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DISSERTATIONES HUMANARUM LITTERARUM 10

PRIVATE DOMINI IN ROMAN
BRICK STAMPS OF THE EMPIRE

A Historical and Prosopographical
Study of Landowners
in the District of Rome

by
PÄIVI SETÄLÄ

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Helsinki, 1st April 1977

Päivi Setälä

CONTENTS

I	INTRODUCTION	7
	1. Brick stamps as sources of history	7
	2. The persons in brick stamps: <i>dominus</i> and <i>officinatus</i>	13
	3. Land-ownership during the Empire	17
	4. The task	20
II	THE PROSOPOGRAPHIES OF <i>DOMINI</i>	24
	1. Introduction to prosopographies	24
	- The study of prosopography	24
	- My own prosopographical study of <i>domini</i>	26
	2. Persons in first century brick stamps	29
	- Information from stamps	29
	- Prosopographies	31
	- Evaluations	42
	3. <i>Domini</i> in brick stamps of the second and early third centuries	43
III	<i>DOMINUS</i> GROUP	210
	1. Results from brick stamp information	210
	2. Results from prosopographies	216
	- <i>Gentes</i> of <i>domini</i>	216
	- <i>Cursus honorum</i> of <i>domini</i>	225
IV	TRANSFERENCE OF LANDED PROPERTY	230
V	CONCLUSIONS	242

Appendix No. 1	Remarks on <i>domini</i> and other persons from brick stamps of the first century	245
Appendix No. 2	<i>Domini</i> of the second and early third centuries in chronological order	250
Appendix No. 3	Private <i>domini</i> of the <i>figlinae</i> mentioned by name	259
Appendix No. 4	Appendices connected with results from brick stamp data	269
	a. <i>Domini</i> and <i>officinatores</i>	269
	b. Consular dating	272
	c. Was <i>dominus</i> a landowner only, or was he also a brick producer?	273
Appendix No. 5	Remarks on persons who are not expressed as owners of <i>figlinae</i> and <i>praedia</i>	279
Appendix No. 6	Stemma No. 1 Domitii and Annii	284
	Stemma No. 2 Trajan and Hadrian	285
	Stemma No. 3 Septimius Severus	286
BIBLIOGRAPHY AND ABBREVIATIONS		287
INDEXES		297
	Index of Persons	297
	Index of Stemmas	316

I INTRODUCTION

1. Brick stamps as sources of history

Serving as my material are the brick stamps of Rome and its surroundings which are published in *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (CIL) XV 1 and its Supplement. The former was published by H. Dressel in 1891 and the latter¹, with the Indexes of both works, by H. Bloch in 1948. These and other publications and material dealing with brick stamps are explained in detail by Steinby and Helen.¹

My study forms part of the work of Professor Jaakko Suolahti's team which examined brick stamps at Ostia. Consequently, it is closely connected with the work of the whole group. In earlier published research by Helen and Steinby the division of work is explained in detail. These two authors have also analyzed earlier brick stamp study.²

¹ Helen, *Organization of Roman Brick Production in the First and Second Centuries AD. An Interpretation of Roman Brick Stamps, Study Material*, 7-9 (further Helen). Steinby, *La cronologia delle figlinae doliari urbane dalla fine dell'età repubblicana fino all'inizio del III sec.*, II materiale, 11-14 (further Steinby).

My material deals with all brick stamps of the Roman district except those from the time of Diocletian and later. I have used the so-called suburban stamps of Dressel when I considered them important from the standpoint of brick stamps from the Roman district, and if reference is made in them to persons known also from other sources. I have mentioned suburbanism in all cases. The division into urban and suburban stamps is irrational, cf. Steinby, *Ziegelstempel von Rom und Umgebung*, RE S. XV. Information on stamps from outside the Roman region is quite different in type and far scantier. To investigate the group corresponding to *domini* in them is especially difficult. Henceforth I refer to CIL XV 1 by the number alone, and to Bloch's Supplement by the letter S. My work does not record decorative elements or ligatures of stamps.

² Helen, 7-13, Steinby, 11-24. My study refers constantly to these two authors, who are members of Prof. Suolahti's team. Analysis of the relations of persons mentioned in brick stamps is based on Helen's study; my starting-point is his view in a slightly milder form, as will be seen. Similarly, his study has greatly clarified the meaning of words used in brick stamps. On Steinby's studies I rely specifically for adjusted dating and

The brick stamps of the Empire¹ are generally divided chronologically into three groups: first century, second century and Diocletian. All these groups differ in their information. I have taken as a fourth group the scarce brick stamps of the late second and early third centuries. The stamps best explain how the text has developed.

I century	152b	L VALERI SEVERI	
	S.81	DE FIGLINIS MARCIANIS ST MARCI RABBAEI <i>de figlinis Marcianis, (opus) St. Marci Rabbaei</i>	
	666	VICCIANA DE FIGLINIS SPVRILIAE FLORI	
	1136	L FAENI RVFI PR PR <i>L Faeni Rufi pr(aefecti) pr(aetorio)</i>	
	S.258	EX FIG CORNELI PRISCI	
II century (98-180)	S.28	EX FIG ARRIAE FADILLAE CAEPION T R P <i>ex figlinis Arriae Fadillae Caepionianis, T. Rausi Pamphili</i>	
	S.32	EX PR ARR FAD CEP PROCLI PAETINO ET APRONIAN COS	a.123
II and III centuries (180-250)	S.105	OPVS DOL EX FIG PROPET PRAED OR TES PAVL NEG SAEN VICTOR <i>opus doliare ex figlinis Propetianis, praedis Ortesi Paulini, negotiatore Saenio Victore</i>	
	526	OPVS DOL IVLI THEODOTI EQ R FIG SAL EX P FL TITIANI C V <i>opus doliare Iuli Theodoti equitis Romani, figlinarum Salaresium, ex praedis Flavi Titiani clarissimi viri</i>	

figlinae chronology. The reason why I refer to Steinby and not to Bloch when those aspects are concerned is merely to avoid double references. Like all researchers of brick stamps, I feel deeply indebted to the pioneering work of Prof. Bloch. - In the general commentary of the team appears Kuusanmäki's study of Imperial *domini*, and this aspect has been omitted from my work as a result. This study is not yet printed. (Acta IRF)

¹ Republican stamps are rare, cf. Steinby's already mentioned studies.

Diocletian stamps¹ 1643b R S P
OF TER
S III

*rei summae privatae; officina Terentiana
statio tertia*

The oldest type of ceramic stamp is simply a person's name. In brick stamps this person is interpreted as either the brick maker or the director of the brick production process. The basic feature of first century stamps is that they bore one name.

In the first century appears the typical word *figlinae*, which has been interpreted to mean either a brick production establishment or a clay district from which the brick originates. The word *figlinae* at that time is very rarely linked to the name of a person, so that the *dominus*=owner of *figlinae* is not usually mentioned. Barely 20% of the material is from the first century.

Second century additions to information on stamps are the use of two names, the word *praedia*, consular date and the expression *opus doliare*.² Presence of two names (names of consuls are disregarded) signifies that two groups of persons can be distinguished in the brick stamps for which the names *dominus* and *officinator* have traditionally been used (cf. Chapter I.2.). They are the "role names" of persons mentioned in brick stamps.

Praedia in brick stamps signifies land ownership.³ It is evident that the words *figlinae* and *praedia* were used interchangeably.⁴

957 EX F CVSINI MESSALINI
AP ET PAE COS a. 123

*ex figlinis Cusini Messalini;
Aproniano et Paetino consulibus*

958 EX PR CVSINI MESSALLIN

556 EX FIGLINIS DOM DOM

557 EX PR D D

ex praedis Domitiae Domitiani

¹ On those of Diocletian's time and later Prof. Suolahti's study (Acta IRF) will appear.

² A special study (Acta IRF) of brick stamp terms is also under preparation by Lahtinen.

³ Helen, 38. Helen elucidates the terms *praedium*-*praedia*.

⁴ Helen, 58-62, in which there are more examples.

Helen's interpretation of brick stamps has shown more clearly that when we deal with owners of *praedia* and *figlinae* (=domini) we are in fact dealing with the history of land-ownership in the region of Rome.

A third new component, consular date is rare before the year 120. Consular dating for 123 is found in some 240 stamps and for other years as follows: 125 18 times, 126 20, 127 12, 128 6, 129 4, 130 3, 131 4, 132 3, 133 5, 134 43. Thereafter only a few stamps are dated yearly, the last in 164.¹

Among the results of Helen's interpretation of brick stamps, the most important from the standpoint of my own research are the following: "*Figlinae* is a clay district, not a brickworks. *Ex figlinis M* (e.g. *ex figlinis Marcianis*) expresses the place of brick manufacture (and is, initially at least, a form of quality mark), and *ex figlinis huius* (e.g. *ex figlinis Aburni Caediciani*) expresses the owner of *figlinae* (*dominus*); the only purpose of the latter is to express ownership."²

With reference to *domini*, arguments on the semantics of the word *figlinae* are less important than the conclusions that the new interpretation enables us to draw regarding the position of the *dominus* class in the organization of brick production.

Similarly, "*ex praedis huius* cannot mean other than (the brick originates) from the land of such and such a person." Again, the words "*figlinae* and *praedia* are used as equivalents, without difference of meaning, when the owner of the *figlinae* (*dominus*) is conveyed."³ The above means therefore that the persons (=domini) indicated by *ex praedis huius* and *ex figlinis huius* must be regarded as land-owners. They might of course own both land and brickworks.

Besides their stereotyped character brick stamps have a second feature distinguishing them from other epigraphic material: this is the fact that we may consider ourselves acquainted with almost entirely the same material as was known to the ancient world. In

¹ Steinby, licenciate thesis, 36. On dating see further Steinby, 16-22, Helen, 10-11.

² Helen, 55, 57.

³ Helen, 57.

our material at Ostia, for instance (9000 stamped bricks, 1400 different stamps) not a single new *dominus* was discovered. Several new names are encountered in our material.¹ This completeness, which is rarely found in material for the study of antiquity, gives point to research. To map out the *dominus* group is then justifiable, and in this aspect the study material of stamps is far better suited to statistical treatment than the material of antiquity in general.

The mapping out of the *dominus* group is obstructed rather by the questions: "Did all producers stamp their bricks? How large a proportion of bricks were stamped? If not all producers stamped their bricks, what was the character of producers who did so?" - to which the text of brick stamps provides no answer. This is noted by Helen, who continues: "for this reason conclusions reached on the evidence of brick stamps must be treated with reserve."²

An advantage of brick stamps over other inscription material lies in the large number of women that they mention. Women are otherwise poorly documented in Roman society. In brick stamps they are perhaps more widely documented - especially women of the nobility - than in other sources.

For the higher social orders of the Empire, which most *domini*

¹ Cf. Steinby, Index, 129-131. The question of the categories: new, variant, complement, correction - is a little problematical in this connection. I shall follow the principle that a stamp is new only if a previously unknown person is mentioned in it. My viewpoint is in fact prosopographical and socio-historical. In an edition of brick stamps this would not be possible: according to Bloch, for instance, every 20th brick found in excavations is "new". Gaps in the brick stamp series of *figlinae* are probably explainable by the fact that a clay district was not mentioned by name, a *figlinae* was not worked constantly and, above all, that bricks were not in continuous use.

² Helen, 13. The only exception is the year 123, when all *domini* and *officinatores* evidently used dated stamps, cf. Appendix 2 and 4b.

represent, the most important category of inscriptions is that which records careers. This is why a career is often known to us when e.g. family relations are not. My view is that brick stamps supply data of first-rate importance on the connections and alliances of *gentes*. They also enable us to trace many generations of landowners. This is difficult from other source material. Information from brick stamps differs strikingly from other trademark stamps, above all in the variety of the text. New interpretation of *amphora* stamps, among others, has stressed the high social status of persons mentioned in stamps.¹ But the number of such persons is small compared with those appearing in brick stamps.

Students of *amphora* stamps have also asserted that *figlinae* should be interpreted more widely than fabrication with clay: "Perhaps it also signified a farm which produced wine and oil which were stored and transported in *amphorae*."² It has been explained that persons of senatorial rank took part in the sale of products. The interpretation of brick stamps would imply that these persons too are mentioned in stamps only as owners of lands where olive groves and vineyards were located, not as producer-merchants. Students of *amphora* stamps present the view that the Monte Testaccio source material includes a substantial number of private farms and the names of their owners.³ The linking of these names with *figlinae* and *praediae* appearing in brick stamps is worth special study. The *amphora* was a storage and transport vessel, whereas the brick was a commodity of trade in itself. Comparisons must therefore be made with caution. Comparative material for brick stamps is not to be found in other categories of inscription owing to the dissimilarity of the text information.

¹ Callender, *Roman Amphorae*, 47; Degraasi, *L'esportazione di olio e olive nell'et  romana*; Zevi, *Review of Callender's book*, JRS 1967.

² Callender, *Roman Amphorae*, 61-62.

³ Broughton, *Oil-producing Estates in Southern Spain*, *Vestigia* 17, 475-476.

In a binominal stamp *dominus* is simply defined as the expressed owner of *praedia* or *figlinae*, while the second person is *officinator*. In a one-name stamp a person mentioned as owner of *praedia* or *figlinae* is *dominus*.

A problematical feature is the example of L. Bellicius Sollers, who appears in bricks as *dominus* in the formal definition, and also as follows:

S. 241 L VELICI SOLLEA
Acta IRF

In the stamp, therefore, he does not appear as *dominus* or *officinator*. "So the name of a person belonging to the group '*domini*' can occur in a stamp in which it is not in the position of *dominus*, and the name of a person belonging to the group '*officinatores*' can occur in a stamp in which it is not in the position of *officinator*."¹

Interpretation is also made difficult by the following type of stamp.

151 EX FIG DOM
 L VALERI SEVERI

ex figlinis Domitianis, (opus) L. Valeri Severi

L. Valerius Severus does not conform to the definition of *dominus*, or to the principle that *officinator* can be identified only from a binominal stamp; he thus belongs to a third category of persons whom we do not know whether to designate as *dominus* or *officinator*.²

Helen criticizes the notions of Dressel and Bloch regarding *dominus* and *officinator*: "Dressel places in the *domini* group all persons mentioned in the stamps for whom he perceives some indication of high social rank." Helen stresses that group-categories must be established on the basis of the brick stamps themselves, and not from social data that we know from other sources. Helen continues: "Confusion between stamps and the reality they reflect leads to a vicious circle. We cannot examine the social composi-

¹ Helen, 89-96.

² We know only one person who appears with fair certainty as both *dominus* and *officinator*, namely Vismatius Successus (cf. s.v.)

tion of the *domini* and *officinatores* groups if we have used the social status of the persons concerned as a criterion for composing these groups." Helen's conclusion: *dominus* as mentioned as an owner of land, which is the meaning of *ex figlinis huius* and also *ex praedis huius*. *Officinator* is closer to the actual making of bricks.¹

As a starting point I take the previously stated formal definition: *dominus* (landowner) is expressed with complete certainty only in the phrases *ex praediis huius* and *ex figlinis huius*. A formal definition of *dominus* does not, of course, exclude the possibility that the so-called third category may also contain persons belonging to the *dominus* group.

e.g. 887 EX FL BELlici SOLLERTI
 888 DE PRAEDIS L B S
 S.241 L VELICI SOLLEA
 Acta IRF

From the standpoint of my own set of problems, which are concerned with tracing the body of *domini* as fully as possible, it is fruitful and appropriate to deal also with the third category, whose members may be either *domini* or *officinatores*. Stamps do not tell that. Throughout my study, however, I shall keep the following three categories separate: (1) certainly *domini*, (2) certainly *officinatores*, (3) uncertain whether members are *domini* or *officinatores*. The last-mentioned category includes persons mentioned alone in stamps but unknown as owners of *praedia* or *figlinae* (cf. Appendix No. 5).

I shall place one group of persons in a category of their own, which I call "potential *domini*". Formally it can be aligned with Category 3, from which it differs, however, in the inclusion of its "members" in the upper ranks of Roman society. Their nomenclatures are so characteristic that identities can be taken as fairly certain. I emphasize that they must be regarded as landowners. The group of potential *domini* include e.g. the following, who are not mentioned as owners of *figlinae* and *praedia*.

¹ Helen, 89-99, in which he presents detailed arguments for his results.

331 C BRVTTI PRAESENT
MED
2166 .../CORNELI PALM/...¹
S.228 APPI
BRA
112 ARRVTIAE CAMILLAE
CAMILLI F CAMILLA
913 Q CANVSI PRAENESTINI
S.438 L PVPLILI CELSVS
Acta IRF ITER COS
843 Q ARTIC PAETI TERTI S F

I would stress, however, that examination from brick stamps themselves is the only correct method: to draw conclusions from social history and land-ownership conditions in *ex silentio* cases is a dangerous method of historical study.

Changes in the information supplied by brick stamps have been the subject of deliberation. The following answers are offered to the question of why it becomes necessary to mark the name of the landowner (= *dominus*) in the second century. The supposition has been that it is linked with regulations concerning *dominus* and *officinator*. In the second century the most common form of agreement for land-renting was *locatio-conductio*. The expression of *dominus* may be connected with the conclusion of this agreement. An Imperial decree relating in detail to the content of stamps is an alternative explanation. No sources survive which might clarify the changes in brick stamp texts, and stamps cannot alone decide the question.

Attempts have also been made to explain why the expression of *dominus* is so changeable and varied in form. The same *dominus* can appear in the same clay district at the same time with different expressions. This has been willingly seen as an indication that stamps were composed independently by the actual brick producers, not on a centralized basis by a representative of the landowner.²

¹ *Dominus* is regarded as potential because the stamp is fragmentary.

² Cf. Helen and Kuusanmäki.

3. Land - ownership during the Empire

"*sum quidem prope totus in praediis...*"

(Pliny, Ep. 3,19,18)

My problem is to decide the extent to which we can regard brick stamp data as a source of information on land-ownership in the surroundings of Rome.

Brick stamps announce *domini* as the owners of *figlinae* and *praedia*. We know nothing of the land acreages concerned, not at least from brick stamps and very little from other sources. The letters of the younger Pliny are the best source on second century land-ownership. Cato, Columella and Varro can also be used. Almost the only references to the size of farms are preserved by the *alimenta* lists in the time of Trajan for Veleia and Beneventum, neither of which, of course, describe the situation in the surroundings of Rome.

Frank gives the following picture of the size of landed property: although on the one hand we have information on the survival of small-scale ownership in some parts of Italy, it is too sporadic to supply a general impression. In Frank's view it cannot be substantiated that colonization, settlement of veterans and confiscations retarded the formation of large properties. On the other hand he observes that the numerous references to large-scale land-ownership in the works of moralists and satirists have little true value as a means of determining the size of landed properties.¹ Even the data given by the younger Pliny, in Frank's opinion, are impressive but offer an uncertain basis for generalization.

Finley, however, states the position as follows: the trend in land-ownership was a steady rise in the size of properties. In the

¹ Frank, Survey V, 168-175. Similarly Duncan-Jones (The Economy of the Roman Empire) and others note that the elder Pliny's rhetorical utterance "*latifundia perdidere Italiam*" does not truly reflect the economic aspect.

early Empire land-ownership ranged widely from the peasant to the owners of great estates. Finley also stresses that the typical great landowner was an absentee landlord.¹

We know the finances of one senator only, the younger Pliny. From the standpoint of my subject the core of this information is the statement "*sum quidem prope totus in praediis...*" (Ep. 3,19, 18) and the knowledge that Pliny took an active part in the care of his estates, though absent.²

Pliny himself is a typical example of an aristocrat who performed his main work in the Imperial administration and added to his inherited property through the position he achieved. These officials considered it best to invest in Italian land, partly because the investment was a safe one, partly for patriotic reasons, and also because the care of estates demanded little personal attention. Ford takes the view that the basic form of agricultural organization was the large farm, in whose conduct a change was made from slave employment to a system of tenancy. The letters of Pliny also indicate that the value of land decreased, but we do not know whether this continued (Ep. 3,19; 6,19).³

The time of Trajan was a period of change in agriculture, and the state, that is to say the Emperor, introduced cheap loans and farms for veterans. The ruler ordered that those aiming at a senatorial career must invest a third of their property in Italian land; this raised prices because of the struggle for land between aspirant senators (Pliny, Ep. 6,19).

The earlier economic and social history of Rome has drawn attention to the fact that the *dominus* class of brick stamps contained many from the upper social classes. On the other hand we know that as a rule senators did not appear as enterprisers. This is explained by the fact that the brick industry was regarded as part of agriculture, which was an appropriate senator's livelihood. The frequent appearance of the upper orders is explained by

¹ Finley, *The Ancient Economy*, 119-122.

² *Ibid.*

³ Ford, *Helikon* 5, 1965, 381-389. Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire*, ff.

Helen's interpretation: they were landowners in brick stamps.¹

The occurrence of senators in brick stamps has been explained as follows: from the time of Vespasian the senate acquired an evergrowing number of its members from all over Italy and the provinces, and these members were not burdened by a prohibition from "industrial activity". This explanation becomes unnecessary when we speak of *domini* as landowners. The appearance of these new senators as landowners is rather to be connected with Trajan's decree for the investment of property in Italian land.

Scholars conclude from Pliny's letters that widespread changes occurred in the land-ownership of the Roman district. This has been linked with the improvement of agrarian conditions in Italy which started in the time of Nerva.²

Sirago in his work "L'Italia agraria sotto Traiano" also reaches the following conclusion: "The foremost landowning class of Italy has changed, replaced in the time of Trajan by a new class from the north."³

My problem is to disentangle proprietary relationships regarding land in the surroundings of Rome, in so far as they are revealed by brick stamps. The district for brick production provides clay suitable for bricks and an economic distance for transport. Our study team decided on the following locality: an area between the Sabine Hills and the sea, stretching north to Horta and the river Nera, and south to Antium and Praeneste. Geological studies have made clear that clay districts were concentrated along the Tiber and its tributaries. This area is narrow, but it extends to the middle course of the Tiber. There are small projections of it between Rome and the Alban Hills and elsewhere. The conclusions

¹ During the 1970s, however, the question of senators' finances and participation in productive concerns has been raised once again. It may well be asked whether we have not been obsessed with the notion that the ancient aristocracy was exclusively a land-owning elite. Prof. Ruggini's studies of the late Empire have shown, for instance, that landowners of senatorial rank had commercial interests in addition. The matter was brought up by Prof. Ruggini at an epigraphic conference in Munich, 1972.

² Bloch, Bolli laterizi, 338.

³ Sirago, 304-307.

reached by Huotari transfer the focal area of brick production northward: it need not be taken for granted that we are always concerned with the nearest surroundings of Rome.¹ The absence of sources such as land assessment records makes it difficult to determine, on the basis of *domini*, where landed property was located.

The question remaining to be answered is whether we can, by tracing out the body of *domini*, obtain a well-focused picture of how land-ownership developed in the surroundings of Rome. We cannot estimate the proportion held by owners of clay districts, but some indications are available. Because our knowledge of the development and character of landed property, as stated above, are contradictory and inadequate, I shall test the conception of landed property with brick stamp data. - The investment of wealth in the land was the safest and the most respected course, and probably land tenancy, as also the utilization of land by productive means, were profitable.

. T h e t a s k

My starting-point is that in the prosopographies (e.g. PIR, RE) the statement "x appears in brick stamps" is regarded as sufficient. In my view it is not so. Also, wrong conclusions have been drawn from brick stamp data: "L. Bellicius Sollers from 119 operated brickworks."² This cannot be said without more ado, because the *dominus* of brick stamps is expressed primarily as a landowner. Thus the information obtainable from brick stamps has not been adequately utilized in biographies. Scholars have not divided the two groups, *domini* and *officinatores*, to a sufficient extent.

¹ Huotari, Production units of the brick industry and their location in the Roman Empire (Acta IRF). This study is not yet printed. The results will be extremely important e.g. for their uniqueness.

² Bowersock, ZPE 5, 1970, 46.

Helen has interpreted the brick stamp information and concluded that *dominus* was a landowner and *officinatus* a brick producer. He justifiably notes, however: "A person mentioned alone in the stamps without epithets indicating his position as landowner may or may not be a landowner: this is an open question, because land-ownership is not referred to in these stamps." Mentioned in the stamps, he reports, are a total of 1325 persons, of whom we can define 150 as *domini*, 355 as *officinatores* and 820 as of unknown position.¹

In order to clarify the position of persons mentioned in brick stamps it would be advisable to consider the development of more categories than *dominus* and *officinatus*. This might be done as follows: (1) only landowners=*dominus* I (criteria: binominal stamps, *officinatores* who also appear with other *domini*, *officinatores*' own stamps). (2) landowner-enterprisers=*dominus* II (criteria: one-name stamps, binominality may arise when the second person is freedman or slave of *dominus*). (3) enterpriser-*officinatores*, who were also the tenants (criteria: they appear on lands of several *domini*, they have their own stamps). (4) foreman-*officinatores*, who were hired persons (criteria: results obtained by Helen on relation between *dominus* and *officinatus* (slave, freedman, independent in law)).

A similar division was found by the Finnish study team to be impractical, mainly owing to the diversity of brick stamp information. It is worth testing, however, and as a starting-point each person must be taken in casu. I shall concentrate on *dominus* groups (1-2)², because my standpoint of research is represented by the landowners in the Roman district.

I take the view that in semantic and interpretative study a strict definition of *dominus* is correct, but when a category of persons must be explained as a whole all possibilities of tracing his position, social and economic, should be used.

In my study, therefore, I include potential *domini* in a group

¹ Helen, 89-99.

² Cf. also Appendix No. 4.

of their own. They are not linked with the expressions *ex praedis huius* or *ex figlinis huius*, but they must be regarded as land-owners. This group is kept separate from the actual *dominus* category (cf. Chapter I,2.).

My purpose is to elucidate changes in proprietary relations concerned with landed property in the surroundings of Rome, in so far as they are revealed in brick stamps. As criteria I use the clear information provided by the *figlinae* mentioned by name. The data obtainable from stamps further includes the kinship indicated by combinations of *officinatores*, even if it is hypothetical (cf. Chapter III,1.). Prosopographical matters, whether from the data of brick stamps or from other sources, also clarify the problem of land transference.

My standpoint in examining the body of *domini* is socio-historical, not primarily onomastic. My study will therefore consist largely of the history of persons known from other sources. To explain persons who are known only from brick stamps is another type of problem. To deal with these persons who are unknown from other sources would produce a list of numerous inscriptions bearing the same names and of other appearances of the names; in my understanding of the historical viewpoint this would not be relevant here. There are few possibilities of identification in this field. Social onomastics is still incomplete as a means of explaining these representatives of the lower orders.

In the problem of whether *figlinae* signified clay district or brickworks, the conclusions to be drawn regarding land-ownership of *domini* are the main aspect as we consider the body of *domini*. Because of conclusions from brick stamp data it is important to lay special emphasis on land-ownership. Other commentators on brick stamps, especially Bloch, have been knowledgeable on the subject. The conclusions signify that *domini* must be investigated from the point of view of political rather than economic history. Ownership of land in the surroundings of Rome was important politically as well as for reasons of social status.

Because land is known as a solid, respected form of possession, inheritance is the most natural means of transferring it. This, of course, is not the only criterion of transference, which can also be by will, sale or donation. The static nature of land-

ownership implies that brick stamps reveal more on the subject of family connections including marriage than was generally surmised in earlier study. On the other hand, undue stress on this starting-point easily leads to "over-interpretation": more family links and attachments are read into brick stamp data than actually existed. In my study I have included hypothetical relationships, however, because they may be confirmed by connection with new or for the present unknown prosopographic material. Single and one-sided material demands a second group of material for confirmation.

My presentation of the question is three-dimensional. I deal with the position of *dominus* in brick stamp data. Second, I identify *domini* as persons known from other sources and present the prosopographies of *domini* and the connections of their families. Third, with the aid of the foregoing I seek to show the entire *dominus* category as part of the economic and social history of the Roman Empire and, more than before, as part of the political history. To explain changes in landed property is then of the first importance. We are acquainted, practically speaking, with all *domini* who appear in stamped bricks of the Roman region. The material thus consists of a changing body of some 200 *domini* whom we know to have owned land for a period of some 300 years in the surroundings of Rome. No similar source group is known to us. As in most studies of antiquity, it is a problem to decide how representative this information is. We do not know what proportion of land-ownership and its changes in the Roman district is represented by the picture gained through brick stamps. The general validity of the picture is unknown.

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II THE PROSOPOGRAPHIES OF DOMINI

1. Introduction to prosopographies

The study of prosopography

The prosopography of the Empire means Edmund Groag and Arthur Stein, in addition to whom Graham, Boer, Nicolet, Chastagnol and Eck have published articles explaining prosopographic study.¹

The prosopography of a person deals with information and dating of his career, ancestors and descendants, marriage and *origo*, the various communities in whose activities he has taken part, the nature and amount of his property, his political sympathies and in fact all data, even sporadic, which refer to him. Morris has described how prosopographic study concentrates on two main levels: the dating of an individual's career with maximum precision, and the placing of human connections in their context of time, place and society. The object, in the words of Groag, is "soziale Strukturforschung." In prosopographical research much depends, as Morris puts it, "on guesswork, and no fact is unshakeably safe."

The high importance of family and *gens* in Rome are a further justification of the prosopographic method. Such study must itself begin from literature: what contemporaries said of these matters, how they were understood in the society of that time.

Prosopographic study of the Empire is indisputably bound up with inscriptions, which are the main source material. Our infor-

¹ Graham A.J., The Limitations of Prosopography in Roman Imperial History (with special reference to the Severan period), Aufstieg und Niedergang II 1, 136-157; Boer W., Die prosopographische Methode in der modernen Historiographie der hohen Kaiserzeit, Mnemosyne, XXII, 1969, 268-280; Nicolet C., Prosopographie et histoire sociale: Rome et l'Italie à l'époque républicaine, Annales (ESC) 25, 1970, 1209-1248; Chastagnol A., La prosopographie, méthode de recherche sur l'histoire du Bas-Empire, Annales (ESC) 25, 1970, 1229-1435; Eck W., Sozialstruktur des römischen Senatorenstandes der hohen Kaiserzeit und statistische Methode, Chiron 3, 1973, 375-394.

mation on persons, naturally, varies a good deal. This is true even of senators: some we know through several dozen inscriptions, others through one small episode, such as marriage. The same is true of information from authors. Morris has estimated that for each senator an average of 2-3 inscriptions remains as source material. Eck has calculated the A-L material in PIR and concluded that we know slightly over 50% of male members of the senatorial class. We reach 80-85% of consuls. The proportion for women is of course extremely small, because inscription material, for instance, is mainly concerned with careers. From the material mentioned Eck has worked out that only 17.1% of those with senatorial rank were women.

Boer avers that the common historical interpretation of the first two centuries of the Empire has not been radically changed by prosopographic study, though it has been deepened and extended. Thanks mainly to this study we are better acquainted with the life of aristocracy and middle class. But prosopography can hardly clarify the history of the lower classes. To the opponents of prosopographic study, who assert that it neglects wider viewpoints and 'higher things', Syme replies: "One uses what one has, and there is work to be done."

My own prosopographical study of *domini*¹

Owing to the nature of prosopographical study as now explained, and above all to the partiality and scantiness of ancient source material we know only the summits of Roman society, as we know the tip of an iceberg. *Dominus* study is bound to be study of the higher orders. Homonymics are the main obstruction in identifying *domini* from the lower classes. We do not know, for instance, who among those with the name Iulia Procula in inscriptions is the *domina* we seek, if indeed any of them is. In other ways too, of course, the presence of homonyms hampers the identification of upper rank persons, but not to the same extent. For study of the lower classes almost the only means is onomastics. Eck observes, however, that a name alone usually says little or nothing, and that it offers very inexact and uncertain links with reality. He continues that often the only result of these studies is a series of long documentary references to the works of other scholars and to occurrences of inscriptions.² I agree with Eck, and my starting-point in this study is purely historical.

Brick stamps in themselves mention no component indicating a social status. In most cases only the name of *dominus* is mentioned in them and, in the late second century, sometimes *CV* or *CF*. Other

¹ My own field of study is the private *dominus* group. When tasks were divided among the Ostia team, Imperial *domini* were the concern of Kuusamäki. From my material I have omitted reigning Emperors and Empresses (Trajan-Plotina, Hadrian-Sabina, Antoninus Pius-Faustina (?), Marcus Aurelius-Faustina, Lucius Verus-Lucilla, Commodus, Septimius Severus). For some of the persons listed private person stamps are also known (Antoninus Pius 92-95, Lucius Verus 732, 733-5, 738-740, S. 215-6, Commodus 741) which I have left unconsidered, because the stamps refer essentially to Imperial history. The following I have included for their appearance as private persons in brick stamps: (1) Domitia Longina (Domitiani), who appears as *domina* long after the death of her Imperial husband; (2) Matidia Minor (S. 209-210); (3) Faustina Maior (714, S. 212), who does not appear as Empress in stamps; (4) Annia Cornificia Faustina (731), who was a sister of the Empress. Imperial families must be treated as part of the history of the upper orders, because emperorship was not "officially" hereditary. From the first century I have included all persons known from other sources.

² Eck, Chiron 3, 1973.

components such as offices do not, of course, belong to brick stamp information in itself. For this reason, however, nomenclature is important.

The difficult and easy sides of identification are thus connected with the Roman name system, which lost during the Empire the earlier simplicity of the Republic. Reasons for this are use of the *cognomen*, the rise of new provincial families and adoptions. The latter were responsible for the complication of names. The names of an adoptive father were simply added to the old names. Multiplicity of names was further increased by the fashion of inheriting a name from the mother. During the Empire as a rule, and especially in its early phases, the mother's name does not appear in the child's nomenclature. Yet another addition was supplied by the custom of increasing status through the inclusion of successful ancestors' names in nomenclature. A wife does not take her husband's name at marriage, though in some cases she takes an extra name, generally *gentilicium*, from him.¹

It follows from the nomenclature that marriages are difficult to trace in Roman society, though the retention of a woman's maiden name aids the disentanglement of cognate families. Similarly, questions of inheritance are settled fairly easily, in particular because the names of adoptions illustrate the changes of property. Anyhow, the multiplicity of names, used retrospectively, aids in the reconstruction of marriages which are otherwise difficult to authenticate. Names, however, may also arise from adoption.

The *cognomen* was at first hereditary, the sign of a family or branch or a *gens*, but it became also an individual name. During the Empire an inherited, traditional *cognomen* was a feature of the upper class and can be used as a good criterion for identification with certain reservations.² Two brothers were distinguished from each other by different *cognomina*, because all brothers as a rule had the same *praenomen*. This is not invariable, however: by

¹ Kajanto, *Onom. Studies*, 3-5.

² In many connections Kajanto has favoured systematic study of the upper class *cognomen*.

means of the *praenomen* branches (*stirpes*) with the same *gentilicium* and thus belonging to the same *gens* can be distinguished. The *praenomen* often missing from the nomenclature for reasons which include the nature of the source.

Also a criterion for determination of ancestors on both sides is the fact that the *cognomen* could be formed from the *gentilicia* of the father's or the mother's *gens*. This was a typical feature of nomenclature among the nobility in the Empire. There were exceptions, of course, as *cognomina* with the ending -anus could be chosen without reference to the *gens* background. From *cognomina* alone it is only very rarely possible to determine social status.¹ The name system of Rome allows conclusions to be drawn, but a weakness exists which is referred to thus by Kajanto: "in onomastics there are few rules without exceptions."

The problems of identification are concerned also with questions of dating. Thanks to the work of Bloch, Steinby and others² the uncertain dating of brick stamps is now less of an obstacle than the scanty, unreliable chronologies of persons' lives.

I should like to stress once more that the main purpose of my study is to elucidate brick information with regard to *domini*, because this will provide new information for biographical data on the persons in question.³ In my opinion a portrait is not made clear by the bare comment "appears in brick stamps" in the prosopographies of PIR and RE.

I shall not touch on the general prosopographic nuances except when they have an important bearing on the common fortunes of *dominus*. I refer to the profusion of prosopographic studies which have appeared in the last few decades (Pflaum, Syme, Alföldy, Thomasson, Eck etc.).

I shall draw attention to new family relations from the specific viewpoint of brick stamp data, starting with the conception

¹ Cf. Solin's studies of Greek *cognomina*, and also Kajanto's studies.

² Examples of the "inadequacy" of brick stamp dating are found in prosopographies.

³ In matters related to *dominus* I separate prosopographic and brick stamp data.

of *dominus* as landowner and of *officinator* as brickproducer (cf. Chapter I.2.). From this aspect new interpretations can be found for the higher orders of Roman society.¹

2. Persons in first century brick stamps

Information from stamps

Helen crystallizes his interpretation of first century brick stamps as follows:² (1) "the word *figlinae* appears modified by a proper adjective indicating the name of *figlinae*", (2) "the name of the person occurring in the text is not a genitive attribute of the word *figlinae*, i.e. the owner of the *figlinae* is not mentioned", (3) "the word *praedia* does not occur." It follows that the subject of my study, the *dominus* group, does not occur in first century stamps. To quote Helen: "In the first century the person mentioned in a brick stamp is the director of the production process, his name represents all those who took part in that process."³

Most problematical from my standpoint are the persons who, implicitly at least, appear as landowners in brick stamps, but are not explicitly mentioned as *domini*. The persons I have in mind are known from other sources and are of senatorial or equestrian rank. They cannot be regarded as directors of the production process, since they are certainly landowners of the period. But it was not yet considered necessary to mention them in stamps as landowners. They are referred to as follows:

¹ I have endeavoured to clarify these new connections by presenting them in the form of a genealogical table in this manner: the more hypothetical cases, established from brick stamp data alone, are shown in prosopographies (Chapter II.3.), while the more certain, introduced by earlier prosopographic study and generally accepted, are shown as Stemma appendices. These appendices serve several *dominus* prosopographies.

² Helen, 47-53.

³ Helen, 48.

S.268	APOLLONI ET ISMARI CN CN DOMITIURUM
1139	FELICIS FLAVIAES DOMITIL
1136	L FAENI RVFI PR PR
2314	CALLISTVS COCCEI NERVAE

Slaves mentioned in stamps must be viewed as directors of the production process. It is possible, of course, that slaves were employed elsewhere than on their masters' lands, but this cannot be regarded as likely. The landowner position of these persons known from other sources is confirmed above all by the fact that many of them are ancestors of second century *domini*. For maximum completeness in the prosopography of persons, specifically with regard to the Asinius and Domitius families in bricks, I shall also introduce these persons.

The retention of landed property in the same family is an aspect of importance in economic and political history. It may be assumed that scrutiny of first century brick stamps serves also to illustrate land-ownership in the second century. First century brick stamps, of course, are more hypothetical in their data than those of the second century. Even a fragment of information must be used to advantage, especially when land-ownership and land-owners themselves are almost impossible to disentangle from other sources (cf. Chapter I.3.).

A few persons are known from the first century who are expressed as owners of *figlinae*. I deal with those who are not known from other sources in Appendix No.1. The growth of information from bricks occurred gradually, and a clear time of change is difficult to define. Almost 20% of the whole material is from the first century. Of the 95 *figlinae* mentioned by name 20 are known to have produced first century stamps (a further five are uncertain).¹

¹ Steinby, 110-111.

Prosopographies

I have offered prosopographies for those persons who are known from other sources. Further discussion of *domini* and other brick stamp persons of the first century I have proposed in Appendix No.1.

L. Arruntius

S.234 L ARRVTI

The stamp can be dated to any decade of the first century. Steinby¹ has proposed identification either with L. Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus, consul in 32,² or with the latter's adoptive father L. ARRUNTIUS, consul in 6.³ The latter is more probable, because other surviving material which refers to him shows that he used exclusively the form L. Arruntius, which is not encountered in material referring to the consul of 32. This identification is supported by the continued appearance of the Arruntius family as landowner in the early second century (cf. sub voce, further s.v. Arruntia Camilla).

C. Asinius Pollio

2231b	ASIN POL	2233	N DECEITI TE GLA
2232	TEG C COSCONI FIG ASINI POLL		FIG ASIN POL
	<i>tegula C. Cosconi(ex)</i>	2234	Q LEPIDI HILARI
	<i>figlinis Asini Pollionis</i>		F C AS POL

Steinby considers it possible that all stamps of C. Asinius Pollio belong to *figlinae Curtianae*. Her reason is provided by the officinator C. Cosconius, who appears in *figlinae Curtianae* stamp 145 without the name of *dominus*. To C. Asinius Pollio might

¹ Steinby, 33-34.

² PIR² A 1140.

³ PIR² A 1130.

also belong *figlinae Curtianae* stamps 144-146.¹ In Steinby's view C. ASINIUS POLLIO, consul in 40 BC and a notable orator, is mentioned in all stamps with the possible exception of 2231.² Pollio is the landowner on whose land the bricks were manufactured. The argument in favour of this is the continuance of the *gens* Asinius as landowners in the second century.

The Asini originated from Teate Marrucinorum (today Chieti). From the time of Augustus it belonged to the patriciate and produced several important officials. C. Asinius Pollio became consul as *homo novus* in 40 BC. He was the father of C. Asinius Gallus, consul in 8 BC. He distinguished himself as an orator, historian, poet and critic, and was among the most notable statesmen of his time. He was born in 76 BC and died in 5 AD. Besides consul he was praetor in 45, procos. Hisp. in 44-43, procos. Maced. in 40-38. He was neutral in the struggle between Augustus and Antony.³ His grandson was C. Asinius Pollio, consul in 23 AD.⁴ The Asinii of second century brick stamps are related to the consul of the year 40 through the latter's daughter. Her husband's father was M. Claudius Marcellus Aeserninus, consul in 22 BC.⁵ The daughter's great-grandson, Q. Asinius Marcellus, appears as the following *dominus* of the *gens* (cf. *Stemma* s.v., second century).

Calpurnia Corvini

S.249a CALPVRNIAE CORVINI

Bloch suggests as identification CALPURNIA M.f. MESSALAE uxor.

¹ Steinby, 36, cf. more precisely analysis of *figlinae Curtianae*.

² Steinby, 36; PIR² A 1241. Note that according to Bloch (Suppl. Index, 19) all stamps signify C. Asinius Pollio, consul in 23 AD. According to Dressel and Steinby stamp 2231 is possibly later than the others. As Steinby notes, discoveries *in situ* may elucidate the chronology of stamps of the Asinii.

³ RE II (1896), Asinius No.25, 1589-1602 (Groebe); Wiseman, New Men in the Roman Senate No.50, 50.

⁴ PIR² A 1242; Pistor, Prinzeps und Patriziat, 18-19.

⁵ PIR² C 926, 927.

Suggested as husband has been M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus, consul in either 31 BC or 58 AD.¹ Because of the shape of the stamp Steinby supports the consul of 58 as husband. He was great-grandson to the notable orator of the same name, his grandfather was consul in 31 BC and his father consul in 20 AD.² The first consul of the *gens* Valerius Messalla is encountered in 263 BC. Other members of the *gens* were the wives of Emperors Claudius and Nero.³ The *praedia* of Calpurnia is mentioned in a grave inscription (CIL VI 29782).

Cocceius Nerva

2314 CALLISTVS
 COCCEI NERVAE

The stamp is from Praeneste. Bloch identifies the *patronus* of Callistus as father of the Emperor Nerva, M. COCCEIUS NERVA. He was consul about 39/41. He is known to have been a notable jurist,⁴ like his father of the same name, who was consul suffectus about 22. The latter was also a friend of the Emperor Tiberius.⁵ The first wellknown senator of the *gens* was consul in 36 BC.⁶ The *gens* became patrician in the time of Claudius.⁷ The wife of Cocceius Nerva was Sergia Plautilla (cf. s.v. Plotilla). The Cocceii had their home in Narnia, which was a good clay district. *Figlinae Narnienses* originated in the second century.⁸

¹ Bloch, Suppl., Index, 22, PIR² C 322, PIR¹ V 91.

² PIR¹ V 90, 92, 93.

³ RE VIII A (1958), Valerius, 143-146, genealogical table, (Hanslik).

⁴ Bloch, Suppl., Index, 25; PIR² C 1226, in PIR the brick stamp is mentioned with the Emperor; Kleine Pauly 1, Cocceius No.6, 1236 (R.H.).

⁵ PIR² C 1225; Kleine Pauly 1, Cocceius No.5, 1236 (R.H.).

⁶ PIR² C 1224.

⁷ De Laet, De Samenstelling van den Romeinschen Senaat, No.576 and pp. 254-255.

⁸ We know the *fistula* stamp M COCCEI. (CIL XV 7437).

NER/

Probably the same person appears in the stamps, although the publisher has suggested the Emperor's grandfather. In *fistula* stamps appear 13 *domini* and *dominae*.

L. Cornelius Priscus

951	EX FIGLINIS L CORNELI PRISC
952	L CORNELI PRISCI

Steinby dates the stamps to the early first century, even the period of Augustus.¹ We know a *dominus* of the same name from the second century (cf. s.v.). We know Cornelius Priscus from a grave inscription of the Augustan period (CIL VI 31761).² In PIR it is recorded that L.(?) Cornelius Priscus, consul in the time of Trajan and *dominus*, was among his descendants. A first century *dominus* is encountered also in a lead pipe stamp (CIL XV 7894).³ Separation of the two identically named *domini* is based on the precise datings of Steinby.

Cn. Domitius Afer

979	CN DOMITI	982a	FELICIS DOMITI AFRI
980	DAMAES DOMITI AFRI	S.265	DAMA DO AF
981	FAVOR CN DOMITI S F	S.266	PARIDIS CN DOMITI AFRI

He is supposedly mentioned also in *pelvis* stamps (S. 481-486). CN. DOMITIUS AFER must be regarded as landowner. Quintilian, Tacitus, Pliny and Cassius Dio mention Domitius Afer in their works, where he is known mainly as a great orator. His home was at Nemausus, Gallia Narbonensis. In 25 AD he was praetor; in the next few years he took part as prosecutor in several trials dealing with assassination plans against the Emperor. In 39 he was consul suffectus. From 49 until his death in 59 he was curator aquarum.⁴

¹ Cf. new stamp, Steinby, MemAcclinc XVII, 1974, Nuovi bolli No. 8, 108.

² PIR² C 1419.

³ Dressel suggests as *dominus* L.Cornelius Priscus, who was pontif coloniae Sutrinae (CIL XI 3254).

⁴ PIR² 126; RE V (1905), Domitius No.14, 1318-1320 (Kappelmacher, Wissowa).

In his will of the year 42 Domitius Afer takes Lucanus and Tullus as his adopted sons and heirs. Their assumed father, Sex. Curvius Tullus,¹ had been "destroyed" by him in a trial not long before.² Sex. Curvius Tullus was condemned to death and his land confiscated. Dressel believes, however, that the adoption occurred before the trial.³ 7-8 *officinatores* are known from Domitius Afer.⁴

Cn. Domitius Lucanus

117 T GREI IANVARI EX FIGL CANIN
 DVORV DOMIT
 V Q F

The landowner has been identified as CN. DOMITIUS AFER TITIUS MARCELLUS CURVIUS LUCANUS, who appears in stamps only with his brother Tullus, never alone (116-8, 973, 987-1001, S.267, S.272, S.492). This is explained by the fact that their inherited property was held in common, undivided. The period of common ownership was 59-93(94?), after which Tullus inherited from his brother Lucanus.

With one exception Lucanus the elder brother appears in stamps before the younger. Most of the *officinatores* are either slaves or freedmen, known slaves numbering 21. Only 6 free *officinatores* are known.⁵ Because of his adoptive father the official career of Lucanus was typically that of a senatorial descendant (CIL XI 5210). He was elected to the patriciate in 73 or 74. He was consul suffectus in the decade of 70. In Africa he served as follows: praetorius legatus prov. Africae, proconsul 86/87 and 89/90,

¹ PIR² C 1623.

² Pliny Ep. 8, 18,5.

³ The above and Dressel, Untersuchungen über die Chronologie der Ziegelstempel der Gens Domitia, 6-7. Nesselhauf, Madrider Mitteilungen 1, 1960. Sex Curvius Sex. f. Tullus as father of the brothers is hypothetical. The inscription (CIL VI 16671) gives no actual indication of senatorial rank.

⁴ Cf. Steinby, 49.

⁵ Steinby, 49-51.

also legatus prov. Africae Tulli fratris sui.¹ Lucanus therefore died in 93 or 94.² Lucanus as the elder brother gained the offices of consul, proconsul and others before Tullus. The *praedia* of the Domitii were located in Picenum and Fulginii, among other places.

The father-in-law of Domitius Lucanus (cf. Appendix No.6, Stemma No.1) was T. Curtilius Mancina, consul suffectus in 55. Mancina bequeathed his property to his grand-daughter Domitia Lucilla Maior, in order to deprive his son-in-law of a share in the distribution.³ The nomenclature of Lucanus, like that of Tullus, points to connections with other *domini*, M. Titius Marcellus (potential) and Titia Quartilla (cf.s.v.). The Domitius brothers were probably also adopted by M. (Epidius) Titius Marcellus, who was a member of brick stamp *gentes* in northern Italy. The hypothesis needs some verifying evidence.

Cn. Domitius Tullus

1006 FORTVNATI CN DOMITI
 TVLLI

The landowner has been identified as CN. DOMITIUS AFER TITIVS MARCELLVS CVRVIVS TVLLVS, who was the younger adopted son of Domitius Afer. He appears with his brother in brick stamps for the years 59-93(94?), and alone for the years 106-7(108-9). (116-8, 973, 987-1001, S.267-271, 1002-1007 and pelves Pompeianae S.488-494). Stamps of Tullus are from *figlinae Caniniana* and *Domitiana*, also from *figlinae de Licini*). 8 slave *officinatores* are known, but only 2 free in addition to joint *officinatores*.⁴

Tullus was probably born slightly before the year of adoption,

¹ No other similar case is known.

² PIR² D 152; RE V (1905), Domitius No.65, 1428-30 (Kappelmacher); Eck, *Senatoren*, 33, 41, 47, 91-92, 110, 115-116, 219; Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen*, 131-; Thomasson, *Statthalter* II, 155-156. The career is revealed in CIL XI 5210, dates of offices vary with researchers. Cf. Martial 5, 28, 3; Pliny 8, 18.

³ PIR² C 1605.

⁴ Steinby, 51-52.

42. He too had the official career of senator (CIL XI 5211). He was, among other things, quaestor Caesar(is) Aug(usti), leg. Aug. pr. pr. in Africa 73-74 or 76 or 79, consul suffectus about 79, proconsul Africae 87/88 and 90/91, consul II in 98. The year of his death has been deduced from the letters of Pliny.¹ Tullus willed his property to Domitia Lucilla Maior, daughter of his brother. The fabulous wealth of Tullus is related by Pliny (Ep. 8, 11). This wealth may have been the indirect reason for his reception into the patriciate in 73 or 74.

Stamps of the brothers as *societas* and of Tullus are also found in Africa. Both brothers worked officially in Africa, and were thus able to organize the transport thither of bricks made in their country. Their official position assured a market there, especially in construction work for the state.²

L. Faenius Rufus

1136 L FAENI RVFI PR PR
(S.290)

1137 FAENI RVFI

Bloch has identified the person as praefectus praetorio of the decade of 60.³ Before the highest office of the equestrian career he was praefectus annonae in 55-62, after which he was at once appointed praefectus praetorio and remained in that office till 65. He is thought to have obtained it primarily through the friendship of Agrippa. In 65 he took part in the conspiracy of

¹ PIR² D 167; RE V (1905), Domitius No.84, 1433-1435 (Kappelmacher); Thomasson, Statthalter II, 153-154; Eck, Senatoren, cf. Domitius Lucanus and 52, 103; Alföldy, Senatoren in Dalmatia, 112-113; Syme, JRS 43, 1953, 156; Pliny, Ep. 2, 4; 2, 7; 8, 9; 8, 11; Sherwin-White, Letters of Pliny, 468-471; Frei-Stolba, Untersuchungen zu den Wahlen, 262-263; Cebeillec, Quaestores, 55-56; RE S. XII (1970), Domitius 84, 236 (Hanslik); Bloch, Bolli laterizi, 34-35, 336-8.

² CIL VIII 22632, 41, 82.

³ Bloch, Suppl., Index, 31.

Piso and was executed.¹ The fate of his landed property cannot be followed from brick stamps, because the clay district is not mentioned by name.

Flavia Domitilla

1139 FELICIS FLAVIAES DOMITIL
FLAVIAE DOMITILLAE
SECVNDVS FE
(Steinby, MemAccLinc.
1974, No.14, 103)

This person is expressed, in fact, merely as the owner of her slave. Bloch has identified her as FLAVIA DOMITILLA, grand-daughter of the Emperor Vespasian. She was the wife of T. Flavius Clemens, consul in 95.² Both spouses died in 95, accused of practising Christianity. Flavia Domitilla is known to have owned a *praedia* beside the Via Ardeatina. Brothers of Flavia Domitilla were the Emperors Titus (79-81) and Domitianus (81-96).

Ti. Iulius Iulianus

S.430 a eX F TI IVLI IVLIani
b EX ... IVLI IVLIANI

Steinby suggests the late first century for the stamps. They differ from those of the second century Ti. Iulii Iuliani (cf. s.v.) in which the word *praedia* appears. Retrospective examination of second century bricks suggests Ti. Iulius Alexander, prefect of Egypt in 69, as the most natural identification.³ He

¹ PIR² F 102; Kleine Pauly 2, Faenius, 506 (R.H.); PIR² F 103 a possible relation Faenius Telesphorus, who is known to have owned patches of land in (CIL XIV 3762).

² Bloch, Suppl., Index, 32; PIR² F 418, mother PIR² F 417, grandmother PIR² F 416. Stein in RE suggests that the Flavia Domitilla mentioned in brick stamps might be an Emperor's daughter, RE VI (1909), Flavius No.226, 2732; the brother of Vespasian, or the former's son, T. Flavius Sabinus, appears in lead pipe stamps (CIL XV 7451).

³ PIR² I 139.

was an ancestor of second century *domini*. He is not known by the name Ti. Iulius Iulianus, however, and the identification therefore remains open.

Ti. Iulius Optatus

387 TI IVLI OPTATI
 DE FIG OCINIS

The person has been identified as Ti. Iulius Optatus Pontianus¹ who was procurator and praefectus classis. He was a freedman of Tiberius, but became commander of the fleet in the time of Claudius. In 52, for instance, he led the fleet at Misenum. He therefore had the official career of a knight, for which he evidently had the friendship of Claudius to thank. Bloch suggests the procurator as the person of the brick stamp;² he does not suggest the procurator's son³

L. Iulius Rufus

633a L IVLI RVFI
 TONNEIANA ZOSIMI
663 VICIANA L IVLI RVFI
664 VICCIANA
 ZOSIMI L IVLI RVFI
S.200 L LVRIVS MVRINVS FEC
 IN FIG VIC IVLI RV

Bloch has identified the person as L IULIUS RUFUS, consul in 67.⁴ This fits the dating of the stamps. Steinby surmises that Rufus "subordinate" stamps could also be S. 200-201, 1252, 654-5.⁵

¹ PIR² I 443.

² Bloch, Bolli laterizi, 222; Steinby, 69 and Note 2.

³ RE X (1919), Iulius No.372, 683-4 (Stein).

⁴ Bloch, Suppl., Index, 34.

⁵ Steinby, 97.

Of L. Iulius Rufus nothing is known except his consulship.¹ Petersen presumes the poet Iulius Rufus to have been the consul's son; the poet is mentioned by Martial (10,99,2).² As brother he suggests L. Iulius Rufinus, who is known to have been proconsul.³ Petersen insists on a family relationship between two *Tonneianae-Viccianae domini*, Aelia Paetina and Rufus. In principle this is, of course, correct. It seems far-fetched, however, to seek a connection between the *domini* through the *gens* of Q. Aelius Tubero, father of Paetina, particularly on the sole grounds of a common *praenomen* Quintus. The proconsul in question is known as L. Iulius Rufinus, Q. filius. Iulia Procula (cf.s.v.), who was *domina* of *figlinae Tonnaianae* at a later date, is a more likely relative. She was probably a grandchild of Iulius Rufus.

Also appearing in stamps connected with *figlinae Tonneianae* is Iulia Dynamis (436).⁴ She does not appear as *domina*, and thus there can be no rational supposition of her relation to *domini*.

The provinces and Italy have both been suggested as places of origin for L. Iulius Rufus.⁵ In connection with *domina* Pedania Quintilla I have presented the hypothesis of a family relation between L. Iulius Rufus and L. Iulius Ursus, cos. III 100 (cf. s.v. Pedania Quintilla). This would make Spain the place of origin.

Paetina

- | | |
|-------|--|
| S.196 | EX FIGLINIS PAETINAE
TEGVLA TONNEIANA
AQVILLIVS FEC
EX VICCIANIS FIGLINIS |
| S.197 | VICCIANA
DE FIGLINIS PAETINAE |

¹ PIR² I 532.

² PIR² I 528.

³ PIR² I 524.

⁴ Steinby, 75 and 97.

⁵ Syme, Tacitus II, 787, provincial origin; Stech (Senatores Romani No.26, No.71, 157) supports the Italian origin.

The *domina* mentioned in the stamps is identified by Bloch as AELIA PAETINA, second wife of the Emperor Claudius. The stamps are dated midway in the first century.¹ The authors relate that she came from a branch of the *gens* descending from a consul's daughter and the Aelii Tuberones (Tacitus, Suetonius).² The Aelii Tuberones were received into the patriciate in the time of Augustus. In 11 BC consul Q Aelius Tubero is encountered also in brick stamps.³

Plotilla

2341 ONESIMI S
 E
 PLOTILLAE R

The *patrona* of Onesimus can be identified as SERGIA PLAUTILLA, mother of the Emperor Nerva.⁴ Her husband Cocceius Nerva is mentioned also by his *servus* in a brick stamp (cf. s.v.). I emphasize that they are not mentioned in the position of landowner or brick-producer.

L. Sestius P.f. Alb(anus?) Quirinalis

1445 L SESTI P F ALB
Acta IRF VII QVIRINALIS

The person is the same in name as a consul of 23 BC, L SESTIUS QUIRINALIS.⁵ In Steinby's view the dating makes the identification possible.⁶

¹ Bloch, Suppl., 50, No. 196.

² PIR² A 305.

³ PIR² A 274, CIL XI 6673, 23 ab, 24.

⁴ Bloch, Suppl. Index; Steinby RE S. XV.

⁵ PIR¹ S 436.

⁶ Steinby, 87.

Evaluations

Because of difficulties in the interpretation of first century brick stamp data, conclusions cannot be drawn with certainty.¹

The phrase "known from other sources" chosen as a starting-point for persons assumed to be landowners naturally affects the structure of the group. The highest points of society are best known to us. The *cursus honorum* of persons presumed to be landowners is remarkable, and they are among the most eminent politicians of their time. A part of the landowners in the surroundings of Rome I have assumed to belong to patrician *gentes* of the first century. They include close relatives of Emperors. I admit that the landowners with whom I have dealt are few in number.

An important aspect is the appearance of the same *gens* in brick stamps of the second century also. Such *gentes* are the Asinius, Arruntius and Domitius at least, and presumably the Cornelius Priscus and Iulius Iulianus branches. Similarly, heirs of L. Iulius Rufus are encountered later in brick stamps. Second century *domini* whom I have presumed related to the *gens* Flavia Domitilla are the Annii, Domitia Longina and Arria Caesennia Paulina. Thus almost all persons presumed to be landowners have descendants among *domini* of the second century.²

The result does not strengthen the common view based on Pliny's letters that widespread changes occurred in the land-ownership near Rome in the beginning of the second century. I admit that we can say nothing on the representative character of the group mentioned in brick stamps, nor on brick production or land-ownership in the surroundings of Rome. Clay districts, however, seem to be owned by the same *gentes* in the first and second centuries.

¹ The text resembles that of later stamps from other parts of Italy than the Roman district.

² In Appendix No.1: Remarks on *domini* and other persons from brick stamps of the first century; a similar retention of landed property in the possession of the *gens* may be presumed for the Ceionii, Caesennii(?), Cassii(?).

3. *Domini* in brick stamps of the second and early third centuries

Abasc(antus) Aug. lib.

569 SVLP D F ABASC AVG L

Steinby has dated the stamp in the time of Trajan.¹ Abascantus is one of the *figlinae Sulpicianae domini*, of whom 11 are known in all.² Most probably the *dominus* served in the Imperial administration, where he had better opportunities for control of the land area near Rome.³ Abascantus and Agathyrsus are the only brick *domini* showing the status of *libertus*; both, of course, were *Augusti liberti*. The one name stamp implies that Abascantus was a producer, not only a landowner.

Q. Aburnius Caedicianus

He appears as *dominus* of *figlinae Furianae* (8 stamps) and *figlinae Temoesinae*, for which a common stamp is known (28 separate stamps in all: 227-234, 603-605, 614, S. 169-187). Of the Caedicianus stamps 8 are without consular dating, 11 stamps are for the year 123, 2 are for 125, 3 for 126, 2 for 127 and 2 for 140.⁴ *Dominus* Caedicianus is expressed in the following ways: *ex praedis illius*, *ex figlinis illius*, *ex figlinis illis illius* before the year 127 and later, e.g.:

¹ Steinby, 90.

² Steinby, 90-91.

³ Many Abascanti are known, 233 according to Solin (Beiträge, 111). By Väisänen's calculations we even know six with the name Ulpus Abascantus (Väisänen, Ulpus-suku, incl. CIL VI 18408, 8627, 18336 etc.). The best-known is probably Abascantus, the secretary of Domitian (Kleine Pauly 1, Abaskantos No.2, p. 4 (W.S.)). A second possible *dominus* from the time standpoint is Marcus Ulpus Abascantus, a freedman of Trajan, who was *tabularius operarum* (CIL VI 8479). The identification naturally remains open.

⁴ Steinby, 43, 92-93.

Caedicianus was merely legatus legio XIII geminae¹ or whether he was also legatus Augusti pro praetore for Dacia Superior.² If the latter alternative is accepted, the consular year (suff.) of Caedicianus may be estimated as 121.³ He is presumably identical with praetor Caedicianus mentioned in the Digests (Dig. 4, 3, 7, 10). Marcus Aurelius mentions Caedicianus as long-lived and unsuccessful (4, 50), which probably refers to the failure of his activity. C. Aburnius Valens, consul in 109, is regarded by Stein as father of the *dominus*, while Morris suggests brother or uncle. The son of the consul in 109 was L. Fulvius Aburnius Valens, adopted by L. Fulvius Rusticus, from Mediolanum who had also adopted Bruttius Praesens. Bruttius Praesens is known also from brick stamps. According to Stein the brother of *dominus* Caedicianus was therefore the jurist L. Fulvius Aburnius Valens, whom Morris again considers too old to be the son of the consul of 109. L. Fulvius Aburnius Valens held the offices of praefectus urbi feriarum Latinarum in 118, quaestor Augusti and pontifex among others. Morris has proposed a connection with Caedicia M.f. Victrix,⁴ whose *amphora* stamps have been found plentifully in various parts of Italy, and whose brick stamp has been discovered in Africa, as have stamps of Caedicianus also.

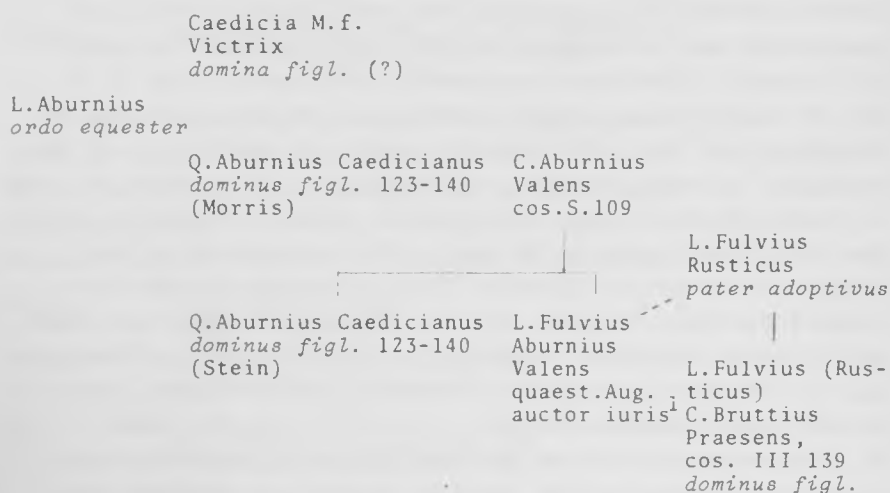
¹ RE I (1894), Aburnius, 127 (v. Rohden); PIR² A 21; Syme, JRS 36, 1946, Review of Stein's *Die Reichsbeamten von Dazien*.

² Stein, *Die Reichsbeamten von Dazien*, 20-21.

³ Morris, *The Roman Senate*, s.v.

⁴ PIR² C 116.

If the ideas of Morris are accepted, the following stemma is formed



Brick stamps offer no solution to the Stein-Morris controversy. According to Morris still another possible relative is C. Sentius Aburnianus puer arvalis in 120.²

The next *domina* of *Figlinae Furianae* is probably Valeria Polla (235) who has some *officinatores* in common with the Imperial family. Other sources do not confirm this connection of the *domini*. There are no earlier *domini* in *figlinae Furianae*. The earlier *domini* of *figlinae Tempesinae* are Calpurnia Secunda and Vismatius Successus. The latter is the only person who is known both as *dominus* and *officinatus*.

Bloch has drawn attention to the fact that two *officinatores* of Caedicianus moved to *figlinae* of Statilius Maximus and one to Domitia Lucilla, which has been explained by the economic failure of Caedicianus. On account of the new definition of *dominus* it would be better to speak of failure by the *officinatores* and their

¹ Two of the persons according to Morris, one praef.urbi fer.lat. 118, the other a jurist.

² PIR¹ S 289. Brick stamps show no connection between *domini* Ti. Tutinius Sentius Satrianus and Q.Aburnius Caedicianus.

departure either to better clay districts or to better rent contracts. Sale of land is one explanation, of course.

Caedicianus had *officinatores* in common with the following *domini*: Plotina, Seia Isaurica, Statilius Maximus, Vismatius Successus and Domitia Lucilla. Kuusanmäki has intimated that Caedicianus may have bought the property of Plotina, wife of Trajan; this had been transferred to the Empress through her husband. Plotina was childless. The fact of a common *officinator*, however, is no binding proof that land has been transferred: it would be necessary to prove that Plotina was the owner of *figlinae Furianae*. Transfer of *officinatores*, in fact, is not necessarily a guarantee of landed property transfer, though it is an important criterion. Sources dealing with Caedicianus, including authors, imply that he was obliged to sell his land. The *officinator* criterion does not therefore apply to him as a means of clarifying relationships. Aburnius Caedicianus is certainly from Italy.¹ The Aburnii was a new consular *gens* of the second century.

Acili(a) Malliola (?)

2225 EX PR ACILI MALLIOLA
 OFIC FELICIS ..

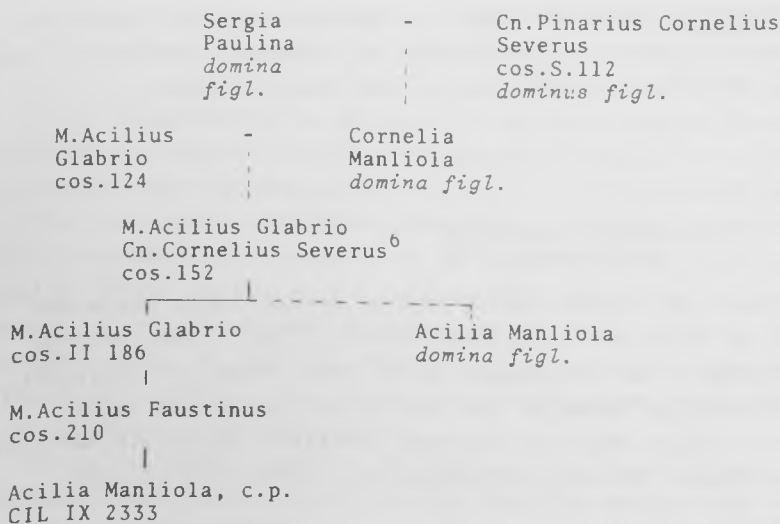
The owner of *praedia* can be read in several ways. Bloch and Steinby are in favour of Acilia Malliola,² and I take the same view, basing it on the aptness of the brick stamp prosopography. Steinby dates the stamp at the turn of the second and third centuries. Acilia Malliola has been identified as Acilia Manliola, in whose honour a known inscription was raised (CIL IX 2333).

