse pulcher	
	admodum	tu quoad uixit	neq. esset unū	rimam arx ui	
10	delectatos ta	omnib. ante	uinculum	senda portus	10
	men praeter	ponebas uerā	iuris nec cō	usq. in sinus	
	ceteros scipio	ne atticorū	sensus ac so	oppidis et ad ur	
	quasi quodā	quidem ora	cietas coetus	bis crepidines	
	gaudio elatus	torum quem	quod est po	infusi uiae la	
15	multas tu qui	quam aut sua	pulus atque	tae porticus	15

V. 2. fortasse lineola
per T ultimam perducta
est.

V. 8. ad fin., R facile
cerni non potest.

lib. . u

	templa muri	Est plane nul	dicum semi	nouit dispe-	
	nihilo magis	lam esse rem	numque cog	sator litteras	
	efficiebant dio	p. praeclare	noscere inū	scit uterq. au	
	nysio tenen	quidem dicis	te offendet ni	tem se a scien	
5	te ut esset illa	laelius eteni	hil si modo	tiae delecta	5
	resp. nihil ent	uideo iam quo	opus extabit	tione ad effi	
	populi et unius	pergat oratio	num id studi	ciendi utilita	
	erat populius	uides igitur	um ceses es	tem refertur	
	ipse ergo ubi	ne illam qui	se uilici mini	sic noster hic	
10	tyrannus est	dem quae to	me quippe cum	rector studu	10
	ibi non uitio	ta sit in factio	agri cultura-	erit sane iu	
	sam ut heri di	nis potestate	saepissime o	re et legib. cog	
	cebam sed ut	posse uere di	pera deficiat	noscendis fo-	
	nunc ratio co	ci remp. sic pla	ergo ut uilicus	tis quidem ea	
15	git dicendu-	ne iudico et	naturam agri	rum utiq. per	15

q xl

V. 8. punctum super
I positum minus facile
cernitur.

Ima in pagina, ante
numerum, Q difficile cer-
nitur.

De primo uersu non du-
bitandum esse mihi uide-
tur

de re. pub.

lib. ii.

	Spexerit sed	Illo potest	occurrere	solentia ne	
	se responsi	ciuilis non in	Nam rex ille	que uos mo ^s	
	tando et lec	perditus sed	de quo loquor	res regere po	
	titando et	ita ut astro	primum op	terat neque	
5	scriptitando	rum guber	timi regis cae	suorum libi	5
	ne impediāt	nator physi	de macula	dines	
	ut quasi dis	corum medi	tus integra	itaque cum	
	pensare rem	cus uterq. e	mente no-	maior eius	
	p. et in ea quo	nim illis ad ar	erat et cum	filius lucre	
10	dam modo	tem suam u	metneret u	tiae tricipiti	10
	uiliare pos	titur sed se	<small>ipse poenam sceleris sui ? [summa]</small>	ni filiae con	
	sit summi iu	a suo mune	deinde uicto	latini uxori	
	ris peritissi	re non impe	riis diuitiis	i um attulis	
	mus sine quo	dit illut autē	q. subnixus	set mulierq.	
15	iustus esse ne	uidebit hic uir	exultabat i-	pudens et no	15

V. 3. D prioris deletionis uestigia facile cerni non possunt.

V. 10, ad fin., U erasa est.

de . rep.

	bilis ob illam	totam remp.	te uel in agris	cadit itaq. ex	
	iniuriam ^s es	sustinuit pri	uel in agris uel	hac maxima	
	se ipsa mor	musq. in hac	in corporibus	libertate tyra-	
	te multauis	ciuitate do	laetiora fue	nus gignitur	
5	set	cuit in con	runt in con	et illa iniustis	5
	tum uir inge	seruanda ci	traria fere co-	sima et duris	
	nio et uirtu	uium liber	uertuntur	sima seruitus	
	te praestans	tate esse pri	maximeque	ex hoc enim	
	l. brutus de	uatum ne	in reb. publi	populo indo	
10	pulit a ciuib.	minem	cis euenit ni	mito uel potius	10
	suis iniustu-	quo auctore	miaque illa	immani deligi	
	illut ^e dura ser	et principe	libertas et po	tur aliqui ple	
	uitutis iugu-	concitata	pulis et priua	rumque dux	
	qui cum pri	ciuitas et hac	tis in nimiam	contra illos	
15	uatus esset	recenti que	seruitutem	principes ad	15

V. 2, S litterae deletionis signa facile cerni non possunt.

V. 2, per U priorem lineola fortasse perducta est.

lib. .1

	fictos iam	antur prae	Saluam esse	la ^b toris neq.	
	et depulsos lo	sidis etiam ut	consulatu	tantum mo	
	co audax in	t athenis ipsis	abiens in co-	lestiae quan	
	purus consec	stratus saepi	tione p-r idem	tum gloriae	
5	tans prop ⁱ ter	untur postre	iurante iu	maio ^r emque	5
	ue baene sae	mo quibus	rassem faci	laetitia ^m ex	
	pe de rep ⁱ me	producti sunt	le iniuriaru-	desiderio bo	
	ritos populo	existun ^t eo	omnium co-	norum per	
	gratificans	rum ipsoru-	pensarem cu	cepimus qua-	
10	et aliena et sua	tyranni quos	ram et moles	ex laetitia in	10
	cui qui uato	si boni oppres	tiam quam	proborum do	
	sunt oppositi	serunt ut sae	quam nostri	lorem sed si	
	timores dan	pe fit recrea	casus plus ho	aliter ut dixi	
	tur imperia	tur ciuitas si-	noris habue	accidisset qui	
15	et ea continu	audaces fit il	runt quam	possem quaeri	15

V. 6. A prioris deletionis signa facile cerni non possunt.

V. 8. de T prioris neque deletionis neque rasura liquet.

V. 1. de lineola per U perducta dubitari potest.

	de rep.		lib. ii.	
	Cum mihi ni	^{rum} dio in quibus	si circumci	brem colles
	hil inrouiso	a pueritia ui	so saxo nite	enim sunt qui
	nec grauius	xeram aut si	retur ut etia-	cum perflua-
	quam expecta	quid accideret	in illa tempes	tur ipsi tum ad
5	uissem pro ta-	^b acseruius uni	tate horribi	ferunt umbra-
	tis meis factis	uersis non	li gallici ad	uallib. atq. haec
	euenisset is e	praecipuam	uentus inco	quidem per
	nim fueram cui	sed parem cu-	lumis adque	celeriter con
	^{c m} Ju liceret aut	ceteris for	intacta per	^{f c} uenit nam et
10	^{es} maior ex otio	tunae con	manserit	urbem cons
	fructus cape	dicionem sub	locumq. de	tituit quam e
	re quam ce	ire non du	legit et fon	suo nomine
	teris propter	bitauerim me	^{ab} tib. undante-	romam ius
	uariam sua	grauissimis	et in regione	sit nominari
15	uitatem stu	tempestatibus	pestilenti salu	^{d.} et affirman

	de rep.		lib. i.	
	dam nouam	honest ^o hor	re in his locis	litatemque
	ciuitatem no	tas uirgin ^{loco e} is	pythagorae	sermonis cu-
	uum quod	quae roma-	nomen uige	obscuritate
	dam et sub	ludorum	ret illum se	pythagorae
5	agreste con	gratia uenis	et hominibus	et cum illa plu 5
	silium sed ad	sent quos tu-	pythagoreis	rimarum ar
	muniendas	primum an	et studiis illis	tium graui
	opes regni	niuersarios	dedisse itaq.	tate contextu
	ac populi sui	in circo face	cum socrate-	it haec scipio
10	magni homi	re instituis	unice dilexis	cum dixisset 10
	nis et iam tu-	set consulib.	set eique om	l. furium repe-
	longe proui	rapi iussit eas	nia tribuere	te ueniente-
	dentis secu	que in fami	uoluisset le	aspexit eumque
	tus est	liarum am	porem socra	ut salutauit
15	cum sabinas	plissimarum	ticum suptili	amicissime 15

V. 15, ad fin., LI litterarum deletionis uestigia cerni non possunt.

V. 1, LI litterarum deletionis uestigia cerni non possunt.

de rep.

	adprehendit	Sermonem	quid uilico	ducebat ad	
	et in lecto suo	uestrum ali	quem necas	eam consilio sedari uolebat	
	conlocauit	quem dire	sem iam uer	de auaritia-	
	et cum simul	mit noster	beribus nisi	adde imperii	
5	p. rutilius ue	interuentus	ratus essem	adde gloriae	
	nisset qui est	^{m i} in me uero	optime in	cupiditatem	5
	nobis huius	africanus so	quid scipio	adde liq̄idines	
	sermonis auc	les enim tu haec	ergo archy	et illud uidest	
	tor eum quo	studios̄e in	tas iracun	in animis ho	
10	que ut saluta	uestigare q̄.	diam uide	minum rega	
	uit propter tu	sunt in hoc	licet disside-	les imperium	10
	beronem ius	genere de	tem a ratio	sit unius fo	
	id sit adsere tu-	quo institue	ne seditione-	re domina	
	furius quid	rat paulo an	quandam	tum consilii	
15	uos agitis nu-	te tubero que	^{mi ue} ab animo re	scilicet ea est	
				animi p̄ras op	15

V. 6, Q minus facile cernitur.

V. 15, ad fin., - signum minus facile cernitur.

V. 1, punctum super D alteram positum parum facile cernitur.

V. 4, ad fin., AE parum facile cernitur.

V. 7, ultima littera fortasse I est.

V. 10, S litterae deletionis signa parum facile cernuntur.

V. 15, R litterae deletionis signa parum facile cernuntur.

	de rep.		lib. i.	
	tima consilio	uero inquit	miserius du	licet nullum
	autem domi	magis ergo	cerem sub reg	fore quod prae
	nante nullu ^b	non broba	no igitur tibi	sit imperium
	esse liquidinib.	res si ^b consi	esse placet o ^b	quod quidem
5	nullum irae	lio pulso li ^b ti	nis animi par	nisi unum
	nullum teme	dines que sunt ^a	tes et eas regi	sit esse nul
	ritati locum	in numerabi	consilio m ^{phi}	lum potest
	sic inquit est	les iracundiae	uero sic pla	tum laelius
	probas in ^{gitur}	ue terent o ^{ne}	cet cur igitur	quid quasi
10	animum ita	nia ego uero	dubitas quid	interest in
	adfectum ni	nihil isto ani	de rep. senti	ter unum
	hil uero in	mo nihil ita	as in qua si i ^b	et plures si ius
	quit magis er	animo ani	plures trans	titia est om
	go non pro	hil ita anima	lata res sit in	nium in plu
15	fectum nihil	to homine	tellegi iam	ribus et scipio

V. 4, ad fin., de B^r dubitari potest; sed hunc locum in ipso codice non uidi.

V. 9, lincota per N perducta minus facile cernitur.

V. 11, inter D et F, F altera posterius scripta est.

VI. 13, 14, Recte Du Rieu, "Apparent linearum vestigia, quibus deleatur prius illud MA-GIS ERGO."

V. 3, R prior, crasa hasta, in P mutata est.

de rep.

