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MARY T. BOATWRIGHT

## Hadrian and Italian Cities\*

### *I. Introduction*

Hadrian is famous as one of the great builders of antiquity who was especially occupied with cities, but no study has yet focused on his work with cities in Italy.<sup>1</sup> Scattered evidence, primarily epigraphic, attests to Hadrian's involvement with more than 29 Italian cities other than Rome. He is responsible for several general and at least 11 specific administrative interventions in cities in Italy, such as accepting municipal magistracies and appointing *curatores rei publicae*. Even more frequently, Italian cities received buildings or restorations funded by him, with 21 attested instances. The purposes of this paper are to assemble the docu-

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\* Abbreviations employed in this paper, other than those in general use, are: HA = *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, ed. E. HOHL, 2nd Teubner edition corrected by C. SAMBERGER and W. SEYFARTH, Leipzig 1971; PECS = *Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, ed. R. STILLWELL et al., Princeton 1976; and SMALLWOOD = E. M. SMALLWOOD, *Documents Illustrating the Principates of Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian*, Cambridge 1966. For maps the reader may consult N. G. L. HAMMOND, ed., *Atlas of the Greek and Roman World in Antiquity*, Park Ridge, NJ 1981, maps 15, 16 a, 17. The following research was generously funded by the George A. and Eliza Gardner Howard Foundation, for which I am most appreciative. A version of one section of this paper was presented at the CAMWS Spring Meeting, 1988, and I thank the audience for their comments. I am also deeply grateful to L. RICHARDSON, jr., K. R. RIGSBY, P. J. FELDBLUM, and the readers of *Chiron* for advice; whatever errors remain are my own.

<sup>1</sup> For the ancient sources, see part III below. M. E. BLAKE, D. T. BISHOP, and J. D. BISHOP, *Roman Construction in Italy from Nerva through the Antonines*, Philadelphia 1973, intermix construction for which Hadrian was personally responsible with other structures merely dating to his period (thus wrongly attributing to Hadrian, e. g., a temple in Mevania and baths in Rhegium, pp. 272, 268). For other overviews, usually of Hadrianic building throughout the empire, see (e. g.) W. WEBER, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, Leipzig 1907, 103–104, 199–200; B. D'ORGEVAL, *L'Empereur Hadrian, œuvre législative et administrative*, Paris 1950, 255–76; G. BODEI GIGLIONI, *Lavori pubblici e occupazione nell'antichità classica*, Bologna 1974, 204–207; A. GARZETTI, *From Tiberius to the Antonines. A History of the Roman Empire, AD 14–192*, trans. J. R. FOSTER, London 1974, 386–401, 684–86; H. HALFMANN, *Itinera principum*, Stuttgart 1986, 188–210 (provincial work). To put in perspective the number of Italian cities Hadrian benefited, we note that H. NISSEN, *Italische Landeskunde. II. Die Städte*. 1, Berlin 1902, p. 3, estimates some 500 cities in Roman Italy (though cities of all periods).

mentation of Hadrian's varied interests in Italian cities, and to assess in historical context the involvement of Hadrian with Italian municipal life. The compilation of the scattered data and the overview they provide, both of Hadrian's interventions and of the Italian cities affected, will aid the inquiry into the political, social and economic history of Italy in the second century A.D.<sup>2</sup> The assembled evidence testifies to a Hadrianic Italy in which cities flourished and were mindful of local traditions, and to an active and nuanced interest on the emperor's part in preserving and encouraging urban life in a variety of ways.

Although Hadrian was involved both administratively<sup>3</sup> and by physical construction in some cities – Ostia, Lanuvium, Neapolis and Aeclanum –, for clarity's sake these two types of intervention are best discussed separately as far as possible. Most of the administrative interventions of Hadrian in Italian cities cannot be dated exactly, and are known from problematic evidence such as the fourth-century *Liber Coloniarum* or Hadrian's biography in the *Historia Augusta*.<sup>4</sup> In contrast, many of Hadrian's buildings and restorations in the peninsula fall into a chronology determined by the inscriptions documenting them. Furthermore, whereas the ancient literary sources seldom date Hadrian's administrative acts, they do generally link Hadrian's building activities to his travels, thus establishing a chronological framework for discussion. The following analysis is divided into three sections: Hadrian's administrative interventions with Italian municipalities in the form of grants of colonial status, centuriation and land assignment, assumption of municipal magistracies, and appointments of *curatores rei publicae*; his building activities in cities in the peninsula; and the conclusions. The table at the end of the article lists alphabetically the Italian cities in which Hadrian directly intervened, and notes the type and date of intervention.

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<sup>2</sup> Lacking different types of evidence, while assessing cities' socio-economic circumstances in and after the Hadrianic period I have often had to rely on the inscriptions of the city under discussion; this, of course, raises the problem of the representative nature of surviving epigraphic material.

<sup>3</sup> I use the terms administration and administrative only broadly and for convenience's sake, to encompass the demands and claims made by the central government upon private citizens and municipalities (e.g., imperial assignments of a town's territory), as well as imperial interference in the structures of a municipality (e.g., imperial tenure of local magistracies). See *International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences* I, 1968, s.v. Administration, 61–79, esp. 63, 68.

<sup>4</sup> For the *Liber Coloniarum*, see n. 33 below. All references to this document are to its edition by F. BLUME, K. LACHMANN and A. RUDORFF, *Die Schriften der römischen Feldmesser*, Berlin 1848–52, reproduced Hildesheim 1967, and will be cited simply by the page number followed by L. The biography of Hadrian is among the best and most trustworthy of those in the fourth-century *Historia Augusta*, and relies chiefly on two sources, Marius Maximus and «Ignotus»: R. SYME, *Emperors and Biography*, Oxford 1971; idem, Ammianus and the «*Historia Augusta*», Oxford 1968; T. D. BARNES, *The Sources of the «Historia Augusta»*, Brussels 1978. Yet individual notices should be assessed with care: see, e.g., n. 10 below.

## II. Administrative Activities

Hadrian's administrative involvement in Italian municipal life can be characterized as reactive and episodic, without any broad and systematic aim.<sup>5</sup> Although the ultimate effect of his changes contributed to encroachment by the central administration on Italian municipal autonomy, this almost certainly was not his goal. This conclusion, concurring with those of the specific studies by D. JOHNSTON on bequests to Roman towns<sup>6</sup> and W. ECK on Italian *iuridici*, *curatores rei publicae* and other imperial office holders in Italy,<sup>7</sup> is true of the instances of Hadrianic intervention in Italian cities in the form of elevation of *municipia* to colonial status, assignment of land in cities' territory, and assumption of municipal offices.

The one innovation made by Hadrian that applied to Italy as a whole, his creation of the *IVviri consulares*, is so poorly attested that we can only speculate as to his motives. Hadrian appointed four men of consular rank to juridical duties in Italy, a function discontinued by Antoninus Pius but reintroduced by Marcus Aurelius when he established *iuridici*, judges, of praetorian rank for Italy (HA, Hadr. 22.13, Pii 2.11, Marci 11.6; App. BCiv. 1.38.172; cf. HA, Pii 3.1). We know neither the duties of the Hadrianic *IVviri consulares* nor the exact date of their introduction.<sup>8</sup> The general consensus that Hadrian's measure attempted to

<sup>5</sup> Two general administrative measures of Hadrian seem not to have applied to or affected Italy: his reorganization of the finances of the *cursus publicus* (HA, Hadr. 7.5), and his reported changes in the collection of the *vicesima hereditatium*: W. ECK, *Die staatliche Organisation Italiens in der hohen Kaiserzeit*, Munich 1979, 97–98, 142–43, 125 n. 65. Measures not directed to specific cities but which may have promoted civic life in Italy include Hadrian's remission of debts at his accession (cf., e.g., HA, Hadr. 7.6), and some changes in the alimentary system set up by Trajan (cf., e.g., HA, Hadr. 7.8; Ulp. Dig. 34.1.14). On the latter scheme see J. R. PATTERSON, *Crisis: What Crisis? Rural Change and Urban Development in Imperial Apennine Italy*, PBSR 55, 1987, 124–46, who argues that the establishment of the *alimenta* does not indicate an overall agricultural crisis in first and early second century Italy. In any case, Hadrian does not seem to be responsible for any new alimentary schemes in Italian cities: R. DUNCAN-JONES, *The Economy of the Roman Empire. Quantitative Studies*, 2nd ed., Cambridge 1982, 319 and n. 5.

<sup>6</sup> D. JOHNSTON, *Munificence and municipia: Bequests to Towns in Classical Roman Law*, JRS 75, 1985, 106–110, 124–25. Also relevant here is the *senatus consultum* introduced by Hadrian that, following a constitution of Nerva, confirmed legacies could be left to any city in the empire (Ulp. Epit. 24.28): JOHNSTON holds that Hadrian's act was undertaken for peregrine, not Italian, cities. <sup>7</sup> ECK, *Staatliche Organisation* (above, n. 5) 268 and passim.

<sup>8</sup> Antoninus Pius, who assumed jurisdiction over an area in which he possessed much property, is one of these officials (HA, Pii 2.11), as also may be L. Vitrasius Flamininus, *leg. pp.* (sic) *pr. Italiae Transpadanae* (CIL X 3870; R. SYME, *Journeys of Hadrian*, ZPE 73, 1988, 162). SYME dates Vitrasius' office in Transpadana to ca. 129, and holds that Hadrian made his juridical innovation after visiting *Italia circumpadana* in his trip of 127. See R. SYME, *Transpadana Italia*, *Athenaeum* 63, 1985, 28–29, and n. 80 below. ECK, *Staatliche Organisation* (above, n. 5) 249, suggests the office was established early in Hadrian's reign.



accelerate judicial procedure by allowing trials under Roman law in individual Italian cities rather than in Rome, as well as took a step towards the provincialization of Italy,<sup>9</sup> may derive from an anachronism committed by the authors of the HA.<sup>10</sup> Nonetheless, Hadrian's judicial innovation does harmonize with his other interventions in Italian cities by its presumable effect of increasing the importance and vitality of towns outside of Rome, the eventual sites of trials heard by Hadrian's judges.