¹ Taylor, The Voting Districts, 1274. Pupinia is an old *tribus*, and, one may therefore conclude, Italian in origin. We know *vicus Caedicianus*, which, according to Nissen (*Italische Landeskunde* II, 665), was at the 112th km stone on the Via Appia. Steinby maintains that the stamps could not have come from this area (CIL X 4727, Pliny Ep. 14, 62). Cf. Kunkel, *Herkunft*, 152.

² Bloch, *Suppl. Index*, 15; Steinby, 25, Note 3.

This Acilia Manliola¹ was the daughter of M. Acilius Faustinus, consul in 210.² Groag suspects with reason that she may be the same as the *domina*.³ However, the form Malliola can be regarded as equivalent to the form Manliola, as in the case of Cornelia Manliola-Malliola (cf.s.v.). I have regarded Cornelia Manliola as the wife of M. Acilius Glabrio (cos. 124), and it may well be suggested that *domina* Acilia Manliola-Malliola was the daughter of a child of this marriage, a consul of 152, or perhaps belonged to a later generation. The dating of the stamp is difficult. In addition to the data of the brick stamp the infrequency of the *cognomen* confirms the identification. Kajanto recognizes no others than these two persons of the brick stamp.⁴ The rarity of the *cognomen* also supports the notion that these persons were related.

My stemma suggestion is:⁵



¹ PIR² A 91.

² PIR² A 57.

³ PIR² A 91.

⁴ Kajanto, LC, 167.

⁵ A stemma for the Acilii is in PIR, PIR² A, 12 (Groag).

⁶ The wife of consul M. Acilius Glabrio (we do not know of which consul) appears in a lead pipe stamp (CIL XV 7830).

social orders at the same time is T. Aelius Naevius Severus.¹ The social status of Aelia Severa cannot be clarified.

M. Aemilius Proculus

Dominus is mentioned in a one name stamp (780) from the time of Antoninus Pius as the owner of *praedia*.² For Domitia Lucilla (1056=S. 279, 1057) an *officinatus* M.A() Pro() is mentioned for the years 136 and 137. This might be the same man, to judge by the time element. The *gentilicia* of the *officinatus* are unknown, so that "connections" between these persons are highly uncertain. The only sure selection for both *officinatus* and *dominus* on the evidence of brick stamps is Vismatius Successus. The name is "exasperatingly undistinctive."³

Aemilia Severa

is known as *domina* of *figlinae Publilianae* in the time of Septimius Severus (427-433=7).

432 OPVS DOLIARE EX PR AEMILIAES SEV
 ER C F EX F PVBL NEG ZOT ET ANT

Aemilia Severa is expressed in stamps as the owner of *praedia*. *Negotiatores* are known from stamps as follows: Iunia Antonia (430), Iunia Sabina (431), Zot () et Ant() (432). No *officinatores* are mentioned by name, but according to Steinby's interpretation the *officinatores* of that time had the *signum* mark as in Imperial *figlinae* of the same period, and this was some equivalent for a name.⁴ According to Steinby an *officinatus* using the Victoria *signum* is concerned in the stamps of Severa (429-432) and in stamp

¹ For cognomina cf. Kajanto, LC, 256-257.

² Barbieri, Albo senatorio, No.1410, 245-246.

³ The term "exasperatingly undistinctive" is used by Frederiksen and Castrén; cf. Castrén, *Ordo Populusque Pompeianus*, 23. The name of *dominus* appears in the following consul suffectus of the time of Antoninus Pius: M. Messius Rusticus Aemilius Papus Arrius Proculus Iulius Celsus, PIR¹ M 376. The consul in question had a highly honoured career.

⁴ Steinby, 75-78.

434a of the latter's son. Steinby has concluded that the same *officinatus* is to be recognized in *Portus Licini* stamps 408d from the years 212-217. In the time of Aemilia Severa two other *officinatus* were first active and continued under Caracalla in stamps of *Portus Licini*, one using the *signum* Mercurius (427a, 408b), the other, who was C. Casinius Numidianus, the *signum* Mars (428b, 408a). Numidianus is also known from *figlinae Publilianae* (435) in the time of Caracalla. Other *signa* appearing in stamps of Aemilia Severa are leo (428a), ancora ? (427b) piscis (433).¹

Figlinae Publilianae was transferred to Caracalla for a short period 212-217. Used in stamps during this time are four previously mentioned *signa* and four others in addition which appear also in *figlinae Domitianae* stamps (205, 178, 744) and (181, 174). The latter are stamps of *officinatrix* Aemilia Romana and her *signum* is clava. Aemilia Romana may have been a freedwoman of Severa and in her service, from which, on the change of land-ownership, she may have transferred to the service of Caracalla (both *figlinae Publilianae* and *figlinae Domitianae*). There were thus at least 7 *officinatus*.

Domina has been identified as AEMILIA SEVERA, who was *femina nobilis*. A number of variations have been suggested for her family connections. Steinby has already corrected the PIR prosopography for the relationship of Iulia Dynamis and Aemilia Severa. According to Petersen (PIR) M. Aemilius Marcus Dynarchus, consul in 174, is a relative. This consul's sister would be Aemilia Severa, whose children are Iulius Flaccus Aelianus and Iulia Dyna(rcha), known in brick stamps. This relationship is rendered impossible by chronological evidence, and also a more complete stamp with the whole name Iulia Dynamis has been discovered.²

The name of Aemilia Severa is repeated in the name of Calpurnia Rufria Aemilia Domitia Severa,³ daughter of Ser. Calpurnius Dexter, consul in 225.⁴

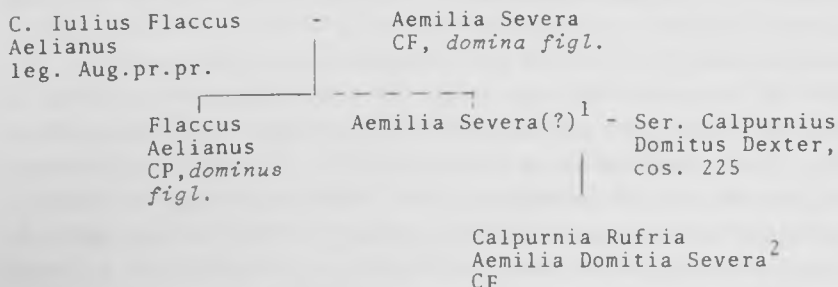
¹ Steinby, 75-78.

² Steinby 74-75 and PIR² I 666 (Petersen); PIR² A 380, PIR² A 428, PIR² I 311.

³ PIR² C 333.

⁴ PIR² C 261.

I suggest the following stemma:



Aemilia Severa was *domina* about 190-210, and her son Flaccus Aelianus was *dominus* soon after 210.

Figlinae Publilianae was therefore transferred to the Emperor in the years 212-217. The reason is unknown to us. There are no precise biographical data on the persons concerned, nor does the literature of the time give any hint of confiscation, which in this case was the most probable reason for the transferring of landed property.

No connection has been found between Flavius Aper, an earlier *dominus* of *figlinae Publilianae*, and Aemilia Severa.³

Agathyrus Aug. lib.

He appears as *dominus* of *praedia Quintanensia* at least in the years 123-152 (461-470, S.577-578 = 465).⁴

¹ The stemma is hypothetical with regard to Aemilia Severa, which is not a very distinctive name.

² The monuments to Calpurnia Rufria Aemilia Domitia Severa (CIL VI 1369) and her father (CIL VI 1368) have survived. They are located between Via Nomentana and Via Tiburtina, which is a good clay district. But inscriptions do not tell, for instance, the site of *figlinae Publilianae*. Cf. Huotari.

³ If we started from the relation of Aemilia Severa to the African Aemilius Macer *gens* (cf. Petersen PIR), we should conclude that Flavius Aper is also to be found in the *gens* of Septimus Severus (cf. Appendix No.6 Stemma No.3 (from Birley) and consequently in that of Caracalla also. The premises and identifications are so shaky, however, that no theory of an African *dominus* tradition for *figlinae Publilianae* can be established.

⁴ Bloch and Steinby connect S.118, a stamp of *officinatus* Claudius Beryllus (a.138) with the stamps of Agathyrus.

Stamp types are as follows:

464	T OCTAVENI GRATI EX P AGAT AVG L APR ET PAET COS	a.123
466	EX PR AGATVRSI AVG LIB VETERE ET GAL COS	a.150
469	EX F AGATHYRSI AVG LIB	
470	AGATHYRSI AVG LIB	

Of his 12 stamps 6 are consular-dated: 2 for 123, 1 for 135, 1 for 150, 1 for 151 and 1 for 152. Agathyrus appears in stamps for over 30 years as *dominus*. As *officinatores* in his stamps are T. Octavenus Gratus (464) and Q. Pomponius Ianuarius (S. 577), the last-mentioned appearing also in a stamp of M. Annius Verus (808). Bloch and Steinby have both placed the stamp of this Verus in the *praedia Quintanensia*. Bloch's explanation is that M. Annius Verus sold part of his installations to Agathyrus. It is quite unthinkable that Annius Verus should have sold land to a total stranger when the rest of the property was divided among heirs. Steinby's explanation is that before the year 123 *praedia Quintanensia* was already split into part of which one was owned by Agathyrus (the following stamps, for instance, could be before the year 123: 462, 463, 469, 470). Steinby's view is that Agathyrus produced mainly the so-called large bricks (*bibedales*, *sesquipedales*), while the stamps of Verus are mostly in *bessales*.¹ An explanation of the former might be found in an agreement for collaboration between *domini* for the rationalization of production in nearby districts. This is also indicated by a common *officinator*.

Regarding the stamps of Agathyrus the following may be noted: before the year 123 stamps had no established form of expression (e.g. 468 and 470); a standard form, defined by Imperial decree, was arrived at in the year 123. This means that *officinator*, consular date and the expression *ex praedis illius* make their appearance in stamps. All of these except *officinator* survive until the decade of 150. In the designation of Agathyrus as *dominus* and

¹ Bloch, Bolli laterizi, 209; Steinby, 80.

in the data given in stamps are to be seen in miniature the development and characteristics of brick stamp information. He is presumed to be a freedman of Trajan or Plotina, and an inscription referring to him has survived at Aricia (CIL XIV 2116). The place of discovery does not necessarily indicate the location of *praedia Quintanensia*. Identification naturally remains open.

C. Allienus Proclus

143	EX PR ALLIENI PROCVL A CRETA	
793	C ALLI PROCLI	
2157	L PVBLICIO CELSO II CLODIO CRISPO COS EX PR AL PROC FIG ALAMENT	a.113

According to Steinby all these stamps belong to the same person. *Dominus* is therefore the owner of both *figlinae a Creta* and *figlinae a Lament*. The stamps are from the early second century.¹ The mere names do not enable us to determine an identity.²

M. Annius Libo

He appears as *dominus* in stamps of *opus Salarese* for the years 127-134 (512-513, S. 146, 514), in which period Bloch has dated the consular pair Iulianus and Castus appearing in S. 146.³ Stamps 512 and 513 are from the year 134. Stamp 514 is undated. Other persons in the stamps are Annius December (512, 515), A. Pontius Clodianus (S. 146) and Euhodus, a slave of C.C() Primi-(genius?). Of these, A. Pontius Clodianus appears also in the stamps of Domitia Lucilla for 123 and 127 (1023, 1039, S. 276).

A common *officinator* for Annius Libo and Domitia Lucilla may be explained thus: part of the property of her husband M. Annius

¹ Cf. arguments, Steinby, 36, 47.

² PIR² A 540 Ti. Allienus Sicinius Quintianus (cf. CIL VI 105, 5163).

³ Bloch, Suppl., 40.

Verus, a praetor who died young, had belonged to Domitia Lucilla, and had passed, though not in its entirety, to the husband's brother M. Annius Libo when the former died. The common *officin*-*ator* might imply that the husband of Domitia Lucilla appears also in brick stamps.¹ This hypothesis cannot be verified from available sources, which in fact consist mainly of brick stamps.

Of the career of *dominus* M. ANNIUS LIBO little is known except that he was consul ordinarius in 128. He had a son, also named Libo, and a daughter, Annia Fundania Faustina,² whose second name tells us that Libo had married Fundania. A possible father for the wife is L. Fundanius Lamia Aelianus, consul in 116.³ The father of this consul was L. Aelius Lamia Plautius Aelianus, consul suffectus in 80,⁴ and the mother was Domitia Longina, wife of Domitianus. The latter was *domina* of *figlinae Sulpicianae* (cf. s.v.). Steinby has verified that the *domini* of *opus Salarese* and of *figlinae Sulpicianae* were often the same.⁵

The son of Annius Libo, who bore the same name, was consul suffectus in 161 and leg. Aug. pr.pr. Syriae. He is known to have died about 163.⁶ The latter's grandson was consul in 204.⁷ Annia Fundania Faustina, the daughter of Annius Libo, appears with her husband in brick stamps (cf. s.v. Fundania).⁸

¹ The appearance of the husband of Domitia Lucilla in brick stamps is possible, of course. But it is almost impossible to distinguish the long-lived father M. Annius Verus, who was three times consul, from the praetor son who bore the same name and died young. The stamps of *officin*-*ator* A. Pontius Clodianus, in which Domitia Lucilla and Annius Libo are *domini*, are from the *figlinae* which are not mentioned by name. One possibility is that it is Annius Verus the son who appears in stamps 802, 806, S.22, in which the *figlinae* is not mentioned by name. Other similar stamps are placed by Bloch and Steinby in the other *figlinae* mentioned by name. Cf. praetor M. Annius Verus PIR² A 696.

² PIR² A 667; Etienne, Les sénateurs espagnols, 66; Birley, Marcus Aurelius, 31.

³ PIR² A 204.

⁴ PIR² A 205.

⁵ Steinby, 83-86, 89-91.

⁶ PIR² A 668.

⁷ PIR² A 648.

⁸ PIR² A 713, cf. Appendix 6. Stemma No.1.

M. Annius Verus

In the *praedia* owned by him was located *figlinae Cerm(anicae?)* (245, 246). Both stamps are from the year 135, and in both the *officinator* is M. Annius Zosimus. Verus is the only known *dominus* of the *figlinae*.¹ As *dominus* Verus is mentioned also in stamps of *praedia Quintanensia*. Bloch and Steinby have shown that the following stamps of Verus are from this *figlinae*: 453, 454, 455, S. 115, 799, S. 221, 800, 805, 807, 808 (10 in number).² Six of the stamps are from 123, one from 134 and three are undated. The following *officinatores* are mentioned: Pomponius Vitalis (123, 134), M. Annius Hermes (123), M. Fabius Licymnus (123), L. Vibullius Successus (123) and Q. Pomponius Ianuarius (undated). Stamps of Zosimus (806 and S. 222) have been found abundantly together with stamps of *praedia Quintanensia*, which indicates that they were sold in combination, as Bloch and Steinby point out.³ Of these only Q. Pomponius Ianuar(ius) appears in the stamp of a second *dominus* (cf. s.v. Agathysus Aug. lib.).⁴

In the *praedia* of M. Annius Verus we know that *opus Salarese* was also produced (478, 479, S. 120, 480, S. 121-481). Two of the stamps are from the year 123 and the others undated. By Steinby's dating not one of the Verus *Salarese* stamps is later than 123.⁴ The landed property which produced *Salarese* was inherited by a son, M. Annius Libo. Other persons mentioned in the stamps: P.P.B. (478-9), Staphilus (S. 120). Of these P. P() B() appears in stamps of *opus Salarese* with the following *domini* simultaneously in the year 123: Cornelia Mall(iola) (486 = S. 124), L. Turr(anius) Gal(lus) (et) T(rebicia) T(ertulla) (498, 500-501). The *officin*-*ator* in question gives an example of the position of *officin*-*ator*

¹ Steinby, 44-45.

² Steinby, 45 and Note 2.

³ Steinby, 78-80. Bloch, Bolli laterizi, 205, 207. Verus is known to have married the widow of his son Libo to his freedman Acaclytus. The son of this union is in turn mentioned in a water pipe inscription with Vibia Aurelia Sabina, who was the youngest daughter of Marcus Aurelius (CIL XV 7401-2) (Morris, The Roman Senate). With Agathysus there may have been some arrangement, though certainly of another type.

⁴ Steinby, 83.

as an independent enterpriser.

The biography of M. ANNIUS VERUS, who was three times consul, is extremely well known. Undeniably he was, after the Emperor, the most influential man of his time. The brief facts of his life are:¹

- consul suffectus 97 (Fasti Ostienses, AE 1954, 220)
- possibly pontifex or flamen 101-102 (PIR, Groag, CIL VI 32445 and 31034)
- frater Arvalis 105 (PIR (Groag), Castillo Garcia, Eck, Senato-ren, 32-33 disputes this, because there was no patrician among fratres Arvalis from Nero to the Severian period.)
- consul II in year 121 (HA vita Marci 1,5)
- praefectus urbi (CIL VI 1340)
- consul III in year 126 (CIL IX 1617)

His father was Annii Verus, of whom the expression praetorius² is used in vita Marci (1,4). The *gens* was elected to the patriciate probably in 73/74. It is said to have originated in Baetica Succubitano in Spain.³

Annius Verus, who held the office of praefectus urbi, may have affected the consular dating of the year 123.⁴ Of this no sources other than brick stamps have survived. The fact that Hadrian was away from Rome for most of the period 123-125 further suggests that the office was used to advantage. Consular dating also furthered control in Imperial clay districts.

A later member of the *gens* is named M. Annii Flavius Sabinus Libo cos. O. 204, which in the view of Morris shows a connection between the Annii and the Flavii Sabini. His theory is that if

¹ PIR² A 695; Syme, Tacitus II, App. No.86, 791-2; Castillo Garcia, Prosopographia Baetica No.47; Etienne, Les sénateurs Espagnols, 59.

² PIR² A 694.

³ All scholars have proposed a Spanish origo. As an alternative Morris wishes to suggest Italy, and specifically the Compsa districts (CIL IX and X) and the Veleia area. One of his reasons is that these districts contain the most epigraphic material concerning the Annii, whereas this hardly exists in Spain; his other reason is that the consular colleagues of the Annii are from these districts. The idea is at least worth careful study.

⁴ Bloch, Bolli laterizi, 325; Steinby, 80

the father of *dominus* Annius Verus married Flavia Sabina, sister of Vespasian, the son's admission to the patriciate in 73 becomes understandable.¹ The wife of *dominus* Annius Verus was Rupilia Faustina, also a *domina* (cf.s.v.).

Annius Verus and Rupilia Faustina had three children; these were two boys, Verus and Libo, and a daughter, Annia Galeria Faustina, for all of whom Annius Verus arranged brilliant marriages. Syme describes him in this respect as a master strategist, and his marriage policy as far-reaching in its effects.² The elder son married Domitia Lucilla, elder daughter of P. Calvisius Tullus Ruso and Domitia Lucilla. The elder Lucilla inherited a great fortune from her maternal grandfather, Curtilius Mancia (cos. 55) and her paternal adoptive grandfather, Cn. Domitius Afer³ (cf. Appendix No.6. Stemma 1).

A third consulship was highly exceptional; since the battle of Actium only two had achieved it and Annius Verus was the first in 19 years. He was regarded as even more influential than Servianus in the middle phases of Hadrian's rule. His power lasted until about 129, because all *ordinarii* of the period were his relatives and allies. Though placed on the superannuation list from 130 to 134, he regained power in 136.⁴

M. Annius Verus, therefore, was grandfather of one Emperor (Marcus Aurelius) and father-in-law of another (Antoninus Pius); through the *gens* of his wife Rupilia Faustina he may have been related to a third and a fourth Emperor (Trajan, Hadrian), and through his mother to a fifth (Vespasian).

¹ Morris, Roman Senate, s.v.; thus the Annii Veri would become related to the *dominae* Flavia Domitilla (cf.s.v. 1st century) and Domitia Domitiani (cf.s.v.). We have no knowledge of clay districts in common, although closeness and similarity have been surmised between *opus Salarese* and *figlinae Sulpicianae*. I have presumed a connection also between Arria Caesennia Paulina and the Flavii.

² Syme has further suggested the existence of a second daughter, Annia; as her husband he suggests Ummidius Quadratus, consul suffectus in 118 (cf.s.v. Ummidius Quadratus); Syme, The Ummidii, *Historia* 17, 1968.

³ Birley, Marcus Aurelius, 25.

⁴ Morris, The Roman Senate, cf.s.v.

Annia Faustina

731 OPVS DOL EX PRED VMIDI QVADRATI
 ET ANNIAES FAVSTINAE EX F
 SEX APRI SILVANI

Domina was the sister of Marcus Aurelius (cf. Appendix No.6 Stemma No.1). ANNIA CORNIFICIA FAUSTINA, who appears with her husband in one stamp. The stamp is dated midway through the second century. *Officinator* is Sex. Aprius Silvanus, who is not known from other stamps. The husband is C. Ummidius Quadratus, consul in an unknown year (cf. s.v.).

Annia Cornificia evidently inherited land both from her mother Domitia Lucilla and her father Annius Verus. Cornificia is known also from a lead pipe stamp (CIL XV 7442).

Anteros Severi(anus) Caes(aris) n(ostri) (servus)

810	DOL EX FIG ANTEROTIS CAES N SER PAETINO ET APRONIAN COS	a.123
811	DOL ANTEROTIS SEVERI CAESARIS N	
812	ANTEROTIS CAES	
813	ANTEROTIS CAE P	

He was the only slave of a *dominus* group. It was quite possible, however, for a slave, particularly an Imperial slave, to be the rightful owner of land.¹ Nothing is known of his earlier work for the Emperor. The stamps of the *dominus* show the many forms of stamping which were practised.

Antonia Manliola

S.62 EX FIG MACEDONIANIS ANTONIAE
 MALLIOLAE
 P S F

¹ A slave's right of land-ownership is problematical, cf. Westerman Sklaverei, RE VI, 1935.

- S.63 HERMETIS ANTONIAE
 MANLIO F
- S.64 HERMETIS ANTON MANLIOLAE
- 822 EX PRAEDIS ANTONIAE MANL
 P RAIVS RYT
 FEC

Steinby has dated the stamps from the first years of Trajan, about 110 AD. *Officinatores* P. Raius Ryt(), P.S() F() and Hermes, also possibly C. Cesenus Clemens (285) do not appear in other stamps.¹ Antonia Manliola brings out once more the many forms in which *domina* was expressed. She was *domina* of the *figlinae Macedoniana*, preceded by the brothers L. Cassius and P. Cassius Cae(), and followed, from 123 onward, by T. Statilius Maximus Severus Hadrianus. The *cognomen* Manliola-Malliola is extremely rare; according to Kajanto it is encountered only in Acilia Manliola and Cornelia Manliola, who are also *dominae*. From Spain we also know an inscription (CIL II 128) dedicated to the deity Endovellicus in which Antonia L.f. Manliola is mentioned.² The persons cannot be connected, because the date, among other things, is missing from the inscription. The *cognomen* implies the upper ranks of society. The brick stamps do not confirm a connection between the Manliola-Malliola *dominae*, as the *cognomen* alone is insufficient. Connections of Antonia Manliola with other *domini* of *figlinae Macedoniana* cannot be verified.

Appius Bradua (potential *dominus*)

- 826 APPI
 BRADVAE
- S.228 APPI
 BRA

This person is not *dominus* by formal definition. The stamps are extremely difficult to date. Owing to the rarity of this type of stamp there is no criterion for dating on the basis of form. Dressel and Bloch have identified the person, APPIUS ANNIUS ATILIUS BRADUA, as consul in 160.³ Identification as Appius

¹ Steinby, 59.

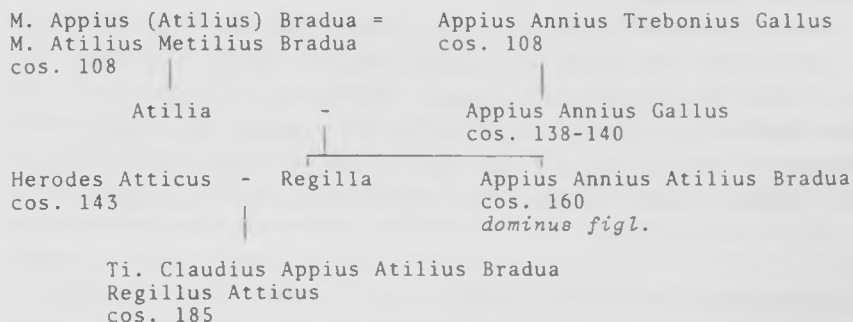
² Kajanto, LC, 167.

³ PIR² A 636.

Atilius is justified by the *cognomen* Bradua, which is not encountered in other *gentes*. The name is thus eminently distinctive. As the dating is uncertain, the form of the name has been used as a means of identification. The form used in the brick stamp is used as such only by M. Appius Bradua, consul suffectus¹ in the time of Trajan or Hadrian. Groag in PIR distinguishes him from M. Atilius Metilius, consul in 108,² but other studies are almost unanimous in uniting the two.³ Use of the same form of name in an inscription and a brick stamp of M. Appius Bradua would support identification with a consul of an unknown year, but there is no justification for uniting him with the consul of 108, whose form of name is unknown.

My starting-point is the identification of Dressel and Bloch, i.e. the person in the stamp is the consul ordinarius of 160.⁴

The *gens* of this person is shown by the stemma:⁵



¹ PIR² A 1298.

² PIR² A 1302.

³ Thomasson, Statthalter II, 101-104; Birley, A., The Roman Governors of Britain, 68-69, 100; Alföldy, Fasti Hisp., 26; Syme, REA 67, 1965, 344; Crook, Concilium principis, 152. Cf. more detailed career in the studies.

⁴ As the dating is unclear, the expert knowledge of Dressel and Bloch is the only correct starting point.

⁵ The genealogical table is made in accordance with Groag's PIR: the following persons appear: PIR² A 636, 654, 692, 1298, 1302, PIR² C 785, 801.

The brother of the consul of 108 appears in a *fistula* stamp (CIL XV 7389).

The brother-in-law of the consul of 160 was Herodes Atticus, a Greek multimillionaire. On the death of his sister in 160 the consul demanded that a charge of murder be brought against Atticus. Bradua was an Italian (Umbria) and a patrician.¹

Aristius Celer
Aristius Strabo

In stamp 834 a *dominus*-societas of the Aristius brothers is expressed. Dressel has dated the stamp to the time of Hadrian. *Officinator* Sex. Vetulenus Thelcon appears in this stamp only. Neither senatorial nor equestrian Aristii are known. The brothers remain "unknown".²

Arminius Cestianus

Dominus is mentioned in all his stamps (482-483, 484 = S. 122, S. 123 = 4 pc.) as owner of *praedia*, and all except one (482) are dated 123. The stamps are one-name. The fellow *dominus* of Trebicia Tertulla in 123 A()C() might be Arminius Cestianus. *Dominus* is one of the numerous *opus Salarese domini* of the year 123. *Dominus* remain unidentified³ (cf. Oc(tavius) Cestianus).

Arria Fadilla

All stamps of Arria Fadilla (69-74, 76-78, 81-91, S. 25-26, 28-29, 32-33 - 26 pc.)⁴ are to be placed at *figlinae Caepionianae*.

¹ Schumacher, Priesterkollegien, 19, 201. He is known to have been the benefactor of some city, evidently Perugia of the Annii or his mother's Pisaurum.

² Cf. Schulze, Eigennamen, name not known.

³ Arminii are known in the Roman region and in Africa. Cf. Schulze, Eigennamen, s.v. Cestianus is a rare cognomen. Cf. Kajanto, LC, 144.

⁴ The latest stamp discoveries are skilfully documented in the work of Steinby, e.g. *f. Caepionianae*, 30, Note 1. I have taken into account mainly the stamps of Dressel and Bloch, also later ones if new persons are revealed in them. The number in brackets, therefore, does not indicate variations of different stamps.

He is expressed as owner of *praedia* in 18 stamps, which with six exceptions are consular-dated: 123 (9), 124 (2), 127 (1) and 128? (1). As owner of *figlinae* he is mentioned in six stamps, only one of which is dated 123. In other ways he is expressed twice (82, 86). The abundance of stamps for the year 123 is a sign of great building activity and consular dating by order; it also indicates that Arria Fadilla should be taken as merely a landowner on whose estates several persons were responsible for brick production in 123. Fadilla appears also in a lead water pipe stamp (CIL V 8117,9).

Officinatores of Arria Fadilla are: Statius Marcius Bassus, Statius Marcius Lucifer, L. Gellius Prudens and T. Rausius Pamphilus. All are encountered earlier in stamps of *figlinae Caepionianae domina* Plotia Isaurica.¹ T. Rausius Pamphilus is encountered also with C. Curriatus Cosanus and Trebicia Tertulla. All stamps of Rausius Pamphilus are undated, although his *domini* are otherwise dated. This indicates the individual character of *officinator*. The previously listed *officinatores* include: Cassia Doris, C. Iulius Lupio and Pettius Proculus. Of these only the last-named is known from other *domini*, namely from the son of Arria Fadilla, Arrius Antoninus. We are acquainted also with some unidentified *officinatores* (5 persons). No *officinatores* at all appear in five stamps.

Domina is to be identified as ARRIA FADILLA, mother of the future Emperor Antoninus Pius. All relatives of Arria Fadilla were the "cream" of Roman society. The father, Arrius Antoninus, cos. 69 and 97, was a candidate for Emperor in his time. Pliny mentions him often, for he wrote epigrams in Greek. His home locality may have been Nemausus, Gallia Narbonensis.² The first husband of Arria Fadilla was T. Aurelius Fulvus, cos. 89.³ Born from this marriage was the future Emperor Antoninus Pius. Aurelius Fulvus died very soon after his year as consul, because the son

¹ Both Steinby and Helen have expounded in great detail the stamps, persons, history and location of *f. Caepionianae*; I therefore merely refer to them. Steinby, 30-33, Helen, 76-82.

² PIR² A 1086; Syme, Tacitus II, 792.

³ PIR² A 1509; " " " , 793.

is known to have been left in his mother's sole care very young. The father of Aurelius Fulvus, who bore the same name,¹ was twice consul and also praefectus urbi. The mother is unknown.

The second husband of Arria Fadilla, P. Iulius Lupus, was consul in 98(?). He was distantly related to the Imperial family of the Flavii. The marriage produced a daughter, Arria Iulia Lupula Fadilla, who is known also as a *domina* (cf. s.v.). Arria Fadilla lost both her husbands quite early. A feature of this period is the death of noteworthy consuls while young. Landed property is concentrated in the Imperial House, on the one hand through Arria Fadilla, on the other through Domitia Lucilla.

The history of *figlinae Caepionianae* makes clear that Arria Fadilla first received that portion of the land which had belonged to Plotia Isaurica, later the portion which had belonged to Ti. Tutinius Sentius Satrianus, and that in 130 the whole area of *figlinae Caepionianae* belonged to Arria Fadilla, who divided it between her daughter and son. Helen has suggested also that part of the area may have gone directly from Tutinius Sentius Satrianus to Arrius Antoninus.² Brick stamp information clearly intimates that land was transferred from Plotia Servilia Isaurica to Fadilla, the possible explanation being kinship. I have presented one family connection through Arria Caesennia Paulina (cf. s.v.). The Caesennii used the *cognomen* Isauricus, and Arria appears in the name of *domina*. The hypothesis remains very weak.

The Arrii from Gallia Narbonensis had close relations with the Ceionii and Avidii of the same region, as well as with the Aurelii. All these *gentes* appear in brick stamps (cf. s.v.).

Arria Caesennia Paulina

- | | |
|--------|--|
| 838 | EX FIGLINIS ARRIAE CAE
SENNIAE PAVLIN |
| S, 232 | EX PRAEDIS ARRIEAE CAE
SENNIAE PAVLIN |

¹ PIR² A 1510.

² Helen, 80.

Domina is mentioned in stamps (2) as owner of both *figlinae* and *praedia*. These stamps are dated to the time of Antoninus Pius. Groag in PIR notes: *femina nobilis(?)*.¹ The following Caesennii are known to us:

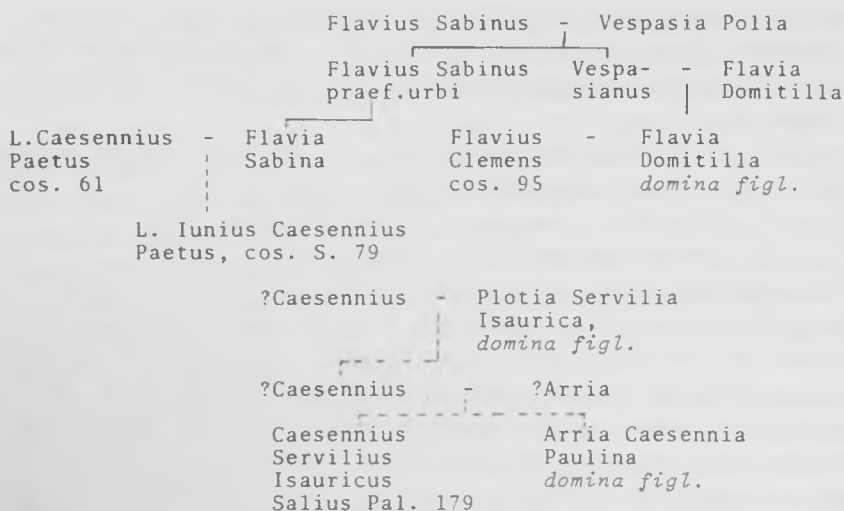
PIR² C 173 L. Caesennius Paetus, cos. 61, *maritus* Flaviae Sabinae,
 PIR² C 174 L. Iunius Caesennius Paetus, cos. S. 79,
 PIR² C 171 Caesennius Isauricus, *Salius Palatinus* 178,
 PIR² C 175 Caesennius Servili(us Isauricus?).

The Caesennii used the *cognomen* Isauricus,² which is also known with *dominae* Plotia Servilia Isaurica and Flavia Seia Isaurica; in the nomenclature also appears Arria, as with *domina* Arria Fadilla. The earlier Caesennii had intermarried with the Flavii, a fact which would support a connection with Flavia Seia Isaurica. Groag mentions the kinship of Caesennius Servilius Isauricus with Plotia Servilia Isaurica.³ The connections Flavii (esp. Flavia Domitilla) - Plotia Servilia Isaurica - Flavia Seia Isaurica - Arria Caesennia Paulina and perhaps Arria Fadilla are eminently consistent with brick stamp information, but much in them is unclear, and they require further evidence for support. The following genealogical table might be considered:

¹ PIR² C 177.

² Isauricus *cognomen* may derive from Servilii of the Republican period. Servilii used also *cognomen* Caepio, cf. Plotia Servilia Isaurica was *domina* of *figlinae* Caepionianae.

³ PIR² C 175.



The stemma is extremely hypothetical. It is based mainly on interpretation of brick stamp data and on the laws for inheritance of a name, which in Rome, however, were not always straightforward. An initial point of importance is the rarity of the *cognomen* Isauricus.¹ Plotia Servilia Isaurica is connected with the Caesennii by two names. From this direction a link attested by brick stamps could certainly be found between Plotia Servilia Isaurica and Arria Fadilla, one proof of which would be Arria Caesennia Paulina (cf. s.v. other *domini* mentioned in the stemma). In any case Arria Caesennia Paulina is *femina nobilis*.²

¹ Cf. PIR² I, 115.

² Believed to be of the same *gens*, though another branch of it, is A. Caesennius Gallus, consul suffectus in the time of Vespasian. His freedman A. Caesennius Eutyclus (S. 414-5) possibly appears in brick stamps found at Ostia. Schumacher, 66, 307; PIR² C 170; CIL XIV 729-731, S. 414 A CAESENNI
EVTYCHI

Further inscriptions of A. Caesennius Gallus have been found at Ostia, so that Schulze's estimate of Etruria as the home locality must be changed to Ostia; there at least they had lands.

Arruntia Camilla (potential *dominus*)

112 ARRVNTIAE CAMILLAE
 CAMILLI F CAMILLA

113a¹ PRIMITIVS ARRVNTIAE
 CAMILLI F CAMILLA

S.40 PrIM ARRVNTIAE CA
 MILLAE FEC

The stamps are dated to the time of Trajan.² No person is announced as *dominus* according to the formal definition. I refer to the indefinite form of brick stamp information.³ Also it is more probable that the slaves of Arruntia Camilla manufactured bricks on her lands than on those of other owners. The person has been identified as ARRVNTIA CAMILLA, daughter of the consul of 32.⁴

S.234 L ARRVNTI

Steinby identifies him either as L. Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus, consul in 32, or as the latter's adoptive father, L. Arruntius, consul in 6.⁵ I support the latter view because surviving material shows that he used the name form L. Arruntius exclusively, while the consul of 32 is never referred to similarly. The dating of the stamp is also probably consistent with the existence of an adoptive father⁶ (cf. 1 century s.v.).

¹ 114 = var. of. 113.

² Steinby, 33-34.

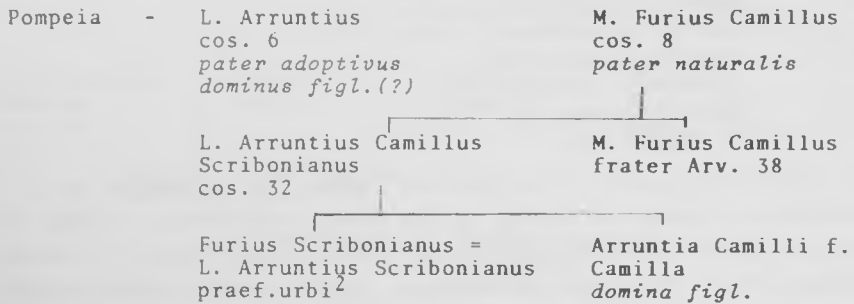
³ E.g. a corresponding stamp is known from the second century:
856 OPERIS DOLIA COSMVS Q ASINI
 MARCELLI

⁴ PIR² A 1152.

⁵ PIR² A 1140.

⁶ PIR² A 1130.

839 L ARRVNTI PHILOXENI from midway in the first century
could be a stamp of a freedman of the consul of 32.

Stemma:¹

The *gens* is among the most notable of the transition phase from Republic to Empire. It has consuls in at least four generations, and women marrying into it are descended from Cn. Pompeius Magnus among others.³ The brother⁴ of Arruntia Camilla was banished in 52 after his father's death and died soon after.

Scholars have disagreed on whether Arruntia Camilla is daughter or granddaughter of the consul of 32. The reason for this is the dating of Arruntia's stamps up to the early years of Hadrian. Steinby considers, however, that the stamps can only be dated to Trajan's time. The estimated age of Arruntia Camilla at the time of the brick stamps is 70-80. The brother died at the end of the decade of 50. Identification as daughter of the 32 consul is supported chiefly by the term *Camilli f(ilia)*. Her sons are not known to have used the name Camillus. The daughter of a banished person was allowed to keep her landed property if she was married.

I consider that the daughter of the consul of 32 appears in the stamps. According to stamp 115 *figlinae Camillianae* was in the Emperor's possession. The Emperor cannot be positively identified because of uncertain dating, but he was most probably Trajan. Confiscation is the most likely explanation, though we know no de-

¹ I have included in the stemma only persons who are relevant from the brick stamp viewpoint.

² Other scholars regard them as two different persons, cf. RE II (1896) Arruntius No.21, 1263-1264 (v. Rohden).

³ Cf. more precisely PIR, RE II (1896) Arruntius No.21, 1263-64.

⁴ PIR² A 1147.

tails. Nor do we know the descendants of Arruntia Camilla, or in fact any later members of the *gens*.

Q Articuleius Paetus (potential *dominus*)

842 Q ARTICVLEI PAETI
 SAGITTA S F
843 Q ARTIC PAETI TERTI S F
844 TERTI Q ARTCV
 LEI PAETI SER

The stmps are from the first decade of the second century, when brick stamp data had not developed. Scholars (Dressel, Groag, v. Rohden, Bloch) are unanimous that the person appearing in stamps is Q ARTICULEIUS PAETUS, consul ordinarius of the year 101.¹ He was consul with Trajan, which proves the Emperor's favour. His father, Q Articuleius Paetus, was consul suffectus in 78 according to Arval documents (CIL VI 2056). *Dominus* is mentioned also in a lead pipe inscription (CIL XV 7281) where his name is one of three officials who supervise production in an Imperial manufactory. Possibly he was then assistant to curator aquarum.² The office may have provided a stimulus for his own activity.

An Articuleius Paetus is known who retained his seat in the senate during the purges of Augustus in 18 BC, whereas his father lost his.³ The descendants of this person in the *gens* used the *praenomen* Q. The *gens* came from Canusium, Apulia.⁴ The son of the consul of 101 was Q. Articuleius Paetinus, consul in 123, who appears often consular dated in brick stamps. Precisely because Paetus and not Paetinus appears in stamps, identification has fixed on the consul of 101 and not on his son.⁵ A *libertus* of the consul of 101 probably appears in one stamps (841 Q Articulei

¹ PIR² A 1177, RE II (1896) Articuleius No.3, 1450; (v. Rohden); Bloch, Bolli laterizi, 78.

² PIR² A 1176, RE S.I. (1903) Articuleius, 145 (Groag); RE S. XII Articuleius No.3a, 99 (Hanslik).

³ PIR² A 1174-1175, RE II (1896) Articuleius No.2, 1450 (v. Rohden).

⁴ Wiseman, New Men in the Roman Senate, 124.

⁵ PIR² A 1173, RE II (1896) Articuleius No.1, 1450 (v. Rohden).

Aepagati). He has no visible connections with other brick stamp persons. In stamp 842 sagitta is the emblem of the slave Sagitta. This supports the position of Paetus as landowner.

Q. Asinius Marcellus

850 EX Pr q A M O D C NVN FORT
 SEVERO et stLOGA
 COS

853 Q ASINI MARCELLI

856 OPERIS DOLIA COSMVS Q ASINI
 MARCELLI

S.237 OP DOL EX F
 Q A M GRAPI
 SER APRON CO a.123

From Asinius Marcellus 16 stamps are known (330 = figl. Med() Q.A.M.) 846-848, S. 235, S. 236, 849-850, 852-854, S. 238, 855-857). Nine of the stamps are dated as follows: 123 (6), 134 (2), 141 (1). The others, according to Steinby's dating, are from the early Hadrian period; 853 var. at most may be late Trajan.¹ These examples show once again the many forms in which *dominus* was expressed. Asinius Marcellus is presented usually as owner of *figlinae*, but also as owner of *praedia* and once as owner of his slave (?). The following *officinatores* are known from stamps: Appia Pyramis, L. Coponius Fortunatus, Cosmus, C. Vettius Comicus, C. Nunnidius Fortunatus and Grappticus. Of these, only Nunnidius Fortunatus is known with other *domini*, and he only with the daughter Asinia Quadratilla (860-861, 862 own stamp of *officinator*).

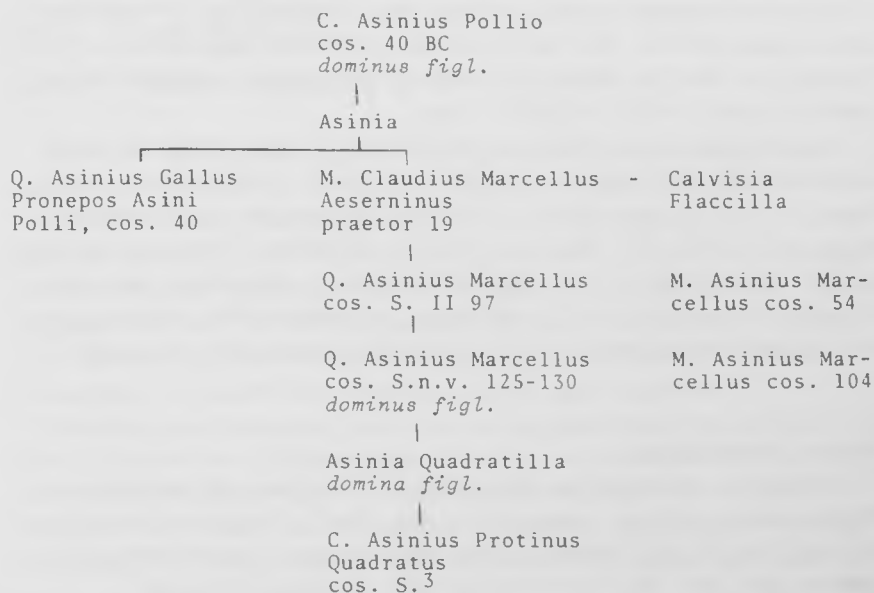
The earlier owner of *figlinae* Med() is C. Bruttius Praesens (331).² The first wife of C. Bruttius Praesens was *una Campana* (Pliny, Ep. 7,3,1), otherwise unknown. This might be Asinia. Originally the Asinii were from Teate Marrucinorum (now Chieti), but the Q. Asinii Marcelli through the marriage of Asinia (cf. further stemma) also acquire Aesernia, the *origo* on the paternal side,

¹ Steinby, 66, esp. note 11, also to 67.

² *Figlinae* Med() was perhaps near Medulina in the Sabine district.

which is on the borders of Campania.¹

The identification of Q. Asinius Marcellus is open to dispute. I identify him as Q. ASINIUS MARCELLUS, who was consul in an unknown year under Hadrian. His father had the same name, consul II 97. The consular year of the *dominus* can be estimated between 125 and 130. Family relationships are best seen from the stemma:²



Oliver has suggested that two bearers of the name Q. Asinius Marcellus were mentioned in brick stamps, the consul of 97 and his son.⁴ But brick stamps contain no indications, either of time or style, that there were two *domini*; the simplest explanation therefore is that bricks were produced only on the lands of the 97 consul's son for some 20 years. That duration provides no problem when it is a question of land-ownership. The consul of 97 is also known to have died in 115, and no earlier brick stamps

¹ Land transfer may be explained also by the unknown daughter of Praesens who married Asinius.

² The stemma is based on: Oliver, AJPh. 68, 1947, and Zevi, Dialoghi di arch. 1, 1973.

³ PIR² A 280.

⁴ Oliver, AJPh. 68, 1947, 154-156.

can be verified.

Zevi has noted that in PIR the Q. Asinii Marcelli (1234 and 1235) are the same person: the *patronus* of Ostia and the consul of 97 are in fact one and the same as the praefectus urbi of 115.¹ Zevi has referred to the father's connections when the son started brick production² after the former's death. I would stress the difference between production and mere landowning. Perhaps the son simply had not the solid income and important offices of his father, so that he needed to exploit the landed property which already existed in his father's time.

Steinby has noted that the distinctive signs connected with *dominus* indicate that the latter took part in production. *Signum*, caput bovis, is the emblem of Asinius Marcellus which appears with two of his *officinatores* and his daughter.³ The *signum* alone is not in my view a sufficient criterion to determine the relation of *dominus* to brick production. - Stamps of Q. Asinius Marcellus and Asinia Quadratilla have been found also in Africa.⁴

Asinia Quadratilla

Domina is expressed as the owner of *figlinae* and *praedia* in three consular-dated stamps (860, 861, 863). They are dated 141, 142 and 150. In all these stamps *officinator* is mentioned (2 in number) and the clay district is not mentioned by name.

Domina is undoubtedly ASINIA QUADRATILLA,⁵ daughter of Q. Asinius Marcellus, *dominus* and consul suffectus about 125-130. Her grandfather, consequently, was the similarly named consul II of 97 and *patronus* of Ostia. Among *officinatores* C. Nunnidius Fortunatus is encountered also in the father's stamps (846-850).⁶

¹ Zevi, *Dialoghi di Arch.* 1, 1973, 62-66, cf. also Cebeillac, *Quaestores*, 70-72, cf. Frei-Stolba, *Untersuchungen zu den Wahlen*, No. 11, 260.

² Zevi, *Dialoghi di Arch.* 1, 1973, 64.

³ Steinby, *licentiate thesis* 293, 320.

⁴ 853 = CIL VIII 22632, 44, and 861 = 11, 863 = 12.

⁵ PIR² A 1260.

⁶ Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*, 207, 514, 556: the *officinator* had a grave at Isola Sacra. Meiggs refers to the *dominus* and connects him

In Kajanto's material the *cognomen* Quadratilla appears in only two cases, both of senatorial rank: Ummidia Quadratilla (first century) and Calpurnia Quadratilla (time of Marcus Aurelius).¹ Problematical stamps are:

- 858 ASINIAF MARCELL FL
 CORINT O D
 E C
- 859 /AF MARCELLI/
 PR
- S.239 ASINIA F MARCELLI FL
 PR

Dressel and Bloch suggest that an error has occurred, that F should be replaced by E. The text might be read as: Asinia F(lavia). Steinby has suggested: Asinia F(ilia) Marcelli, i.e. the same person as Asinia Quadratilla. Steinby dates the stamps midway through the second century, the same period as the stamps of Quadratilla.² Helen interprets the stamp as *dominus*: Asinius A.f. Marcellus,³ an obstacle to which is the father's second praenomen. I regard both *dominae* as the same person.⁴

Steinby has presented an interesting hypothesis starting with the *officinatores* of the daughter of Q. Asinius Marcellus. They are all with the except of Nunnidius Fortunatus the Flavii: Flavius Corinthus, who is later an Imperial *officinatus* (765), Fl(avius) Pr(obus), who in 135 had been *officinatus* of Domitia

with a consul of 97 who was *patronus* of Ostia. Nunnidius appears further in stamps of the granddaughter of the *patronus*, so that retirement was long after the latter's death. Nunnidius may have still further connections with Ostia.

- ¹ Kajanto, LC, 233. It would be interesting to trace the connection with Quadratilla, whose husband is unknown and whose heirs are encountered in brick stamps. But there is no empirical proof of this in stamps.
- ² Steinby, licentiate thesis 425, cf. also 66-67. The stamp is of the same type as 862 of Nunnidius Fortunatus, *officinatus* of Quadratilla, which suggests one person. Other cases are known of several name-types used in stamps, e.g. Iulia Lupula, Statilius Maximus etc.
- ³ Helen, 18, Note 24.
- ⁵ She has been suggested as also belonging to the second Asinius branch. In RE von Rohden suggests that she is the daughter of M. Asinius Marcellus, consul in 104. (RE II Asinius No. 43, 1604). In my view this suggestion complicates the brick stamp information unnecessarily.

Lucilla, and Flavius Maximus. Steinby has further noted that Quadratilla-Marcella stamps are found abundantly with consul M. Flavius Aper (cf. s.v.). Moreover these *domini* have the same *signum*, which is encountered only with them.¹ According to accepted brick stamp interpretation the *domini* are either related or have much work in common. The most natural explanation is that they were a married couple. Other sources do not confirm the hypothesis, nor do they deny it. No evidence of a marriage has been preserved from other sources.

Aterius Carus (Cari(cus?))

Dominus is mentioned as owner of *figlinae* in a one-name stamp (S.91). According to Steinby the stamp and its variant are probably from before the year 123.² The following *dominus* of *figlinae* *Narnienses* was M. Rutilius Lupus (year 123). The name is not distinctive.³

Atilia Quintilla

- 870 TI CLAVDI SVCCES
 A Q
- 871 CRESCENTIS ATILIAE
 QVINTILLAE
- 872 Q VIBI SERV D F ATIL QVINT

Dressel has dated the stamps to the time of Trajan. No other sources for *domina* have survived. The two *officinatores* are encountered with no others. Atilia Quintilla may have been connections with the Atilius, Epidius, Titius, Plautius and Cassius *gentes* (cf. stemma Titia Quartilla s.v.) from north Italy, also known in brick stamps. Atilia Quintilla fits the branch which

¹ Steinby, 77, Note 3; cf. Bloch, Bolli laterizi, 180, 273, 279. Stamps of both Aper and Quadratilla have been found in Africa (CIL VIII 24632).

² Steinby, 68, also Note 2.

³ In the upper ranks of society no Aterius is known (PIR); cf. Schulze, Eigennamen, 269. The *cognomen*, also uncertain, is common; Kajanto LC, 284.

arose from the marriage of Epidia and M. Atilius Sabinus. The *cognomen* Quintilla, which is certainly common, is encountered in the upper ranks of society, especially among the Plautii.¹ *Dominus* L. Plautius Aquilinus, cos. 162, is identified by me as the son of Titia Quartilla, also a *domina*, and thus belongs to the same grouping.²

Avidius Quietus

2397 = S. 460 EX FIGLINIS
 AVIDI QUIET

The stamp has been found in Ostia and Sardinia (CIL X, 8046, 11). Avidius Quietus is identified as T. Avidius Quietus, consul suffectus in 93,³ or the latter's son T. AVIDIUS QUIETUS, consul suffectus in 111. The latter identification is by Bloch,⁴ and seems justified. Steinby dates the stamp broadly to the time of Trajan or Hadrian.⁵

The career of the elder Avidius Quietus is extremely well known. He was one of Domitian's favourite senators, but less favoured by Vespasian and Titus. He was both proconsul Achaiae and proconsul Britanniae. He is known to have died before the year 107.⁶ The younger Avidius Quietus was consul suffectus in

¹ Kajanto, LC, 174.

² Atilia Quintilla is not known to have been connected with the second Atilius *dominus* Annius Appius Atilius Bradua, consul in 160. Known from a lead pipe stamp (CIL XV:2 7794) is T. Atilius Rufus Titianus, consul in 127, who possibly belongs to the same north Italian *gens*.

³ PIR² A 1410.

⁴ Bloch, Suppl. 92.

⁵ Steinby, licentiate thesis, Appendix VII.1. The *fistula* stamp CIL XV, 2 7400 T AVIDI QUIETI belongs to the younger consul and not to legatus Domitiani, as Dressel has estimated.

⁶ PIR² A 1409; RE S. VI (1935) Avidius No.7a, 18 (Groag); Kleine Pauly, Avidius No.5, 787-788, in which the proconsular years are erroneously given; cf. Eck, *Senatoren*, 65-66, 142, 199 and Note 355.

111 and proconsul of Asia 125-126. The Avidii Quietii were from Faventia (Aemilia, now Faenza) in Italy.¹ The brother of the elder T. Avidius Quietus was Avidius Nigrinus, who was probably proconsul of Achaia under Domitian. The brothers were friends of Plutarch.² The brother's son was C. Avidius Nigrinus, consul suffectus in 110 and subsequently governor of Achaia; he was also governor of Dacia 112-117, and possibly of Moesia before his death. Hadrian hoped to have him as his successor, but nonetheless had him murdered in 118.³

Avidia, daughter of C. Avidius Nigrinus, consul in 110, married L. Aelius Caesar, father of Lucius Verus. The sister of Lucius Verus married the son of Q. Servilius Pudens, consul in 166, who bore the same name as his father, the *dominus* from brick stamps. Plautius Aquilinus, consul in 162 and son of Avidia Plautina, second daughter of the same Avidius Nigrinus, is also known in brick stamps (cf. s.v. stemma). The story of this *gens*, like that of others, reflects the concentration of landed property, ultimately in the hands of the Emperor. The Avidii were related to the Ceionii and perhaps also to the Aurelii, who were closely connected and related to the Annii. The Avidii, therefore, were closely linked to the most eminent landowning *gentes* of the Roman area.

L. Bellicius Sollers

887a	EX F L BELlici SOLLERTI
888	DE PRAEDIS L B S
S.241	L VELICI SOLLEA
Acta IRF	
VII	

¹ Birley, *The Roman Governors of Britain*, 68.

² PIR² A 1407; Kleine Pauly, Avidius No.3, 787 (R.H.); Eck, *Senatoren*, 218.

³ PIR² A 1408; Kleine Pauly, Avidius No.4, 787-788; Eck, *Senatoren*, 14 Note 63, 165 Note 227, 178, 180, 182, 218. RE S.VI (1955) Avidius No.5, 6 (Groag).

Steinby has dated the stamps to 115-120.¹ *Dominus* stamps are the best example of the multiform appearance of *dominus*: the same *dominus* is shown as the owner of *figlinae* and *praedia* as is shown by the name alone. The stamps are one-name. *Dominus* is identified as L. BELLICIUS SOLLERS, consul suffectus in the time of Trajan, probably 106. He was originally Ti. Claudius Alpinus, but Bellicius Sollers, of senatorial rank but unknown from the sources, probably adopted him.² A Veronese inscription (CIL V 3337) makes clear that the father of Bellicius Sollers was Ti. Claudius Augustanus, procurator of Britain, and that the wife's name was Claudia Ti.f. Marcellina.

Our knowledge of Sollers' career includes the following (CIL V 3338, 3356). It started as a typically equestrian career (tribunus legionis II Augustae, praefectus alae Gallicae and procurator Augusti (Dalmatiae)). His consulship was very late in coming. Pflaum estimates that he reached the Senate only in 105 (vir praetorius).³ Pliny mentions Sollers (Ep. 5,5,1).⁴ The passage in Pliny may be connected with brick production and perhaps with sale of bricks direct from place of manufacture. It shows at least that Sollers acted as a commercial enterpriser, so that in all likelihood he was also a producer in the brick industry. It may be further concluded that the *praedia* of Sollers was in ager Vicentinus. Vicetia is located in north Italy. Inscriptions have also survived in the Verona region, but the bricks do not originate from here. Ti. Claudius Alpinus, leg. Aug. Arabiae about 116-119, is not *dominus* Bellicius Sollers.⁵

¹ Attached to Steinby's licentiate thesis is a dating list with dates for all stamps found at Ostia. All datings without a source reference are taken from this unprinted list.

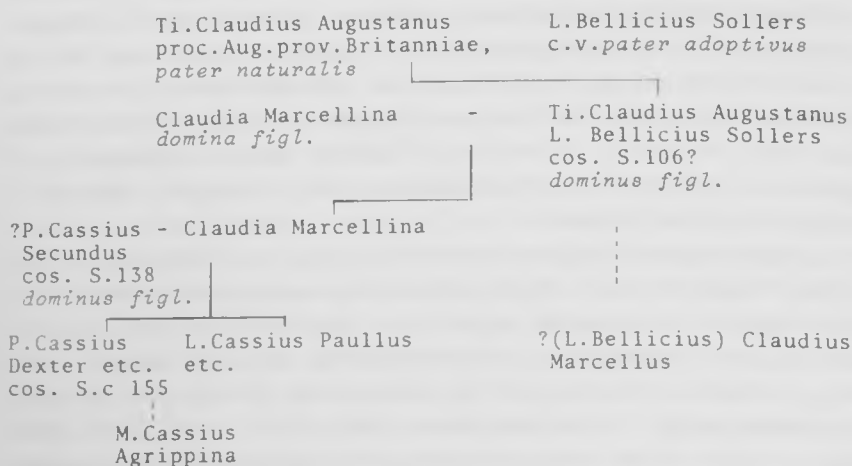
² PIR² B 103; Kleine Pauly, Bellicius No.5, 858 (R.H.).

³ Pflaum, Carrières, I², 160-163.

⁴ "Res parva, sed initium non parvae, vir praetorius Sollers a senatu petiit ut sibi instituere nundinas in agris suis permitteretur. Contra dixerunt legati Vicetinatorum, adfuit Nominatus, Dilata causa est." (Pliny, Ep. 5,5,1).

⁵ There has been dispute on this point: cf. e.g. RE S. XIV Claudius No.41a, 98 (Eck), also Bowersock, ZPE, 5, 1970, 45-47.

Pflaum has put forward a prosopographical hypothesis which is interesting from the brick stamp viewpoint.¹ The starting-point for a genealogical table was L. Cassius Paullus Augustanus Alpinus Bellicius Sollers.



Toward the end of his life, as shown in brick stamps late in the decade of 110, Bellicius Sollers acquired great landed properties in the suburban area and in Castrimoenium, where an inscription in honour of his son² is known. Marriage with *domina* Claudia Marcellina (cf. s.v.) may have been the reason for increased lands. In my view Pflaum's table is supported by brick stamp evidence,³ although there is no clear record of land transfers between Claudia Marcellina and P. Cassius Secundus. Well consistent with *dominus* history is also Pflaum's belief that M. Cassius Hortensius Paulinus belonged to the same *gens*.

¹ Pflaum, AEA, 39, 1966, 3-23; I have taken only that part of the stemma which is relevant to *domini*.

² PIR² B 100 (L. Bellicius) Claudius Marcellus; nothing further is known of the son (cf. stemma).

³ Steinby opposes the appearance of consul P. Cassius Secundus as *dominus*, particularly because of brick stamp dating.

C. Biculeius Priscus (suburban)

2380 D F C BICVLEI PRISCI

The stamp is from Tibur, and is dated by Dressel to the early second century. He is mentioned as a meritorious citizen of Tibur in *cippus marmoreus*¹ also found there. He bequeathed his property to the town of Tibur, perhaps his clay-land also. The *cippus* is undated, but the person in question is certainly the same. *Dominus* is a typical small-town landowner and producer who did not produce for a great city.

C. Bruttius Praesens (potential *dominus*)

331 C BRVTTI PRAESENT
MED

Considered to be *dominus* of the second stamp of *figlinae Med(ullianae)* is Q. A(sinius) M(arcellus) (330). Both stamps are dated to the time of Hadrian, but Steinby recommends an earlier dating for the stamp of Praesens than for that of Asinius Marcellus.² A connection between the two *domini* may be found in the fact that we know the first wife of Praesens, who is otherwise unknown, to have been *una Campana* (Pliny, Ep. 7,3,1) (cf. s.v. Asinius Marcellus). On the evidence of brick stamps Asinia is a possible wife. Aesernia on the borders of Campania became the home of the Asinii. It is also possible that the daughter of Praesens married Asinius and that thus *figlinae Med()* changed its owner. Other sources provide no proof of possible marriages such as persons in whom names used by the *gentes* in question are found together.

Though the person does not fit the definition of *dominus*, the rarity of the name justifies his identification with the well-known senators Bruttii Praesentes. He is to be identified as C. BRUTTIUS PRAESENS L. FULVIUS RUSTICUS, consul ordinarius II in

¹ CIL XIV 3654, CIL XIV 4092, 6; Schulze, Eigennamen, 460, Note 1.

² Steinby, 66.

139. The career of Bruttius Praesens is known in detail, and dozens of prosopographies have been written concerning him since 1960.¹ Bruttius Praesens appears also in *fistula* stamps.² The consul was from Lucania, where the *gens* had property. All inscription material (CIL IX 4915, 4921, 4923) including bricks and water conduits shows that the family of Bruttius Praesens owned a *praedia* in the area of Trebula Mutuesca. Part of the inscription material derives from a suburban area along the via Salaria named Vicus Novus, which had a degree of autonomy in the first and second centuries. Here Bruttius Praesens had a villa. Both places are situated near each other, and also *figlinae Med()*.³

The names L. Fulvius Rusticus indicate adoption. In the name of L. Fulvius Aburnius Valens, cos. 109, a noted jurist and brother of *dominus* Q. Aburnius Caedicianus (cf. s.v.), the same L. Fulvius is repeated. The Milanese L. Fulvius Rusticus, who may have been the name-giver, is known to us, but we have no further knowledge of the adopter.

Pliny wrote one letter to Praesens about the year 107.⁴ Pliny lays stress on his relations with the most notable persons of the Empire. Despite the initial slowness of his career Praesens became one of the most eminent men under Trajan and, particularly, Hadrian. His career culminates in a second consulship under Antoninus Pius in 139, when he was about 70 years old. He was an excellent friend of Hadrian.⁵ Praesens was the son of Bruttius

¹ PIR² B 164 (Groag); RE S. XIV (1974) Bruttius No.5, 77; Thomasson, Statthalter II, 66-68; Alföldy, Fasti Hispanienses, 185-186; Schumacher, Priesterkollegien, 74-5.

² CIL IX 4906 = CIL XV, 2 7912, CIL XV, 2 7796.

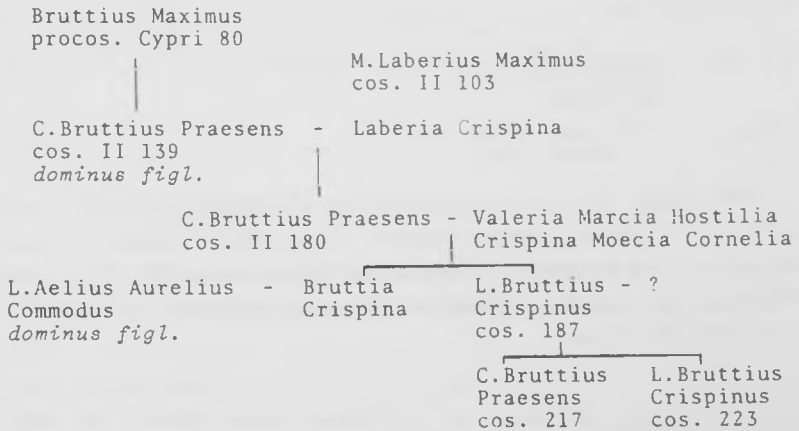
³ Torelli, Epigraphica 1962, 56-68; Eck, Beförderungskriterien, 174; Dressel; Steinby, 66.

⁴ Some scholars have suggested the existence of two Praesentes, one the friend of Pliny, the other the consul of 139 (Groag in PIR, and others). The majority unite the two; see Note 3, Pliny, Ep. 7,4.

⁵ The career is more precisely explained in studies mentioned earlier. He was, for instance, trib.mil. about 89-93, aedilis about 100-110, praetor 112(?), cos. S.119 (118?), leg.Aug.pr.pr. Ciliciae 117, Moesiae 124-128, Cappadociae 127-130, proconsul prov.Africae 133/4 or 134/5.

Maximus and proconsul Cypri in the year 80.¹ The wife of Bruttius Praesens - not of his father, as some have surmised - was Laberia Crispina (died between 153 and 180). Laberia Crispina was the daughter² of M. Laberius Maximus, cos.ord. II in 103 and a favourite of Trajan. Her grandchildren, Bruttia Crispina³ the wife of Commodus and L. Bruttius Crispinus the consul, received the *cognomen* of their grandmother. Marriage with Laberia Crispina was undoubtedly a positive step in the political career of Bruttius Praesens. His father-in-law was among the most eminent politicians of his time up to 113, when he was banished. The Bruttii remain an important family⁴ in the third century (cf. stemma), thanks particularly to marriage with the Antonines. Bruttius Praesens is a further example of private lands transferred to the Imperial family.

Bruttii:



¹ Alföldy, *Fasti Hispanienses*, 186, Note 20.

² Kleine Pauly, *Laberius* No.2, 428 (R.H.); *PIR*² L 9.

³ *PIR*² B 170.

⁴ *PIR*² B 163 and 167.

L. C() Iuven()

515a SERVIANO III COS
 SAL EX PR L C IVVEN

a.134

The following possibilities are found in PIR: L. Cassivs Iuvenalis, cos.suff. 151-160 (PIR² C 496).¹ (C)aecilius (Iu)ventianus, procurator Augusti (Norici). Idem videtur Caecilius Iuventianus cui imperator Pius rescripsit dig. 48, 18, 10 pr. (PIR² C 52). The latter identification fits better regarding time, and similarly Caecilius Iuventianus would fit as the heir of Caecilia Quinta. Steinby has noted that the same *domini* are found in the *Salarese* and *Sulpicianae* districts, lending further probability to the kinship. However, the identification remains quite hypothetical.

Caecilia Quinta

575 EX FIGLINIS
 CAECIL QVINTAE
 SVLPICIANI

576a FIGL CAEL QVINT T FL
 ROMANI SVLP

The stamps are from the beginning of Hadrian's time.² *Offici-nator* T. Fl(avius) Romanus appears in no other stamps. I have suggested as his kinsman L. Caecilius Iuventianus (?) (515, L.C.() IVVEN() (cf. s.v.)). Otherwise the name provides no possibilities for identification.

Caelius Iulianus

475 DE FIGVLINIS SAENIANIS
 CAELI
 IVLIANI
 C V

¹ Consul suffectus is also mentioned by Steinby in a note: Steinby, 85, note 5.

² Steinby, 90 and 90, note 3.