lib. 1

	quoniam tes	no tae famili	quidnam se-	Et ille an tu at	
	tibus meis in	ae ualde in	tirem de hoc	domos nos	
	tellexi laeli	terdicere ut	quod duo so	tras non cen	
	te non ualde	uni dicto au	les uisos esse	ses pertinere	
5	moueri non	diens esset	constaret a	scire quid aga	5
	desinam te	quippe uili ^{co} plur	in uero phile	tur et quid fi	
	uti teste ut	quid domi pluresne prae	iam explora	at domi quae	
	hoc quod dico	in ho te st egot is tuis immo uero	ta nobis sunt	non ea est qua-	
	probem me	quid totam	ea ^q . at domos	parietes nos	
10	inquit ⁱ lle quo	domum nu-	nostras que ^a	tri cingunt	10
	niam modo	quis alter ⁱ	q. ad remp. per	sed mundus	
	quia animu-	praeter te re	tin ^a ent si qui	hic totus quod	
	aduerti nu	git minime	dem quid aga	domicilium	
	per cum esse	uero quin	tur in caelo	quamque pa	
15	mus in forma ⁱ	tu igitur co-	querimus	triam di no	15

V. 7, *lineolae aliae*
cerni non possunt.

V. 8, *supra, NEGOTIIS*
TUIS etc. adfuisse uide-
tur.

V. 1, *ad fin., T litterae*
deletionis uestigia adesse
uidentur.

V. 15, *supra, de I du-*
bitari potest.

	de rep.		lib. ii	
	bis commu	tiae cognitio	matrimonis ⁱ	tae erant ora-
	nem secum	ipsa rerum	collocabit ^u	tibus quo foe
	dederunt cu-	consideratio	qua ex causa	dere et sabin ^{os}
	praesertim	que delectat	cum bellum	in ciuitatem
5	si haec igno	tum laelius	romanis sa	adscibit sacris
	remus mul	non inpeni	bini intulis	communica
	ta nobis et	dio praeser	sent proeliiq-	tis et regnum
	magna igno	tim quonia-	certamen	suum cum il
	randa sint ac	feriati sumus	uarium atq-	lorum rege
10	me quidem	sed possumus	anceps fuis	socialuit
	ut hercule	audire aliquid	set cum t. tatio	post interitum
	etiam te ipsu-	an serius ue	regi ^e sabino	autem tatii cu-
	laeli omnis	nimus nihil	rum foedus	ad eum pote-
	que auid ^{os}	est adhuc ^u dis	cit matronis	fatus omnis
15	omnis sapie-	putatum et	is ipsis quae rap	reccidisset

lib. 1

	quamquam	lio occiderat	latinis ipsis ma	facultatem	
	cum tatio in	in tribus tris	ne ad eum pri	ad explican	
	regium con	curiasq. tri	mus sororis	das tuas litte	
	silium dele	ginta descrip	filius uenit tu ^{q.}	ras tum ille	
5	gerant prin	serat quas cu	^{.b} uero quem cu-	mihi uero o-	5
	cipes qui appel	i ras earum no	comiter scipio	^{est} ne tempus ad	
	lati sunt prop	minibus nun	atpellauiisset	meos liberos	
	ter caritate-	cupauit quae	libenterq. ui	uacuum nu-	
	patres populu-	ex sabinis uir	disset quid tu	quam enim	
10	que et suo et	gines raptae	inquit tan	sunt illi occu	10
	^{ine} tanti nom et	postea fuerunt ^a	mane tube	pati te autem	
	lucumonis	^{pacis} oratrices et	ro da ^b uant	permagnum	
	qui romuli	foederis	enim hae ff	ⁿ est nancisci	
	socius in sabi	Set quamqua-	^{f a} erie tibi oppor	otiosum hoc	
15	queno proe	^a et tatio sic erant	tunam sane	praesertim motu	15

V. 7, T priorem deletam esse, P supra posita, Du Rieu putauit.

V. 7, E alterius deletionis signa minus facile cernuntur.

V. 13, ad fin., punctum super I positum non cernitur.

	de rep.		lib. 1.	
	reip. tum sci	abuti tecum		que iudicio
	pio adqui nac	hoc otio libe-		uel etiam meo
	tus es sed me	ter me uero		studio me to
	hercule otio	ut aliquid a	tate audien	tum ab adu
5	siozem opera	liquando de	di ingressus	lescentia ^m 5
	quam animo	d ^o ctrinae	est sic loqui	dedidi cuius
	et ille at ^u ue	studiis admo	scipio cato	me numqua-
	ro animum	neamur tu-	nis hoc senis	satiare potu
	quoque rela	ille uisne igi	est quem	it oratio tan
10	xes oportet su	tur quonia-	ut scitis uni	tus erat in 10
	mus enim mul	et me quoda-	ce dilexi ma	homine usus
	ti ut constitui	modo inui	xineque su-	reip. quam et
	mus parat ⁱ	tas et tuis spem	admiratus	domi et mili
	si tuo commo	das hoc primu-	cuique uel	tiae cum opti
15	do fieri potest	african ^e	^r patris utrius	me tum etia- 15

q. liii.

V. 15, post F ad lacunam I litterae uestigia cerni possunt.

V. 15, init., scriba M exarare coepit; P in F mutata esse uidetur; littera supra posita, negligentius exarata, utrum P an R sit dubitari potest.

	diutissime	causam praes	^s uis ut cretu-	et iacentem	
	gesserat et	tare nostrae	minos lacae	doctus uir	
	modus in di	ciuitatis sta	demonioru-	phalereus sus	
	cendo et gra	tum ceteris	lycurgus	tentasset de	
5	uitate mix	ciuitatibus	atheniensi	metrius nos	5
	tus lepos et	quod in illis	umq. persae	tra autem res	
	summum	singulis fuis	pe commu	p. non unius	
	uel dicendi	sent fere quora	tata esset tu-	esset ingenio	
	studium uel	^m sua quisq. re-	^h teseus tum	sed multora	
10	docendi et o	p. constitu	draco tum	nec una ho	10
	ⁱ ratione uita	issent legib-	solo tum clis	minis ulla	
	admodum	atque insti	thenes tum	sed aliquod	
	congr ⁿ ues	tuisset legi	multi alii pos	constituta	
	is dicere sole	bus atque	tremo exsa-	saeculis et	
15	bat ob hanc	institutis s	guem iam	aetatibus na-	15

V. 8, "litteris ^orū ita erasis ut restat!" (DuR.). Sed potius crediderim I in ^oRū mutatam esse.

V. 15, super S ultimam fortasse punctum positum est; facile autem cerni non potest.

V. 11, ULLA non UITA adesse uidetur.

de. rep.

lib. .i.

	neque ullu-	plecterentur	Nibusque do	Ea ne nostru-	
	ingenium	sine rerum	cuisset popu	quidem en	
	tantum exti	usu ac uetus	lum liberauit	nium fugit	
	tisse dicebat	ac uetusta	metu erat e	qui ut scribit	
5	ut quem res	te quam ob re-	nim tum haec	anno quin	5
	nulla fugeret	ut ille solebat	noua et igno	quagesimo	
	quisquam ali	ita nunc me	ta ratio sole-	^{ccc} fere post ro	
	quando fuis	a repetet ora	lunae oppo	mam condi	
	set neq. cune	tio populi r. ori	situm sole	tam non. iu	
10	ta ingenia co-	ginem libe-	re deficere	nis soli luna	10
	lata in unu-	ter enim etia-	quod thale	obstitit et nox	
	tantum pos	uerbo utor	tem milesiu-	adque hac	
	se uno tempo	catonis fa	primum ui	in re tanta i-	
	re prouidere	^{autem} cilius quod	disse dicunt	est ratio ad	
15	ut omnia co-	est propositu-	id autem post	que sollertia	15

V. 7, 8, "quisquam
::: iquando *Dubius haere*
reo sintne punctis notatae
AM an uero maculis,
sintne emendatum **ALI-**
QVANDO, quod *Isaltem*
non dedit, an uero ma-
culae non litterae **ALI**"
(*DuR.*).

V. 9, "vestigia litte-
rarum I manus, quae era-
sae sunt" (*DuR.*).

V. 9, "POPVLIRIRI-
GINEM prior **R** erasa
est et ex sequenti I facta
O; forte cum **R** *rerocand-*
um est Romani" (*Du*
R.).

V. 9, "d. **M** *lineola*
de more, quam recte cer-
nes median inter macu-
las" (*DuR.*).

V. 4, *ad fin.*, **IT** *parum*
facile cerui potest.

de rep.

lib. ii

	aut ex hoc	Pomulum	romuli sena ^a	ge remp. popu	
	die quem ap ^u t	tenebris eti	tus qui cons	lus id non tu	
	ennium et i ⁻	amsi natura	tabat ex opti	lit desiderio	
	maximis an	ad hum ^{anum} exi	matibus qui	que romuli	
5	nalib. consig	tum abripu	bus ipse rex	postea regem	5
	natum uide	it uirtus ta	tantum tri	flagitare no ⁻	
	mus superio	men in cae	buisset ut eos	destitit cum	
	r ^e is solis defec	lum dicitur	patres uellet	prudenter il	
	tiones repu	sustulisse	nominari pa	li principes no	
10	tate sint usq ^a .	tum tubero	triciosq. eo	uam et inau	10
	ad illam q ⁻ . no	uidesue afri	rum liberos	ditam ceteris	
	nis quinq ^u ntili	can ^{te} quod	temptaret post ^p	gentibus in	
	bus fuit reg	paulo ante	romuli exces	terregni in	
	nante romu	secus tibi ui	sum ut ipse ge ^{re}	eundi ratio	
15	lo quib. quide ⁻	debatur doc	ret sine re	nem excogi	15

V. 8, punctum super I
priorem positum minus
facile cernitur.

V. 11, signum super
Q correctoris manu scrip-
tum esse uidetur.

V. 12, punctum super
A alteram positum minus
facile cernitur.

	tauerunt ut	sed aut ad op	potuit esse sed	geniem quae	
	quoad certus	tinendum	habendum	ri oportere qui	
	rex declara	munitior quod	qualiscumq.	bus cum esse	
	tus esset nec	quidem tem	is fore ^{t.} qualis	praestantem	
5	sine rege ciui	pore nouus	quomodo ⁱ is fore	numam pom	5
	tas nec diutur	ille populus	quomodo modo es	pilium ^a frumaf	
	no rege esset	uidit tamen	set herculis	^e frret praeter	
	uno nec com	id quod fugit	stirpe genera	missis suis ci	
	mitteretur	laedemo	tus	uibus regem	
10	ut quisquam	nium lycur	Nostris illi etia-	alienigena-	10
	inueterata	^{regem} gum qui no-	tum ^r agestes	patribus auc	
	potestate aut	^{li} redigendu-	uiderunt uir	toribus sibi ip	
	ad deponen	duxit si modo	tutem et sapi	se populus ad	
	dum imperi	^o haec in lycur	entiam rega	^u scibit eumq.	
15	um tardior es	gi potestate	lem non pro	ad regnandu-	15

V. 9, lineola per A per-
ducta minus facile cerni-
tur.

V. 14, punctum super
B positum minus facile
cernitur.

de rep.