### *a. Grants of Colonial Status*

When Hadrian granted colonial status to the *municipia* of Aeclanum in Samnium and Formiae in Latium, he ensured that the two cities subsequently used Roman law and political custom rather than their own traditions. Yet the further significance of these grants is unclear. Hadrian's general reluctance to grant colonial status to *municipia* is recorded in an oration he gave in the senate, which Gellius in part reports and comments on (Gell. 16.13.4–6). F. GRELLE has analyzed in detail this *oratio de Italicensibus*, convincingly dating it ca. 118–121, and the various Hadrianic *coloniae* and *municipia* in the Latin West; he confirms Hadrian's usual preference for the more traditionally autonomous *municipia* (cf. Gell. 16.13.4, 6, 9).<sup>11</sup> Yet GRELLE rejects as applicable to Hadrianic Italy Gellius' statement that colonial status was coveted for reasons of prestige (Gell. 16.13.9).<sup>12</sup> L. KEPPIE's thesis that veteran colonies were discontinued in Italy after Vespasian<sup>13</sup> raises the associated question of who, if any, were the new settlers in these towns.

The exact facts of Hadrian's grant of colonial status to Aeclanum and Formiae are obscure. The full name of Aeclanum under Marcus Aurelius, *Colonia Aelia Augusta Aeclanum* (CIL IX 1111), testifies merely to the city's acquisition of colonial status from Hadrian.<sup>14</sup> There is no evidence that new colonists were settled in the city at this time.<sup>15</sup> Although GRELLE associates the colonization with a centuriation of the city's territory,<sup>16</sup> his arguments for this are not persuasive. The

<sup>9</sup> E.g., GARZETTI (above, n. 1), 406–407.

<sup>10</sup> ECK, Staatliche Organisation (above, n. 5), 248–49. See also W. SIMSHÄUSER, Iuridici und Munizipalgerichtsbarkeit in Italien, Munich 1973, 235–36.

<sup>11</sup> F. GRELLE, L'autonomia cittadina fra Traiano e Adriano. Teoria e prassi dell'organizzazione municipale, Naples 1972, 66–231.

<sup>12</sup> GRELLE (above, n. 11), 183–84.

<sup>13</sup> L. KEPPIE, Colonisation and Veteran Settlement in Italy 47–14 B.C., London 1983 (hereafter KEPPIE, CVSI), 210–11.

<sup>14</sup> What remains of the pertinent part of the inscription, dated to 166/167 by the tribunician power of Marcus Aurelius, reads: [*Colonia*] *Aelia*/[*Aug. Ae*] *cla[n]um* (lines 10–11).

<sup>15</sup> GRELLE (above, n. 11), 183. He is incorrect, however, in his statement that the new colonial status did not entail the usual change in local magistracies from *quattuorviri* to *duoviri*: see CIL IX 1160, 1141, and MOMMSEN, in CIL IX, p. 99.

<sup>16</sup> GRELLE (above, n. 11), 182–83, 215.

measurement of Aeclanum's land reported by the Liber Coloniarum I (210 L.) is undated, and the interpolated copy of this entry in the Liber Coloniarum II (261 L.), though linked with a redistribution of land in Canusium possibly made during Antoninus Pius' reign by Herodes Atticus, without corroboration cannot be used as evidence.<sup>17</sup> The other Hadrianic colony in Italy, Formiae on the border of Latium and Campania, seems to have experienced demographic changes when it was transformed into *Colonia Aelia Hadriana Augusta Formiae* (CIL X 6079).<sup>18</sup> GRELLE notes that although the older families of the town continue to be enrolled in their traditional tribe, the Aemilia, from this time on the *duoviri* with attested tribes are inscribed in the Palatina. He ascribes this phenomenon to either Hadrian's promotion of humble locals or his settlement of landless poor from Rome, and he relates a centuriation of Formiae's land detected by aerial photography at the beginning of this century.<sup>19</sup> To account for Hadrian's concern for Aeclanum and Formiae, GRELLE presumes that the two new colonies had been in economic and political decline.<sup>20</sup>

Other evidence speaks against this theory. A native of Aeclanum, C. Eggius Ambibulus, was rich and powerful enough to become consul in 126.<sup>21</sup> In an unusual instance of public work financed jointly by local entities and the emperor, in 123 landowners around Aeclanum contributed one-third the cost for renovating the Via Appia between Beneventum and Aeclanum, while Hadrian contributed the other two-thirds.<sup>22</sup> An even more obvious sign of local prosperity and

<sup>17</sup> For Herodes Atticus, «founder» of Canusium, see Philostr. VS 2.1.551; for Liber Coloniarum I and II, see n. 33 below. E. PAIS, *Storia della colonizzazione di Roma antica. I: Prolegomeni. Le fonti: I libri imperiali regionum*, Rome 1923, 156, is garbled on Aeclanum. Aerial photography shows centuriation in Aeclanum, but cannot date it: G. SCHMIEDT, *Atlante aereofotografico delle sedi umane in Italia. II: le sedi antiche scomparse*, Florence 1970, CIX.

<sup>18</sup> GRELLE (above, n. 11), 182. See also MOMMSEN, CIL X, p. 603; WEISS, RE 6.2, 1909, s.v. Formiae, 2857; B. GALSTERER-KRÖLL, *Untersuchungen zu den Beinamen der Städte des Imperium Romanum*, *Epigraphische Studien* 9, 1972, 78, with remarks on the significance of the title; and AE 1962, 311 = M. ZAMBELLI, *Due iscrizioni inedite di Formia*, *PdP* 15, 1960, 450–57.

<sup>19</sup> GRELLE (above, n. 11), 182–83, 215, with references to four instances. GRELLE then transfers to Hadrian a notice of the Liber Coloniarum that the triumvirs had centuriated land in Formiae, establishing a colony there without imposing new colonists (234 L.). For a more cautious treatment of the entry in the Liber Coloniarum, see KEPPIE, *CVSI* (above, n. 13), 62–63.

<sup>20</sup> GRELLE (above, n. 11), 183–84.

<sup>21</sup> M. CÉBEILLAC, *Les quaestores principis et candidati aux Ier et IIème siècles de l'empire*, Milan 1972, 176–77; *PIR*<sup>2</sup>, III, 1943, E 5, p. 68; GROAG, RE 5.2, 1905, s.v. Eggius 2, 1986–87. Archaeological finds in Aeclanum confirm the town's prosperity in the second century: S. DE CARO and A. GRECO, *Campania, Guide archeologiche Laterza* 10, Bari-Rome 1981, 173–75; C. HULSEN, RE 1.1, 1893, s.v. Aeclanum, 444.

<sup>22</sup> CIL IX 6072, 6074, 6075 = D. 5875; NSc 1897, 160; AE 1930, 122: *Imp. Caesar/ divi Traiani/ Parthici f., divi/ Nervae nepos, /<sup>5</sup> Traianus Hadrianus/ Aug. pont. max., trib./ pot. VII, cos. III, / viam Appiam per/ milia passus/* <sup>10</sup> *XVDCCL longa/ vetustate amis/ sam, adiectis HS XI*

initiative is the inscription recording Hadrian's permission to a certain Ti. Claudius Bithynicus to pave two miles of the road from Aeclanum to the new Via Traiana running farther east (CIL IX 1414 = D. 5877).<sup>23</sup> The evidence points to a mutual cooperation of Hadrian and Aeclanum, perhaps gratefully acknowledged in the city by its establishment of a flamine of Hadrian, a sacrifice to the Aelian Hercules, and a dedication to the emperor (CIL IX 1160 = D. 6485, CIL IX 1095, 1110).<sup>24</sup>

That such cooperation was encouraged by the ties of patronage and *amicitia* is suggested by the high position of Eggius during the middle years of Hadrian's reign.<sup>25</sup> Aeclanum's change to colonial status may have occurred in this period, when Hadrian, who had also been involved in the collaborative work on the Via Appia mentioned above, was perhaps traveling through the region (below, p. 251). Patronage and *amicitia* also seem important in the administrative and religious positions of the one known *flamen* of Hadrian in Aeclanum, C. Neratius Proculus Betitius Pius Maximillianus (CIL IX 1160 = D. 6485). This man of Aeclanum, who held many positions in his home town and was its patron, was appointed by Hadrian to be *curator operum publicorum* in Venusia on the border of Samnium and Apulia (discussed below with other Hadrianic activities in cities in Samnium). Neratius Proculus was connected by marriage to the renowned jurist of Trajan's and Hadrian's era, L. Neratius Priscus from Saepinum.<sup>26</sup>

We may similarly exclude for Formiae's transformation to *colonia GRELLE*'s

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*XLVII ad HS DLXIX C quae*<sup>15</sup> *possessores agro/rum contulerunt/fecit*. The repairs were essential to Aeclanum's well-being: the town was bypassed by the new Via Traiana (E. T. SALMON, PECS s. v. Aeclanum, 149), and the very rare *amissam* of the inscription may reflect the utter impassibility of this stretch of the Appia before its Hadrianic repairs (ECK, Staatliche Organisation [above, n. 5] 35). This example of joint contributions by the central government and a municipality for public work has only six parallels, according to R. MACMULLEN, Roman Imperial Building in the Provinces, HSCP 64, 1959, 225 n. 24. Hadrian's collaboration with the inhabitants of the region contrasts the possible repair, contributed by Trajan alone, of the Appia from Aeclanum to Venusia: N. JACOBONE, Venusia. Storia e topografia. Parte prima, Trani 1909, 103.

<sup>23</sup> *Ti. Claudio Ti. fil. Cor./Bithynico,/quaest., Ilvir, aed., Ilvir i. d., Ilvir quinq., praef. fabr./*  
<sup>5</sup> *Hic permissu imp. Caes. Traiani/Hadriani Aug. viam per/passuum duum milium/euntibus in Apuliam/---*. Cf. CIL X 4756, and IX 670.

<sup>24</sup> For CIL IX 1160 = D. 6485, see pp. 263–64 below. Eck's discussion of the participation of emperor and local landowners in the rebuilding of the Via Appia (Staatliche Organisation [above n. 5] 76–77) leans towards my interpretation of the inscription recording the road restoration.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. GRELLE (above, n. 11), 183, who, however, overlooks the implications of Eggius' position for the socio-economic status of the town.

