1 Epigraphic culture in the Bay of Naples

1.1 Introduction

The aim of the first part of this manual is to offer an overview of the ways in which Latin inscriptions were used in one particular region, namely the Bay of Naples in southern Italy. The Bay of Naples contained a variety of urban settlements, which differed in size, origin, and status, from Cumae in the north to Surrentum (Sorrento) in the south, via Misenum (Miseno), Baiae, Puteoli (Pozzuoli), Neapolis (Naples), Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Stabiae [Fig. 1.1]. In addition, the excavation of parts of the countryside, which was densely occupied by villas, also allows us to explore the rural context of inscriptions. There is no other region in the Roman empire that offers quite such a richly diverse assemblage of inscriptions, not least because of the eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79, which preserved significant quantities of types of writing that do not commonly survive archaeologically, such as wooden writing-tablets and notices painted upon walls. Furthermore, inscriptions did not cease with the eruption, but a vibrant epigraphic culture continued right down into late antiquity in towns not buried by Vesuvius. The wealth and prosperity of the region, along with its close ties to the city of Rome, promoted further by the construction of the via Domitiana in AD 95 (in thanks for which Domitian was celebrated at Puteoli as having moved the town closer to Rome),1 ensured that some of the basic prerequisites for prompting the setting up of inscriptions existed over many centuries.

The region enjoyed close economic, social, and cultural links with the city of Rome over a number of centuries from the late Republic onwards. Having developed a vibrant economic role linking Italy to the Greek East (notably Delos) in the second century BC, the major harbour town of Puteoli probably played host to the Alexandrian grain fleet until the late second century AD, and, after that, continued to supply Rome with vital resources such as the Puteolan sand (pulvis Puteolanus) essential for mixing pozzolana,

or hydraulic cement.\textsuperscript{2} The harbour remained fully operational throughout the fourth century AD, with the authorities at Rome showing interest in maintaining and investing in the city’s facilities, and, after Puteoli declined dramatically during the fifth century, Neapolis then took its place as the most important city in the region.\textsuperscript{3} Senatorial and imperial families regularly retreated from serious business at Rome to the pleasures of gastronomy and entertainment based in their luxurious villas along the bay (dubbed \textit{Cratera illum delicatum}, ‘the Bay of Luxury’, by Cicero\textsuperscript{4}) and on Capri, and the Bay maintained its reputation as a place for luxurious living for many centuries.\textsuperscript{5} As well as being synonymous with useless luxury, these villas also had productive possibilities through specializing in \textit{pastio villatica} (‘villa pasturing’) and fish-raising.\textsuperscript{6} Tourist attractions included the hot sulphur baths at Baiae and Greek games at Neapolis. Indeed, an epitaph in Greek upon a funerary \textit{stele} from Puteoli dating from the second half of


\textsuperscript{4} Cic. \textit{Att.} 2.8.2.


the third century AD reveals how Bettinianos from Caesarea had travelled throughout the East and to Rome in the service of athletes, as the secretary (grammateus) for some sort of athletic organization (zystos) (a post first attested in this inscription), but that he eventually succumbed to old age whilst at Puteoli, where he had hoped to benefit from the waters at Baiae.\(^7\)

Finally, from the Augustan period onwards, the imperial fleet patrolling the western Mediterranean and the coastline of Africa and Egypt was based at Misenum.\(^8\) This is not to imply, however, that the settlements along the Bay enjoyed uninterrupted development and prosperity. Quite apart from the impact of the eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79, which desolated the region,\(^9\) forcing survivors from Pompeii and Herculaneum to migrate to Neapolis,\(^10\) and breaking off communication around the bay for at least a generation until the Hadrianic period saw the rebuilding of the road, as commemorated by milestones,\(^11\) Stabiae had been destroyed as a municipal entity by Sulla,\(^12\) whilst Cumae had become by the late first century AD a byword for a sleepy backwater, attractive to those seeking to escape from the madness of the metropolis, like Juvenal’s imaginary friend Umbricius.\(^13\)

Before turning to the inscriptions themselves, we should start by observing that an overview of just Latin inscriptions around the Bay of Naples does not suffice to paint a panoramic picture of the Bay’s epigraphic culture as a whole, since non-Latin inscriptions were also prominent throughout its history. Given the presence of Greek colonies at Cyme (Cumae), Dicaearchia (Puteoli), and Parthenopeia (Naples), and the extensive economic and cultural contacts with the Greek East from the second century BC, it is unsurprising to find Greek inscriptions set up by private individuals scattered around the various settlements in the bay.\(^14\) Indeed, the use of Greek language and institutions remained an integral part of Neapolis’ distinctive identity as quasi Graecam urbem (‘as it were a Greek


\(^9\) Tac. Ann. 4.67.2.