	sabinum ho	tuto romuli	in ipsius pa	Ea quaere	
	minem ro	bellicis studi	terno gene	bat quem nu ^a	
	mam curibus	is ut uidit in	re fuit nos	quam inue	
	acciuit qui ut	censos exis	ter ille amicus	niret sed quod	
5	huc uenit qua-	timauit eos	dignus huic	ea responde	5
	quam populus	paulum ab	ad imitandu-	bat quae eos	
	curiatis eum	illa consue	egregie cor	qui quaesis	
	comitis rege-	tudine esse	datus homo	sent et cura	
	esse iusserat	reuocandos	catus aelius	et negotio	
10	tamen ipse de	ac primum	sextus qui e	soluerent	10
	suo imperio	agros quos	gie gre cordatus	cuique con	
	curiatam le	bello romu	est cautus	tra galli stu	
	gem tulit ho	lus coeperat	fuit et ab en	di ^a disputan	
	minesq. ro	diuisit uiri	nio dictus	ti in ore sem	
15	manos insti	tim ciuibus	est non quod	per erat illa	15

V. 2, M litt. deletionis
signa facile cerni non
possunt.

V. 13, punctum super
O positum parum facile
cernitur.

V. 15, in photographia,
A altera erasa, posterius
E scripta esse uidetur;
sed hunc locum in ipso
codice non inuestigauit.

lib. I.

	de ifigenia	gas atq. ide-	consequar	omnes adpro	
	achilles astro	multum eni-	si nostram	bauissent quod	
	logorum sig	illum audie	remp. uobis	habemus igi	
	na in caelo	bam et libe-	et nace ^{s n} ste-	tur institutae	
5	quid sit obser	ter zet ^h u ⁿ	et crescen	reip. tam cla	5
	uationis cu-	illum pacu	tem et adul	rum ac tam	
	capra aut ne	yi nimis in	tam et iam	omnibus no	
	pa aut exori	imicum doc	firmam atq.	tum exordiu-	
	tur nomen	trinae esse	rob. tam os	quam huius	
10	aliquod bel ^l	dicebat ma	tendero qua-	urbis conde-	10
	uarum quod	gis eum delec	si mihi aliqua-	dae principi	
	est ante pe	tabat neop	put ^{put} i ⁿ ulta plato	um profectu-	
	des nemo spec	tolemus en	nem socra	a romulo	
	tat caeli seru	ni qui se ait	tes ipse finxe	qui patre	
15	tantur pla	filosofari	ro hoc cum	m ^m arte natus co-	15

q.iii

V. 10, supra, L minus
facile cernitur.V. 14, super I primam,
I minus facile cerni potest.V. 2, ad fin., D adesse
videtur.

de rep.

lib. i.

	cedamus eni-	is igitur ut na	sustulissent	urbs incole	
	famae homi	tus sit cum re	et in agresti	bat aequo ani	
	num praeser	mo frate dici	cultu labore	mo illi liben	
	tim non inue	tur ab amu	que aluissent	terque pare	
5	teratae solu-	lo rege adba	perhibetur	rent quoru-	5
	sed etiam sapi	no ob labefac	ut adoleuerit	copiis cum se	
	enter a maio	tandi regni	et corporis	ducem prae	
	ribus proditae	timorem ad	uiribus et ani	buisset ut etia-	
	ut bene meri	tiberim expo	mi ferocita	a fabulis ad	
10	ti de reb. com	ni iussus esse	te tantum	facta uenia	10
	munib. ut ge	quo in loco cu-	ceteris praes	mus oppressis	
	nere etiam pu	esset siluestris	titisse ut om	se longam	
	tarentur no-	beluae suste-	nes qui tum	albam uali	
	solum esse i-	tatus uberib.	eos agros ubi	dam urbem	
15	genio diuino	pastoresq. eu-	hodie et haec	uel potentē	15

V. 9, punctum super
U positum minus facile
cernitur.

IV. 4. 5. "AMU:LO
1 Amulo. Maius. Non
ita; male dissecaverat L,
tum erasa priore L et I
facta est L et adscripta I"
(DuR.).

V. 15, UEL—"exl facta
est t" (DuR.).

de re p-

	temporibus	conatur dili	beret liberos	Erudiit sed	
	illis amuliu-	gentissime	sic seruium	cum tarqui	
	q. regem inter	prouidendu-	diligebat ut	nus insidiis	
	emisse fertur	incredibili op	is eius uulgo	anci filioru-	
5	qua gloria par	portunitate	haberetur	interisset ser	5
	tam urbem	delegit neq.	filius atque	uiusque ut	
	auspicato con	enim ad ma	eum summo	ante dixi reg	
	deret firmare	re admouit	studio omni	nare coepis	
	dicitur primu-	quod ei fuit il	bus is artibus	set non ius	
10	cogitauisse	la manu copiis	quas ip. se di	su sed uolun	10
	remp. urbi au	q. facillimum	dicerat ad	tate adq. con	
	tem locum	ut in agrum	exquisitissi	cessu cōiuiu-	
	quod est ei qui	rutulorum	mam consu	quod cum tar	
	diurnam	aborigin ^u	etudinem	quinius ex	
15	remp. serere	q. facillimum	graccorum	uulnere ae	15

V. 6, M prioris deletionis signa facile cerni non possunt.

V. 14, U super M minus facile cernitur; fortasse U minor sub UU scripturae Aug. latet.

V. 15, puncta nonnulla minus facile cernuntur.

lib 1.

	ger fuisse et	sit se patribus	non solum	uèl graecis	
	uiuere falso	sed tarquini	ob eam causa-	uel peritissi	
	diceretur il	o sepulto po	fieri uoluit	mis rerum ci	
	le regio or	pulum de ip ^{se}	quod erat ae	uilium multa	
5	nat ^u ius dixis	se consulut ⁱ	cum de rep. po	que colligere	5
	set obaera	t ⁱ iussusque	tissimum pri-	ac docere opti	
	tosque pecu	regnare le	cipem reip. di	mum longe	
	nia-sua libe	gem de impe	cere sed etia-	statum cuii	
	rauisset mul	rio suo curi	quod memi	tatis esse eum	
10	taq. comita	atam tulit et	neram perse ^a	quem maio	10
	te usus iussu	primum rus ^{et}	pe t ⁱ cum pa	res nostri no	
	tarquinii s	ticorum in	naetio disse	bis reliquis	
	e ius dicere ^s	iurias bello	rere solitum	sent qua in	
	probauisset	est ultus ex	coram poly	disputatione	
15	non commi	quo cum ma	bio duobus	quoniam tu	15

V. 5, ad fn. I in T^I
mutata esse uidetur.

V. 1, puncta super EL
posita minus facile cer-
nuntur.

	de rep		lib. ii.	
	paratio ^r nes	Sari quam i-	saepe enim	id Quit totum
	feceris ut eti	ista ipsa quae	hoc de maio	neq. solum
	am pro his di	mihi laeli a	rib. naturh	i factum sed
	cam si de rep.	te proponitur	uim . . . audib ^{us} et ita	etiam impe
5	quid sentias	etenim cum	intelligimus	ritae absurdae
	explicaris no	in suo quem	uulgo existi	i q. factum ea
	bis gratum	que opore ar	mari neque	sunt enim
	omnibus tu-	tificem qui	uero satis id	demum no
	ille non pos	quidem ex	annumaliu-	ferenda in me-
10	sum equide-	cellat nihil	publicorum	dacio quae
	dicere me ul	aliut cogita	auctoritate	solum esse non facta set
	la in cogita	re meditari	declaratum	ne fieri qui
	tione acrius	curare uide	uideums tu-	dem potuis
	aut diligenti	am nisi quo	scipio falsum	se cernimus
15	us solere uer	sit in illo gene	enim est manili in	nam quartu-

V. 14, ad fn., TI minus
facile cernitur.

V. 3, fortasse A per
lineolam deleta est.

V. 5, punctum super
A ultimam positum minus
facile cernitur.

V. 11, supra, SOLUM
pallidissimum est.

	de rep.		???	
	iam annum	initium et py	dici possint cur	tientur nihil
	regnante ^m	thagorae de	illa sit resp. res	poterit esse illa
	lucilio tarqui	clarat adue-	q. populi quae	beatius sed ta
	nio superbo	tum	sunt dicta de	men uel regnu-
5	ybarim et cro	ex quo intelle	regno et multo	malis quam li
	tonem et in	gi regis annis	etiam magis	berum popu
	eas italiae par	dinumerata	inquit mum	lum nim
	tis pythagoras	tis potest an	nius nam in	tibi restat ge
	uenisse rep	no fere cen	regem potius	nus uitiosis
10	peritur	tesimo et qua	cadit domini	sumae reip.
	olympias enim	d si fragemo post	similitudo	tertium
	secunda et	mortem nu	quod est unus	scipio adgnos
	sexagesima	mae primu-	plures uero	co inquit tuū
	eadem sub	italiam py	boni in qua	morem istu-
15	perbi regni	thagoram	rep. rerum po	spuri amuer

q. xui.

V. 3, *lineola per l alteram perducta minus facile cernitur.*

V. 4, *post NIO, fortasse adfuit S, quae postea erasa est.*

V. 14, *initio, utrum B an D littera adsit, adfirmare non ausim.*

V. 7, *ceteras litteras cernere non potui.*

V. 11, *post TERTIUM, HIC non adest; IDLIC- aut IHLIC- adesse uidetur.*

Huius paginae scriptura paene tota (pace Dukien) legi potest, auxilio libri impressi.

	sum a ratio	Praestare regi	agunt rapi	
	ne populi fiet	optimates si	tenent dissipa	
	quamquam	enim sapien	quae uolunt	
	potest id leni	tia est quae gu	?? potesne tum	
5	us ferri qua-	bernet remp·	? laeli negare	5
	tu soles ferre	quid tandem	rem illā	
	tamen adse-	interest haec	? ? ? publicam qu	?? ? ? mo nobis
	tior nullum	i unone sit an	? ? populi sint o-	non pla
	esse de tribus	plurib· in sed	? ? nia quonia	syracusis fuis
10	his gener	errore quodā	? quidem popu	? ? ? ? se remp· neq·
	quod sit pro	fallimur ita	?? ? ? li esse rem no	? ? ? agrigenti neq·
	bandum mi	disputando cū	? ? lunus remp·	athenis qum
	nus illud ta	enim optuma	? tum laelius	essent tyra
	men non ad	tis appellantur	ac nullam qui	ni nec hi qum
15	sentio aut tu	nihil potest ui	dem citius ne	? ? ? decemuiri ne

V. 2, FIET in SED
corr. esse uidetur.

V. 9, S altera minus
facile cernitur.

V. 10, ad fin., aut IB·
aut IBUS latere putes;
in photographia incertum
est, et hunc locum in ipso
codice non inuestigauī.

V. 14, TIS in TES
corr. esse uidetur.

In hac pagina plura
cerni non possunt.