<sup>26</sup> Proculus' equestrian father, C. Betitius Pietas of Aeclanum, apparently married the sister of L. Neratius Proculus, a distant relative of L. Neratius Priscus. See GROAG, RE 16.2, 1935, s. v. Neratius 16, 2551–52; MOMMSEN, in CIL IX, p. 106; PIR<sup>1</sup>, N 49, p. 403.

suggestion that Hadrian was redressing social and economic decline in the town as he made a show of his *indulgentia*. Formiae had apparently rebounded quickly after its destruction by Sextus Pompey at the end of the republic. It enjoyed a beautiful coastal location on the Via Appia and produced excellent wine (Mart. 10.30; Hor. C. 3.16.34; Athen. 1.26.e).<sup>27</sup> Its fishermen were influential enough to obtain access to Antoninus Pius about sea fishing rights.<sup>28</sup>

The data at which Hadrian altered Formiae's civic status is unknown, but it most likely did not fall in his first presumable visit as emperor to Campania. A passage in Hadrian's biography notes among events of 119 or 120 a trip to Campania during which Hadrian bolstered his power by benefactions and acts of *amicitia* (HA, Hadr. 9.6). GRELLE's early date of 118–121 for the *oratio de Italicensibus* makes it improbable that Hadrian granted colonial status to Formiae during this visit to Campania. We should either assign the grant to the end of his reign, when Hadrian retired to the area to die in Baiae (HA, Hadr. 25.5–6), or leave it undated, like Hadrian's appointment of a *curator rei publicae* in neighboring Tarracina (see below).

One enigmatic piece of evidence has been associated with Formiae, but on questionable grounds; it does little to clarify Hadrian's grant of colonial status to the city. The region around Formiae is the source of a dedicatory inscription, now lost, honoring L. Villius Atilianus, an equestrian and *patronus coloniae* who gave a gladiatorial show and remitted money promised him by the populace «in the same year in which Hadrian, the best of emperors, undertook the honor of the duumvirate» (CIL X 6090).<sup>29</sup> The inscription substantiates the statement of Hadrian's biography that Hadrian often accepted the chief magistracy in a town, and illuminates one way in which Hadrian was involved in Italian municipal life (discussed further below). Nevertheless, the inscription mentions no local office for Villius and does not specify of what colony he was patron. It has been assigned to Formiae by GRELLE and others, and to its neighbor Minturnae by MOMMSEN, although neither city is inscribed in Villius' tribe, the Tromentina.<sup>30</sup> We cannot assume that Villius' honorific inscription documents

<sup>27</sup> WEISS (above, n. 18), 2857; M. NAPOLI, EAA 3, 1960, s.v. Formia, 722–23; F. COARELLI, Lazio, Guide archeologiche Laterza 5, Bari-Rome 1982, 359–68. J. H. D'ARMS, Romans on the Bay of Naples, Cambridge, MA 1970, see index, discusses the villas of the elite found here.

<sup>28</sup> WEISS (above, n. 18), 2857–58, with references.

<sup>29</sup> L. Villio C. f. Tremen. / Atiliano, praef. fabr., / praef. coh., trib. milit., / proc. Aug., patron. colon., / <sup>5</sup> qui rogatus ab ordine pari ter et populo gladiatorii muneris publici curam / suscipere fecit et explicito / quod promiserat impendium / <sup>10</sup> bigae quam populus ex collatione / legati vii epuli offerebat remisit / eo anno quo et optimus imperator / Hadrianus Augustus etiam / duumviratus honorem suscepit. / <sup>15</sup> L. Stertinius L. lib. Parthenopaeus / amico incomparabili / l. d. d. d.

<sup>30</sup> It is unclear why MOMMSEN introduces this inscription with «Minturnis titulum olim collocatum fuisse probabile est,» since almost all his manuscript sources saw it at Caiatae (Gaeta), and the voting tribe of Minturnae is Teretina, not Tromentina. GRELLE (above, n. 11), 215, notes the problems connected with Villius' tribe. Formiae's tribe is Aemilia.

Hadrian's acceptance of the new position of *duumvir* in the freshly colonized Formiae.<sup>31</sup>

Hadrian's grants of colonial status to Aeclanum and Formiae contradict his early preference for *municipia*, which could use their own customs and laws rather than those of Rome. The grants must date some time after the *oratio de Italicensibus*. The tribe Sergia is not attested in the two new colonies, which almost certainly were not veteran settlements. The colonization of Aeclanum seems to have been primarily honorific, perhaps accountable by Hadrian's friendship with Eggius and Neratius Priscus, but its effect on the town is hard to determine. Conversely, his colonization of Formiae has more obscure motivations but possibly clearer consequences in the rise to prominence of families inscribed in the Palatina tribe, although we can identify neither the origin of these individuals nor the process by which they gained access to power. The two colonizations, which appear so extraordinary in light of the literary evidence provided by Gellius, are matched by other Hadrianic activities in the regions of these two cities, and may simply be responses to dissimilar sorts of requests.

### *b. Centuriation and Land Assignment*

Hadrian's centuriation and assignment of cities' land constitute a different class of administrative intervention. The *Liber Coloniarum* refers to Hadrian six times in all, mentioning a *lex Aelia* responsible for land division in Hispellum (224 L.), and naming Hadrian five other times in connection with land measurements and assignments: at Ardea (231 L.), Veii (222 L.), Lavinium (234 L.), Lanuvium (235 L.), and Ostia (236 L.).<sup>32</sup> These Hadrianic interferences with existing land-holding patterns are known solely from entries in the *Liber Coloniarum*, whose piecemeal composition and lack of explanation necessitate individual evaluation of each of its reports.<sup>33</sup> As with Hadrian's grants of colonial status, no single pattern emerges clearly from the investigation of this type of intervention.

<sup>31</sup> As does, e.g., GRELLE (above, n. 11), 214–15.

<sup>32</sup> Hadrian is also named in a list of emperors responsible for land measurement, the *Demonstratio Artis Geometricae*, that is included in the gromatical corpus (403–404 L.).

<sup>33</sup> For overviews of this work and cautions about how to treat it, see esp. KÉPPÉ, CVSI (above, n. 13) 8–12; also R. THOMSEN, *The Italic Regions from Augustus to the Lombard Invasion*, København 1947, 262–75. For Italy only the entries in the Diocletianic *suburbicaria* vicarare are preserved. Although the manuscript tradition ultimately dates to the first half of the fourth century, when one or as many as five excerptors epitomized information from a work composed by a certain Balbus in the Trajanic period, Balbus based his composition on a description of land assignments originating in the middle or late Augustan period and added to up to his own time. Balbus' work was interpolated in turn, so that the *Liber Coloniarum* I mentions land assignments by Hadrian and other emperors up to the time of Commodus. The *Liber Coloniarum* II, probably from the second half of the fourth century, is a reworking of the earlier *Liber Coloniarum* I (THOMSEN, 291–95). All references hereafter are to the *Liber*

Two of the Hadrianic references in the *Liber Coloniarum* are manifestly false. MOMMSEN long ago postulated that *lex Aelia* was mistakenly transmitted instead of *lex Iulia* in the entry on Hispellum, where we learn that the territory of the town was divided according to this law (*Ager Spellatinus lege Aelia est adsignatus in modum iugerationis*, 224 L.). Nothing else connects Hadrian to the town, which has the title *Colonia Iulia Hispelli* (Plin. NH 3.113; CIL XI, p.766) and most likely was made a colony soon after Philippi.<sup>34</sup> A different type of mistake was made in the reference to Ardea, which appears in the list of towns in Campania. Here the *Liber Coloniarum* baldly states *Ardea, oppidum. imperator Adrianus censuit* (sic). ... *ager eius in lacineis est adsignatus* (231 L.). No other evidence links Hadrian to this city. The *Liber* concludes with the tract entitled *Ex libro Balbi nomina lapidum finalium* (249–51 L.), of which the final notice is the inscription of a boundary stone situated between the territories of Ardea and another town by an agrarian surveyor, Blaesius Taurinus. The emperor on whose authority the boundary was laid out is Antoninus Pius, named officially T. Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius. MOMMSEN has pointed out that this more detailed and technical reference concluding the *Liber Coloniarum* is almost certainly authentic; it furnished a reference from which an interpolator later inaccurately composed the shorter and more generic statement about Hadrian's census of Ardea.<sup>35</sup>

Hadrian's connection to Veii is slight, even if we accept the Veientan entry in the *Liber Coloniarum*. The city and its territory receive an unusually lengthy three pages in the *Liber*. Among the items noted in the history of its land assignments near Capena and the Via Aurelia is that Hadrian ordered inscribed boundary stones to be substituted for boundary markers of *lignei sacrificales*, which perhaps were from land assignments made there by Augustus.<sup>36</sup> In the context of

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*Coloniarum* I unless otherwise specified. Aerial photography cannot determine the date of centuriation, but may clarify some types of land divisions: J. BRADFORD, *Ancient Landscapes*, London 1957, 212–13.

<sup>34</sup> TH. MOMMSEN, *Die Libri Coloniarum*, in F. BLUME et al., *Die Schriften der römischen Feldmesser II, Erläuterungen und Indices*, Berlin 1848–52, reproduced Hildesheim 1967, 178 n. 43; THOMSEN, *Italic Regions* (above, n. 33) 275; PAIS, *Colonizzazione* (above, n. 17) 184; KEPPIE, *CVSI* (above, n. 13) 177–79.

<sup>35</sup> MOMMSEN, in CIL X, p. 676; C. HÜLSEN, *RE* 2.1, 1895, s.v. *Ardea* 2, 613; though PAIS, *Colonizzazione* (above, n. 17) 212–13, only reluctantly disallows it. MOMMSEN's reconstruction of the boundary stone, as reproduced in the *Liber Coloniarum* (251 L.), reads: *Ex auctoritate imp. T. Aeli Hadriani Antonini Aug. Pii, p. p., sententia dicta per Tuscenium Felicem p(rimi) p(illum) II, determinante Bl(a)esio Taurino mil. coh. IV pr(aetoriae), me(n)sore agrario [in]t[e]r Ardeat[i]n(os) [et ---]*. The possibility that Hadrian appointed a *curator rei publicae* for Ardea is tentative at best: see n. 55 below.