\(^10\) ILS 9107, L3 (different reading from CIL III 14214, L6) for an individual relocated from Pompeii to Naples; regio Herculaneensis at Naples; J. A. Galante, ‘De Herculanesi Regione Neapolii, in Pompei e la regione sotterrata dal Vesuvio nell’anno LXXIX (1879: Naples) 105–12.


\(^12\) Plin. HN 3.70. 13 Juv. 3; cf. Stat. Silv. 4.3.65 for quieta Cyme.

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during the imperial period, probably until the late third century, and private use of Greek on funerary inscriptions continued there sporadically well into the sixth century, and perhaps beyond. Furthermore, the Italic dialect of Oscan was used for public inscriptions in Herculaneum and Pompeii before those towns were placed under direct Roman rule in the early first century BC, when, in the wake of the Social War and Sulla’s military campaigns in the region, Herculaneum became a municipium, and Pompeii a colonia, and consequently Latin became their official language. Somewhat earlier, in 180 BC, Cumae had requested permission from Rome to adopt Latin as its official language, probably in a desire to abandon Oscan (rather than Greek), given the discovery of a mosaic inscription in Oscan recording the dedication of the paving from a large temple in the town’s forum. This appears to have been the result of a perception at Cumae that Latin was by that time the language of prestige.

1.2 Inscriptions and civic life

The administration of Roman towns was essentially the task of the local town council (ordo), consisting of a variable number of councillors (decuriones). The council was in charge of a wide variety of activities, which could generate different types of epigraphic monuments. Municipal charters give a flavour of the council’s responsibilities in overseeing public finances, buildings, and roads; weights and measures; corn supply; local jurisdiction; elections of magistrates or adlections to the council; co-opting city patrons; religious

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15 Tac. Ann. 15.33.
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affairs; embassies.\textsuperscript{20} In addition, the epigraphy of the Bay of Naples itself gives insights into the activities of local councils in this region: monumental inscriptions refer to their regulation of public space and the ways in which they chose to spend public money. Furthermore, wax tablets from Herculanum offer a wider glimpse of the council’s involvement in personal judicial matters such as the granting of guardians and legitimizing an individual’s citizen status.\textsuperscript{21} The creation of monumental inscriptions was not generally required of local government: what survives epigraphically is not strictly related to mechanisms of bureaucracy, even though the inscriptions are often used to deepen our understanding of local government. Commemoration, not efficient administration, lies at the heart of epigraphic culture.

The basic form of decision-making consisted of the passing of a decree by the council. The chronological spread of inscribed decrees corresponds to the period when civic life was flourishing. By the fourth century, the subject-matter of municipal decrees appears to have become rather limited, dealing above all with city-patrons, and by the late sixth century they cease altogether.\textsuperscript{22} Inscribed \textit{municipal decrees} have been found at Cumae, Puteoli, Baiae, Neapolis, and Herculanum.\textsuperscript{23} These reveal how the

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Cumae: \textit{CIL} X 3697, \textit{AÉpigr} (1927) 158.
\item Baiae: \textit{CIL} X 3688 = \textit{ILS} 4175.
\item Herculanum: \textit{CIL} X 1453 = \textit{ILS} 5616; \textit{AÉpigr} (1976) 144.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
councils imitated the senate at Rome in procedure, language, and grammatical structure. Indeed, the local council was sometimes called *senatus* and its decurions *conscripti*. Their imitations in procedure, language, and grammatical structure. Indeed, the local council was sometimes called *senatus* and its decurions *conscripti*. Comparison of municipal and senatorial decrees shows that they share the same format. They start with a *praescriptio* (*prescript*), which gives the name of the convener of the meeting, date, meeting-place, and list of witnesses. The second section summarizes the issue up for discussion, reporting the words with which the *relator* (*proposer of the motion*) brought the proposal before the council, often in indirect speech, introduced by the clause *quod verba fecit* (*whereas X said*). This formula becomes more elaborate from the Augustan period, in the form *quid de ea re fieri placeret, de ea re ita censuerunt* (*with regard to what it might please the council to be done with regard to this matter, concerning this matter the council has decided as follows*). In this way, the section ends by recording what decision was made. The actual decree follows next, and the whole text ends with a seal of approval, *censuere* (*they decided*). The fact that the whole procedure is regarded as standard is reflected by the ubiquitous use of abbreviations to describe the various stages in the passing of the decree. This uniformity was probably imposed by Rome by means of the instructions which it issued through municipal charters. The charter for the Flavian *municipium* of Irni in Spain, for example, contains clauses regulating the conduct of council meetings. Like senatorial decrees, municipal decrees are not verbatim records of a specific meeting, but are documents drafted by a committee some time after the meeting has been held.