In the stamp Caelius Iulianus does not meet the defining condition: expression *ex praedis* or *ex figlinis*. The expression here is *ex figlinis illis illius*. However, the term C V supports his treatment as part of the *dominus* group.¹ The stamp is dated to the end of Antoninus Pius or the beginning of Marcus Aurelius.² Caelius Iulianus is identified as M. CAELIUS IULIANUS, who was tr(ibunus l(ati)c(lavius) (legionis XIII geminae). The inscription is not dated, but is considered not to be from earlier than Marcus Aurelius (CIL III 995).³

Caetennia Chione

Domina is mentioned in two stamps of *figlinae Myrinianae* as the owner of *praedia* (341 = S. 89) and also *figlinae* (342). Stamp 341 is dated 134. *Officinator* P. T() E() is not encountered in other stamps. Among stamps of *figlinae Myrinianae dominus* is mentioned only in the above.⁴ No Caetennius is known in the higher ranks.⁵

Calpurnius Proculus

EX FIGLINAS CALPVR
NI PROCVLI C V

Camilli and Steinby have dated the stamp to the time of Severus.⁶ Identification of *dominus* is difficult because e.g. we know

¹ Cf. s.v. Aelia Severa.

² Steinby, 82; Bloch, Bolli laterizi, 85, note 79.

³ PIR² S 135. *Dominus* might also be C Aelius Iulianus, but it seems improbable. Cf. note 2; the Aelius Iuliani PIR² A 195 and 196 are too late. PIR² C 128 M. Caelius Clodianus and PIR C 144 Caelia Galla are possible kinsmen of Caelius Iulianus.

⁴ Steinby, 67; Bloch, Suppl. 25-26.

⁵ PIR; Cf. Schulze, Eigennamen, 137, 351.

⁶ Camilli, etc., RAL 28, 1974, 299; Steinby, MemAccLinc. XVII 1974, 100-101.

several similarly named representatives of the higher social orders, and their careers cannot be easily dated.¹ I suggest the following stemma:²

?Calpurnia Secunda
domina figl.

Domitia Regina -	L.Calpurnius	P.Calpurnius -	Servenia Cornuta
	Proculus	Proculus	Cornelia Calpurnia
	procos.Achaiae	leg.Aug.pr.pr.	Valeria Secunda
		Daciae	

?Calpurnius
Proculus
procos.Asiae
dominus figl.

The suggested kinship of Calpurnia Secunda and Calpurnius Proculus is based on brick stamps and on the name of the wife of P. Calpurnius Proculus (cf. Calpurnia Secunda s.v.). Some scholars consider the proconsuls of Achaia and Asia to be the same person.³ The *gens* was from Antioch and had connections with the royal *gentes* of Asia Minor, e.g. the Iulii Severi. CALPURNIUS PROCULUS, proconsul, is a rarity in the history of brick information as a private *dominus* of the third century. Other severian *domini* are: Aemilia Severa, Flavius Titianus, C. Fulvius Plautianus, C. Iulius Flaccus Aelianus and Mummia Vara. Most of them (cf. s.v.) are as more or less distant relations of the Severus *gens*. The relation of Calpurnius Proculus to the same grouping could be explained through Calpurnia Rufria Aemilia Domitia Severa.⁴ The indications are not strong enough, however, to support a connection with the grouping. The Calpurnii were from Asia and the Severus grouping came from Africa.

¹ PIR² C 302-305.

² The stemma follows mainly the view of Barbieri, *Albo senatorio*, No. 1987, 342.

³ Kleine Pauly, Calpurnius No.24, 1025, (R.H.); Cf. PIR.

⁴ PIR² C 333; father C 261.

Calpurnia Secunda

610 EX FIG CALPVRNIAE SECVNDAE
 TEMPE

new F T CALPVRNIAE SECVNDAE
 O D VISMATI SVCCES¹

611 CALPVRNIAE SECVNDAE
 TEMPESINA

The stamps of Calpurnia Secunda are dated to the two first decades of the second century. Her *libertus-officinatus* Calpurnius Spatalus has his own stamp (609). The new stamp is extremely interesting. Revealed in it as *officinatus* of Calpurnia Secunda is Vismatius Successus, who himself appears as *dominus* in the *figlinae* not mentioned by name. Steinby has suggested that Vismatius Successus might chronologically fit as *dominus* of *figlinae Tempesinae* between Calpurnia Secunda and Q. Aburnius Caedicianus.² The name of *domina* is not in itself distinctive. We know the *dominus* Calpurnius Proculus, who is dated to the end of the second century or beginning of the third.³ The wife of a certain P. Calpurnius Proculus Cornelius⁴ was Servenia Cornuta Cornelia Calpurnia Valeria Secunda Cotia Procilla ... Luculla,⁵ in whose name is repeated the name of our *domina*. There is at least a suggestion of kinship (cf. stemma s.v. Calpurnius Proculus). Most probably there were several generations between *domini*.⁶ Calpurnia may be ranked as *femina nobilis*(?).

¹ Steinby, MemAccLinc. XVII, 1974, 98-100.

² Steinby, 92.

³ Camilli etc., RAL 28, 1974, 299.

⁴ PIR² C 305, forse 304.

⁵ PIR¹ S 405.

⁶ The names of both Calpurnii are common, which naturally weakens the hypothesis.

Q. Canusius Praenestinus (potential *dominus*)

913a Q CANVSI PRAENESTINI
 b /CANVSI
 PRENESTINI

The person does not fit the definition of *dominus*. The rarity of the name justifies his identification as Q. CANVSIVS PRAENESTINUS, consul in 157.¹ The stamp is difficult to date. He is known too from an inscription: (CIL XIV S. 3932) *Q. Canusius Praenestinus/Maceriam et ol/laria libertis/libertabusque/suis fecit*. This was discovered beside via Nomentana, which suggests Nomentum as a home locality. It belonged to the Roman clay district. Place of discovery is no sure guarantee of home locality, however. Both *nomen* and *cognomen* are otherwise unknown in the upper ranks of society,² but because both names are formed from Italian cities he may have been Italian in origin.

Q. Cassius Caecil()

Dominus is mentioned as the owner of *figlinae opus Salarese* (517). The stamp is dated by Dressel to the beginning of Hadrian. *Officinator* Glypt(us) Calp(etanus?) is not encountered in other stamps.³ *Dominus* cannot be identified.

Cassius Secundus

S.328 TI CLAVD HILAR EX PR CAS
 SECVND HERCL
 PIL

Steinby has dated the stamp (S. 328) to the very beginning of the decade of 120. The stamp of *officinator* is from 124 (1230).

¹ PIR² C 402 (Groag); RE III (1893) Canusius, 1502-3 (Groag). He is known also from a water-pipe stamp: (CIL XV, 2 7423), which bears the same text as stamp 913a. The stamp is wrongly dated to the early second century.

² Kajanto, LC, 182.

³ Steinby, 83.

According to Steinby the same person appears in stamp 917: C CASSI SECVND.¹ This stamp is dated to the Trajan period. I consider C. Cassius Secundus and *dominus* Cassius Secundus to be different persons because of differences in the brick stamp data.²

I regard P. CASSIUS SECUNDUS, consul suffectus in 138,³ as *dominus* in stamps S. 328 and in the stamps of *officinator* Ti. Claudius Hilarus. For *dominus* Bloch has suggested either the consul or the latter's unidentified father, who bore the same name.⁴ Identification of *dominus* with the consul is made more certain by the fact that we know Cassius Secundus to have reached the consulship very late, so that in the decade of 120 he might already have been at the "landowning age".

Pflaum has presented a new hypothesis which is of interest from the standpoint of brick stamp persons (cf. stemma s.v. Bellicius Sollers). He asserts that the daughter of Bellicius Sollers and Claudia Marcellina married the consul of 138, i.e. the supposed *dominus*. His evidence is provided by the persons P. Cassius Dexter Augustanus Bellicius Sollers Metilius ... Rutilianus, L. Cassius Paullus Augustanius Alpinus Bellicius Sollers and M. Cassius Agrippa Sanctus Paullinus Augustanius Alpinus, who are explained as "consequences" of this marriage. *Dominus* Cassius Hortensius Paulinus also fits into the same *gens* grouping.⁵ Because the clay districts of *domini* are not mentioned by name, it cannot be said that brick stamps support Pflaum's hypothesis empirically, but

¹ Steinby, 71-72.

² I admit that *dominus* can be expressed also by a name alone, e.g. Bellicius Sollers etc. In the case of Cornelius Priscus, for instance, a distinction was made between *dominus* and non-*dominus*. Steinby has regarded stamp 1230 as belonging to Iunius Sulpicianus, which is perhaps a needless complication of the data. Stamps 1230 and S. 328 in my opinion are similar in style and information.

³ PIR² C 521. The consul of 138 was no longer in office under Antoninus Pius. Kleine Pauly, Cassius No.19, 1075 (R.H.).

⁴ Bloch, Bolli laterizi, 195, 204.

⁵ Pflaum, AEA 39, 1966, 3-33.

rather theoretically. As I have no wish to say that land was transferred from Claudia Marcellina to Cassius Secundus, mainly because the stamp datings are incompatible, I merely point to the tradition among families of exploiting land by brick production of tenants.

The son of Claudia Marcellina and P. Cassius Secundus was P. Cassius Dexter,¹ quaestor in 138, the year of his father's consulship (which may indicate the father's advanced age as consul), and consul suffectus in 155.² His wife was Annia Q.f. Rufina.³ P. Cassius Secundus was from Transpadana in Italy according to Pflaum's researches.⁴

Although land transfers cannot be empirically verified, we can speak of a new brick stamp *gens* grouping from north Italy. According to my own studies Transpadana is the new home district of the *domini* (cf. Chapter III.2).

Claudius Alexander

2165 OP DOL EX FIG CLAVDI
 ALEXANDRI
S.417 EX OFICINA CLAVDI
 ALEXANDRI

Steinby has dated the stamps to the turn of the decades 130 and 140. Claudius Alexander is expressed as owner of both *figlinae* and *officina*, i.e. he is expressed as both *officinator* and *dominus*. The pair of stamps supports the notion that *officinator* can be defined only as the second person in a stamp⁵ (cf. Chapter I. 2). The name Claudius Alexander gives no possibilities for identification.⁶ A tentative suggestion is Ti. Claudius Alexander

¹ Cf. the above article of Pflaum, in which he suggests L. Cassius Paullus Augustanius Alpinus Bellicius Sollers as second son, cf. *stemma* s.v. Bellicius Sollers.

² PIR² C 490 (Groag); Schumacher, *Priesterkollegien*, 121.

³ PIR² A 722 (Groag).

⁴ Pflaum, *AEA* 39, 1966.

⁵ The possibility of two separate persons must of course be considered.

⁶ Procurator of same name, Pflaum, *Carrières* II, 689-690 No.256 is too late.

(CIL XV, 2 7616), whose name is found on a lead water-pipe which is dated earlier than the brick stamp. A hypothetical connection is possible between the *domini* Ti. Claudius Celsus - Claudius Alexander - Ti. Claudius Iulianus (cf. s.v.). *Origo* would then be Asia Minor.

Ti. Claudius Celsus

Dominus is presented as the owner of both *praedia* and *figlinae* *Platanianae*. (392, 393, 394 = S. 97, 395 = S. 98, 5 pc.) The stamps in question are all consular-dated either 123 or 124. The stamps are one-name. Steinby has shown that stamp 891 also belongs to a *dominus*, the evidence being an emblem (*signum*).¹ We know Ti. Claudius Celsus Orestianus, who was *archiereus Asiae templorum Pergamenorum*. Known from inscriptions is his wife Flavia Lycia and his father Claudius Polemo, who was *eques romanus*.² An inscription in honour of Pergamum in which Orestianus is mentioned is dated from the time of Hadrian to Caracalla. Bloch has noted that stamps of Claudius Celsus have been found in plenty at Villa Hadriana, from which it may be concluded that he was in the Emperor's favour.³ This would presuppose a high equestrian career like that of Claudius who was introduced earlier.⁴

Pergamum implies a connection with a second and perhaps a third *dominus*. In an inscription Ti. Claudius Celsus Orestianus is mentioned as the son of (Ti.) Claudius Polemo. On the other hand we know that the grandfather of consul Ti. Claudius Iulianus from Ephesus (or Sardes), a supposed *dominus*, was Ti. Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus, consul in 92.⁵ Indications of the upper classes and relationship in Asia Minor exist. In the stemma prepared by Groag

¹ Steinby, 72.

² PIR² C 829, PIR² C 963.

³ Bloch, Bolli laterizi, 176-177, 326.

⁴ Kajanto, LC, 230. The commonness of the names Claudius and Celsus does not justify positive identification.

⁵ PIR² C 829, 963, 902, 947, PIR² I 260 cf. stemma 197; Lambrechts, La Composition, No. 704, 120, is evidently wrong in speaking of Ti. Claudius Celsus Polemaeanus.

appears Ti. Cl. Alexander as father-in-law of the daughter of the consul of 92; the father-in-law's name is encountered also in brick stamps. The common nomenclature does not permit sure identification, however. A more certain connection exists, I believe, between Ti. Claudius Celsus and Ti. Claudius Iulianus, both of Asia Minor.

A *dominus* of *figlinae Platanianae* later than Celsus was Ti. Statilius Maximus Severus Hadrianus, for whom an *origo* in the east (Heliopolis) has been surmised. The connection remains unclear. The relation of Claudius Celsus to the preceding *domina* Gavia Hamilla cannot be verified from other sources.

Ti. Cl() Iul()

new stamp¹ ...OS EX PR TI CL IVL...
 ...RVT... PRIS ...

The stamp publisher Coste connects *dominus* with Claudius Iullus (cf. s.v.) of stamp 931. A better starting-point in my view is *officinator*, who can be linked with Brittius (for Brittidius) Priscinus, *officinator* of stamp 133. *Domina* in the stamp is Faustina, and the stamp can therefore be dated 155-176. *Officinator*, if used as a basis, would identify *dominus* of the new stamp as TI. CLAUDIUS IULIANUS, consul suffectus in the year 159.² Connection with Claudius Iullus is prevented by differences of information and dating between the stamps. 931 is dated to Hadrian (Dressel).

The consul of 159 was from Ephesus.³ His career is well known. After the consulship he was, for instance, leg.Aug.pr.pr. Germaniae Inf. in 160. He was the friend of Fronto.⁴ The letters of Fronto to him are from the year 162, and in them Fronto supposes Iulianus to be in the favour of the Emperors Marcus and Verus, just as he is in the writer's favour.

¹ Coste, RendPontAcc. 43, 1970-71, Bolli inediti No.4.

² PIR² C 902.

³ Lambrechts, La Composition, No.704, 119-120.

⁴ Fronto 1,5;1,18.

I have assumed connections between Ti. Claudius Iulianus and another earlier *dominus* from Asia Minor, Ti. Claudius Celsus (cf. s.v.). In Groag's¹ stemma of the *gens* of Ti. Claudius Iulianus appears Ti. Claudius Alexander, and a *dominus* of this name is encountered also in brick stamps. The nomenclature does not permit the identification to be taken for granted. In Kuusanmäki's interpretation *figlinae Caniniana* came into Faustina's possession after the year 161, in which case it would also have belonged to Marcus Aurelius. The common *officinator* Brittidi Priscus implies that the property of Claudius Iulianus was transferred to the imperial family in the decade of 160.² One possibility would be confiscation. No later members of the *gens* are known, at least. I would stress that the new stamp is fragmentary, and for this reason the foregoing identifications are hypothetical.

Claudius Iullus

Dominus is mentioned as the owner of *figlinae* in a one-name stamp (931). Steinby has dated the stamp to Trajan. A legatus proconsulis from the province of Asia is known. Eck has dated the conduct of the office to the time of Vespasian, though with some uncertainty.³ The person concerned is thought to be the same as Claudius Iullus, who wrote in the first century.⁴ *Dominus* may be the same person, though questions of dating are still uncertain. I identify him as CLAUDIUS IULLUS, the legate in question.

Claudius Livianus

559 PAET ET APR COS
EX FIG CL LIB SVL

a.123

¹ PIR² C 902.

² A corresponding explanation is given by Helen for the common *officinator*, A. Aristius Thallus, of A. Plaetorius Nepos and L. Ceionius Commodus (cf. s.v. A. Plaetorius Nepos).

³ Eck, *Senatoren*, 40.

⁴ RE S. XIV (1974) Claudius No.197, 101 (Eck); PIR² C 903.

932 (compl.)	APR ET PAE COS EX F CL LIVIAN S	a.123
2317	CL LIVIANI	

Stamp 2317 is earlier than the stamps of the year 123.¹ In all stamps it is thought that the same person appeared. He is known also from lead pipe stamps: (CIL XV 7882 TI CLAVDI LIVIANI PR PR). He was *dominus* of *figlinae Sulpicianane*. He has been identified as Ti. Iulius Aquilinus Castricius Saturninus Claudius Livianus, who was *praefectus praetorio* under Trajan.² Claudius Livianus was *praefectus praetorio* about 101-102 and possibly afterwards. He took part in the Parthian campaigns (114-117), and was then one of Hadrian's friends in the equestrian order (*Vita Hadr.* 4.2). It has been possible to identify the gravestone of Claudius Livianus, although the name was not preserved (CIL VI 1604). Hypotheses regarding his relations have been based on his multiplicity of names. There is disagreement on his home locality.

Suggested as relations of Claudius Livianus are: Castricius Saturninus, *procurator prov. Africae* in 84 and Ti. Iulius Aquilinus, *procurator Rhaetiae* in 107. According to Pflaum the first-mentioned is more likely to be the adoptive than the natural father of Claudius Livianus. Castricius Saturninus is known from an inscription found at Arelate (CIL XII 671) which mentions the transfer of his assistant from Arelate to the service of M. Mettius Rufus, *praefectus annonae* at that time.³ Väisänen has skilfully connected Castricius Saturninus with a grave inscription found at Alba Pompeia in north Italy. In this Mettia Paulin(a) is mentioned as his wife. Väisänen reaches this conclusion: it is highly probable that the imperial *procurator* of Africa was in fact from the neighbourhood of Pollentia and married to a

¹ Steinby, 90; Steinby, *MemAccLinc.* XVII, 1974, 84 and 89.

² PIR² C 913 (Stein); RE III (1899) Claudius No.207, 2729 (Stein).

³ Pflaum, HA - Coll. 1968/69, 176, on the inscription, Pflaum, *Carrières I*, No.52, 118-123.

member of the *gens* of M. Mettii from Arelate.¹ According to Pflaum Ti. Iulius Aquilinus is the brother or cousin of *dominus*. The former argument destroys Walton's notion of a Greek from Lydia.²

Claudius Livianus served in the *concilium principis* of Trajan, among other offices. The brick and the water pipe stamps were both found at Praeneste, and he is accordingly believed to have had landed property there. On the evidence of brick stamps he was still alive in 123. There are no visible connections with other *domini*, except for a possible link between the wife of the adoptive father and Iunius Rufus. Nothing is known of the fate of his property.³

Ti. Claudius Maximus

Dominus is mentioned in all stamps as owner of the *praedia* where *figlinae ab Isis* was located. (248 (123), 249 = S. 55 (124), 250 (134), 252, 254, 255 = S. 56, S. 57, S. 58 (not dated), = 9 pc.). He is the only *dominus* of the *figlinae*. According to Steinby the earliest stamps (S. 56, S. 58, 252) are before 112, but some were used under Trajan and even at the beginning of Hadrian. Egnatius Felix is known from later stamps of 134-135. *Officinator* is encountered in no other stamps.⁴ *Dominus* has been identified as TI. CLAUDIUS MAXIMUS, father of the consul of 145 (144?), who traditionally bore the same name.⁵ The consul was leg. Aug.pr.pr. Pannoniae Sup. in 150-155 and proconsul Africae in 160-161.⁶ The son of *dominus* has also been identified, as Claudius

¹ Väisänen, Unpublished licentiate thesis, App. I. Mettius Rufus, who is mentioned in an inscription of Arelate, is thought to be a relation of M. Iunius Rufus. The latter is known as *dominus* of *figlinae de via Salaria* under Trajan.

² Walton, JRS 19, 1928, 48.

³ Confiscation may be suggested, because two Emperors, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, are encountered in *figlinae Sulpicianae*.

⁴ Steinby, 46.

⁵ PIR² C 933.

⁶ Syme, *Historia* 14, 1965, 352-354.

Maximus, teacher of Marcus Aurelius.¹ Apuleius relates that he was a rich man, the owner of a great estate (Apol. 19). This estate inherited from the father was certainly the site of earlier brick production.

Found at Philippi in 1965 was a large gravestone giving details of the important equestrian career of Ti. Claudius Maximus.² He entered the army about 85 and was released from service about 115. From the location of the gravestone it is concluded that he was from Macedonia. In the course of his career Claudius Maximus received several honours and titles, some of which must be regarded as signs of Trajan's personal recognition. The connection of Ti. Claudius Maximus - *dominus* Ti. Claudius Maximus - consul Ti. Claudius Maximus may be suggested.³ On the strength of the father's (?) career the position of senator may be surmised for the *dominus*; he was at least a knight in any case.

R() Cap()

683 IVLIVS FELIX DE VIA SALARIA EX
P IVN R ET R CAP

S.206 IVLIS FELIX DE SAL DE PR
IVNI RVFI ET R C

Mentioned in stamps is the *societas* Iunius Rufus and R. Cap.

¹ In PIR they are separated, PIR² C 933 and 934; cf. Birley, Marcus Aurelius, 124-125; Marcus Aurelius, Med. 1,15; Morris, relying on Eusebius, believes Claudius Maximus to be the same as Cassius Maximus cf. PIR² C 934 and Morris, Roman Senate, s.v. On the basis of identification he regards Claudius Maximus as belonging to the *gentes* of the Statilii and Cassii, which were from Heliopolis and whose *cognomina* were Secundus, Maximus and Hadrianus. Appearing in brick stamps as representatives of this *gens* are the Statilii Maximi, consuls in 115 and 144. The premise for identification is too weak for conclusions to be drawn.

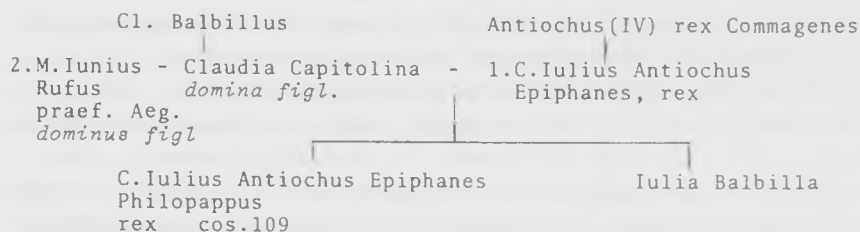
² Speidel, JRS, 69, 1970, 142-153.

³ The commonness of the names weakens the reconstruction. We know Claudia Maxima from signaculum-stamp. (CIL IX 6083, 38, signacula CL·MAXIMAE/Aeclanum).

Iunius Rufus has been identified as M. Iunius Rufus, prefect of Egypt in the decade of 90 (cf. s.v.).¹ The wife of Iunius Rufus was CLAUDIA CAPITOLINA,² whose first husband was C. Iulius Antiochus Epiphanes, rex.³ His father in turn was Antiochus IV, Rex Commagenes.⁴ R() Cap() is therefore Queen Capitolina.⁵ The identification is confirmed by a lead pipe stamp:

CIL XV:2, 7520 REGINAE CLAVDIAES CAPITOLINAE

Stein's stemma is appended here:



The father of *domina* Claudia Capitolina was Ti. Claudius Balbillus,⁶ who was, like his second son-in-law, praefectus Aegypti. The father-in-law was prefect 55-59.⁷ The stamps are dated to the time of Trajan, and *officinator* Iulius Felix is not known elsewhere.⁸ Married couples are the only *domini* of *figlinae de via Salaria*. Difficulty in dating the pipe stamp does not allow us to estimate whether Claudia Capitolina was the wife of M. Iunius Rufus at the time of the said stamp, but it is highly probable.

¹ PIR² I 812.

² PIR² C 1086.

³ PIR² I 150.

⁴ PIR² I 149.

⁵ Steinby, 101, note 4.

⁶ PIR² C 813 (Stein).

⁷ Pflaum, *Les Carrières I*, 34-41. Pflaum has a detailed clarification of the identity of various Claudii Balbilli.

⁸ *Officinator* may be the *libertus* of the first husband.

Claudia Marcellina

The *domina* stamps (934-936) are one-name, and all are dated (years 123, 125, 126). She is mentioned as the owner of both *praedia* and *figlinae*. The clay district is not mentioned by name in the stamps. She has been identified as CLAUDIA MARCELLINA,¹ wife of consul L. Bellicius Sollers, who was also *dominus*. She was the daughter of senator Ti. Claudius Marcellinus. According to Pliny the father appeared in the senate in the year 100.² The adoption of L. Bellicius Sollers is known to have occurred only after the marriage.³ Brick stamps "relate" that Sollers had died by the year 123, when the wife appears in the stamps.

Pflaum has suggested Claudia Marcellina's daughter with the same name as wife of the *dominus* P. Cassius Secundus, who was consul in 138⁴ (Cf. s.v. cf. stemma s.v. Bellicius Sollers). The marriage is also supported by the *officinatus* of Cassius Secundus, Ti. Claudius Hilarus, who might be the wife's freedman.⁵ *Officinatores* are not mentioned in stamps of the mother-in-law Claudia Marcellina, nor in those of the father-in-law Sollers. Brick stamp chronology shows that the suburban landed property came probably from the wife or through the adopter, the unidentified Bellicius Sollers, because the home locality of Ti. Claudius Alpinus was the district of Verona in north Italy.

Clodius Firmus

Dominus is mentioned in a binominal stamp of Hadrian or Antoninus Pius as the owner of *praedia* (940). *Officinatus* C. Iulius Ianuarius appears in no other stamps. The nomenclature is "exasperatingly undistinctive."

¹ PIR² C 1104; CIL V 3356, 3337, 3338.

² PIR² C 920; Pliny. Ep. 2, 11, 15.

³ RE III, (1899) Bellicius No. 4, 252 (Henze).

⁴ Pflaum, AEA 39, 1966. The marriage of *domina* Claudia Marcellina with the consul of 138 is not quite impossible.

⁵ Claudius is, of course, a very common name.

Coelius Fortunatus

Dominus is mentioned as the owner of *praedia* in a stamp of Hadrian's time (S. 568). *Officinatus* Caet() Magnio appears also with Coelius Philetus (942-944) and Iulius Apollinaris (1203). The Coelii are certainly relatives, but dating difficulties do not allow the relationship to be certainly defined.¹

Coelius Philetus

In stamps (942-944) *dominus* is mentioned as the owner of *praedia*, and in all stamps Caet() Magnio appears as *officinatus*. Stamp 942 is from the year 134. The nomenclature of the Coelii is not distinctive (cf. Coelius Fortunatus).

M. Cornelius At(t)icus

Dominus is mentioned as the owner of *praedia* in a binominal stamp (S. 419) which is dated to the time of Marcus Aurelius. The *officinatus*, M. Cornelius Thalamus, was the *libertus* of *dominus*. This must be interpreted as showing that *dominus* was a producer in addition to his land-ownership.² The name of *dominus* is "exasperatingly undistinctive."

Cornelius Palm() (potential *dominus*)

2166 /CORNELI PALM/

The stamp is from Ostia, and it is fragmentary. For this reason, perhaps, the person mentioned in it cannot be reckoned as *dominus* according to the formal definition. Both Dressel and Bloch have identified him as A. CORNELIUS PALMA FRONTONIANUS, who

¹ For more information on the dating see Steinby, 26. Coelii are numerous in Etruria at an early date, Schulze, *Eigennamen*, 155.

² Helen, 107, 119.

was consul for the second time in 109.¹ Identification is correct because of the rare *cognomen*.² The stamp is dated to the time of Trajan. Cornelius Palma was from a senatorial family in Volsinii (Etruria). The following is known of his career: leg. prov. Asiae, cos. I ord. 99, leg. Aug. pr. pr. prov. Hisp. Cit. 99-101, prov. Syriae 104-8, cos. II ord. 109, necatus 118. He was also pontifex in 110. He was among the most notable military commanders of his time, and conquered a new province for Rome. A statue was raised to him in the imperial forum. He was one of the four consuls who conspired against Trajan. The others were *dominus* Publius Celsus, a relative of *dominus* called Avidius Nigrinus, and Lusius Quietus, who gave his name to *figlinae*. Cornelius Palma became the enemy of Hadrian also, and was killed in 118.³

No information is preserved on the relatives of Cornelius Palma. It is clear that his land was confiscated after 118, and brick production may have been continued there by Hadrian. This cannot be verified empirically, because the clay district on Palma's land is not mentioned by name. There are also no data on his relations with other Cornelii in brick stamps.

L. Cornelius Priscus

S.258 EX FIG CORNELI PRISCI

S.259 ...L CORNELI PRISCI

Steinby has picked out two different Cornelii Prisci from brick stamps.⁴ The stamps of the owner of *figlinae* are from the time of

¹ PIR² C 1412 (Groag); RE IV (1901) Cornelius No. 279 (Groag); RE S. I (1903), Cornelius No. 279, 330 (Groag); Eck, Senatoren, 8, 70 note 79, 154, 163, Alföldy, Fasti Hispanienses, 24, Schumacher, Priesterkollegien, 17.

² Kajanto, LC, 335.

³ *Dominus* is mentioned as follows by ancient writers: Martial 12, 9, 1; Dio 68, 14, 5 and 6, 2 and 69, 2, 5f; vita Hadr. 7, 2f.

⁴ Stamps 951, 952 and a new stamp (Steinby, MemAccLinc. XVII, 1974, Nuovi bolli No. 8, 101) can be dated to the mid-first century. He cannot be defined as *dominus*. The homonym is known also from a lead pipe: L CORNELIVS PRISCVS FEC. (CIL XIV 3700, CIL XV:2 7894. The stamps are dated to the end of the first century and were found in Tibur. Possibly Priscus of stamps 951-2 is the person

Trajan. *Dominus* has been identified as L. CORNELIUS PRISCUS, consul suffectus in 104.¹ He is known to have been pontifex under Domitian and proconsul Asiae 120/121.² Pliny mentions him in 106 in connection with a lawsuit as consul (Ep. 5,20,70). The area of Transpadana has been suggested as his home, and so has south Etruria, though less convincingly.³ Alföldy has wrongly interpreted the text of Groag. No sources are known for a family relationship between Cornelius Priscianus, leg.Aug.pr.pr. Hisp. and consul in a year unknown, and *dominus*.⁴ L. Cornelius Priscus cannot be connected with the old patrician Corneli. ⁵ We also know a second L. Cornelius, namely L. Cornelius Pusio, who was consul suffectus in 90 and pontifex under Domitian like Priscus.⁶ Connections with other *domini* are unknown to us.

Cornelius Severus

954 EX PR COR SEVE
S.125 SAL EX PR COR SEVE
S.126 EX PR C S

concerned. The nomenclature is common, so that a third Cornelius Priscus may well be the person in question.

¹ PIR² C 1420; Kleine Pauly, Cornelius No.37, 1319 (R.H.); Thomasson, Statthalter I, 24; Eck, Senatoren, 190; Schumacher, Priesterkollegien, 10.

² Groag suggests the office of pontifex in 101 or 102, PIR C 1420.

³ Syme, Tacitus II, 804-5, Schumacher, Priesterkollegien, 10, 154. PIR² C 1420 (Groag).

⁴ Cornelius Priscianus is known to have attempted a rebellion against Antoninus Pius in Spain in 145, and for this reason he was overthrown (vita Pii, 7,4). Because the land of L. Cornelius Priscus is not mentioned by name, brick data do not enable the fate of the property to be explained, i.e. there is no information on confiscation of the son's (?) property by the Emperor. Cf. Alföldy, Fasti Hispanienses, 28, cf. also PIR² C 1418, 1420.

⁵ Schumacher, Priesterkollegien, 10 noted Priscus as patrician, though with a query.

⁶ Schumacher, Priesterkollegien, 9-10.

The stamps are dated early in Trajan's time.¹ *Dominus* has been identified as CN. PINARIUS CORNELIUS SEVERUS, who was consul suffectus in 112. The following is known of his career: (CIL XIV 3604, 4246) Salius Collinus, quaestor candidatus Imperatoris Caesaris Nervae Traiani Augusti, praetor, consul suffectus 112, augur, rex sacrorum.² His father was Cn. Pinarius L.f. Cornelius Clemens, who was consul suffectus before 74 and leg.Aug.pr.pr. Germ. Sup. 72/73.³ The father's career was different from the son's: he especially distinguished himself as a soldier. As a reward for this he was admitted to the patriciate (*adlectus inter patricios*).⁴ The son, *dominus*, is known to have been patrician because of his priestly offices. Pinarius was an old patrician *gens*, but the old republican *gens* may have died out, at least on the male side, in the first century.

¹ Steinby, 83.

² PIR² C 1453; RE XX (1941) Pinarius No.25, 1406-7, (Lambertz does not mention brick stamps); Castillo Garcia, Prosopografia Baetica, No.264, 138; Cebeillac, Quaestores, 172-173; Pistor, Prinzeps und Patriziat, 53, Frei-Stolba, Untersuchungen zu den Wahlen, No.42, 268; Schumacher, Priesterkollegien, B 7, 46-47, 155-156.

³ PIR² C 1341; Eck, Senatoren, 118.

⁴ Cebeillac, Quaestores, 173. According to Schumacher (Priesterkollegien, 155-156) he was still plebeian when he became consul.

Stemma:

Cn. Pinarius Cornelius
Clemens cos. S. 72?

Cn. Pinarius Cornelius
Severus(?)¹

L. Sergius Paullus

Cn. Pinarius Cornelius - Sergia Paullina
Severus cos. S. 112 : *domina figl.*
dominus figl.

Cornelia - M. Acilius Glabrio
Manliola cos. O. 124
*domina figl.*²

Faustina - M. Acilius Glabrio
Cn. Cornelius Severus
cos. O. 152

Acilia Manliola
domina figl.

M. Acilius Glabrio
cos. II 186

M. Acilius Faustinus
cos. 210

Acilia Manliola, C.P.
CIL IX 2333

Inscriptions mentioning *domini* (CIL XIV 3604, grave inscription by Corn. Manl., 4246) have been found at Tibur. *Dominus* belonged certainly to the city "noblesse" and was probably an Italian.³ Brick data confirm this Italian origin apart from inscription

¹ The consul of 74(?) is suggested by Morris and Schumacher as the grandfather.

² Cornelia Manliola might alternatively be sister of the consul of 112, but the name formation supports a father - child relation. Brick stamp datings also support this.

³ Syme, Tacitus II, 602, has noted that many Spaniards lived in Tibur at that time. There are no sure guarantees that Pinarius Cornelius Severus was Spanish, however. Cf. Castillo Garcia, Prosopographia Baetica, 138, which appeals to Pflaum, Garrières II, 634. Pflaum suggests that Cn. Cornelius Severus was related to Cornelia Severina, the mother of his consular colleague Q. Valerius Vegerus (PIR¹ V 150). Cornelia Severina was from Spain, and it has therefore been suggested (Pflaum, Castillo Garcia) that the brick stamp persons also originated from there. The evidence is not convincing, however.

material and history of the *gens*. The Acilii Glabriones, descendants of *domini*, "distinguished themselves" also in Tibur. Also appearing as Salarese *dominae* are the wife of Cornelius Severus, Sergia Paulina (cf. s.v.) and his daughter (sister?) Cornelia Manliola (cf. s.v.). The names Manliola and Paulina indicate that the *gens* considered itself to have an ancestor belonging to the old patriciate. The authenticity of this is uncertain. Cornelius Severus is not known to have connections with other *dominus* Cornelii. Brick stamps speak strongly in favour of a family relation between Cornelius Severus and Cornelia Manliola. This is further supported by the appearance in brick stamps of Acilia Manliola, a descendant of the *gens*. A new brick *gens* might in fact be spoken of.

Cor(nelia) Malliola

486	APR ET PAET COS EX F COR MALL SAL P P B	a.123
S.124	APRON ET PAETIN COS EX FIG COR MANLIOL SALAR P P B	a.123

He is therefore mentioned as *dominus* of *opus Salarese*, like Cornelius Severus (cf. s.v.). Bloch rightly observes that the difference between the forms Manl. and Mall. means nothing.¹ Cn. Pinarius Severus and Cornelia Manli() appear together in a grave inscription (CIL XIV 3604) found at Tibur.

CN PINARIO CN F
SEVERO CONSVLI AVGVRI REGI SACror.praet.quaest.cand.
IMP CAESARIS NERVAE TRAIANI AVG SALIO COLLino
CORNELIA MANLiona

Dessau surmises (ILS 1043) that the person concerned is not the wife of Cornelius Severus but some vestal of Tibur. Some other scholars agree,² though Groag in PIR has reservations. He mainly

¹ Bloch, Bolli laterizi, 180.

² RE XX, (1950) Pinarius No.25, 1406-7 (Lambertz).

supports the kinship.¹ Bloch regards Manliola as sister-in-law of Severus.² In my view both the grave inscription and the brick data unmistakably support the father - daughter relationship. The same is indicated by the name of the consul of 152, M. Acilius Glabrio Cn. Cornelius Severus (cf. stemma), and Acilia Manliola, both onomastically and *gens*-historically, so that the notion of a vestal must be rejected.

In my opinion, therefore, CORNELIA MANLIOLA was the daughter of Cornelius Severus and Sergia Paulina who married M. Acilius Glabrio, consul in 124.³ The marriage produced a son, M. Acilius Glabrio Cn. Cornelius Severus, consul in 152.⁴ The son thus received the names of both father and grand-father. The career of the consul of 152 was typical of a privileged patrician. He was honoured several times, at Tibur specifically, and this makes the kinship even more certain. Several later consuls from the *gens* are also known (cf. stemma s.v. Cornelius Severus).

C. Curiatius Cosanus

S.36 EX PR C C C C ////////////// AB EVRIP
 PAETIN ET APRON
 COS⁵

Dominus is presented in the stamps as owner of both *praedia* and *figlinae* (96-102, 106, 111, S. 34-38, = 14 pc.). His stamp is dated from the first decade of the century to the year 123. Four of the stamps are dated to 123. Known *officinatores* are: Pharnaces, Caricus, T. Rausius Pamphilus, who are encountered also with Arria Fadilla and Trebicia Tertulla, also Sex. Alfius Amandus, encountered also with Tutinius Sentius Satrianus. Possibly his *offici-*

¹ PIR² C 1453.

² Bloch, Bolli laterizi, 179-180.

³ PIR² A 68.

⁴ PIR² A 73, Cebeillac, Quaestores, 144-145.

⁵ The four letters C of the stamp can also be interpreted as two brothers C. Curiatius whose *cognomen* began with C. The brothers are not known in Amerian inscriptions, so that verification is not possible.

nator and freedman is C. Curiatius Atictus (S. 261).¹ *Dominus* has been identified as C. Curiatius Cosanus, who was curator municipii Caeritum in 113.² This information is preserved in an inscription (CIL XI 3614). *Dominus* is presumably the same person who is mentioned in an inscription found in Ameria:

CIL XI 4347 FORTVNAE
 SACRVM
 OB MVNIFICENTIAM
 CVRIATI COSANI
 D D

Inscription findings clearly indicate Ameria as the home locality. A third of his inscriptions has been found there (CIL XI 4397).³ Inscription discoveries show that he was an Amerian of importance who owned land near his home. Partly on the strength of Cosanus material Helen has placed *figlinae Caepionianae* near the modern town of Orte.⁴ Brick stamps are the only source of information on a connection with the contemporary *Caepionianae domini* Arria Fadilla and Tutinius Sentius Satrianus. Relations with the known Curiatii are also unclear.⁵

Cusinius Messalinus

Dominus is mentioned as owner of both *figlinae* and *praedia* in three one-name stamps (957-8, S. 260), two of which are dated 123 and 124. *Dominus* has been identified as the knight L. Cusinius Messalinus.⁶ According to Pflaum his career was very typical:

¹ Steinby, 30.

² Bloch, Bolli laterizi, 47 (CIL XI 3614); RE IV (1901), Curiatius No.5, 1832 (Groag). In PIR there is no mention of Curiatius Cosanus.

³ Kajanto, LC, 189. The *cognomen* Cosanus is known only for *dominus*. Cosanus is one of the so-called geographical *cognomina*; Cosa lies on the coast of Etruria. In this case the name does not indicate a home locality.

⁴ Helen, 80.

⁵ We are acquainted with C. Curiatius Maternus (PIR C 1604), who was orator and senator in the times of Nero and Vespasian. He is the only Curiatius of senatorial rank; Cosanus might be his descendant but hardly the descendant of a *cliens*, because he owned land near Rome.

⁶ PIR² C 1627; Pflaum, Carrières II, 176-177.

(tribunus) legioni (III) Gallicae, promagister hereditatium and procurator Augusti. Inscription material affecting him, of which part is unpublished, is from Ephesus. He was an official who came to Rome from Asia Minor who took successful advantage of a period when building activity was intense. Probably from the same area were also the *domini* C. Claudius Celsus and Ti. Claudius Iulianus (cf. s.v.).

The following are considered by Groag to be relatives of Cusinius Messalinus: M. Cusinius, tribu Velina (CIL XIV 2604) (PIR² C 1625); M. CVSINIVS, M. Cusinii (above) et Fictoriae filius, tribu Velina aedilis plebis, aerario praefectus, praetor (PIR² C 1626) (...C)usinius Rufus, leg. Aug. pr. pr. Galatiae(?) (PIR² C 1628); Cusinia, M. Cusini et Fictoriae filia (cf. above) (PIR² C 1629). The *gens* did not rise in Rome. The daughter of Cusinius Messalinus, whose name was Cusinia Gratilla (cf. s.v.), appears also as *domina*. Messal(1)inus is a rare *cognomen*, but it makes no further explanation possible.¹

Cusinia Gratilla

Domina is mentioned as owner of *praedia* in three stamps (959-961). Two are dated 146 and 147 (959-960). 961 can be dated to the end of the decade of 120, when she may have inherited from her equestrian father L. Cusinius Messalinus (cf. s.v.). *Officinatores* are Autronius Fortunatus and Pannychus, who was the freedman of C. Calpetanus Favor. C. Calpetanus Pannychus is encountered not only with Gratilla but also in stamps 746 of Antoninus Pius. There are no data on a connection of *domini*. On the heirs and husband of Cusinia Gratilla there are no data.²

¹ Kajanto, LC, 194, we know the second *dominus* by name, Messallinus, i.e. C. Ulpus Prastina Pacatus Messalinus (cf. s.v.).

² PIR² C 1631 (Groag), which indicates Cusinius Gratilianus, vir perfectissimus (CIL X 1251). *Cognomen*, Kajanto LC, 282 does not justify identification.

Cuspius Rufinus

2322¹ EX FIG CVSPI RVFINI
BRITTIO COS

a.153

Cuspius Rufinus must be identified as L. CUSPIUS PACTUMEIUS RUFINUS, consul ordinarius in 142. He was from Pergamum, where he is known to have erected a temple.² The swift rise of an Asian *homo novus* to consul ordinarius is certainly explainable by his kinship with Pactumeius. Morris suggests Pactumeius as maternal grandfather of the consul of 142. The Pactumeii were from Cirta in Africa. Cuspius Rufinus, a rich man of Pergamum, acquired land in Italy because of Trajan's order that money should be invested in Italian land.

We know the following Pactumeii of senatorial rank: 1) Q. Aurelius Pactumeius Clemens, whom Vespasian took into the senate; 2) P. Pactumeius Clemens, cos. S. 138; 3) Q. Pactumeius Fronto, cos. S. 80.³ Also known is 4) Pactumeius Rufus, septemvir epulonum before 78. Schumacher regards Groag's suggestion that the consul of 142 descended from the priestly office-holder concerned as still unclear. Other Pactumeii did not reach high priestly office until midway through the second century. Pactumeius Rufus was also aedilis and praetor.⁴ Groag's suggestion of kinship between *dominus* and Pactumeius Rufus is likely, because consul ordinarius required relations with the established nobility. The latter was represented by Pactumeius Rufus by virtue of his offices. His son or grandson was consul in 197, L. Cuspius Rufinus.⁵ The consul of 142 has no visible connections with other *domini*.

¹ A stamp has been found at Ostia also (CIL XIV 4091,5).

² PIR² C 1637 (Groag); RE IV (1901) Cuspius No.4, 1895-1896 (Groag); Kleine Pauly, Cuspius, 1350-1. (R.H.) In Kleine Pauly there is no mention of a brick stamp (Hanslik). (IGR IV 424-426).

³ PIR¹ P 24,25,26.

⁴ Schumacher, Priesterkollegien, 109, (CIL VI 1482); Kunkel, Herkunft, No.35, 154-157. According to Kunkel Pactumeius originated from Campania.

⁵ PIR² C 1638; Barbieri, Albo senatorio, No.197, 50.

Gens Domitia

The phases passed through by *gens Domitia* are seen from the genealogical table (Appendix No.6 Stemma No.1), which indicates a bequest of land from Cn. Domitius Afer to the brothers Lucanus and Tullus (cf. Chapter II.2.), and from them through Domitiae Lucillae, Maior and Minor, to the Emperor Marcus Aurelius. *Gens Domitia* has been dealt with by Helen and Steinby,¹ and I shall concentrate therefore on their prosopographies.

Domitiae Lucillae as *dominae*: Domitia Cn. f. Lucilla (Maior) appears with certainty in one stamp only (1010). Dressel, Bloch and Steinby have emphasized that it is difficult to establish which of the Domitiae appears in the stamp. The filiation of Domitia P.f. Lucilla (Minor) is mentioned in 26 stamps (1024-9, 1032, 41, 1045, 1056-7, 1059, 1061, 2483, S.275-6) and she uses in the years 145-155 the name form Lucilla Veri (131, S.41, 223(?), 616-619, 1049-50. 1071-2, 1068, 1077-8, 1089-90). A total of over a hundred Lucillae stamps are known to us. Consular-dated stamps (39 pc.) are available for the following years: 123 (17 pc.), 126, 127, 134, 135, 136, 138, 142, 145, 154.² Domitiae Lucillae appear as *dominae* of the following *figlinae*: *Caninianae*, *de Licini*, *Domitianae*, *Fulvianae*(?) and *Terentianae*.³ From stamps of the Domitiae Lucillae Steinby has counted a total of 23 slave-*officinatores* and 21 free *officinatores*. 27 *liberti* are known to us from stamps.⁴

DOMITIA CN. F. LUCILLA⁵ was the daughter of Cn. Domitius Lucanus (cf. s.v. first century). Her mother was Curtilia and her maternal grandfather T. Curtilius Mancina, consul in 55.⁶ From her father

¹ Helen, 100-102; Steinby, 47-58.

² Bloch, Bolli laterizi, 320-327; Bloch, Supplement, Index.

³ Cf. Steinby, 52. According to Helen *figlinae Fulvianae* did not belong to Domitia Lucilla (cf. Steinby, 42-43) but to Lucilla, the wife of Lucius Verus (Helen, Arctos 10, 1976, passim.).

⁴ Steinby, 52-58.

⁵ PIR² F 182.

⁶ PIR² C 1605.

and adoptive father Cn. Domitius Tullus Domitia Lucilla inherited property which their adoptive father Cn. Domitius Afer (cf. s.v. first century) had created. T. Curtilius Mancina bequeathed his property to his granddaughter on condition that the daughter's husband Lucanus should have no right to it. The consequences of this are unclear. The testamentary disposition was perhaps nullified because Tullus adopted Lucilla and the brothers Lucanus and Tullus held their property jointly. Possibly Tullus adopted Domitia only after his brother's death, so that Lucanus did not touch the property. The will and inheritance are described by Pliny (Ep. 8,18).

Several suggestions have been made for the husbands of Domitia Lucilla. As the first husband Syme chooses Ummidius Quadratus, consul in 93.¹ The second husband was P. Calvisius Ruso, consul in 109.² The third was L. Catilius Severus Iulianus Claudius Reginus, consul II in 120,³ or the latter's son (cf. Appendix No.6 Stemma No.1). Brick stamps in no way illuminate the marriages of Lucilla, they merely reveal that the daughter Domitia P.f. Lucilla inherited her property.

DOMITIA P. F. LUCILLA⁴ was the daughter of Domitia Cn. f. Lucilla and P. Calvisius Tullus, consul in 109. Into her hands came the property of Curtilius Mancina and of her grandfather and great-uncle Domitius Lucanus and Tullus, who were brothers (cf. Appendix No.6 Stemma No.1). Before 121 she married M. Annius Verus. Her husband's father, who bore the same name, was consul III in 139 and also *dominus*. Born of the marriage were the Emperor Marcus Aurelius and a daughter Annia Cornificia, who is encountered in brick stamps together with her husband Ummidius Quadratus (cf. s.v.). Lucilla's husband Verus died when about 30. Domitia Lucilla Minor is known to have died about 155-161. Most of her land was

¹ Syme, *Historia* 17, 1968. Syme deals in a more detailed way with the certain and probable marriages of Domitia Cn. f. Lucilla.

² PIR² C 357.

³ PIR² C 556-558.

⁴ PIR² D 183.

transferred to Emperor Marcus Aurelius and part to her daughter. The line Domitius Afer - Lucanus - Tullus - Lucillae signified an enormous transfer of private land to the Emperor by means of inheritance.

Domitia Domitiani

Domina is mentioned in stamps 548-558 of *figlinae Sulpicianae*. She is announced as owner of both *figlinae* and *praedia*. Five of her stamps are consular-dated: year 123, (548, 549, 553), year 126 (554). Stamp 552 is from 127 or the years 129-132. The remaining stamps are dated by Steinby to the early Hadrian period.¹ *Officinators* is not mentioned in eight stamps. Known as *officinatores* are C. Calvisius Mnester, Aelius Alexander (own stamp S.158), from a new stamp T. Avenus Atticus and Demetrius. *Officinatores* are not encountered in stamps of other *domini*. *Domina* is to be identified as DOMITIA LONGINA,² wife of Domitian. She was the daughter of Cn. Domitius Corbulo. The father was the most notable military commander of Claudius and Nero, and also an official (e.g. proconsul Asiae). Domitius Corbulo was arranging matters of state in the east in the years 54-64. The authors remember him *inter duces nobilissimos*.³ The father of *domina* may be Cn. Domitius Corbulo, consul in 39.⁴ The first husband of Domitia Longina was L. Aelius Plautius Aelianus, consul suffectus in 80, whom the second husband Domitian caused to be murdered.⁵ Domitia Longina was Augusta from the year 81, and she in turn took part in a conspiracy against her husband in 96. Brick stamps reveal that she was still alive at least in 126, when she must have been about 90. Apart from brick stamp data, other inscrip-

¹ Steinby, 90

² PIR² D 181. I have included the prosopography of the wife of the Emperor, because she appears in the brick-stamps after the period of the Empress, i.e. as private person.

³ PIR² D 142, from Italy; Ammianus 29,5,4; Dio 62,19,3.

⁴ PIR² D 141.

⁵ PIR² A 205.

tion material shows that she owned *praedia* in various parts of Italy.¹

As one seeks possible relations from *figlinae Sulpicianae*, attention is attracted to the stamps of Aelius Silvanus. The first husband of Domitia Longina was called L. Aelius Lamia Plautius Aelianus. Aelius Silvanus does not appear as *dominus*.

570 SVLPICIA S. 160 SVLPICIANV AELI SIL
 AELI SILVA

On the basis of their form Steinby has dated the stamps to the late Trajan or early Hadrian period.² The *officinator* of Domitia Longina was L. Aelius Alexander, perhaps *libertus* of the husband. It is probable also that Aelius Silvanus was an *officinator* rather than a *dominus*. Antoninus Pius as *dominus* of *figlinae Sulpicianae* (567-8) could be explained: he inherited the land from the *gens* of the husband of his daughter, who is known to have died not later than 138. The stamps of Antoninus Pius is from 138 and later.

Stemma:³

		Cn. Domitius Corbulo	
		cos. 39	
		Cn. Domitius Corbulo	
		procos. Asiae	
1. L. Aelius Lamia	-	Domitia Longina	- 2. Domitianus
Plautius Aelianus		<i>domina figl.</i>	Caesar
cos. S.80			
L. (Aelius) Lamia			
Aelianus			
cos. 0.116			
			Antoninus Pius
			<i>dominus figl.</i>
...Plautius L. (f. Aelius - Aurelia Fadilla			
(La)mia Silvanus			

¹ PIR² A 205.

² Steinby, 90.

³ The prosopographies of the persons are the following: PIR² A 204, 205, 206 and PIR² D 181, 141, 142.

I admit that the inheritance according the line Domitia Longina - Antoninus Pius is complicated and remains hypothetical.

Fabia Aeliana

Domina is mentioned as owner of *praedia* in a one-name stamp of 123 (1134). The name does not enable a relevant identification to be made.

Faustina

714 FAVSTINAE L VALLIVS PROCLVS F
EX PRAEDIS

S.212 Q MANI VERECVNDI
FIG FAVSTINAE S

Domina is ANNIA GALERIA FAUSTINA,¹ wife of Antoninus Pius (cf. Appendix No.6 Stemma No.1). The stamps belong to her before she received the title of Augusta in 138. The parents of *domina*, M. Annius Verus (cos. III 126) and Rupilia Faustina also appear in brick stamps (cf. s.v.).

Flaccus Aelianus

434 OPVS DOLIAR EX FIG PVBLILI
AN PR FLACC AEL C P

Steinby has dated the stamp to a time before 211. An earlier *domina* of *figlinae Publilianae* was Aemilia Severa. They are regarded as mother and son. *Figlinae Publilianae* was transferred after being only a short time the possession of Flaccus Aelianus Caracalla (212-217). Steinby has noted that *figlinae Publilianae* and *figlinae Domitianae* collaborated toward the end of their activity, e.g. in the use of *Portus Licini*.² They had been in imperial possession since the days of Domitia Lucilla; among *domini* appears C. Fulvius Plautianus. Flaccus Aelianus has been

¹ PIR² A 715.

² Steinby, 77.

identified either as C. IVLIVS FLACCVS AELIANUS, who was leg. Aug. pr. pr. Cappadociae 197-198,¹ or as his son. Dating of brick stamps supports the son of the legate, who bore the same name, as *dominus*. From this it would follow that the husband of Aemilia Severa was the legate in question.²

In the history of *figlinae Publilianae* there may be indications of the home and family connections of Flaccus Aelianus. *Figlinae Publilianae* had been earlier in possession of Flavius Aper, who is thought to have had connections even with relatives of Septimius Severus.³ Africa is also indicated by the *cognomina* Severus and Macer of the Aemilius *gens*. Both are encountered also in the Severus *gens*. Also, three Iulii Flacci are encountered in CIL VIII.⁴ The evidence justifies us in surmising that Flaccus Aelianus had some kind of connection, an African one, with the Septimius *gens*. As we reflect on the transfer of *figlinae Publilianae* from Iulius Flaccus Aelianus to Caracalla on the basis of the foregoing, one possibility would be inheritance. This link might also run through Fulvius Plautianus, who was Caracalla's father-in-law and also an African. This channel is further supported by the collaboration and possible adjacency of *figlinae Publilianae* and *figlinae Domitiana*, whose *dominus* was Fulvius Plautianus. Nor can the possibility be excluded that the land of Iulius Flaccus Aelianus was confiscated by the Emperor. No source information has survived on this matter, however. Inheritance within the *gens* seems more likely.

¹ PIR² I 311; Barbieri, Albo senatorio, No. 293, 71.

² The reconstruction of Petersen (PIR² I 311) is wrong, because Iulia Dyna() is Dynamis not Dynarcha. Neither the dating of the stamps support the hypothesis of Petersen. According to Petersen the legatus is *dominus*.

³ Cf. the Stemma of Septimius Severus, Birley, Septimius Severus, 307.

⁴ Birley, Septimius Severus, 344-345, points out rightfully, that the names Iulius, Flaccus and Aelianus are so common, that we cannot base very much on the discoveries of the inscriptions. Alföldy, Epigraphische Studien 5, 1968, 144.

T. F(lavius) Ampliatus

518 EX PRAE T F AMPLIAT
 T SAL

519 EX PR T F AMP B S

586 T F A
 SVL

Dominus is thus expressed as owner of the *praedia* where *opus Salarese* is produced. Steinby has combined stamp 586 of *figlinae Sulpicianae* with a stamp of the same *dominus*. If this combination is regarded as correct it indicates yet again that the definition of *dominus* is not a simple matter. Steinby has dated the stamps before 123 with *figlinae Salarese* and *Sulpicianae* stamps as of Trajan's time, so that we may be concerned with one and the same person.¹ *Figlinae Salarese* and *Sulpicianae* have other *domini* in common, Sex. Laelius Lelianus and L. Turranius Gal(). The stamps are one-name. The nomenclature gives no possibilities of identification, nor has Ampliatus connections with other *domini*.

Flavius Aper

He is known as *dominus* of *figlinae Fabianae* (209-210), *figlinae Publilianae* (422) and *figlinae Tonneianae* (653) and also in stamps 1144-48 (9 pc.). In all the *figlinae* named he follows Seia Isaurica as *dominus*. The stamps of Aper are dated by Steinby from the decade of 140 to that of 160.² There are two consular-dated stamps, one from 151, the other from 157. He has *officinatores* in common not only with Seia Isaurica but also with Faustina (Calpetanus Crescens). 8 *officinatores* are known in all. Flavius Aper is mentioned most often as the owner of *praedia* (7 stamps) and twice *ex figlinis illis illius*. On the basis of a unique *signum* appearing in a stamp (1147) of Flavius Aper Steinby has asserted that because the only other appearance of this *signum* is with Asinia Quadratilla, (863) there must be a connection between them. Further ground are provided by the fact that for Asinia Quadratilla three *officinatores* named Flavius are

¹ Steinby, 84 and 90.

² Steinby, 77, Note 3.

known (Maximus, Corunthus and Pro(bus?)), and that many stamps of these *domini* have been found together.¹ No support for the hypothesis is found in general prosopography.

Dominus is identified as M. FLAVIVS APER. The consuls of 130 and 176, father and son, have both been suggested. After examination of the datings Steinby suggests the consul of 130 as *dominus*.² Besides the consulship he is known to have been leg. Aug.pr.pr. Lyciae Pamphyliae in 125.³ The father of *dominus* was probably Flavius Aper, who according to Pliny appeared in the senate in 105.⁴ He in turn was son of M. Aper, a senator under Vespasian.⁵ Nothing is known of the son of the 130 consul except that he was consul for the second time in 176.⁶

The later owners of *figlinae Publilianae* are Aemilia Severa, Flaccus Aelianus and Caracalla, all of whose origins point to Africa. The *gens* Septimius Severus included the L. Flavius Aper branch, which makes it highly probable that the consul of 176 had no son and that the property was perhaps transferred to a branch with the *praenomen* Lucius and through it to Caracalla within the *gens* and not through confiscation.⁷

Flavia Neratia Septimia Octavilla⁸ is considered a likely relative of the father of Septimius Severus; her name would indicate a marriage between the Flavii and Neratii. Although the connections of the Flavii Aperi with notable persons of their

¹ Steinby, 77, Note 3, among other things from Africa CIL VIII 22632.

² Steinby, 77, Note 3, cf. Bloch, Bolli laterizi, 280; Bloch, Suppl., Index, 31; PIR⁴ F 208.

³ Eck, Senatoren, 197-198; RE S. XIV (1974), Flavius No.35, 119 (Eck).

⁴ PIR² F 206; Pliny, Ep. 5,13.

⁵ PIR² A 910.

⁶ PIR² F 209.

⁷ About the *gens* of Septimius Severus, cf. Birley, Septimius Severus, 307.

⁸ PIR² F 430 and cf. PIR² F 365.

time remain vague, it is certain that they held a position in the political alliances which brought the Antonini to power.¹

On the evidence of brick stamps the most obvious relative of Flavius Aper is Flavia Seia Isaurica, whose *figlinae* he inherited according to the stamps. The most natural reason for this is a mother - son relation. Although other sources have not survived, I consider the brick stamps fully adequate and relevant as evidence of the relation (cf. s.v.). I suggest the following Stemma despite the many question marks it contains. (The ideas of the Stemma are from Morris).

M. praenomen		L. praenomen
Flavia Seia - ?Flavius Aper		?Neratia
Isaurica in senatu 105		
<i>domina figl.</i> ²		
M. Flavius Aper - ?Asinia	?Flavia Neratia - ?L. Septimius	
cos. 130 Quadratilla	Severus ³	
<i>dominus figl.</i>		
M. Flavius Aper	L. Flavius Septimius	
	Aper Octavianus	
	cos. 0.183	
	Flavia Neratia	
	Septimia Octavilla	

Flavius Lollianus (potential *dominus*)

1688 FL LOLLI
ANI C V

Dressel has placed the stamp in the time of Diocletian and suggests that Flavius Lollianus *clarissimus vir* is the same as Q. Flavius Maesius Egnatius, praefectus urbi in 342 and consul in 355.⁴ More probably, however, he is the FLAVIUS LOLLIANUS

¹ Cf. Morris, The Roman Senate, s.v.

² Flavia Seia Isaurica can be either the wife or the sister of Flavius Aper.

³ Stemma differs from the Stemma of Birley (Septimius Severus, 307). L. Septimius Severus is the uncle of the Emperor.

⁴ Arnheim, Senatorial Aristocracy, 122-123.

known from an inscription (CIL VI 30895) according to which he was praefectus (urbi?). This inscription can be dated to midway in the third century; palaeography specifically prevents its dating to the fourth century and the connection of the person concerned with the consul of 355.¹ Groag is uncertain of a connections between the inscription and the person of the brick stamp.² Vitucci surmises that Flavius Lollianus was praefectus urbi before 254 and consul in an unknown year.³ It may be supposed that the brick stamp person in question and praefectus urbi from the mid-third century was related to the consul of 355. The gens included L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus, leg. Aug. pr. pr. Galatiae in 218, consul suffectus, proconsul Asiae 244-247, praefectus urbi 254.⁴ This would be in the period of the brick stamp person, and their connection may not be impossible. L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus had a relative Egnatius Victor Marinianus,⁵ whose daughter (Egnatia) Mariniana was mother of the Emperor Gallienus (253-268) and wife of the Emperor Valerianus (253-260).

The appearance of Flavius Lollianus in brick stamps can be explained by kinship with the imperial family or the office of praefectus urbi.

Flavius Posidonius

Dominus is mentioned in two binominal stamps of the year 123 as the owner of *figlinae* (677 = S. 205 var., 678). The second *dominus* of *figlinae via Nomentana* was Flavia Operata, whose stamps are also from 123, so that they may be brother and sister. The stamp (679) of Flavius Phoebus, *libertus officinator* of *dominus*, is earlier than 123. *Dominus* with *libertus officinator* must be regarded as a producer, not merely a landowner, particu-

¹ Barbieri, *Albo senatorio*, No. 1852, 328.

² PIR² F 303 and 304.

³ Vitucci, *Richerche sulla praefectura urbi*, No. 52, 123.

⁴ Barbieri, *Albo senatorio*, No. 1023, 207-208.

⁵ PIR² E 37.

larly when the *libertus* in question is the only *officinator*. The name Flavius Posidonius is no aid to identification.

Flavia Operata

Domina is mentioned in a binominal stamp of 123 as the owner of *figlinae* (680). The second *dominus* of *figlinae via Nomentana* for the same year was Flavius Posidonius, and the two were most probably brother and sister. The different stamps may signify that the property was tended separately. *Officinator* Vettius Magnus is not encountered with others.¹ The name is "exasperatingly undistinctive."

Flavius Titianus

526 OPVS DOL IVLI THEODOTI EQ R FIG
 SAL EX P FL TITIANI

527 EX PRAEDIS FL TITIANI
 CLARISSIMI VIRI

The stamps are dated by Steinby to a severian period. Stamp 526 bears only the words: *officinator* is *eques Romanus*. The identification of *dominus* is problematical. To summarize the results of research: *dominus* is known a) only from brick stamps and a lead pipe; b) he is also legatus Aug.pr.pr. Hispaniae and proconsul Africae (CIL II 4076, 4118); c) in addition he is the brother of Flavia Titiana, wife of the Emperor Pertinax, and therefore the son of T. Flavius Claudius Sulpicianus. Alternative c) is proposed only by Alföldy.² A critic has observed here that kinship with the imperial family is uncertain.³ Birley supports Alföldy's theory.⁴ Alternative a) is presented by PIR⁵

¹ Cf. *figl. via Nomentana*, Steinby, 100-101.

² Alföldy, *Fasti Hispanienses*, 45-46.

³ Wiegels, Review of Alföldy's book, *Gnomon* 2, 1974, 193.

⁴ Birley, *Septimius Severus*, App. III, 343.

⁵ PIR² F 383 and 387.

and Barbieri.¹ Alternative b) is supported by Goldfinger in RE.² Thomasson does not accept the connection of *dominus* and proconsul of Africa, asserting that Flavius Titianus held office in Africa only in the third century and not at the time of Severus and Caracalla, as Alföldy proposes.³

The father of *dominus* surmised by Alföldy, T. Flavius Claudius Sulpicianus, was consul suffectus, proconsul Asiae and praefectus urbi at the time of his son-in-law Pertinax.⁴ He is known to have sought the crown after the death of Pertinax, but was overthrown as a supporter of Clodius Albinus in 197. (Dio 75,8,4). He had land in Praeneste, which may also be the home locality, as Birley suggests.⁵ To summarize, we cannot with complete certainty identify *dominus* as proconsul of Africa until we know with assurance the period at which the office in Africa was held. The ancestors of *dominus* Flavius Titianus probably included prefects of Egypt bearing the same name in the second century.⁶

I identify *dominus* as T. FLAVIUS TITIANUS, brother of Flavia Titiana and holder of the above-mentioned offices. He was also the son of T. Flavius Claudius Sulpicianus. The identification is weakened by the question of whether the son of a conspirator could retain high office and landed property so soon after the father's "treason".

Flavia Pelagia

Domina is mentioned as the owner of *figlinae* not mentioned by name in one stamp of 123 (S.296). The name is undistinctive.

¹ Barbieri, *Albo senatorio* No.744 and 2023.

² RE VI (1909), Flavius No.199, 2621 (Goldfinger).

³ Thomasson, *Statthalter II*, 132-133; Thomasson, *Laterculi praesides, Hispania*.

⁴ PIR² F 373; Alföldy, *Fasti Hispanienses*, 142.

⁵ Birley, *Septimius Severus*, App. III, 343; Morris, *The Roman Senate*, s.v., suggests that because Flavius Titianus served in Africa, especially in Numidia and because he was married to the African Postumia Festa, his *origo* would be Africa. Both the father (CIL XV 7889) and the son (CIL XV 8224) appear in pipe stamps.

⁶ PIR² F 385, 386.

Gentilicium as a single criterion does not permit *domina* to be connected with other Flavii in the stamps.

Flavia Procula

The stamps of Flavia Procula (1157-1159, S. 297) are from the years 123-140. All are consular dated. She is mentioned as the owner of *figlinae*. Steinby opposes the connection of Flavia Procula and Iulia Procula (cf. s.v.), mainly because of the dating. Steinby suggests Iulia Procula as mother and Flavia Procula as daughter, and both as *dominae* of *figlinae Tonneianae*.¹ With Flavia Procula three *officinatores* are known, Ser()Max(), L.A()P() and C. Nunnidius Restitutus (1158) who in the same year of 123 was also *officinatus* of T. Statilius Maximus in *figlinae Macedonianae* (S. 69 = 286), and later with the same Statilius (829, year 134) and with Q. Marcius Hermogenes (1278). C. Nunnidius Restitutus is an example of *officinatus*-manager.²

If we start with the supposition that Flavia Procula is *domina* of *figlinae Tonneianae*, she would become a relative of the following *domini* Flavia Seia Isaurica and Flavius Aper (cf. s.v.). An exact relationship is difficult to reconstruct. Identification of Flavia Procula, as of Iulia Procula, is weakened by the commonness of the names. Brick stamps are the only starting-point, and they imply that she was related to the other Flavii who followed. These connections imply *femina nobilis*.

Flavia Seia Isaurica

She is known as *domina* in the following *figlinae*: *Aristianae*, *Gaelianae*, *Tur()*, also *Fabianae*, *Publilianae* and *Tonneianae* (11-12, 49, 207-8, 420 = S. 107, 421, 423 = S. 108, 652, 674, 1418-

¹ Steinby, 99-100.

² Helen, 123. C. Nunnidius Restitutus is not surely in the stamp 1158 C. N. Re.