<sup>36</sup> ... *nam postea iussu imp. Adriani vice numero limitum termini positi sunt lapidei, qui ab uno incipiunt scripti numerum continere, ut puta TERMINUS PRIMUS, TERMINUS SECUNDUS, TERMINUS TERTIUS, TERMINUS QUARTUS, TERMINUS QUINTUS, usque ad numerum suum [facit] vel conclusionem angulorum agri adsignati. quorum mensura licet diversa sit, tamen distant a se in pedibus C, in CXL, in ped. CC, in ped. CCXX, in ped. CCC, in*

the Liber Coloniarius, the Hadrianic entry for Veii seems unimpeachable, particularly in light of the specifications it quotes from the inscriptions of the new boundary stones.<sup>37</sup> There is no other evidence for Hadrian's interest in Veii.<sup>38</sup>

Three other Hadrianic entries in the Liber Coloniarius concern assignments of land in cities in Latium close to Rome: Lavinium, Lanuvium and Ostia. Despite a superficial resemblance, the three notices are not equally sound. According to the Liber, in Lavinium Hadrian assigned the land in strips, as had Vespasian and Trajan (234 L.); in Lanuvium, Hadrian's assignments supplanted those of Augustus to his veterans and to the Vestal Virgins (235 L.).<sup>39</sup> Hadrian is said to have assigned Ostian *ager* in various shapes of strips, as had Vespasian and Trajan, although L. Verus, Marcus Aurelius and Commodus subsequently conceded some of the land to private individuals (236 L.).<sup>40</sup> Without confirmation for Hadrian's interest in Lavinium, we should probably dismiss the notice of the Liber Coloniarius.<sup>41</sup> Hadrian's buildings and restorations in Lanuvium and Ostia, which corroborate his reported land assignments in the two cities and which will be discussed below, do not help explain the land assignments. The general absence of Hadrian's tribe Sergia in Lanuvium and Ostia argues that veterans were not settled on the Hadrianic land allotments.

To my knowledge, the only explanation of Hadrian's land assignments offered so far suggests that Hadrian settled imperial *coloni* on imperial or municipal

*ped. CCCLX, in ped. CCCC, in ped. CCCCLXXX, in ped. D, in ped. DLX, in ped. DC* (221 L.). For the definition of the area involved, see PAIS, Colonizzazione (above, n. 17) 170. For various types of boundary markers, see Hyg. Grom., 194 L.; F. CASTAGNOLI, DizEpig IV, 1964, s.v. limitatio, 1381; Hyg. de generibus contr. 126–27 L.; Liber Coloniarius 222–23 L.; Front. II, de contr. agrorum 43 L.; and PAIS, Colonizzazione, VIII.

<sup>37</sup> These details differ from superficially similar ones adduced on the following page of the Liber about Veientan land between Rome and Portus, which fuller information ends with the mention of a bronze *forma* (map) Trajan had drawn up of the area.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. J. WARD-PERKINS, Veii: the historical topography of the ancient city, PBSR 16, 1961, 57–59: after the early Julio-Claudians Veii went into steady decline. He does not mention the notice of the Liber Coloniarius. On the other hand, the Veientan entry in the Liber is somewhat bolstered by the Liber's more plausible note of a Hadrianic land assignment in neighboring Ostia. Cf. PAIS, Colonizzazione (above, n. 17) 180, 242.

<sup>39</sup> *Laurum Lavinia lege et consecratione veteri manet. ager eius ab imp. Vespasiano Traiano et Adriano in lacineis est adsignatus ...* (234 L.); *Lanuvium ... postea imp. Hadrianus colonis suis agrum adsignari iussit* (235 L.). PAIS, Colonizzazione (above, n. 17) 235, notes that the unusual information about Augustus' assignments in Lanuvium is strengthened by Hyginus, who incidentally mentions elsewhere land possessed by the Vestal Virgins and by priests (*de conditionibus agrorum*, 117 L.). On the other hand, Lanuvium was not a colony, as the Liber Coloniarius claims: PHILIPP, RE 12.1, 1924, s.v. Lanuvium, 695; CIL XIV, p. 191.

<sup>40</sup> *Ostiensis ager ab imp. Vespasiano Traiano et Hadriano, in precisuris, in lacineis, et per strigas, colonis eorum est adsignatus ...* (236 L.).

<sup>41</sup> Cf. e.g., PHILIPP, RE 12.1, 1924, s.v. Lavinium, 1008; F. CASTAGNOLI, in Lavinium I: Topografia generale, fonti e storia delle ricerche, Rome 1972, 104, 117–18, is most dubious.

lands; R. MEIGGS further postulates that Hadrian, and Vespasian and Trajan before him, assigned Ostian land to imperial tenants in an attempt to redress the drain of farmers to the city.<sup>42</sup> No identification of these imperial *coloni* has been made, and MEIGGS' tempting suggestion so far has no verification. Something similar may have been behind the land assignments at Lanuvium, a city known to have been in decline in the imperial period,<sup>43</sup> but as we shall see below when discussing Hadrian's attested building activities in that city, Lanuvium's antiquity and religious associations were probably at least equally important in drawing Hadrian's interest to the town. We should be wary of ascribing Hadrian's land assignments at Lanuvium to any «economically rational» scheme of repopulating arable land near Rome: the isolated nature of the two plausible Hadrianic land assignments argues against it. Yet the land assignments at Lanuvium and at Ostia may have been granted to the landless poor of Rome in a liberal gesture anticipated by Nerva elsewhere (Dio 68.2; Plin. Ep. 7.31.4; D. 1019, 5750).<sup>44</sup> The propinquity of the two cities to Rome would have enhanced the desirability of the allotments for the Roman poor, since the colonists would not have had to move far to their new holdings.

### c. Assumption of Municipal Magistracies

Hadrian's assumption of municipal magistracies is referred to in a passage in Hadrian's biography listing various demonstrations of Hadrian's interest in cities and a region: *in Etruria praeturam imperator egit. per Latina oppida dictator et aedilis et duumvir fuit, apud Neapolim demarc(h)us, in patria sua quinquennalis et item Hadriae quinquennalis, quasi in alia patria, et Athenis archon fuit. In omnibus paene urbibus et aliquid aedificavit et ludos edidit* (HA, Hadr. 19.1–2). Independent evidence shows that Hadrian assumed Ostia's duumvirate at least twice by 126,<sup>45</sup> held the duumvirate in some unidentified town near Formiae (above), and was *archon* in Athens, though long before his principate.<sup>46</sup> The other mu-

<sup>42</sup> R. MEIGGS, *Roman Ostia*, 2nd ed., Oxford 1973, 267; GRELLE (above, n. 11), 181, 216, who uncritically accepts the notices of the *Liber Coloniarum* concerning all three Hadrianic assignments in Lavinium, Lanuvium and Ostia, and holds that the settlement of new *coloni* did not affect the constitutions of the towns.

<sup>43</sup> For the town, see PHILIPP (above, n. 39) 694–95, and F. COARELLI, *Dintorni di Roma*, *Guide archeologiche Laterza* 7, Bari-Rome 1981, 105–110, who notes that the temple was ruinous in Pliny's day (NH 35.17). See n. 112 below.

<sup>44</sup> For this scheme, see KEPPIE, *CVSI* (above, n. 13) 210.

<sup>45</sup> *Inscr. Ital.* 13.1, pp. 203, 233 = SMALLWOOD, 24. MEIGGS, *Ostia* (above, n. 42) 176 n. 1, remarks that the fragmentary nature of the inscription's text makes III and IIII formally possible, but that it is unlikely Hadrian would have accepted the title of *duumvir* at Ostia so many times. On p. 75 he stresses the significance of Hadrian's iteration of the honor.

<sup>46</sup> For his archonship in Athens, held in 111/112 or 112/113, see *CIL* III 555 = D. 308 = *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 3286 = SMALLWOOD, 109; Phlegon, *FGrHist* 257 F 36.xxv; and S. FOLLET, *Athènes au*



nicipal positions in Italy attributed to him in his biography, those in towns in Latium, in Neapolis and in Hadria, and his reported praetorship of the Etruscan league,<sup>47</sup> are probably trustworthy.

Such assumptions of municipal magistracies by emperors, acts of patronage and *liberalitas* not yet fully investigated, were not uncommon in Italy.<sup>48</sup> The municipal positions Hadrian held in Italy and elsewhere seem to have been individually chosen. He honored his two *patriae*, Hadria on the Picene coast of Italy and Italica in Spain, by assuming the quinquennial duumvirship in each.<sup>49</sup> His philhellenism probably accounts for his accepting the Neapolitan magistracy of demarch, just as he had the Athenian archonship.<sup>50</sup> His municipal positions in Latium harmonize well with the enormous importance the places and legends of archaic Latium had throughout the principate, and particularly in the second century.<sup>51</sup> The dates of Hadrian's municipal magistracies and the extent of his involvement in the towns thus honored are less clear.<sup>52</sup> Only his second duumvirate in Ostia can be assigned to a specific year (A.D. 126). Since a *praefectus* of his nomination normally represented the emperor in the town whose magistracy he assumed,<sup>53</sup> Hadrian need not have been in Italy when he undertook a municipal

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Ile et au IIIe siècle. Études chronologiques et prosopographiques, Paris 1976, 29, who further contends that Hadrian held the archonship «in absentia».

<sup>47</sup> On this last position, see B. LIOU, *Praetores Etruriae XV populorum* (Étude d'épigraphie), Brussels 1969, with the important comments of M. TORELLI, *Per la storia dell'Etruria in età imperiale*, RFIC 99, 1971, 489–501. Dictators were still elected in Latin towns in this period, as for example in Aricia (CIL XIV 2213 = D. 3243, A.D. 100: E. CAMPANILE and C. LETTA, *Studi sulle magistrature indigene e municipali in area italica*, Pisa 1979, 34–37).