	Uideo qui ma	Si esset unus	te ho	
	gis in multitu	hoc etiam tae	fuisse	
	dinis domina	trior quia ni	romu	
	tu reip̄. nome-	hil ista quae po	ut iam	
5	appareat qui	puli speciem	homi	5
	primum mihi	et nomen imi	ac tem	
	populus non	tatur imma	ipsis er	
	est ut tu opti	nus uel ast	ad fin	
	me definisti	?	ui	
		nec uero con	ex cui	
10	scipio nisi qui	uernit qum fu	esset lo	10
	consensu iu	riosorum bo	antiqu	
	ris continetur	?	nim r	
	Sed est tam ty	natorum po	fabula	
	rannus iste	??	etiam n	
		? ? ?		
15	conuentus quā	eorum iam	numqu	15

V. 4. fortasse -, quod super P cernitur, macula est.

V. 5. ad fin., A litteram cernere non potui.

V. 8. punctum super B positum minus facile cernitur, lineolae quoque per U et L litteras perductae.

V. 10. de puncto super R posito dubitari potest.

V. 14. ad fin., I potius quam N litterae uestigium adesse potest.

us ne
 us ut di
 nt quid
 x fili quo^a
 ille mor 5
 odem
 no na
 moni
 ympia
 xta et qui- 10
 esima
 acilius
 legi pos
 m de ro
 li iam mor^{im} 15

V. 8, prima littera M esse videtur.

V. 11, ultimae litterae magna pars cerni non potest.

V. 12, A litterae hasta dextera sola exstat.

V. 13, ad fin., s una cerni potest.

V. 15, fortasse UIAM, non LIAM.

INSCRIPTIONS OF ROME AND CENTRAL ITALY

THE inscriptions which are here presented were either discovered by the writer, or brought to his notice, during his incumbency of the Professorship of Latin in the American School of Classical Studies in Rome, in 1903-4. They may be classified geographically as coming from Rome and the Campagna, and from Capua and vicinity.

ROME AND THE CAMPAGNA

INSCRIPTIONS FROM VILLA BERTONE, LATER VILLA TAVAZZI

This group of inscriptions was presented to the American School of Classical Studies in Rome by Signor Tavazzi, who recognized the interest shown by Miss Elizabeth Bruce, a student of the school, in the numerous inscriptions scattered about his villa on the Via Salaria. The commentary on the Tavazzi inscriptions has been prepared by Miss Bruce.

The two great northern roads leading from Rome, the Flaminia and the Salaria, like the Appia and the Latina on the south, were frequently used as places of interment. Prudentius, *Contra Symmachum*, i, 404-5, associates the Latina and Salaria as conspicuous examples of such Roman cemetery-roads.

quacumque Latina vetustos
Custodit cineres densisque Salaria bustis.

Christian catacombs abound beyond the first milestone of the Salaria, and along that part of the road near the city there are numerous pagan tombs dating back into the early imperial and republican periods. As the Via Salaria approached the city, it divided into two branches, the Via Salaria Vetus and Via Salaria (Nova),¹ which thus formed a triangle with the Servian Wall as a base. Later the Aurelian Wall formed a new base, extending from the Porta Pinciana to the Porta Salaria. This triangle, filled with tombs in ancient days, was afterwards given over to country estates and vineyards, the boundaries and names of which have been changed many times, so that they frequently defy identification. During the early part of the eighteenth century, 1733-5, in that section, near the apex of the triangle, which was known as Vigna Nari, many inscriptions were discovered. These were collected in a sylloge, compiled at the time by Domenico Giorgi, which now exists in manuscript. One hundred and forty-two are published under *Monumenta Vineæ Nariae, C.I.L. VI, 7845-7986*. They are now widely scattered. In 1885-6, when the property, known then as Villa Bertone, was divided, many cippi and columbarium slabs were discovered. A large round monument, of a type similar to that of Caecilia Metella, was also

¹ See, however, *Papers of the British School at Rome*, III., pp. 9 and 10.

brought to light, which bore a beautiful inscription of the days of Augustus. This mausoleum, built by the knight Lucilius Paetus for himself and for his sister, was quite elaborate. It had travertine foundations, was adorned with marble facings, and contained a cella with niches for the ashes of the dead. In the course of time it was surrounded by other and more humble tombs, and in the second or third century was entirely covered over and forgotten. After a century or two it was discovered, probably by Christians; the resting places of Lucilius and his sister were destroyed, and by the construction of loculi in the walls the tomb was changed into a columbarium. These devastators used the pagan inscriptions as covers for the recesses and placed their own inscriptions above. This columbarium was in turn ransacked by intruders of a later date. After the excavations of 1885 the mausoleum was partially uncovered and its cella fully explored.

The collection of inscriptions presented to the American School by Signor Tavazzi includes some of those published in the early part of the eighteenth century and some of those discovered in 1885, while others cannot be assigned to either date. Of these forty-one inscriptions, five are small fragments, seven have lost some important part, and twenty-nine are complete or nearly so. The names are generally those of freedmen and of soldiers and belong to either the first, the second, or the third century of our era, although the majority should probably be assigned to the second century.

A. Of the large number of epitaphs found in the Vigna Nari in the early part of the eighteenth century six are now in the collection of the American School:

(1) *C.I.L.* VI, 2, 7848: *M. Vigellius Ianuarius*. This is now mutilated, as the left side has been broken off and four letters have disappeared from the first line, four from the second, and five from the third. The concentric circles shown in *C.I.L.* represent a depression used for offerings to the dead.

(2) *C.I.L.* VI, 2, 7867: *L. Octavi Hermetis*. Entire and now correctly given *C.I.L.* VI, 4, fasc. 2, p. 3439.

(3) *C.I.L.* VI, 2, 7885. Of this only a fragment remains containing L. SODALI with traces of two letters, which are apparently VS of EBVRARIVS.

(4) *C.I.L.* VI, 2, 7887: *C. Attius C. l. Primigenius*. Now mutilated, as nine letters are missing from the first line and eight from the second.

This may be dated toward the end of the first century, as it mentions a *tabularius* of the household of Domitia, wife of Domitian. The *nomen* Flavia also appears.

(5) *C.I.L.* VI, 2, 7923: *Nortinae Animae*. Now badly mutilated, as the left half and the lower right-hand corner are missing.

(6) *C.I.L.* VI, 2, 7982: *Sextiliae Faustinae*. One letter is lacking in each of the first four lines.

B. The following inscriptions have been found at various times and are scattered through *C.I.L.* VI:

(1) VI, 1, 2612: *M. Orellius Secundus*. Published by Oderici in 1765. The reading H·F·C (*C.I.L.* VI, 4, fasc. 2, p. 3369) is correct. Orelli 69, *C.I.L.* V, p. 192, and Forcellini copy the error of Oderici of *Bellunum* for *Belunum*. De Ruggiero

(*Diz. Ep.*) gives the inscription correctly under the name of the city Belunum. This inscription gives authority for ascribing the town Belunum to the Papiria Tribus.



FIGURE 19



FIGURE 20

(2) *C.I.L.* VI, 1, 3570. Note *mater* without proper name. *C.I.L.* reads SVE-NEMERENTI, for SVE BENE MERENTI, which appears on the stone. Now mutilated.

(3) *C.I.L.* VI, 1, 3897: *L. Catalus*. Correctly given in *C.I.L.* VI, 4, fasc. 2, 32703.

(4) *C.I.L.* VI, 2, 10937: *Aelia Marina*. The inscription has COIVGI, and not CONIVGI, as given in *C.I.L.*

This is a thin rectangular slab, 0.95 m. in width and 0.30 m. in height.

(5) *C.I.L.* VI, 2, 10948: *Aeliae Phoebe*. Mutilated as indicated in *C.I.L.*, which supplies missing parts from an existing copy. It is still more mutilated now, having lost the first three lines.

(6) *C.I.L.* VI, 2, 12064: *Antoniae Phyllidi*. Seriously mutilated, as all the first three lines and part of the fourth and fifth are missing.

(7) *C.I.L.* VI, 2, 12317: *L. Aristius Lucio*. Published by Fabretti in 1702. One letter, the O of the first line, is now missing.

(8) *C.I.L.* VI, 3, 15415: *Claudia Eutychia*. The reading of the stone is P · ER-GASIONI and not PERGASIONI, as given in *C.I.L.*

(9) *C.I.L.* VI, 3, 15963: *M. Coelio Fortunato*. Correctly given in *C.I.L.* VI, 4, fasc. 2, p. 3518.

(10) *C.I.L.* VI, 3, 18502: *M. Flovio Philocalo*. FLVVIAE in l. 4 is perhaps an error of the stone cutter for FLOVIAE.

(11) *C.I.L.* VI, 3, 20171: *C. Iulio Palleo*. Note variation in spelling PALLEO and PHALLEVS, due to carelessness.

(12) *C.I.L.* VI, 3, 22095: *Q. Marcio Publiliano*. The last five lines are now incomplete. In line 10 the stone has PVBLILIA, but *C.I.L.* has PVBILILIA.

(13) *C.I.L.* VI, 3, 22159: *Marciae Successe*. One-third of the inscription is now lost.

(14) *C.I.L.* VI, 4, 24465: *Cn. Pompeius Fructus*. A small plain tablet 0.40 m. by 0.27 m. is reported as seen in 1695. On the left-hand edge letters l and NCC appear, which are of a later date than the letters of the inscription.

(15) *C.I.L.* VI, 4, 25491: *Rosciae Veneriae*. The stone reads IN AG for *in ag(ro)*, and not IN A as in *C.I.L.*

(16) *C.I.L.* VI, 4, 27660: *Trophimus*. Note the cognomen *Arrhen*, otherwise unknown.

(17) *C.I.L.* VI, 4, 29223: *M. Ulpio Aug. lib. Ionico*. Part of the last two lines have disappeared. The date may be in the reign of Trajan, 98–117, if we may form an opinion from the *nomen*.

(18) *C.I.L.* VI, 4, 29281: *M. Ulpius T. f. Verus*. Now mutilated. The names indicate a date in the first half of the second century.

(19) *C.I.L.* VI, 4, 29426. Given by Piranesi, *Le Antichità Romane*, tavola 49. See also Bücheler, *A.L.*, 1164. Piranesi reports that it was found in the Villa de Cinque, outside the Porta Salaria, in 1751. The entire inscription was a *carmen* of ten lines, followed by the dedication: IVLIANO · FILIO · L · VMBRIVS · SATVRNINVS. This fragment is all that remains.

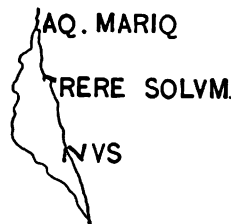


FIGURE 21

C. The following inscriptions were discovered in 1885–6, and are incorporated in the parts of *C.I.L.* VI which were published after that date.

(1) *C.I.L.* VI, 3, 23733; also *B.C.*, 1886, p. 203; *N.S.*, 1886, p. 210: *Palpiae Soteridi*.

(2) *C.I.L.* VI, 4, 28644; *N.S.*, 1885, p. 191: *C. Vetilius Primitivus*. The separation of the parts of the word FACE RE is due to an imperfection in the stone, which interfered with the cutting of the R in its proper place. In line 4 both *C.I.L.* and *N.S.* give the last word as ES. It is clearly EST, the T being near the edge and less carefully cut.