1 Honours for Gavia Marciana, Puteoli, AD 187: Fig. 1.2

*CIL* X 1784 = *ILS* 6334


24 This tendency is more marked in Latium and northern Campania, but the council at Cumae is referred to as *senatus* in the late Republic: *CIL* X 4651 = *ILLRP* 576 (and possibly still in AD 251 – *CIL* X 3699 (see below, n.74), with J. P. Waltzing, *Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles chez les Romains* (1895–1900: Peeters: Louvain) III, 444), and that at Puteoli in the imperial period: *CIL* X 1788. Camodeca, ‘L’attività dell’ordo decurionum’ (above, n.21) 178–9.

25 Sherk, *Municipal Decrees* (above, n.22) ch. 3.

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Fig. 1.2 Honours for Gavia Marciana, Puteoli – CIL X 1784 (photo: A. E. Cooley)

von Ehrengräbern in Rom und den Westprovinzen (1993: F. Steiner: Stuttgart)
Photographs, EDH: www.rzuser.uni-heidelberg.de/~f56/fotos/F009006.JPG +
www.rzuser.uni-heidelberg.de/~f56/fotos/F013441.JPG

Gaviae M(arci) fil(iae) / Marcianae / honestae et incomparabilis sectae
matron(ae), Gavi / Puteolani decurion(is) omni(us) / honorib(us) functi
fil(iae), Curti Cris(pini) splendidi equitis Roma(ni) / omni(us) honorib(us)
functi uxor(i), Gavi Iusti splendidi equ(it(is) Roma(ni) / sorori, huic cum ob
eximium pul(dorem et admirabilem cas[um]) in matura(!) et acerba
morte / interceptae res p(ublica) funus public(um) / item sollem et tres
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statuas decr (evit). \[\text{Decree, l.10}\] P uteolani – stone gives I instead of P; l.10 r m f – possibly by mistake, in place of b m f l.11 honor\[\text{On front}\] I s – stone gives I instead of E; l.13 \{ei\} – carved in error

[Decree, l.10 \[\text{On front}\] ‘To Gavia Marciana, daughter of Marcus, honourable matron of matchless behaviour; daughter of Gavius Puteolanus, councillor, who has held all offices; wife of Curtius Crispinus, illustrious Roman equestrian, who has held all offices; sister of Gavius Iustus, illustrious Roman equestrian; carried off by a premature and bitter death, the town decreed to her because of her exceptional modesty and admirable purity a public funeral as well as nard and three statues; her father Marcus Gavius Puteolanus, satisfied with the honour of a decree, set (this statue) up at his own expense. Place granted by decree of the councillors.’

[On side] ‘In the consulship of Lucius Bruttius Crispinus and Lucius Roscius Aelianus, 28th October, in the temple of the deified Pius, present at the drafting were Caep(ius?) Proculus, Cossutius Rufinus, Claudius Priscus, Calpurnius Pistus; the distinguished Annius Proculus made a request concerning the decreeing of a public funeral for the well-deserving Gavia Marciana, daughter of Marcus, as well as ten pounds of nard and about the granting of three places which they might choose in which statues of
the above-named Marciana might be set up in accordance with the request of the above-named Proculus; whereas Publius Manlius Egnatius Laurinus, chief magistrate, said, with regard to what it might please the council to be done with regard to this matter, concerning this matter the council has decided as follows: that indeed as individuals and all together they desired, as a means of our honouring Curtius Crispinus, our magistrate, a man of the highest rank, and also his father-in-law Gavius Puteolanus, who is also distinguished, to give honours to Gavia Marciana, of most reverent memory, whilst she was alive rather than to make a rush towards a decree of this kind, so that we might seek with regard to the consolation of the living for that reason what also relates to honouring the memory of the girl herself: it pleases this council that a public funeral be decreed to her and ten pounds of nard to be sent and for it to be granted according to the request of the distinguished Annius, that places which they might choose for setting up three statues may duly follow from our unanimity.'