1425, 2000, S. 375-8, = 20 pc.).¹ The three last-mentioned *figlinae* descended to Flavius Aper (cf. s.v.), in others she is the only known *domina*. The complete name of Seia Isaurica is known from brick stamp 1422:

FLAVIAE SEIAE ISAURICAE
COSMVS SER²

Seia Isaurica is expressed in brick stamps in almost every possible manner: *ex praedis illius*, *ex figlinis illius* and very often *ex figlinis illis illius*. Known *officinatores* of Seia Isaurica are: L. Fadius Pass(), A. Runtinus Felix, L. Lurius Primitivus, L. Rustius Lygdamus, Myrinus, Cosmus, L. Maelius Vindius, Iuventius Saturninus, Cursenius Sedatus and Iustin(us) who appear only with Seia Isaurica, and Rustius Felix and L. Allius Rufus, who descend to the heir, also P. Servilius Firmus, who was earlier on the lands of Aburnius Caedicianus and later transferred to the stamps of Statilius Maximus. L. Sessius Successus is encountered earlier with M. Herennius Pollio. Steinby has dated the stamps of Seia Isaurica to about the years 115-141. Some of his stamps are consular-dated to 123, 124, 125, 134 and 141 (only 7 stamps altogether).

FLAVIA SEIA ISAURICA is known only from brick stamps. It is not easy to find the ancestors of Seia Isaurica. Brick stamp data offer some alternatives. The most certain kinsman, also on the name basis, is Flavius Aper, inheritor of three *figlinae*. I suggest a mother - and - son relation (cf. s.v. Flavius Aper). Steinby's new interpretation of Flavia Procula as *domina* of *figlinae Tonneianae*³ would imply a connection Iulia Procula - Flavia Procula - Flavia Seia Isaurica (both have stamps from 140) - Flavius Aper. Brick stamp data also imply the following suppositions: the *cognomen* Isaurica indicates connections between

¹ Cf. Steinby, the histories of the *figlinae*, s.v.

² In other stamps he uses the name form Seia Isaurica, which is written in different ways.

³ Steinby, 99-100.

Plotia Servilia Isaurica and Flavia Seia Isaurica.¹ Their stamps are of the same type, but a common *figlinae* is not known. The *cognomen* Isaurica is highly distinctive. Among the higher social ranks it is known in only one case apart from the women here in question.²

Brick stamps also give reason to suppose connections between Seia Isaurica and M. Herennius Pollio because of their *offici-nator* in common. Kinship is further supported by the nomenclature of the following person: Gnaea Seia Herennia Sallustia Barbina Orbiana.³ She lived in the early third century and was the wife of the Emperor Alexander Severus. More assured criteria for verification are lacking. On the strength of brick stamp data a transfer of land from Herennius Pollio to Flavia Seia Isaurica is possible, but no common *figlinae* is known.

Other connections of Flavia Seia Isaurica to *domini* remain hypothetical except for those to Flavius Aper. *Figlinae* mentioned by name are a guarantee of a relation - perhaps mother - son. When the issue concerns three distinct clay districts it can hardly be a question of purchase.

Fundania Faustina

520 EX PR FVNDANIAE FAVSTINAE
 ET VITRASI POLLIO
 SAL
 A. X

¹ For Flavia Seia Isaurica is suggested also the name Servilia. The name is based on the *officiator* P. Servilius Firmus. Ti. Servilius Gelos belongs to the stamps of Plotia Isaurica. Because of one *officiator* only we cannot suggest a new name for the *dominus*, (cf. the name Servilia for Seia Isaurica: Stein, RE VI (1909), Flavius, No.245, 2737-2738). *Officiator* is very rarely the *libertus* of the *dominus* of the same stamp (only 6,2%) cf. Helen, 105-108.

² PIR² I Isauricus; IVLIA QVINTILIA ISAVRICA, PIR² I 52.

³ Thomasson, Statthalter II, 272; Barbieri, Albo senatorio No. 340, 463, 489.

Plautianus as the landowner specifically of lands which had earlier been possessed by the Emperor Septimius Severus. Helen has stressed¹ that this means a revaluation of the political history of the period. Relinquishment by the Emperor of an area near Rome to Plautianus gives an unmistakable picture of the relation between these two persons.

The portrait of Plautianus is contradictory in the authors and also, of course, among scholars.² Plautianus was the confidant of Septimius Severus, probably a blood relation also, and he became an unsuccessful usurper. The matter in dispute was the "vice-emperorship" or omnipotence of Plautianus.

C. Fulvius Plautianus was probably born about 155 in Leptis Magna, where he grew up as the friend and relative of Septimius Severus. In 188-189 Plautianus, who was presumably procurator, caused the banishment of proconsul Africae. In 193 Plautianus became praefectus vigilum (until 195),³ in January 197 was praefectus praetorio alone, in June he was *vir clarissimus* and admitted as such to the senate.⁴ He was certainly honoured for his struggle against Clodius Albinus. In 199, according to Grosso, Plautianus was out of favour and was therefore joined by Aemilius

¹ Helen, 132-133, Note 26.

² The studies concerning Plautianus: Van Norren, Plautianus, Commandant van de liifwacht van Keizer Septimius Severus, 1953; Grosso, Ricerche su Plautiano e gli avvenimenti del suo tempo, 1968; Birley, Septimius Severus, 1971, Judeich, Plautianus und Severus, 1927; and PIR² F 554.

³ According to A. Birley, Septimius Severus, 294-7, Plautianus was not praefectus vigilum in 193, because he was then praefectus vehiculorum and only later did Septimius Severus give him remarkable offices; first he was procurator hereditarium and about 196 he became praefectus vigilum.

⁴ Scholars differ about in what time Plautianus was taken to the senate: either with the consulship of the year 203 or already earlier. Barbieri, Albo senatorio, No. 255, 63. Cf. Barbieri, Epigraphica 19, 1957, 94-105 supposes that the admission to the senate took place earlier. The year 203 is supported by the texts of Dio 46,4 and Herodian 3,11,2. The evidence of Barbieri is an inscription of Ostia, but according to Meiggs, Roman Ostia, 565, and Birley, cf. above, it does not concern Plautianus.

Saturninus as praefectus praetorio, but in March 200 he again held the office alone and retained it until his death in January 205. In 202 his daughter Fulvia Plautilla married Caracalla. In defining the position of Plautianus the Emperor's journeys are important: In 202 the Emperor stayed at Sirmium, but Plautianus was not with him. In 203 the Emperor with his family and Plautianus were in Tripolitania, but returned in June. In the same year, therefore, Plautianus was consul for the second time. In 204 disfavour appeared between the imperial family and Plautianus. This began during 204 when the Emperor's brother P. Septimius Geta died. The number of statues to Plautianus decreased: more had been raised for him than for the Emperor Septimius Severus. On 22.1.205 Plautianus was murdered.¹

Plautianus achieved his position partly by the forcible removal of competitors. The authors (especially Dio and Herodian) of course provide a highly coloured description of his "omnipotent" powers, unbounded influence and ruthlessness. They also speak of his great unpopularity among the people.²

Scholars have busied themselves with the question of kinship between Septimius Severus and Plautianus even before the latter's daughter married Caracalla, the son of Severus. Plautianus was from Africa, like Severus; he was also from Leptis Magna. A sure link has been found through Fulvia Pia, the mother of Septimius Severus³ (cf. Appendix No.6 Stemma No.3). Regarded as evidence of the relationship is a papyrus dated 200 in which Plautianus is mentioned as relative.⁴

¹ Grosso, RAL 23, 168, 7 ff.; Cf. Birley, Septimius Severus, 294-6.

² Dio 75, 14-16; Herodian 3,10,6-7. *Damnatio memoriae* darkened the opinion of authors, however.

³ Barnes, Historia 16, 1967, 87-107; Cf. Birley, Septimius Severus, 295-296.

⁴ Westermann-Schiller, Decisions of Septimius Severus on legal matters, 12-13. The interpretation of the source is not unambiguous. It can mean merely close friendship. Cf. Norren, Plautianus, 54-55. Norren points out that there is no certainty about the relation between the Emperor and Plautianus. The only certain thing according to him is that Plautianus' *origo* was North Africa. Norren emphasizes that the power of Plautianus was based on his position of favourite. The Fulvii can be a

As praefectus praetorio Plautianus supervised the conduct of all matters. Among his adversaries were the wife (Iulia Domna) and sons of the Emperor, one of whom was his son-in-law. It is probable that the power and position of Plautianus depended more on imperial favour than on the office itself.¹

From the standpoint of brick stamp chronology the African journey of the Emperor and Plautianus is vital. According to Grosso they returned from it before June 203. Grosso refers to an inscription which reveals that the company including Plautianus was in Rome in June 203.² But the inscription is not unambiguous. Hasebroek has asserted that Septimius Severus stayed in Africa from spring 203 until May 204 while Fulvius Plautianus remained in Rome.³ Birley takes account of the disagreement and maintains that the company spent the winter of 202-203 in Africa and returned to Rome for June 203, as Grosso shows.⁴ Plautianus might have acquired the lands for the very reason that the Emperor was constantly absent from Rome.

Bloch's conclusion is as follows: because brick production had fallen behind at imperial manufactories in the time of Commodus, Plautianus was given the task of improving the situation, i.e. his organizing and financial ability was utilized by the state.⁵ On the evidence of brick stamps part of the imperial lands were relinquished to Plautianus, because he appears specifically as the landowner.⁶ This supports the picture transmitted

family which had moved from Italy. The Septimii, on the contrary, were a romanized African family.

¹ Herodian 3,10,6.

² Grosso, RAL 23, 1968, 41-42.

³ Hasebroek, Untersuchungen, 132-135.

⁴ Cf. arguments, Birley, Septimius Severus, 217-221. The year 203 is important to the interpretation of brick stamp data. Was Plautianus alone in Rome then and did he have the possibility of taking landed property of the Emperor under his own control?

⁵ Bloch, Bolli laterizi, 295, 300-301.

⁶ Cf. Helen, 132-133, Note 26.

to us by the authors of unlimited power in the hands of Plautianus, and references to the fourth Emperor and vice-emperors are confirmed by brick stamp data.

Moreover, information on the career, achievements and personality of Plautianus indicate a person totally different in type from one who might have applied himself to the problems of brick production and organization.¹ He may well have been sufficiently occupied in holding his unstable position as imperial favourite on the one hand, and enemy of the imperial family on the other.

Information on the notable political influence of Plautianus must be considered true: Dio, for instance, mentions the wish of Septimius Severus for Plautianus to be his successor,² and the picture derived from brick stamps to the effect that Plautianus acquired imperial lands does not seem surprising. A further sign of the powerful status of Plautianus is the marriage of his daughter and Caracalla, which may explain the donation of land. Dio relates that Plautianus gave his daughter a dowry which would have sufficed for fifty royal ladies.³ To demonstrate the extent of his property, after his death a special office was created for the administration of his confiscated property, *ad bona Plautiani*. No information has survived on the amount and character of the property.

Brick stamps do not answer the question of whether the Emperor himself appears in stamps of 203-205.⁴ All *figlinae* of Plautianus were returned to the imperial family. *Libertus officinator*

1 Steinby, 107-8 supports in some degree the conception of Bloch that the time of Plautianus was the revival period of brick-production. The inscription from Africa appeals that according to the orders of Plautianus was sende marble to Africa. The inscription is dated after the year 202 because there is mentioned Fulvius Plautianus, *necessarius augustorum*. It is supposed that Plautianus owned also the mine. Evidently the inscription is not, however, the mine stamp.

2 Dio 75,15,2.

3 Dio 76,1,1-5.

4 Bloch, Bolli laterizi, 292-302.

Fulvius Primitivus also appears later with imperial *figlinae*. *Officinator* Lanius Festus is encountered before and after him in stamps for which the Emperor is the landowner.

Brick stamp data indisputably cast new light on the portrait of Septimius Severus. Why did he give his lands to Plautianus? In Dio's view - as interpreted by Birley -¹ Septimius Severus was a respected and authoritative figure. He is not thought to be a weak ruler. The explanation may lie in the patterns of political history, in the hope of Severus that Plautianus would succeed him, and in the frequent absences of Severus from the capital. Brick stamps support the picture of Plautianus as vice-emperor, second man of the state.²

M. Herennius Pollio

- 1179 EX FIG M HERENNI POLLIONIS
 C PAPPI VITALIS
- 1180 EX FIG M HERENNI POLLIONIS DOL
 L SESSI SVCCESI
- 1181 COSMI M HER POL SER

Steinby has dated stamps 1180-1 to the first years of the second century, and stamp 1179 to the end of the decade of 110.³ *Dominus* in this case, as in others, cannot be clearly defined; a certainly known *dominus* is presented as a slave-owner also.⁴ Newly discovered inscriptions have clarified the picture. *Dominus* was M. ANNIVS HERENNIVS POLLIO, consul suffectus in 85. His fellow consul was P. Herennius Pollio, reckoned by Panciera to be

¹ Birley, Septimius Severus, 279-290.

² A conclusion of Norren's dissertation is that the thesis of Judeich about the vice-emperorship of Plautianus in the years 200-201 and 202 is not correct. The brick stamp data support the opinion of Judeich.

³ From brick stamps is known L. Herennius Optatus, 2412 L HER OPT. The stamp has been discovered from various parts of Italy and also from Spain.

⁴ Panciera, RSA 1973: an inscription proves that M. Herennius Pollio cannot be the son of Asinius Pollio Verrucosus as was suggested by Stein in PIR.

his son.¹ The interpretation as father and son signifies that the father had been adopted by a certain M. Annius. Among *domini* who come unavoidably to mind is the father of M. Annius Verus, three times consul: this was M. Annius Verus, praetor (cf. s.v.). The Annii adoption suggests common ownership of clay districts. The Annii in question were a Spanish *gens* (Baetica), and Panciera refers cleverly to the Baetican Herennius Senecio who in 93 was killed as an opponent of Domitian. This *gens* may have included *dominus* Herennius Pollio, who was adopted by another Baetican, M. Annius Verus. *Dominus* Herennius Pollio is the person mentioned by Pliny (Ep. 4,19,14).¹ M. Herennius Secundus, cos. 183, may be a relative. From the stamps of Herennius Pollio are recognized three *officinatores*, L. Sessius Successus and Cosmus, appear also in stamps of Flavia Seia Isaurica (420 = S. 107, 1422). From the third century the following female persons are known: Gnaea Seia Herennia Sallustia Barbia Orbiana Augusta³ and Iulia Flavia Herennia Caecilia Honoratiana Optata.⁴ In both nomenclatures the names of each *dominus*, Herennius Pollio and Flavia Seia Isaurica are mentioned, which makes it highly probable that the *gentes* of these *domini* were intermarried.⁵ Nomenclature of later persons strongly supports the kinship of Flavia Seia Isaurica and Herennius Pollio. Scanty sources render it impossible to state the connection precisely. Because the clay districts are not mentioned by name, brick stamp data on links between the Annii and Flavia Seia Isaurica remain unconfirmed.

Often a similar type of land exploitation runs as a tradition of the *gens*, and a connection with the earlier M. Herennii, especially the M. Herennius Picens, would therefore be natural. The latter appears in many *amphora* stamps found in various parts of

¹ RE S. XIV (1974) Herennius No.35a and 35b, 197 (Eck, who bases on Panciera); PIR² H 119; RE VIII (1913) Herennius No.36, 676.

² PIR² H 127.

³ PIR¹ S 252.

⁴ PIR² 670.

⁵ We know also L. Sallustius Herennius Seius Caesar.

Italy and elsewhere, and was consul in 1 AD.¹ His *figlinae* is believed to have been located on via Aemilia. Because intervening generations are unknown, the relationship remains unclear.²

Honoratius Macrinus

Dominus is mentioned in a one-name stamps as the owner of *praedia* (1189). Steinby has type-dated the stamp to either Hadrian or Antoninus Pius. In PIR are the words "*fortasse nobilis aliquis*". The nomenclature gives no possibilities for identification, however.³

Hortensius Paulinus

415	EX PRAED HORT PAVLINI DE FIGV PROPET NEG AVR ANTONIA
S.105	OPVS DOL EX FIG PROPET PRAED OR TES PAVL NEG SAEN VICTOR
S.106	HORTENSI PAVL LINI

In other stamps (416-417) *dominus* is expressed also as the owner of *praedia*, in which *figlinae Propetianae* was located. Steinby, relying on Bloch, has dated the stamps to the end of the second century and the beginning of the third. Steinby has concluded that *dominus* had four *officinatores*: Egnatius Clemens (416, perhaps 417), Zos(imus) An() (418) and two unnamed (415, S. 105). Four *negotiatores* are also known: Valerius Catullus,

¹ PIR² H 118; Degrassi, L'Esportazione di olio e olive Istriane, 967.

² The brick stamps and *amphora* stamps of both Herennii have been discovered from Africa, CIL VIII 22632, 27 and Degrassi, above, 967.

³ *Cognomen* is not distinctive, Kajanto, LC, 244. The Honoratii are not known from brick-stamps, PIR, not from CIL VI. We know the form Honeratius.

Aur(elia) Antonia, Metilius Proculus and Senius Victor. Valerius Catullus appears also in a stamp of *figlinae Propetianae* 419, where *domini* are Passenia Petronia's (cf. s.v.) heirs, one of whom is thought by Steinby to be Hortensius Paulinus.¹

Dominus has been identified as M. CASSIVS HORTENSIUS PAULINUS,² who was praetor urbanus, XV vir sacris faciundis Herculi invicto (CIL VI 318). Nothing further is known of his career. Suggested in PIR as his ancestors are M. and Q. Hortensius Paulinus and Firmus, who are known from a Veronese inscription (CIL V 3338). The brothers in question erected it for consul Bellicius Sollers, husband of Claudia Marcellina. Both the last-mentioned appear as *domini*.

This inscription confirms the genealogy proposed by Pflaum, according to which the following *domini* belong to the *gens*: P. Cassius Secundus, L. Bellicius Sollers (cf. s.v.), Claudia Marcellina (cf. s.v.) and also M. Cassius Hortensius Paulinus.³ Also regarded as a relative of Hortensius Paulinus is M. Cassius Paulinus, whose official career is inadequately known (CIL VI 1373). He was in any case a senator.⁴ Barbieri dates inscription to the years 193-285.⁵ Also proposed as a relative is Iul(ius) Cas(s)ius Paulinus,⁶ who is mentioned as the son of a senator in the centenary celebrations of 204.

I propose the following stemma, which is based partly on brick stamp data and partly on the stemma proposed by Pflaum for the Cassii:

¹ Steinby, 75.

² PIR² H 211.

³ Pflaum, AEA 39, 1966, 21-23.

⁴ PIR² C 513.

⁵ Barbieri, Albo senatorio, No.2225.

⁶ PIR² C 513.

?M. Hortensius
Paulinus
CIL V 3338

Claudia - L. Bellicius Sollers
Marcellina : *dominus figl.*
domina figl.

?Passenia
Petronia

P. Cassius - Claudia
Secundus : Marcellina
cos. 138
dominus figl.

?M. Cassius
Hortensius
Paulinus
dominus figl.

M. Cassius
Paulinus
CIL VI 1373

The weakness of this stemma is its contradiction of brick stamp datings. The stamps of Hortensius Paulinus are dated later, so that he cannot have been adopted by P. Cassius Secundus. The adoption was probably arranged by an unidentified son of the consul. Because of the Veronese inscriptions the same place might be reckoned the home of the Hortensii. Other *dominii* in the stemma are also from north Italy.

C. Iulius Apollinaris

Dominus is mentioned as the owner of *praedia* in a binominal stamp (1203). Steinby dates this before 134. He suggests with reservations, however, that *officinarius* Caet() Magnio moved as follows: C. Iulius Apollinaris - M. Coelius Philetus - M. Coelius Fortunatus. Stamp 1203 may also be among the stamps of *figlinae Antull(ianae)*.¹ The name of *dominus* is not "distinctive".²

¹ Steinby, 26.

² The homonym is known from a sarcophagus where a C. Iulius Apollinaris announces to have erected the gravestone to his seven-year-old son Gavius Iulius Paulinus. The inscription is dated to the second century, Thylander, *Inscriptions du Port d'Ostie*, No. 137. We also know the gravestone of a C. Iulius Apollinaris erected by his mother Plautia Dynamis (CIL XIV 2444). From a brick stamp (436, *figlinae Tonneianae*) we know *officinatrix* or

C. Iulius Dioscorus

Dominus is expressed as owner of *figlinae* in a one-name stamp dated to 161 (1204). The stamp has a late and rare consular dating. The name is not distinctive.¹

Iulius Eutactus

Dominus is mentioned in three one-name stamps of 123 as the owner of *praedia* (487, S. 127-128). The stamps are variation of each other. They belong to *opus Salarese*. No relationship can be confirmed with another Iulius producing *opus Salarese*, namely L. Iulius Ursus Valerius Flaccus, who also has stamps for the year 123. The name is not distinctive. The same Iulius Eutactus may appear in a *fistula* stamp.²

Ti. Iulius Iulianus³

2177 EX PRAEDIS TI IVLI
 IVLIANI OPVS DOLIAREM

2175 EX PR TI ...
 IVLI ...

2176 is correspondingly fragmentary. The stamps of Iulius Iulianus are difficult to date. Dressel often deliberated whether Iulius Iulianus in fact existed.

2173 EX P TI IVLI IVLIANI OP
 DOMITI RVFINI

2174 EX PR TI IVLI IVLIANI OF
 IVSTAES ET RVFINI

The stamps are dated to the end of the Hadrian period and the

domina Iulia Dynamis whose stamp is dated to the end of the first century. The commonness of names does not allow to suggest a connection between the persons of the brick stamps.

¹ Cf. Kajanto, LC; Solin, Beiträge; the homonym CIL VI 19939.

² CIL V 7473 IVLI EVTACTI.

³ Cf. Ti. Iulius Iulianus of the first century.

early time of Antoninus Pius.¹ My suggested identification of *domini* is: for stamps 2175-77 TI. IULIUS IULIANUS, consul suffectus in 117;² for stamps 2173-4 TI. IULIUS ALEXANDER IULIANUS, consul suffectus in 130(?). The most notable bearer of the name Ti. Iulius Alexander was first prefect of Egypt and finally praefectus praetorio under Vespasian and Galba. He belonged to a cultured Jewish-Greek family. It is highly probable that his descendants became senators.³

The consul of 130(?) is considered by Petersen to have been leg.Aug.pr.pr. Arabiae in 125 and proconsul Asiae.⁴ On the evidence of brick stamps *domina* Stertinia Bassula (cf. s.v.) may be supposed the wife of the consul of 130(?). The criteria are an *officinator* in common, Domitius Rufinus, a *signum* also in common, and the fact that the stamps were found in the same places (Lorium, Alsium). Steinby is inclined to consider the wife's stamps as of later date, in which case she inherited from her husband. I suggest the following stemma:⁵

Ti. Iulius Alexander
praef.Aeg. 69

?Ti. Iulius Alexander
procos. Cretae et Asiae

Ti. Iulius Alexander(?)
Iulianus, cos. S. 117
dominus figl.

Ti. Iulius Alexander	-	Stertinia Bassula
Iulianus, cos. S. 130(?)		<i>domina figl.</i>
<i>dominus figl.</i>		

Heirs of the married couples are not encountered in brick stamps.

¹ Steinby, 15 Note 1; Bloch, Bolli laterizi, 156 Note 115, 176. The dating of the stamps can be made more precise by new discoveries; the most probable solution is to distinguish three Iulii Iuliani.

² Barbieri, RAL 1974, 260-262; cf. RE XIV (1974), Iulius No.290a, 209 (Eck); Kleine Pauly, Iulius No.5, 1524 (R.H.)

³ Petersen, Klio 48, 1967, 159-167; cf. PIR² I 142, PIR² I 368.

⁴ Petersen, Klio 48, 1967, 159 ff.

⁵ Barbieri, RAL 1974, 260-262, suggests that the consul 117 is either the father or the brother of the consul 130(?).

C. Iulius Stephanus

C. Iulius Stephanus is mentioned in stamps (1208-13, S.320-1, 244, = 9 pc.) as the owner of *praedia*, and all his stamps are consular-dated (years 123, 125, 127, 130, 132). In the stamps of Iulius Stephanus five *officinatores* are recognized, no less than four of whom transferred to the service of Domitia Lucilla: Peducaeus Lupulus (244), C. Cominius Proculus (1210 from the year 127) and Felix Caricus, who formed a *societas* with the latter. In stamp 1213 (year 132) *officinator* is Do(mitius?) Cel(sus). Stamp 244 (years 129-132) is placed among the stamps of *figlinae Genianae* on the basis of the letter G. P. Aelius Alexander appears first with Arrius Antoninus in a stamp and then in stamps of Domitia Lucilla and Marcus Aurelius.¹ It is possible that all stamps of Iulius Stephanus and Iulia Saturnina are from *figlinae Genianae*. Brick stamp data, especially the same *signum* indicating the name Stephanus, points to a relationship between Iulius Stephanus and Iulia Saturnina (cf. s.v.). The most natural choice is that of father and daughter on the strength of brick stamp chronology.

As *domini* of *figlinae Genianae* after Iulius Stephanus only C. Fulvius Plautianus and emperors are known. This, like the transfer of *officinatores*, implies that the lands of Iulius Stephanus and Iulia Saturnina came into imperial possession. The manner and date of this is unknown. Stamp data affecting Iulius Stephanus: a high standard and plentiful group of *officinatores*, known also from other *domini*, indicate a position of only a landowner. At the same time the transfer of *officinator* to Domitia Lucilla would imply connections with the Domitii. The name Stephanus, a common Greek *cognomen* in Rome, does not support membership of the upper circles of society.²

¹ Steinby, 44 and Note 1.

² Solin, Beiträge, 111; PIR¹: *Cognomen* Stephanus is not known from any member of the higher orders.

L. Iulius Ursus Valerius Flaccus

521 DE PRAEDIS L IVLI VRSI VALERI FLAC
SALARESE A TAVRIONE

522 EX PRAEDIS C VALERI FLAC IVLI VRSI
AB T ALLIO PRIMIGENIO
SALARE

S.148 L V VAL EX PRAE SALARE
PAETIN APRONIA
COS

a.123

He is to be identified with L. IULIUS URSUS VALERIUS FLACCUS, related to a brother-in-law of Hadrian, L. Iulius Ursus Servianus, cos. III 134, and consul in 128.¹ L. Iulius Ursus Servianus was consul first in 90 (according to Syme either 93 or 97).² He was born in 47 and died at the age of 90 "by order" of Hadrian.³ The adoptive father of L. Iulius Servianus was L. Iulius Ursus, praefectus Aegypti, consul suffectus in 84, 98 and 100.⁴ The adoption was in 101. According to Stein-Petersen one or other of the above had "given" his name to the *dominus*.⁵ The brother-in-law of Hadrian was of Spanish birth, from Italica. The *origo* of *dominus*, who was consul in 128, is unknown to us. A poet of Argonautica who died young and whose name was C. Valerius Flaccus is known; he was related to *dominus*.⁶ Presumably *dominus* was the adopted son either of Hadrian's brother-in-law or of the latter's adoptive father. Chronologically L. Iulius Ursus is the more likely father, i.e. *dominus* was the adopted son of the same person as the celebrated brother-in-law of Hadrian.

¹ Bloch, Supplement, Index.

² Syme, Review of Reidinger's book, Gnomon 1957.

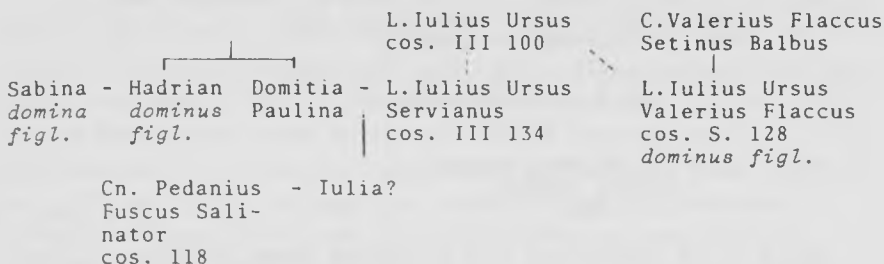
³ PIR² I 631 (the consul year is not 126 but 128); Castillo Garcia, Prosopographia Baetica No. 189, 101-103; Reidinger, Die Statthalter der Pannonien No.19, 61-63; Dobó, Die Verwaltung der römischen Provinz Pannonien No.25, 38-39; Etienne, Les sénateurs espagnols No.5, 60-61.

⁴ PIR² I 630; RE S. XIV (1974) Iulius No.536, 211-212 (Eck).

⁵ Degrassi, L'esportazione di olio e olive, 37; Lambrechts, La composition No. 218, 60; RE S. XIV (1974), Valerius No. 180, 819 (Eck).

⁶ PIR¹ V 53.

My proposed stemma is:



Among close friends and relatives of Hadrian are encountered *opus Salarese domini* and Hadrian's wife Vibia Sabina. Nothing is known of land transfers between Valerius Flaccus and other *opus Salarese domini*.¹ I have suggested a hypothetical connection with Valeria Polla (cf. s.v.).

Iulia Albana

Domina is mentioned as the owner of *praedia* in binominal stamps which with one exception are from 123 (1214-1216, S. 322 = year 123, 1217). *Officinator* Procilia Phila appears in 124 in a stamp of *praedia Mamm()* (301). She is known to have had four slave *officinatores*.

On the strength of brick stamp data Petersen reaches the conclusion that Iulia Albana is the wife of the second of the brothers Q. Pompeius Mameius and Mammeianus (cf. Appendix No.5). Appealing to Marini and Dressel, he believes that *praedia Mamm()* took his name from the brothers.² In my view the premise is too hypothetical. In brick stamp material there are only a few certain cases of a *figlinae* taking its names from the *cognomen* of

¹ We cannot confirm from other sources the confiscation of the Valerius Flaccus' landed property and its transference to the Empress. The stamps of Sabina are problematical: the stamps S.144 and 145 from the years 132 and 134 belong probably to her. According to Steinby the stamp 530 from the year 123 belongs to Sabina (Bloch, Supplement, Steinby, 85).

² PIR² 643; Cf. Steinby, 60-61.

its owner.¹ Huotari has rightly stressed that the name of *figlinae* is more likely derived from the name of the estate, the area of land.² On the other hand, an *officinator* in common often serves as a criterion when estimating a land transfer. Such transfers between persons are often a sign of kinship. Also, *officinatores* often move without proof of kinship or confiscation. In my view it should be possible to indicate further criteria or sources showing the existence of kinship before such conclusions are drawn from an *officinator* in common. A marriage between Iulia Albana and Q. Pompeius Mammeius-Mammeianus must be regarded as uncertain. A more likely suggestion is that the stamps of Iulia Albana are from a district called *praedia Mamm()*. The name Iulia Albana is not at all distinctive. The *cognomen* Albanus is quite unknown in the higher ranks of society.³ Her social status remains open.

Iulia Lupula - Arria Lupula

338 EX PR IVLIAE LXPVLAE EX FIG MVLI
 ONIS OP DOL TRAVI FELICIS

EX PRA ARRIAE
LVPVLAE CAep⁴

S.233 ARRIAE

IULIA LUPULA - ARRIA LUPULA - IULIA FADILLA has been studied as *domina* by Bloch, Helen and Steinby.⁵ From the prosopographical standpoint the most interesting result is: at issue in the stamps is one and the same person, the daughter of Arria Fadilla

¹ According to Steinby the *figlinae* names are based on the *cognomen* in the following cases: *Aiacianae*, *Antullianae*(?), *Camillianae*, *Curtianae*(?), *Iuncianae*(?), *Lusianae*, *Mammeianae*(?), RE S. XV. According to Dressel (stamp 257) *figlinae Iuncianis* have taken the name from L. Aemilius Iuncus, cos.suff. 127 (PIR² A 355). We cannot conclude this with sure because the name of *figlinae* is very seldom formed from the name of persons.

² Cf. Huotari.

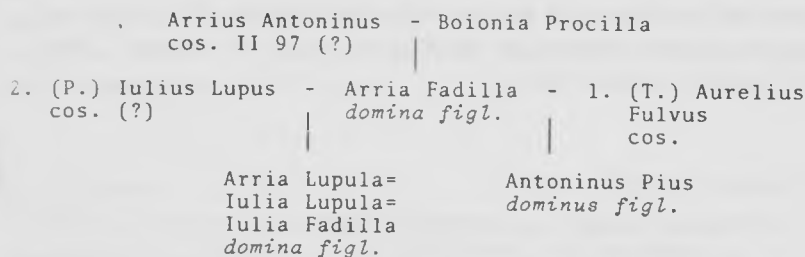
³ Kajanto, LC, 181; PIR.

⁴ Bloch has published the stamp, HSPh 63, 1958, 408-411.

⁵ Bloch, *ibid*; Helen, 79-80; Steinby, 32-33, 66.

and consul P. Iulius Lupus and thus the half-sister of Antoninus Pius. In literature she is known as Iulia Fadilla. Multiplicity of names and the use of different names was a general custom among the senatorial ranks in the second century. Most interesting is *figlinae Mulionis*, a part of *figlinae Caepionianae*, from which Arria Fadilla apportioned a part to her daughter by Iulius Lupus, and a part to the future Emperor, her son by Aurelius Fulvus.

Petersen in PIR has been guilty of prosopographical confusion in separating two *dominae* of different periods, Arria Lupula and Iulia Lupula, who in his opinion may be mother and daughter.¹ Brick stamps of the same period support the following stemma:²



The history of *figlinae Caepionianae* has been closely studied by Helen and Steinby.³ *Officinator* Travius Felix is encountered with Valeria Polla (*figlinae Furianae*, 235) and in an imperial stamp (*figlinae Oceanae*, 383). Bloch believes that it is a different Travius Felix⁴ in the last-mentioned stamp. Stamp 383 is dated to the years 198-211, so that Bloch's estimate may be correct. As a criterion of the Travius Felix hypothesis it may be asserted, however, that the land of Iulia Arria Lupula was pos-

¹ Petersen, PIR² I 667 (Iulia Fadilla=?Arria Lupula); PIR² I 676 (Iulia Lupula); PIR² I 668 (Iulia Fadilla), Stemma, 317.

² The persons of the stemma are in PIR as follows: Arrius Antoninus PIR² A 1086, Boionia Procilla PIR² B 142, Arria Fadilla PIR² A 1119, Aurelius Fulvus PIR² A 1509, Iulius Lupus PIR² I 389.

³ Helen, 76-82; Steinby, 30-33.

⁴ Bloch, Supplement, Index; Helen, 149; Steinby, 33.

sibly transferred to the Emperor on account of her childlessness as early as the time of Antoninus Pius. I have found no connection between Valeria Polla and Iulia Lupula.

Iulia Procula

S.194 TEG TVN DOL EVTICHVS SE
 IVLIAE PROCVLAE

S.193 TEGLA DO ...EX FIGLIN
 IVLIAE ProcVLAE

The stamps of Iulia Procula (646-651, S. 193-195) are dated from the end of the first decade of the second century to the year 123 (648).¹ IVLIA PROCVLA has been identified as either the sister² or the daughter³ of C. Iulius Proculus, consul in 109. On the other hand reference has been made to the history of *figlinae Tonneianae* and *domina* identified as the grandchild⁴ of L. Iulius Rufus, consul in 67 and *dominus*. From Iulia Procula we know three *officinatores*: Eutychus (647, S. 194-5) L. Licinius Felix (635-636) and Appia Pyramis (S. 191). Appia Pyramis is encountered later with Q. Asinius Marcellus (854) before 123. Because of a *signum* in common, which does not appear identically in a single other stamp, Dressel has supposed that Flavia Procula (cf. s.v.) is the same as Iulia Procula. The stamps of Flavia Procula are from 123 and 140. I agree with Steinby's interpretation of mother and daughter⁵ as the greater probability. Stamp 587 of *figlinae Sulpicianae* may also possibly belong to Iulia Procula. The *signum* confirms that this otherwise fragmentary stamp belongs to Procula.⁶ Among the *domini* of *figlinae Sulpicianae* there are no other Iulii. In my opinion relationship to L.

¹ Steinby, 99.

² RE X (1919), Iulius No.418 (Groag).

³ Bloch, Bolli laterizi, 179 Note 148; PIR² I 497; PIR² I 523.

⁴ PIR² I 695 (Petersen).

⁵ Steinby, 99-100.

⁶ Steinby, 91.

Iulius Rufus is more likely, on specific brick stamp evidence, than relationship to Iulius Proculus. The *cognomen* Proculus/-a is so common as not to be at all distinctive.¹ The stemma of *figlinae Tonneianae domini* would be as follows:

L. Iulius Rufus
cos. 67
dominus figl.

Iulia Procula - Flavius (?)
domina figl.

Flavia Procula Flavia Seia Isaurica
domina figl. *domina figl.*

Flavius Aper
dominus figl.

The stemma is based on the fact that landed property tended to remain within the *gens*; on this estate brick production continued after one generation, which has remained unknown. Grave-stones of several persons named Iulia Procula have been found at Ostia and dated to the Trajan period.² The commonness of the name renders their identification impossible.

Iulia Saturnina

The stamps of Iulia Saturnina³ (1218-1220, S.323) are all consular-dated, years 137, 139 and 141. She is mentioned as the owner of *praedia*, and the stamps are one-name. Iulia Saturnina is not to be considered *domina* of *figlinae Oceanae*: we are concerned with an *officinator* bearing the same name.⁴ In brick stamp

¹ Kajanto, LC, 176.

² Inscriptions du Port d'Ostie, 120-123. Cf. Righini (I bolli laterizi romani, 116, 133-134, 136-137) identifies *domina* as one of those who are mentioned in the gravestones.

³ PIR² I 699; the years of consular dating are wrong in PIR.

⁴ Cf. the comments of Steinby concerning the stamps 365, 1221-2, Steinby, 44 Note 1, 69 Note 1, 70 Note 4.

studies Iulia Saturnina has been connected with *dominus* Iulius Stephanus (cf. s.v.), mainly because of a common *signum* and suitable chronology. From the time standpoint Iulius Stephanus is probably the father of Iulia Saturnina. Neither name is at all distinctive, so that identification is not easy. It is suggested in PIR that Iulia Saturnina is the relative, and more specifically the sister, of Iulius Saturninus, a knight in the time of Antoninus Pius. Iulius Saturninus was procurator Augustorum 161-169, among other offices.¹ T. Iulius Saturninus is known to have been *Titi filius*, so that both hypotheses of relationship cannot be considered: the father of the brother and sister is presumed to be C. Iulius Stephanus. I should consider the relationship offered by brick stamps more empirically proved than a relationship between Saturninus and Saturnina proposed on merely onomastic grounds, especially as the *cognomen* is extremely common.² Iulia Saturnina may be regarded then as the daughter of C. Iulius Stephanus. Brick stamp data on both *domini* imply the higher ranks of society. On connections with other Iulius *domini* there is no information.

Iunius Iulianus

The stamps of Iunius Iulianus (S.129 = 488, S.130 = 489, 490-492, S.131-132, 493 = S.133 = 7 pc.) are all consular-dated for 123 and 134. He is *opus Salarese dominus. Officinator* A. Gabinius Successus, for whom there are undated stamps (495-496, 497 = S.134), is known by name, the others only by initials.³

Dominus has been identified as IUNIUS IULIANUS, who was pro-consul of Sicily (CIL X 7127).⁴ No other data regarding him have

¹ PIR² I 548, PIR does not mention Iulius Stephanus.

² Cf. Kajanto, LC, 213; persons of the same name are known from Rome CIL VI 20667-20672.

³ Steinby, 84.

⁴ PIR² I 762.

survived.¹ A relationship, probably brotherhood, between Iunius Iulianus and Iunius Sulpicianus has been suggested by me (cf. s.v. Iunius Sulpicianus). Nor can a connection be denied with M. Iunius Rufus, *dominus* of *figlinae via Salaria*, though it cannot be established as more than a hypothesis.

M. Iunius Rufus

Dominus appears with his wife as the owner of *praedia* (683, S.206). *Officinator* Iulius Felix is not encountered with others. The stamps are dated to Trajan.² From *figlinae via Salaria* no other stamps are known. The other party of the *dominus societas* is demonstrably the wife, *regina* Claudia Capitolina (cf. s.v.). Iunius Rufus, therefore, is M. IUNIUS RUFUS, prefect of Egypt in the decade of 90.³ Domitian appointed him to the office in 94, Nerva did not recall him and Trajan retained him there until summer 98.⁴ At the end of the first century the offices of prefect of Egypt and praefectus praetorio were at least as influential as the offices of consular legate. The father-in-law of M. Iunius Rufus was a prefect of Egypt in the decade of 50, Ti. Claudius Balbillus.

Suggested in PIR as the son of M. Iunius Rufus is M. Iunius Mettius Rufus, consul suffectus in 128.⁵ The suggestion finds no support in brick stamps: the name may have descended from Mettius Rufus,⁶ and other Iunii are known. The *Salarese domini* include Iunius Iulianus, but no connections are apparent between these Iunii.

¹ Iunius Iulianus appears in the member list of *corpus fabrum navalium*, CIL XIV S. 256.

² Steinby, 101.

³ PIR² I 812.

⁴ Stein, Die Präfekten von Ägypten, 47.

⁵ PIR² I 777.

⁶ PIR¹ M 407-408.

decades of the second century. He is also an *opus Salarese dominus*.¹ The expression of *dominus* is again not unambiguous. Laelius Lelianus cannot be identified.²

Larcia Sabina

1235 EX PR LARCIAE SABINAE
 L ERM FELICIS
 DOL
 OP

Dressel has dated the stamp to the end of the Hadrian period.³ (1236 is fragmentary). *Officiinator* is not encountered with other *domini*. We know two persons named M. Pontius Laelianus Larcus Sabinus, consuls in 144 and 163, who were probably father and son. It is most likely that LARCIA SABINA, as the giver of the name, was mother of the elder and grandmother of the younger. Identification is justified, as I have suggested the elder of the consuls as *dominus* M. Pontius Sabinus (cf. s.v. Stemma). On reconstruction grounds the stamps of Larcia Sabina should be dated to early Hadrian.

A. Larcus Priscus, consul suffectus in 110, is known to us, and Larcia Sabina may be suggested as his daughter. The consul was from Antium.⁴ There is no source information on kinship between Larcus Priscus and Larcia Sabina.⁵ Larcia Sabina was in

¹ Steinby, 91.

² The Laelii of PIR do not make possible an identification. The *cognomen* L(a)elianus is known in higher orders only among the Plautii. We have no possibilities to suppose connections to *dominus* Pontius Sabinus (cf. s.v.).

³ According to Steinby the stamp is difficult to date.

⁴ Pflaum, *Arctos* 9, 1975, 79; Kleine Pauly, Larcus No.5, 494 (R.H.).

⁵ PIR² L 107; The deficiency of sources does not reveal the possible connection between *domina* and L. Iulius Larcus Sabinus, tr. plebis of the third century.

any case *femina nobilis*.

C. Lus(ius) Modes(tus)

Lusius Modestus is the only *dominus* (1255, 1256 = S.207)¹ of *figlinae via Triumphalis*. He is mentioned in binominal stamps as the owner of *praedia*, and he uses consular dating in both stamps (year 123, 126). Bloch has suggested that he is a freedman of Lusius Quietus, Trajan's foremost military commander.² Two inscriptions of the knight C. Lusius Modestus are known to us (CIL XI 4366, 4367).³ They were found - one is from a grave - in the Ameria district along a tributary of the Tiber. This is a good clay district. Of the career of Lusius Modestus the following is known: he was quattuorvir aed(ilicia) pot(estate), praef.coh.trib. mil. and praef.alae equitum. I should regard the identification as certain despite the commonness of the nomenclature. From the same district came another knight *dominus*, C. Curiatius Cosanus.

Magia Marcella

Domina is mentioned in a binominal stamp (1259) of Hadrian's time as the owner of *praedia*. The *officinator* Ortensius Procl(us) is not encountered with others. In PIR she is noted as *femina nobilis*(?).⁴ High-ranking Magii are known only from the first century.⁵ Magius was a common name in Tibur.⁶ We know a gravestone of Samnia L.f. Magia Marcella which was erected by L. Samnius L.f. Magius Gallus (CIL VI 25859). *Dominus* L. Samnius Gallus is also known to us. The persons of this gravestone strongly suggest marriage between *domini* Magia Marcella and L. Samnius Gallus. Their brick stamps are contemporary.

¹ Steinby, 101.

² Bloch, Bolli laterizi, 326 Note 265.

³ The *cognomen* to a humble origin, but we know some Modesti among higher orders. Kajanto, LC, 68-9, 263.

⁴ PIR² M 75.

⁵ Kleine Pauly, Magius, 881-882 (R.H.).

⁶ RE XIV (1930), Magius, 438-443 (Kroll, Münzer, Stein).

L. Man() Theocritus

Dominus is known as the owner of *praedia* from the year 134 (1263). *Officinator* M. Ulpius Anicetianus from the same year also has his own stamp (S. 132) and an undated stamp (1533). *Officinator* appears in stamps also with Domitia Lucilla and the imperial family (472-3 = Caesar noster before 123, 1086, 1088-9 = year 154, 719 = Marcus Aurelius and Faustina, end of decade of 150).¹ Steinby (also Dressel and Bloch) have regarded Ulpius Anicetianus of stamps 472-3 as a different person from the one in other stamps, but Helen believes that there may be one person only concerned.² Brick stamp data of *dominus* contain the following: binominality, a notable *officinator* who is transferred to the service of the imperial family, consular dating, ownership of *praedia*. The name of *dominus* is not distinctive.³

P. Marcius Crispus

Dominus of all four stamps (409-412, S. 103-104) of *Portus Parrae* is P. Marcius Crispus. Steinby dates the stamps from the first decade of the second century to the early Hadrian period. He is mentioned as the owner of *praedia*. *Officinator* is L. M() E(), who is not encountered in other stamps. In PIR is noted "*fortasse oriundus stirpe nobili*"⁴ Identification is impossible, as the name is not distinctive.

Q. Marcius Hermogenes

Dominus is mentioned in a stamp of the decade of 140 as the owner of *praedia* (1278). *Officinator* C. Nunnidius Restitutus

¹ Steinby, 81-82, 94-99. The stamps 1086-9 and 719 are from *figlinae Terentianae*, the stamp of Caesar noster is from *figlinae Rhodinianae*.

² Steinby, 81 Note 10; Helen, 150.

³ Known to us is L. Manlius Patruinus, who was consul suffectus in 75. (Kleine Pauly, Manlius No.2, 966 (R.H.).

⁴ PIR¹ M 166.

appears also in stamps of T. Statilius Maximus (286 = S. 69, year 123, 289 year 134) and Flavia Procula (1158 year 123).¹ From Statilius Maximus *officinator* is transferred to Marcius Hermogenes.

Dominus can be identified as the knight Q. Marcius Hermogenes, who is known to have been praefectus classis Aug(ustae) Alex(andrae) in 134.² He probably accompanied the prefect of Egypt Petronius Mamertinus, also *dominus*, to the latter's new position.³ No other connection is known between these *domini*. The same is true of Statilius Maximus and Flavia Procula. Brick stamp data alone suffice for no more than a hypothetical connection.

Matidia Aug. f.

S.209 EX PRAED MATIDIAE AVG F OFIC
 CLAVDI FORTVNATI

Domina is known also from a fragmentary stamp of the same type (S. 210, cf. Acta IRF VII). According to Bloch *domina* is Matidia Maior, mother of Sabina, the wife of Hadrian.⁴ Steinby maintains that the type indicates a later period, 140-160, when Matidia Minor, who was still living at the time of Marcus Aurelius, must be regarded as *domina*⁵ (cf. Appendix No.6 Stemma No.1).

In prosopographical studies three husbands have been "discovered" and suggested for Matidia Maior. The surest of these is L. Vibius Sabinus, consul in 97. Born of the marriage were Vibia Sabina, wife of Hadrian, and Matidia Minor. Suggested as another husband is Libo Rupilius Frugi. This supposed marriage would make Rupilia Faustina, *domina*, the half-sister of Matidia Minor; the former married *dominus* M. Annius Verus. A third husband would be

¹ According to Steinby (60 Note 1) C. N() Re() of the stamp 1158 is not the same person.

² PIR¹ M 169; CIL III, 43.

³ RE XIV (1930), Marcius No.68, 1561 (Stein); Bloch, Bolli laterizi, 203 Note 162; Lacey, The Equestrian Officials, 30.

⁴ Bloch, Supplement, 53-54; Kleine Pauly, Matidia No.1, 1079 (R.H.); PIR¹ M 277.

⁵ Steinby, 15 Note 1; PIR¹ M 278.

an unidentified Mindius. Libo Rupilius Frugi is a disputed figure.¹ This marriage is supported by what we know of the fate of Matidia Minor's property. She was the richest woman in Rome, and childless. In the settlement of her will it was endeavoured to keep most of Matidia's immense landed property in the possession of the *gens*.² Marcus Aurelius and his wife acquired the property of Matidia. Again, Marcus Aurelius was the grandchild of the supposed half-sister Rupilia Faustina, and the Emperor inherited not only from Rupilia Faustina but also from Annius Verus and Domitia Lucilla.

Solin has "discovered" the gravestone of a freedman of Matidia named L. Mindius Damaleius who looked after her private property.³ From Hadrian's speech to his mother-in-law the elder Matidia it cannot be supposed that she was married many times.⁴ As possible ancestors of Matidia's husband Solin has suggested L. Mindius Balbus and L. Mindius Pollio from the time of Claudius. Other Mindii of senatorial rank are not known. The younger Matidia appears also in *fistula* stamps.⁵

Officinator Claudius Fortunatus appeared earlier in a stamp of Stertina Bassula (2203). No connection between these two *dominae* can be found.

There are no certain data on Matidia's home. Syme notes that the name was common in Vicetia, north Italy.⁶ It is known also that Matidia's sister Vibia Sabina (S. 144-5, 530?, S. 151?),⁷

¹ The marriage is supported by Carcopino, REA 51, 1949, and by Birley, Marcus Aurelius, 320; Schumacher, Priesterkollegien, 195 opposes this because of the inconvenient chronology.

² The property has been discussed by Kubler, Das Perlenhalsband der Prinzessin Matidia, 353-367; Birley, Marcus Aurelius, 177.

³ Solin, Epigraphische Untersuchungen, No. 112, 66-69.

⁴ It is not quite certain that a third husband existed.

⁵ CIL XV 2 7306, 7736, 7822.

⁶ Syme, Tacitus II, 795.

⁷ The stamps of the Empress Sabina have no connection with the stamps of Trajan and Hadrian. They are not from the same *figlinae* mentioned by name. This supports the opinion that she appears as the representative of her *gens* and not her husband's. In the supposed stamp (530) of Sabina the *officinator* is Cl() Fron(). Could that be an erroneous transcription of Claudius Fortunatus who was the *officinator* of Matidia? This might sup-

the wife of Hadrian, acted as *domina*. The sisters' "financial adviser" may be sought among earlier *domini*. Trajan, Plotina and Hadrian are the only possibilities among the *gens*. From the time it is possible, indeed probable, that Sabina transferred her land or part of it as an inheritance to her longer-lived sister Matidia, so that it should not be subject to the imperial *fiscus*. Matidia's *figlinae* are not mentioned by name, and complete certainty is therefore unattainable.

Brick stamps cannot establish the marriages of Matidia Maior with certainty, because her clay districts are not mentioned by name. We cannot confirm connections with the supposed half-sister Rupilia Faustina or with the latter's descendants. On the other hand we know that Marcus Aurelius inherited the properties of both. On the evidence of brick stamps it is quite possible that the lands of the sisters Matidia, Sabina and Rupilia all passed to the Emperor. The Mindius marriage is lacking in precise facts.

L. Memmius Rufus

1155	T FLAVI THODONIS
S.339	I S L M R
S.338	DE PRAEDIS L MEMMI RVFI
	T FLAVI RHODO
1298	EX PR L MEMMI RVFI

The stamps must be dated to the turn of the first and second centuries. Dressel has dated stamp 1298 to midway in the second century, while Steinby has corrected this to the years 115-120. No *officinatores* are known from elsewhere. Found from a lead pipe is an inscription which has been dated to the years 103-114:

CIL XV 2,1 7302 IMP NERVAE TRAIANI CAES AVG GER DAC ...
SVB CVR SILI DECIANI ET MEMNI RVFI

The inscription has been interpreted in various ways. The divergencies with reference to Memmius Rufus are as follows: he

port the transfer of landed property between the sisters. (?).

was either adiutor curatoris aquarum under consul Silius Decianus,¹ or he was procurator aquarum like Silius Decianus.² It is probable in any case that the Memnius Rufus of the lead pipe (name-changing is not rare) and the Memmius Rufus of the brick stamps are the same person.

L. Memmius Rufus, consul in 95, was the father of a *dominus*.³ Of the latter we only know what is expressed on the lead pipe, and of the father only his consulship (?). The stamp datings allow the existence of two *domini*, the father (339) and the son (1298, S. 338). New datings have excluded the possibility that the brick stamp person might be the Memmius Rufus mentioned in Historia Augusta among the 41 *nobiles* whom Septimius Severus caused to be murdered.⁴ He was perhaps the grandson of *dominus*, and the land of the Memmii was then possibly confiscated by the state, the Emperor. The Memmii were from Latium,⁵ the district of the Volsci.

Memmia L.f. Macrina

Domina is mentioned as the owner of *praedia* in two binominal stamps dated to 134 (1300-1301).⁶ Stamp 1302 has been dated by Steinby to 120-130, and in it *domina* is the owner of *figlinae*. On the evidence of brick stamps it can be said with certainty that she was the daughter of *dominus* L. Memmius Rufus. *Officinatores* are L. M(emmius?) Astrag., (*libertus* of *domina*), Procill(ia) Gemella and Pomp() Felix, who is encountered in 136 and 137 with

¹ Bloch, Bolli laterizi, 98.

² Lacey, The Equestrian Officials, No.15, 7, 52; PIR¹ M 344.

³ Bloch, Bolli laterizi, 98; the consul of 95 is not known according to Degraffi, Fasti consolari.

⁴ Cf. RE XV (1932) Memmius No.39, 636 (Fluss); PIR¹ M 343; Kleine Pauly, Memmius, 1186-1189.

⁵ Several Memmii are known from Africa, Pelletier, Latomus 23, 1964, 515-518.

⁶ The stamp 1300 is found also CIL X 8043,34.

Domitia Lucilla. No connection between the two *dominae* can be verified.

The *cognomen* Macrinus is fairly common.¹ We know T. Caesernius Statius Quintius Statianus Memmius Macrinus, who was leg. Aug. pr. pr. Numidia in 138/9-140/1. His career was typically senatorial. He was cos. S. 140 or 141.² He is more likely the contemporary than the son of Memmia Macrina. The Caesernii Statii were from Aquileia. The consul's polynominality implies the adoption of Memmius Macrinus. The consul's relation to Memmia Macrina remains open.

Mummia Vara

1310 OP DOL EX PR MVMMIAE VARA
 E C F FIG ACILI FORTVN

Domina is MUMMIA VARA, *clarissima femina*. The stamp is dated to the time of Severus.³ Barbieri notes that neither the father nor husband of Mummia Vara is known in the senate of Septimius Severus.⁴ *Cognomen* is unknown elsewhere;⁵ Varanus raises an interesting connection. The *cognomen* Varanus is encountered with M. Pontius Varanus Sabinus, whom I have regarded as a relative of M. Pontius Sabinus and Larcia Sabina. Both the latter are *domini* (cf. s.v.). The gravestone of M. Pontius Varanus has been found in the area of Ljubljana (Ulpiana). The name of his wife was Furia Ti..., and a monument was raised by Furia L.f. Caecilia. Schumacher has noted perceptively that P. Mummius Sisenna Rutilianus, consul suffectus in 146, and M. Pontius Laelianus Larcus Sabinus had relatives in common.⁶ From this relationship one may cautiously deduce a connection from M. Pontius Sabinus to Mummia

¹ Kajanto, LC, 244 (sen. 11, 1 woman, men 123, women 46).

² PIR² C 183; Thomasson, Statthalter II, 171-173; Eck, Senatoren, 216, 224.

³ Steinby, 25, suggests that the stamp can be read either *ex fig(linis) Acili(anis)*, *Fortunati ex fig(linis) Acili Fortu-nati*.

⁴ Barbieri, Albo senatorio No. 917, 188.

⁵ Kajanto, LC, 205, only one Varanus.

⁶ Schumacher, Priesterkollegien, 242, cf. Stemma Anlage VII; RE

Vara. In the stemma (cf. s.v. M. Pontius Sabinus) I have regarded M. Pontius Varanus as the brother of *dominus*. Landed property may therefore have passed on grounds of kinship from Sabinus to Vara. The clay district of neither *dominus* is mentioned by name, which weakens the hypothesis. For want of more exact sources and biographical data a more precise relationship cannot be proposed. Certain Mummii¹ from the time of Mummia Vara are known to us, but no reliable connections with them can be verified.

Neratia Quartilla

For *domina* only one stamp (S. 346) is known, in which she appears as the owner of a *figlinae* not mentioned by name in 123. With the land-ownership of *domini* as a starting-point it may be supposed that Neratia Quartilla belonged to the Neratii, famous in the time of Trajan and Hadrian, who were from Salpinum in the Samnium area. This has also been suggested by Bloch.² Very few women of the Neratius *gens* are known, but the men on record are numerous and eminent. In the decade of 120 nearly all consuls are from the Neratius, Aurelius and Annius *gentes*. Three with the name L. Neratius Priscus are known: cos. S. 87, cos. S. 97, cos. S. (?),³ and an important jurist.⁴ We know several named L. Neratius Marcellus, cos. II 129, and the latter's brother cos. S. 144.⁵ In sum: the Neratii in the first half of the century

XXII (1953), Pontius No.52, 44 (Ziegler).

¹ PIR¹ M 523, RE XVI (1935), Mummius No.29, 534 (Groag); PIR¹ M 516 MVMIVS QVADRATUS; PIR¹ M 515 L. MVMIVS NIGER QVINTVS VALERIVS VEGETVS SEVERINVS CAVCIDIVS TERTVLLVS; Kleine Pauly, Mummius: MVMIVS BASSVS and MVMII SISENNAE, 1459 (R.H.).

² Bloch, Bolli laterizi, 204.

³ RE S.XIV (1974), Neratius, No.12a, 13, 15, 285-286 (Eck).

⁴ Kleine Pauly 4, Neratius No.4, 67 (Th. M.-M.).

⁵ RE XVI (1935), Neratius No.9, 2542 (Groag); Cebeillec, Quaestores, 87-88.

were of the political elite, even candidates for Emperor.

L. Neratius Marcellus possessed land in the district of Ligures Baebiani. This information is from the land-ownership list, which is dated to the year 101 (CIL IX 1455).¹ Lack of sources makes it difficult to connect Neratia Quartilla with any specific Neratius consul. Quartilla is an unknown *cognomen* in the higher orders, but it is encountered fairly often in inscriptions.² From the third century we know a person named Flavia Neratia Septimia Octavilla who forms a connection between the *gentes* of Leptis Magna and, on the one hand, the Flavii Apri and Septimii Severi *gentes*, and, on the other, the Neratii of Salpinum³ (cf. s.v. Flavius Aper). Some members of all these *gentes* are also known as *domini*.

The Neratii appear in this one brick stamp only, and thus do not belong to the brick stamp *gentes* proper, as do other politically important *gentes* of the same period, the Annii, Aurelii and Avidii.

Oc() Cest()

Dominus Octavius Cestianus appears as the owner of *figlinae* (*opus Salarese*) in 123 (485). *Officinator*, Travone(?) is not encountered in other stamps.⁴ Cestianus is a rare *cognomen*: in the material of Kajanto there are only six.⁵ Of a connection with another *Salarese dominus*, Arminius Cestianus, there are no certain proofs.

Paccii

A *societas* of the Paccius brothers is mentioned as the owner

¹ Arnheim, Senatorial Aristocracy, 116.

² Kajanto, LC, 293. One only in PIR and Kajanto.

³ PIR² F 430; Morris, The Roman Senate, s.v.

⁴ Steinby, 85 and Note 1.

⁵ Kajanto, LC, 144.

of *figlinae* in 123 (S. 353). No *officinator* is mentioned. No relatives can be found for Paccii known during the Empire.¹ In greatest numbers the Paccii are known in Etruria, where a Paccius *signaculum* stamp has also been discovered.²

Passenia Petronia (potential *domina*)=

Heirs of Passenia Petronia

419 EX PRAEDIS HEREDVM CC VV PASSENI
 AE PETRONIAE NEG VAL CATVLLO

Passenia Petronia is not mentioned as *domina*,³ but her heirs are mentioned - not by name - as *clarissimi viri*. Dressel has dated the stamp to the time of Commodus, Steinby to a later period, not before the last years of Commodus and thereafter. The second *dominus* of *figlinae Propetianae* is Cassius Hortensius Paulinus (cf. s.v.), who might be one of the heirs. In Steinby's interpretation these *domini* also had the same *officinator* Egnatius Clemens (419, 416, perhaps 417), on the evidence of an *officinator's* symbol. They had, moreover, the same *negotiator*, Valerius Catullus (419, 416).⁴ The *Passenius gens* is otherwise unknown,⁵ so an error of writing has probably occurred. *Passienus* is more likely name. The *gens* had been of senatorial rank since Augustus.⁶ A *Passienus gens* is also known.⁷ Connections with these suggested *gentes* cannot be verified.

¹ Cf. Kleine Pauly, Paccius, 393-394 (R.H.); PIR.

² Schulze, Eigennamen, 204; CIL XI 6712.

³ PIR¹ P 104.

⁴ Steinby, 75.

⁵ Barbieri, *Albo senatorio*, No.918, 188: The father and the husband of Passenia Petronia are not known among the senators of the period of Commodus. Cf. Schulze, *Eigennamen*, 213.

⁶ We know Q. Passienus Licinus, cos. S. 149 (PIR¹ P 110, RE XVIII, 2 (1949) No.3, 2098 (Hanslik) and Q. Passienus Rufus (PIR¹ P 112).

⁷ We know C. Passienius Cossonius Scipio Orfitus, PIR¹ P 107; Barbieri, *Albo senatorio*, No.196a, 49.

Pedania Quintilla Saeniani (*uxor*)

Domina is mentioned as the owner of *figlinae* in three binominal stamps of *figlinae Tonneianae* (642-648). These can be dated to the early Trajan period. In addition to the three *officinatores* of the stamps, Nonius Clemens, C. Laberius Zosimus and Sex. Vismatius Neritus, who was earlier at *figlinae Brutianae*, Steinby suggests Sex. Vismatius Himerus (640 = S. 192, 1517) as *offici-nator* of Pedania.¹ An earlier *dominus* of *figlinae Tonneianae* was L. Iulius Rufus, consul in 67 and Pedania's successor Iulia Procula. Steinby has also noted the division of *figlinae Tonnei-anae* into several parts like *figlinae Caepionianae*; this would explain the "interposition" of Pedania into the Iulii, i.e. Pedania would own a different section from the Iulii.²

The identification of *domina* is worth some thought, as it can be established from the history of the Pedanius *gens* and possibly through Saenianus. The only Saenianus known in the higher orders is Peducaeus Saenianus, consul suffectus in 89,³ who from the time standpoint is also a possible husband of *domina* Pedania Quintilla. The union is further supported by M. Peducaeus Plautius Quintillus, consul ordinarius in 177,⁴ in whom the names of the spouses are repeated. Quintillus is encountered in the upper ranks among the Plautii and the name in general is rare,⁵ so that it may be regarded as significant.

A surer line of identification, however, is the Pedanius *gens*, which is known as follows: Cn. Pedanius Fuscus Salinator, cos. S. 60, Cn. Pedanius Fuscus Salinator, cos. S. 84(?), Cn. Pedanius Fuscus Salinator, cos. 0.118, of whom the last-mentioned married the daughter of Iulius Servianus, brother-in-law of Hadrian, cos. III 134. This marriage produced a son who, together with his maternal grandfather, met his death by the Emperor's orders in 136.⁶

¹ Steinby, 99 and Note 4.

² Steinby, 97-100.

³ Kajanto, LC, 154; PIR¹ P 162.

⁴ PIR¹ P 358.

⁵ Kajanto, LC, 169 = 174.

⁶ Kleine Pauly, Pedanius, 578-579 (R.H.).

needs evidence from other sources. Further support for the attachment of Pedania Quintilla to the Pedanius *gens* is the fact that Cn. Pedanius Fuscus Salinator, consul in 60, is probably known in a brick stamp.¹

The Pedanius *gens* is most probably from Spain. Marriage with the daughter of Iulius Servianus supports this, as does the appearance of several L. Pedanii in inscription material at Barcino, and the fact that Pedanius was the consular colleague of Hadrian in 118.² The Pedanius *gens*, so important at first, dies out with Pedanius Fuscus, killed by Hadrian's orders in 136.

M. Peducaeus Saenianus, portrayed by me as the husband of Pedania Quintilla, descends more probably from the Peducaei of late republican times. Morris suggests Spain as the home of the Peducaei, among whom the following are known later: M. Peducaeus Priscinus, cos. 0.110 and M. Peducaeus Stloga Priscinus, cos. 0.141. The last-mentioned is believed to have "transferred" his name to Plautius Quintillus, probably through adoption.³ Titius Plautius Aquilinus, uncle of M. Peducaeus Plautius, consul in 177, is also encountered in brick stamps (cf. s.v.).

Petronii

523	EX PR M PET MAM O GAVI PROCVLI SAL
2159 =	EX FIGL SEM PETRONIORV
S.411	MAMER ET SEPTIM
Acta IRF VII	

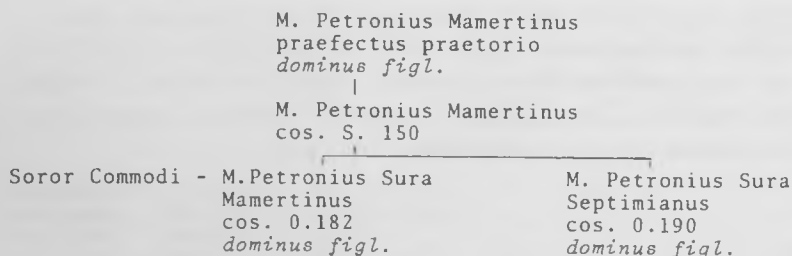
The *figlinae opus Salarese dominus* of stamp 523 has been identified as M. Petronius Mamertinus, praefectus praetorio under Antoninus Pius. The dating is considered to fit the identification. *Domini* of stamp S. 411 are identified as brothers, M. PETRONIUS SURA MAMERTINUS, consul in 182, and M. PETRONIUS SURA SEPTIMIANUS,

¹ CIL XI 6689, 181 CN PEDA.

² Morris, The Roman Senate, s.v. Pedanius.

³ Morris, The Roman Senate, s.v. Peducaeus.

consul in 190.¹ The Petronii are much disputed in modern prosopographical literature. The most controversial question is whether M. Petronius Mamertinus was both praefectus praetorio and consul in 150, or whether these were two different persons. Linked with this is the problem of whether the consul-brothers were sons or grandsons of praefectus praetorio, or whether they were sons or grandsons of the consul of 150. A third subject of contention is the time when the *gens* was admitted to the patriciate.² The summarized findings of modern prosopographical study yield the following results when applied to brick stamp data. As Bloch remarks, brick stamps incline to support the notion that the persons appearing in them are not of successive generations, but the consul-brothers are grandchildren of M. Petronius Mamertinus. Brick stamp data support the following stemma:³



M. Petronius Mamertinus has been identified as praefectus praetorio mainly because *officinator* Gavius Proculus is considered to be the freedman of Gavius Maximus, who was the colleague of Petronius as praefectus praetorio.⁴ *Dominus* Petronius Mamertinus

¹ Dressel; Bloch, Supplement, Index and also S. 411, 84-85; Steinby, 85-87.

² Lambrechts, AC 5, 1936, 187-190; RE XIX 1938, Petronius, 1217-1219, 1224-1225 (Hoffmann); Stein, Die Präfekten, 68-72; Kleine Pauly, Petronius No.4, 672 (A.L.); Birley, Septimius Severus, 299-300; Pistor, Prinzeps und Patriziat, 67-68; Lambrechts, La Composition, 221; Pflaum, JS 1961, 36-37.

³ The brick stamps cannot alone solve the problem. It is possible that the consul of 150 was *dominus*.