De Rossi refers to this inscription in *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana*, 1890, p. 75, when discussing the force of phrases of place such as *ad nuce(m)*, which indicates the location of the cemetery. This phrase is found on plate 3, in *Forma Urbis Romae* (Lanciani).



FIGURE 22

(3) *C.I.L.* VI, 4, 32678; *B.C.*, 1886, p. 229; *N.S.*, 1886, p. 235: *M. Varsilio Martiali*. This shows a portrait of the deceased on the tympanum.

(4) *C.I.L.* VI, 4, 32698; *B.C.*, 1886, p. 160; *N.S.*, 1886, p. 162: *C. Nigidio Iuliano*. This probably belongs to the first half of the second century, as the name *P. Aelius Iulianus* suggests.

(5) *C.I.L.* VI, 4, 35214 and 34256: *A. Fabricius Prothymus* and *Aelia Epigone*. These are given independently in *C.I.L.*, but are on one stone. The dedication to *Fabricius* is on the left, that to *Aelia*, his wife, on the right.

(6) *C.I.L.* VI, 4, 34380; *B.C.*, 1886, p. 160; *N.S.*, 1886, p. 162: *Amando*.

(7) *C.I.L.* VI, 4, 34573; *B.C.*, 1886, p. 203; *N.S.*, 1886, p. 210: *T. Attius Decimus*.

(8) *C.I.L.* VI, 4, 34704; *N.S.*, 1885, p. 226: *Caeciliae Epicharis et Callistes*.

(9) *C.I.L.* VI, 4, 35603; *B.C.*, 1886, p. 203; *N.S.*, 1886, p. 210; *Iuliae Primigeniae*.

(10) *C.I.L.* VI, 4, 35747; *N.S.*, 1885, p. 253: *M. Cirratus*. Note the peculiar interpunctuation, the use of *i longa*, and the careless repetition of the abbreviation of the praenomen.

D. In addition to the inscriptions noted above, there are two small fragments and four other inscriptions which are apparently unpublished. Only one of the latter, however, is complete.

(1) A small fragment of white marble, measuring 0.10 m. by 0.11 m. by 0.03 m., having a simple border consisting of a single groove (Fig. 23).

(2) A fragment, measuring 0.26 m. by 0.37 m. by 0.10 m., the upper right-hand portion of a white marble slab, with dark streaks, having an ornamented top and a grooved border. The letters are perfect monumental characters of the best period (Fig. 24).

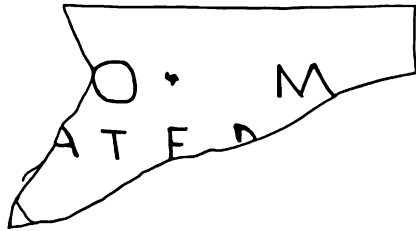


FIGURE 23

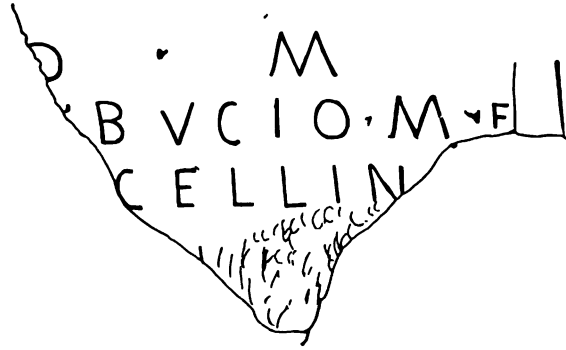


FIGURE 24

(3) Two portions of a stone measuring 0.60 m. by 0.44 m. by 0.03 m., with a simply moulded border, 0.045 m. wide on the sides and top, and 0.02 m. wide below. The inscription consists of eight lines, the first six in large letters of the best period, gradually diminishing from four centimeters in height in the first line to a little less than three in the sixth. The other two lines are cut in smaller and inferior characters.



FIGURE 25

Since they contain a dedication distinct from the others and are crowded in at the end, where half of the border seems to have been removed for the purpose, it is probable that they are a later addition.

(4) Five pieces, composing about three-fourths of a plain thin marble slab, measuring 0.32 m. by 0.21 m. by 0.01 m. The letters are tall and slender, with shallow incision, and still show distinct traces of the original red coloring. The mark of punctuation appears in a variety of forms, sometimes as a small triangular cut, and sometimes with a curved pendant varying as to its length and the direction in which it points.

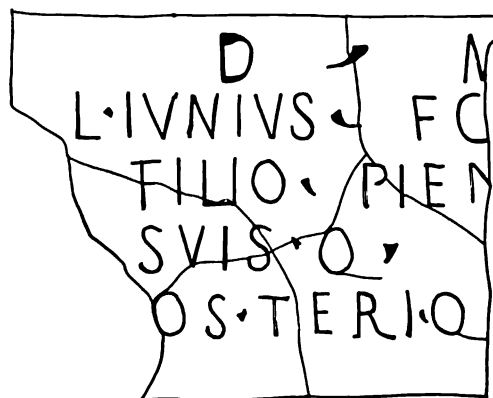


FIGURE 26

(5) The two remaining inscriptions deserve a more extended notice. The first of these is a small square marble slab, measuring 0.26 m. by 0.26 m. by 0.03 m. The stone is without ornamentation. Its lower edge is broken, but the inscription is complete.



FIGURE 27

The letters are two centimeters in height, evenly and carefully cut, and the lines drawn by the cutter to guide his work are distinctly seen.

The stone is dedicated by a veteran soldier to his young wife, who died at the early age of nineteen.

Julia Carnuntilla, a foreign woman of the province of Upper Pannonia, seems to have taken the gentile name of her husband, a Roman soldier, together with a cognomen derived from the name of the town Carnuntum in that province, which, it may be inferred, was her birthplace or her place of residence. The name Carnuntilla occurs here, apparently, for the first time.

As Pannonia, which had been made a province in the year 8 A.D., was divided by Trajan into Pannonia Superior and Pannonia Inferior, we may assign the inscription, from the style of the lettering, to the early part of the second century.

(6) The other stone is still more interesting in its general character, and is unique in several respects. It is a small rectangular marble tablet, measuring 0.30 m. by 0.18 m. by 0.03 m., bordered by a single groove. The letters, 0.015 m. in height in the first line and slightly less in the others, are well-formed monumental capitals.

The inscription is unfortunately incomplete, the stone having been broken into four pieces, one of which is missing. The three pieces which remain were found by the writer lying in different places in the fossa around the mausoleum of Lucilius and Lucilia.

The epitaph consists of five lines, of the full width of the stone, without any heading.



FIGURE 28

*Delicius Matris Matutae | sertae reg(ionis) Eucerus hic situs est. |
Auletio cantor(um) ubique | [... ti]tulum fecit Iulius | [... f]ilius papati suo*

We have here one of the extremely rare inscriptions which mention the worship of the Mater Matuta, and judging from the published collections, the only one yet discovered which belongs to the city of Rome. Of the nine recorded examples, two belong to Pisaurum in Umbria, two to Cora in the Volscian Hills, two to Praeneste, one to

Cales in Campania, one to Syria, and one, the most recently discovered, to Satricum, the modern Conca, where the goddess possessed a famous temple, several times mentioned by Livy, the remains of which have been found by excavation in the course of the last ten years.

The nine inscriptions above cited, with one possible exception, mention only women as devotees of the goddess or as interested in her worship. The one exception is a small fragment, found at Conca (Satricum) in the year 1896, containing portions of two names, one of which has been taken to be that of the goddess and the other that of a certain (Cor)nelius who is supposed to have dedicated to her, in his official capacity as duumvir, a votive cippus. It has seemed well-established that the worship of the Mater Matuta was essentially a feminine cult, practised by matrons, as is indicated by the name of her festival, the Matralia. If the Cornelius fragment is interpreted correctly, it is the first one found which gives the name of a man as in any way connected with the worship, and the inscription we are considering is the second.

These rites, exclusive as regards the sex of the worshippers, are described as being extremely rigid in respect to the caste of those admitted, and even female slaves were driven from the sacred precincts with abhorrence. As the subject of our epitaph is undoubtedly either a slave or a freedman, it is a little remarkable to see him designated by so strong a phrase as *delicius Matris Matutae*, which can hardly mean anything save "the darling" or "favorite devotee of Mater Matuta."

Our inscription apparently relates to Mater Matuta of the Sixth Region. There is no reference in literature to any temple or shrine of this goddess in that region, the only one mentioned being the well-known *Aedes Matris Matutae* in the Forum Boarium, in the Eleventh Region. If we hesitate to regard the words as pointing to another shrine of the goddess, in the Sixth Region, an alternative construction might be to regard the phrase VI REG (*sextae regionis*) not as belonging to *Matris Matutae* but to *delicius*, and interpret, "Eucerus, the favorite devotee of the Sixth Region, of Mater Matuta." In either case it is not without significance that our stone comes from outside the Porta Salaria, that is from the district toward which the Sixth Region extended.

Delicius is an almost unknown form, but *delicium*, *delicia*, *deliciae*, are found in literature and in inscriptions as common and proper nouns and applied to both sexes. *Delicius* is given and defined in the glossaries, but literature contains no instance of its use. Two inscriptions are quoted in Forcellini as containing it. The first of these is *C.I.L.* VI, 1, 800, taken from manuscript authority of the seventeenth century :

APRICIVS · DELICI | VS · LATINAE · VOL | CANO · SANCTO

The other is *C.I.L.* VI, 2, 3967, in the second part of a double-columned epitaph, and is represented as having lost the right-hand edge, including the last letter of this very word, thus :

AMARANTHO
 CERYLLI · DELICIV

An earlier authority (Gori, 73. 4) gives it entire in the form DELICIVS. The inscription is now in the Museo Capitolino, set high in the wall of the long gallery, and is there complete and written DELICIVM. We thus seem to be justified in saying that ours is probably a unique example of the form DELICIVS.

The name *Eucerus* is equally interesting. In this form it seems to occur nowhere else, either in literature or inscriptions. That it is a name of Greek origin is obvious. It should be assigned to εὐκαιρος, "timely, opportune." This occurs as a name in Greek inscriptions, and the translated form, *Eucaerus*, is found in a number of those in Latin. Neither is it unknown in literature. In Tacitus (Ann. XIV, 60) is mentioned one Eucaerus, a slave of Octavia, "*natione Alexandrinus, canere tibiis doctus.*" It is not an insignificant coincidence for the study of our inscription that the Eucaerus of Tacitus was a Greek slave who was a skilful player of the flute. The change of form from *Eucaerus* to *Eucerus* offers no difficulty.

Auletio appears to be a dative from a nominative *auletius*. We naturally look, for the origin of the word, to the Greek αὐλός, which gives the noun αὐλητής and the adjective αὐλητικός, and which appears in Latin as *Auletes*, the cognomen of Ptolemy XI, and in *auleticus*. But of *auletius*, in any of its cases, there seems to be no instance previous to this. It is evidently used here in place of the common Latin word *tibicen*, and the phrase *auletio cantor(um)* may describe the deceased as a flute-player who accompanied the singers in the performance of the religious rites.