<sup>48</sup> W. LIEBENAM noted such magistracies known in 1900: *Städteverwaltung im römischen Kaiserreiche*, Leipzig 1900, 261 n. 4. For more general comments on the phenomenon: LIOU, *Praetores* (above, n. 47) 12–15; TORELLI (above, n. 47) 490, 498. Trajan or Titus, and probably L. Aelius, also accepted the title of *duumvir* at Ostia: MEIGGS, *Ostia* (above, n. 42) 74.

<sup>49</sup> For Hadrian's relationship to these two towns: R. SYME, *Hadrian and Italica*, JRS 54, 1964, 142–49; R. NIERHAUS, *Hadrians Verhältnis zu Italica*, *Corolla memoriae E. Swoboda dedicata*, Graz 1966, 153–56.

<sup>50</sup> For Hadrian's philhellenism in Italy, see (e.g.) M. T. BOATWRIGHT, *Hadrian and the City of Rome*, Princeton 1987, (hereafter HCR) 202–12. For other municipal Greek positions, such as that of *ephor* in Sparta, *archon* (*bis*) in Delphi, *hieromnemon* (*bis*) in Dionysopolis of Pontus, and *prytanis* in Kolophon, see L. ROBERT, *Études épigraphiques et philologiques*, Paris 1938, 149, and, more generally, the recent articles by A. J. SPAWFORTH and S. WALKER, *The World of the Panhellenion. I. Athens and Eleusis*, JRS 75, 1985, 78–104, and *The World of the Panhellenion. II. Three Dorian Cities*, JRS 76, 1986, 88–105. Neapolis will be discussed below in more detail.

<sup>51</sup> TORELLI (above, n. 47) 490.

<sup>52</sup> TORELLI (above, n. 47) 490, 499, suggests the date of 127, Hadrian's decennial celebration, for Hadrian's assumption of the Latin municipal posts and the Etruscan praetorship, which would thus coincide with the unusual suffect co-consulship of two men of Tarquinian origin (also in 127).

<sup>53</sup> As known from the Flavian *lex municipalis Salpensana*, 24; see LIEBENAM, *Städteverwaltung* (above, n. 48) 261–63; W. ENSSLIN, RE 22. 2, 1954, s.v. *praefectus*, 1318–21. Cf. n. 46 above.

post. Yet even if he did not personally perform duties, Hadrian's assumption of these local positions, whose diversity is reflected in the titles listed by the biography, manifests a commitment to towns and belief in their particular institutions, and must have bolstered local evergetism.<sup>54</sup> A reflection of this last phenomenon may be seen in Villius' inscription.

### *d. Appointments of curatores rei publicae*

Five identifiable Italian cities attest Hadrianic *curatores rei publicae*: Trebula Mutuesca, Tarracina, Ancona, Comum, and Matilica.<sup>55</sup> The relative infrequency of the Hadrianic *curatores rei publicae* and their varied social and political standing as senators, equestrians and local notables are consonant with the evidence for other *curatores rei publicae* in Italy in the period from Trajan to Antoninus Pius.<sup>56</sup> Two of the Hadrianic *curatores*, T. Prifernius Paetus from Trebula Mutuesca and C. Arrius Clemens from Matilica, at some point apparently were also patrons in their towns, a not unusual occurrence.<sup>57</sup> Additionally, the wide geographical distribution of the cities Hadrian's administrators attended to, from Latium to Transpadana, also corresponds to the larger history of the administrative post.<sup>58</sup> Investigated individually, however, these five Hadrianic appointments elucidate the interplay between emperor and city in the appointment of a *curator*, an act

<sup>54</sup> Not that local zeal for municipal service was flagging among the wealthy classes: see A. N. SHERWIN-WHITE, *The Letters of Pliny*, Oxford 1966, 724, on Ep. 10.113.

<sup>55</sup> We do not include in this discussion *curatores rei publicae* who have been dated «Trajanic/Hadrianic,» «first half of the second century,» or the like, such as C. Oclatius Modestus, D. 5502; C. Cornelius Minicianus, D. 2722, and P. Oppius Marcellinus, D. 6484 (Eck, *Staatliche Organisation* [above, n. 5] 234, 241, 242). R. DUTHOY, *Curatores rei publicae en Occident durant le Principat. Recherches préliminaires sur l'apport des sources épigraphiques*, *Ancient Society* 10, 1979, 178, has tentatively suggested that M. Flavius Postumus, *curator coloniae Ardeatinorum* (CIL VIII 7044 = D. 1163), received his appointment from Hadrian, but M. CORBIER, *L'aerarium Saturni et l'aerarium militare. Administration et prosopographie sénatoriale*, Rome 1974, n. XX, pp. 398–400, attributes the appointment to Antoninus Pius, and Eck, *Staatliche Organisation* (above, n. 5), 231, tentatively to Caracalla. The uncertainty of Hadrian's responsibility for this position precludes its discussion.

<sup>56</sup> For the infrequency, see C. CAMODECA, *Ricerche sui curatores rei publicae*, ANRW II.13, 1980, 476, 478–79; DUTHOY (above, n. 55) 235–38; Eck, *Staatliche Organisation* (above, n. 5) 195–96, 243–46. The greater frequency of Hadrianic curators than of those of Antoninus Pius, 5 to 3, is probably due to chance preservation of inscriptions. The appointment of local notables and equestrians to be *curatores rei publicae* was common in cities outside the regions closest to Rome – Campania, Latium, Umbria and Etruria –, where men of senatorial rank usually held the position: CAMODECA, 478–79; DUTHOY, 233; Eck, 201–202.

<sup>57</sup> See the references in Eck, *Staatliche Organisation* (above, n. 5) 204 n. 50. The order of Prifernius' and of Arrius' positions as curators and patrons in their respective two towns is unclear.

<sup>58</sup> Eck, *Staatliche Organisation* (above, n. 5), 196, 230–46.

relatively obscure,<sup>59</sup> and the conditions of the individual cities that asked for or were merely appointed *curatores*.<sup>60</sup>

Hadrian appointed T. Prifernius Paetus *curator* of Trebula Mutuesca in the Sabine hills (AE 1972, 153).<sup>61</sup> Trebula Mutuesca, about 45 miles northeast of Rome, was in a rich olive-growing area, and its location near the junction of the Via Salaria and the Via Caecilia may have encouraged its growth as a religious center for the ancient Italic divinities Angitia and Feronia. It witnessed its greatest prosperity in the Hadrianic and Antonine period.<sup>62</sup> M. TORELLI has associated much of the construction of this time, the creation of a monumental center consisting of baths, an amphitheater and long terrace walls, to Laberia Crispina, a patron of the city who was the daughter of the consul Laberius Maximus and the wife of Bruttius Praesens (cos. II, 139), who had important *praedia* in the area.<sup>63</sup>

Prifernius' curatorship of Trebula Mutuesca falls in this era. He was a man of outstanding lineage with a brilliant career that included holding the consulship in 146 and the governorship of Dalmatia ca. 156–159.<sup>64</sup> A native of Trebula Mutuesca, he seems to have been *curator rei publicae* there around 137.<sup>65</sup> His honorary inscription referred to above shows repeated interaction with Trebula Mutuesca: he held numerous municipal offices there, and we may infer from the lacunose text that he was also its patron (AE 1972, 153). Hadrian's appointment of him as Trebula Mutuesca's *curator* may have been a gesture that combined patronage and the practical aim of overseeing in some way the extraordinary building program of the period.

Between 125 and 128 Tarracina and Ancona were assigned L. Burbuleius Optatus Ligarianus as *curator*, a man who was also *curator rei publicae* of Narbo (CIL X 6006 = D. 1066).<sup>66</sup> All three port cities flourished during Hadrian's reign,

<sup>59</sup> ECK, Staatliche Organisation (above, n. 5), 198–99.

<sup>60</sup> The mandates of Hadrian's curators are not explicitly attested. ECK, Staatliche Organisation (above, n. 5), 205–28, has the best discussion of the functions of the *curatores rei publicae*, which include supervision of municipal finances, esp. those connected with the use of public land such as erection of statues and buildings on public land, and the review of finances of decurions.

<sup>61</sup> First published by M. TORELLI, Un nuovo cursus honorum senatorio da Trebula Mutuesca, MEFR 71, 1969, 601–26.

<sup>62</sup> M. TORELLI, Trebula Mutuesca. Iscrizioni corrette ed inedite, RendLinc 8.18, 1963, 230–44; F. COARELLI, EAA 7, 1966, s.v. Trebula Mutuesca, 971–72; F. ZEVI, PECS s.v. Trebula Mutuesca, 932–33; COARELLI, Lazio (above, n. 27) 8–10, 17–20.

<sup>63</sup> M. TORELLI, Laberia Crispina e un praefectus castrorum in due epigrafi inedite di Trebula Mutuesca, Epigraphica 24, 1962, 67–70. The construction dates before 139.

<sup>64</sup> TORELLI (above, n. 61) 608–26; W. ECK, RE, Suppl. 14, 1974, s.v. Prifernius 2, 484–85.

<sup>65</sup> TORELLI (above, n. 61) 613, 623. The designation *datus a divo Hadriano* is anomalous for a *curator* of senatorial standing: DUTHOY (above, n. 55) 202.

<sup>66</sup> The use of *item* between the names of the three cities indicates that he held these positions successively, rather than simultaneously: CORBIER, Aerarium Saturni (above, n. 55) 187; DUTHOY (above, n. 55) 228–29.

to judge from inscriptions, archaeological remains and literary evidence.<sup>67</sup> Trajan had improved communications in both Tarracina and Ancona. In Tarracina he was responsible for cutting away Pesco Montano so that a branch of the Via Appia could run along the coast (CIL X 6849),<sup>68</sup> and he may have improved the city's port.<sup>69</sup> At Ancona's port he added a new mole, commemorated on the Arch of Trajan erected in the town (CIL IX 5894 = D. 298).