⁴ Stein, Präfekten, 68-72; Donati, RSA 1971 concludes that the praefecti Aegypti had a common economic enterprise. The conception is good, but it may be pure chance.

was prefect of Egypt 133-7. Like many other holders of the office at that time he also reached the summit of the equestrian order, praefectus praetorio. Mamertinus was certainly in office in 139, and there is evidence that he continued until at least 143. He is known to have died in 156.¹

The grandsons of the prefect, both consules ordinarii, are not expressed "purely" as *domini* in brick stamps, but with the expression *ex figlinis illis illius*. Mamertinus, consul in 182, was also the son-in-law of Marcus Aurelius. He must have met high demands of quality, for Marcus Aurelius held strict views on husbands for his daughters (Herodian 1,2,2). The *gens* had been favoured by Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, and its wealth was guaranteed. Commodus caused both brothers and the son of his sister to be murdered in 190 or 191. Most probably their land was confiscated. The brothers appear in further inscriptions together, including a lead pipe stamp (CIL XV 2, 7511).² The period of Antoninus Pius or Marcus Aurelius has been suggested as the time of admission to the patriciate.³

Birley has suggested a connection between the *gentes* of Petronius Mamertinus and Septimius Severus. As he himself remarks, this is a hypothesis based mainly on the *cognomen* Septimianus of the consul of 190. As the time of marriage between the *gentes* Birley suggests the end of the decade of 150⁴ (cf. Appendix No.6 Stemma No.3). The hypothesis affects estimates of the home locality of the Petronii. Of the father of the consul-brothers (as we supposed him in the stemma) we know the following: he was adlectus inter quaestorios about 138, trib. plebis about 140, praetor about 143, cur. operum public. about 144-146 and praef. aerari Saturni about 147-149. He died after 179.⁵

The home locality of the Petronii is generally reckoned to be

¹ Lacey, The Equestrian Officials, No.75, 29-30.

² PIR¹ P 229 and 230: In PIR is suggested as *dominus* of the stamp 523 Mamertinus, consul of 182.

³ Lambrechts, Composition, 221; Pflaum JS 1961, 36-37 has the opinion that admission to the patriciate took place in 179 with the marriage; Schumacher, Priesterkollegien, 198-199.

⁴ Birley, Septimius Severus, 299-300.

⁵ Schumacher, Priesterkollegien, 81-82.

Italy, reasons for this being brick stamps, the "Italian" offices of the consul of 150 and the *cognomen* Mamertinus.¹ Birley's hypothesis points to Africa.² Italy is probably acceptable until better proofs are found of the possible marriage. In brick stamp history the Petronii are one of the *gentes* who married into the imperial family and whose lands were confiscated by the Emperor.

Plaetorius Nepos

Dominus is known from four consular-dated binominal stamps in which the clay district is not mentioned by name (1363-1366). He is mentioned as the owner of both *figlinae* and *praedia*. The stamps are from the years 123 and 134, two from each. At the same time two *officinatores* appear in the stamps. *Dominus* is identified as A. PLATORIUS NEPOS, consul suffectus in 119.³ His career is known accurately (CIL V 877). His offices included quaestor provinciae Macedoniae, candidatus divi Traiani, tribunus plebis in 109,⁴ praetor 111, curator viarum about 112/3, leg.leg., leg.Aug.pr.pr. Thraciae 116, 117/8, cos.suff. 119, leg.Aug.pr.pr. Germaniae Inf. 119-122, Britanniae 122-125.⁵ The *origo* of Plaetorius Nepos is disputed. Spain is suggested by Syme, Etienne, Birley, Alföldy and others.⁶ Plaetorius was also *patronus* of Aquileia. North

¹ Schumacher, Priesterkollegien, 198-199.

² Birley, Septimius Severus, 299-300; Morris has an interesting idea of connections between Petronii, Gavius Proculus and Fulvius Petronianus from Milan. From these M. and L. Petronius Veteranus and Tiro are known from brick stamps (CIL XI 6691, 17, CIL XV 2478, CIL XV 2480 = S.535) with P. Gavius Secundus. These Gavii might be related to Gavius Maximus. According to that relationship Morris suggests as *origo* the area of via Flaminia.

³ PIR¹ P 337; The name is in the form of Platorius in other sources than brick stamps.

⁴ Gordon, JRS 48, 1958, 47-48.

⁵ Schumacher, Priesterkollegien, 47.

⁶ Alföldy, Fasti Hispanienses, 25, 133; Castillo Garcia, Prosopographia Baetica, No.265, 138-140; Birley, Epigraphische Studien 4, 69,70; RE XX (1950) Platorius No.2, 2545-2548 (Betz); PIR¹ P 337; Eck, Senatoren, 182-183, 188, 193, 232-233; Etienne, Sénateurs espagnols, 12; Schumacher, Priesterkollegien, 232-233.

Italy is suggested by Frei-Stolba and Cebeillac.¹ I regard him as Spanish. Plaetorius Nepos was originally named C. Licinius Pollio, and was adopted by a certain A. Plaetorius Manilianus. His full name was A. PLATORIUS A.f. NEPOS APONIUS ITALICUS MANILIANUS C. LICINIUS POLLIO. The career of Plaetorius shows that he rose high after an unpromising start thanks to Trajan and particularly Hadrian.² From other sources it is known that Nepos came into disfavour, and he is believed to have been murdered. This course of events is clearly depicted by brick stamps, as Helen has reconstructed.³ With A. Plaetorius Nepos appears *officinatus* A. Aristius Thallus (years 123, 134), who is encountered in a stamp of L. Ceio(nius) Com(modus) for the year 138 (732). The stamps inform us that the murder had occurred by 138, and thus the new *dominus* of *officinatus* is a source indicating that the land was confiscated. The second *officinatus* of Nepos, M. Valerius Priscus, who also has his own stamp (1367), is encountered earlier with Plotina (703). The explanation of this, like the previous case, might be that at the height of Nepos' career at the time of the Emperor's friendship he had acquired land from the imperial family (cf. the case of Fulvius Plautianus). The land might have passed to Plotina at the time of a senator's confiscation. Pliny uses the expression "friend of the Emperor" when referring to Nepos, to whom he also wrote (Ep. 4, 26). This too supports the notion that Nepos had acquired land even from the imperial house. The part played by Nepos in the prelude to the change of Emperors from the year 135 was important on the evidence of brick stamps. He was an unsuccessful candidate for Emperor. Plaetorius Nepos appears also in a water pipe inscription: A PLAT NEPOT. Stamps found near Rome have led to the conclusion that the home of Plaetorius Nepos was located near the present-day via dei Fori Imperiali. His son was probably A. Plaetorius Nepos, consul suffectus in 161.⁴ Brick stamp data indicate that the latter did not

¹ Frei-Stolba, Untersuchungen zu den Wahlen, 268; Cebeillac, Quaestores, 173-174.

² Birley, PBA 39, 1954, 205.

³ Helen, 116-117; vita Hadr. 15, 2; 23, 4.

⁴ RE XX (1950) Platorius No.3, 2548 (Betz).

inherit the whole of his father's property. He was able to rise to the consulship by normal means, however.

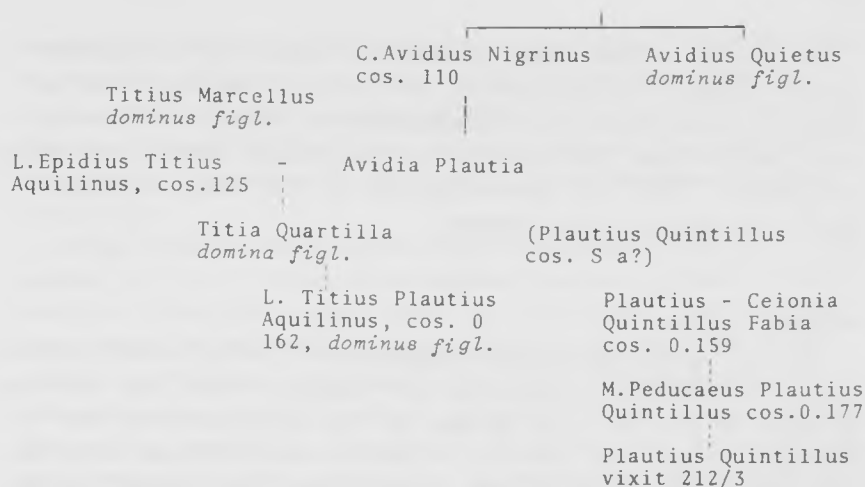
Plautius Aquilinus

Dominus is mentioned as the owner of *praedia* in one-name stamps (1368-70), two of which are dated 159 and 164, while one is undated. He must be identified as L. TITIUS PLAUTIUS AQUILINUS, consul ordinarius in 162.¹ Brick stamp data have verified the kinship of two *domini* suggested by Morris. Consul Titius Plautius Aquilinus would be the son of *domina* Titia Quartilla.² Birley has suggested Avidia Plautia, presumed daughter of G. Avidius Nigrinus,³ as wife of Titius Aquilinus and mother of the consuls of 162 and 159. The brother of Avidius Nigrinus, Avidius Quietus, is known from brick stamps. No clear source has survived for the name of the consul's mother, both are based on conjecture. In my view the consul of 125 and the daughter of the consul of 110 are too old to be parents of the consul of 162, and I therefore consider that Birley's genealogical table lacks one generation formed by Titia Quartilla and her husband. According to this suggestion all *domini* find a place in the same stemma.

¹ RE XXI, 1 (1951) Plautius No.50, 42-43 (Klass); PIR¹ P 348.

² Morris, The Roman Senate, s.v.

³ Birley, Marcus Aurelius, Appendix II, 322.



Dominus Plautius Aquilinus was from Aquileia (CIL V 1462). This can be deduced from his numerous connections with Transpadana.¹ He is therefore linked to a great "block" of *domini*, those who originated from north Italy and had also bought land near Rome. It was the tradition of this group to exploit its lands in the original home district by means of brick production.

The wife of Plautius Quintillus, consul ordinarius in 159² and brother of Plautius Aquilinus, was Ceionia Fabia, sister of Lucius Verus. Another sister Ceionia Plautia married the son of *dominus* Servilius Pudens, who was consul ordinarius in 166 and bore the same name as his father. The son of Plautius Quintillus, whose name was M. Peducaeus Plautius Quintillus and who was consul ordinarius in 177,³ was killed with Fulvius Plautianus in 205 by order of Septimius Severus (Dio 76, 7, 3f). A possible adoptive father of the consul of 177 is M. Peducaeus Stloga Priscinus, consul ordinarius in 141 and representative of a *gens* which produced senators during the Republic. I have also suggested him as the grandchild of Pedania Quintilla and M. Peducaeus Saenianus (cf. s.v. Pedania Quintilla stemma).

¹ Cf. Pflaum, JS 1961, 36: *origo* is not known.

² PIR¹ P 356.

³ PIR¹ P 358.

At the end of the second century the members of the highest orders in Roman society married into imperial families, and in times of crisis their best representatives, when on the losing side, were killed. The consul of 177 was beyond doubt a candidate for Emperor. This is a general picture of the time, and support for it is found in brick stamps.

Plotia Isaurica

She was *domina* of *figlinae Caepionianae* (50-59, 63-68, S.23-24, 339). The stamps of Isaurica are not consular-dated, but they can be dated to the two first decades of the second century, the majority to the years 100-110. In brick stamps she uses only the name-form Plotia Isaurica, but a Roman grave inscription (CIL VI 25544) mentions Servilius Sigerus, a freedman of Plotia Isaurica. Known as *officinatores* of Plotia Isaurica are: *libertus* Ti. Servilius Gelos, St. Marcius Lucifer, St. Marcius Bassus, L. Gellius Prudens and T. Rausius Pamphilus (the last four of whom continue with Arria Fadilla), Avienys Halys(?), who continues with Sentius Satrianus, and Eucharus and Peculiaris, who are known only from Isaurica. Rausius Pamphilus is known also from stamps of Curvatus Cosanus and, possibly, Trebicia Tertulla. *Figlinae Mulionae* is regarded as part of *figlinae Caepionianae*. The share of Plotia Isaurica in *figlinae Caepionianae* was transferred to Arria Fadilla (also *figlinae Mulionae*).¹ *Domina* is to be identified with PLOTIA SERVILIA ISAURICA,² whose land, in part at least, carried the name *Caepionianae*. Her lineage can be traced unmistakably to the early Servilii Caepiones of the Republic. It may be supposed that the land of the Caepiones went, on their overthrow, to the Servilii Vatia. Plotia Isaurica may be, for instance, the daughter of some Plotius and Servilius Vatia.

The Isauricus *cognomen* is used in the second century not only by *dominae* Plotia Isaurica and Seia Isaurica but also by Caesennii

¹ Steinby, 30-33, 67; Helen, 76-82.

² PIR¹ P 399; RE XXI (1951), Plotia No.22, 610 (Klass).

who may also have descended from Servilius Vatia.¹ From the time of Antoninus Pius we know *domina* Arria Caesennia Paulina (cf. s.v.), who might imply kinship between Plotia Isaurica and Arria Fadilla. This is hypothetical. I have presented the hypothesis in the form of a stemma with reference to Arria Caesennia Paulina (cf. s.v.).

Among Servilii whom we know from brick stamps is Q. Servilius Pudens (cf. s.v.), whose granddaughter was most probably Plautia Servilia, known from a pipe stamp (CIL XV 7514).² The relationship cannot be verified. A connection between Plotia Servilia Isaurica and Flavia Seia Isaurica has also been proposed. The connection grew weaker, because the name Servilia given to Flavia Isaurica is improbable. The rarity of the *cognomen* Isauricus supports the connection. Sources are inadequate to confirm the relationship.

Interesting from the standpoint of transferred ownership is the land passing from Plotia Isaurica to Arria Fadilla. The kinship implied by brick stamps may receive some confirmation through Arria Caesennia Paulina. Kinship is very often the explanation of land transfer.

Q. Ponponius Mussa

1375 EX P Q PONPONI MUSSES
 IVLIAES MENILES
 FICLINIS FECIT MO
 FA

Bloch has identified *dominus* as Q. POMPONIUS MUSA, who was consul suffectus between 151 and 160.³ He is known from three inscriptions apart from the brick stamp. Inscriptions in his honour (CIL X 6568, 6584) have been found at Velitrae. Also honoured was

¹ Morris, s.v., Servilius Vatia Isauricus.

² PIR¹ P 367; PIR¹ P 399.

³ Bloch, Supplement, Index, 42; PIR¹ P 555; RE XXI, 2 (1952) Pomponius No.60, 2343 (Hanslik); Cf. PIR² C 496.

Iulia Magnilla, probably his wife. It may be supposed that he possessed land in the district. He was buried at Rome (CIL VI 7945). *Dominus* was possibly related to Q. Pomponius Maternus, consul in 128, perhaps his son.¹ *Officinatore* Iulia Menile was perhaps the wife's freedwoman. She is not encountered in other stamps.

Q. Pompe(ius) Pae()

Dominus is mentioned as the owner of *praedia* in a stamp of the year 123 (531). Q. Pompeius Pae() is the second *dominus* of *praedia Sabin(iana)*, the first being Servilius Capito. According to Steinby *figlinae* also includes stamps of *officinatores* A. Gellius Karus and Claudius Fron() from the same year (S. 151, 530)². *Dominus* is unidentifiable.³

Pomponia Q.f. Bassila

Domina is mentioned as the owner of both *praedia* and *figlinae* in three binominal stamps (1376-1378). Dressel has dated the stamps to the middle of the second century; at Ostia the stamps are unknown, and the dating is therefore difficult to check. Three slave *officinatores* (?) are known. Dressel in his comment estimates that POMPONIA Q.f. BASSILA⁴ is connected in some way with L. Pomponius Bassus, consul in 118,⁵ or with Pomponius Bassus, consul in 211.⁶ According to RE (Hanslik) she is the daughter of C. Pomponius Rufus, consul suffectus in 98.⁷ In the brick stamp

¹ PIR¹ P 553; RE XXI, 2 (1952) Pomponius No.59 (Hanslik).

² Steinby, 82.

³ We know from brick stamps other Quinti Pompeii: Q. Pompeius Mammeianus and Q. Pompeius Mammeius (S. 355, S. 356, 1375). They do not appear as *domini* in stamps. Cf. Appendix No.5.

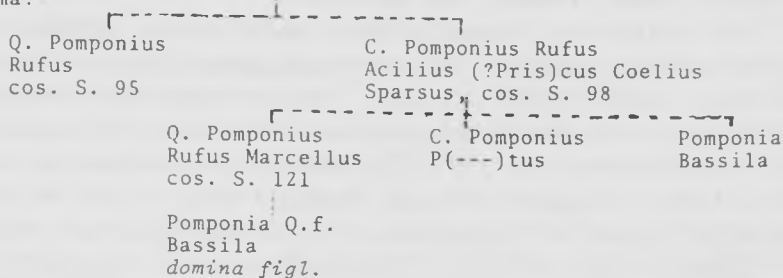
⁴ PIR¹ P 575.

⁵ PIR¹ P 529.

⁶ PIR¹ P 525; Barbieri, Albo senatorio No.421, 99: Italian.

⁷ RE XXI, 2 Pomponius No.77, 2350 and No.69, 2348 (Hanslik).

Pomponia Bassila is mentioned as the daughter of Quintus. Mentioned in an African inscription as children of C. Pomponius Rufus, consul in 98, are: Q. Pomponius Rufus Marcellus, C. Pomponius P(---)tus and a daughter Bassila. We obtain the following stemma:¹



Schumacher does not support kinship between the consuls of 95 and 98. His argument is that the senator son of an equestrian father would scarcely have so long a row of names. Kinship is more likely, in his view, with the Spanish Sex. Pompeius. He suggests Italy as the home locality of the consul of 95, and the western provinces as the origin of the consul of 98.² The career of the consul of 95 is known extremely well. He was of equestrian origin, and according to Alföldy was admitted to the senate in 73/4. There is some dispute over the latter date. Among his offices was the proconsulship of Africa in 110/111, and some believe that he

¹ RE XXI, 2 Pomponius No. 68, 69, 70, 77, 2347-2350 (Hanslik); RE S. XIV (1974) Pomponius, No. 58, 60b, 68, 70 (Eck); Thomasson, Statthalter II, 59. In the stemma attention is drawn to the praenomen Caius of the consul of 98, although his children are Quinti, just as Bassila is also expressed in the brick stamp as Quinti filia. An African inscription shows, however, that C. Pomponius Rufus is the father of the children. It is possible that the children received the *praenomen* of their uncle, the consul of 95, which would support the notion that the consuls were brothers. The possibility of adoption must be taken into account; the father or the children were adopted.

² Schumacher, Priesterkollegien, 229-230.

originated from there. He also held high priestly offices.¹

Of the consul of 98 it is only known, apart from his consulship, that he was proconsul Africae 112/3 and also pontifex, like his brother.² His wife's name, according to an African inscription and other evidence, was Bassilla.³

The kinship with Pomponius Bassus which Dressel proposes is disproved (cf. above) by the expression *Quinti filia* and other matters: none of them is Quintus.⁴ The most natural hypothesis from brick data themselves would be a connection with *dominus* Q. Pomponius Musa (cf. s.v.). The most natural explanation would be a father - daughter relation. Name criteria are not the only missing features of kinship among the persons concerned: there are no clay districts and no *officinatores* in common. Similarly, the *cognomen* Bassila, Bassilla is so rare that identification of the daughter of the consul of 98 from the African inscription cannot be ignored. The problem of the praenomen fades if we suppose that *domina* was daughter to the consul of 121 and received the *cognomen* of her aunt. There are several possibilities of identification; we are concerned in any case with *femina nobilis*.

M. Pontius Sabinus

Dominus appears as the owner of *praedia* in a one-name stamp

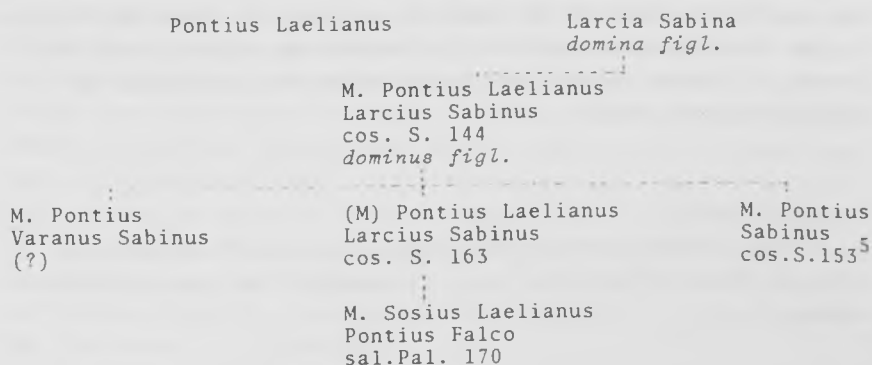
¹ Alföldy, *Fasti Hispanienses*, 71-75; Syme, *Tacitus* II, 592 Note 9; Eck, *Senatoren*, 105 Note 7; PIR¹ P 561; RE S. XIV (1974) Pomponius No.68, 442 (Eck); Thomasson, *Laterculi praesides*, 62-63; Schumacher, *Priesterkollegien*, 12 Note 27.

² Schumacher, *Priesterkollegien*, No.A 27, 12, No.A 38, 16-17; Eck, *Senatoren*, 176.

³ PIR² B 72; AE, 1918 No.34.

⁴ We know the following Pomponii Bassi: T. Pomponius Bassus, cos. S. 94, L. Pomponius Bassus, cos. S. 118, C. Pomponius Bassus Terentianus, proconsul in the time of Commodus who was the father of Pomponius Bassus, cos. 211. Barbieri, *Albo senatorio*, 494-495. The wife of consul 211 was the descendant of Annia Cornificia Faustina and Ummidius Quadratus.

(2187).¹ Bloch in the index of the Supplement identifies *dominus* as M. Pontius Sabinus, who was leg.Aug.pr.pr. Thraciae under Antoninus Pius.² According to a fragment of the Fasti Ostienses he as also consul suffectus in 153.³ There are further possibilities of identification. The persons concerned appear in the following stemma.⁴



The name of *dominus*, M. Pontius Sabinus, appears also in the names of consuls for 144 and 163, so that identification remains uncertain.⁶ The dating of the stamp and above all the contemporaneity of the lifetimes of the three consuls renders identification difficult. On the strength of brick stamp data I suggest as *dominus* the consul of 144, M. PONTIUS LAELIANUS LARCIUS SABINUS. His mother, I suggest, was *domina* Larcia Sabina (cf. s.v.).

Dominus is probably Italian.⁷ The stamp has been found not only at Ostia but also in Lorium and Umbria. The family entered the patriciate in the time of Antoninus Pius or, at the latest, under

¹ Also CIL XI 6689, 190.

² Bloch, Supplement, Index, 42; PIR¹ P 613.

³ RE XXII, 1 (1953) Pontius No. 50, 43 (Wolf).

⁴ The stemmas of the Pontius family differ from each other, cf. Stein in PIR and RE XXII, 1.

⁵ The consul of 153 can belong to earlier generation.

⁶ It is possible that Pontius Sabinus, cos. 144 and Pontius Sabinus, cos. 163 are the same person.

⁷ Schumacher, Priesterkollegien, 241-242.

Marcus Aurelius.¹ The consul of 144 was leg.Aug.pr.pr. prov. Pann. inf. about 142-144, Pann.sup. about 145-149, Syriae about 150-154; he was also comes divi Veri Augusti bello Armenico et Parthico in 162-166, comes imp. Antonini Aug. et divi Veri Aug. bello Germanico 167-168, comes imp. Antonini Aug. Germanici Sarmatici in 170-175.² The career of *dominus* was exceptionally notable and he was especially favoured by Emperors, so that his appointment twice to the consulship was natural. It remains uncertain whether the consul of 144 was consul for the second time in 163, when he would have been *absens*.

Porc(ius) Celer

Dominus is mentioned as the owner of *praedia* in a one-name stamp of Ostia (2188). The stamp is undated. The nomenclature is common.³

Prastina Pacatus Messalinus

2189 EX PR PRAST PACAT APONT
 LONG OP L MESSTE

S.435 A MAXIM OF EX PR PRA
 ST MESSALINI
 OD

2190 EX PR PRASTINES M ////
 A MARGARIT ///
 OP

Dressel has dated the stamps to the time of Hadrian. *Officinatores* are not encountered in other stamps. *Dominus* has been identified as a consul of 147, C. Prastina Pacatus Messalinus.⁴

¹ Pistor, *Prinzepts und Patriziat*, 65.

² Kleine Pauly, *Pontius* No.2, 1049-1050; Schumacher, *Priesterkollegien*, No.A 58, 24-25; RE XXII, 1 (1953) *Pontius* No.35, 39.

³ Kajanto, *LC*, 248; Schulze, *Eigennamen*, 234.

⁴ Bloch, *Supplement*, Index and p. 86; PIR¹ P 686; RE XII, 2 (1954) *Prastina*, 1720-1721 (Hanslik).

Through new discoveries of inscriptions his entire nomenclature has been explained: C. Ulpius (Pacatus P)rastina Mess(allinus).¹ The following is known of his career: leg.Aug.pr.pr. Numidia et leg. III Aug. 143/6, consul ordinarius 147, (leg) Aug.pr.(pr.) (Moesiae inferioris) about 151/152-154.² Väisänen in her study of the Ulpius *gens* has stressed that in the time of Antoninus Pius a representative of that *gens* was already in the senate.³ In the nomenclature used by the consul of 147 Pacatus is the most rare. In brick stamps he uses three names, not Ulpius. Schulze has traced the diffusion of the name Prastina, which is especially common in Sutrium.⁴ Messalinus is very common as a *cognomen* among those of senatorial rank.⁵ C.(?) Ulpius was the name of the consul's father or adoptive father. Regarded as the consul's daughter is Prastina Pacata C.f., who is encountered in Numidia.⁶ The daughter's name like the consul's name usage are further proof to Väisänen that the Prastina *gens* was important compared with the less-known C. Ulpius *gens*.

A stamp of Prastina Pacatus has been found at Ostia. Also from there is a dedication in which the Prast(inae Paca)ti c.v. mentioned may be the consul of 147.⁷ Hanslik estimates that Pacatus possessed land in the area of Ostia.⁸ This cannot be proved, because circumstances of transport were decisive. The same must be

¹ RE S. XIV (1974) Prastina No.2, 478 (Eck) in which the new discoveries of stamps are mentioned.

² Syme, Dacia 12, 1968 No.8, 6; Eck, Chiron 2, 1972, 431; Thomasson, Statthalter II, 173-174; Fitz, Die Laufbahn der Statthalter, 34-36; Dorutiu-Boila, Dacia 12, 1968, 395-400.

³ Väisänen, Unpublished licentiate thesis, 80-83.

⁴ Schulze, Eigennamen, 91; Syme, REA 67, 1965, 347-349; Morris, The Roman Senate, s.v.

⁵ Kajanto, LC, 194.

⁶ PIR¹ P 687; CIL VIII 17898.

⁷ Väisänen, Unpublished licentiate thesis, 82; CIL XIV 4557.

⁸ RE XXII, 2 (1954) Prastina No.2, 1719 (Hanslik).

noted with regard to the stamp's other place of discovery, Pyrgi in south Etruria. The name is also encountered in the district of Aquileia and in Puteoli. Both places are estimated to have been the home of the consul's wife.¹ The family relations of Prastina remain puzzling except, perhaps, his daughter.

L. Publilius Celsus (potential *dominus*)

S.438 L PUBLILI CELSUS
Acta IRF ITER COS

The stamp text is problematical.² The stamp belongs to the first and second century groups whose content is not completely formalized, the group, that is, in which we do not know by formal definition the position of the persons expressed (cf. the contemporary Cornelius Palma s.v.). The person is identified as L. PUBLILIUS CELSUS, consul in 113. He was a favourite of Trajan, one of the Emperor's best soldiers and among the most influential men in Rome when Trajan died; *statua triumphalis* was erected to him, among other honours (Dio 68,16,2). He was consul I in 102, consul II in 113.³ The senate had him murdered in 118 during the Emperor's absence on a charge of conspiracy. There were four conspirators in all, the others being Avidius Nigrinus, Cornelius Palma, Lusius Quietus (?), who are known to have belonged to *dominus gentes*.⁴ All were favourites of Trajan and military com-

¹ Possible relatives are the following: CIL X 2888, Celerina = PIR² C 632, CIL V 4769, CIL XI 1730.

² It is possible that in the stamp appear only the consular date i.g. that it is from the year 113 when L. Publilius Celsus was consul II. The possibility is not probable because the same type of information is not known from brick stamps.

³ RE XXIII, 2(1959) Publilius No.18, 1918-1919; Syme, Tacitus I, 53.

⁴ According to Bloch *figlinae* was named after Lusius Quietus (PIR² L 439), consul in 117. After the murder the property of Quietus evidently passed to the Emperor, as the brick stamp proves. As *figlinae* is interpreted primarily as a clay district it is more likely that the name was formed from a place-name, i.e. the name of an estate, than from the name of owner. Derivation of the name of *figlinae* from a person's name would be justified if we knew that this often occurred. This is not the case, cf. however Steinby, RE S. XV. Lusius Quietus was from Mauretania and has

manders. Publilius Celsus was from Italy, though his home cannot be more precisely determined.¹ Descendants of Publilius Celsus were L. Publilius Celsus Patruinus, consularius vir and L. P(ublilius) D... Patruinus. Both are known from sources discovered in Apulia at Herdoniae (CIL IX 688, 686), which Barbieri accordingly concludes to have been their home.²

Transfer of the lands of Celsus to the Emperor through confiscation cannot be verified because the unusual stamp text does not mention the area concerned.

Pullaianus Pollio

S.366 EX FIGLIN PVLLAIEN POLLIONIS

Dominus is mentioned as the owner of *figlinae* in two one-name stamps (S. 365-366), one from the year 123 and the other dated by Bloch (S. 366) to the time of Trajan.³ *Dominus* has been identified as L. ALBIUS PULLAIENUS POLLIO, who was consul suffectus in 90. He was also proconsul Asiae in 104/5.⁴ The dating of the stamps implies that Pollio began to exploit the land by brick production only after his career was over. It is possible that he had a son of the same name who was consul at some time during the decade of 120. The son was presumably the Pollio who was tr. pl. 109 (CIL VI 452).⁵

Pullaianus was probably a descendant of the M. Albii, important brick stamp persons of the first century.⁶ These stamps have been found in various parts of Italy. Relations between *domini*

been said to be the first barbarian who held the highest office in Rome. His landed property is explained by an order of Trajan to the effect that aspirants to office must invest 1/3 of their property in Italian land.

¹ Syme, Tacitus II, 244, 529.

² Barbieri, Albo senatorio, Nos. 2084-2085, 365.

³ Bloch, Supplement, 77; Bloch, Bolli laterizi, 204.

⁴ RE XXIII (1959) Pullaianus Nos.3,5 (Hanslik); Eck, Senatores, 163; Morris, The Roman Senate, s.v.

⁵ Kajanto, LC, 164: The Pollio *cognomen* is known from senatorial order 28 times. That does not make sure the identification.

⁶ CIL V 8110, 35-36, CIL IX 6078, 31, CIL XI 6689, 13-15.

and brick *gentes* of the first century are more numerous than has been supposed.

Known to us is L. Pullaienus Gargilius Antiquus, legatus Aug. pr.pr. Thraciae 161, whose adoptive father was tribunus plebis in 109 and thus the "grandson" of *dominus*. His complete name was M. Paccius Silvanus Goredius Gallus L. Pullaienus Gargilius Antiquus.¹ The origin of the Pullaienus *gens* is unclear. Scholars have found it impossible to be precise on the subject. Africa, Spain and Italy have been suggested.² *Origo* remains open. On the other hand, the Italicism of the Albi as landowners of the first century supports an Italian *origo* for Pollio.

Rupillia Faustina

Domina appears in stamps of *praedia Quintanensia* (456 and 457 = S. 576) as the owner of *praedia*, and a second person is D.R() D(). Steinby has dated the stamps to the late Trajan or early Hadrian period. She has been identified as RUPILIA FAUSTINA, wife of Annius Verus, cos. III 126. The married couple has a common *officinatore*, D. Rutilius Doretus. As Steinby points out, it is probable that the transfer of *officinatore* occurred after the death of Rupilia and that the *praedia* were not divided between the spouses.³

The father of Rupilia Faustina was consul Libo Rupilius Frugi. The name Rupilius Bonus attributed to the father of M. Annius Verus in *vita Marci* must be considered erroneous in Birley's opinion. The person in question was Rupilius Libo, because no senator named Bonus is known, while the names Rupilius Frugi are known from inscriptions. The person concerned is Libo Frugi whom Pliny mentions as having taken part in a debate in the senate in the year 100. This is supported also by the *cognomen* Libo of the uncle of Marcus.

¹ PIR² G 79. We do not know any connection with the brothers Paccii (cf. s.v.).

² Schumacher, *Priesterkollegien*, 230-231, also Stemma; Barbieri, *Albo senatorio* No.441, 104; cf. Schulze, *Eigennamen*, 367.

³ Steinby, 78-79; Righini, *I bolli laterizi romani*, 98.

Birley suggests further that Rupilius Libo or Libo Rupilius Frugi was probably the grandson of M. Licinius Crassus Frugi cos. ord. 27 and his wife Scribonia, that is to say Marcus was not descended from colonial Romans but from Pompeius and Crassus, his relatives were Scribonii Libones and Calpurnii Pisones, and marriage with Rupilia - in conjunction with the *gens* of Hadrian according to the genealogical table (Appendix No.6 Stemma No.1) - would explain the important position and influence (three times consul) of M. Annius Verus, grandfather of Marcus.¹ M. Annius Verus by marrying Rupilia Faustina acquired a connection with the family circle of Hadrian. Carcopino has estimated that Matidia, daughter of Trajan's sister, was married also to Rupilius Bonus.² In other words, Rupilia Faustina might be the half-sister of Vibia Sabina (father L. Vibius Sabinus).³ Dio mentions (69,21,2) that Hadrian and Marcus were relatives. This would be explained by the above (Pflaum and others agree with Carcopino).

Dominae Sabina, Matidia Minor and Rupilia Faustina are therefore sisters, daughters of the same mother. The stamps of Faustina belong to *praedia Quintanensia*, those of Sabina to *opus Salarese*, and those of Matidia are not mentioned by name. The stamps of Rupilia are from the turn of the decades of 110 and 120, those of Sabina from the years 123 and 132, while those of Matidia are from after the midpoint of the second century. It cannot be said with certainty that land transfers took place between the sisters. The property of Rupilia Faustina went to the husband, that of Sabina was possibly transferred to Matidia (cf. s.v.).

Rutilius Crispinus

2192 OPVS DOLIAR EX PRAEDIS
 RVTILI CRISPINI

¹ Birley, Marcus Aurelius, 24 Note 4. This background could explain Herodian's reference (1,7,4) to Commodus' exceptionally noble ancestors.

² Carcopino, REA 51, 1949.

³ Cf. Appendix No.6 Stemma No.2.

Steinby dates the stamp by type to the Severian period. *Dominus* has been identified as RUTILIUS PUDENS CRISPINUS, consul suffectus 234 or 235. His unusual official career is well known. He was curator viarum, sodalis Hadrianalis Antoninianus Commodianus Helvianus Severianus Antoninianus etc., leg.Aug.pr.pr. prov. Lusitaniae 225/6, leg.Aug.pr.pr. prov. Thraciae 227/8, leg.Aug.pr.pr. prov. Syriae Phoenices 229-233, procos, prov. Achaiae 233/234 or 234/235, cos.suff. 234 or 235 (in absence), XX vir ex s.c. rei publicae curandae 238, leg.Aug.pr.pr. prov. Hispaniae citerioris et Gallaeciae 238-241, leg.Aug.pr.pr. ad census acceptandos prov. Lugdunensis.¹ This career shows that he was an expert in both political and military matters. His curatorships in Italian cities point to an Italian origin. He sprang from the equestrian class. Brick stamps lead us to suppose that he possessed land at Ostia. His advance was especially rapid in the time of Alexander Severus (222-235), but Maximinus, who followed (235-238), placed him in lower offices. It remains puzzling, why Rutilius Crispinus should appear as a private *dominus*, while the other *domini* are exclusively Emperors. Connections with the imperial *gens* cannot be verified, nor are any of his relatives known to us.²

M. Rutilius Lupus

The *dominus* status of M. Rutilius Lupus is not clear. He is mentioned as the owner of *praedia* only in the stamp:

31 VIS FELICIS BRVTIANA
 EX PR RVT LVP

¹ Alföldy, Fasti Hispanienses, 59-60, 99, 194, 221, 227, 229; Barbieri, Albo senatorio No.1147; Groag, Reichsbeamten von Achaia, 91-92; PIR¹ R 166; RE I A (1914), Rutilius No.32, 1268-1269 (Nagl); RE S. XIV (1974), Rutilius No.32, 590 (Eck).

² An other Rutilius *dominus*, M. Rutilius Lupus was followed by Q. Servilius Pudens at *figlinae Naevianae* and *Narnienses*. Pudens occurs again in the nomenclature of Rutilius Pudens Crispinus. The kinship hypothesis is in accord with brick stamp data, but it is weakened by the commonness of *cognomen* Pudens.

The stamp was discovered in excavations of the indoor markets of Trajan,¹ so that the text is confirmed; Dressel himself had not seen it. Other stamps of Lupus are representative of first century stamps in their data: e.g.

S.5 BRVTIA M R L
S.9 M RVTILI LVPI
 BRVTIANA

In his total of 27 stamps 18 have no mention of a second person, and in the rest this person is mentioned with great brevity. Despite the obscurity of the data I should be inclined to regard Rutilius Lupus as perhaps the producer also, not merely as the landowner. The only clear *officinatus* is Vis(matius) Felix of stamp 31, who either is or is not the *officinatus* of *dominus* Vismatius Successus from *figlinae Tempesinae*. S.V() N() of stamp 42 cannot be certainly identified with Sex. Vismatius Neritus, who was earlier in the service of Pedania Quintilla at *figlinae Tonneiana*.² Rutilius Lupus has consular-dated stamps as follow: 110 (18), 114 (19), 115 (20, 21 = S. 4, 22), 116 (23, 24), 117 (25), 121 (344), 122 (345) and 123 (27, 28, 348). In the opinion of both Bloch and Steinby the undated stamps are at least earlier than 114, perhaps even before 110. M. Rutilius Lupus is the first *dominus* at *figlinae Brutianae*; *domini* at *figlinae Naevianae* in the first century were Naevii, there are stamps of Lupus for the years 121 and 122, for *figlinae Narnienses* first century stamps are known, the most probable *dominus* is Aterius Carus (Cari(cus)?), *dominus* in 123 is M. Rutilius Lupus. In these *figlinae* the following *dominus* is Q. Servilius Pudens. At *Brutianae* the next is Statilius Maximus.

Bloch has identified *dominus* as M. Rutilius Lupus, who was praefectus Aegypti 113-117. In prosopographies as a rule praefectus and *dominus* are kept separate.³ Bloch has compared the dated

¹ Bloch, Bolli laterizi, 56-57.

² Steinby, 27-29; Bloch, Bolli laterizi, 176, 178.

³ Bloch, Suppl., Index, 44; PIR¹ R 173; RE I A (1914), Rutilius No.24, 25, 1265-1266 (Nagl, Stein); Kleine Pauly, Rutilius No.2 and 3, 1473 (G. Wi.).

stamps of Lupus with the period of his offices. For all his years in Egypt Lupus has dated stamps, which is explainable by his wish to keep a check on production during his absence.¹ This observation confirms the identification as prefect of Egypt and *dominus*. The Egyptian office was held in the decade of 110, when a military campaign to the east of great importance was being planned. It is certain that M. Rutilius Lupus enjoyed the complete confidence of Trajan, and from the ending of his career we can conclude that he had lost this when Hadrian came to power. Bloch has noted that stamps of Lupus are abundantly evident in imperial buildings when his official career was over.

How the loss of confidence arose between Hadrian and Lupus may of course be made the subject of a hypothesis. On his accession Hadrian is known to have ordered the murder of some held in favour by Trajan (year 118), nor is it quite impossible that Lupus had some part in the conspiracy mentioned earlier, and that his estate was sold after confiscation.² This is confirmed by the fact that the heir of Rutilius did not follow as owner of the land. I have therefore taken as a starting-point that valuable land rarely changed owners during the Empire. This would explain how Servilius Pudens, a new landowner and producer of importance, became owner of the two *figlinae* of Lupus.

The matter may also be explained by our knowledge that Rutilius Lupus donated his Egyptian land to the Emperor.³ He may have acted similarly with his land in Italy.⁴ We know, on the other hand, that Trajan and possibly Hadrian sold some of their accumulated property, specifically land confiscated by Domitian, to private persons. This would also explain why Servilius Pudens and Statilius Maximus became *domini* on the lands of Lupus. They can be regarded as *domini* who purchased land for productive purposes.

¹ Bloch, *Bolli laterizi*, 316-320.

² Morris, *The Roman Senate*, s.v.

³ Rogers, *TAPhA* 78, 1947, 152.

⁴ No *figlinae* are, however, transferred to the Emperor. Perhaps the Emperor immediately sold the landed property donated to him.

The brick stamp data of Servilius Pudens imply the status of producer besides landowner. Between the above mentioned *domini* and Lupus no family connection can be found. A normal sale is of course one possibility.

According to an inscription found at Ostia Lupus held also the office of praefectus annonae, probably before his departure for Egypt, because the inscription is dated 113-114.¹ Bricks of Lupus have been found in exceptional abundance at Ostia, a fact obviously due to his office of praefectus annonae, when he was on good terms with the local administration of the seaport.²

In 1966 an inscription was found in Egypt which Rutilius Lupus had dedicated to Trajan. It is dated to the middle of 117, and contains a feature of importance for the clarification of the identity of *dominus*: according to this discovery M. Rutilius Lupus started the repair and reconstruction of buildings destroyed in the Jewish War. Earlier data and discoveries suggested that this activity began only in the time of Hadrian, but it now appears that M. Rutilius Lupus was directing it in the Trajan period.³ This new knowledge supports my view that Rutilius was both landowner and producer. As an expert in building, he started similar work in Egypt also.

M. Rutilius Lupus was from Italy. He belonged to the old and widespread Rutilii Lupi, who descended from Beneventum.⁴ In PIR the following Rutilii are mentioned who may be connected with *dominus*: R 171 (G) ELLIUS RUTILIVS LVPVS, proconsul Achaiae, cousin of M. Porcius Cato, Porcia, and R 172 M. RUTILIVS LVPVS, tribunus militum Legionis XXII, tribunus plebis, legatus Augusti legionis XIII Geminae; it is possible that one or other of these was the father of the prefect *dominus*. It is hardly possible, on the other hand, that the prefect was a senator and gave up his position so

¹ Bloch, Bolli laterizi, 317.

² Bloch, AJA 63, 1959, 235-236.

³ Cazzaniza, Aegyptus 47, 1967, 213-216.

⁴ Stein, Präfekten, 55-58.

soon. The *gens* may have sprung from clients or relatives of P. Rutilius Lupus, cos. 90 BC; direct descent is not possible.¹

We know that a M. Rutilius Lupus owned land in the Beneventum region, where he is mentioned in the *alimenta* list (CIL IX 1455, 1787). My own view is that the landowner of Beneventum was different from the owner of *figlinae*, because his other lands, *figlinae Brutianae*, the district of the present Vatican, *figlinae Narnienses* and *figlinae Naevianae* were north of Rome and point in another direction. The criterion is not watertight, however. Schumacher takes also the same view that the landowner of Beneventum is not mentioned in brick stamp, regarded by PIR, Righini and others as identical with *figlinae dominus*.² The heirs of M. Rutilius Lupus are not then known from brick stamps, nor probably from other sources.³

Sabina Sabinilla

Domina is mentioned in a one-name stamp of *figlinae Negarianae* (354) which is dated to the mid-second century. Sabinilla is a rare *cognomen*,⁴ but the names offer no possibilities of identification.

L. Samnius (Sammius) Gallus

Dominus is mentioned in two consular-dated stamps (1409, year 128, S. 371 year 126) as the owner of *praedia*. The stamps are one-name and the clay district is not mentioned by name. I have suggested *domina* Magia Marcella (cf. s.v.) as his wife. The names are undistinctive.⁵

¹ Morris, The Roman Senate.

² Schumacher, Priesterkollegien, 153-154; Righini, I bolli laterizi romani, 83; PIR¹ M 174.

³ PIR¹ P 170, M. Rutilius Lupus, proconsul 161/162 was evidently the grandson of the pontifex. Cf. Schumacher, above.

⁴ Kajanto, LC, 186; Cf. Schulze, 223.

⁵ Kajanto, LC, 195; In brick stamp (1410) from the first century is known L. Samnius Plocamus.

Q. Sc() P() P()

Dominus is expressed as the owner of *praedia* in a stamp of the year 123 (1414). Steinby has interpreted it as a stamp of *figlinae Astivianae* because of the same *officinator*.¹ The identity of *dominus* is impossible to elucidate.

Scapula Rubria (?)

EX P SCAPVL RVBR P D EPI
APR ET PAE COS²

a.123

The names of the owner of *praedia* are difficult to interpret. The stamp publishers favour the form Scapula Rubria and suppose that stamps 974, 1393 and 1415 also belong to him. The name form is puzzling; Scapula Rubrius is also possible; Scapula is known as especially a man's *cognomen*. *Dominus*, *domina* remain unidentified.³

Sergia Paulina

Domina is mentioned as the owner of *praedia* (516 = 134) and *figlinae* (S. 147 = 123). The 134 stamp is binominal. SERGIA L. f. PAULINA is known as the wife of Cn. Cornelius Severus, also *dominus*.⁴ Her husband was consul suffectus in 112 (cf. s.v.).⁵ A person named Sergia L. f. Paulina is known from numerous inscriptions (CIL VI 9148-9, 10260-10264), in which it is mentioned that *collegium familiae eius* functioned in his house. As a rule these two persons are combined: the latter inscriptions are difficult to date, but the name is distinctive.

We know several with the name of Sergius Paullus, all of whom were from a wealthy *gens* with its home in Antioch of Pisidia

¹ Steinby, 26.

² Camilli, etc., RAL 1973, Nuovi bolli, 297.

³ Scapulae in PIR (PIR¹ S 189-193) do not make possible identifications.

⁴ Cf. Bloch, Bolli laterizi, 179-180; PIR¹ S 383.

⁵ PIR² C 1453.

(Asia Minor).¹ The men of the *gens* vanish from the picture, whereas the women are well documented. The men were out of favour at the end of Domitian's time already. The family was rehabilitated during the period of Antoninus Pius.²

Stemma: Sergii³

L. Sergius Paullus
procos. Cypri

L. Sergius Paullus
cos. S. 70

L. Sergius Paullus
cos. 0.95 0.98

Cn. Pinarius Cor-	-	Sergia Paullina	?
nelius Severus	:	<i>domina figl.</i>	
cos. S. 112	:		
<i>dominus figl.</i>	:		

Cornelia - M. Acilius Glabrio
Severa = cos. 0.124
Manliola?
domina
figl.

M. Acilius Glabrio Cn.	L. Sergius Paullus
Cornelius Severus	cos. S. 150
cos. 0.152	praef. urbi

Acilia Manliola	M. Acilius Glabrio	L. Sergius Paullus
<i>domina figl.</i>	cos. II 186	cos. S. c. 179 ⁴

M. Acilius Faustinus
cos. 210

Acilia Manliola C.P.
CIL IX 2333

¹ PIR¹ S 375-377.

² Morris, The Roman Senate, s.v.

³ Stemma is in accord with suggestions of Morris and stemma in PIR², Acilii. The consular years of Sergii are hypothetical.

⁴ According to Morris L. Sergius Paullus, cos. S. about 179, had common landed property with Ummidius Quadratus. An explanation might be that the last Sergius was married with Ummidia Cornificia Faustina, whose parents appear in brick stamps. The landowner Ummidius was that whom Commodus murdered in 182. The common landed property was situated in Pisidian Antioch. The Sergii had according to Morris connections by marriage with Anicius Faustus family.

Sergia Paullina was *opus Salarese domina*, like her husband Cornelius Severus. Cornelia Severa - Manliola is here estimated to be the daughter of Cornelius Severus and also Sergia Paullina. Cornelia Manliola may be also the sister of Cornelius Severus (cf. s.v.). Other connections with *opus Salarese domini* cannot be found.

Servilius Capito

532 EX PR SERVILI CAPITONIS BIP SABIN
 PACCI VER
 NA

Steinby has dated the stamp to the first decade of the second century. *Dominus*, Servilius Capito, is the first *dominus* of *praedia Sabiniana*, and *officinator* appears in his own stamp in the form M. Paccius Verna (S. 152). In 123 *dominus* of *praedia Sabiniana* was Q. Pompeius Pae(). According to Steinby *praedia Sabiniana* must be separated from the *opus Salarese* unit.¹ Onomastic methods are no aid to identification, and the person concerned is unknown from other sources. The *cognomen* Capito, rare among the higher orders, appears also with the second *dominus* C. Statius Capito Arrianus. Brick stamp data give no indications for connection with other Servilii known from brick stamps.

Q. Servilius Pudens

Dominus is mentioned in all his stamps except one (S. 379) as the owner of *praedia* (S. 90, 349-350, 1429-1440, S. 379-381, 1441 = 18 pc.). He was *dominus* of *figlinae Naevianae* and *Narnienses*, and in both he follows M. Rutilius Lupus. He is additionally known from numerous stamps, in which the clay district is not mentioned by name. Q. Servilius Pudens continues the tradition of M. Rutilius Lupus and dates his stamps frequently. They are from nine years (123-125, 127-131, 139) and only three are undated

¹ Steinby, 82.

(1439-1441). Steinby assigns the undated ones also to the years 123-139.¹ Among contemporaries only T. Statilius Maximus Severus Hadrianus dates so plentifully. Bloch stresses the influence of Rutilius Lupus on both *domini*.² The frequent dating can be caused by the activity of *officinatores*. Nine *officinatores* of Servilius Pudens are known, three of whom were slaves. For others no *officinatores* are known, nor have they symbols or stamps of their own.¹

Dominus has been generally identified as Q. SERVILIUS PUDENS, who was a friend of Pliny and the latter's assistant legate in Nicomedia. Servilius Pudens was in Nicomedia in 111.³ The consular year is unknown. His son, who bore the same name, was consul in 166. He was also proconsul Africae about the year 180.⁴ Wife of the consul of 166 was Ceionia Plautia, daughter of L. Aelius Caesar and sister of Lucius Verus.

Morris has suggested that there were three persons named Q. Servilius Pudens: the legate of 111 and consul about 120; the *dominus* whose consular year can be estimated as 135-136; the consul of 166.⁵ This must be considered a complication of prosopography, because the legate of 111 may well have been alive in 139.⁶

¹ Steinby, 68 and Note 4.

² Bloch, AJA 63, 1958, 236-237 and Note 46.

³ PIR¹ S 423; RE S. IX (1962) Servilius No.77a, 1369 (Thomasson); Eck, *Senatoren*, 42.

⁴ PIR¹ S 424; Thomasson, *Statthalter II*, 88-89; Pflaum, *Les Sodales Antoniniani*, 222-224; RE S. IX (1962) Servilius No.77b, 1369-1370 (Thomasson).

⁵ Morris, *The Roman Senate*, s.v.

⁶ Q. Servilius Pudens is known to have built himself a villa called "Le Vignacce", which was situated between Via Tuscolana and Appia Nuova. The bricks of the villa are of course mostly his own, imperial bricks are lacking altogether. Bloch, *Bolli laterizi*, 185-191.

Both Aquileia¹ and Africa have been suggested as the home of Servilius Pudens. Africa is indicated by *tribus* Horatia, the African *patronus* positions² of the Servilii. The latter is more likely.

Q. Servilius Pudens is known also from a *fistula* stamp (CIL XV 7534). The work of the *officinatores* of Pudens is expressed by the terms: *cur(ante)*, *sub cura*, *sub cur(ante)*, *ex opere* or *per*. This is exceptional in the case of an *officinator*. Helen's explanation with regard to Q. Servilius Pudens is the clearest example of a senatorial person's capacity to be both landowner and brick producer.³

Connections between Q. Servilius Pudens and Plotia Servilia Isaurica have been sought by Morris through Plautia Servilia. She is known from a *fistula* stamp and is estimated to be the daughter of the consul of 166.⁴ This still needs confirmation. As son of that consul Thomasson suggests Q. Servilius Q.f. Hor. Pudens, proconsul Cretae at Cyrenaum and *patronus* Calamae at Bisicae.⁵

Silianus (potential *dominus*)

142 FVNDVM SILIANI SERVILI PROCE
 SSI PRAEDIA CENTVRION

Steinby has interpreted the stamp as follows: it is from *praedia Centurion(ica)*, a *fundus* of Silianus, and *officinator* is Servilius Processus. He justifiably points out also that the *cognomen* alone does not provide certain evidence. The stamp is dated to the time of Severus. A suggestion for *dominus* T. STATILIUS SILIANUS, who was *frater Arvalis* at the beginning of the third century.⁶ He was *proflamen* in 213 and *flamen* in 214 and is known to have been present at a *collegium* in the years 218, 220

¹ Lambrechts, La composition, 131 No.778.

² Morris, The Roman Senate, s.v.

³ Helen, 104.

⁴ Morris, The Roman Senate, Servilius Pudens, s.v.

⁵ RE S. IX (1962), Servilius No.77c, 1370 (Thomasson).

⁶ Steinby, 35.

and 221.¹ Connections with earlier *domini* such as Statilius Severus cannot be proved.

T. Statilius Maximus Severus Hadrianus
and T. Statilius Maximus

These persons are generally considered to be the same *dominus*, consul suffectus in 115. In my opinion we are concerned here with two *domini*, father and son, consul suffectus in 115 and consul ordinarius in 144. The grounds for this are datings and, especially, the name-forms used by *domini*. The latter criterion is weakened by scarcity of epigraphic material.

To the consul of 115, T. Statilius Maximus Severus Hadrianus, belong the stamps of *figlinae Brutianae* (38-41, S. 14-18, 1451-1455, S. 19-20), those of *figlinae Platanianae* (S. 99-101) and part of those of *figlinae Macedonianae* (S. 69 = 286, S. 70 = 291, 292, 294, 295). The *Brutianae* stamps are dated 123, 124, 126, 127, 130, 134, all, that is, except two (S. 19-20). *Figlinae Platanianae* stamps are all from the year 125. *Figlinae Macedonianae* stamps are from 123 and 134, with five undated. Steinby has dated them to approximately the same period.²

I have regarded those stamps as belonging to the consul of 144 in which T. Statilius Maximus is expressed as *dominus*; they are either from 134, the beginning of Antoninus Pius or the end of Hadrian.³ Ten *officinatores* are known for the consul of 115, and of these two continue with his son (C. Nunnidius Restitutus and Myrinus). The rest do not appear in stamps of others.⁴ Transfers of *officinatores* are all found in bricks of the consul of 144.

The complete name of the consul of 115 is known specifically from brick stamps (e.g. 40, 41, S. 16). He used the entire name in stamps of *figlinae Brutianae*, also the initials in those of

¹ Barbieri, Albo senatorio No.485, cf. No.861; PIR¹ S 612.

² Steinby, 60.

³ Cf. the dating of the stamp 297, Steinby, 60 and Note 5.

⁴ Possibly L. Servilius Fortunatus is the same as L.3() F() in the stamp of Domitia Lucilla (617), Steinby, 60.

figlinae Platanianae. He was leg.Aug.pr.pr. Thraciae from 111 till 113/4.¹ Statilius Maximus Severus Hadrianus was preceded as *dominus* at *figlinae Brutianae* by M. Rutilius Lupus.²

The following are thought to belong to the same *gens*: (1) T. Statilius Maximus Severus L. Iuventius Munitus, who was quaestor Augusti in the time of Antoninus Pius, among other offices. He has been identified as the consul of 171, T. Statilius Severus, and also as the consul of 144.³ His father must have been a senator, because he held high priestly offices.⁴ An inscription has been found at Heliopolis, from which the *gens* is thought to have originated. This discovery is not sufficient to determine *origo*.⁵ (2) C. Ca(---) Statilius Severus Ha(drianus), who was leg.Aug. pro praetore and proconsul (CIL VI 37067). His wife was Iuventia Maxima.⁶ He may have been a son of the consul of 115, his mother a certain Cassia (cf. Stemma); it is possible too that the name occurred earlier in the *gens*.⁷ This is supported also by brick stamp data, because the earlier *domini* of *figlinae Macedonianae* were the brothers L. Cassius Cae() and P. Cassius. There are no sources for a more precise determination. Also known to us are persons of equestrian rank with sources in Egypt.

¹ Eck, *Senatoren*, 10; RE S. XIV (1974) Statilius No.25a, 744-745 (Eck).

² I have indicated in the prosopography of M. Rutilius Lupus to the transfer of the landed property as follows: Lupus donated land to the Emperor who sold it to Statilius Maximus. It has been found from Beneventum, home location of Lupus, an inscription in which appears Statilius Maximus, AE 1968, 128.

³ Schumacher, *Priesterkollegien*, 61. According to Morris I have supposed him as the father of consul in 171 and the brother of consul in 144.

⁴ RE S. XIV (1974) Statilius No.25b, 745 (Eck).

⁵ The earlier *dominus* of *figlinae Platanianae* was Ti. Claudius Celsus from Pergamum. Connections with these two men from East cannot be seen.

⁶ RE S. XIV (1974), Statilius No.31, 745-746 (Eck).

⁷ Morris, *The Roman Senate*, cf. s.v.

(3) Statilius Maximus, *idiologus Aegypti*.¹ (4) T. Statilius Maximus Severus (?), mentioned in an inscription preserved in the colossus of Memnon for the year 136.² He is thought to be the consul of 115, but some have wished to keep him absolutely separate from that consul.³ (5) Statilius Maximus, *epistrategus Heptanomiae*.⁴ Work in Egypt is a feature in common for the two successive *domini*, Lupus and Statilius Maximus. The Egyptian and the brick stamp Statilius may or may not to be the same person.

Morris has wished to add L. Iulius also to the names of the *gens*. He suggests L. Iulius Marinus as the adoptive father,⁵ and Cassius Maximus and Cassius Hadrianus as relatives,⁶ together with some of the Claudii Maximi and Hadriani.⁷ In brick stamps appears Ti. Claudius Maximus, though not as *dominus* of the same *figlinae*. These hypotheses are too weak for us to say that at *figlinae Platanianae* land was transferred from Ti. Claudius Celsus to Statilius Maximus through ties or relationship.

T. Statilius Maximus

appears as *dominus* only at *figlinae Macedonianae* (288, 290, 293, 297-300), and without a *figlinae* designation in stamps 1456-1459, which are presumably from *figlinae Macedonianae*. In the

¹ PIR¹ S 599.

² PIR¹ S 603.

³ Cf. Morris, *The Roman Senate*, Statilius Maximus, s.v.; RE VI A (1920), Statilius No.22, 2192 (Stein); Cebeillec, *Quaestores*, 154.

⁴ RE VI A (1920), Statilius No.23, 2192-2193 (Stein); PIR¹ S 600.

⁵ Morris, *The Roman Senate*, s.v.; PIR² I 401 and 408.

⁶ Cf. PIR² C 494 and 508.

⁷ Cf. PIR² C 933, 934 and 822.

stamps *dominus* uses only the name-form T. Statilius Maximus or Statilius Maximus. Two of the stamps are dated 134 and one 138, while the others, according to Steinby, are from the end of Hadrian or the beginning of Antoninus Pius.¹ Known *officinatores* are Myrinus (also with Seia Isaurica earlier (1420) and with the consul of 115 (40-41)), C. Nunnidius Restitutus (later with Marcius Hermogenes (1278) and earlier with Flavia Procula (?) (1158, year 123 and with consul of 115 285 = S. 69, year 123)), Q. Aburnius Celer, presumably the freedman of Q. Aburnius Caedicianus, later with Statilius Maximus, P. Servilius Firmus (earlier with Aburnius Caedicianus in 8 stamps and in one stamp of Seia Isaurica (1425), and five *officinatores* who are encountered only with Statilius Maximus. Connections with *domini* who shared *officinatores* with Statilius Maximus cannot be verified with the available material.

T. Statilius Maximus must be identified with the consul of 144. Syme has pointed out that what was earlier supposed to be the *cursus honorum* of this consul (CIL III 10336) belongs to Claudius Maximus.² The data regarding *dominus* are limited to the consular year. His father was therefore the consul of 115, from whom he inherited land which he exploited in accordance with his father's example. Thought to be his son is T. Statilius Severus, who is considered to be identical with L. Iulius Severus and L. Iulius Statilius Severus,³ consul in 155 and legatus Moesiae in 160. Indisputably a member of the same *gens* was T. Statilius Severus, consul in 171.⁴

The Statilii continued their successful careers for a long period, and it is therefore highly improbable that the land of the consul of 144 was transferred to the imperial treasury: the *gens* merely ceased to exploit the land by tenancy for brick production.

¹ Steinby, 60.

² Syme, *Historia* 14, 1965, 342-349: The earlier studies are opposite: PIR¹ S 602; Dobš, *Die Verwaltung der römischen Provinz Pannonien* No.36, 53-54, *Kleine Pauly*, Statilius No.2, 346 (G. Wissowa) cf. Fitz, *AAntHung* 11, 1963, 245 ff.

³ PIR² I 575 and 588.

⁴ PIR¹ S 610.

C. Statius Capito (potential *dominus*)

2197 EX OFI P CAVLI VALENTIS
 C STATI CAPITONIS

2200 FIGLINAE CAPITONIS
 C STATI COMOLVIS

Confirming the position of *dominus* are a binominal stamp in which P. Cauius Valens is expressed as *officinator*, and also stamps 2198 and 2199. In stamp 2200 *dominus* is C. Statius Capito, who is known from stamp 2197, and *officinator* is the latter's *libertus*.¹ The *libertus officinator* can be interpreted as proof of the producer-landowner status of *dominus*.

Dressel with Bloch's agreement has identified *dominus* as C. STATIUS CAPITO ARRIANUS, mentioned among the senatorial sons taught by the Arval brothers in 117 and 118. In PIR it is supposed that he or his father are the same as in the brick stamps.² Steinby has dated stamp 2197 to the years 140-145 and stamp 2200 to the decade of 140. This dating supports the notion of C. Statius Capito as *dominus*. Morris suggests P. Cauius Valens as the fellow *dominus* of Statius,³ which is not a natural explanation of the brick stamp text. C. Statii are common in Allifae (CIL IX 2416, 2408).

Stertinia Bassula

Domina is mentioned in four binominal stamps (2201, 2203-2205) as the owner of *praedia*, and also in stamp 2202.

2202 APELLES STERTINIAE
 BASSVLAE SER

The stamps of Stertinia Bassula have been dated by Dressel to the mid-second century, and more precisely by Steinby to the decades of 140 and 160. Of the *officinatores* Domitius Rufinus appears also in stamps of Ti. Iulius Iulianus (2173-4) and Clau-

¹ 2197 is found also CIL XI 6689, 232 (Caere).

² PIR¹ S 627; Bloch, Suppl. Index, 47.

³ Morris, The Roman Senate, s.v.

dius Fortunatus in stamps of Matidia Minor (S. 209-210).

In the case of Stertina Bassula source data are difficult to interpret. On the one hand she has been suggested on brick stamp evidence as the wife of Ti. Iulius Iulianus.¹ The grounds for this identification are: the same *signum*, *officinator* in common and contemporaneity of stamps. The stamps were found in the same areas (Lorium, Alsium). The criteria are convincing. On the other hand she has been supposed the same as a person appearing in an inscription at Attidium, Umbria (CIL XI 5672): Stertina Cocceia Bassula Venecia Aeliana. She has been interpreted as the wife of both Q. Corn(elius) ... Flaccus ... Noricus ... Numisius² and (Q. Camurius) Numisius Iunior.³ Q. Camurius Numisius Iunior was cos. S. 161.⁴

Owing to the rarity of the name Stertina Cocceia Bassula Venecia Aeliana of the inscription should perhaps be accounted the same as *domina* Stertina Bassula. The husbands of Stertina Bassula would be Ti. Iulius Iulianus, cos. suff. 130, and Q. Camurius Numisius Iunior, cos. suff. 161. The great difference of age between the husbands also enables the notion of mother and daughter to be entertained. The places of discovery do not support the claim of Attidium to be the home location, though these places do not in fact give any indication of a home.

Family relations remain open: the surest indications are of marriage (?) between Stertina Bassula and Iulius Iulianus. Stertina Bassula was *femina nobilis*. L. Stertinius Noricus, cos. suff. 113, has been estimated her father.⁵ No connection with Matidia Minor is known.

¹ Dressel, CIL XV 2201, p. 455.

² PIR¹ S 667.

³ PIR² C 1363.

⁴ RE S. XIV (1974), Numisius No.4a, 287-288 (Eck), cf. RE III (1899), Camurius No.3, 1451 (Groag). Eck does not connect Stertina Bassula with the consul. The career is known from inscription CIL XI 5669. Hanslik (RE S. XIV (1974), Stertinius No.12a, 746) has dated the inscription of Attidium to the third century.

⁵ RE S. XIV (1974) Stertinius No.13a, 746 (Eck).

A. Taedius Fortunatus

Dominus is mentioned in a one-name stamp of the year 123 as the owner of *figlinae* (1463). The name offers no possibilities for an examination of social status.¹

C. Tarr() Titian(us)

1466	APR ET PAET COS EX PR C TARR	
	TITIAN FIG L CLOD	
	PHIL	a.123

In the stamp the owners of *praedia* and *figlinae* are different persons. *Officinator* L. Clodius Phil() is not encountered in other stamps. There are no possibilities of identifying *dominus*.

Terentius Iulianus

Dominus is mentioned as the owner of *praedia* in a binominal stamp (1468) which Steinby has dated to the time of Marcus Aurelius. *Officinator* is known also from a stamp of Flavius Aper (1147, dated to the decade of 140) in the form Vibia Procla as a member of an *officinator societas*. The commonness of the nomenclature makes identification doubtful.² Because identification of *dominus* Terentius Iulianus has proved difficult, a possible kinship with Flavius Aper cannot be easily reconstructed.

Titia Quartilla

1477	EX P TITIAE QVARTILLAE COND DOM	
	ISION PAET ET APR COS	a.123
1478	EX PRAED TITIAE QVART MAR FYR	
	PAETINO ET APRONIA	
	COS	a.123

Officinator Marcius Fyrmus had transferred from an imperial

¹ The name concerned may be Tadius; cf. CIL VI and Schulze.

² Kajanto, LC, 35, 148.

figlinae (545), which belonged to Trajan. There are no other sources on relations of the Ulpia and Titia.¹ From brick stamps another Titius is also known:

1476 M TITI MARCELLI

Dressel has dated the stamp in round figures: the second century. The name Titius Marcellus appears also in the names of the Domitius brothers: Cn. Domitius Sex. f. Afer Titius Marcellus Curvius Lucanus and Cn. Domitius Sex. f. Afer Titius Marcellus (?) Curvius Tullus.² The most natural explanation is that the Titius Marcellus of the brick stamps is an other adoptive father of the Domitius brothers, and the brothers are his heirs. The connection is confirmed by Domitius Ision, the *officinator* of Titia Quartilla. Brick stamps also support the notion that M. Titius Marcellus was the father of Titia Quartilla.

Morris has discerningly connected Titius Marcellus with the north Italian brick producers, the Epidia and L. Titia.³ Northern brick stamp material shows a relation between these *gentes*, especially in the sense that the Titia were the heirs of the Epidia. Still a third Titius is known among *domini*: L. Titius Plautius Aquilinus, consul in 162, whom Morris suggests as the son of Titia Quartilla. Brick stamps lend excellent support to this new connection. I suggest the following stemma:⁴

¹ Cf. Väisänen, Alcune famiglie eminenti (Titia, Ulpia, Statilia) nelle iscrizioni onorarie a Prusia all'Ipia in Bitinia, *Arctos* 10, 1976, 125-132.