The decree is inscribed upon a large statue base, which presents an honorific inscription on the front face, and the decree inscribed on its side. The base presumably bore originally one of the three statues decreed by the council, set up by Marciana’s father. The other two were perhaps paid for by her husband and brother, who are also mentioned here. Gavia Marciana, a member of one of Puteoli’s leading families (her husband and brother both being of equestrian rank), is praised for her virtues, notably her chastity. This is an uncommon theme in honorific inscriptions set up for women in Italy (appearing in only eight out of seventy-two examples listed in Forbis’ catalogue): more usually women are praised for their financial generosity, in terms that they share in common with men.27 The description of Gavia Marciana, however, offers an explanation of this choice of wording. Although she is described as a matrona in the honorific inscription, the decree also laments her premature death, calling her femina and puella, giving an impression of her youthfulness; perhaps, therefore, she had not lived long enough to act as civic benefactor. The decree is similar in tone and content to consolatory decrees passed by the council at Neapolis, several of which were subsequently inscribed upon the deceased’s tomb (see n.23, above), and this similarity raises the further possibility that this unusual choice of wording was considered suitable within the context of a consolatory decree. This type of decree was well represented in this region, developing a localized character at Neapolis and Puteoli, where Hellenistic precedents were adapted within Roman institutional procedures, perhaps responding to the rhetorical practice of composing public speeches of consolation.28

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28 Leiwo, Neapolitana (above, n.16) 135–41, 168.
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Decrees lurk in the background of many inscribed monuments, such as statue bases and public buildings set up *decreto decurionum* (‘by decree of the councillors’) or tombs mentioning the allocation of public funds for a funeral. At Pompeii, well over sixty inscriptions refer directly or indirectly to decrees, and yet not a single inscribed decree has been found in that town.²⁹ This is because the inscribing of decrees was not a standard procedure for the council:³⁰ a decree had simply to be read out at a council meeting and then deposited in the public archives within ten days, as stated in the *lex Irnitana*:  

\[
\text{rubrica. de decurionum decretis rectandis et in tabulas municipii referendis. quod decurionum conscriptorum decretum in eo municipio faciat, erit, it is, qui fecerit, collegae eius quive eorum alterius utrius vice fungitur palam in decurionibus conscriptis et die, quo factum erit, recitato. si eo die recitatum non erit, cum proxime de/curiones conscriptive habebuntur, priusquam de ulla re agatur, / recitato, aut si is, quo referente it decretum factum erit, desierit esse duumvir, ita tum tabulas com/munes municipii eius municipii, [ita ut] tum recitatum atprobatum/que erit, retorto in diebus X proximis ('Rubric. Concerning the reading out of decrees of the decuriones and their placing in the archives of the municipium. Any decree of the decuriones or conscripti which has been passed in that municipium under this statute, the person who passed it or his colleague or whichever of them is acting on behalf of the other is to read it out in the presence of the decuriones or conscripti on the day on which it was passed. If it is not read out on that day, he is to read it out on the next day on which a meeting of the decuriones or conscripti is held before any other matter is dealt with; or if the person on whose proposal the decree was passed has ceased to be duumvir the person who is then duumvir is then to read it out. And he is then to place it in the common records of the municipes of that municipium, as it has been read out and approved, within the next ten days.')³¹
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Decrees were selected for being inscribed only if it was in the interests of another party to have them inscribed and displayed in public. Accordingly,

²⁹ Pompeian inscriptions alluding to decrees implicitly and explicitly: *CIL X* 787, 819, 829, 844, 853–7, 858, 938, 8148 (building-work); *CIL X* 789–92, 797, 799, 814, 837, 849, 932, 960, 1024, *Æpigr* (1994) 398 (statue); *CIL X* 838, 1026, 1030 (bisellium); *CIL X* 793 (measuring table); *CIL X* 800 (altar); *CIL X* 817 (basin); *CIL X* 846 (adlection to council); *CIL X* 827–8, 885–6, 888, 890–1, 895–6, 901, 907–8, 910, 914, 917, 928 (cult activities); *CIL X* 994–5, 996–8, 1019, 1024, 1036, 1065, 1074a–b, *EphEp VIII* 318, 330, *NSc* (1910) 405, *Æpigr* (1911) 71, (1913) 70–1, A. De Franciscis, ‘Sepolcro di M. Obellius Firmus’, *CronPomp* 2 (1976) 246–8; *Æpigr* (1994) 398 (funerary); *CIL X* 952, *EphEp VIII* 315, 333 (unclear category).

³⁰ Camodeca, ‘Un nuovo decreto decurionale puteolano’ (above, n.23) 3.