Burbuleius, a *novus homo*, had a full if somewhat slow career until his death in Syria as its governor under Antoninus Pius.<sup>70</sup> M. CORBIER dates his three curatorships in the western ports from 125 to 128, and compares them with his later positions as *logistes* in Syria and *praefectus aerarii Saturni* (CIL X 6006 = D. 1066) to conclude that he was probably a financial specialist.<sup>71</sup> The order in which Burbuleius' positions are listed indicates that his earliest «financial» appointment was as *curator rei publicae* in Tarracina. ECK notes that the man either was from neighboring Minturnae or had land there, which helps explain Hadrian's selection of him to be Tarracina's *curator*.<sup>72</sup> His subsequent appointments in Ancona and Narbo may indeed be due to some developed speciality with finances or trade: Hadrian's assignment of him as *curator rei publicae* of Ancona stands out as the only Hadrianic curatorship not given to a man of local standing.<sup>73</sup>

The northernmost Italian city now known to have received a Hadrianic *curator* is Comum in Transpadane Italy, the thriving birthplace of both the elder and the younger Pliny.<sup>74</sup> Here Hadrian appointed as *curator* P. Clodius Sura, an equestrian who had held the same position under Trajan in the neighboring city of Bergomum (CIL V 4368 = D. 6725 = Inscr. Ital. 10.5 [1984] 157). Clodius is otherwise unknown, but his tribe and municipal positions, together with the

<sup>67</sup> Tarracina: B. CONTICELLO, EAA 7, 1966, s.v. Terracina, 729–32; PHILIPP, RE 4.A.2, 1932, s.v. Tarracina, 2396–97; R. V. SCHODER, PECS s.v. Tarracina, 881–82; COARELLI, Lazio (above, n. 27) 308–32; Ancona: E. ANNIBALDI, EAA 1, 1958, s.v. Ancona, 354–55; L. RICHARDSON, jr., PECS s.v. Ancona, 54; C. HÜLSEN, RE 1.2, 1894, s.v. Ancona, 2114–15; M. GAGGIOTTI, D. MANCONI, L. MERCANDO and M. VERZAR, Umbria, Marche, Guide archeologiche Laterza 4, Bari-Rome 1980, 226–40; Narbo: M. GAYRAUD and Y. SOLIER, PECS s.v. Narbo, 607–608; P. GOESSLER, RE Suppl. 7, 1940, s.v. Narbo, 515–48, esp. 534.

<sup>68</sup> BLAKE/BISHOP (above, n. 1), 281.

<sup>69</sup> BLAKE/BISHOP (above, n. 1), 292–94; COARELLI, Lazio (above, n. 27) 323.

<sup>70</sup> CORBIER, Aerarium Saturni (above, n. 55) n. 39, pp. 185–89. He probably died after 139/140: W. ECK, Senatoren von Vespasian bis Hadrian. Prosopographische Untersuchungen mit Einschluß der Jahres- und Provinzialfasten der Statthalter, Munich 1970, 216.

<sup>71</sup> CORBIER, Aerarium Saturni (above, n. 55) 187–89, who also ventures that he was praefect of the *aerarium* Saturni in 129–31; ECK, Senatoren (above, n. 70) 204, suggests 132/4.

<sup>72</sup> ECK, Staatliche Organisation (above, n. 5) 200.

<sup>73</sup> Burbuleius' repeated service as Hadrian's *curator rei publicae* in these three port cities may hint at imperial concern for Rome's long-distance trade.

<sup>74</sup> C. HÜLSEN, RE Suppl. 1, 1903, s.v. Comum, 326–27; G. CAVALIERI MANASSE, G. MASSARI, and M. P. ROSSIGNANI, Piemonte, Valdaosta, Liguria, Lombardia, Guide archeologiche Laterza 1, Bari-Rome 1982, 294–96, 327–34.

provenance of the inscription at Brixia, indicate that he was from Brixia, a prominent commercial and agricultural center in the Lombard region.<sup>75</sup> An unidentified but important Roman road runs east from Comum through Bergomum and Brixia to Verona and Vicetia, and another vital road passed through Comum on its way north from Mediolanum.<sup>76</sup> In his appointment of Clodius as *curator rei publicae* of Comum, Hadrian reaffirmed the local eminence of a man Trajan had similarly employed in the prosperous area.

C. Arrius Clemens, the *curator* of the small town of Matilica on the Aesis river bordering Umbria and Picenum near Ancona and Cingulum, also was appointed by Hadrian, if DUTHOY's dating to ca. 130 of the beginning of this equestrian's municipal career is correct (CIL XI 5646 = D. 2081).<sup>77</sup> Arrius' military prowess won rewards from both Trajan and Hadrian, and he also supervised a treasury while in the service. His tribe, the Cornelia, and his inscription's provenance in Matilica mark this *curator* as a local of the town. Literary and archaeological sources provide almost no information about Matilica.<sup>78</sup> Arrius' outstanding military record under Trajan and Hadrian may account for Hadrian's further recognition of him by this curatorship, which caps his municipal offices listed in the inscription.

In sum, at least four of the five cities to which Hadrian appointed a *curator rei publicae* were prosperous, and in four of the five cases locals received the appointment. The Hadrianic *curatores rei publicae*, by and large, seem to have linked emperor and city directly without being an alien intrusion of Hadrian into local concerns.

### III. Building Activities

Hadrian's building activities in Italian towns are known primarily from inscriptions, which substantiate in their detail general statements made by the literary sources for Hadrian's reign. Most of the statements allude to Hadrian's generosity in the provinces rather than Italy, and specific references to Italian cities are rare. A propos of Hadrian's travels, the *Epitome de Caesaribus* says that the em-

<sup>75</sup> A. GARZETTI, ed., *Inscriptiones Italiae*, X, Reg. X, fasc. V, Brixia, I, Rome 1984, 104; H. DEVIJVER, *Prosopographia militiarum equestrium quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum*: I, Leuven 1976, 282–83 n. 206.

<sup>76</sup> *Inscr. Ital.* 10.10.5, pp. ix–xiv; E. LISSI, *EAA* 1, 1958, s. v. Brescia, 167–69; CAVALIERI MANASSE, Piemonte (above, n. 74) 295–96. The location on the main E-W road of the three cities Clodius served, together with Comum's importance in N-S traffic, may imply Hadrianic interest in communications and trade in this area.

<sup>77</sup> DUTHOY (above, n. 55) 189 n. 140 for the date; generally accepted: ECK, *Staatliche Organisation* (above, n. 5) 238.

<sup>78</sup> GAGGIOTTI, Umbria (above, n. 67) 255–56; PHILIPP, *RE* 14.2, 1930, s. v. Matilica, 2205; G. ANNIBALDI, *EAA* 4, 1961, s. v. Matelica, 927–28.

peror restored entire cities as he journeyed accompanied by a corps of builders and artisans (14.4–5). Dio praises Hadrian for aiding allied and subject cities most munificently, and he notes that this emperor saw more cities than any other, assisting almost all of them variously with water supply, harbors, food, public works, money and various honors (69.5.2–3). Fronto remarks that one can see monuments of Hadrian's journeys in many cities in Asia and Europe (206 Naber). The biography of Hadrian, in its summation of his achievements, mentions that Hadrian built something and gave games in almost every city, and that he donated aqueducts «without end» in his own name (HA, Hadr. 19.2, 20.5). While recounting events of 119 or 120 earlier in the text, it states that Hadrian went to Campania and aided all the towns there by benefactions and distributions, bringing to his side the best men by his acts of *amicitia* (HA, Hadr. 9.6). The implication of these sources is that Hadrian's municipal building activities are to be associated especially with his extensive travels, during which he either saw in person the needs of various cities, or was approached by various cities' representatives.

Since the literary sources suggest the chronological framework of Hadrian's travels for an assessment of his municipal generosity, and many of the inscriptions attesting this largesse are dated or datable, the following discussion of Hadrian's building activities in Italian cities is arranged chronologically as far as possible. H. HALFMANN's recent investigation of Hadrian's journeys is the basis for the following sketch.<sup>79</sup> Hadrian was in the provinces from 117 to mid-118, from fall 121 to late summer of 125, during summer 128, and again from late 128 to late 133 or early 134. Three known Italian sojourns took him out of Rome or the nearby imperial villas when he was not abroad. Besides his Campanian trip of 119 or 120, he traveled in Italy in the late spring and summer of 127, before his decennial celebration. R. SYME proposes a new completion for the *Fasti Ostienses*, our lacunose source for this trip, and contends that Hadrian specifically visited the Po river valley at this time.<sup>80</sup> Hadrian's interventions in this northern region – his appointment of a *curator rei publicae* in Comum and his restoration of some building in Altinum (below) – may provide some support for SYME's argument. On the other hand, the more numerous benefits in Samnium and Picenum dated to 127 or soon thereafter may reflect Hadrian's presence in central Italy in 127. Hadrian later retired from Rome to Baiae during his final illness (136 to 138), to die in the resort. Several dated Hadrianic donations to Italian cities can be asso-

<sup>79</sup> HALFMANN, *Itinera principum* (above, n. 1), modified for Hadrian's return to Rome according to the suggestions of R. SYME (above, n. 8) 166–68.

<sup>80</sup> SYME (above, n. 8) 162, restoring *ad Italiam circum[padanam]* in the *Fasti Ostienses* (Inscr. Ital. 13.1, pp. 203, 233 = SMALLWOOD, 24). In consideration of possible Hadrianic benefits in the Po river region, note that GRELLE (above, n. 11), 217–18, rejects the implausible attribution to Hadrian of colonial status for Mediolanum, assigning the city's colonial status rather to Commodus between 185 and 190.

ciated with the times when he traveled in the peninsula, although the topic is complicated by our ignorance of the exact import of a date on a building inscription. We rarely know if the date marks the building's dedication, commencement, or completion.