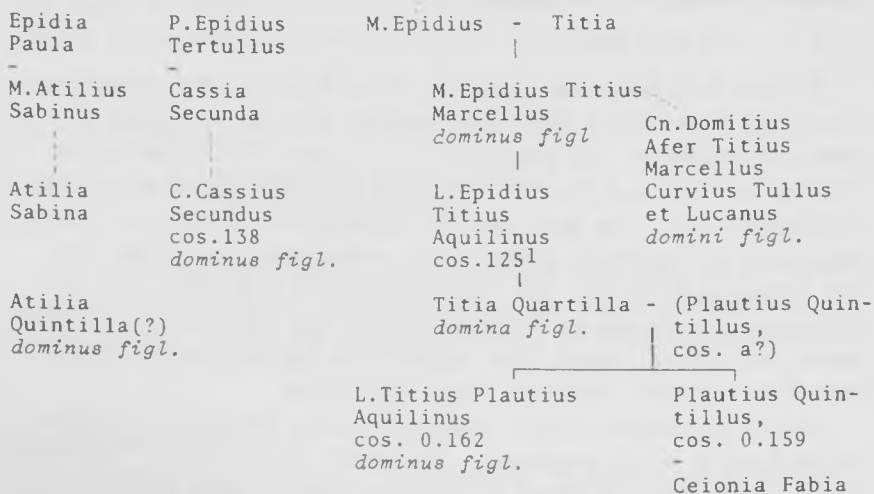
² PIR² D 152 and 167.

³ Morris, The Roman Senate, s.v. Cf. CIL XI 6689, 241-3.

⁴ The main ideas of the stemma are from Morris.

Sex. Petronius

Petronia Maxima - M. Epidius



New links and marriages clarify the picture of the Roman *dominus* body and create interesting new connections between *gentes*. At the same time the prime source of Roman brick production is seen to be in north Italy near present-day Milan. The stemma signifies that the original home of many important *gentes* in brick production was in the north, with the Epidii and Titii as primary *gentes* from whom the following *domini* can be traced: Titius Marcellus (?), Titia Quartilla, Titius Plautius Aquilinus and the Domitii, who are important through an other adoption and whose property came from Domitius Afer. More hypothetical *domini*, including C. Cassius Secundus and possibly Atilia Quintilla, derive their roots from the same districts. The history of these *gentes* ends in marriage with the imperial family (Ceionia Fabia).²

¹ Kleine Pauly, Titius No.2, 874 (G.Wi).

² Barbieri, Albo senatorio, No.1144, 226 has suggested that a consul called Quartinus, friend of Alexander Severus and murdered by Maximus, was a Titius and a descendant of Titia Quartilla. This is of course only hypothetical.

Trebia Tertulla

524 SALARESE EX FIG TREBICIAE
TERTVLLAE T R P

Domina appears alone as the owner of *praedia* and *figlinae* also in stamps 525 and S.142. According to Bloch she shared a stamp in 123 with the following persons: L. Turr(anius) Gal., C.P.G. and A.C.¹ *Officinators* in stamps shared with the first-mentioned (498, 500, 501) is P.P()B(), who is encountered also in stamps of M. Annius Verus (478-479) and Cor(nelia) Mall(iola) (486 = S. 124) in the year 123. On the lands of all the *domini* mentioned *opus Salarese* is produced, and the producer is P.P()B().² C.P.G. and A.C. do not meet the conditions of the *dominus* designation and are more likely to be *officinatores*. Nor does T(rebia?) T(ertulla?) in shared stamps qualify as *dominus*. In PIR Trebia Tertulla is entitled *fortasse femina nobilis*. Brick stamp data imply an exalted social position. Other (?) Trebicii from the higher orders are unknown.³ Trebicii are known from earlier brick stamps (2218 = CIL 6689) and *amphora* stamps (CIL XV 3204-3206). Tertulla therefore joins the group of *domini* whose ancestors(?) appear in stamps of other districts.

L. Turr(anius) Gal()

According to Bloch he was in 123 the fellow *dominus* of Trebia Tertulla (498, 500, 501, 503 = S. 136, S. 137).⁴ He is expressed as the owner of *figlinae*. All stamps of *dominus* are from 123 and in all he appears with Trebia Tertulla and not with Tur(ranius) Pri(), who was probably his brother. The explanation may be that for the work of *officinator* P.P()B() the most suitable areas for

¹ Bloch, Supplement, 37-38; Cf. Steinby, 84: Cf. Helen, 146.

² *Officinator* P.P()B() has an important position in Helen's interpretation concerning the position of *officinatores*. Helen, 116-118.

³ PIR¹ T 240; We know that a wife called Trebia Tertulla erected a gravestone to his husband, CIL VI 3540.

⁴ Bloch, Supplement, 35-38.

letting were those of *domini* who shared a stamp. For geographical or other reasons, perhaps, the lands of Turranius the brother were no longer suitable for letting. *Officinator* P.P()B() is mentioned in an *opus Salarese* stamp of four *domini* for the year 123.

(L.) Tur(ranius) Pri()

Dominus is mentioned in two stamps of 123 as the owner of *praedia* (S. 135, 499). Turranius Pri(scus) is probably the brother of Turranius Gal(), but they have no common ownership, though both are expressed as owners of *praedia* in an area producing *opus Salarese*. We know C. (?Tu)r(a)nius Priscus, who was *legatus pr.pr.* Macedoniae in 114.¹ The common nomenclature of *dominus* weakens the identification, which is also made uncertain by a different *praenomen*, though we accept the fact that not all sons received the father's *praenomen*. Additionally it is not completely certain that the Turranii were brothers.

L. Tutilius Pontianus

S.388 EX P L TVTILI PONTIANI OF
 L MARI HITPOLITI

2158 EX OFIC L TVT IANVARI
S.410 FIG SCAVR L T L P

The stamps are dated by Steinby to the late Hadrian and early Antoninus Pius period.² *Dominus* must be identified as L. TVTILIUS LVPERCVS PONTIANVS, who was consul ordinarius in 135.³ Neither *officinator*, L. Marius Hitpolitus or L. Tutilius Ianuarius, *libertus*, is known from other stamps. It was normally necessary for consul ordinarius to be the son of a senator, primarily a consul suffectus, but the father in this case is unknown. The home locality suggested by Morris is Clusium(?), where the name Tutilius is encountered (CIL XI 2308, XI 7183-5). Others have

¹ Eck, *Senatoren*, 42; AE 1965, 206 in inscription *gentilicum* is not indistinct.

² Steinby, 86 and Notes 2-4.

³ PIR¹ T 318.

been suggested: Tutilius Pontianus is mentioned on the gravestone of his slave Corocuta, which was found at Emerita. Because of the slave's name and the place of discovery Spain has been taken as the home locality. A brick stamp (S. 388 = CIL XI 8110) has been found at Lorium (Etruria), from which the conclusion has been drawn in studies that the Tutilii possessed land there.¹ On the strength of stamp 2158 the land might also be located at Ostia. Places of discovery are no proof of the whereabouts of landed property.² L. Tutilius Pontianus Gentianus, consul in 183, is more likely in Groag's view to be the grandson than the son of *dominus*.³ Tutilia L.f. Procla, known from water pipe stamp, may be the daughter of the consul of 135.⁴

T. Tutinius Sentius Satrinus-Satrianus

He was *dominus* of *figlinae Caepionianae* in 123-134 (103-5, 107-8, S. 39 = 109, 1427, new stamp No. 109/110 = 2001) (8 stamps). The new stamp confirms his name as Satrianus. The stamps, except the new one, are consular-dated 123 (3 pc.), 126 (3) and 134 (1). In the new stamp the only *officinator* is A.A.H. *Officinator* may be the same as Avienys Halys (?) of Plotia Isaurica (339). The stamp of 134 (1427) shows that the brick is from a *figlinae* which had belonged to Sentius Satrinus. Both Steinby and Helen have discussed the history of *figlinae Caepionianae*.⁵ Sentius Satrianus was *dominus* until his death in 134. Both part-areas of *figlinae Caepionianae*, *ab Euripo* and a *Pila Alta*, were transferred to Arrius Antonius. Helen has drawn attention to the fact that Pliny (Ep. 4, 27, 5) mentions a certain Sentius Augurinus as related to Arrius Antoninus, father of Arria Fadilla.⁶ Sentius Augurinus has been identified as Q. Gellius Sentius

¹ RE VII A (1948), Tutilius No.2, 1614-1615 (Groag); Morris, The Roman Senate, s.v.

² The location of clay districts, cf. Huotari.

³ RE VII A (1948), Tutilius No.5, 1615 (Groag).

⁴ CIL XV, 2 7553: stamp is dated to the mid-second century.

⁵ Steinby, 30-33; Helen, 76-82.

⁶ Sherwin-White, Letters of Pliny, 306 has dated the letter for the years 101-105; PIR¹ S 290; PIR² A 1086.

Augurinus, who was proconsul Achaiae under Hadrian.¹ Pliny's reference makes a connection between the Arrii and Sentii possible, but no other proof has been found.

No sources have survived regarding Ti. Tutinius, the adopter implied by brick stamp data. Known to us is Ti. Tutinius Severus, who was frater Arvalis, magister collegi in the time of Domitian.² A descendant (son) of this senator was probably the adopter of Sentius Satrianus.³ The relationship with the Arrii and the status of the adoptive father justify us in treating *dominus*, Ti. Tutinius Sentius Satrianus-Satrianus, as *nobilis*.

Valerius Homullus

Dominus is expressed as the owner of *praedia* (2208). Dressel has dated the stamp to the mid-second century. *Dominus* has been identified as M. VALERIUS HOMULLUS, consul ordinarius in 152.⁴ *Officinatores* Clod. Herm(es) and Sam() are not encountered in other stamps. *Dominus* was frater Arvalis at least in 144-145 and 155-156,⁵ also *patronus coloniae Capuae* (CIL X 23863).

Valerius Homullus is mentioned in Historia Augusta and in connection with both Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius (HA v. Pii 11,8; HA v. Marci 6,9). Valerius Homullus was a close friend of Antoninus Pius.⁶ In Historia-Augusta-Colloquium during the 1960s the case of Valerius Homullus was dealt with.⁷ On the evidence of

¹ PIR² G 135. At *figlinae Caepionianae* appears *officinator* L. Gellius Prudens who is known with Plotia Isaurica and Arria Fadilla

² PIR¹ T 323.

³ We know C. Sentius Aburnianus (PIR¹ S 289) who was among those sons of senators who were taught by arval brothers in 120. He could be related to L. Fulvius Aburnius Valens who has been identified as the brother of *dominus* Q. Aburnius Caedicianus. Brick stamp data give no support to a connection between Sentius Satrianus and Aburnius Caedicianus, among other things we do not know common *officinator* or common clay district.

⁴ PIR¹ V 61; RE VIII A (1958) No.202, 42 (v. Lunzer).

⁵ Eck, *Senatoren*, 31-32. Eck has proved that M. Valerius Homullus was the only consul ordinarius after the year 69 who was also frater Arvalis.

⁶ Birley, *Marcus Aurelius*, 135.

⁷ Syme, *HA-Coll.* 1966/1967, 139, 141, 149; Pflaum, *HA-Coll.* 1968/1969, 147-148, 150.

Syme the Valerius Homullus mentioned in HA is indeed the consul of 152 and not the latter's father (Pflaum), and the Homullus mentioned as the friend of Trajan (HA v.Alex. 65,5) may have been one of the same Valerii, perhaps the consul's father. The person in question is not Iunius Homullus, consul in 102. The father of consul ordinarius in 152 must have been a senator. His brick stamp is a so-called Ostian. From brick stamps further Valerii are known to us, including Valeria Polla and Valerius Flaccus, but no criteria for a connection can be found.

Valeria Polla

235 T TRAVI FELIX FIGVL FVRI DE Fi
 GVL VALERIAE POLL

Steinby has dated the stamp to the decade of 140. An earlier *dominus* of *figlinae Furianae* than Valeria Polla was Q. Aburnius Caedicianus, and of the later persons, the Precilii, it is not known whether they were *domini* or *officinatores* (236).¹ *Officin*-*ator* T.Travius Felix is encountered also in a stamp of Iulia Lupula (338 = *figlinae Mulionae*), and again, according to Helen, in imperial stamp 383 (Augg.nn.). Both Bloch and Steinby take the view that in stamp 383 (years 198-211) another Travius Felix is in question.² Valeria Polla and Iulia Lupula are almost contemporaries, but Steinby suggests a transfer of *officin*-*ator* from Iulia Lupula to Valeria Polla.³

The name of *domina* points to high social status. She has been united with the Polla Valeria of the grave inscription (CIL VI 28244) and with the person whose slaves are known from inscriptions (CIL VI 9125, 9127, 9349). Hanslik asserts that *domina* is

¹ Steinby, 43.

² Helen, 149; Bloch, Supplement, Index; Steinby, 71 adds to the stamps of later Travius Felix the stamp 381, which she dates for the years 212-217. The stamp is Imperial.

³ Steinby, 43.

related to the Valerii Messallae, a notable patrician *gens* during the Republic and early Empire.¹ A member of the *gens* by marriage, Calpurnia Corvini (cf. s.v.) appears in brick stamps of the first century. The interval between *dominae* is too long for a connection to be certain. Information combined with brick stamp data would produce the following hypothesis. Known to us is L. Valerius Messalla Thrasea Priscus, who was consul in 196 and murdered by orders of Caracalla.² Kinship between the consul of 196 and Valeria Polla would explain the transfer of *officinarius* Travius Felix to the Emperors. Kinship is further supported by the action of both in adopting the same type of exploitation for their land.

Another connection is found through L. Valerius Flaccus, consul in 128 and *dominus* (cf. s.v.). The *domini* have no clay district in common. The connection is supported not only by brick stamp data but also by the fact that Polla Valeria was the daughter of L. Valerius Flaccus, proconsul of Asia. The life of this Polla Valeria is dated to the early first century. On the evidence of brick stamps and dating the most natural theory is that Valeria Polla was the daughter of L. Valerius Flaccus, consul in 128. Further evidence is the *cognomen* Polla, which is traditional in the Valerius Flaccus *gens*.³ But kinship cannot be documented with certainty because a clay district mentioned by name is lacking. Nor is there a sure link between the consul of 128 and the "old and respected" L. Valerii Flacci. The foregoing hypotheses require further source material for certainty.

Valeria M.f. Urbica

Domina is mentioned as the owner of *figlinae* (1488). Dressel has dated the stamp to the time of Hadrian. There are no possibi-

¹ PIR¹ V 164; RE VIII (1958) Valerius No.406, 259 (Hanslik). Cf. number 395 in RE (above) in which the gravestone is dated for the time of Augustus; PIR¹ V 86-96.

² PIR¹ V 95.

³ We know several Valerii Paullini, among other things C. Valerius Paullinus, the friend of Pliny. Cf. PIR¹ V 105-109, 162.

lities of identifying *domina*.¹

Vibius Aiaccianus

Dominus is expressed as the owner of *praedia* in three binominal stamps (1500, 1503-4). These are dated to the late Hadrian and early Antoninus Pius periods. According to Dressel *dominus* gave the name to *praedia Aiacciana* (S. 393).² Four *officinatores* are known, A. Rul() Epagathus, Cal() Primit(ivus) and Ti. Claudius Onesimus. *Officinatore* Appius Quinquatralis has also his own stamps and his own subordinate (1501 = S. 393, 1502).³ *Officinatores* are not encountered for other *domini*. The *cognomen* Aiaccianus is encountered only in this *dominus*, according to Kajanto's material.⁴ On the strength of brick stamp data nothing can be gathered as to the identity, relatives etc. of *dominus*. The only other *dominus* of the Vibius *gens* is Vibia Sabina. The known Aiaccii⁵ are too late. *Dominus* remains a name only.

A. Vicirius Martialis

Dominus is mentioned as the owner of *figlinae* in a binominal stamp (S. 396 = 1514 = Acta IRF VII). Steinby has dated the stamp to the time of Trajan.⁶ Bloch has identified *dominus* as A. VICIRIVS MARTIALIS, consul suffectus in 98.⁷ A. Vicirius Martialis may also have been proconsul Asiae in 113/114. He was certainly the brother of a Vicirius Proculus, consul suffectus in 89. Syme suggests Etruria as the home district of the brothers(?).⁸

¹ PIR¹ V 168; RE VIII A (1958), Valerius No.411, 259 (Hanslik).

² *Figlinae* and especially *praedia* probably took the name from the estate or place.

³ Steinby, 25.

⁴ Kajanto, LC, 139.

⁵ PIR² A 469-471.

⁶ Bloch, Suppl., 81; PIR¹ V 428; RE S. XIV (1974), Vicirius No.3, 853 (Eck).

⁷ Eck, Senatores, 177 Note 265.

⁸ RE S. XIV (1974), Vicirius No.4, 853 (Eck); Syme, Historia 8, 1959, 210.

The name is also encountered as good deal in Campania, and in any case it is Italian.¹ The brothers were probably *homines novi*, ancestors in the senate are unknown. *Officinatus* Papiriu(s) Car is not known from other stamps, and no family connections can therefore be found from brick stamp data.

A. Villius Alexander

560	APR ET PAE COS EX F A VIL ALEX S	a.123
561	VILLI ALEXANDRI SVLPICES	

According to Steinby stamp 561 is earlier than the year 123.² Vil(lius) Aug(), a later *dominus* of *figlinae Sulpicianae*, is a relative (son?) and heir of Villius Alexander.

Vil(lius) Aug()

Dominus is mentioned in a one-name stamp of the year 134 as the owner of *figlinae Sulpicianae* (562). Cf. Villius Alexander. The nomenclature of the brothers gives no possibility of defining their social status, let alone of identification.

Vismatius Successus

1518	EX PR VISM SVCCCESSI CLODIVS VICT
S.402	BISM SVC DO

Vismatius Successus is mentioned as the owner of *praedia* in 11 stamps (1518-1519, 1521-1523, S. 397-402). He is the only authenticated person who appears both as *officinatus* and as *dominus*. He was *officinatus* in a stamp of Calpurnia Secunda (cf.s.v.). Successus might own a part of *figlinae* and rent a part of it.

¹ Schulze, Eigennamen, 102.

² Steinby, 91.

The stamps are dated to the turn of the Trajan and Hadrian periods. Steinby suggests that the stamps of Vismatius Successus would be well suited chronologically to the "history" of *figlinae Tempesinae*; that is to say, Vismatius Successus could have been *dominus* of *Tempesinae* between Calpurnia Secunda and Q. Aburnius Caedicianus. His slave was probably the Felix of stamps 613 and S. 582.¹ The identification with *Tempesinae* is made surer by the fact that Vismatius Successus and Aburnius Caedicianus shared an *officinatore*, Vismatius Fortunatus (1521, S. 179-181). Family connections cannot be certainly proved between these three *domini*, and the most likely explanation is therefore land transfer by purchase. First Vismatius Successus, having grown rich as a landlord, bought land from his former *domina* Calpurnia Secunda, then sold land to Q. Aburnius Caedicianus, known as *dominus* of *figlinae Furianae*, who may have been seeking an investment in the form of land suited to brick production. Part of the staff of Vismatius Successus remained to him. Successus (S. 401) also shared an *officinatore* Vismatius Feli(x) with Rutilius Lupus. The presence of *liberti officinatores* indicates that Vismatius Successus acted also as a producer. Bloch notes with reference to Vismatius that the *cognomen* shows him to be a former slave.² The name is in no way distinctive.

Vitrasiu Pollio

520 EX PR FVNDANIAE FAVSTINAE
 ET VITRASI POLLIO
 SAL
 A X

Dominus has been identified as T. POMPONIU PROCVLVS VITRASIUS POLLIO, cos. II a.176, husband of (Annia) Fundania Faustina (cf. s.v.). The stamp shows a *societas* of a *dominus* married couple. Pomponius Vitrasiu Pollio was the son of T. Vitrasiu Pollio. The father in 133 was leg. legio VII gemina and at the end of Had-

¹ Steinby, 92; Bloch, Suppl. Index, 82.

² Bloch, Bolli laterizi, 114.

No other *domini* of *figlinae Sextianae* for the second century are known. The stamps are dated by Steinby to the Trajan or early Hadrian period. *Officinatores* were P. Ulpius Aelianus and T. F() P().¹ Identification of the person is difficult. The *cognomen* is not distinctive. The *gentilicium* might be Volusius, Volusenus or Volumnius. In PIR there are several L. Volusii,² but there is not a single Nepos. Similarly at the beginning of the Empire L. Voluseni are known, but not a single Nepos is known.³

Ulpius Bithynicus

Dominus is mentioned in a stamp dated to the decade of 120 as the owner of *praedia* (CIL XIV 5308, 41). *Officinatore* C. Attius Sabinus appears in no other brick stamps. The name is not distinctive.⁴

Ulpius Ulpianus

Ulpius Ulpianus is mentioned in all seven stamps (504-509) as the owner of *praedia*. *Opus Salarese* was produced there. All his stamps are dated: 123, 125, 126, 129, 133. They are one-name stamps. Bloch notes that Ulpius Ulpianus was probably not of the highest social classes, though he was wealthy. Bloch believes that originally he may have been non-free.⁵ Brick stamp data on Ulpianus do not solve the problem.

Ulpia Accepta

Domina is mentioned as the owner of *praedia* in a one-name stamp of the year 123 (1534). Ulpia Accepta might be a freedwoman

¹ Steinby, 87-88.

² PIR¹ V 663, 666.

³ PIR¹ V 647, 648.

⁴ About *gens* Ulpia, cf. Väisänen, licentiate thesis.

⁵ Bloch, Bolli laterizi, 326; PIR¹ V 580.

of Trajan. She might also be related to one or the other Ulpus, Bithynicus and Ulpianus, who were his contemporaries. No *figlinae* with a common name is known.

Ummidius Quadratus

Dominus is mentioned in two stamps (731 a-b) as the joint owner of *praedia* with his wife Annia Faustina. The stamp is dated to the mid-second century. *Officinator* is Sex. Aper Silvinus. *Dominus* should be identified as C. UMMIDIUS QUADRATUS, consul about 145. His wife Annia Cornificia Faustina (cf. s.v.) was a descendant of the Domitius and the Annius *gentes* (cf. Appendix No.6 Stemma No.1).

Colour has been brilliantly added to the history of the Ummidii by R. Syme in his article "The Ummidi", 1968.¹ Syme regards the new family relations he introduces as so hypothetical that he did not feel able to compose a stemma of new type.²

According to Fitz the son of Annia Cornificia was born about 147 and could not have been the consul of 167, who was in fact the former's husband. The son of Annia was, however, the same person who conspired against Commodus. Fitz bases his assertion on the fact that Annia was the younger sister of Marcus, born about 122-124 (Marcus was born 121). Fitz estimates that the son was born about 147 and not 138, as Hanslik and others have presumed. Annia is known to have died about 152. Syme has also taken 138 as the year of birth, referring to the time of marriage as 136/7. Pflaum too accepts an earlier time of birth.³

Syme has identified the following Ummidii: C. Ummidius Quadratus, cos.suff. about 40, Ummidia Quadratilla, C. Ummidius Sallu-

¹ Syme, *Historia* 17, 1968, 72-105; Syme's results have been considered hypothetical, although not disproved, by other researchers.

² The stemma published by Hanslik in RE is basically the same as Syme's.

³ Pflaum, *Les sodales Antoniniani*, 219-220; Fitz, *Epigraphica* 26, 1964, 45 ff.

stius, C. Ummidius Quadratus, priest in 63, Umm(idius), cos.suff. 93, C. Ummidius Quadratus, cos.suff. 118, Ummidius Quadratus, husband of Cornificia, M. Ummidius Quadratus, cos. 167 and Ummidius Quadratus, conspirator.

The Ummidii were from Casinum, and during the two first centuries of the Empire were among the most wealthy and politically important of the *gentes*. They married into the Imperial family, particularly the Antonini. According to Syme Ummidius Sallustius was a son of the consul of the year 40 and was related to the Sallustii on his mother's side. Members of the Sallustius *gens* were in turn related by marriage with Cn. Domitius Calvinus, consul in 53 BC, a fact which clarifies the important position of the *gentes*.

C. Ummidius Quadratus,¹ who in Syme's view was sodalis Titii and not salius in a certain inscription, is in all probability the brother of Ummidia Quadratilla, who created the wealth of the *gens*. It is known for certain that a grandchild of Ummidia was consul suffectus in 118, but it is not known whether this was the child of a son or a daughter. In Syme's opinion the naming customs of the Empire render it possible that Quadratilla and her grandchild bore the same name. Information on the boundless wealth of Ummidia Quadratilla has been preserved in Pliny (Ep. 7,24).² This property was bequeathed 2/3 to the grandson and 1/3 to the granddaughter. The first-mentioned of these was consul in 118. If we take grandson as a starting-point, the father would be the suffectus of 93. Suggested as the latter's wife by Syme is Domitia Cn. f. Lucilla, our *domina* from brick stamps. Syme believes that the Ummidii were related to the Annii even before the marriage of Annia Cornificia. He also supposes that the Ummidii were related to the Pedanii.

The consul of 118 was a good friend of Hadrian, as is proved by his consulship at a time of transfer of power and when the Emperor himself was absent. Syme has proved that he was leg.Aug.

¹ RE S. IX (1962), Ummidius No.6, 1832 (Hanslik). According to Hanslik the same as the consul suffectus 93.

² Quadratilla appears also in the *fistula* stamp CIL XV, 2 7567.

pr.pr. Moesiae 121-124¹ and proconsul Africae 133/4.²

Dominus C. Ummidius Quadratus,³ consul at an unknown time married Annia Cornificia Faustina, sister of Marcus Aurelius about 136-138. He must have been born in the period 108-115. Marcus Aurelius on his accession transferred part of Cornificia's property to the latter's son, who was consul in 167.⁴ Even earlier, in 136-7, Marcus had relinquished this share to his sister.⁵ The supposed period when *dominus* was consul is 140-145. He was also sodalis Antoninianus after his wife's death.⁶

Syme refers to C. Annianus Verus, consul suffectus in 146, who, he believes, had the blood of the Annii Veri in his veins. Syme asserts that he is C. Ummidius Quadratus Annianus Verus, our *dominus*, and also believes that Ummidius Quadratus, consul in 118, married the daughter of Annius Verus, cos. III 126. This adds interest to the history of the years 135-8.

The consul of 167 was, according to Syme's studies, also proconsul Africae in 162. He used also the name M. Ummidius Annianus Quadratianus, and the praenomen Marcus points to the *gens* of M. Annius Verus. Marcus is not known earlier with the Ummidii. M. Ummidius Quadratus was probably quaestor before his proconsulship. The last Ummidius, who conspired against Commodus, was the adopted son of the consul of 167 and probably the latter's nephew.

In the light of Syme's studies the Ummidii held a highly important political position, especially in the time of Hadrian and afterwards, though they held fewer consulships than, for instance, the Annii. They avoided the purges of Hadrian's final years and formed close ties with the *gens* of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. Sources with information on the *gens* contain many question marks, however. Many persons of importance to the

¹ Cf. Fitz, *Epigraphica* 26, 1964, 45 ff. According to Fitz the *legatus* was in Moesia in years 149 and 151/152.

² Eck (*Senatoren*, 191, 208) has accepted the hypotheses of Syme.

³ RE S. IX (1962), Ummidius No.5, 1831 (Hanslik).

⁴ RE S. IX (1962), Ummidius No.7, 1832 (Hanslik).

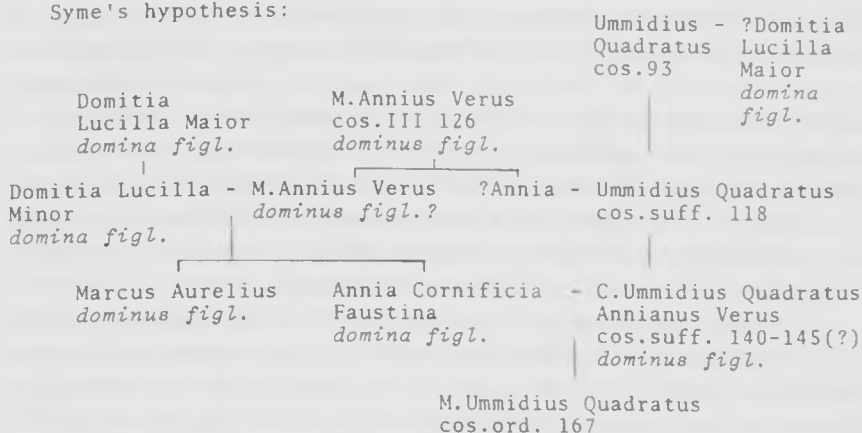
⁵ Fitz, *Epigraphica* 26, 1964, 47.

⁶ Pflaum, *Les sodales Antoniniani* No.19, 219-220.

genealogical table are unknown to us. Their wealth was great in any case, as this is attested by monuments at Casinum and by brick stamps.

With reference to brick stamps Syme's new hypothesis regarding the *gens*, which Pflaum too accepts,¹ is of first-rate importance. Within its framework the Ummidii are linked with the Domitii and Annii as early as the first half of the second century. An unanswered question is why the married couple Annia-Ummidius Quadratus (cos. 118) did not inherit land for brick production in the manner of their relatives.

Syme's hypothesis:



This presentation of a new connection between the Annii and Ummidii and Domitii *gentes* reveals the concentration of landed property at an earlier stage. At the same time it depicts the political marriages of that period.

¹ Pflaum, HA-Coll. 1968/1969, 213-214.

III *DOMINUS* GROUP

1. Results from brick stamp information

A total of 150 private *domini* are known from the brick stamps of the second and third centuries in the Roman district (cf. Appendix No.2). All these are expressed as owners of *praedia* or *figlinae*. I have also dealt with 12 so-called potential *domini*. Chronologically *domini* are divided as follows: well over half (85 out of 150) are from the time of Hadrian.¹ From the times of Trajan and Antoninus Pius the numbers are equal, each representing at least 15% of the total; the remaining approx. 10% are for Marcus Aurelius and later. During this later period *domini* are encountered most numerous in the time of the Severi. The predominance of the Hadrian period is explained mainly by the establishment of stamping as a general practice, probably by order of the Emperor. The order or orders may have contained instructions for the landowner, *dominus*, to be named.

In social groupings the body of *domini* was divided as follows. 60% of the body belonged to the senatorial and equestrian orders. The figure may in fact be greater, since we do not yet know all senatorial and equestrian representatives. The proportion of senatorial and equestrian ranks among *domini* varies: in the time of Trajan more than half are from the highest social levels; in the Hadrian period these levels increase their absolute share but decline relatively, while from Antoninus Pius onward *domini* outside the senatorial order are exceptional in brick stamps. The general picture is, therefore, that clay districts in the surroundings of Rome were largely in the hands of the highest ranks

¹ Cf. Appendix No.2, Note 1 on the dating of *domini* in the reigns of various Emperors. 56% of our stamp material at Ostia is from the period 100-140.

of society. Knights disappear altogether after Antoninus Pius, and their total is always small: only nine recognized knights appear as *domini* in brick stamps (cf. Chapter III 2.a).

49 (+ 2 potential) *dominae* are known, a third of the total. Among the material of antiquity brick stamps make up a source group of exceptional value because of the numerous *domina* body. From the time of Antoninus Pius as many *dominae* as *domini* are known. As certain or probable members of the senatorial order I have estimated 36 + 2 potential *dominae*. The number may be greater,¹ because identification of women is made more difficult by scarcity of source material. The substantial proportion of the senatorial order among *dominae* proves indisputably that *domini* were landowners.

Helen has noted that the words *figlinae* and *praedia* are used in brick stamps generally with the same meaning. There are no important differences in their use by the various *dominus* groups. In the time of Hadrian two-thirds of both *domini* who are of senatorial rank and of those who have remained unidentified use *praedia* to express land-ownership, and one third use *figlinae*. Both words are used mainly by representatives of the higher ranks. All in all, use of the words *praedia* and *figlinae* with variations are no criterion to clarify the position of a *dominus*. Their use does not vary with social groups.

In my *dominus* categorization I have also distinguished a group whose members appear in stamps also other than as owners of *praedia* and *figlinae*.

611 CALPVRNIAE SECVNDAE
TEMPESSINA

S.241 L VELICI SOLLEA
Acta
IRF VII

¹ Cf. Appendix 2. I have found no indications that the following *dominae* belonged to the highest social ranks: Caecilia Quinta, Caetennia Chione, Fabia Aeliana, Flavia Operata, Flavia Pelagia, Sabina Sabinilla, Scapula Rubria(?), Valeria M.f. Urbica, Ulpia Accepta. Brick stamp information implies high social status for Iulia Saturnina and Trebiccia Tertulla. Further possible representatives of the highest ranks are Iulia Albana and Magia Marcella. All except two names of *dominae* are Latin.

From this direction a criterion may possibly be found for the producer position which accompanies the land-ownership of *dominus*. The group includes one of the recognized *liberti*, Agathysrus Aug.lib. and the only slave *dominus*, Anteros Severianus Caes. N. (*servus*). It further includes the only known *officinator* and *dominus*, Vismatius Successus. Also found in the group are some of senatorial rank, but they appear generally in one-name stamps. Information is not so clear that we could regard all members of that group as brick producers.¹ The frequency of *domini* from the time of Trajan could be explained by the undeveloped data of brick stamps and not by emphasizing the producer position. An answer to the question of whether *dominus* is a landowner only or a brick producer in addition will be found in the one-name and two-name character of the stamp. In a binominal stamp *dominus* is most probably the landowner only, while in a one-name stamp he may also be the producer.² The social status of *dominus* correlates with the one- and two-name character of stamps. Among the 30 *domini* of senatorial rank in the time of Hadrian, for instance, 26 are encountered in two-name and only four exclusively in one-name stamps. In the Trajan period the difference is less great owing to the changing process of brick information as the first century turned into the second.

The clearest criterion for solution of this landowner-producer problem is therefore found in the scrutiny of second persons,

¹ Also otherwise known as the owners of *figlinae* and *praedia* are: Trajan: C. Allienus Proculus, Atilia Quintilla (sen?), L. Bellicius Sollers (sen), Calpurnia Secunda (sen?), L. Cornelius Priscus (sen), T. F(avius) Ampliatius, M. Herennius Pollio (sen), L. Memmius Rufus (sen), Hadrian: Agathysrus Aug.lib. Anteros Severianus Caes. N.s., Q. Asinius Marcellus (sen), Claudius Alexander, Claudius Livianus (eques), L. Iulius Ursus Valerius Flaccus (sen), Sex. Laelius Lelianus, L. Tutilius Lupercus Pontianus (sen), Trebicia Tertulla, L. Turr(anius) Gal., Villius Alexander, Vismatius Successus, L. Volu...us Nepos, later ones Stertina Bassula (sen?, Antoninus Pius), Hortensius Paulinus (sen, the turn of second and third centuries).

² Helen, 130.

i.e. *officinatores*. These, according to Helen, were largely independent enterprisers in the organization of brick production, so that land ownership remains "the only possibility" for *dominus*. *Dominus* is certainly the landowner only when an *officinatore* appears in the stamp of several *domini*. These *domini* are listed in Appendices No. 4a and c. In the Trajan period *domini* mentioning the name of *officinatore* numbered only slightly more than *domini* who appear alone in stamps. *Officinatores* who then appear in stamps of several *domini* are encountered only with senatorial and equestrian *domini*. In the Hadrian period *domini* mentioning *officinatore* are twice as numerous as *domini* who appear alone. Only some 105 of senators appear alone in their stamps, while the corresponding figure is 45% in the unidentified group. Senator-*domini* in whose stamps *officinatores* appearing with other *domini* are encountered make up some two-thirds of the total of such senator-*domini*, while in the unidentified group little more than 10% of *domini* are those whose *officinatores* are encountered with other *domini*. I have found brick stamp material of the Hadrian period to be the most extensive, the most clearly informative and complete, and therefore the most relevant. The above information on *domini* supports the notion that in Hadrian's time *domini* of senatorial and equestrian rank, especially those in whose stamps appear *officinatores* who worked on the land of several *domini*, were landowners exclusively, while *officinatores* were the actual enterprisers.

Kuusanmäki¹ has studied the *officinatores* of Imperial *domini* and has noted that in the period 98-138 only 8% of stamps (a total of 61) and in the period 98-217 only 25% (total 245) do not mention the *officinatore*. At the beginning of the second century, therefore, Emperors as *domini* are encountered in stamps more often with *officinatores* than alone. Emperors must without more ado be understood as landowners exclusively. The model for Imperial activity is to be found in such matters as stone quarries. The stamps of private *domini* are continually both one-name and

¹ Kuusanmäki, Unpublished laudatur thesis, 30.

binominal. As Helen points out,¹ *domini* of one-name stamps might produce bricks on their own land, i.e. the roles of *dominus* and *officinator* were combined in one person. Regarding *domini* in these one-name stamps, we cannot decide in casu whether *dominus* was a producer as well as a landowner (cf. Appendix No.4c). Only of the land-ownership can we be certain, for it is explicitly stated in the stamps (*ex praedis illius* or *ex figlinis illius*).

Steinby takes the view that the *signa* used by *domini*, including the emblems, are evidence that *dominus* himself was active in industry. The only *domini* who quite certainly used emblems are M. Flavius Aper (*aper*), M. Rutilius Lupus (*lupus*) and C. Iulius Stephanus (*corona*).² In the case of Lupus there is further supporting evidence from brick stamps. He appears as *dominus* in one stamp only (31). Symbols of *officinatores* are more problematical. The *signum* has not yet enabled us to clarify relations between persons of brick stamps.

Brick stamp data also include consular dating. Slightly less than half the number of *domini* (68/150) appear in at least one dated stamp. *Domini* who appear in 123 and other years are 55 in number. Only in stamps of the year 123 are as many as 30 *domini* encountered. 134, another abundant year for dating, is found in the stamps of only four *domini*. Years other than 123, in fact, appear in stamps of only 13 *domini*. The special position of the year 123 in brick stamp dating is shown unmistakably by figures. This predominance is explainable only by an Imperial decree of which no explicit source has been preserved for us. Consular dating is unusual except during the rule of Hadrian. For the year 123 the number of different stamps known is 229, half of which are one-name and half binominal. In over half of the one-name cases the person cannot be defined as *dominus*. Stamps with

¹ Helen, 98 and 130.

² Steinby, Unpublished licentiate thesis, 459. Steinby's complete iconological study is unfinished as yet. Symbols, though not emblems, appear with further *domini*, but their value as evidence of activity is slight.

no mention of *dominus* still amount to a quarter of the total. This type of stamp remained the most common during the first century, and in 123 the word *praedia* was used more often than *figlinae* in the expression of *dominus* (*praedia* 73, *figlinae* 58). The number of persons mentioned in the stamps has no influence on the use of words *figlinae* and *praedia*.

The correlation of consular dating with social class has been dealt with by Bloch.¹ Frequent consular dating, high social class, many *officinatores* (who are known from the stamps of several *domini*) correlate positively with each other (cf. Appendix No. 4b).² Frequent consular dating in stamps of *domini* with high social status may be due to an active body of *officinatores* rather than to the landowner. This implies a interpretation of the position of *dominus* and *officinatus* in brick production. The result is therefore irrelevant to the problem.

Potential *domini* were formed into a group on the premise that they were known from other sources. They must be regarded as landowners. Potential *domini* are 12 in all, and of senatorial rank without exception. The greatest number are from the time of Trajan (5), partly because in this period the brick stamp text was in the process of formation. They may be compared with the landowners of the first century.³

At least half of the *domini* are encountered as owners of *figlinae* mentioned by name; a relatively greater number among them are of senatorial rank than among those whose stamps are from *figlinae* unmentioned by name. This fact is connected with the better preservation of names for senatorial farms.

The most certain result provided by brick stamp data is that *domini* are undoubtedly landowners. They are exclusively so if

¹ Bloch, Bolli laterizi, 320-327.

² Of 85 *domini* in the Hadrian period only 15 appear in undated stamps; only two of these are certainly of senatorial rank, namely Cassius Secundus and Rupilia Faustina. Both are placed at the very start of the Hadrian period, in particular Rupilia Faustina; for Cassius Secundus the dating is problematical.

³ Cf. Landowners of the first century, Chapter II 2.b.

officinator is regarded as an independent enterpriser, i.e. *officinator* is encountered in the stamps of several *domini*. The relation to brick production of the *domini* in one-name stamps cannot be clarified. In Appendix No.4 I have attempted to classify hypothetical *dominus* groups.

2. Results from prosopographies

Gentes of domini

I examine *gentes* of *domini* from two main standpoints: what is known of their origin and home location, and what their quality is.

The justification of the study of origins during the Empire has been recently discussed by scholars of antiquity. In earlier biographical study (de Laet, Stech, Lambrechts, Barbieri) this was considered important and a synthesis of these data has been made by Hammond. He states that the origin of Senate members in the period 68-235 is known in some 40% of cases. Thomasson in his study of proconsuls in Africa felt unable to draw conclusions on the home localities of his subjects, so little is known of them in his opinion.² Eck believes that the significance of the whole question of *origo* should be carefully reconsidered. Can historical explanations of any scope be drawn from *origo* data alone? It may be asked, for instance, whether a son whose father's *origo* was Spain, and who himself grew up in Italy and received his education there could any longer be called Spanish. According to Eck the *origo* of *gens* or family was only important when economic resources had remained in the home district. *Origo* was important only to persons who were new in the Senate.³

In Barbieri's study of senators for the period 193-283 *origo*

¹ Hammond, JRS, 47, 1957, 74-81.

² Thomasson, Statthalter I, 56-57, 98-99.

³ Eck, Chiron 1973, 375-395.

is known in only 10-35% of cases.¹ This means that the discovery of one isolated mention may have great numerical effect. E. Birley has noted: "It is increasingly rare, the higher up in the social scale one moves, to find specific mention of a man's *origo*".² Graham points out the following dangers and factors of uncertainty. To determine *origo* by name alone is clearly impossible. Inscriptions and excavations by their quality and number help to clarify geographical origin.³ According to Hammond the Roman Senate remained Italian until the end of the third century. We also know that the western provinces were represented earlier and more numerous than the eastern.⁴

Despite all the possibilities of distortion it is interesting to determine the home locality of those who held the neighbouring landed property so important in Rome, and to examine whether it fits the general picture of the significance or insignificance of *origo*.⁵ In my *dominus* material *origo* is estimated for senators and knights, to some extent hypothetically, in more than three-quarters of all cases. Only the remaining quarter has remained unestimated. The large percentage of clarification is a direct result of the group examined, landowners in the area near Rome.⁶ Because some of the suggestions for *origo* are hypothetical I shall treat results only as indicative, not as absolute figures. My material is written down in prosopographies. Among those whose *origo* is clear, almost twice as many are Italian as provincial. If we take into account the notion that the first senator of a

¹ Barbieri, *Albo senatorio*, 432-473.

² Birley, E., *Septimius Severus and the Roman Army*, 63-82.

³ Graham, *The Limitations of Prosopography*, 136-157.

⁴ Hammond, *JRS* 47, 1957, 77.

⁵ Brick stamps provide no new data on *origo* of persons, because *tribus* is not mentioned in connection with names. All data on persons known from other sources, above all data concerning *tribus*, are utilized in study literature.

⁶ If we also take into account the *dominus* group of the so-called unknown, the percentage of clarification is reduced by half. Here the lack of identification prevents the estimation of *origo*.

provincial *gens* is significant, the Italian preponderance grows still more. For closer scrutiny I take the period of Hadrian, which has the most relevant material. At that time senatorial and equestrian landowners (total 36, incl. 13 women) are divided into three parts of almost equal size: Italian, provincial and those of undertermined home locality. Half the *dominae* belong to the group of Italian *origo*.

More rational than scrutiny of absolute figures is the presentation of groupings which originate from the same district. This is a more relevant proceeding because the material is scanty and hypothetical. The basic grouping is that of Gallia Narbonensis (Nemausus) from Domitius Afer, in which five Domitius *domini* and *dominae* are known. Also important from the same district are the Aurelii, the foremost grouping of the Antoninus Pius period, to which *domina* Arria Fadilla became connected by marriage. Another important adjunct to the Domitii by marriage (?) are the Annii, a *gens* which originated from Baetica in Spain. The first *dominus* of the *gens*, M. Annii Verus, who was three times consul, arranged advantageous marriages for all his children with the foremost *gentes* of the Empire. Further landowners are known to us from Spain,¹ and an almost equal number from the eastern provinces. Asia Minor is the eastern region most often mentioned: from it are the knights Ti. Claudius Celsus and Cusinius Messalinus, both from Hadrian's time. From the same region are Ti. Claudius Iulianus and L. Cuspius Pactumeius Rufinus, consuls from the time of Antoninus Pius. Women of the east include Queen Claudia Capitolina and Sergia Paullina. The Ti. Iulii Iuliani who were consuls in 117 and about 130 are traditionally regarded as men of the east. Later ones are represented by L. Calpurnius Proculus. No African *origo* can be proved except for C. Fulvius Plautianus.²

¹ Incl. A. Plaetorius Nepos, L. Iulius Ursus Valerius Flaccus, Pedania Quintilla, M. Annii Herennius Pollio (?).

² I have suggested an uncertain African *origo* for the *figlinae* Publilianae *domini* Flavius Aper - Aemilia Severa - Iulius Flaccus Aelianus.

Those coming from the provinces to Rome in search of a career and landed property coincide with Emperors from their own district. The Trajan-Hadrian period includes the Annii from Spain. Earlier from Gaul came the Domitii, along with the parents of Antoninus Pius came the Arrii and Aurelii, and only at the time of Septimius Severus did an African (Africans?) appear. From the east there were arrivals at all times. Land acquisition by provincials was furthered by Trajan's order that a new senator must invest a third of his property in Italian land (Pliny, Ep. 6, 19, 4). Provincials remain constantly a smaller proportion than in the Senate as a whole, and if we omit the above groupings from our calculations their proportion is very small compared with the Italians.

Among Italian *domini* there is a large northern grouping whose ancestors appear in local brick stamps of the first century. They include Titius Marcellus (pot. *dominus*) whose name is repeated in the names of the Domitius brothers, Titia Quartilla, P. Cassius Secundus, Avidius Quietus, L. Plautius Aquilinus and perhaps Atilia Quintilla. I should also add to the group, at least through his adoptive father, L. Albius Pullaienus Pollio.¹ Through Cassius Secundus the group includes a *dominus* from the end of the second century, M. Cassius Hortensius Paulinus.² The *dominus* grouping in question supports the conclusion reached by Sirago,³ that in Trajan's time the Italian landowning class changed its character, the aristocracy of an earlier period being replaced by a new class from northern Italy. More than half the members of this *dominus* grouping are from the time of Trajan.

Italian representatives of politically notable *gentes* are: C. Ummidius Quadratus (Casinum), T. Pomponius Proculus Vitrasius Pollio (Campania) and the Asinii (Teate, Aesernia). The Acilii, three of whose representatives are known from stamps,⁴ are an

¹ Cf. s.v. particularly the genealogical tables of Titia Quartilla and L. Plautius Aquilinus.

² The same district is surmised to be the home locality of Matidia the younger and L. Cornelius Priscus.

³ Sirago, L'Italia agraria sotto Traiano, 304-307.

⁴ Cornelius Severus, Cornelia Manliola and Acilia Manliola ?

Italian (Tibur ?) long-lived *gens*. Of the politically important *gens* of the Neratii one female representative, Neratia Quartilla (Samnium) is encountered in stamps. Ameria, a good clay district, is probably the home locality of two equestrian *domini*, C. Curatius Cosanus and C. Lusius Modestus. Regarding others of senatorial and equestrian rank, not more than one from the same district is known.¹ Two-thirds of the *domini* whose *origo* can be settled, therefore, are Italian. Hammond informs us that slightly over half the senators of the second century were Italian.² Within the limits of the conclusions which may be drawn from brick stamps regarding land-ownership in the Roman area, it may be said that the landowning class for brick production was more Italian than the senate as a whole. This destroys the hypothesis that provincials were more willing to exploit landed property than Italians. There is no further reason to seek such an interpretation if we examine persons only as landowners. Information on the value of clay districts and their suitability for other use is difficult to obtain. The prestige of such land may be based on its location beside the Tiber. In stressing land ownership I have no wish to deny that owners were concerned with the economic exploitation of their land. I refer to the letters of Pliny from which we know that he was interested in the management of his farms.

The three main groupings in the senate of Antoninus Pius were Italian, Baetican and Narbonensian, whose collaboration was good. These leading senatorial groups, which produced all the Emperors of their time, emerge also as chief landowners in the immediate vicinity of Rome. They included Annii, Aurelii, Neratii and Ceionii, all of whom are encountered in brick stamps.³

¹ Trajan: potential *domini*: Q. Articuleius Paetus (Canusium), L. Publilius Celsus (Apulia), L. Cornelius Palma Frontonianus (Etruria?). Hadrian: C. Bruttius Praesens (Lucania). Consuls from the time of Hadrian or Antoninus Pius: L. Tutilius Luperulus Pontianus (Clusium), Q. Pomponius Musa (Velitrae), C. Ulpianus Praetina Pacatus Messalinus (Sutrium?). Among knights, Beneventum is possibly the home locality of Rutilius Lupus.

² Hammond, JRS, 47, 1957, 77.

³ The name Ceionius does not appear in brick stamps as *dominus*, but after adoption as L. Aelius Caesar.

The principal honours to be gained by senators under the Antonines were admission to the patriciate, ordinarius consulship and, especially, repetition of the latter. To be considered when assessing the quality of the *gens* are patrician *gentes* (*patricii nati* and *adlecti inter patricios*), "senatorial families" and *homines novi*. In the following I content myself largely with analysis of senatorial and equestrian *gentes*. To evaluate the quality of the *gens* of unidentified *domini* would lead us into the field of onomastics with its long namelists. I refer to Eck, who says: "A mere name says nothing, or so little that no useful criteria or conclusions can be obtained from it."

Of second century patrician *gentes*, 23 of which are known according to Lambrechts,¹ the following members are encountered as *domini* and *dominae* or their close relations: Annii Veri (1), patriciate in first century AD. The *gens* has two *domini* and three *dominae*. Asinii (2), patriciate in first century AD. The *gens* is represented in first century brick stamps by C. Asinius Pollio; it also includes Q. Asinius Marcellus and his daughter Asinia Quadratilla. Acilii Glabrones (3), patriciate in second century AD. *Domina* Cornelia Manliola, in my view, married into the *gens*. Also belonging to the *gens* at the turn of the second and third centuries would be Acilia Manliola. Aelii Lamiae (4), patriciate in the time of Augustus. From this *gens* was the husband of Domitia Longina. Annii Galli (5), time of admission to patriciate unknown. Appius Annus Atilius Bradua (cos. 160) appears as potential *dominus*. Bruttii Praesentes (6), patriciate during Antoninus Pius. The son of Bruttius Praesens, potential *dominus* of brick stamps, was already a patrician. The priestly offices of Cn. Pinarius Cornelius Severus (7) show him to be a patrician. Domitii (8), patriciate in year 73/4. Several *domini* are encountered: Afer, Lucanus, Tullus and Lucillae. Ummidii Quadrati (9), patriciate in first century. A consul of the decade of 140 appears as *dominus*. The *gens* may have been connected by marriage

¹ Lambrechts, *La Composition*, 207-213, cf. also Pistor, *Prinzepts und Patriziat*, *passim*.

with the patrician *gentes* Annii and Domitii. Petronii (10), patriciate in Marcus Aurelius period. Among *domini* of this *gens* the grandsons of the prefect of Egypt were already patrician. Neratii (11), patriciate during Hadrian. I have reckoned Neratia Quartilla as belonging to the *gens*. T. Pomponius Vitrasius Pollio (12) was the first patrician of his *gens*. The Ceionii (13), a patrician *gens* of the second century, appear in brick stamps through Imperial *domini*.¹

Of the *gentes* listed part are known already from Republican times,² so that their land-ownership may be of long standing. The sources do not make verification possible. I refer to that I have assumed almost every landowner of the first century to have been connections to the landowners of the second century.³

A conclusion is that most second century patrician *gentes* are represented in brick stamps. If we add to the list all reigning Emperors who are known through brick stamps as landowners in the Roman neighbourhood, we may take it that the clay districts near Rome were owned by the topmost level - politically and socially - of society. Although in the second century the patriciate loses its importance as a select class and political force,⁴ it was a clear standard of status achieved, and, in particular, an honour awarded by the Emperor. Encountered as landowners are old first century patrician *gentes* and second century *gentes* regarded by the Emperor.

By a senatorial family I understand here that the father of *dominus* or *domina* is known to have been a senator. The term thus covers those of second generation senatorial rank at least. Left over are the *homines novi*. No quantitative treatment can be devised owing to the character of the material. Only indications of direction can be given. Among men of senatorial rank in the

¹ I have reckoned Caesennius Isauricus, a patrician of the time of Marcus Aurelius, as a descendant of *domina* Arria Caesennia Paulina.

² Cf. the landowners of the first century, Chapter II 2.

³ Cf. Chapter II 3.

⁴ Pistor, *Prinzepts und Patriziat*, 146-147, 153, 156.

second century those known to have had a father in the senate come from about half the families who did not belong to the patriciate. The rest belong to the *homines novi* group, the first senators of their *gens*.¹ Figures are always hypothetical, nor do we know the effect of missing sources.

Lack of sources has a still greater effect on efforts to elucidate the *gentes* of women. In their case such efforts are still more hypothetical. About two-thirds of *dominae* outside the patriciate are known to have been daughters of senators. I mentioned earlier my identification of two-thirds of *dominae* among the higher ranks. Almost all of these I have therefore reckoned as daughters of senators. It is possible that part of the unidentified *dominae* also belong to the highest ranks of society. Particularly in the case of women, results may be merely a consequence of the deficiency of sources.

All in all, it was the most influential *gentes* and individuals who owned land near Rome in the second century AD. To compare the body of *domini* with, for instance, the rest of the upper class is not a fruitful proceeding because of the difficulty of measuring these groups. It is evident that certain powerful *gentes* were missing from the *domini*, but the Emperors and their immediate circle owned the near surroundings of the Tiber.

The social status of *dominus* is clear not only for the senatorial rank but also for the nine cases in which *dominus* is identified as a knight. Also, two *domini* express themselves as Imperial freedmen and one as an Imperial slave. The scarcity of knights is explained partly by deficiency of sources and difficulties of identification.² The majority of knights remain un-

¹ The material contains only a few assured sons of knights. Discovery of equestrian fathers is made difficult by source material. In the case of at least ten senator-*domini* with unknown fathers, the father may in fact be a knight. This is probable because the senatorial rank was considerably better known than the equestrian class, although not all senators are known.

² In the material of Huttunen, for instance (Roman grave inscriptions) the "unknown freeborn" group composes 45.1% of the whole. Grave inscriptions contain more references useful for identification than brick stamps contain, and yet the percentage is so small. Huttunen, *Social Strata*, 139; Cf. knights, Stein, *Römischer Ritterstand*, 74-82.

identified. It may be tentatively stated that equestrian landed property was not located in clay districts near Rome. The property of two knights is thought to have been in the district of Ameria (C. Curiatius Cosanus, C. Lusius Modestus). Because of their title *amicus Augusti* Claudius Livianus and Petronius Mamertinus must be placed nearer the senators. Perhaps in the same group is M. Rutilius Lupus, who gave at least his Egyptian property to the Emperor. A knight to be taken as an average is virtually lacking from the body of *domini*, perhaps owing to the situation regarding sources.

The *liberti* Abascantus Aug.lib. and Agathyrsus Aug.lib. are known to be landowners near Rome. From the Veleia list of landowners we know that several *liberti* and their descendants owned land.¹ For an Imperial freedman to acquire land was quite natural. Stamps may mention several *liberti*, but we do not know that, because filiations are not generally included. The land-ownership of an Imperial slave Anteros is expressed in stamps. The land-ownership of the slave is legally problematical.² The information, one-name character and unusual *dominus* expression of his stamps imply that he was also a producer. The scarcity of *liberti* and *servi* cannot justify more than the statement that it was possible for representatives of these classes to own land near Rome. All three are in relationship with the Emperor.³

¹ Pachtère, La Table Hypothécaire de Veleia, 87 and 95.

² Cf. Westermann, The Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity, 109-117; also Westerman, Sklaverei, RE S. VI 1036 ff. Slave *officinatores* and their position in the organization of brick production has been dealt with by T. Helen, Persons of Brick Stamps and Organization of Roman Brick Production in the early Empire. Unpublished licentiate thesis, 1970.

³ Brick stamps do not support the notion of Imperial donations, though they do not deny it.

Cursus honorum of domini

The following facts which are known to us of official careers during the Empire will now be tested in relations to prosopographic data.¹ What contemporaries, i.e. writers, said of the careers of individuals will serve as a starting-point. Evaluations, of course, appear also in career inscriptions. To senators in the times of the Antonini it was an honour to be admitted to the patriciate, to become consul ordinarius and, still more, to become so twice. Dio states his especial pride in a second consulship, an honour granted as a rule only to those of distinguished birth or to those closest to the Emperor. When conclusions are drawn regarding official careers it must be remembered that in the surviving material political leaders are over-represented.

A long senatorial career had to be gone through by *homines novi* and their sons. In contrast, patricians remained in Rome who were the most influential both in the senate and the *concilium primorum*. Also remaining in Rome were consuls of lower status who were not selected for military leadership, and very young men. Patricians and others who had obtained an early consulship did not usually hold leg.leg. or leg. Aug.pr.pr. offices, for they had no time. Praefectura urbis usually went with the office of second consul. Patricians ceased to hold office outside Italy except for "decorative" proconsulships in Asia and Africa. The old aristocracy remained always above the regional and provincial aristocracy, and those who were accepted into this privileged group reconciled themselves to its fastidious attitude toward newcomers. Roman society remained conservative.

The frequency of gaps in the sources results in our knowing more of some individuals than others. Thus details of official

¹ The subject of careers has been explained by: Birley, Senators with Emperors' Service, FBA 39, 1953; Eck, Beförderungskriterien, Aufstieg und Niedergang II, 1; Eck, Sozialstruktur, Chiron 3, 1973; Morris, Leges Annales I-II; Syme, Governors of Pannonia etc., Historia, 14, 1965.

careers may vary a great deal. Misconception of certain aspects is further increased by difficulties of identification and complexities in the definition of *dominus*. For instance, we have knowledge of the consulship alone in about one third of senator-*domini*. A single office other than consul is documented for some 15% of senator-*domini*. There are also several *domini* of senatorial rank for whom no office is known. These scantily documented senators, in fact, make up about half the body of senator-*domini*.

The consulship is clearly the best documented office.¹ From the second and third centuries we know a total of 42 senator-*domini* (men) with 10 potential in addition. Of these 13 (+ 5 potential) were consules ordinarii² and 23 (+ 1 potential) were certainly consules suffecti. The data on others has not survived, but the consulship was a possibility for all who engaged on a senatorial career. *Domini* holding the office of consul ordinarius or consul suffectus are about equal in number during Hadrian and Antoninus Pius,³ a period in which brick stamp material has the most to tell us. Consules ordinarii are strikingly preponderant among *domini* compared with the general ratio of consules ordinarii and suffecti.⁴

¹ Eck has calculated in PIR that for the period 68-138 we know 570 consuls, 43 Imperial consuls, 38-39 who were consuls twice, only 10-11 who held the office three times. (Chiron 3, 1973). Eck estimates that these figures represent 80-85% of the actual numbers.

² Consules ordinarii: Trajan: Q. Articuleius Paetus (pot.), A. Cornelius Palma Frontonianus (pot.), L. Publicius Celsus (pot.). Hadrian: M. Annius Verus, M. Annius Libo, C. Bruttius Praesens (pot.), T. Statilius Maximus, L. Tutilius Luperus Pontianus. Antoninus Pius: Appius Bradua (pot.), L. Cuspius Pactumeius Rufinus, M. Flavius Aper, C. Ulpianus Praetina Pacatus Messalinus, M. Valerius Homullus, T. Vitrasius Pollio. Marcus Aurelius: Plautius Aquilinus. Later: M. Petronius Sura Mamertinus, M. Petronius Septimianus, C. Fulvius Plautianus.

³ Hadrian: cos.ord. 4 + 1 pot., cos.suff. 7; Antoninus Pius: cos.ord. 6, cos.suff. 5.

⁴ According to Eck's calculations, Chiron 3, 1973, for the period 68-138, 570 consuls are known, i.e. eight per year.

Alföldy has calculated that 22 persons in the period of the Antonini (96-193) were twice consuls.¹ The following *domini* were consuls several times: M. Annius Verus, I 97, II 121, III 126, C. Bruttius Praesens, I 119, II 139 (potential), A. Cornelius Palma Frontonianus, I 99, II 109 (potential), L. Publilius Celsus, I 107, II 113 (potential), T. Pomponius Proculus Vitrasius Pollio, I 150, II 176. Perhaps also to be included is C. Fulvius Plautianus, who was consul for two successive years (203-5). Closely connected with *domini* and *dominae* are the following who held the consulship several times: *Dominus* Flavius Aper's son (name identical) was consul II in 176; L. Iulius Ursus Valerius Flaccus, "adoptive brother" of C. Iulius Ursus Servianus, (cos. III 134) brother-in-law of Hadrian, is known from brick stamps; the son of Q. Asinius Marcellus, cos. II 97, was *dominus*. Members of the Acilius and Neratius *gentes* are also known to have held the consulship twice. Representatives of these *gentes* are encountered as *dominae* (cf. Cornelia Manliola, Acilia Manliola and Neratia Quartilla).

The highest offices in provincial administration were indisputably the proconsulships of Asia and Africa. Their holders who were also *domini* are concentrated mainly at the beginning of the second century. The office holders are not patrician (except the Domitius brothers), and were therefore in particular Imperial favour.² There is no point in making a comparison with other provincial offices, because so few holders are known.³

¹ Missing from the list are Cornelius Palma and Publilius Celsus. Those who served only in Hadrian's time are one in number: Bruttius Praesens, who also appears in brick stamps. Also absent from the list are the brother-in-law of Hadrian and Q. Asinius Marcellus. Alföldy, *Fasti Hispanienses*, 31.

² Proconsuls of Asia were: L. Albius Pullaienus Pollio (104/5), A. Vicirius Martialis (113/4), L. Cornelius Priscus (120/1), Avidius Quietus (125/6). The Domitius brothers (89/, 90/91) were proconsuls of Africa. Other proconsuls are, in Hadrian's time, C. Bruttius Praesens and Ti. Iulius Alexander; at the turn of the second and third centuries the hypothetical Flavius Titianus and L. Calpurnius Proculus.

³ Leg.Aug.pr.pr. office holders are known to about the same extent as proconsuls, but they are mainly from the times of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius.

Distinguished from the group by the number and quality of their offices (in addition to those with two of three consulships) are the following: A. Plaetorius Nepos, who was curator viarum and leg.Aug.pr.pr. for three provinces. A brilliant career was achieved above all by M. Pontius Larcius Sabinus, consul in 144, who was comes for several Emperors on numerous campaigns. Many offices were also held by Ti. Iulius Alexander Iulianus, who was, for instance, proconsul of Asia.

Signs that advantage was taken of an office in the interests of brick production or use of land are noticeable in the cases of M. Annius Verus and possibly M. Rutilius Lupus and Q. Articuleius Paetus.

Nine knights are known among *domini* in the second century. Among the most influential of their time were Claudius Livianus and M. Petronius Mamertinus, who hold both the office of praefectus praetorio. Both were also *amici Augusti* and enjoyed exceptional power. Holders of the important office of praefectus Aegypti were M. Rutilius Lupus and M. Iunius Rufus. The "invisibility" of knights is due partly to the source situation and difficulties of identification connected with it, but it can partly also be explained as deriving from land-ownership. It can be said that the clay districts of Rome to our knowledge do not come under possession of knights, or at least that the latter do not offer them to others for working, nor do they exploit them personally.

Owing to the special features of *dominus* material (by no means all official careers are known) and owing to its smallness also, results from careers during the Empire are not easily applied to it. As Syme remarks, results important in themselves cannot be used as criteria because they may "deceive" in individual cases.¹ For one reason or another some individual cases may have been included in *dominus* material. Presentation of figures for the emergence of various offices in this or that period, place or social group must all be rejected as positively misleading. The speed of an official career is revealed through prosopographies.

¹ Syme, *Historia* 14, 1965, 353.

Scrutiny of the consulship reveals an exception. The influence of *domini* and the status of those closest to the Emperors are proved indisputably by the number of *consules ordinarii* in addition to the abundance of patrician *gentes*, while proof of membership in a still more intimate Imperial circle is provided by the numerous *domini* who were twice and three times consuls. Influence and land-ownership in the Roman neighbourhood were often "in the same hands".

IV TRANSFERENCE OF LANDED PROPERTY

Serving as criteria for land transfer in this study are the conclusions reached from brick stamp data on the one hand, and those reached from prosopographical data on the other.

Scholars differ on this subject. Everybody admits that land was the principal source of wealth in Roman society. Some scholars, with whom I agree, emphasize that inheritance was the main reason for transference of wealth, which includes landed property. A few think that marriage was a lesser reason.¹ Some have stressed sale and purchase as a means of transfer.² Crook, though he calls attention to the sentimental feelings entertained toward land-ownership, concludes on the strength of legal texts that landed property was "fungible" to the same extent as any other species of property.³

Transfer of landed property is most certainly in the case of *figlinae* mentioned by name. A second criterion is the sharing of *officinatores* by *domini*. The notion then arises that *officinators* might represent continuity in brick production even if *dominus* changed. This is a new method of examination, however, and from this aspect can be found new hypotheses on connections between *gentes* during the Empire.

My problem is to examine changes in landed property near Rome from which good clay for bricks was obtained.⁴ How accurate we

¹ This is supported e.g. by Duncan-Jones, *Some Configurations of Landholding in the Roman Empire*, 12

² Le Gall, *RHES* 52, 1975, 37-50; his statement of the reasons for advice on land purchase by writer is not convincing, as Duncan-Jones (cf. above Note 1) points out.

³ Crook, *Classical Roman Law and the Sale of Land*, 82-83; Sentimental feelings are shown e.g. by Pliny, *Ep.* 3,19; 6,19.

⁴ The location of the landed property of *domini* is problematical. Because sources of the land record type are lacking, recourse must be had to the study of names. One method, though it is uncertain, is to examine the diffusion of brick stamps. Transport conditions are then a decisive factor, however. Huotari is publishing a special study of *figlinae* location.

can consider this picture to be if projected over the development of landed property throughout the Empire period is another question. We do not know, in fact, the extent to which brick stamp information is representative. It is, however, the almost only source group which can clarify this politically and socially remarkable matter in question. Other data are still more scattered and sporadic.¹

Reliable information on landowners is found in brick stamps of the second and third centuries, a space of some three or four generations. Some lines can be drawn to the landowners of the first century. Of the *figlinae* mentioned by name (94 in total) only ten were "functioning" for most of the second century.² *Figlinae* which functioned in the first and second centuries are total 13. Changes in landed property expressed in brick stamp data are not so many compared with totality but they are very important because of their uniqueness.

Of my *dominus* group of the second century only about one third have been found to have no connection with other *domini*. The majority of these are *domini* known from brick stamps of the year 123 and *domini* from a late period when material is scanty. However, the group includes 14 *domini* of senatorial rank, six of whom are potential. In the light of surviving data these of senatorial rank had no relations with other *domini*.³ I refer to the data of the first century brick stamps according to which every person assumed to be landowner had some connection to other landowners of brick stamps.⁴

¹ The deficiency of sources is clearly seen in my view from the general picture from land-ownership during the Empire with which I have dealt in Chapter I.3.

² Steinby, 110-111; Cf. also my Appendix No.3.

³ Appius Bradua (pot.), Q. Articuleius Paetus (pot.), Q. Canusius Praenestinus (pot.), Caelius Iulianus, Claudius Iullus, Cornelius Palma (pot.), L. Cuspius Rufinus, Flavius Titianus, Neratia Quartilla, Q. Pomponius Mussa, Pomponia Bassula, T. Statilius Silianus (pot.), C. Statius Capito Arrianus (pot.), Valerius Homullus.

⁴ Cf. Chapter II.3.

The best settled cases of land transfers are those by inheritance and specially through kinship. The most common connection between *domini* encountered in brick stamps is that between parents and a child. This occurs about 30 times. Most land transfers have already been presented in the studies of Bloch and Steinby. The greatest number of cases are found in the *gentes* Domitius and Annius: Cn. Domitius Afer-Domitius brothers-Domitiae Lucillae and M. Annius Verus-M. Annius Libo-three Anniae. The landed property of Arria Fadilla descends to her son Arrius Antoninus and also to her daughter Iulia Lupula. The most common form of land inheritance from parent to child is father-to-daughter, and the rarest is mother-to-daughter. Inheritance of the Annius and Domitius *gentes* are also known from other sources than brick stamps. Five generations of Domitii and three of Annii are encountered in brick stamps. All other cases are based only on brick stamp data. I have suggested the following transfers: Aemilia Severa-Flaccus Aelianus, Larcia Sabina-M. Pontius Sabinus, Titia Quartilla-Plautius Aquilinus, Ti. Iulius Iulianus-Ti. Iulius Alexander Iulianus, Cornelius Severus-Cornelia Manliola, Cusinius Messalinus-Cusinia Gratilla, Iulius Stephanus-Iulia Saturnina, Flavia Seia Isaurica-Flavius Aper, Iulia Procula-Flavia Procula, Q. Asinius Marcellus-Asinia Quadrattilla, L. Memmius Rufus-Memmia Macrina, Caecilius Iuventianus(?)-Caecilia Quinta. I have also distinguished two Statilii Maximi, the father consul in 115 and the son consul in 144.