Ubique must be connected with the word which followed and which is now lost. We can suggest, but not decide, what that word may have been. A few phrases containing *ubique* are found in inscriptions, but they are not common. *Ubique pius* (written PIVC) on a stone in the Capitoline Museum, describes the donor of an offering to Diana. As we need here an adjective, and as there is room for only three, or at the most four letters before the word (T)TVLV M, it is not improbable that the missing word is PIO. Possibly it may have been from *notus*, NOTO.

Papati is the dative of *papas*, the same word in origin and original signification as *papa*. With the root-meaning of *pater nutricius*, it came to have the force of the much more common *paedagogus*, and is so defined in the glossaries. It occurs in literature once, Juv. VI, 633: *timidus praegustet pocula papas*. Three instances are given of its occurrence in inscriptions:

(a) C.I.L. V, 7059: *L. Antistius Zosimus Septicio adiutori papati optimo.*

(b) C.I.L. VI, 2, 8972, a fragment of the time of Antoninus Pius, relating to a freedman Narcissus, who was "*paedagogus [puero]rum Imp. et papas Galeriae [Aug. liber]tae Lysistrates.*"

(c) De Rossi (*Inscriptiones Christianae*, I, p. 176) publishes the following inscription:

*Perpetuam sedem nutritor possides ipse.
Hic meritis finem magnis defuncte periculis
Hic requiem felix sumis cogentibus annis.
Hic positus papas Antimio qui vixit annis LXX.*

Then follow the names of the consuls, giving the date 392 A.D. This was found in the year 1787, and is now in the Galleria Lapidaria of the Vatican Museum. Its

discovery was followed by a spirited controversy, the last word of which was not written for more than half a century. The name in the fourth line, cut with no separating mark or space, thus, PAPANANTIMIO, was read by some scholars *Papa Santimio*, and taken to be the name of an early bishop or pope, otherwise unknown. Another party, casting ridicule on the first for the new pope whom they had discovered, claimed that it was simply *papas Antimio*, with Juvenal's rare word *papas* meaning *paedagogus*; and this was the view that prevailed.

Admitting, then, that the word exists in these three inscriptions, we must also admit that it is uncommon, and our stone is interesting as furnishing another and an unquestionable example of its epigraphical existence.

We therefore have in this little inscription of five lines a new topographical suggestion, a fresh detail for the study of a religious cult, an unusual epitaphial phrase and four name-forms rarely seen or hitherto unknown.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM GABII

1. This fragment of white marble (Fig. 29) was found in the field which has been identified as the location of the Forum of Gabii, which lies to the east of the temple and slopes toward the building as one approaches from the east. The letters indicate a good period, and the inscription may be placed in the latter part of the first, or in the early part of the second, century. The dimensions of the stone are 0.12 m. by 0.09 m. by 1.6 cm. The letters measure 1.5 cm.

The reading apparently is :

IDI
*p*LOTIV *s*
*a*ELIV *s*
*v*OLVSi*s*
*a*VRELi*s*

This may be an *album decurionum* or an *album collegii*. The names are all common in Latium. The IDI may be for *idi(bus)*. The stone shows traces of a letter before the I, at a distance of about 0.5 cm.

The stone has been used for another purpose, as a rude M, much larger than the other letters, appears on the other side. It may be for *d. M.* of a sepulchral inscription.

I have endeavored to associate this inscription with *C.I.L.* XIV, 4232 and 2801, as the former is described as being on white marble, 1.7 cm. thick; but I believe the two inscriptions are of different character.

See Ashby, *Classical Topography of the Roman Campagna, Papers of the British School at Rome*, I.

2. These brick stamps (Fig. 30) are on a *tegula* found in the ruins of the church at Gabii known as St. Primitivus. The structure belongs to the second century, as is shown by the *opus reticulatum*. This *tegula* should be classed with those of Praeneste which give the names of magistrates of the Colonia Praenestina, *duoviri, aediles, quaestores*, *C.I.L.* XV, pp. 462 ff. Dressel, *C.I.L.* XV, p. 9, places rectangular stamps

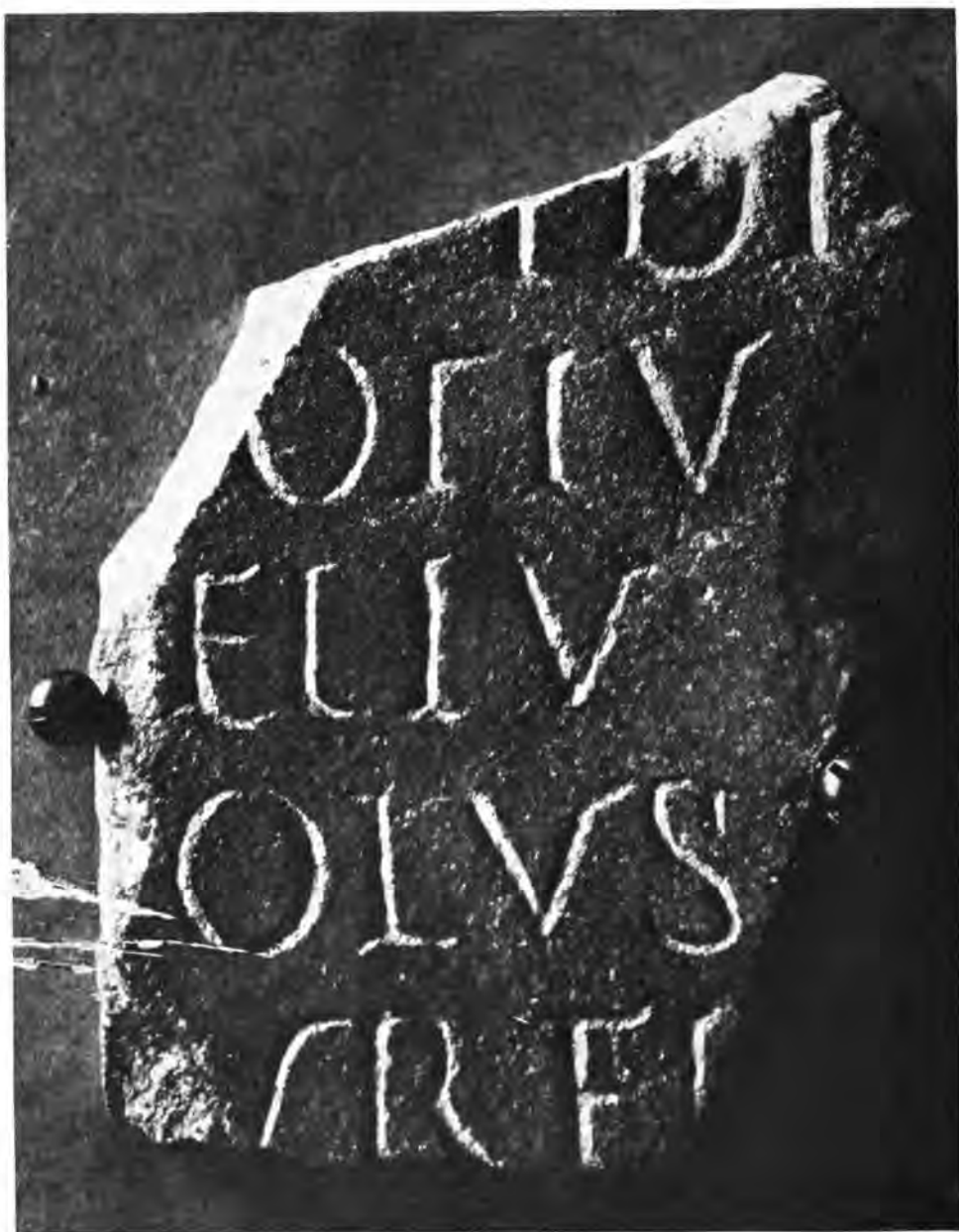


FIGURE 29



FIGURE 30

which give the *consulatus nota* between 110–164 A.D., and assigns those with names of the magistrates of *coloniae* to the same class.

The first is:

M·NAV·T·Q

M·Naut () q(uaestoris?)

See *C.I.L.* XV, 2303, and XIV, 4091, 14, where the same stamp is given and assigned to Praeneste, Vinea Bonanni. The editor of *C.I.L.* remarks "*litteris antiquioribus.*"

The second stamp, which has not as yet been noticed on any *tegula*, is:

C·GEM·RVF·Q

C·Gem(ini) Ruf(i) q(uaestoris?)

These stamps measure 0.5 cm. long, 1.6 cm. wide. Mr. Thomas Ashby, Jr., found in the same locality a fragment of a brick stamp, *C.I.L.* XV, 2353, which belongs also to the early part of the second century. See *Papers of the British School at Rome*, Vol. I, p. 194.

STAMPS ON BRICKS FROM THE AURELIAN WALL

1.



FIGURE 31

2.



FIGURE 32

3.



FIGURE 33

4.



FIGURE 34

1 (Fig. 31) *C. Nae(vi) | Gam(i)*

Found near the Porta San Giovanni of the Aurelian Wall. It is given *C.I.L.* XV, 1329, and Marini, *Inscr. Dol.* 1070. The date is the middle of the first century.

2 (Fig. 32) SER FIR EX P Æ CE
VERO III ET M BIBVL COS

*Ser(vili) Fir(mi) ex p(raedis) Ab(urni) Ce(diciani) Vero III et M. Bibul(co)
co(n)s(ulibus)*

Found among the bricks of the Aurelian Wall, near the Porta Pia. Its date is 126 A.D. It measures 0.13 m. long, 3.5 cm. high. The letters are 1.1 cm. high. It is given in *C.I.L.* XV, 234.

3 (Fig. 33)
[*ex f(iglinis)*] *Terent(ianis), dol(iare) ex pr(aedis) Do[miti(ae) L]ucillae n(ostrae)
Saturn[i(ni?)]*

Found near the Porta Pia among bricks from the Aurelian Wall. It is given in *C.I.L.* XV, 616, and Marini, *Inscr. Dol.* n. 60, and its date is about 140 A.D.

4 (Fig. 34) [Br]utiana
Lupi
(*Tegula*) *Brutiana (M. Rotili) Lupi*

This also was found among bricks of the Aurelian Wall, near the Porta Pia. It is one of the numerous *tegulae Brutianae*: *C.I.L.* XV, 29.



FIGURE 35

Part of a fictile vessel of some kind, bearing on the base the name *Pullaeni* as a *graffito*. Found in Rome, on the Pincian Hill. This name is common on *lucernae fictiles* of this kind in Africa and in Sardinia, but it is rare in other places. Hence we may believe that the vessel was manufactured in Africa.

See *C.I.L.* VIII, 22644, 276-282. Also *C.I.L.* X, 8053, 168. In *Revue Arch.*, III series, XXVI (1895), p. 279, n. 32, we find: *Praedia Pullaenorum*.

See also for lamps marked thus with a *stilus* and found in Rome, *C.I.L.* XV, 6643.