### a. *Firmly Datable Donations*

The earliest of Hadrian's building activities in the municipalities of Italy come in 120/121 and are in Campania or on the coastal route from Rome to Campania, thus corroborating the biography's notice of Hadrian's munificent trip to the region. In 120/121 Caiatia, an ancient city on the right bank of the Volturnus above Capua and below Telesia, received from Hadrian at his expense the embellishment of a public building with marble from Cubulteria (CIL X 4574).<sup>81</sup> Unfortunately, all traces of the building Hadrian paid to decorate are lost, as are the motives for Hadrian's donation to this relatively insignificant town in the Campanian hills far from any thoroughfare.<sup>82</sup>

In the same year or thereafter Hadrian restored a dilapidated temple in Antium (CIL X 6652).<sup>83</sup> Cults of Fortuna, Aesculapius, Hercules, Ceres and Fortuna Equestris are attested for Antium,<sup>84</sup> but no evidence allows us to assign the Hadrianic renovation to any one of these. Antium had been favored in the late republic and early empire by wealthy Romans and the Julio-Claudian emperors, due to its pleasant climate, spectacular setting, and relative proximity to Rome,<sup>85</sup> and Hadrian enlarged and modified Nero's imperial villa there.<sup>86</sup> Hadrian's benefaction shows how the presence of an imperial villa could aid a nearby city.<sup>87</sup>

Hadrian's next recorded benefaction is at the sacred grove of Diana at Nemi, which must have benefited Aricia, the ancient Latin town on the Via Appia in

<sup>81</sup> *Imp. Caesar divi/ Traiani Parthici fil./ divi Nero[a]e nep./ Traianus [Ha]drianus/5[Aug., pont. max., t]rib. pot. V., cos. III./ [aedem --- Cub]ulterinis/ [mar]moribus exornavit pecunia sua.* Cubulteria is a neighboring city furnishing high-quality marble used in embellishments at least up to the time of the Royal Castle in Caserta: MOMMSEN, ad CIL X 4574.

<sup>82</sup> There are, however, public dedications to Germanicus, Drusus the Elder, Valerianus, Diocletian, Galerius and Constantine: CIL X 4572–73, 4575–78. For Caiatia: C. HÜLSEN, RE 3.1, 1897, s.v. Caiatia, 1322–23; DE CARO, Campania (above, n. 21) 223–25.

<sup>83</sup> [*Imp. C]ae[sar divi T]raiani Parthici fili[u]s, divi Ne[rvae nepos,]/ [T]rai[anu]s Hadrianus A[u]gustus, pontifex maximus, trib. potest. VI[---],/ [a]ede[m ve]tustate corruptam restituit.*

<sup>84</sup> C. HÜLSEN, RE 1.2, 1894, s.v. Antium 1, 2561; COARELLI, Lazio (above, n. 27) 294.

<sup>85</sup> HÜLSEN, 2561–63; A. LA REGINA, EAA 6, 1965, s.v. Porto d'Anzio, 396–98; COARELLI, Lazio (above, n. 27) 292–98.

<sup>86</sup> BLAKE/BISHOP (above, n. 1) 257.

<sup>87</sup> Antoninus Pius also gave, or more likely restored, an aqueduct in Antium: HA, Pii 8.3, with Livy 44.4.6. No evidence so far attests specific benefactions by Hadrian to Tibur, the site of his most famous villa.

charge of the shrine.<sup>88</sup> A fragment of an architrave found at the sacred grove, some 16 miles from Rome on Lake Nemi, records Hadrian's restoration in 121/122 of a shrine erected there by Arsacides, a son of the Parthian king (Phraates?) (CIL XIV 2216 = D. 843).<sup>89</sup> The further identity of the original donor is in doubt, though he was probably a hostage in Rome during the Augustan or early Julio-Claudian period.<sup>90</sup> The Parthian associations of the shrine, explicitly mentioned in the inscription, are noteworthy in light of the rumors surrounding the cessation of hostilities in the East at the beginning of Hadrian's reign.<sup>91</sup> The restoration of Arsacides' building may have emphasized the long history of Rome's dealings with the Parthians. The area of Diana's shrine has never been explored systematically, although restricted excavations were undertaken there in 1885.<sup>92</sup> Some Corinthian pilasters possibly from the second century A.D. figure among the archaeological finds of the shrine that date from the fourth century B.C. on,<sup>93</sup> but nothing has been unearthed that can definitely be assigned to Hadrian's restoration.

The shrine Hadrian rehabilitated was in one of the most revered and ancient religious centers of Latium. The grove above the northeast shore of Lake Nemi was sacred to Diana, and the votive offerings from the spot show a special concern with women and childbirth. The peculiar cult here, which included a priest who had beaten and killed his predecessor in single combat, continued into the empire.<sup>94</sup> The later *collegium salutare* of Antinoos and Diana at neighboring Lanuvium associated the Diana of Nemi and Aricia with Antinoos (see below).<sup>95</sup>

<sup>88</sup> L. ROCCHETTI, EAA 1, 1958, s.v. Ariccia, 634–35; L. RICHARDSON, jr., PECS s.v. Aricia, 92–93; C. HÜLSEN, RE 2.1, 1895, s.v. Aricia, 822–23; COARELLI, Dintorni di Roma (above, n. 43) 94–95.

<sup>89</sup> [*Imp. Caesar divi Traiani Parthici filius, divi Nervae nepos, Traianus*] [*Hadrianus Augustus, pont. max., tribunic. potest. VI, cos. III.*] [*fanum(?) quod --- Phraatis(?) regis regu*] *m Parthorum fil. Arsacides* / *fecerat, vetustate collapsum restituit.*

<sup>90</sup> MOMMSEN identified Arsacides as the son of King Phraates and a hostage in Augustan Rome (ad loc. in CIL); COARELLI suggests that the donor was Darius, the son of Phraates and a companion of Caligula (Dintorni di Roma [above, n. 43] 105).

<sup>91</sup> Cf. HA, Hadr. 5.3, cf. 9.1 and Eutrop. 8.6; GARZETTI (above, n. 1), 380–86. In 123 Hadrian was to suppress a renewed Parthian threat: HA, Hadr. 12.8, and SYME (above, n. 8) 161.

<sup>92</sup> Mysteries of Diana. The Antiquities from Nemi in Nottingham Museums, Nottingham 1983 (hereafter referred to as Mysteries of Diana), 9–10, 19–20: the later Lord Savile of Nottingham received limited permission to dig for five months from Count Orsini, the owner of the land.

<sup>93</sup> For the large precinct, temple remains, and finds, see A.G. MACCORMICK and T.F.C. BLAGG, in Mysteries of Diana (above, n. 92) 19–27, 38, 39, and 41. See also, in brief, COARELLI, Dintorni di Roma (above, n. 43) 98–105.

<sup>94</sup> J.H.W.G. LIEBESCHUETZ, Mysteries of Diana (above, n. 92) 15–16; COARELLI, Dintorni di Roma (above, n. 43) 98–99.

<sup>95</sup> Additionally, P. MARCONI, Antinoo. Saggio sull'arte dell'età Adrianea, MonAnt 29, 1923, 204–205, reports that a bust or statue of Antinoos was found in Aricia.



The antiquity of the shrine at Nemi may have been key in Hadrian's decision to support the restoration of one of its sacred buildings. This Hadrianic restoration, together with those at Cupra Maritima, Lanuvium, Gabii, and perhaps also Antium, confirm the note in Hadrian's biography that Hadrian was markedly respectful and pious towards the ancient Italian deities: *sacra Romana diligentissime curavit, peregrina contempsit* (HA, Hadr. 22.10).<sup>96</sup>

Archaeological and epigraphic evidence suggests an early date for another major Hadrianic benefaction, this time in Ostia. In 132/133 the city, declaring itself preserved and enlarged by Hadrian's every indulgence and liberality, erected a dedicatory inscription for the emperor that may have graced an equestrian statue base (CIL XIV 95 = VI 972 = SMALLWOOD, 476).<sup>97</sup> Ostia's expression of gratitude for unspecified benefactions should probably be associated with the rebuilding of the central part of the city lying between the Forum and the Tiber, including much of the Forum itself.<sup>98</sup> According to MEIGGS and other scholars, the consistency of brick stamps, the uniformity of style of construction, and the integrity of plans suggest that this area, and a second one including the Baths of Neptune and the Barracks of the Vigiles farther east that were rebuilt at the end of Hadrian's reign (below), were planned and financed by Hadrian.<sup>99</sup>

The area from the Forum to the Tiber and from the *Cardo Maximus* west to the *Via degli Horrea Epagathiana* was rebuilt at a uniformly higher level at the beginning of Hadrian's reign, and may have been finished in the early 120s,<sup>100</sup> a decade before the inscription quoted above. The Forum was monumentalized on its north side by the construction of the imposing brick Capitolium, which replaced a republican temple, and elsewhere by the addition of porticoes.<sup>101</sup> The *Cardo Maximus*, leading from the Forum to a quay on the river bank, was widened and lined on either side by continuous porticoes in front of shops and stairways to upperstory apartments. It seems to have served for the ceremonial

<sup>96</sup> Cf. J. BEAUJEU, *La Religion romaine à l'apogée de l'empire. I: La Politique religieuse des Antonins*, Paris 1955, 114–64, 274–78.

<sup>97</sup> *Imp. Caesa[ri divi]/ Traiani Par[thici f.]/ divi Nervae [nepoti]/ Traiano Had[r]iano/ 5 Aug., pontifici m[aximo]/ trib. potest. XVII, cos. III, p. p./ colonia Ostia/ conservata et aucta/ omni indulgentia et/ 10 liberalitate eius.*

<sup>98</sup> MEIGGS, Ostia (above, n. 42) 135–36; C. PAVOLINI, Ostia, *Guide archeologiche Laterza* 8, Bari-Rome 1983, 30–32.

<sup>99</sup> MEIGGS, Ostia (above, n. 42) 74–75, 135–138, and fig. 2, p. 137, «Hadrianic Building»; references include H. BLOCH, *I bolli laterizi e la storia edilizia romana. Contributo all'archeologia e alla storia romana*. Reprinted from *BullComm* 64, 1936–66, 1938, with analytical indices published in 1947, Rome 1968, 87. See also F. PASINI, *Ostia Antica*, Rome 1978, 75–76, 79–80.

<sup>100</sup> For the date, see PAVOLINI, Ostia (above, n. 98) 101.