Married couples appearing separately are: M. Annius Verus-Rupillia Faustina, L. Bellicius Sollers-Claudia Marcellina, Cornelius Severus-Sergia Paulina. The marriage of those is known from further sources. On the basis of brick stamp data can be assumed some marriages.¹ The above-mentioned cases may be explained by transfer of land-ownership from husband to wife or vice versa. *Societas* by married couples is known in three cases: Annia Fundania Faustina-Vitrasius Pollio, Annia Cornificia Faustina-Ummidius Quadratus, M. Iunius Rufus-Claudia Capitolina

¹ E.g. Ti. Iulius Iulianus-Stertia Bassula, Flavius Aper-Asinia Quadrattilla, L. Samnius Gallus-Magia Marcella.

(R.Cap.). *Societas* must be understood as joint land-ownership. The background of *Anniae societates* was landed property acquired as dowry (*dos*). Rufus and Capitolina may have acquired property together.

Brothers and sisters appear in stamps separately and as *societas*.¹ *Societas* is explained as joint care of inherited landed property.² Further generations are represented also in brick stamp data. They occur in Annius, Domitius, Petronius, Arruntius, Asinius-*gentes* with certainty. Continuity of landed property may be assumed also in: Titius Marcellus-Titia Quartilla-Plautius Aquilinus. More hypothetical cases I have shown in prosopographies.³ Brick stamp data make possible to emphasize the landed property continuity in Roman society.

I have suggested numerous hypothetical connections, based mainly on brick stamp interpretation, between *domini*. Many of them, if confirmed, may have a bearing on political relations between power groupings during the Empire. The most important of these, I believe, is a north Italian grouping whose ancestors during the first century had exploited their land in the home district by brick production or renting. This group begins with Atilii, Epidii and Titii from the Milan district, and the following *domini* become connected: Titius Marcellus (pot.), Titia

¹ Separately appearing children of the same parents are known from *gens* Annii (cf. Appendix No.6, Stemma No.1) and further the following: Matidia Minor-Rupilia Faustina and Sabina, Coelius Fortunatus-Coelius Philetus, Flavius Posidonius-Flavia Operata, Iunius Iulianus-Iunius Sulpicianus, L. Turranius Gal()-L. Turranius Pri(), A. Villius Alexander-Villius Aug(). The kinship of the supposed brothers and sisters is not based in every case on the criterion of *figlinae* mentioned by name (cf. s.v.).

² *Societas* is encountered with the brothers Aristius Celer et Strabo, Domitius Lucanus et Tullus, Petronius Sura Mamertinus et Septimianus, L. Cassius et P. Cassius Cae().

³ Continuity of landed property may be assumed also for *gentes* Iulius and Flavius of *figlinae Publilianae* and *gens* Flavius of *figlinae Tonneianae*, further for Claudii from east, and for Iulii Iuliani and Cornелиi Prisci from the first century.

Quartilla, L. Plautius Aquilinus. The latter's relative Avidius Quietus was a *dominus* too and the *gens* was also joined through marriage with the Pedanii. The *gens* married into the Imperial family, moreover. The name Titius Marcellus is encountered further in the nomenclature of the Domitius brothers, which may indicate either the mother's name or adoption. The alliance of *domina* Atilia Quintilla with the same Atilii is uncertain.

Assumed connections mean the retention of same *gentes* or *stirpes* in brick stamp data. They prove at any rate the continuity of landed property. I admit however that in some cases kinship is only hypothetical.¹

Some of the above-mentioned connections are based on the criterion of common *officinatores*.² By that criterion I would sug-

¹ I have accepted Pflaum's view of relationships between the following *domini*: Bellicius Sollers-Claudia Marcellina-P. Cassius Secundus-Cassius Hortensius Paulinus. Stamp datings do not precisely fit the pattern of the *gens*. In the case of Plotia Servilia Isaurica-Arria Fadilla brick stamps clearly express an inheritance (clay districts and *officinatores* in common) that I have tried to explain through *domina* Arria Caesennia Paulina. - Intermarriage between Bruttii and Asinii still requires confirmation. *Figlinae* histories also imply the following inheritances: Flavia Procula-Flavia Seia Isaurica-Flavius Aper, and similarly the hypothetical Ti Tutinius Sentius Satrianus-Arria Fadilla. - Connections may be assumed to T. Claudius Celsus-Claudius Alexander-Ti. Claudius Iulianus. For other connections I refer to the prosopographies.

² The *officinators* criterion (*domini* with *officinatores* in common) implies a connection also between the following *dominus* "pairs": Domitia Lucilla Minor-Iulius Stephanus, Stertina Bassula-Matidia Minor, Seia Isaurica-Statilius Maximus Severus Hadrianus, Flavia Procula-Statilius Maximus Severus Hadrianus-Q. Marcius Hermogenes, Memmia Macrina-Domitia Lucilla minor, Aburnius Caedicianus-Seia Isaurica-Statilius Maximus, Valeria Polla-Iulia Lupula, Rutilius Lupus-Vismatius Successus, Vismatius Successus-Aburnius Caedicianus, Q. Aburnius Caedicianus-Domitia Lucilla, L. Man() Theocritus-Domitia Lucilla, Flavius Aper-Terentius Iulianus.

(cf. Helen, List of *officinatores* appearing in stamps of more than one *dominus*, 139-150). These connections are not confirmed from other sources. I consider that a common *officinators* is not always a criterion for connections, because *officinatores* might "change their place" for many reasons. In the *officinators* group by no means all were independent enterprisers. This is shown by the above list of *domini*, for whom the explanation of a common *officinators* is unverified. But we do not know all connections between *gentes* owing to scanty sources.

gest a relation between M. Herennius Pollio and Flavia Seia Isaurica. This is further supported by nomenclature of later persons. For Herennius Pollio has been found the name Annius, an indication for *dominus* Annius Verus. No clay district held in common is known, however.

Transfer of landed property near Rome to Emperors was in the form either of inheritance, to which is added adoption and marriage, donation or confiscation.¹ Inheritance, usually through kinship, is the form of land transference best known to us. Donations by will are not as easily verified. Best documented are the bequests of Spanish land by the Annii, and of Narbonensian land by the Domitii to the Emperor Marcus Aurelius. Arria Fadilla bequeathes land to her son Antoninus Pius. The women of *gentes* held an important position in the transfer of inheritance to the Imperial House. Representatives of many *gentes* married into the Imperial family. I have noted such connections in about one third of senatorial *domini* of the second century.² In addition to the Domitii and Annii and the brothers and sisters of Emperors these *gentes* include Avidii, Bruttii, Pedanii, Servilii, Plautii and Petronii. C. Fulvius Plautianus was also a relation of the Imperial family. Land transference cannot, of course, be verified in the case of all the family relationships mentioned.

Data that we obtain from other sources justify the assumption of confiscation in the case of the following *domini*: L. Publilius Celsus (pot.), Cornelius Palma (pot.) and the Petronius brothers. Confiscation of the lands of A. Plaetorius Nepos can be observed from brick stamps, as Helen has shown. Recorded in stamps of *figlinae Camillianae* is the transfer of a clay district after Arruntia Camilla to the Emperor, perhaps through confiscation. Brick stamps relate the transfer of landed property from C. Iulius Flaccus Aelianus to Caracalla. Aemilia Romana, freedwoman of Aemilia Severa, the mother of Flaccus Aelianus, appears in Imperial stamps (174, 181).

¹ A more precise explanation of the ownership of clay districts by Imperial families will be given by Kuusanmäki, Acta IRF IX (forthcoming).

² Imperial brick stamp persons of the first century are mentioned in Chapter II.2.

Land transfers from private persons to the Emperor are uncertain and need further evidence for verification.¹ Emperors are known to have received donations from citizens, but the names of donors are unknown to us from other sources. Trajan refused gifts from persons whom he did not know. Hadrian refused them from those who had children. The same is related of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. Only Commodus is said to have extorted donations for himself.²

The only case of land transfer from Emperor to private person definitely known to us from *figlinae* mentioned by name is that of C. Fulvius Plautianus. He must therefore be considered a large-scale owner of lands in the Roman neighbourhood which had earlier belonged to the Emperor. An Emperor in power thus relinquished a portion of his lands to a private person. This must be interpreted as evidence of the "vice-emperorship" or omnipotence of Plautianus.

An *officinator* could also be transferred from Emperor to private person. On the evidence of brick stamps this happened four times.³ If we assume that *officinator* remained in his place, this

¹ I have suggested a donation to the Emperor in the case of M. Rutilius Lupus, but this cannot be verified from brick stamps. We know that Trajan sold Imperial farms (Pliny, Pan. 50). The *officinator* criterion also implies the following land transfers from private persons to the Emperor: Cusinia Gratilla-Caesar Noster, Asinia Marcella-Quadratilla-d(ominus) n(oster) imp(erator), Domitia P.f. Lucilla-Caes.N.(Hadrianus), Iulius Stephanus-Caes.N.(Hadrianus), Iulia Lupula-Valeria Polla-Augg.nn. (perhaps two different *officinatores*). Cf. Helen, List of *officinatores* appearing in stamps of more than one *dominus*, 139-150. Land transfers in the previously listed cases are therefore possible but cannot be proved. It is not a question of transfers of *figlinae* mentioned by name. Donation and confiscation are both possibilities in land transfers. It is hardly a question of kinship. Sale is also an explanation.

² Rogers, TAPhA 78, 1947, 152-153.

³ From the Emperor an *officinator* was transferred to the following private *domini*: Titia Quartilla, Flavia Seia Isaurica, Domitia P.f. Lucilla, L. Man() Theocritus. For complete certainty that *officinator* remained in his place and *dominus* changed, we should need verification of connections between *domini* (kinship, donation, sale) from other sources.

may have been a question of relinquishment by the Emperor in the form of sale. We know that Trajan at least sold lands confiscated by Domitian to private persons (Pliny, Paneg. 50, 5-7). These cases do not imply either donation or inheritance: that is to say, no connections between Emperors and *domini* are visible. If a land transfer from Emperor to private person cannot be verified, it must be assumed that *officinators* moved from one place to another, or that he worked simultaneously in two places.

I have used *officinators* held in common by *domini* as a criterion of land transfer between *domini*. Kinship has been the most usual reason for land transfer. This is justified by the result that in half the cases of a supposed change of *dominus* based on the *officinators* criterion (79 in all) we know that *dominus* actually changes e.g. through inheritance. These are cases of which we have certain knowledge from other sources. Several others are probable. As the deficiency of sources prevents us from explaining all connections, we may regard the *officinators* criterion as fairly conclusive.

According to Schulz we know nothing of the Roman law of inheritance in its economic effects. Empty expressions of the growth of *latifundia* do not in fact tell us anything. Roman jurists had no eye for such problems, and the Roman government quite obviously did not realize the difficulties caused by the law of inheritance. It is generally considered that the liberal law of inheritance caused farms to be split into unworkable units or oppressed with mortgage loans, and that both facts led to the disappearance of small farms and the creation of large ones. In particular the legal portion (*debita portio*) has been presented as one of the main reasons for the whole course of development.¹

The right of free testamentary disposition to some extent invalidated the right of inheritance. Roman law favoured agnate relatives at the expense of cognate. Married couples had no right to exchange donations because it was considered undesirable for the property of one *gens* to be transferred to another. The

¹ Schulz, Classical Roman Law, 207-209; also Kaser, Roomalainen yksityisoikeus, 279, 285, 299.

highest social classes, on the other hand, did not value the continuance of property within the *gens*, for the sources do not relate that maximum use was made of the possibilities. According to Crook genetically long-lived *gentes*, who were thus important for the retention of property within the *gens*, were not typical of the early Roman Empire.¹ Their scarcity is further accounted for by other features of the time. One of these was the fewness of children in the governing class, others were the political crises in which a proportion of males in the highest social ranks lost their lives. Adoption was the solution to childlessness. Those adopted were generally adult, and were an important means of connection between notable *gentes*. Adoptions often occurred in families which were already related.

I would like to answer for above-mentioned thesis of Schulz and Crook through brick stamp data the following. The continued emergence of long-lived *gentes* in brick stamps illustrates what was valued at the time. It was desired to keep landed property in the hands of the *gens*. The appearance of so many generations and relatives support the continuity of landed property in the surroundings of Rome. E.g. retrospective examination of first century stamps has revealed several long-lived *gentes*, which indicates that notions of their absence should be modified.²

Further land transfers expressed in brick stamps support the idea that in the highest circles of society parents in growing numbers transferred their property to their children.³ This is also stressed by M. Humbert, who uses law texts as his source material.⁴

Owing to the scarcity of cases brick stamp material allows no precise conclusions to be drawn on the effects of the law inherit-

¹ Crook, *Law and Life*, 132, 206.

² Cf. Crook, *Law and Life*, 132 opposes the subject.

³ Crook writes "Roman *paterfamilias* was entirely free in law to disinherit his children". However, social feeling in Rome was against a man cutting out his children. (*Law and Life*, 122).

⁴ Humbert, *Le Remariage à Rome*, 181-300.

ance.¹ Nor do we know what proportion of the whole is represented by the data which are obtainable. We must content ourselves, like Humbert after his analysis of law texts, with the conclusion that classical Roman justice allowed the citizen to dispose of his property very largely as he wished.² As regards the history of inheritance, brick stamps provide material only for study of the highest social ranks; a correct assumption from brick stamps is that landed property accumulated, and this is due partly to marriages within the small senatorial circle.

A clear proof against the favouring of agnate relatives at the expense of cognate is the increased share of women heirs. This is shown by brick stamp data too. Syme and others have drawn attention to times of a change of Emperors and to the turn of the first and second centuries, when many consuls died young, leaving women as their heirs. Two of these among clay district owners were Arria Fadilla and Domitia Lucilla Maior. A further reason for the accumulation of landed property is the fact that women had several husbands. All in all, the part played by women throughout the body of *domini* is sufficiently notable to justify an assumption of their importance in Roman society both as land-owners and possibly as managers of their property.³

¹ The view that farms were split up finds no support in brick stamp material. I admit that brick stamp data is not very relevant material for studying that question.

² Humbert, *Le Remariage à Rome*. 181-300.

³ The majority of *dominae* I have taken to be of senatorial rank. The large proportion (1/3) of women among *domini* is explainable by the tendency to bequeath landed property more often to daughters than to sons, who could for instance be hindered by their careers from managing estates. This explanation would fit the cases of Neratia Quartilla and Pedania Quintilla. Both are from political *gentes* of great power whose male representatives belong to the Emperor's inner circle. *Dominae* often prove to be the only children of their families known to us (e.g. Domitiae Lucillae, Arria Fadilla). Naturally there are also cases of a brother and a sister who both inherit land. In this question, as in others, we encounter many patterns of procedure and can conclude nothing from the frequency of their occurrence owing to the situation regarding sources and the fact that we do not know how large a share of information is provided by brick stamps.

The appearance of married couples both as *societas* and separately also do not support the conception that landed property of particular value was reserved for the agnatic *gens* if possible. The number of the cases is not sufficient for valid conclusions. The negligible effect of agnate *gentes* may be due to the source material.

All things considered, there are difficulties in applying brick stamp information to law texts and case law. The worst obstacle is the incompatibility of a theoretical law text and the practice of inscription. Just as the liberal Roman law of inheritance with its testamentary freedom gave owners a free hand in the transference of their property, so the land transfers recorded in brick stamps reveal many alternative and casuistical customs of which a clear picture can hardly be given from the material. Problems of representativeness further weaken the validity of the evidence.

I would like anyway to stress the following conclusions. Brick stamp data do indicate that attempt were made to keep landed property within the *gens*. The best proof of continuity of landed property is that most *domini* had relatives and connections with other *domini* and many generations are known in brick stamp data. I should therefore designate landed property as a static form of ownership in contrast to the fungibility of other forms.

In the *dominus* group "unknown from other sources" there is no point in drawing conclusions from land transfers. The group is not very numerous except the time of Hadrian. In that time the proportion of *domini* unknown from other sources was 60%. It can be explained by a heavy demand for bricks caused small estate owners to be involved perhaps as producers also.¹ The explanation may also be that then all landowners and producers stamped their bricks. Stamp data from Hadrian's time supports the notion of the survival of small- and medium scale land-ownership in Italy. *Domini* unknown from other sources in that time, especially those

¹ In Hadrian's time 24/49 *domini* unknown from other sources appear alone in stamps.

appearing only in one-name stamps of the year 123, may be regarded as small land-owners. After Hadrian the landowners we encounter are almost all of senatorial rank. This does not necessarily prove the disappearance of small-scale ownership in the Roman district: rather it indicates a fall in the demand for brick.

V CONCLUSIONS¹

Brick stamps give a clear account of the ownership of clay districts in the neighbourhood of Rome during the second century AD, and in some degree they relate the history of land-ownership for four or five centuries. As a source group for information on land-ownership near Rome brick stamps are in fact unique.

The most vital point is to stress - as Helen does - that when we are dealing with the *dominus* group we are getting information from the development of landed property in the surroundings of Rome. *Domini* are explicitly mentioned as landowners in stamps, but their relation to actual brick production is not expressed. Stress on land-ownership should not be interpreted as meaning that in all cases they were landowners and nothing more. The clearest criterion for settling the relation of *dominus* to brick production is provided by scrutiny of the body of *officinatores*. *Officinator* who is known also from stamps of other *domini* is with certain reservations guarantee for mere land-ownership of *dominus*.

Owners of clay districts represent the highest social classes almost exclusively in the reigns of all Emperors except Hadrian. During the age of Antoninus Pius, for instance, all *domini* of binominal stamps were from the upper orders. Bloch has stressed that in the history of Roman brick production there occurs "un notevole cambiamento della classe sociale dei personaggi nelle cui mani si trovava questa industria". However, the senatorial class prevails among *domini* outside Hadrian's period, and thus one cannot speak of any extensive change of social class.

Pliny's letters relate that the extensive change in land-ownership of Roman district happened in the beginning of the

¹ I refer also to the conclusions of Chapters III and IV.

² Cf. Chapter III 1. and Appendices 4a and c.

second century.¹ Brick stamp data support the thesis e.g. new senators from Spain, Gaul and north Italy acquired landed property near Rome. On the evidence of brick stamps I should stress: after that change the landed property was attempted to keep within the *gens*. This is supported by such matters as the connections, mainly based on kinship, between *domini*, which apply to at least half the body, and to almost all those of senatorial rank. It means that the continuity of landed property was appreciated in the Roman society.

Changes of land-ownership in the district of Rome are important also from the standpoint of political history. The history of *domini* is mainly that of important groupings of *gentes*: *gentes* from which rose the Emperors of the second and third centuries. In order of appearance in brick stamps these include the Domitii, Annii and Aurelii. At the heart of the history of the second century is a Spanish grouping (Anni) and a Gallic (Domitii, Aurelii). Other influential *gentes* were the Neratii, Ceionii and Avidii, all of whom are represented among *domini*. Also connected with them are other Italian *gentes* such as the Ummidii, Pedanii and Plautii, whose representatives appear as *domini*.² The history of clay districts is the story of connections and links between these *gentes*. As far as can be said from brick stamps, land and political influence near Rome in the second century are often in the hands of the same persons. Political influence belonged in

¹ I have noted above p. 42, that the change was not total, because almost all landowners of the first century had relatives, mostly descendants, among the landowners of the second century.

² Persons mentioned in the *Historia Augusta*, especially Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, are often *domini*. Some of the persons are related to Emperors and some are political leaders. Pflaum notes with reference to the biography of Antoninus Pius: "résumé exhaustif de la composition de la société de l'époque". HA-Coll. 1964/65, 150.

practice to a small inner circle of the Emperor's relations and friends on whose lands bricks were produced, though by the agency of others.

About one third of senatorial *domini* were members of the *concilium principis* and were called *amici principis*. The circle also included the husbands of *dominae* and the brothers and adoptive fathers of *domini*. The share of this eminent group in the whole senatorial class is of course much smaller.¹ Members of the *concilium principis* were specifically confidants of the Emperor. *Domini* who were notables of their time and friends of the Emperor were the Domitius brothers, M. Annii Verus, Claudius Livianus, A. Plaetorius Nepos, M. Petronius Mamertinus, M. Pontius Laelianus Larcius Sabinus and the spouses of the two Anniae Ummidius Quadratus and T. Vitrasius Pollio. The politically important status of *domini* came to a height in C. Fulvius Plautianus.

The elite of the *dominus* body is composed of relations and favourites of the Emperors, a select political company or perhaps an oligarchy of its time; the marriages and the political defeats and victories of these circles are reflected in brick stamps and in some meaning more detailed than in ancient literature.

¹ Crook, *Concilium principis*, cf. Hammond, *Composition of Roman Senate*, ff. Crook lists 360 members of the *concilium* and Hammond has examined 4462 known senators. *Concilium* members thus represent some 8% of the senatorial class concerned. The figures are merely general indications.

Appendix No. 1.

Remarks on *domini* and other persons from brick stamps of the first century.

A part of the persons now to be presented are unidentified *domini* and *dominae* from the end of the first century. They are mentioned in stamps as *domini*. I have dealt also with those persons whose position in the organisation of brick production is not clear. In this discussion I have wished to emphasize that the interpretation of first century stamps is a hard problem to solve.¹ Those stamps which may enable conclusions to be drawn on persons from stamps of the second century have been included. Owing to the difficulty of interpreting information from brick stamps and the uncertainty of biographical material, the list of persons in this Appendix cannot be complete.

792 L AL LI
 MAXIMI

Groag wished to identify his *gens* with that of Q. Allius Maximus, consul suffectus in 49.² The stamp data are scanty and hypothetical, so that the above opinion is unwarranted, in my belief. Bloch suggests that the person concerned was connected with M. Allius Clemens (989), *officinarius* of the brothers Domitius.³

Avita

437a QVINT DE AVITAE

Years 90-100 *figlinae*
Quintianane, which is transferred to Trajan.⁴

¹ For example in the following stamps

1404 SABINVS NEREI 1473 IVLIAE AVG L
 C CAES VIGARIVS F THALLVS

Sabinus Nerei and Thallus are mentioned as brick-producers. The position of the Emperor Caligula (Bloch, Suppl. Index, 77) and Iulia Titi filia (Bloch, Suppl. Index, 77; Steinby, RE s. XV) in the organisation of brick production is not mentioned in stamps. It is possible that Sabinus and Thallus worked on the land of their *patroni*.

² PIR² A 547.

³ Bloch, Bolli laterizi, 28, also Note 30.

⁴ Steinby, 80-81.

Canuleia Crispina

670a VICCIANA DE FIGVLINIS Time of Tiberius or
 CANVLEIAE Claudius. *Figlinae*
 CRISPINAE *Viccianae*.¹

L. Cassius,
 P. Cassius Cae() (283-4, S. 66-68).

S.66 D F MACEDON *Figlinae*
 L P CASSIORVM *Macedonianae*.²

A. Caesennius Gallus (?)

S.414 A CAEENNI EVTYCHI

Bloch identifies Eutychus as the freedman of A.Caesennius Gallus,³ consul suffectus in the time of Vespasian. It is not of course certain that he acted as producer on the land of his *patronus*. The same *gens* may include a *dominus* of the second century, Arria Caesennia Paulina. We have no sources to verify this.

Ceionii

1355 PAMPHIL CEION C S
 CIL XI 6689, 67 C CEIONI
 CIL XI 6689, 68 HILARVS PIL CEION L S

Croag regards the Ceionii of brick stamps (also CIL XI 6689, 69-70, CIL V 8110, 66) as the ancestors of L. Ceionius Commodus, consul ordinarius of the year 78. Their descendants, members of the Imperial family, appear as *domini* in brick stamps of the second century.

¹ Steinby, 95-96.

² Steinby, 59.

³ PIR² C 170.

Grattia P.f.

S.409 DE FIGLINIS GRATTIAE Mid-1st century
 AB APPOLLINI
 P F

Rubria

668 C CALVISI PRIMI Time of Tiberius or
 DE FIG RVBRIAE Claudius
 figlinae Viccianae.

438 M ANTHIOCI DE Q RVBRIAE Time of Tiberius or
 Claudius
 figlinae Quintianae.

For *domina* also stamps: 667, 672 = S. 203.¹

Rutilia L.f. Ocrati (uxor)

665 EX FIGL VICCIANIS RVTILIAE I century
 L F OCRATI *figlinae Viccianae.*

officinatrix and other stamps: 2195, 2191, S. 542, 1242.²

Iulia Dynamis

436 ZOSIMI IVLIAE DYNAMIS Time of Domitian
 EX FIGLINIS PVBLILIANIS *figlinae Publilianae*
 TONNEIANA

The stamp is extremely hard to decipher. Probably she is *officinatrix*.³ Petersen's reconstruction from the *dominus* history breaks down over chronology and also through faulty interpretation of *dominus*.⁴

¹ Steinby, 96; Rubrius Gallus is known from the time of Nero as consul (PIR¹ R 94).

² Steinby, 96.

³ Steinby, 75, 97.

⁴ PIR² I 666.

Tonneius Apolinaris

661 VICCIANA D FIGL TONN
EI APOLINARIS

A member of the *Tonneius gens* appears in the early history of *figlinae Viccianane* as *dominus* (cf. also S. 202 and above all Steinby's study, 94-100).

Spurilia Flori (uxor)

666 VICCIANA Time of Nero¹
DE FIGVLINIS SPVRILIAE FLORI *Figlinae Viccianae*

lateres Tusculani

Sex() Qvinc()

2272² EX FIGLINA SEX QVINC Time of Augustus

M. Varienus Clem()

2280 EX FIGLINIS M VARIENI End of 1st century
(M F?) CLEM HILARVS S F

The foregoing list is incomplete in the sense that brick stamp data for the first century are still so ambivalent that the two categories of *dominus* and *officinator* are difficult to separate. Steinby adopts a cautious attitude when dealing with first century *figlinae*, and Bloch acts similarly. In the following stamps, therefore:

332 AD MERCVRI FELIC F
L ATINI L M L ASTE
S.394 C VICCI
781 M AEMILI RVFIO
792 L ALLI
MAXIMI

¹ Steinby, 96.

² New stamp, Acta IRF VII.

933 T CLAVDI
 SABINI
1156 C FLAVI
 SECVNDI¹
1315 C NAEVI

The position of the person appearing cannot be declared with certainty. Because the sources are open to interpretation and also scanty, the persons remain mere names. These names do not justify identification with others of the same name.

For the Viccii, Tonneii and Naevii, who were either *officinator* or *dominus gentes* of the first century, cf. Steinby, 67, 94-97.

¹ Cf. PIR² F 361.

Appendix No. 2

Domini of the second and early third centuries in chronological order.

(For each *dominus* the list states: if *dominus* is mentioned in one-name stamps or binominal stamps, social category and consular dating).¹

Trajan

One-name stamps

Abascantus Aug.lib.

Allienus Proclus

cos.date (113)

Avidius Quietus

sen

L. Bellicius Sollers

sen

C. Biculeius Priscus

sub.urb.

Calpurnia Secunda

sen?

Clau(dius) Iull(us)

sen

¹ In placing the *dominus* among Imperial reigns I have followed these principles: each *dominus* appears in the time of one Emperor only, although there may be stamps referring to him from the time of several Emperors. The basic starting-point is consular dating. The first such dating is significant. If a person is dated from the year 123 only, but is considered to be the subject of stamps from the time of Trajan also, he is placed in the time of Hadrian, because consular dating is the surest basis. Again, M. Rutilius Lupus, for whom there are several Trajan datings, though he still dates from 123, is of course from the time of Trajan. The predominance of 123 consular dating may have caused the *dominus* group of Hadrian's time to be over-expanded. The stamp of Porcius Celer (2188) is undated.

Consular and stamp dating is more decisive than information on the career of a *dominus*, e.g. stamps for the years 140-160 relating to M. Flavius Aper, who was consul in 130 AD, are placed in the time of Antoninus Pius. Dating criteria are announced in prosopographies. When stamp dating criteria are absent, career date have been effective: e.g. L. Tutilius Pontianus Lupercus, consul in 135, has late Hadrian stamps and early Antoninus Pius stamps; he is placed in the time of Hadrian.

L. Cornelius Priscus sen
 Cor(nelius) Seve(rus) sen
 T. F(lavius) Ampliatus

10 sen 5, sen? 1

Binominal stamps

Antonia Malliola sen?
 Atilia Quintilla sen?
 Domitia Cn. f(ilia) sen
 Lucilla
 M. Herennius Pollio sen
 Iunius Rufus eques
 P. Marcius Crispus
 L. Memmius Rufus sen
 Pedania Quintilla sen
 Plotia (Servilia) Isaurica sen
 R(egina) Cap(itolina) sen
 M. Rutilius Lupus eques cos.date
 Servilius Capito
 A. Vicirius Martia(lis) sen

13 sen 7, sen? 2, eques 2

Potential *domini*

Arruntia Camilla Camilli sen
 f(ilia)
 Q. Articuleius Paetus sen
 Cornelius Palm(a) sen
 L. Puplili(us) Celsu(s) sen
 M. Titius Marcellus sen?

5 sen 4, sen? 1

Hadrian

One-name stamps

Anteros Severi(anus) cos.date
 Caes.n.
 Arminius Cestianus cos.date
 L.C() Iuven()
 Claudius Alexander cos.date

Ti. Claudius Celsus	eques	cos.date
Cl(audius) Livianus	eques	cos.date
Claudia Marcellina	sen	cos.date
(L.) Cusinius Messalinus	eques	cos.date
Fabia Aeliana		cos.date
Flavia Pelagia		cos.date
Honoratius Macrinus		
Iulius Eutac(tus)		cos.date
Ti. Iulius Iulianus	sen	
Sex. Laelius Lelianus		
Neratia Quartilla	sen	cos.date
Paccius		cos.date
Paccius		cos.date
Q. Pompe(ius) Pae()		cos.date
Pullaianus Pollio	sen	cos.date
Samn(ius) Gallus		cos.date
A. Taedius Fortunatus		cos.date
(L.) Tur(ranius) Pri()		cos.date
Valeria M.f(ilia) Urbica		
A. Villius Alexander		cos.date
Vil(lius) Aug()		cos.date
M. Ulp(ius) Ulpianus		cos.date
Ulpia Accepta		cos.date

27

sen 4, eques 3

Binominal stamps

Q. Aburnius Caedicianus	sen	cos.date
Agathyrsus Aug. lib.		cos.date
(M.) Annius Libo	sen	cos.date
M. Annius Verus	sen	cos.date
Aristius Celer		
Aristius Strabo		
Arria Fadilla	sen	cos.date
Q. Asinius Marcellus	sen	cos.date
Caecil(ia) Quinta		
Caetennia Chione		cos.date
Q. Cass(ius) Caecil(ianus)		
(P.) Cas(sius) Secundus	sen	

Ti. Claudius Maximus	sen?	cos.date
Clodius Firmus		
Coelius Fortunatus		
M. Coelius Philetus		cos.date
Cor(nelia) Manliola	sen	cos.date
C. Curiatius Cosanus	eques	cos.date
Domitia Domitiani	sen	cos.date
Domitia P. f(ilia) Lucilla	sen	cos.date
Flavius Posidonius		cos.date
Fl(avia) Operata		cos.date
Flavia Procula	sen?	cos.date
Flavia Seia Isaurica	sen	cos.date
C. Iulius Apollinaris		
Ti. Iulius Iulianus	sen	
C. Iulius Stephanus		cos.date
L. Iulius Ursus Valerius Flac(cus)	sen	cos.date
Iulia Albana		cos.date
Iulia Procula	sen?	cos.date
Iun(ius) Iulianus	sen?	cos.date
Iunius Sulpic(ianus)		cos.date
C. Lusius Modes(tus)	eques	cos.date
Magia Marcella		
L. Man() Theocritus		cos.date
Memmia L. f(ilia) Macrina	sen	cos.date
Oc(tavius?) Cest(ianus?)		cos.date
(A.) Plaetorius Nepos	sen	cos.date
Rupillia Fausti(na)	sen	
Q. Sc() P() P()		cos.date
Scapula Rubria(?)		
Sergia Paulina	sen	cos.date
Q. Serv(ilius) Pudens	sen	cos.date
T. Statil(ius) Max(imus) Sev(erus) Had(rianus)	sen	cos.date
T. Statilius Maximus	sen	cos.date
C. Tarr() Titian(us)		cos.date
Titia Quartilla	sen	cos.date
Trebicia Tertulla		cos.date
L. Turr(anus) Gal()		cos.date

L. Tutilius Pontianus	sen	
Ti. Tutinius Sentius Satrianus	sen?	cos.date
Vibius Alacianus		cos.date
Vism(atius) Successus		
L. Volu(...)us Nepos		cos.date
Ulpius Bithynicus		

55 sen 21, sen? 5, eques 2 = 28

Potential *dominus*

C. Bruttius Praesens	sen
----------------------	-----

Antoninus Pius

One-name stamps

M. Aemilius Proculus		
Arria Caesennia Paulin(a)	sen	
Aterius Car()		
(M.) Caelius Iulianus	sen	
Cuspius Rufinus	sen	cos.date
Iulia Saturnina		cos.date
Pomponia Q. f(ilia) Bassila	sen	
M.Pontius Sabinus	sen	
Sabina Sabinilla		

9 sen 5

Binominal stamps

Annia (Cornificia) Faustina	sen	
Annia Galeria Faustina	sen	
Asinia Quadrattilla	sen	cos.date
Ti. Cl(audius?) Iul(ianus?)	sen	
Cusinia Gratilla	sen?	cos.date
(M.) Flavius Aper	sen	cos.date
(Annia) Fundania Faustina	sen	
Iulia Lupula	sen	
Larcia Sabina	sen	
Q. Marcius Hermoge(nes)	eques	
Matidia Aug. fil(ia)	sen	
M. Pet(ronius) Mam(ertinus)	eques	
Q. Ponponius Mussa	sen	

C. Prastina Pacat(us)	sen
Messalinus	
Stertina Bassula	sen?
(M.) Val(erius) Hom(ullus)	sen
Valeria Poll(a)	sen?
Vitrasius Pollio	sen
(M.) Um(m)idius Quadratus	sen

19 sen 14, sen? 3, eques 2

Potential *domini*

Appius Bradua	sen
Q. Canusius Praenestinus	sen
C. Statius Capito	sen

Marcus Aurelius

One-name stamps

C. Iulius Dioscorus		cos.date (161)
(L.) Plautius Aquilinus	sen	cos.date (159,164)

Binominal stamps

Cornelius At(t)icus
Terentius Iulian(us)

Turn of second and third centuries (from Commodus onward)

One-name stamps

Calpurnius Proculus	sen	
C. Iulius Flaccus Aelianus	sen	
Petronius Mamer(tinus)	sen	
Petronius Septim(ianus)	sen	
Rutilius Crispinus	sen	third century

Binominal stamps

Acili(a) Mallio(la) (?)	sen
Aelia Severa	sen?
Aemilia Severa	sen
Fl(avius) Titianus	sen
C. Fulvius Plautianus	sen
Hortensius Paulinus	sen
Mummia Vara	sen

Potential *domini*

Fl(avius) Lollianus	sen	third century
Passenia Petronia	sen?	
(T. Statilius) Silianus	sen	

Domini 150

Potential *domini* 12

Total 162

Proved senator-*domini* and
dominae = sen 67

Presumed senator-*domini* and
dominae = sen? 12

Equitis 9

Representatives of upper
social ranks, total 88

Potential *domini*

sen 10

sen? 2

Total 12

Representatives of upper
social ranks 100

Sen. *domini* 40

Sen? *domini* 3 Total 43

Sen. *dominae* 27

Sen? *dominae* 9 Total 36

Dominae total 49; potential *dominae* 2.

DOMINUS GROUP

	ONE-NAME STAMPS				BINOMINAL STAMPS					
	total M W	sen. M W	sen? M W	eques M W	total M W	sen. M W	sen? M W	eques	pot.	
T	9 1	5	1		7 6	3 4	2	2	5	
H	21 6	1 2		3	37 18	12 9	3 2	2	1	
A.P.	5 4	3 2			9 10	7 7	3	2	3	
M.A.	2	1			2					
turn of II and III centuries	5	5			3 4	3 3	1		3	
	42 11 53	15 4	1	3	58 38 96	25 23	3 8	6	12	

M = men

W = women

Summary of consular dating as applied to *domini*

The list of *domini* indicates that consular dating was unusual except in the time of Hadrian. According to my unit of calculation (consular dating per *dominus*) the *domini* of Hadrian's time, with few exceptions, each appear in at least one consular-dated stamp. By no means all stamps in which *domini* appear are consular-dated. Whether *domini* as landowners had an influence on consular dating is another question. Cf. Chapter III.1.

Appendix No.3.

Private *domini* of the *figlinae* mentioned by name.¹

These lists of *domini* are based on Steinby's "La Cronologia delle figlinae doliari urbane". I have included first century persons and some from second century, with question marks added. They are not *domini* to our certain knowledge.

figl. Acilianae

Mummia Vara

Turn of II and III centuries

praedia Aiacia(na)

Vibius Aiacianus

H

*figl. Albanian(ae)*no *dominus**figl. Antull(ianae)*

Coelius Fortunatus

H

figl. ab Appollini?

Grattia P.f. ?

I century

figl. Aristianae

Flavia Seia Isaurica

H

figl. Astivianae

Q. Sc() P() P()

H

*figl. Avittian(ae)*no *dominus**figl. Brutianae*

M. Rutilius Lupus

T

T. Statil(ius) Max(imus) Sev(erus)
Had(rianus)

H

*figl. Bucconianae = figl. Vocconianae**figl. Caelianae*

Flavia Seia Isaurica

H

¹ Abbreviations: T = Trajan, H = Hadrian, AP = Antoninus Pius, MA = Marcus Aurelius.

*figl. Caepionianae*¹

ab Euripo, a Pila Altaa, de Mulionis

C. Curiatius Cosanus	T
Plotia (Servilia) Isaurica	T
Ti. Tutinius Sent(ius) Satrianus	H
Arria Fadilla	H
(Arria) Iulia Lupula	AP
Arrius Antoninus	AP

figl. Camillianae

Arruntia Camilla Camilli f(ilia) (pot. <i>domina</i>)	T
Trajan / Hadrian	T/H

figl. Caninianae

Cn.Cn. Domitii Luc(anus) et Tull(us)	I century
Domitia Lucilla Maior	T
Domitia Lucilla Minor	H
Faustina Augusta Minor	
Commodus	

figl. Castricia(nae)

no <i>dominus</i>	I century
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praedia Centurion(ica?)(T.Statilius) Silianus? (pot. *dominus*) S.S.*figl. a Creta*

Allienus Proclus	T
------------------	---

*figl. Curtianae*no *dominus**figl. Domitianae**figl. Domitianae Maiores*

Faustina Augusta Minor

Marcus Aurelius

Commodus

C. Fulvius Plautianus

Turn of II and III centuries

Septimius Severus

¹ Cf. also, Helen, 76-82.

figl. Domitianae Minores

Domitia Lucilla Minor

H

Marcus Aurelius

Commodus

Septimius Severus

C. Fulvius Plautianus

Septimius Severus

figl. Domitianae Veteres

Commodus

Caracalla

C. Fulvius Plautianus

Turn of II and III centuries

Septimius Severus

figl. Novae

Marcus Aurelius

Faustina Augusta Minor

Caracalla

C. Fulvius Plautianus

Turn of II and III centuries

figl. Fabianae

Flavia Seia Isaurica

H

(M.) Flavius Aper

AP

figl. Faun(iana)e

Faustina Augusta Minor

figl. Favorianae = Faurianae =
part of *figl. Marcianae*¹

Faustina Augusta Minor

Marcus Aurelius and Commodus (?)

Septimius Severus

Caracalla

*figl. Fulvianae*Domitia Lucilla (?)²

H - AP

Marcus Aurelius

Lucilla Veri - Lucius Verus

¹ Cf. Kuusanmäki s.v.² Cf. Steinby, 42-43; Helen, Arctos 10 1976, passim.

figl. Furianae

Q. Aburnius Caedicianus

H

Valeria Poll(a)

AP

figl. Genianae

C. Iulius Stephanus ??

H

Septimius Severus

Caracalla

C. Fulvius Plautianus

Turn of II and III centuries

figl. Germ(), figl. Germ. Min(or)s)

M. Annius Verus

H

figl. Intellianae de Por(tu) Cor()

no dominus

figl. ab Isis

Ti. Claudius Maximus

H

figl. Iivilinianae

Aelia Severa

Turn of II and III centuries

figl. Iuncianae

no dominus

figl. a Lament()?

Al() Proc() cf. figl. a Creta

De Licini, praedia Lic(iniana)

Cn. Domitius Afer (?)

I century

Cn. Domitius Tullus

I century

Domitia Lucilla Maior

T

Domitia Lucilla Minor

H

figl. Lusianae (cf. Lusius Quietus)

Hadrian

figl. Macedonianae

L. Cassius ?

I century

P. Cassius Cae()?

I century

Antonia Malliola

T

T. Statil(ius) Max(imus) Sev(er)us

H

Had(rianus)

T. Statilius Maximus

H

praedia Mamm(e)iana)

Q. Pompeius Mammeianus ? T/H

Q. Pompeius Mammeius ? T/H

figl. Marcianae

Trajan

Hadrian

Antoninus Pius

Septimius Severus

Caracalla

figl. Med()

C. Bruttius Praesens (pot.) H

Q. A(sinius) M(arcellus) H

figl. ad Mercurium Felicem

no dominus I century

figl. Mucianae

no dominus T - H

figl. Myrin(ianae)

Caetennia Chione H

figl. Naevianae

Naevii ? I century

M. Rutilius Lupus (T) - H

Q. Serv(ilius) Pudens H

figl. Narn(ienses)

M. Rutilius Lupus (T) - H

Q. Serv(ilius) Pudens H

figl. Negarianae

Sabina Sabinilla AP

figl. ab Neptuno

Gavia Amylla ? I century

figl. Ocianae = Oceanae

Trajan

Hadrian

Antoninus Pius

Marcus Aurelius

Commodus

Septimus Severus

Caracalla

figl. Oericulanae

Iun(ius) Paulin(us) ?

figl. Pag(i) Stel(latini)

Antoninus Pius

figl. or pr. Pila Herc(ulis ?)

(P.) Cas(sius) Secundus

H

Iunius Sulpic(ianus)

H

figl. Platanianae

Gavia Hamilla ?

I century

Ti. Claudius Celsus

H

T. Statilius Maximus

H

figl. Ponticulanae

Marcus Aurelius

Faustina

Commodus

C. Fulvius Plautianus

Turn of II and III centuries

Septimius Severus

Caracalla

*portus Licini*¹

portus Parrae

P. Marcius Crispus

T

figl. Pot() = Ponticulanae

figl. Propetianae

Passenia Petronia - heirs

Turn of II and III centuries

Hortensius Paulinus

Turn of II and III centuries

figl. Publilianae

L. Iulius Rufus

I century

Iulia Dynamis (?)

I century

Pedania Quintilla, Saeniani (uxor)

T

Iulia Procula

H

Flavia Procula

H

¹ Cf. Steinby, 73-74.

Flavia Seia Isaurica	H
(M.) Flavius Aper	AP
Aemilia Severa	S.S.
C. Iulius Flaccus Aelianus	S.S.
Caracalla 212 -	
<i>figl. Quintianae</i>	
Rubria ?	I century
Avita ?	I century
Trajan	
Plotina	
<i>praedia Quintanensia</i>	
Rupillia Faustina	T
M. Annius Verus	H
Agathyrsus Aug.lib.	H
<i>figl. Rhodinianae</i>	
emperors	
<i>figl. Saenianae</i>	
(M.)Caelius Iulianus	MA
<i>Opus Salarese</i>	
Corn(elius) Seve(rus)	T
Servilius Capito	T
(M.) Annius Libo	H
M. Annius Verus	H
Arminius Cestianus	H
L. C() Iuven()	H
Q. Cas(sius) Caecil(ianus)	H
Cor(nelia) Manliola	H
T. F(lavius) Ampliatus	H
Iulius Eutact(us)	H
L. Iulius Ursus Valerius Flac(cus)	H
Iun(ius) Iulianus	H
Oc(tavius?) Cest(ianus?)	H
Q. Pompe(ius) Pae()	H
Sabina Aug.	H
Sergia Paulina	H
Trebicia Tertulla	H

L. Turr(anus) Gal()	H
(L.) Tur(ranius) Pri()	H
M. Ulp(ius) Ulpianus	H
(Annia) Fundania Faustina	AP
M. Pet(ronius) Mam(ertinus)	AP
Vitrasius Pollio	AP
Fl(avius) Titianus	Turn of II and III centuries

figl. Scaur(ianae)

L. T(utilius) L(upercus) P(ontianus)

figl. Sef()

Aug. N.

figl. Sem.

Petronius Mamer(tinus) et Septim(ianus)

figl. Septimianae

Aug. N.

figl. Sext(ianae?) = figl. Sestianae?

Mestria ?

I century

L. Vol(...)us Nepos

H

praedia Staton(iensia)

Commodus

Septimius Severus

figl. Strab(onianae?)

Q. Valerius Cato ?

I century

*praedia Sub(h)ortana, opus Suburtanum
(f. Subortanae?)*

Trajan

Hadrian

opus Sulpicianum, figl. Sulpicianae

Abascantus Aug. lib.

T

Caecil(ia) Quinta

H

Domitia Domitiani

H

T. F(lavius) Ampliatus

H

Iulia Procula

H

Sex. Laelius Lelianus

H

L. Turr(anus) Gal()

H

A. Villius Alexander	H
Vil(lius) Aug. emperor	H
<i>figl. Tempesinae</i>	
Calpurnia Secunda	T
Vism(atius) Successus	H
Q. Aburnius Caedicianus	H
<i>figl. Terentianae</i>	
Domitia Lucilla Minor emperors	H
<i>figl. Tonneianae - Vicoianae, tegulae Tonneianae</i>	
Aelia Paetina	I century
Canuleia Crispina ?	I century
Rubria ?	I century
Rutilia L.f. Ocrati ?	I century
Spurilia Flori (uxor) ?	I century
L. Iulius Rufus	I century
Iulia Dynamis ?	I century
Pedania Quintilla Saeniani (uxor)	T
Iulia Procula	H
Flavia Seia Isaurica	H
(M.) Flavius Aper	AP
<i>figl. Tur()</i> no dominus	
<i>figl. Varianae</i> no dominus	
<i>Officina quae est via Aurelia</i>	
Varius Romanus ?	H
<i>figl. via Nomentana</i>	
Flavius Posidonius	H
Fl(avia) Operata	H
<i>De via Salaria</i>	
Iunius Rufus et R() Cap() = R(egina) Cap(itolina)	T

Via Tr'mphali

C. Lusius Modes(tus)

!!

At least half the *domini* are encountered as owners of the *figlinae* mentioned by name. Relatively more of them are of high social rank than in the group, whose members appear in the stamps of the *figlinae* not mentioned by name.

Appendix No.4.

Appendices connected with results from brick stamp data

Appendix No.4 a.

Domini and *officinatores*:

Domini for whom at least one *officinador* is known are listed in Appendix 2: "Private *domini* in chronological order". The presence of two names means that one name is that of *dominus*, the other of *officinador*. These *domini* with *officinatores* are found 96/150.

Domini whose *officinador* appears also in stamps of one or more other *domini*:

Trajan:

Plotia (Servilia) Isaurica	sen
M. Rutilius Lupus	eques

Hadrian:

Q. Aburnius Caedicianus	sen
(M.) Annius Libo	sen
M. Annius Verus	sen
Arria Fadi(lla)	sen
Q. Asinius Marcellus	sen
Coelius Fortunatus	
M. Coelius Philetus	
Cor(nelia) Manliola	sen
C. Curiatius Cosanus	eques
Domitia Lucilla Minor	sen
Flavia Procula	sen?
Flavia Seia Isaurica	sen
C. Iulius Apollinaris	
Ti. Iulius Iulianus	sen
C. Iulius Stephanus	
Iulia Albana (?)	
L. Man() Theocritus	

Memmia L. f(ilia) Macrina	sen
(A.) Plaetorius Nepos	sen
Rupillia Fausti(na)	sen
T. Statilius Maximus	sen
T. Statil(ius) Max(imus) Sev(erus)	sen
Had(rianus)	
Titia Quartilla	sen
Trebicia Tertulla	
L. Turr(anus) Gal()	
Ti. Tutinius Sent(ius) Satrianus	sen?
Vism(atius) Successus	

Antoninus Pius:

Asinia Quadratilla	sen
Ti. Cl(audius) Iul(ianus) (?)	sen
Cusinia Gratilla	sen?
(M.) Flavius Aper	sen
Iulia Lupula	sen
Q. Marcius Hermoge(nes)	eques
Stertina Bassula	sen?
Valeria Poll(a)	sen?

Later:

C. Fulvius Plautianus	sen
Terentius Iulian(us)	

A total of 39 *domini*, including 29 from the upper ranks of society. The persons listed are, in all probability, exclusively landowners.

Domini who are known to have had several *officinatores* who appear in the stamps of several *domini*, i.e. who operated on their lands.

Domitia Lucilla Minor	Hadr.	sen	6 off.
C. Fulvius Plautianus	Sept. Sev.	sen	6 off.
Arria Fadi(lla)	Hadr.	sen	5 off.
Plotia (Servilia) Isaurica'	Traj.	sen	4 off.
Flavia Seia Isaurica	Hadr.	sen	4 off.
Q. Aburnius Caedicianus	Hadr.	sen	4 off.
C. Iulius Stephanus	Hadr.	?	3 off.

(M.) Flavius Aper	Ant.Pius	sen	3 off.
T. Statilius Maximus	Hadr.	sen	3 off.
M. Annius Verus	Hadr.	sen	3 off.
Q. Asinius Marcellus	Hadr.	sen	2 off.
Asinia Quadratilla	Ant.Pius	sen	2 off.
C. Curiatius Cosanus	Hadr.	eques	2 off.
(A.) Plaetorius Nepos	Hadr.	sen	2 off.
Stertina Bassula	Ant.Pius	sen?	2 off.
Ti. Tutinius Sent(ius) Satrianus	Hadr.	sen?	2 off.
Vism(atius) Successus	Hadr.	?	2 off.

"Proved landowners" include only two who are not even hypothetically presumed to belong to the upper orders: Iulius Stephanus and Vismatius Successus.

Helen (107, 119) has surmised that if *officinator* is a freedman of *dominus*, then *dominus* would represent continuity in brick production, i.e. he might be responsible for this.

According to Helen's list the following *domini* had a *libertus-officinator*:

Q. Aburnius Caedicianus	Hadr.	sen	
(M.) Annius Libo	Hadr.	sen	
M. Annius Verus	Hadr.	sen	
Cornelius At(t)icus	MA	?	
Domitia Lucilla Minor	Hadr.	sen	several <i>libertus-officinatores</i>
Flavius Posidonius	Hadr.	?	
C. Fulvius Plautianus	Sept.Sev.	sen	
Memmia L. f(ilia) Macrina	Hadr.	sen	
C. Statius Capito	Ant.Pius pot.dom.	sen	
L. Tutilius Pontianus	Hadr.	sen	
Vism(atius) Successus	Hadr.	?	

For only two *domini* on the list is the *libertus-officinator* the only *officinator*, namely Cornelius Atticus and Flavius Posidonius. I should regard these specifically as producers also.

Appendix No.4 b.

Consular dating

Domini who appear in consular dated stamps are mentioned in the chronological list: Appendix No.2. The greatest amount of consular dating is found in the stamps of the following *domini*. They all are mentioned in stamps of the year 123.¹

Name	cos.dat. stamps ²	Stamps total	offici- natores ³	social class
Q. Aburnius Caedicianus	5 (20)	28	5 (4)	sen
Agathyrus Aug. lib.	6 (8)	12	3 (1)	lib
M. Annius Verus	3 (11)	17	10 (2)	sen
Arria Fadilla	5 (13)	36	12 (5)	sen
Q. Asinius Marcellus	3 (9)	16	6 (1)	sen
Ti. Claudius Maximus	4 (4)	9	1 (-)	sen?
Claudia Marcellina	3 (3)	3	- (-)	sen
Flavia Seia Isaurica	5 (7)	21	13 (4)	sen
C. Iulius Stephanus	6 (9)	9	5 (3)	?
Iunius Sulpic(ianus)	3 (5)	5	4 (1)	?
M. Rutilius Lupus	8 (13)	28	8 (2)	eques
Q. Serv(ilius) Pudens	6 (17)	19	9 (-)	sen
T. Statil(ius) Max(imus) Sev. Hadr.	7 (17)	23	13 (4)	sen
Ti. Tutinius Sent(ius) Satrianus	3 (7)	8	1 (-)	sen?
Ulp(ius) Ulpianus	5 (7)	7	- (-)	?
Domitia Lucilla Minor	10 (24)	more than 100	71 (3)	sen

¹ Cf. Bloch, Bolli laterizi, 320-327.

² The first number is the amount of dated stamps from different years and in parenthesis the total number of dated stamps.

³ The first number is the total amount of *officinatores*, in paranthesis the *officinatores* who are known also in the stamps of other *domini*.

Bloch has paid attention to the correlation of abundant consular dating and high social status of *domini*. I would like to emphasize that the same *domini* are mentioned in Appendices No. 4a and 4b because of *officinatores* known also from other *domini*. The correlation mentioned by Bloch could be explained by the qualitative group of *officinatores*.

Appendix No.4 c.

Was *dominus* a landowner only, or was he also a brick producer?

One of questions raised by the present study is: can it be stated whether each *dominus* was a landowner only, or a brick-producer in addition? The following list gives the results of my investigations (cf. Chapter III.1).

For those appearing in one-name stamps the question remains largely undecided.

Domini appearing in binominal stamps:

Name	Dating	Social status	Landowner only, or brick prod. in addit.	Criterion
Q. Aburnius Caedicianus	H	sen	LO	off. (2)
Acili(a) Mallio(1a)	II and III centuries	sen(?)		
Aelia Severa	II and III centuries	sen(?)		
Aemilia Severa	II and III centuries	sen		
Agathyrsus Aug. lib.	H	lib.	BP?	<i>dominus</i> appearances
(M.) Annius Libo	H	sen	LO	off.
M. Annius Verus	H	sen	LO	off. (2)
Annia (Cornificia) Faustina	AP	sen		
Annia Galeria Faustina	AP	sen		

Antonia Malliola	T	sen?		
Aristius Celer	H	sen?		
Aristius Strabo	H			
Arria Fadilla	H	sen	LO	off. (2)
Q. Asinius Marcellus	H	sen	LO	off. (2)
Asinia Quadratilla	AP	sen	LO	off. (2)
Atilia Quintilla	T	sen?		
Caecil(ia) Quinta	H			
Caetennia Chione	H			
Q. Cass(ius) Caecil(ianus)	H			
(P) Cass(ius) Secundus	H	sen		
Ti. Cl(audius) Iul(ianus) (?)	AP	sen	LO	off.
Ti. Claudius Maximus	H	sen?		
Clodius Firmus	H			
Coelius Fortunatus	H		LO	off.
M. Coelius Philetus	H		LO	off.
Cornelius At(t)icus	MA		BP	lib.off.
Cor(nelia) Manliola	H	sen	LO	off.
C. Curiatius Cosanus	H	eques	LO	off. (2)
Cusinia Gratilla	AP	sen?	LO	off.
Domitia Domitiani	H	sen		
Domitia Cn.f. Lucilla	T	sen		
Domitia P.f. Lucilla	H	sen	LO	off. (2)
(M.) Flavius Aper	AP	sen	LO	off. (2)
Flavius Posidonius	H		BP	lib.off.
Fl(avius) Titianus	II century - III century	sen		
Fl(avia) Operata	H			
Flavia Procula	H	sen?	LO	off.
Flavia Seia Isaurica	H	sen	LO	off. (2)
C. Fulvius Plautianus	II century - III century	sen	LO	off. (2)
(Annia) Fundania Faustina	AP	sen		
M. Herennius Pollio	T	sen		
Hortensius Paulinus	II century - III century	sen		

C. Iulius Apollinaris	H		LO	off.
Ti. Iulius Iulianus	H	sen	LO	off.
C. Iulius Stephanus	H		LO	off. (2)
L. Iulius Ursus Valerius Flac(cus)	H	sen		
Iulia Albana	H			
Iulia Lupula	AP	sen	LO	off.
Iulia Procula	H	sen?		
Iun(ius) Iulianus	H	sen?		
Iunius Rufus	T	eques		
Iunius Sulpic(ianus)	H			
Iarcia Sabina	AP	sen		
C. Lusius Modes(tus)	H	eques		
Magia Marcella	H			
L. Man() Theocritus	H		LO	off.
P. Marcius Crispus	T			
Q. Marcius Hermoge(nes)	AP	eques	LO	off.
Matidia Aug. f(ilia)	AP	sen		
L. Memmius Rufus	T	sen		
Memmia L. f(ilia) Macrina	H	sen	LO	off.
Mummia Vara	II century sen - III century			
Oc(tavius)Cest(ianus)	H			
Pedania Quintilla	T	sen		
M. Petr(onius) Mam(ertinus)	H	eques		
(A.) Plaetorius Nepos	H	sen	LO	off. (2)
Plotia (Servilia) Isaurica	T	sen	LO	off. (2)
Q. Ponponius Mussa	AP	sen		
C. Prastina Pacat(us) Messalinus	AP	sen		
R(egina) Cap(itolina)				
Rupillia Fausti(na)	H	sen	LO	off.
M. Rutilius Lupus	T	eques	LO, BP	signum? off; dominus appearances
Q. Sc() P() P()	H			
Scapula Rubria(?)	H			

Sergia Paulina	H	sen		
Q. Servilius Pudens	H	sen	BP	brick stamp text
Servilius Capito	T			
T. Statil(ius) Max(imus) Sev(erus) Had(rianus)	H	sen	LO	off.
T. Statilius Maximus	H	sen	LO	off. (2)
Stertinia Bassula	AP	sen?	LO	off. (2)
C. Tarr() Titian(us)	H			
Terentius Iulia(nus)	MA		LO	off.
Titia Quartilla	H	sen	LO	off.
Trebicia Tertulla	H		LO	off.
L. Turr(anius) Gal()	H		LO	off.
L. Tutilius Pontianus	H	sen		
Ti. Tutinius Sent(ius) Satrianus	H	sen?	LO	off. (2)
(M.) Val(erius) Hom(ullus)	AP	sen		
Valeria Poll(a)	AP	sen?	LO	off.
Vibius Aiaccianus	H			
A. Vicirius Martia(lis)	T	sen		
Vism(atius) Successus	H		LO	off. (2)
Vitrasius Pollio	AP	sen		
L. Volu...us Nepos	H			
Ulpius Bithynicus	H			
Um(m)idius Quadratus	AP	sen		

Domini appearing in one-name stamps:

Abascantus Aug. lib.	T	lib.		
M. Aemilius Proculus	AP			
Allienus Proclus	T		BP?	<i>dominus</i> appearances
Anteros Severi(anus Caes.n.	H		BP?	- " -
Arminius Cestianus	H			
Arria Caesennia Paulin(a)	AP	sen		
Aterius Car()	AP			
Avidius Quietus	T	sen		
L. Bellicius Sollers	T	sen	BP?	- " -
C. Biculeius Priscus	T		BP?	

(M.) Caelius Iulianus	AP	sen		
Calpurnius Proculus	II century - III century	sen		
Calpurnia Secunda	T	sen?	BP?	<i>dominus</i> appearances
Claudius Alexander	H		BP?	- " -
Ti. Claudius Celsus	H	eques		
Clau(dius) Iull(us)	T	sen		
Cl(audius) Livianus	H	eques	BP?	- " -
Claudia Marcellina	H	sen		
L. Cornelius Priscus	T	sen	BP?	- " -
Cor(nelius) Sev(erus)	T	sen		
(L.) Cusinius Messalinus	H	eques		
Cuspius Rufinus	AP	sen		
Fabia Aeliana	H			
T. F(lavius) Ampliatus	T		BP?	- " -
Flavia Pelagia	H			
Honoratius Macrinus	H			
C. Iulius Dioscorus	MA			
Iulius Eutac(tus)	H			
C. Iulius Flaccus	II century	sen		
Aelianus	- III century			
Ti. Iulius Iulianus	H	sen		
Iulia Saturnina	AP			
Sex. Laelius Lelianus	H		BP?	- " -
Neratia Quartilla	H	sen		
Paccius	H			
Paccius	H			
Petronius	II century	sen		
Mamer(tinus)	- III century			
Petronius	II century	sen		
Septim(ianus)	- III century			
(L.) Plautius Aquilinus	MA	sen		
Q. Pompe(ius) Pae()	H			
Pomponia Q. f(ilia) Bassila	AP	sen		
M. Pontius Sabinus	AP	sen		
Pullaien(us) Pollio	H	sen		

Rutilius Crispinus	III century	sen	
Samn(ius Gallus	H		
A. Taedius Fortunatus	H		
L. Tur(ranius) Pri()	H		
Valeria M. f(ilia)	H		
Urbica			
A. Villius Alexander	H	BP?	<i>dominus</i> appearances
Vil(lius) Aug()	H		
M. Ulp(ius) Ulpianus	H		
Ulpia Accepta	H		

Abbreviations:

LO	landowner only (assured)
off. 1	<i>officinatus</i> of <i>dominus</i> is also encountered with another <i>dominus</i>
off. 2	<i>officinatus</i> of <i>dominus</i> is encountered with several <i>domini</i> ¹
BP	also a brick producer
lib.off.	only <i>officinatus</i> is <i>libertus</i> of <i>dominus</i>

¹ Steinby has rightly pointed out that when the *officinatus* criterion is used, those cases must be set apart in which *officinatus* has moved while the former *dominus* is still alive and bricks are still produced on his lands. The clearest case is provided by the *officinatores* of Q. Aburnius Caedicianus, who are known to have left the lands of *dominus* before 140, when the name of Caedicianus is still mentioned in the stamp. The *officinatores* certainly moved before the year 140 to T. Statilius Maximus and Flavia Seia Isaurica. In other similar cases clarification is made difficult by imprecision and lack of data on careers of *domini*, and, above all, on their years of death. These cases may be rare, however.

Appendix No.5.

Remarks on persons who are not expressed as owners of *figlinae* or *praedia*

Among persons mentioned in brick stamps the *dominus* and *officinator* groups can be clearly distinguished. A third group consists of persons who cannot be placed certainly in either of the above. I shall now deal with this third group in the form of examples. The persons in question are those who, in one- or binominal stamps, are not shown as owners of *praedia* or *figlinae*. The group thus contains both *domini* and *officinatores*. We know that a representative of both groups also appears alone in a stamp. For the sake of clear interpretation it must be stressed that we have no generally accepted knowledge of the person's position from brick stamp data.

I have chosen the following examples from the multi-form data of brick stamps:

1. 389 DE OCR IVN PAVLIN
de figlinis Ocriculanis, Iuni Paulini

The second possible interpretation, *de figlinis Ocriculanis Iuni Paulini*, would imply the position of *dominus*, while in the preceding version no object of ownership is presumed for the person concerned. Similar difficulties of interpretation are common in epigraphic material.

2. S.509 C IVLI RVFI
L.ARISTAE VS
RESTITVTVS FE

We are concerned with a *dolium* stamp. In PIR (PIR² I 530) C. Iulius Rufus is mentioned as "*dominus praediorum*". This interpretation is supported by the binominality of the stamp. On onomastic grounds C. Iulius Rufus is more readily to be classed as *dominus* than L. Aristaeus Restitutus. The stamp can also be interpreted as showing that Rufus was mainly *officinator* and Restitutus a labourer.

3. 151 EX FIG DOM
L VALERI SEVERI

153 L VALERI
SEVERI

In PIR (PIR¹ V 135) L. Valerius Severus is expressed as "*dominus figlinarum Domitianarum*". This we do not know with certainty.

4. 355 PRISCI GAVIAE AMYLLAE
AB NEPT

397 GAVIAE HAMIL PLATAN SVC

Gavia Amylla-Hamilla is not mentioned formally as *domina*. She appears in stamps of two *figlinae* mentioned by name, which would support the *dominus* position.¹ The *cognomen* is not encountered in the upper ranks of society.²

5. 829 DOLIARE A ARISTI MENANDR
GLABRION E TORO
COS

a.124

832 PRIMI A ARISTI MENAN DOL
PAETINO E APRON
COS

a.123

A. Aristius Menander is mentioned similarly in three further stamps (830 = c.a. 128, 831, 833 = undated). The name is not distinctive. Several Aristius *officinatores* are known from brick stamps.

6. 577 TI CLAVDI BLASTI ET PALSENNAE
VALENTIS SVLP

The position of the persons is unknown, as they are expressed as of the same rank. Encountered in *figlinae Sulpicianae* are, first, several *domini* (11) and, second, many persons of the third group. It is, therefore, an exceptional *figlinae* (e.g. 563, 580, 583, 593, 595-7, 594).

¹ Cf. Steinby, 68, 72.

² PIR, Solin, Beiträge 70, 120.

7. 1382 DVOR POPILIORVM SEVERI
ET CLEMENTIS

The position of the brothers in the organization of brick production is unknown to us.

8. 923 M CERCINI FRVCTI SEX
ALLI FORTVNATI

The position of the persons is unknown, and they have no connections with other brick stamp persons.

9. 1381a C PONTI CRESCENTIS
1380b C PONTI CRESCENTI
TRIB COH I PR

The stamps are from the early second century. C. Pontius Crescens, therefore, was tribunus cohortis primae praetoriae. Stamps of soldiers are rare in the Roman area; they are found plentifully elsewhere in Italy and in the provinces.

10. 236 FVNDI FVRIANI PRECILIORVM
DOLIARIS
FIGL

The stamp is dated midway in the second century. The position of the Precilius brothers is unknown to us.

11. 1373 Q POMPEI MAMMEI
S.355 Q Q POMPEIORVM MAMMEI
ET MAMMEIANI
S.356 Q POMPEI MAMMAEIAN
Q P M

According to Steinby's dating there were three persons, Q. Pompeius Mammeius and the brothers Q. Pompeius Mammeius and Mammeianus.¹ They have been regarded as *domini* by Marini, Dressel and others on the grounds that *pr(aedia) Mamm()* acquired its name from them. This is a highly theoretical premise. In the first place only a few cases are known in which *figlinae* was

¹ Steinby, 60-61.

named from the *cognomen* of its owner.¹ Huotari has rightly stressed that, because *figlinae* is primarily to be understood as a clay district, it takes its name from the farm or other place in which it is located.² The name, of course, is generally much older than brick stamps. Also, *pr. Mamm()* can be read in different ways. The *dominus* and *officinator societates* are equally known, so that this criterion cannot be used. Petersen's estimate of Iulia Albana³ as wife of one or the other Pompeius brother is thus extremely questionable. As criterion she had *officinatrix* Proclia Phila (301) of *pr. Mamm()*, who is encountered also in a stamp of Iulia Albana (1217) (cf. s.v.).

12. 676 EX OFFIC VARI ROMAN QVAE EST
VIA AVREL HOR POPISC

The stamp is dated in the time of either Hadrian or Antoninus Pius, and is the only one for the *officina* in question. In a binominal stamp one or other is probably *dominus*. Neither person fits the *dominus* definition. Also, Hor () Popisc() may be the specification of the place of production: Hor(ti) or Hor(rea) Popisc(),⁴ in which case it cannot be known whether Varius Romanus was *officinator* or *dominus*.