CAPUA AND VICINITY

In the spring of 1904 I spent two weeks at Capua and in the neighboring towns of Santa Maria Capua Vetere, Curti, S. Prisco, San Angelo in Formis, and Caserta, for the purpose of obtaining information supplementary to the material contained in Volume X of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. The most important collection of inscriptions of Campania, second only to that of Naples, is located in the Museo Campano of Capua. This museum was once the centre of archaeological interest in this section, but it is now rarely visited even by scholars. Since the death of Gabriel Ianelli (see *C.I.L.* X, p. 374), who was a devoted student of Campanian archaeology, little attention has been given to increasing the collections of this interesting museum, which contains not only numerous Latin inscriptions, but likewise many Oscan ones and other remains of Oscan archaeology.

While looking over the visitors' book, I found the following note in the handwriting of Theodore Mommsen, which deserves recording.

"Teodoro Mommsen di Berlino visitò il Museo Campano per la seconda volta il 7 e 8 Giugno 1876. Avendo egli percorso buona parte delle provincie meridionali e

troppo spesso dovuto deplorare la mancanza di ogni cura pubblica per i monumenti antichi, la splendida conservazione che fa questa nobile fondazione creato dallo zelo dei patrioti Campani gli ha rallegrato il cuore e lascia Capua facendo voti per il continuo aumento ed il prospero avvenire di sì nobile impresa condotta e diretta dallo zelo della Commissione Conservatrice di antichità e belle arti delle provincie di Terra di Lavoro.”

The Latin inscriptions of the Museo Campano have been published with few exceptions in *C.I.L. X*, in *E.E. V*, pp. 120–141, in *N.S.*, and finally, although with lack of critical exactness, in the few volumes of the *Atti della Commissione Conservatrice dei Monumenti e Belle Arti della Provincia di Terra di Lavoro*.



FIGURE 36

The following inscriptions are given here either because they have hitherto been unpublished or because of some modification which should be made in the accepted readings.

1. A large *cippus sepulchralis* of travertine, found at Monte Palombara, in the wall of an old building, now in Museo Campano, Capua. Its measurements are 1.07 m. by 0.64 m. by 0.54 m. with letters 0.06 m. high. Hitherto unpublished.

D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum). | M(arco) Aurelio Felici | rec(tori) region(is) Stata(nae), | Nicianus Aug(usti) n(ostri) verna patr[i], Aurelia Hamill[a] coniugi b(ene) m(erenti) fecer[un]t.

“Sacred to the gods of the dead. To Marcus Aurelius Felix, rector of the district

Statana. Nicianus, household slave of our Augustus, and Aurelia Hamilla have erected this monument, the son to his father and the wife to her worthy husband."

The third line is difficult, but probably stands for *rec(tori) region(is) Stata(nae)*.

Professor Dessau in a personal letter has referred to the *Ager Statanus, conterminus Falerno*, celebrated for its wine (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 14, 65; 23, 36; Strabo, 5, 234; Athenaeus, 1, 26 c). I examined the inscription with the greatest care, visiting Capua a second time to verify the reading REC, and found that this was correct.

If we read *reg(ionarius) reg(ionis)*, our difficulty is not lessened, for the title is used of an army officer in Dessau, *Inscr. Sel.* 4920. The office of the *regionarius* of an inscription from Sens (*C.I.L.* XIII, 2958) is not known.



FIGURE 37

2. This relief is set in the wall of the court of the Museo Campano in Capua. It represents Jupiter seated, Minerva on his right turned toward a *marmorarius*, who is busy cutting a column. The wheel near by is intended to raise the column. To the left of Jupiter is Diana, then a figure holding in the left hand a cornucopia and pouring a libation upon an altar. Beyond this figure is a large serpent, crested and bearded. Above the serpent and the figure are the words *genius [the]atri*. On the lower margin of the frame are the words:

*Lucceius Peculiaris redemptor prosc[a]eni
ex biso (sic) fecit.*

Some (e.g. Jahn, *Berichte der sächs. Ges. d. W.* 1861, p. 304) have believed that the figure alongside the serpent was Fortuna. It is, however, the genius himself, as the upper part of the body lacks the full womanly form which we should expect if this stood for Fortuna. The genius with a cornucopia on the left arm and with a serpent by his side is a common representation.

C.I.L. X, 3821; Dessau, *Inscr. Sel.* 3662. Dessau states that the figures were given by A. S. Mazzochi and from this copy a representation by Millin in *Galerie Myth.*, tab. xxxviii, fig. 139, was taken. There has always been uncertainty as to the figure next to the serpent, although Mabillon and Mazzochi believed it to be a man. The photograph given above apparently settles the question.

CONSULAR FASTI FROM TEANO

This inscription was obtained from the Hon. Orazio Pasquale at Curti, a little hamlet near Capua, in the spring of 1904. According to Signor Pasquale, the stone was found at Teano, ancient Teanum Sidicinum, of the same region as Capua. It is a small marble fragment, measuring 24.8 cm. by 22.5 cm. by 3 cm. The letters belong to the *scriptura actuaria*, or documentary style, similar to those of



FIGURE 38

other *fasti*. *Apices* are found over certain long vowels: *a* in *Silanus*, *a* in *Vipstanus*, *u* in *Iulius*, and over the diphthongs *ae* in *Laelius* and *oe* in *Coelius*. One *i longa* is seen in *Silanus* in line 2. Huelsen in *Mitth. d. k. d. arch. Inst. Rom.*, 1904, vol. XIX, calls attention to the fact that the *litterae Claudianae*, introduced by Claudius in his censorship in 47 A.D., do not appear in this inscription.

There are ten lines, six of which are complete and easily read. The incomplete lines are the first, ninth, and tenth. The first probably reads [*M*] *agrius Sagitta L. Venidius Vitulus*, although the letters of the stone indicate rather *Magrius Sagit(ta) Fal(erna tribu) Venid(ius) Vitul(us)*, an irregularity in the position of the name of the tribe which is found in other inscriptions and might be recognized here, where there are many peculiarities. Three instances are given in *C.I.L.* IX, one in X, and ten or more in VIII, so that we can hardly speak of this as *unmöglich* (Huelsen, *loc. cit.*, p. 325, n. 2).

The ninth line has the sign for *iterum* at the beginning, which should be taken with the second name of the preceding line. Then follow *magistrat ...* and *ex*. The tenth line has *August* for *August(i)* or *August(ales)*.

The other lines, beginning with the second, read:

Valerius Asiaticus II M. Silanus
K(alendis) Mart(iis) loc(o) Val(er)ii Vet(us) Antistius
K(alendis) Iul(iis) D. Laelius Balbus
K(alendis) Oct(oberibus) C. Terentius Tullius Geminus
Q. Coelius Gallus A. Badius Sext[us] IV viri
M. Plinius Gall(us) M. Oppius Val(erius) Aed(iles.)
Vipstanus Popl(icola) Messala Vips

The inscription therefore names the *consules ordinarii* of the year 46 A.D., D. Valerius Asiaticus and M. Junius Silanus; three *consules suffecti*, Antistius Vetus, D. Laelius Balbus and C. Terentius Tullius Geminus; then the municipal *quattuorviri*, Q. Coelius Gallus, A. Badius Sextus; and *aediles*, M. Plinius Gallus and M. Oppius Valerius.

Abundant testimonia from Seneca, Tacitus, Josephus, and Dio Cassius, as well as from inscriptions, indicate that Valerius Asiaticus and Junius Silanus were the consuls of the year 46 A.D. (Klein, *Fasti Cons.*, p. 33). We know also from Josephus, *Ant.* 19, 1, 20, and Dio, 59, 30, that Asiaticus was *consul suffectus* before 41 A.D., and perhaps in the reign of Tiberius. Dio 60, 27, Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.* 2, 26, 6, and Tacitus, *Ann.* 11, 1, bear witness to his second consulship in 46, which is again stated in the new *fasti* from Teano. Dio, 60, 27, declares that he gave up his consulship in the course of his year of office, and in the edict in bronze of Claudius, *de civitate Anaunorum*, this resignation from office is shown to have occurred before the Ides of March, as Q. Sulpicius is mentioned as the associate of Junius Silanus on that date. The Teano *fasti* declare that Antistius Vetus became *consul suffectus* in place of Valerius Asiaticus on the first of March.¹ We have, therefore, a change of consuls in fifteen days or half a month, whereas, with exceptions it is true, particularly in the reign of Tiberius, the tenure before Nero was of six months' duration at least.

¹The wretched character, career, and death of Asiaticus may be traced in the details gathered in *Prosopographia*, III, p. 352.

It is noteworthy that Q. Sulpicius Camerinus is not named in the Teano *fasti*. It is not likely that Vetus Antistius has been substituted for Sulpicius Camerinus, for when errors have been made in *fasti*, they have been due to the confounding of two similar names, as when C. Pompeius Graecina takes the place of C. Pomponius Graecinus, and C. Vibius Libo that of C. Vibius Rufus, in *Fasti Antiates*, *C.I.L.* I², p. 72; and when L. Pontius Flaccus, consul in 17 A.D., is given for L. Pomponius Flaccus, and M. Silius, consul in 19 A.D., for M. Silanus in the *fasti* of a *collegium* from Luna, *C.I.L.* I², p. 73.

In such documents we are entirely justified in expecting errors in the various names, as they were drawn up after the incumbency of the officials; in some instances after the lapse of many years. The order Vetus Antistius is not extraordinary when the praenomen is omitted; in fact it is the arrangement where greater familiarity is recognized. We should undoubtedly accept the authority of the Teano *fasti* and place Antistius Vetus among the *consules suffecti* of this year, 46 A.D. Valerius Asiaticus had resigned from the consulship, so that he might diminish the hostile feeling with which he was regarded, and this took place on March 1, instead of March 15, as hitherto believed. We cannot positively identify this Antistius Vetus. He may be C. Antistius Vetus, consul in 50 A.D., and this short consulship may then justify the mark of iteration, II, of *C.I.L.* XII, 2234, which has been commonly regarded as a misreading for *et*. He may be L. Antistius Vetus, *consul iterum* in 55 A.D. (*Prosopographia*, I, p. 89). We learn also for the first time that D. Laelius Balbus was *consul suffectus* in this year. If it is the Laelius Balbus mentioned in *Prosopographia*, II, p. 260, no. 28, he must have returned to imperial favor under Claudius, for Tacitus, *Ann.* 6,48 relates his *deportatio* in 37 A.D.

From the Teano *fasti* we also learn that the consulship of Junius Silanus and Terentius Tullius Geminus, as named in Marini, *Acti dei fratelli Arvali*, p. 72, was of the year 46. The *consules suffecti* who took office in October remained throughout the year, for the copy made by Marini, which is not given in *C.I.L.* VI, has *VII idus Decembr. M, Iunio Silano Terentio Tullio Gemino cos.* Huelsen, *loc. cit.*, calls attention to the interesting identification of Claranus, mentioned in the same inscription, with the friend of Seneca (*Epist.* 66, 1-4; *cf. Prosopogr.* I, p. 345), suggested by Borghesi and confirmed by establishing the date of the inscription given by Marini through the discovery of the Teano *fasti*.