13. 2164⁵ M CASSI SEMPRONIANI
M CASSI SEMPRONIANI
OSTIA

In Dressel's reading the person's name was M. Cassius Apronianus, who was thus identified as father of the historian Cassius Dio.⁶ Identification of M. Cassius Sempronianus, who is mentioned

¹ Steinby, RE S. XV, mentions the *figlinae* names *f. Aiaccianae* (Vibius Aiaccianus), *f. Camillianae* (Arruntia Camilla) and the hypothetical *f. Iuncianae* derived from *cognomina*, also *f. Favorianae* (Calpetanus Favor) from the *cognomen* of *officinator*. The material of examples does not justify conclusions on the basis of the name of *figlinae*.

² Huotari, 97.

³ PIR² I 643.

⁴ Steinby, 100.

⁵ Steinby's knowledge, communicated from Rome, of the correct reading of the stamp.

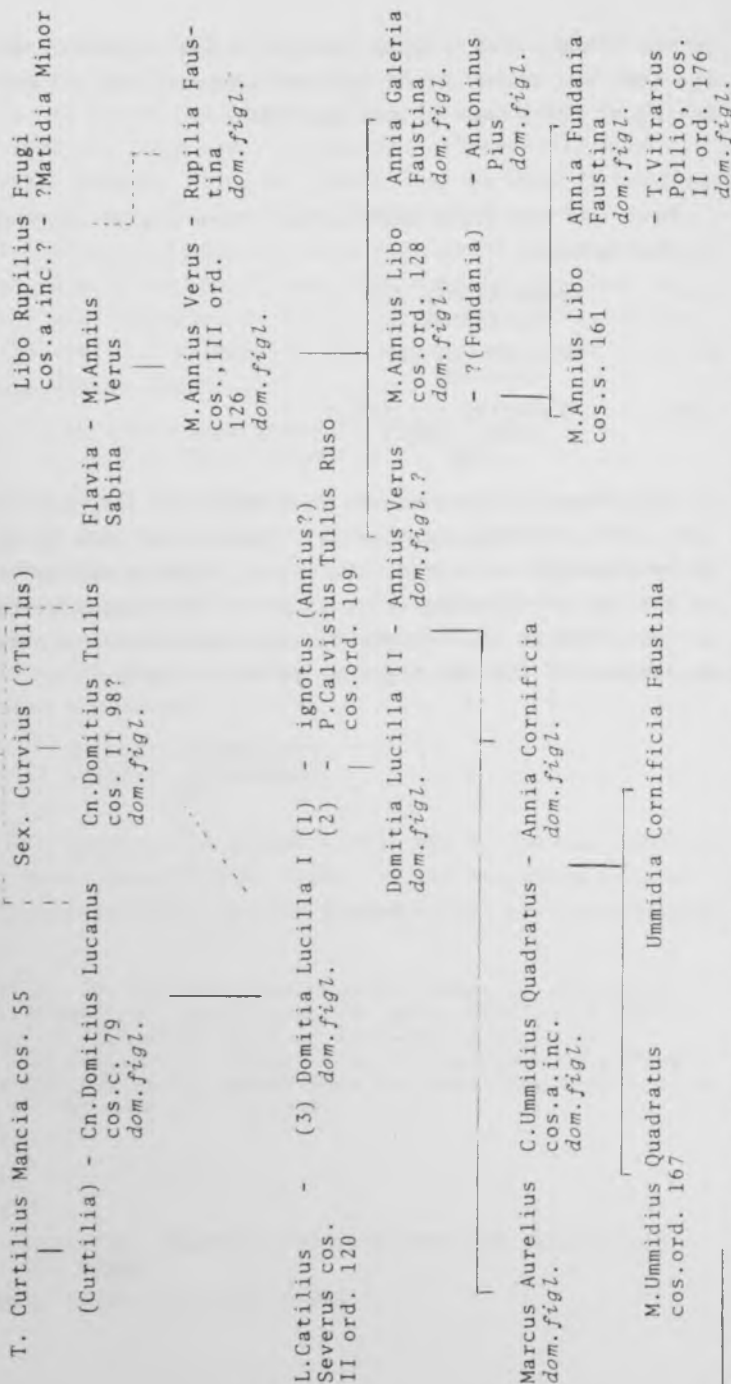
⁶ Bloch, Suppl. Index, 23; PIR² C 485.

in the stamp, with a known person is not possible. In any case the text was found in a brick that Dressel and others suspected. Dating of the stamp is not possible.

From the so-called third group there are 37 persons of the following type:

787	APRON ET PAE COS ALEXANDRI	a.123
914	APRO ET PAE COS CASSIANI	a.123
1299	APRONIANO ET PAETIN MEMMI SCEPTI COS	a.123

All stamps of persons are from the year 123, and in most cases only the *cognomen* appears. Members of this group are not to be regarded as *domini*. The group is explained by the fact that in 123 all - including lower ranks of the organization - were obliged to date the stamps. Besides those who are dated 123 some 40 members of the third group appear in stamps.

DOMITII and ANNII¹Cn. Domitius Afer, cos. 39(?)
dom. figl.¹ Stemma is for leading features from A. Birley, Marcus Aurelius, Appendix II

TRAJAN and HADRIAN¹

(Ulpus)

M.Ulpus Traianus
cos. 70?

(Aelius) - (Ulpia)

C.Salonius - Ulpia Marcina
Matidius
Patruinus
Trajanus - Pompeia Plotina
(M.Ulpus
Trajanus
cos.ord.90)
dom.figl.

Domitia Paulina - P.Aelius Hadrianus Afer

I

L.Vibius - Matidia Maior - ?? Libo Rupilius Frugi
Sabinus

L.Iulius Servianus - Domitia
cos. III ord. 134 | Paulina II *dom.figl.* Matidia Minor
dom.figl.

Julia - Cn.Pedanius Fuscus
| cos.ord. 118

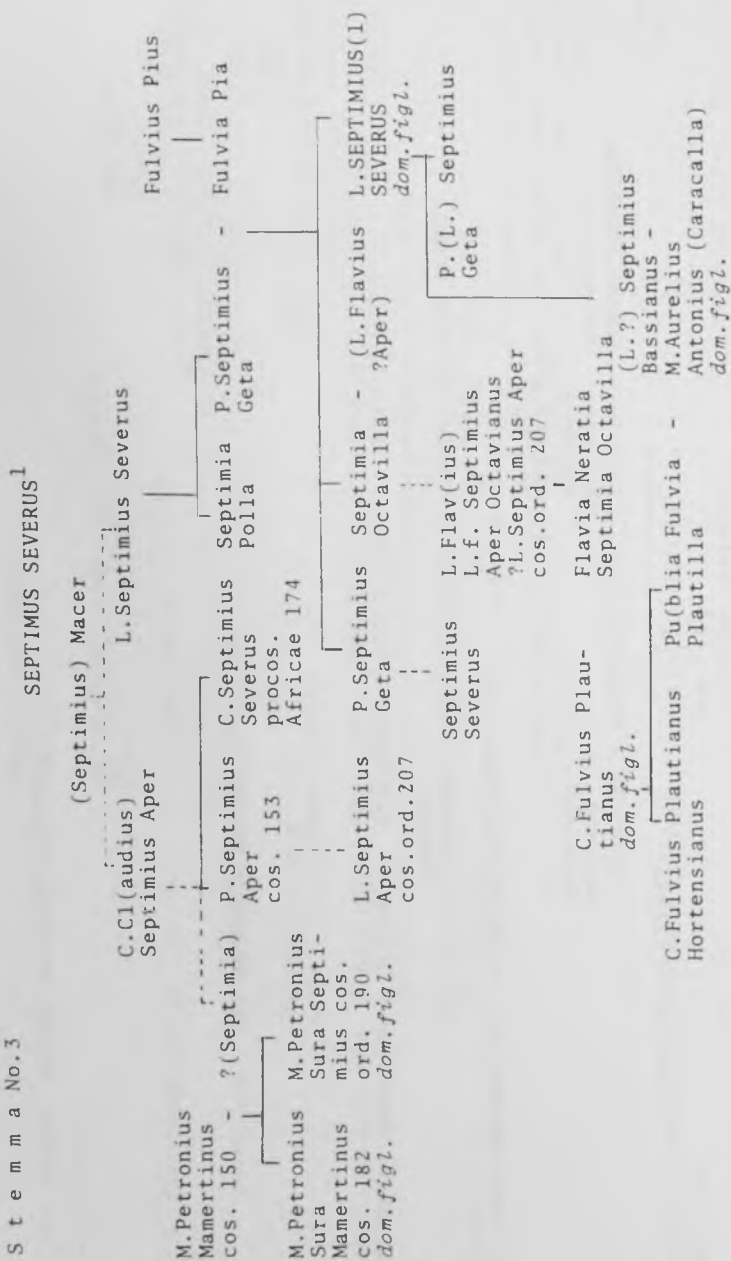
Cn. Pedanius Fuscus Salinator

Rupilia Faustina - M.Annius Verus
dom.figl. | cos. III ord.
126
dom.figl.

Domitia Lucilla - Annianus Verus
Minor, *dom.figl.* | *dom.figl.*?

Marcus
dom.figl.

¹ A. Birley, Marcus Aurelius, Appendix II.



¹ A. Birley's notion of the family of Septimius Severus: (Septimius Severus, 1971, Appendix I, 307). Persons shown in brackets are uncertain, relationships marked by dotted lines hypothetical.

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INDEXES

Index of Persons

The brick stamp persons are printed in italics, also the pages of the person's biography.

- A()* *C()* = ?*Arminius Cestianus* 62, 195
A. *A()* *H()* = *Avienys Halys*, *off.* 197
L. *A()* *P()*, *off.* 119
M. *A()* *Pro()*, *off.* 50
Abascantus 43N3
Abascantus Aug. lib., dom. 43, 224, 250, 266, 276
Ab() *G()* = *Aburnius G()*, *off.* 44
L. *Aburnius* 46
Q. *Aburnius Caedicianus, dom., cos.suff.* 121: 10, 43-47, 80, 85, 120, 189, 198N3, 199, 203, 234N2, 252, 262, 267, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 278N1
Q. *Aburnius Celer, off.* 44, 189
C. *Aburnius Valens, cos.* 109: 45, 46
Acaclytus 56N3
M. *Acilius Faustinus, cos.* 210: 48, 101, 182
M. *Acilius Glabrio, cos.* 124: 48, 101, 103, 182
M. *Acilius Glabrio, cos.* III 186: 48, 49, 101, 182
M. *Acilius Glabrio Cn. Cornelius Severus, cos.* 152: 48, 101, 103, 182
Acili(a) Mallio(la), dom. 47-49, 101, 102, 103, 182, 219N4, 221, 227, 255
Acilia Manliola c.p.: 48, 101, 182
Aelius 285
L. *Aelius Alexander, off.* 109, 110
P. *Aelius Alexander, off.* 134
L. *Aelius Caesar* 76, 184, 220N3
P. *Aelius Hadrianus Afer* 285
C. *Aelius Iulianus* 83N3
L. (*Aelius*) *Lamia Aelianus, cos.* 116: 110
L. *Aelius Lamia Plautius Aelianus, cos.suff.* 80: 55, 109, 110
T. *Aelius Naevius (Antonius) Severus* 50
Aelius Silvanus = ?*L. Aelius Lamia Plautius Aelianus* 110
Q. *Aelius Tubero, cos.* 11 BC: 40, 41
Aelia Paetina, dom. 40-41, 267
Aelia Severa, dom. 49-50, 255, 262, 273
L. *Aemilius Iuncus, cos.* 127: 137N1
M. *Aemilius Marcus Dynarchus, cos.* 174: 51
M. *Aemilius Proculus, dom.* 50, 254, 276
M. *Aemilius Rufio* 248
Aemilius Saturninus 123, 124
Aemilia Romana, off. 51, 235
Aemilia Severa, dom. 49, 50-52, 84, 111, 112, 114, 218N2, 232, 235, 255, 265, 273
Aemilia Severa 52
Agathyrus Aug. lib., dom. 43, 52-54, 56 and N3, 212 and N1, 224, 252, 265, 272, 273

- Agrippa 37
Al() *Proc()* = Allienus Proclus 262
 Alexander Severus 121, 176, 194N2
 L. Albis Pullaienus Pollio cf. *Pullaienus Pollio*, dom.
Alexandrus 283
Sex. Alfius Amandus, off. 103
Allienus Proclus, dom. 54, 212N1, 250, 260, 276
 Ti. Allienus Sicinius Qvintianus 54N2
M. Allius Clemens, off. 245
Sex. Allius Fortunatus 281
 L. *Allius Maximus* 245, 248
 Q. *Allius Maximus*, cos.suff. 49: 245
 T. *Allius Primigenius*, off. 135
 L. *Allius Rufus*, off. 120
Amoenus, off. 13
 C. Annianus Verus, cos.suff. 146: 208
 M. Annius 128
Annius December, off. 54
 M. Annius Flavius Sabinus Libo, cos. 204: 57
 M. Annius Herennius Pollio cf. *Herennius Pollio*
M. Annius Hermes, off. 56
 Annus Libo, cos.suff. 161: 55, 284
 (M.) *Annius Libo*, dom., cos. 128: 54-55, 56, 58, 122, 226N2,
 232, 252, 265, 269, 271, 273, 284
 Annus Verus, praet.: 57, 128, 284
 M. *Annius Verus*, dom., cos. III 126: 53, 55N1, 56-58, 108, 111,
 122, 128, 147, 148, 174, 175, 195, 208, 209, 218, 221, 226N2,
 227, 228, 232, 235, 244, 252, 262, 265, 269, 271, 272, 273,
 284, 285
 M. *Annius Verus*, praet.: 55 and N1, 58, 59, 108, 209, 284, 285
 M. *Annius Zosimus*, off. 56
 Annia? 58N2, 209
 Annia (Cornificia) Faustina, dom. 26N1, 59, 108, 168N4, 206, 207,
 208, 209, 232, 233, 254, 273, 284
 (Annia) Fundania Faustina, dom. cf. *Fundania Faustina*
 Annia Galeria Faustina, dom. = Faustina Maior 26N1, 58, 111, 232,
 254, 273, 284
 Annia Q. f. Rufina 88
Anteros Severi(anus) Caes() *N()*, dom. 59, 212 and N1, 224, 251,
 276
 Antiochus IV, rex Commagenes 95
Antoninus Pius 26N1, 58, 63, 93N3, 99N4, 105, 110, 111, 138, 159,
 198, 219, 235, 236, 243N3, 263, 264, 284
Antonia Malliola, dom. 59-60, 251, 262, 274
 Antonia L. f. Manliola 60
Apelles, off. 190
 M. Aper 114
Sex. Aper Silvinius, off. 206
Apollonius, off. 30
 Appius Annus Atilius Bradua cf. Appius Bradua
 Appius Annus Gallus, cos.circa 138-140: 61
 Appius Annus Trebonius Gallus, cos. 108: 61
 M. Appius (Atilius) Bradua = M. Atilius Metilus Bradua, cos.
 108: 61
Appius Benerius, off. 122
 M. Appius Bradua, cos.suff.: 61

- Appius Bradua*, *pot.dom.* = *Appius Annius Atilius Bradua*, *cos.*
160: 16, 60-62, 75N2, 221, 226N2, 231N3, 255
- Appius Quinquatralis*, *off.* 201
- Appia Pyramis*, *off.* 70, 139
- Sex. Aprius Silvanus*, *off.* 59
- Aquillius*, *off.* 40
- L. Aristaeus Restitutus* 279
- Aristius Celer*, *dom.* 62, 233N2, 252, 274
- A. Aristius Menander* 280
- Aristius Strabo*, *dom.* 62, 233N2, 252, 274
- A. Aristius Thallus*, *off.* 13, 91N2, 161
- Arminius Cestianus*, *dom.* 62, 153, 251, 265, 276
- Arrius Antoninus*, *cos.* 69 and 97: 63, 138
- Arrius Antoninus*, *dom.* cf. *Antoninus Pius* 63, 64, 134, 197, 232, 260
- Arria* 66
- Arria Caesennia Paulin(a)*, *dom.* 42, 58N1, 64-66, 165, 222N1, 234N1, 246, 254, 276
- Arria Fadi(lla)*, *dom.* 8, 62-64, 65, 66, 103, 104, 137, 138, 164, 165, 197, 198N1, 218, 232, 234N1, 235, 239 and N3, 252, 260, 269, 270, 272, 274
- Arria Iulia Lupula Fadilla* cf. *Iulia Lupula*, *dom.*
- L. Arruntius*, *dom.* *cos.* 6: 31, 67, 68
- L. Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus*, *cos.* 32: 31, 67, 68
- L. Arruntius Philoxenus* 67N6
- L. Arruntius Scribonianus* = *Furius Scribonianus*, *praef.urbi*: 68
- Arruntia Camilla Camilli f(ilia)*, *pot.dom.* 16, 31, 67-69, 235, 251, 260, 282N1
- Q. Articuleius Aepagatus*, *off.* 69, 70
- Q. Articuleius Paetinus*, *cos.* 123: 69
- Articuleius Paetus* 69
- Q. Articuleius Paetus*, *cos.* 78: 69
- Q. Articuleius Paetus*, *pot.dom.*, *cos.* 101: 16, 69-70, 220N1, 226N2, 228, 231N3, 251
- C. Asinius Gallus*, *cos.* 8 BC: 32
- Q. Asinius Gallus*, *cos.* 40: 71
- M. Asinius Marcellus*, *cos.* 54: 71
- M. Asinius Marcellus*, *cos.* 104: 71, 73N5
- Q. Asinius Marcellus*, *cos.* II 97: 71, 72, 227 and N1
- Q. Asinius Marcellus*, *praef.urbi* 115: 72
- Q. Asinius Marcellus*, *dom.*, *cos.circa* 125-130: 32, 67N3, 70-72, 79, 139, 212N1, 221, 227, 232, 252, 263, 269, 271, 272, 274
- C. Asinius Polli(o)*, *dom.*, *cos.* 40 BC: 31-32, 71, 221
- C. Asinius Pollio*, *cos.* 23: 32 and N2
- Asinius Pollio Verrucosus* 127N4
- C. Asinius Protinus Quadratus*, *cos.suff.:* 71
- Asinia* 70, 71, 79
- Asinia Quadratilla*, *dom.* 70, 71, 72-74, 113, 115, 221, 232 and N1, 236N1, 254, 270, 271, 274
- Aterius Car()* = *Aterius Carus* (*Cari(cus?)*), *dom.* 74, 177, 254, 276
- M. Atilius Metilius Bradua* cf. *M. Appius (Atilius) Bradua*, *cos.* 108
- T. Atilius Rufus Titianus*, *cos.* 127: 75N2
- M. Atilius Sabinus* 75, 194
- Atilia* 61

- Atilia Quintilla*, dom. 74-75, 194, 212N1, 219, 234, 251, 274
Atilia Sabina 194
L. Atinius L. M. L. Aste() 248
C. Attius Sabinus, off. 205
 Augustus 69
M. Aurelius Antonius = *Caracalla* 286
Aurelius Fulvus, cos. II: 64
T. Aurelius Fulvus, cos. 89: 63, 138
Q. Aurelius Pactumeius Clemens 106
Aurelia Antonia 129, 130
Aurelius Fadilla 110
Autronius Fortunatus, off. 105
T. Avenus Atticus, off. 109
Avidius Nigrinus, procos.: 76
C. Avidius Nigrinus, cos.suff. 110: 76, 98, 162, 163, 172
T. Avidius Quietus, cos.suff. 93: 75
Avidius Quietus, dom. = *T. Avidius Quietus*, cos.suff. 111: 75-76, 162, 163, 219, 227N2, 234, 250, 276
Avidia 76
Avidia Plautia 76, 162, 163
Avienys Halys = *A. A()* *H()*, off. 164, 197
Avita 245, 265
Bassilla 167, 168
 (*L. Bellicius*) *Claudius Marcellus* 78 and N2
L. Bellicius Sollers 77, 78
L. Bellicius Sollers = *Ti. Claudius Alpinus*, dom., cos. 106: 14, 15, 20, 76-78, 87, 96, 130, 131, 211, 212N1, 232, 234N1, 250, 276
C. Biculeius Priscus, dom. 79, 250, 276
Boionia Procilla 138
Brittius (Brittidius) Priscinus, off. 90, 91
L. Bruttius Crispinus, cos. 187: 81
L. Bruttius Crispinus, cos. 223: 81
Bruttius Maximus, cos. Cypri 80: 80, 81
C. Bruttius Praesens pot.dom. = *C. Bruttius Praesens L. Fulvius Rusticus*, cos. II 139: 16, 45, 46, 70, 79-81, 220N1, 221, 226N2, 227 and N2, 254, 263
C. Bruttius Praesens, cos. II 180: 81
C. Bruttius Praesens, cos. 217: 81
Bruttia Crispina 81
L. C() *Iuven()* = *L. Cassius Iuvenalis*, cos.suff.circa 150-160: 82, 251, 265
C. C() *Primi(genius)*, off. 54
C. Ca(...) *Statilius Severus Ha(drianus)*, leg.Aug.pr.pr.: 187
C(aecilius (Iu)ventianus 82, 232
Caecil(ia) Quinta, dom. 82, 211N1, 232, 252, 266, 274
Caedicia M. f. Victrix 45, 46
M. Caelius Clodianus 83N3
(M.) Caelius Iulianus, dom. 82-83, 231N3, 254, 265, 277
Caelia Galla 83N3
Caesennius 66
A. Caesennius Eutyclus 66N2, 246
A. Caesennius Gallus, cos.suff.: 66N2, 246
Caesennius Isauricus 65, 222N1
L. Caesennius Paetus, cos. 61: 65, 66

- Caesennius Servili(us Isauricus?) 65, 66
 T. Caesernius Statius Quintius Statianus Memmius Macrinus, cos. suff. 140/141: 151
Caet() *Mag()* = *Caet()* *Magnio*, off. 97 131
Caetennia Chione, dom. 83, 211N1, 252, 263, 274
Cal() *Primit(ivus)*, off. 201
Caligula 245N1
Callistus, off. 30, 33
Calpetanus Crescens, off. 113
C. Calpetanus Favor, off. 105, 282N1
C. Calpetanus Pannychus, off. 105
 Ser. Calpurnius Domitius Dexter, cos. 225: 51, 52
Calpurnius Proculus, dom., procos. Asiae: 83-84, 85, 218, 227, 255, 277
 L. Calpurnius Proculus, procos. Achaiae: 84
 P. Calpurnius Proculus, leg.Aug.pr.pr.: 84
 P. Calpurnius Proculus Cornelius 85
Calpurnius Spatalus, off. 85
Calpurnia Corvini uxor, dom. 32-33, 200
Calpurnia Quadratilla 73
Calpurnia Rufria Aemilia Domitia Severa 51, 52 and N2, 84
Calpurnia Secunda, dom. 46, 84, 85, 202, 203, 211, 212N1, 250, 267, 277
C. Calvisius Mnester, off. 109
C. Calvisius Primus, off. 247
 P. Calvisius Ruso, cos. 109: 108, 284
 P. Calvisius Tullus Ruso 58
Calvisia Flaccilla 71
 (Q. Camurius) Numisius Iunioris, cos.suff. 161: 191
Canuleia Crispina 246, 267
 Q. Canusius Praenestinus, pot.dom., cos. 157: 16, 86, 231N3, 255
Caracalla 51, 52N3, 111, 112, 114, 124, 126, 200, 235, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 286
Caricus, off. 103
C. Casinius Numidianus, off. 51
Cassianus 283
 L. Cassius, dom. 60, 187, 233N2, 246, 262
 M. Cassius Agrippina 78
 M. Cassius Agrippa Sanctus Paullinus Augustanus Alpinus 87
 P. Cassius Cae(), dom. 60, 187, 233N2, 246, 262
 Q. Cass(ius) Caecil(ianus), dom. 86, 252, 265, 274
 P. Cassius Dexter Augustanus Bellicius Sollers Metilius... Rutilianus, cos.suff.circa 155: 78, 87, 88
 M. Cassius Hortensius Paulinus cf. *Hortensius Paulinus*, dom.
Cassius Hadrianus 188
Cassius Maximus 94N1, 188
 M. Cassius Paulinus 130, 131
 L. Cassius Paullus Augustanus Alpinus Bellicius Sollers 78, 87, 88N1
 C. Cassius Secundus 87
 P. Cas(sius) Secund(), dom., cos.suff. 138: 78 and N3, 86-88, 96, 130, 131, 143, 194, 215N2, 219, 234N1, 252, 264, 274
 M. Cassius Sempronianus 282
Cassia 187
Cassia Doris, off. 63

- Cassia Secunda 194
 Castricius Saturninus, procos. Africae 84: 91
 Castus, off. 54
 L. Catilius Severus Iulianus Claudius Reginus, cos. II 120: 108, 284
 C. Caullius Valens, off. 190
 Ceionii 246
 L. Ceio(nius) Com(modus), cos. 78: 91N2, 161, 246
 Ceionia Fabia 163, 194
 Ceionia Plautia 184
 M. Cercinius Fructus 283
 C. Cesenus Clemens, off. 60
 P. Cl() Ch(), off. 143
 Cl() Fron(), off. 148N7, 166
 Claudius 33, 39, 41, 109
 Claudius Alexander, dom. 88-89, 90, 91, 212M1, 234N1, 251, 277
 Ti. Claudius Alexander 88
 Ti. Claudius Alpinus cf. Bellicius Sollers
 Ti. Claudius Alpinus, leg.Aug.Arabiae circa 116-119: 77
 Ti. Claudius Appius Atilius Bradua Regillus Atticus, cos. 185: 61
 Ti. Claudius Augustanus, procos.: 77, 78
 Ti. Claudius Balbillus, praef.Aeg. circa 55-59: 95, 142
 Claudius Beryllus, off. 52N4
 Ti. Claudius Blastus 280
 Ti. Claudius Celsus, dom. 89-90, 91, 105, 187N5, 188, 218, 234N1, 252, 264, 277
 Ti. Claudius Celsus Orestianus 89
 Ti. Claudius Celsus Polemaeanus 89N5
 Claudius Fortunatus, off. 147, 148, 190, 191
 Ti. Claudius Hilarus, off. 87, 96, 143
 Ti. Cl(audius?) Iul(ianus?), dom., cos.suff. 159: 89, 90-91, 105, 218, 234N1, 254, 270, 274, 277
 Cl(audius) Iull(us), dom., leg.pr.pr.Asiae: 90, 91, 231N3, 250
 Cl(audius) Livianus, dom. = Ti. Iulius Aquilinus Castricius Saturninus Claudius Livianus, praef.praet. 101-102: 91-93, 212N1, 224, 228, 244, 252, 277
 Ti. Claudius Marcellinus, sen. 96
 M. Claudius Marcellus Aeserninus, cos. 22 BC: 32
 M. Claudius Marcellus Aeserninus, praet. 19: 71
 Claudius Maximus 93, 94 and N1
 Ti. Claudius Maximus, cos.: 94
 Ti. Claudius Maximus, dom. 93-94, 188, 189, 253, 262, 272, 274
 Ti. Claudius Maximus, cos. 145: 93
 Ti. Claudius Onesimus, off. 201
 Claudius Polemo 89
 Ti. Claudius Sabinus 249
 C. Cl(audius) Septimius Aper 286
 Ti. Claudius Successus, off. 74
 Claudia Capitolina cf. R(egina) Cap(itolina), dom.
 Claudia Marcellina 78, 87, 96, 131
 Claudia Marcellina, dom. 77, 78, 87, 88, 96, 130, 131, 232, 234M1, 252, 272, 277
 Claudia Maxima 94N3
 Clod() Herm(es), off. 198
 L. Clod() Phil(), off. 192

- Clodius Albinus 118, 123
Clodius Firmus, dom. 96, 253, 274
Clodius Vict(or), off. 202
Cocceius Nerva, dom. = M. Cocceius Nerva, cos.circa 39-41: 30, 33, 41
 M. Cocceius Nerva, cos.suff. 22: 33
Coelius Fortunatus, dom. 97, 131, 233N1, 253, 259, 269, 274
 M. *Coelius Philetus*, dom. 97, 131, 233N1, 253, 269, 274
C. Cominius Proculus, off. 134
Commodus 26N1, 81, 158, 159, 175N1, 182N4, 236, 260, 261, 263, 264, 266
L. Coponius Fortunatus, off. 70
Cornelius At(t)icus, dom. = P. Cornelius Atticus 97, 255, 271, 274
 Q. Cornelius ... Flaccus ... Noricus ... Numisius 191
Cornelius Palm(a), pot.dom. = A. Cornelius Palma Frontonianus, cos. II 109: 16, 97-98, 172, 220N1, 226N2, 227 and N1, 231N3, 235, 251
Cornelius Priscianus, leg.Aug.pr.pr.: 99
L. Cornelius Priscus, dom. 34
L. Cornelius Priscus, dom., cos.suff. 104: 8, 34, 98-99, 212N1, 219N2, 227N2, 251, 277
L. Cornelius Priscus, pontifex coloniae Sutrinae 34N3
L. Cornelius Pusio, cos.suff. 90: 99
Cor(nelius) Seve(rus), dom. = Cn. Pinarius Cornelius Severus, cos.suff. 112: 48, 49, 99-102, 103, 181, 182, 183, 219N4, 221, 232, 251, 265, 277
M. Cornelius Thalamus, off. 97
Cor(nelia) Manliola, dom. 48, 49, 56, 60, 101 and N2, 102-103, 182, 183, 195, 219N4, 221, 227, 232, 253, 265, 269, 274
Cornelia Severina 101N3
Corocuta 197
C. Cosconius, off. 31
Cosmus, off. 67N3, 70, 120, 127, 128
Crassus 175
C. Curiatius Atictus, off. 104
C. Curiatius Cosanus, dom. curator Municipii Caeritum 113: 63, 103-104, 145, 164, 220, 224, 253, 269, 271, 274
C. Curiatius Maternus 104N5
Cursenius Sedatus, off. 120
T. Curtilius Mancia, cos.suff. 55: 36, 58, 107, 108, 284
Curtilia 107, 284
Sex. Curvius Tullus 35 and N3, 284
M. Cusinius 105
 (L.) *Cusinius Messalinus*, dom. 9, 104-105, 218, 232, 252, 277
 (..C)usinius Rufus 105
Cusinia 105
Cusinia Gratilla, dom. 105, 232, 236N1, 254, 270, 274
Cusonius Gratilianus 105N2
Cuspius Rufinus, dom. = L. Cuspius Pactumeius Rufinus, cos. 142: 106, 218, 226N2, 231N3, 254, 277
L. Cuspius Rufinus, cos. 197: 106
Dama, off. 34
Demetrius, off. 109
Domitian 38, 43N3, 55, 75, 109, 110, 128, 142, 178, 237

- Cn. Domitius Afer, dom., cos.suff.* 39: 34-35, 36, 58, 107, 108, 109, 194, 218, 221, 232, 262, 284
Cn. Domitius Calvinus, cos. 53 BC: 207
Do(mitius) Cel(sus), off. 134
Cn. Domitius Corbulo, cos. 39: 109, 110
Cn. Domitius Corbulo, procos.: 110
Domitius Ision, off. 192, 193
Cn. Domitius Lucanus, dom. = Cn. Domitius Afer Titius Marcellus Curvius Lucanus, cos.suff. in the decade of 70: 13, 30, 35-36, 107, 108, 109, 193, 194, 219, 221, 227 and N2, 232, 233N2, 234, 244, 245, 260, 284
Domitius Rufinus, off. 132, 133, 190
Cn. Domitius Tullus, dom. = Cn. Domitius Afer Titius Marcellus Curvius Tullus, cos. II 98: 13, 30, 35, 36-37, 107, 108, 109, 193, 194, 219, 221, 227 and N2, 232, 233N2, 234, 244, 245, 260, 262, 284
Domitia Domitiani, dom. = Domitia Longina 9, 26N1, 42, 55, 58N1, 109-111, 221, 253, 266, 274
Domitia Cn. f(ilia) Lucilla, dom. Domitia Lucilla Maior 36, 37, 58, 107-108, 207, 209, 221, 232, 239 and N3, 251, 260, 261, 262, 274, 284
Domitia P. f(ilia) Lucilla, dom. = Domitia Lucilla Minor 44, 46, 47, 49N5, 50, 54, 55, 58, 59, 64, 74, 107, 108-109, 111, 134, 146, 148, 151, 186N4, 209, 221, 232, 234N2, 236N1, 3, 239N3, 253, 260, 261, 262, 267, 269, 270, 271, 272, 274, 284, 285
Domitia Paulina 285
Domitia Paulina 156, 136, 285
Domitia Regina 84
Egnatius Clemens, off. 129, 154
L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus, cos.suff.: 116
Egnatius Victor Marinianus 116
(Egnatia) Mariniana 116
Egnatus Felix, off. 93
M. Epidius 194
M. Epidius 194
P. Epidius Tertullus 194
L. Epidius Titius Aquilinus, cos. 125: 163, 194
M. Epidius Titius Marcellus 36
Epidia 75
Epidia Paula 194
L. Erm() Felix, off. 144
Eucharus, off. 164
Euhodus 54
Eutychus, off. 139
T. F() P(), off. 205
M. Fabius Licymnus, off. 56
Fabia Aeliana, dom. 111, 211N1, 252, 277
L. Fadius Pass(), off. 120
L. Faenius Rufus, dom., praef.praet.: 8, 30, 37-38
Faenius Telesphorus 38N1
Faustina Maior cf. Annia Galeria Faustina 26N1, 90, 91, 146
Faustina Augusta Minor 26N1, 260, 261, 264
Favor, off. 34
Felix, off. 30, 38, 203
Felix Caricus, off. 134

Fictoria 105

Flaccus Aelianus cf. *C. Iulius Flaccus Aelianus*, dom.

T. Fl(avius) Ampliatus, dom 113, 212N1, 251, 265, 266, 277

Flavius Aper, in senatu 105: 114, 115

(*L. Flavius Aper*) 286

(*M.*) *Flavius Aper*, dom., cos. 130: 52 and N3, 74, 112, 113-115, 119, 120, 121, 140, 153, 192, 214, 218N2, 226N2, 232 and N1, 234N1,2, 250N1, 254, 261, 265, 267, 270, 271, 274

M. Flavius Aper, cos. II 176: 114, 115, 227

T. Flavius Claudius Sulpicianus, cos.suff.: 117, 118

T. Flavius Clemens, cos. 95: 38, 66

Flavius Corinthus, off. 73, 114

Fl(avius) Lollianus, dom., praef.(urbi?): 115-116, 256

Q. Flavius Maesius Egnatius, cos. 355: 115

Fla(vius) Mag(), off. 143

Flavius Maximus, off. 73, 114

Flavius Phoebus, off. 116

Flavius Posidonius, dom. 116-117, 233N1, 253, 267, 271, 274

Fl(avius) Pr(obus), off. 73, 114

T. Flavius Rhodo, off. 149

T. Fl(avius) Romanus, off. 82

Flavius Sabinus, praef.urbi: 66

Flavius Sabinus 66

T. Flavius Sabinus 38N2

C. Flavius Secundus 249

L. Flavius Septimius Aper Octavianus, cos. 183: 115, 286

Flavius Titianus, praef.Aeg.: 118

Fl(avius) Titianus, dom., procos. Africae: 8, 84, 117-118, 227N2, 231N3, 255, 266, 274

Flavia Domitilla 66

Flavia Domitil(la), dom. 30, 38, 58N1, 65, 66

Flavia Lycia 89

Flavia Neratia 115

Flavia Neratia Septimia Octavilla 114, 115, 153, 286

Fl(avia) Operata, dom. 116, 117, 211N1, 233N1, 253, 267, 274

Flavia Pelagia, dom. 118-119, 211N1, 252, 277

Flavia Procula, dom. 119, 120, 139, 140, 147, 156, 189, 232, 234N1, 253, 264, 269, 274

Flavia Sabina 58, 65, 66, 284

Flavia Seia Isaurica, dom. 44, 47, 49N5, 65, 113, 115 and N2, 119-121, 128, 140, 164, 165, 189, 232, 234N1,2, 235, 236N3, 253, 259, 261, 265, 267, 269, 270, 272, 274, 278N1

Flavia Titiana 117, 118

Fortunatus, off. 36

L. Fulvius Aburnius Valens 45, 46, 80, 198N3

Fulvius Petronianus 160N2

Fulvius Pius 286

C. Fulvius Plautianus, dom., cos. 203-205: 84, 111, 112, 122-127, 134, 161, 163, 218, 226N2, 227, 235, 236, 244, 255, 260, 261, 262, 264, 270, 271, 274, 286

C. Fulvius Plautianus Hortensianus 286

Fulvius Primitivus, off. 127

L. Fulvius Rusticus 45, 46, 80

Fulvia Pia 124, 286

Fulvia Plautilla 124

L. Fundanius Lamia Aelianus, cos. 116: 55, 122

- T. Fundanius Vitrasius Pollio 122
 Fundania 284
 (Annia) Fundania Faustina, dom. 55, 121-122, 203, 232, 233, 254, 266, 274, 284
 M. Furius Camillus, cos. 8: 68
 M. Furius Camillus, frater Arv. 38: 68
 Furia L. f. Caecilia 151
 Furia Ti... 151
 A. Gabinius Successus, off. 141
 Gallienus 116
 Gavius Iulius Paulinus 131N2
 Gavius Maximus 158, 160N2
 Gavius Proculus, off. 157, 158, 160N2
 P. Gavius Secundus 160N2
 Gavia Amylla-Hamil(la) 90, 263, 264, 280
 A. Gellius Karus, off. 166
 L. Gellius Prudens, off. 63, 164, 198N1
 (G)ellius Rutilius Lupus, procos.: 179
 Glypt(us) Calp(etanus?), off. 86
 Gnaea Seia Herennia Sallustia Barbia Orbiana 121, 128
 Grapphicus, off. 170
 Grattia P. f. 247, 259
 T. Greius Ianuarius, off. 35
 Hadrian 26N1, 57, 58, 76, 80, 92, 93N3, 98, 135, 136, 147, 148 and N7, 149, 155, 157, 159, 161, 175, 178, 207, 227, 236 and N1, 243N2, 260, 262, 263, 266, 285
 L. Herennius Optatus, off. 127N3
 M. Herennius Picens, cos. 1: 128
 M. Herennius Pollio, dom. = M. Annius Herennius Pollio, cos.suff. 85: 120, 121, 127-129, 212N1, 218N1, 235, 251, 274
 P. Herennius Pollio, cos.suff. 85: 127
 M. Herennius Secundus, cos. 183: 128
 Herennius Seneco 128
 Hermes, off. 60
 Herodes Atticus, cos. 143: 61, 62
 Hilarus 249
 Honoratius Macrinus, dom. 129, 252, 277
 Hor() Popisc() 282
 Q. Hortensius Firmus 130
 Hortensius Paulinus, dom. = M. Cassius Hortensius Paulinus 8, 78, 87, 129-131, 154, 212N1, 219, 234N1, 255, 264, 274
 M. Hortensius Paulinus 130, 131
 Ismarus, off. 30
 Iulianus 54
 Ti. Iulius Alexander, praef.Aeg. 69: 38, 133
 Ti. Iulius Alexander, procos. Cretae et Asiae: 133
 Ti. Iulius Alexander Iulianus, dom., cos.suff. 130: 132-133, 218, 227N2, 228, 232, 253, 275
 C. Iulius Antiochus Epiphanes, rex 95
 C. Iulius Antiochus Epiphanes Philopappus, rex, cos. 109: 95,
 C. Iulius Apollinaris, dom. 97, 131, 253, 269, 275
 Ti. Iulius Aquilinus, procur.Rhetiae 107: 92, 93
 Ti. Iulius Aquilinus Castricius Saturninus Claudius Livianus cf. Claudius Livianus, dom.

- Iul(ius) Cas(s)ius Paulinus 130
 Ti. Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus, cos. 92: 89
 C. Iulius Dioscorus, dom. 132, 255, 277
 Iulius Eutac(tus), dom. 132, 252, 265, 277
 Iulius Felix, off. 94, 95, 142
 C. Iulius Flaccus Aelianus, leg. Aug. pr. pr. Cappadociae 197-198: 49N3, 52, 112
 C. Iulius Flaccus Aelianus, dom. 49N3, 51, 52, 84, 111-112, 218N2, 232, 235, 255, 265, 277
 C. Iulius Ianuarius, off. 96
 Ti. Iulius Iulianus, dom. 38-39, 132N3
 Ti. Iulius Iulianus, dom., cos. suff. 117: 38, 132-133, 190, 191, 218, 232 and N1, 252, 269, 277
 L. Iulius Larcus Sabinus 144N5
 C. Iulius Lupio, off. 63
 P. Iulius Lupus, cos. 98(?): 64, 138
 L. Iulius Marinus 188
 Ti. Iulius Optatus, dom. = Ti. Iulius Optatus Pontianus, procurator: 39
 C. Iulius Proculus, cos. 109: 139, 140
 L. Iulius Rufinus, Q. filius 40
 Iulius Rufus, poet: 40
 C. Iulius Rufus 279
 L. Iulius Rufus, dom., cos. 67: 39-40, 42, 139, 140, 155, 156, 264, 267
 T. Iulius Saturninus 141
 C. Iulius Stephanus, dom. 122N2, 134, 141, 214, 232, 234N2, 236N1, 253, 262, 269, 270, 271, 272, 275
 Iulius Theodotus, off. 8, 117
 L. Iulius Ursus, cos. III 100: 40, 135, 136, 156
 L. Iulius Ursus Servianus, cos. III 134: 135, 136, 155, 156, 157, 227 and N1, 285
 L. Iulius Ursus Valerius Flac(cus), dom., cos. 128: 132, 135-136, 156, 199, 200, 212N1, 218N1, 227, 253, 265, 275
 Iulia 156, 136, 285
 Iulia Albana, dom. 136-137, 211N1, 253, 269, 275, 282
 Iulia Balbilla 95
 Iulia Domna 125
 Iulia Dynamis 40, 51, 112N2, 131N2, 247, 264, 267
 Iulia Flavia Herennia Caecilia Honoratiana Optata 128
 Iulia Lupula, dom. = Arria Iulia Lupula Fadilla 64, 73N2, 137-139, 199, 232, 234N2, 236N1, 254, 260, 270, 275
 Iulia Magnilla 166
 Iulia Menile, off. 165, 166
 Iulia Procula, dom. 26, 40, 119, 120, 155, 156, 139-140, 232, 253, 264, 266, 267, 275
 Iulia Quintilia Isaurica 121N2
 Iulia Saturnina, dom. 134, 140-141, 211N1, 232, 254, 277
 Iulia T. filia = Iulia Aug. 245N1
 L. Iunius Caesennius Paetus, cos. suff. 79: 65, 66
 Iunius Homullus, cos. 102: 199
 Iun(ius) Iulianus, dom., proc. Siciliae: 141-142, 143, 233N1, 253, 265, 276
 M. Iunius Mettius Rufus, cos. suff. 128: 142
 Iun(ius) Paulin(us) 264, 279
 Iunius Rufus, dom. = M. Iunius Rufus, praef. Aeg.: 93 and N1, 94, 95, 142-143, 228, 232, 233, 254, 267, 275

- Iunius Sulpic(ianus)*, dom. 87N2, 142, 143, 233N1, 253, 264, 272, 275
Iunia Antonia, neg. 50
Iunia Sabina, neg. 50
Iustin(us), off. 120
Iuventius Saturninus, off. 120
Iuventia Maxima 187
L() *C()*, off. 49
M. Laberius Maximus, cos. II 103: 81
C. Laberius Zosimus, off. 155
Laberia Crispina 81
Sex. Laelius Lelianus, dom. 113, 143-144, 212N1, 252, 266, 277
Lanius Festus, off. 127
A. Larcius Priscus, cos.suff. 110: 144
Larcia Sabina, dom. 144, 145, 151, 169, 232, 254, 275
Libo Rupilius Frugi, cos.: 147, 148, 174, 175, 284, 285
M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, cos. 27: 175
L. Licinius Felix, off. 139
Lucius Verus 26N1, 76, 90, 107N3, 163, 184, 261
Lucilla N 26N1, 79N5, 107N3
Lucilla Veri, dom. = Domitia Lucilla Minor 107, 261
L. Lurii Myrinus, off. 39
L. Lurii Primitivus, off. 120
C. Lusius Modes(tus), dom. 145, 220, 224, 253, 268, 275
Lusius Quietus 98, 145, 172 and N4
Statius M() *Antiochus*, off. 247
L. M() *E()*, off. 146
Magia Marcella, dom. 145, 180, 211N1, 232N1, 253, 275
L. Maelius Vindius, off. 120
L. Man() *Theocritus*, dom. 146, 234N2, 236N3, 253, 269, 275
Q. Manius Verecundus, off. 111
L. Manlius Patruinus, cos.suff. 75: 146N3
St. Marcius Bassus, off. 63, 164
P. Marcius Crispus, dom. 146, 251, 264, 275
Marcus Fyrmus, off. 192
Q. Marcius Hermoge(nes), dom. 119, 146-147, 189, 234N2, 254, 270, 275
St. Marcius Lucifer, off. 63, 164
St. Marcius Rabbaeus, off. 8
Marcus Aurelius 26N1, 56N3, 58, 59, 90, 91, 94, 107, 108, 109, 134, 146, 148, 149, 159, 174, 175, 198, 206, 208, 209, 235, 236, 260, 261, 263, 264, 284, 285
L. Marius Hitpolitus, off. 196
Matidia Maior 147, 148, 149, 175, 284, 285
Matidia Minor, dom. 26N1, 147-149, 175, 191, 219N2, 233N1, 234N2, 254, 275, 285
Maximinus 176, 194N2
L. M(emmius?) Astrag(), off. 150
Memmius Rufus 150
L. Memmius Rufus, cos. 95: 150
L. Memmius Rufus, dom. 149-150, 212N1, 232, 251, 275
Memmius Sceptus 283
Memmia L. f. Macrina, dom. 150-151, 232, 234N2, 253, 270, 271, 275
L. Mes() *Ste()*, off. 170
M. Messius Rusticus Aemilius Papus Arrius Proculus Iulius Celsus, cos.suff.: 50

- Mestria* 266
Metilius Proculus, neg. 130
M. Mettius Rufus, praef.annonae: 92, 93N1, 142
Mindius 148, 149
L. Mindius Balbus 148
L. Mindius Damaleius 148
L. Mindius Pollio 148
Mummius Bassus 152N1
L. Mummius Niger Qvintus Valerius Vegetus Severinus Caucidius Tertullus 152N1
Mummius Qvadratus 152N1
Mummius Sisenna 152
P. Mummius Sisenna Rutilianus, cos.suff. 146: 151
Mumma Vara, dom. 49, 84, 151-152, 255, 259, 275
Myrinus, off. 120, 186, 189
C. N() Re() 119N2, 147N1
Naevii 263
C. Naevius 249
L. Neratius Marcellus, cos. II 129: 152, 153
L. Neratius Marcellus, cos.suff. 144: 152
L. Neratius Priscus, cos.suff. 87: 152
L. Neratius Priscus, cos.suff. 97: 152
L. Neratius Priscus 152
Neratia 115
Neratia Quartilla, dom. 152-153, 220, 222, 227, 231N3, 239N3, 252, 277
Nero 33, 109
Nerva 33, 41, 142
Nonius Clemens, off. 155
C. Nunnidius Fortunatus, off. 70, 72 and N6, 73N2
C. Nunnidius Restitutus, off. 119, 146, 186, 189
P. Ocius Antiochus, off. 44
T. Octavenus Gratus, off. 53
Oc(tavius?) Cest(ianus?), dom. 62, 153, 253, 265, 274
Onesimus, off. 41
Ortensius Procl(us) 145
C. P() G() 195
P. P() B(), off. 56, 102, 195 and N2, 196
Paccii, dom. 153-154, 252, 277
M. Paccius Silvanus Goredius Gallus L. Pullaienus Gargilius Antiquus 174
M. Paccius Verna, off. 183
Pactumeius 106
P. Pactumeius Clemens, cos.suff. 138: 106
Q. Pactumeius Fronto, cos.suff. 80: 106
Pactumeius Rufus 106
Palsenna Valens 280
Pamphil() 246
Papiriu(s) Car(), off. 202
C. Pappius Vitalis, off. 127
Paris, off. 34
C. Passienus Cossonius Scipio Orfitus 154N7
Q. Passienus Licinus, cos.suff. 149: 154N6
Q. Passienus Rufus 154N6
Passenia Petronia, dom. 130, 131, 154, 256, 264

- Peculiaris*, off. 164
 Pedanius Fuscus 136, 156, 157
 Cn. Pedanius Fuscus Salinator, cos.suff. 60: 155, 156, 157
 Cn. Pedanius Fuscus Salinator, cos.suff. 84: 155, 156
 Cn. Pedanius Fuscus Salinator, cos. 118: 136, 155, 156, 285
Pedania Quintilla Saeniani uxor, dom. 40, 155-157, 163, 177, 218N1, 239N3, 251, 264, 267, 274
Peducaeus Lupulus, off. 134
 M. Peducaeus Priscinus, cos. 110: 157
 M. Peducaeus Plautius Qvintillus, cos. 177: 155, 156, 157, 163
 M. Peducaeus Saenianus, cos.suff. 89: 155, 156, 157, 163
 M. Peducaeus Stloga Priscinus, cos. 141: 157, 163
 Pertinax 49, 117, 118
 Sex. Petronius 194
 M. Pet(ronius) Mam(ertinus) dom., praef.praet.: 147, 157-160, 222, 224, 228, 244, 254, 266, 274
 M. Petronius Mamertinus, cos.suff. 150: 158, 286
Petronius Mamer(tinus), dom. = M. Petronius Sura Mamertinus, cos. 182: 157-160, 222, 226N2, 233N2, 235, 255, 266, 277, 286
Petronius Septim(ianus), dom. = M. Petronius Sura Septimianus cos. 190: 157-160, 222, 226N2, 233N2, 235, 255, 266, 277, 286
 L. Petronius Tiro 160N2
 C. Petr(onius) Tran(), off. 143
 M. Petronius Veteranus 160N2
 Petronia Maxima 194
 C. Pettius Agraecus, off. 44
Pettius Proculus, off. 63
Pharnaces, off. 103
 Cn. Pinarius Cornelius Severus cf. *Cornelius Severus*, dom.
 Cn. Pinarius Cornelius Severus 101
 Cn. Pinarius L. f. Cornelius Clemens, cos. 72: 100, 101
 Piso 38
 A. Plaetorius Manilianus 161
 (A.) *Plaetorius Nepos*, dom. = A. Plaetorius A. f. Nepos Aponius Italicus Manilianus C. Licinius Pollio, cos.suff. 119: 13, 91N2, 160-162, 218N1, 228, 235, 244, 253, 270, 271, 274
 A. Plaetorius Nepos, cos.suff. 161: 161
 (L.) *Plautius Aquilinus*, dom. = L. Titius Plautius Aquilinus, cos. 162: 13, 75, 76, 157, 162-164, 193, 194, 219 and N1, 226N2, 232, 233, 234, 255, 277
 Plautius L. (F.Aelius) Lamia Silvanus cf. Aelius Silvanus
 Plautius Quintillus, cos.suff. a?: 163, 194
 Plautius Quintillus, cos. 159: 162, 163, 194
 Plautius Quintillus, vixit 212/213: 163
 Plautia Dynamis 131N2
 Plautia Servilia 165, 185
Plotia (Servilia) Isaurica, dom. 63, 64, 65, 66, 121 and N1, 164-165, 185, 197, 198N1, 234N1, 251, 260, 269, 270, 274
Plotilla, dom. = Sergia Plautilla 33, 41
Plotina Augusta 26N1, 44, 47, 54, 149, 161, 265, 285
 Pomp() Felix, off. 150
 Pompeius 175
 Sex. Pompeius 167
 Cn. Pompeius Magnus 68
 Q. Pompeius Mammeianus 166N3, 136, 137, 263, 281
 Q. Pompeius Mammeius 166N3, 136, 137, 263, 281

- Q. Pompeius Mammeius* 281
Q. Pompe(ius) Pae(), dom. 166, 183, 252, 265, 277
Pompeia 68
Pompeia Plotina cf. *Plotina*
Pomponius Bassus, cos. 211: 166, 168
L. Pomponius Bassus, cos. 118: 166, 168
T. Pomponius Bassus, cos.suff. 94: 168N4
C. Pomponius Bassus Terentianus, procos.: 168
Pomponius Ianuarius, off. 53, 56
Q. Pomponius Maternus, cos. 128: 166
C. Pomponius P(...)tus 167
Pomponius Proculus Vitrasius Pollio cf. *Vitrasius Pollio*, dom.
Q. Pomponius Rufus, cos.suff. 95: 167
C. Pomponius Rufus Acilius (?*Pris*)*cus Ceolius Sparsus*, cos. suff.
 98: 166, 167, 168
Q. Pomponius Rufus Marcellus, cos.suff. 121: 167, 168
Pomponius Vitalis, off. 56
Pomponia Bassila 167, 231N3
Pomponia Q. f(ilia) Bassila, dom. 166-168, 254, 277
Q. Ponponius Mussa, dom., cos.suff.circa 151-160: 165-166, 168,
 220N1, 231N3, 254, 275
A. Pontius Clodianus, off. 54, 55N1
C. Pontius Crescens 281
Pontius Laelianus 169
M. Pontius Laelianus Larcius Sabinus, cos. 163: 144, 151, 169
 and N6
M. Pontius Sabinus, dom. = *M. Pontius Laelianus Larcius Sabinus*,
 cos. 144: 144 and N1, 151, 152, 168-170, 228, 232, 244, 254,
 277
M. Pontius Sabinus, cos.suff. 153: 169
M. Pontius Varanus Sabinus 151, 152, 169
Popilius Clemens 281
Popilius Severus 281
Porc(ius) Celer, dom. 170, 250N1
Postumia Festa 118N5
C. Prastina Pacat(us) Messalinus, dom. = *C. Ulpus Prastina*
Pacatus Messalinus, cos. 147: 105N2, 170-172, 220N1, 226N2,
 255, 275
Prastina Pacata C. f. 171
Precilii 199, 281
Primitius, off. 67
Priscus 280
Procilia Phila, off. 136, 282
Procill(ia) Gemella, off. 150
L. Publilius Celsus Patruinus 173
L. P(ublilius) D... Patruinus 173
Publia Fulvia Plautilla 286
(Albius) Pullaien(us) Pollio, dom. = *L. Albius Pullaienus Pollio*,
 cos.suff. 90: 173-174, 219, 227N2, 252, 277
L. Puplil(i)us Celsu(s), pot.dom., cos. II 113: 16, 172-173,
 220N1, 226N2, 227 and N1, 235, 251
Quartinus, cos.: 194N2
D. R() *D()* = *D. Rutilius Doretus*, off. 174
T. R() *P()* = *T. Rausius Pamphilus*, off. 8, 63, 103, 164
P. Raius Ryt(), off. 60

- T. Rausius Papmphilus, off. cf. T. R()* *P()*
Regilla 61
R(egina) Cap(itolina), dom. = Claudia Capitolina 94-95, 142,
 218, 232, 233, 251, 267, 275
Rubria 247, 265, 267
A. Rul() *Epagathus, off.* 201
A. Runtius Felix, off. 120
Rupilius Bonus 174, 175
Rupilius Libo cf. Libo Rupilius Frugi
Rupillia Faustina, dom. 58, 111, 147, 148, 149, 174-175, 215N2,
 232, 233N1, 253, 265, 270, 275, 284, 285
Rustius Felix, off. 120
L. Rustius Lygdamus, off. 120
Rutilius Crispinus, dom. = Rutilius Pudens Crispinus, cos. suff.
 234/235: 175-176, 255, 278
D. Rutilius Doretus, off. cf. D. R() *D()*
M. Rutilius Lupus 179, 180
M. Rutilius Lupus, dom., praef. Aeg. 113-117: 74, 176-180, 183,
 184, 187 and N2, 188, 203, 214, 220N1, 224, 228, 234N2, 236N1,
 250N1, 251, 259, 263, 269, 272, 275
P. Rutilius Lupus, cos. 90 BC: 180
Rutilia L. f. Oerati uxor 247, 267
L. S() *F()* = *L. Servilius Fortunatus, off.* 186N4
P. S() *F()*, *off.* 60
Sabinus Nerei 245N1
Sabina 26N1, 136 and N1, 147, 148 and N7, 149, 175, 201, 233N1,
 265, 285
Sabina Sabinilla, dom. 180, 211N1, 254, 263
Saenius Victor, neg. 8, 129, 130
Sagitta, off. 69, 70
L. Sallustius Herennius Seius Caesar 128N5
C. Saloni Matidius Patruinus 285
Sam(), off. 198
Samn(ius) Gallus, dom. = L. Samnius Gallus 145, 180, 232N1, 252,
 278
L. Samnius L. f. Magius Gallus 145
L. Samnius Plocamus 180N5
Samnia L. f. Magia Marcella 145
Q. Sc() *P()* *P()*, *dom.* 181, 253, 259, 275
Scabula Rubria, dom. 181, 211N1, 253, 275
Scribonia 175
C. Sentius Aburnianus, puer Arv. 120: 46, 198N3
Sentius Augurinus = Q. Gellius Sentius Augurinus, procos.: 197,
 198
Sentius Satrianus cf. Ti. Tutinius Sent(ius) Satrianus, dom.
L. Septimius Aper, cos. 207: 286
P. Septimius Aper, cos. 153: 286
(L?) Septimius Bassianus = Caracalla 286
P. (L.) Septimius Geta 286
P. Septimius Geta 286
P. Septimius Geta 124, 286
(Septimius) Macer 286
Septimius Severus 26N1, 112, 114, 115, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126,
 127, 150, 159, 163, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 266, 286
Septimius Severus 286
C. Septimius Severus, procos. 174: 286

- L. Septimius Severus 286
 (Septimia) 286
 Septimia Octavilla 286
 Septimia Polla 286
 L. Sergius Paullus, procos. Cypri: 182
 L. Sergius Paullus, cos.suff. 70: 182
 L. Sergius Paullus, cos. 95/98: 101, 182
 L. Sergius Paullus, cos.suff. 150: 182
 L. Sergius Paullus, cos.suff. 179: 182 and N1
Sergia Paulina, dom. 48, 101, 102, 103, 181-183, 218, 232, 253, 265, 276
Sergia Plautilla cf. *Plotilla*
Ser() *Max()*, off. 119
Servenia Cornuta Cornelia Calpurnia Valeria Secunda Procilla...
 Luculla 84, 85
 Servianus 58
Servilius Capito, dom. 166, 183, 251, 265, 276
P. Servilius Firmus, off. 44, 120, 121N1, 189
P. Servilius Fortunatus, off. cf. *L. S()* *F()*
Ti. Servilius Gelos, off. 121N1, 164
Q. Serv(ilius) Pudens, dom. 76, 163, 165, 176N2, 177, 178, 179, 183-185, 253, 263, 272, 276
Q. Servilius Pudens, cos. 166: 76, 163, 184
Servilius Processus, off. 185
Q. Servilius Q. f. Hor() *Pudens* 185
Servilius Sigerus 164
Servilius Vatia 164, 165
Servilius Vatia Isauricus 165N1
L. Sessius Successus, off. 120, 127, 128
L. Sestius P. f. Alb(anus?) Quirinalis, dom. = *L. Sestius Quirinalis*, cos. 23 BC: 41
Sex() *Quinc()* 248
Silianus, dom. = *Ti. Statilius Silianus*, frater *Arv.*: 185-186, 231N3, 256, 260
Silius Decianus 149, 150
M. Sosius Laelianus Pontius Falco, sal.Pal. 170: 169
Spurilia Flori 8, 248, 267
Staphilus, off. 56
Statilius Maximus, epistrategus *Heptanomia*: 188
Statilius Maximus, idilogus *Aeg.*: 188
T. Statilius Maximus, dom., cos. 144: 44, 46, 47, 73N2, 94N1, 119, 120, 147, 177, 178, 186, 188-189, 226N2, 232, 234N2, 253, 262, 264, 270, 271, 276, 278N1
T. Statilius Maximus Severus 188
T. Statil(ius) Max(imus) Sev(erus) Had(rianus), dom., cos.suff. 115: 60, 90, 94N1, 184, 186-188, 189, 232, 234N2, 253, 259, 262, 270, 272, 276
T. Statilius Maximus Severus L. Iuventius Munitus 187
T. Statilius Severus = *L. Iulius Severus* = *L. Iulius Statilius Severus*, cos. 155: 189
T. Statilius Severus, cos. 171: 187 and N3, 189
T. Statilius Silianus cf. *Silianus*, dom.
C. Statius Capito, dom. = *C. Statius Capito Arrianus*, 183, 190, 231N3, 255, 271
C. Statius Comolvis, off. 190
L. Stertinius Noricus, cos.suff. 113: 191

- Stertinia Bassula*, dom. =? *Stertinia Cocceia Bassula Venicia*
Aeliana 133, 148, 190-191, 212N1, 232N1, 234N1, 255, 270,
 271, 276
Suc(cessus) 280
- P. T()* *E()*, off. 83
A. Taedius Fortunatus, dom. 192, 252, 278
C. Tarr() *Titian(us)*, dom. 192, 253, 276
Terentius Iulian(us), dom. 112, 234N2, 255, 270, 276
Tertius, off. 16, 69
Thallus, 245N1
Tiberius 33, 39
M. Titius Marcellus, pot.dom. 13, 36, 163, 193, 194, 219, 233,
 234, 251
L. Titius Plautius Aquilinus cf. *Plautius Aquilinus*, dom.
Titia Quatilla, dom. 36, 74, 75, 162, 163, 192-194, 219 and N1,
 232, 233, 234, 236N3, 253, 270, 276
Titus 38, 75
Tonneius Apollinaris 248
Trajan 26N1, 43N3, 47, 54, 58, 68, 69, 81, 98, 106, 142, 145,
 148N7, 149, 161, 172, 175, 178, 179, 193, 199, 206, 219, 236
 and N1, 237, 245, 260, 263, 265, 266, 285
Travius Felix, off. 138, 199, 200
Travone, off. 153
Trebia Tertulla, dom. 56, 62, 63, 103, 164, 195, 211N1, 212N1,
 253, 265, 270, 276
L. Turr(anus) Gal(), dom. 56, 113, 196-196, 212N1, 233N1, 253,
 266, 270, 276
(L.) Tur(ranus) Pri(), dom. 195, 196, 233N1, 252, 266, 278
C. (?Tur(a)nius Priscus, leg.pr.pr. *Macedoniae* 114: 196
L. Tutilius Ianuarius, off. 196
L. Tutilius Pontianus, dom. = *L. Tutilius Lupercus Pontianus*,
 cos. 135: 196-197, 212N1, 220N1, 226N2, 250N1, 254, 266,
 271, 276
L. Tutilius Pontianus Gentianus, cos. 183: 197
Tutilia L. f. Procla 197
Ti. Tutinius 198
Ti. Tutinius Sent(ius) Satrianus, dom. 46N2, 64, 103, 104, 164,
 197-198, 234N1, 254, 260, 270, 271, 272, 276
Ti. Tutinius Severus, frater *Arv.*: 198
- S. V()* *N()* = *Sex. Vismatius Neritus*, off. 155, 177
Valerianus 116
Q. Valerius Cato 266
Valerius Catullus, neg. 129, 154
L. Valerius Flaccus cf. *L. Iulius Ursus Valerius Flaccus*, dom.
L. Valerius Flaccus, procos. *Asiae*: 200
C. Valerius Flaccus Setinus Balbus 135, 136
Valerius Homullus 199
(M.) Val(erius) Hom(ullus), dom., cos. 152: 198-199, 226N2,
 231N3, 255, 276
M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus, cos. 31 BC: 33
M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus, cos. 58: 33
L. Valerius Messalla Thraxea Priscus, cos. 196: 200
C. Valerius Paullinus 200N3
M. Valerius Priscus, off. 161
L. Valerius Severus 8, 14, 280

- Q. Valerius Vegerus 101N3
 Valeria Marcia Hos(tilia) Crispina Moecia Cornelia 81
 Valeria Polla, dom. 46, 136, 138, 139, 199-200, 234N2, 236N1,
 255, 262, 270, 276
 Valeria M. f(ilia) Urbica, dom. 200-201, 211N1, 252, 278
 L. Vallius Proclus, off. 111
 M. Varienus Clem() 248
 Varius Romanus, 267, 282
 Vespasian 38, 58, 66, 75
 Vespasia Polla 66
 C. Vettius Comicus, off. 70
 Vettius Magnus, off. 117
 Sex. Vetulenus Thelcon, off. 62
 Vibius Atacianus, dom. 201, 254, 259, 276, 282N1
 Vibius Pudens, off. 44
 L. Vibius Sabinus, cos. 97: 147, 175, 285
 Q. Vibius Serv(), off. 74
 Vibia Aurelia Sabina 56N3
 Vibia Procla, off. 192
 Vibia Sabina cf. Sabina
 L. Vibullius Successus, off. 56
 C. Viccius 248
 A. Vicirius Martia(lis), dom., cos.suff. 98: 201-202, 227N2,
 251, 276
 A. Vicirius Proculus, cos.suff. 89: 201
 A. Villius Alexander, dom. 202, 212N1, 233N1, 252, 267, 278
 Vil(lius) Aug(), dom. 202, 233N1, 252, 267, 278
 Vismatius Felix, off. 176, 177, 203
 Vismatius Fortunatus, off. 44, 203
 Sex. Vismatius Himerus, off. 155
 Sex. Vismatius Neritus, off. cf. S. V() N()
 Vism(atius) Successus, dom. 14N2, 44, 46, 47, 50, 85, 177, 202-
 203, 212 and N1, 234N2, 254, 267, 270, 271, 276
 Vitrasius Pollio, dom. = T. Pomponius Proculus Vitrasius Pollio,
 cos. II 176: 121, 122, 203-204, 219, 222, 226N2, 227, 232,
 244, 255, 266, 276, 284
 T. Vitrasius Pollio, cos.suff. 138?: 203, 204
 Vitrasia Faustina 122
 L. Volu...us Nepos, dom. 204-205, 212N1, 254, 266, 276
 C. (?) Ulpius 171, 285
 Ulpius Abascantus 43N3
 Marcus Ulpius Abascantus 43N3
 P. Ulpius Aelianus, off. 204, 205
 M. Ulpius Anicetianus, off. 146
 Ulpius Bithynicus, dom. 205, 206, 254, 276
 C. Ulpius Prastina Pacatus Messalinus cf. Prastina Pacatus
 Messlinus, dom.
 M. Ulpius Traianus, cos. 70?: 285
 M. Ulp(ius) Ulpianus, dom. 205, 206, 252, 266, 272, 278
 Ulpia 285
 Ulpia Accepta, dom. 205-206, 211N1, 252, 278
 Ulpia Marcina 285
 Ummidius Quadratus, conspirator: 206, 207, 208
 Ummidius Quadratus, cos. 93: 108, 297, 209
 C. Ummidius Quadratus, cos.suff. 40: 206, 207

- C. Ummidius Quadratus, priest. 63: 207
 C. Ummidius Quadratus, cos. suff. 118: 58N2, 207, 208, 209
Um(m)idius Quadratus, dom. =? C. Ummidius Quadratus Annianus
 Verus, cos.suff.circa 140-145: 59, 108, 168N4, 182N4, 206-
 209, 219, 221, 232, 244, 255, 276, 284
 M. Ummidius Quadratus, cos. 167:= M. Ummidius Annianus Quadrati-
 anus 206, 207, 208, 209, 284
 C. Ummidius Sallustius 206, 207
 Ummidia Cornificia Faustina 182N4, 284
 Ummidia Quadratilla 73, 206, 207
Zosimus, off. 39
Zos(imus An()), off. 129
Zot() et Ant(), neg. 50

Index of Stemmas

Q. Aburnius Caedicianus	46	Hortensius Paulinus	131
Acilia Malliola	48	Ti. Iulius Iulianus	133
Aemilia Severa	52	L. Iulius Ursus Valerius	
Appius Bradua	61	Flaccus	136
Arria Caesennia Paulina	66	Iulia Lupula	138
Arruntia Camilla	68	Iulia Procula	140
Q. Asinius Marcellus	71	Pedania Quintilla	156
L. Bellicius Sollers	78	M. Petronius Mamertinus	158
C. Bruttius Praesens	81	Plautius Aquilinus	163
Calpurnius Proculus	84	Pomponia Bassila	167
Claudia Capitolina (R.Cap.)	95	M. Pontius Sabinus	169
Cornelius Severus	101	Sergia Paulina	182
Domitia Longina (Domitiani)	110	Titia Quartilla	194
Flavius Aper	115	Ummidius Quadratus	209

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