The following is the inscription, which is not given in *C.I.L.* VI, but by Huelsen, whose reading SCVRI for SCYRI, DECEMBR for DECEMB and *m* for *M*, I have followed:

..... SACRVM
 ATTI . C . F . TER SCVRI
 VII . IDVS . DECEMBR
m IVNIO . SILANO
 .. TARENTIO . TVLLIO . GEMINO^{COS}
 E
 .. CLARI . AVI
 ET
 ... CLARANI . AVVNCVLI

In a paper read before the Archaeological Institute, brief mention of which appeared in the *A.J.A.* IX, 1905, I called attention to the bearing the non-appearance of the name of Vellaeus Tutor, consul, whom some assign to 46, might have upon the statement of Ulpian (*Digesta*, 16. 1, 2. 1) *et primo quidem temporibus divi Augusti, mox deinde Claudii, edictis eorum erat interdictum ne feminae pro viris suis intercederent; postea factum est senatus consultum . . . cuius . . . verba haec sunt: "Quod M. Silanus et Velleus Tutor consules verba fecerunt,"* etc. We have here the consuls M. Silanus and Vellaeus Tutor, also a statement that the *Senatus Consultum Velleianum* was passed in their consulship, and yet after Claudius. Borghesi (*Oeuvres* 5, 205) held that the consuls were L. Junius Silanus and C. Vellaeus Tutor of the year 27, thus implying a double error in Ulpian's statement. Others have held that the date Ulpian referred to was 46, when M. Silanus was consul and probably Vellaeus Tutor (Mommsen, *Hermes*, IV, 105, note 2). If we place great importance on the absence of the name Vellaeus Tutor, and are unwilling to add his name to the four *suffecti* of that year who are already known, we must accept Borghesi's theory as to 27 or continue to wait for a reference, in some newly discovered inscription, to two consuls M. Silanus and Vellaeus Tutor of a year subsequent to the reign of Claudius.

The expression *loco Valerii* in line 3 is more definite than is customary in the *fasti minores*, which generally leave us in doubt as to whose place the *consul suffectus* fills. Thus in *Fasti Ostienses* (*C.I.L.* XIV, 245) we are not informed whether in the year 92 L. Venuleius Apronianus succeeded Domitian or Q. Volusius Saturninus, and in *Fasti Antiates* we do not know whether in 12 A.D. Visellius Varro succeeded Germanicus or Fonteius. It is true that this information may be suggested through the relative position of the names, as in *Fasti Colotiani* (*C.I.L.* I², p. 64), where it is evident that M. Vinicius succeeded C. Sentius Saturninus. The *Fasti Capitolini*, however, recognize the few *consules suffecti* of republican days by adding to the name of the predecessor *in eius locum factus est* (*C.I.L.* I², p. 25). This is also true of the *fasti* of the days of Caesar, but in those of the days of Augustus indication of the assignment of the *suffecti* becomes rare. See, however, *Fasti Capitolini* of 6 A.D., where Nonius Asprenas is shown to be substitute consul for Arruntius and in 11 A.D. Cassius Longinus is the successor of Aemilius Lepidus; but we are entirely uncertain as to the consuls of 12 A.D. Therefore the Teano *fasti* have apparently returned to the more explicit form of republican days.

In line 8 we find *Vipstanus Poplicola Messala Vips . . .* The consuls of 48 A.D. were L. Vipstanus Poplicola Messalla and A. Vitellius, but it is unlikely that in this line we have the names of consuls, for no mention is made of the consuls of 47 A.D. Again the stone shows VIPS and not VITE as suggested by Huelsen. Furthermore the following line begins with the mark of iteration and *magistrat*, so that I am inclined to believe that the names of line 8 are those of municipal magistrates. We should expect VIPS to be the beginning of the second name, judging from the probable length of the line. It may stand for Vips(tanianus), a cognomen of Vipstanus Poplicola. For the Vipstani Poplicolae Messallae see *Prosopographia*, III, p. 445.

The Emperor Claudius established a *colonia* at Teanum Sidicinum which was termed (*C.I.L.* X, 4799) *Colonia Claudia Firma Teanum*. From the time of Claudius mention

is made of municipal officials, *IIIviri* (*C.I.L.* X, 4796), as here. It seems entirely reasonable to assign the inscription to the days of Claudius. The use of the *apices*, the *i longa*, and the general appearance of the letters indicate a date in the middle or at the close of the first century A.D. Huelsen (*loc. cit.*, p. 326) has expressed the opinion that the Teano *fasti* are simply the early part of the extensive municipal *fasti*, another piece of which, discovered in the eighteenth century at the Cathedral of Calvi (Cales), Mommsen assigns to 289 A.D. Though these belong to different centuries and differ to some extent in form, there is a marked resemblance in the enumeration, with unusual fulness, of the *consules suffecti* as well as of the *consules ordinarii*. See *C.I.L.* X, 4631.

INSCRIPTIONS IN THE MUSEO CAMPANO

1. Fragment of marble slab.

ILGRIN(

 MBIS·IVS·RE

 RATORIS·VRBANI QVAE

 ENS FILIO·TIB·CI

 VRATOR·COH·

 O I I A F D

2. On a small slab 0.17 by 0.20 m.

GELIS Q

 MNES VIR

 A—A A A

3. Fragment of a marble *cippus sepulchralis* in form of an *aedicula*, 0.27 by 0.68 m.

VIX·A·IIII·M·IX

 APLIATA FILIAE

vir(it) a(nnis) (quattuor) m(ensibus) (novem) [Am]pliata filiae.

4. On a long thick slab of marble 1.07 by 0.14 m. An elegiac couplet.

VIVE DEO DVM FATA SINVNT NAM CVRVA SENECTVS

 TE RAPIT ET DITIS IANVA NIGRA VOCAT

5. Fragment of a sepulchral inscription 1 by 0.25 m.

FAL

 VIR

 AE

 ND

6. Slab of marble 0.62 by 0.58 m. Fine letters.



FIGURE 39

C MARC I ♠ ATHIC
 MARCIAE ♠ CALLIS
 ET ♠ SIBI ♠ S\

7. A slab 0.32 by 0.93 m.

PHIC REQUIESCIT IN SOM
 NO PACIS S PROIECTA DEPO
 SIT A XVI KAL S OCTOBRI FL S
 EVTHARICO CILLICA CONS

Note s as a sign of punctuation.

Flavius Eutharicus Cillica Witheri f. was consul in the West, with *imperator Flavius Iustinus Augustus* in the East, in the year 519.

Cf. *Proiectus* in a Christian inscription of Sardinia (Carales), *C.I.L.* X, 7768.

8. Large fragment of a sepulchral *cippus*, 0.74 by 0.48 m. Found at S. Maria Capua Vetere by Domenico Papa.

P · BRITTIO · PRINCIPI
 FECIT BRITTIA CALLINI DELICIOM
 HIC VIXIT AN /// DI /// XV

Atti della Comm. 1894, p. 89. (I have corrected the errors of the transcript given in the *Atti*.)

9. A small slab of marble found at S. Maria Capua Vetere in 1894.

MEMORIAE
 Q · VRBANI · SECVNDI · QVI
 VIX · ANN · V · M · XI · D XXV
 NOSTILIVS · FRVCTVS · ET · VR
 BANIA · SECVNDA · PARENTES
 FILIO · DVLCISSIMO · FECERVNT

Atti della Comm. 1895, p. 25.

10. VMENII
 · ANN · XXXIII
 IA · DIONYSIA
 GI · BENEMERENTI

Atti della Comm. 1871, p. 23, has *instrumentis* (sic) *vixit annis XXXIII Clunia Dionysia coniugi benemerenti.*

11. A small slab of marble found at Capua.

AIC
 ERDOTI /
 DEVM · QVI · VIX
 XIII · M · II · D
 VVS · FORTVII
 ID

Atti della Comm. 1892, p. 22, reads: *L. Laio L. f. sacerdoti matris deum qui vixit annis LXIII mensibus II diebus Lains Fortunatus l. d. d. d.*

Note the *I* above the *M* which stands for *mensibus*.

12. *E.E.* VIII, 484.

There are now four fragments of this stone, which once formed the front of an altar of marble. Line 5 has certainly M·FABIO, the *I* falling in the fracture. Line 6 reads clearly M·NEP and not MNEI (sic), as given by Ihm.

13. *E.E.* VIII, 477.

The first line has RII with a mutilated A before the R. There is no E in line 6, but simply VRBIS. Line 7 has only VR REIP.

14. *E.E.* VIII, 486.

The letter enclosed in the C of SCPO is not distinctly an A and may with much probability be *l*.

15. *E.E.* VIII, 538.

The first line is ARISTONICEN, a genitive singular *Aristonicen(is)*, and not ARISTONI CEN, *i.e.* *Aristoni cent*.

There is no ligature at the end of the line.

16. *E.E.* VIII, 539.

The second line should read TERTIAE and not TERTIA F, according to Ihm.

17. *E.E.* VIII, 547.

OPSIA · ARAI
 FIDELIS TRI

The TRI may be for [*mat*]ri. I did not recognize I RI.

18. *E.E.* VIII, 552.

RVFA · VORENA · P · L · S · E

The letter before the E is an S and not a G, as Ihm reads it.

19. *E. E.* VIII, 553.

The first letter of line 1 is apparently an F, but is probably for S. Line 5 has plainly HIC OSA.

20. *E. E.* VIII, 556.

The mark in the letter C of ICHESIO is not a *punctum* and probably is of no significance.

21. *C. I. L.* X, 3777; *E. E.* VIII, p. 120.

This stone now forms the pilaster for the spring of an arch in the cortile of a house, Corso Campano, 177, Capua. It is on the left as one enters, and rests on its left end. The letters are deciphered with great difficulty, as the stone is now covered with lime and has experienced harsh treatment.

22. *C. I. L.* X, 3803.

The first line of this inscription reads plainly IN FRONTE P · C and not O · NERONE P · Q, as given by Mommsen. The reading was verified by my students.

23. *C. I. L.* X, 4440.

The last numeral on line 1 is LXXXX and not LXXX.

24. *C. I. L.* X, 4791. This inscription, found at Teano and read by Mommsen, disappeared later, so that he declares that in 1876 it was impossible for him to locate it. It is now in the Museo Campano. The second line reads VIRGINIAE, and not VIRGILIAE as in *C. I. L.* The A of *mAtēR* is also plainly seen.

25. *C. I. L.* X, 8227.

Line 1 should read HELVIA / E · C · L. The E is on the stone.

Line 2 should read MENOGÉNEAE.

26. *N. S.* 1893, p. 164.



FIGURE 40

Line 2 does not have Q, line 4 has FABIV, and the last line IDEM and not IIDEM.

27. Dessau, *Inscr. Sel.* 4085.

There is no trace of the O of the word SABAEQ.

28. A marble sarcophagus of large size. The inscription is in a medallion.



S. PRISCO

At the farmhouse of Crocefisso on the stone architrave of the porch.

H · M · S · S · H · N O N · S

AQUINO

On a large stone near the farmhouse to the left of Porta S. Lorenzo as one approaches it from the town.



FIGURE 41

Reported by Mr. C. Densmore Curtis, a member of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome, who visited Aquino in June, 1904.

Coactor argen[tarius] sevir iter(um) Augusta[lis] sibi et Albino am[ico et] Fortunatae ux[ori] optimae et fideliss[imae].

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