<sup>101</sup> MEIGGS, Ostia (above, n. 42) 74 and 136, and PAVOLINI, Ostia (above, n. 98) 99–104. Single arches flanking the Temple of Rome and Augustus closed the south side of the Forum probably later in Hadrian's reign.

entrance of important visitors arriving in Ostia by barge. Restored buildings immediately east and west of the *Cardo* resemble the renovated *Cardo* so much in date and technique that their rebuilding has been linked to that of the *Cardo*. Most of these edifices are commercial or residential.<sup>102</sup> The new quarter would amply explain Ostia's subsequent dedication to Hadrian in 132/133.

The next dated donation coincides with Hadrian's tour in Italy that immediately preceded his decennial celebration in 127. An inscription of 126/127 witnesses Hadrian's restoration of the temple of the *Dea Cupra* in *Cupra Maritima* (CIL IX 5294 = D. 313).<sup>103</sup> This ancient Picene city on the Adriatic took its name from its location and from its celebrated temple of the *Dea Cupra*, also known as *Cupra Mater*.<sup>104</sup> The goddess was one of agriculture and of the underworld, and is one reason for the apparent prosperity of the town that extended at least through the second century A.D.<sup>105</sup> Hadrian's restoration of the temple of the *Dea Cupra* demonstrates his respect and piety towards the ancient Italian deities, as had his work at Nemi.

Aequiculi, 40 miles northeast of Rome and near the Fucine Lake, has produced an inscription erected publicly in 128/129 to honor Hadrian for restoring public buildings that had collapsed from age (CIL IX 4116).<sup>106</sup> Inscriptions of the imperial period reveal an otherwise unknown prosperity for this ancient city located where Latin, Marsian and Hernican territory meet.<sup>107</sup> Two interpretations of Hadrian's donation can be offered. While passing by here in 127, Hadrian may have given money for works completed two years later.<sup>108</sup> Perhaps more likely, Hadrian's concern for public buildings in Aequiculi may be connected to

<sup>102</sup> MEIGGS, Ostia (above, n. 42) 135–36; PAVOLINI, Ostia (above, n. 98) 94.

<sup>103</sup> *Imp. Caesar divi Traiani/ Parthici f., divi Nervae nep.,/ Traianus Hadrianus Aug./ pontif. max., trib. potesta. XI/5 cos. III, munificentia sua/ templum deae Cuprae/ restituit.*

<sup>104</sup> C. HÜLSEN, RE 4.2, 1901, s.v. *Cupra* 1, 1760; G. ANNIBALDI, EAA 2, 1959, s.v. *Cupra Marittima*, 978–79; GAGGIOTTI, Umbria (above, n. 67) 283–86, who underscores the correct location of the temple in the town itself. Cf. Sil. Ital. 8.433; Strabo 5.241, who mistakenly calls the goddess Etruscan.

<sup>105</sup> See n. 104 above, and also EE VIII 226, perhaps a dedication to Commodus. The goddess is associated with the Latin *Bona Dea*, *Bonus Eventus* and the *dii manes*: AUST, RE 4.2, 1901, s.v. *Cupra* 3, 1760–61. This assimilation is suggestive in light of Hadrian's restoration of a temple of the *Bona Dea* in Rome: HA, Hadr. 19.11; BOATWRIGHT, HCR (above, n. 50) 212–18.

<sup>106</sup> *Imp. Caesar[i]/ divi Traiani/ Parthici fil., divi/ Nervae nepoti, [Trai]/5 ano Hadrianol/ Aug., pontif. ma[x.],/ trib. pot. XIII, cos. III, p. p., quot opera public[a]/ vetustate dilapsa/10 pecunia sua/ restituerit/ d. d.*

<sup>107</sup> CIL IX 4115 is a dedication to Nero (A.D. 58?), 4117 to Septimius Severus, 4118 to an unknown emperor; 4130 and 4133 record luxurious buildings paid for by private citizens. For the town and the region: C. HÜLSEN, RE 1.1, 1893, s.v. *Aequi* oder *Aequiculi*, 597–98; H. NISSEN, *Italische Landeskunde* I, Berlin 1883, 514–15; C. LETTA, *I Marsi e il Fucino nell'antichità*, Milan 1972, 11–16.

<sup>108</sup> WEBER (above, n. 1) 200.

its proximity to the Fucine Lake, an area with which we know he was concerned. At some point during his reign, Hadrian successfully rendered much of the lake's area arable after the earlier attempts of Claudius and Trajan (D. 302 = CIL IX 3915 = SMALLWOOD, 388; HA, Hadr. 22.12).<sup>109</sup>

Other dated benefactions fall at the end of Hadrian's reign. An inscription from Lanuvium records Hadrian's order in 135/136 to make and consecrate a statue from the old gold and silver of earlier donations to Iuno Sospes Mater Regina (Iuno Sospita), Lanuvium's patron deity (CIL XIV 2088 = D. 316).<sup>110</sup> Hadrian's interest in her statue probably relates to his restoration of some important public building in the town, known from a large fragmentary and undatable inscription whose [coll]apsam may indicate that the restored building was a temple [aedem] (EE IX 610).<sup>111</sup> Despite the cultic importance of Iuno Sospita and the presence of an Antonine imperial villa near the town, during the imperial period Lanuvium seems to have been faltering as an urban center.<sup>112</sup> Although this may have provoked Hadrian's land assignments there (discussed above), Hadrian's attention to the statue of Iuno Sospita, and the possibility that the building Hadrian restored was a temple, suggest that his interest in Lanuvium was more of a religious nature.

Perhaps not coincidentally, Lanuvium is the site of the *collegium Antinoi et Dianae*, founded in 133 (CIL XIV 2112 = D. 7212 = SMALLWOOD, 165). This collegium, one of the relatively infrequent Italian manifestations of the cult of Antinoos, combines his worship with that of the Diana of Nemi in a funerary association of freedmen and free men who met at least once in a *templum Anti-*

<sup>109</sup> For the draining of the lake: BLAKE/BISHOP (above, n. 1) 276–77, 279; LETTA, Marsi (above, n. 107) 133–35; and F. COARELLI and A. LA REGINA, Abruzzo, Molise, Guide archeologiche Laterza 9, Bari-Rome 1984, 55–59, summarizing S. D'AMATO, *Il primo prosciugamento del Fucino*, Avezzano 1980.

<sup>110</sup> *Imp. Caes. divi Traiani Part. f., divi Nervae n.,/ Traianus Hadrianus Aug.,/ pont. max., trib. pot. XX, cos. III, p. p.,/ S(ospiti) m(atri) r(eginae) statuam ex donis aureis/ et arg. vetustate corruptis/ fieri et consecrari iussit/ ex auri p. III ~ et arg. p. CCVI ≈*. For the deity in Lanuvium and for the town, see PHILIPP (above, n. 39) 695; P. CHIARUCCI, Sulla Lanuvina Iuno Sospita, in R. LEFEVRE, ed., *Il Lazio nell'antichità*, *Lunario Romano* XII, Rome 1983, 271–85; A. E. GORDON, *The Cults of Lanuvium*, *CPCA* II.2, 1938, 21–37. Iuno Sospita was an agrarian goddess, a symbol of female fertility and the protector of Lanuvium and of soldiers.

<sup>111</sup> [Di]vi Traiani Par[thici fil.]/ Traianus Hadr[ian]us Aug[ustus]/ [pont. ma]ximus, t[ri]b. pot.---,]/ [coll]apsam [---]. The inscription, on a white marble plaque originally at least 0.60 m. high, is on the back of an earlier record of a building dedicated or restored(?) by Tiberius, EE IX 609: [Ti. Caes.]ar di[vi Augusti fil.]/ [Au]gustus p[o]ntife[x ma]xim[us]/ [t]ribunic. potest[at];... BLAKE/BISHOP (above, n. 1) 273, seem to be referring to only a fragment of the Hadrianic inscription when they refer it to Trajan.

<sup>112</sup> See n. 43 above. Antoninus Pius and later Commodus were born at Lanuvium, and Antoninus reportedly rebuilt Lanuvium's temples: HA, Pii 1.8, 8.3, Comm. 1.2.

*noi*.<sup>113</sup> The demonstration of devotion to Antinoos may have attracted Hadrian's attention to the town, or may reflect gratitude for that interest.

Farther north, an inscription attributed by MOMMSEN to Altinum records some benefaction Hadrian undertook there in 137/138 at his own expense (CIL V 2152).<sup>114</sup> MOMMSEN reconstructs the inscription from its garbled transcription by VALVASSONI, who copied it from its location in the fifteenth century in the gates of the Doge's palace in Venice.<sup>115</sup> No other evidence has been found to substantiate this presumable Hadrianic benefaction, our only indication of Hadrian's interest in Altinum. This city was celebrated throughout the imperial period for its exports of sheep and wool (see, e.g., Columella 7.2.3) and for its salubrious and pleasant location on the coast (Mart. 4.25). It was on important communication routes, along the Via Popillia from Ravenna to Aquileia and the great road from Patavium to Aquileia, and it was the beginning of the Via Claudia Augusta over the Alps.<sup>116</sup> It is uncertain what drew Hadrian's interest to this prosperous northern city so late in his life and at a time when illness confined him to Rome and Baiae.

### *b. Inexactly Dated Donations*

Other late donations have less exact dates. An Ostian inscription testifies that Hadrian promised two million sesterces for and began city baths, which Antoninus Pius completed (CIL XIV 98 = D. 334 = SMALLWOOD, 386).<sup>117</sup> These have been identified as the Baths of Neptune,<sup>118</sup> located in the second area of renovations attributed to Hadrian on the basis on brick stamps and uniformity of plan and construction technique. The Hadrianic construction, directly east of the

<sup>113</sup> GORDON (above, n. 110) 44–46; see also BOATWRIGHT, HCR (above, n. 50) 255–57. MARCONI (above, n. 95) 182, reports a representation of Antinoos from Lanuvium.

<sup>114</sup> *Imp. Caesar divi Traiani Parthici f., divi Nervae nep., Traianus/ Hadrianus Aug. pont. 5 maxs., trib. potest. XXI, cos. III, imp. II, p. p./ impensa (?) sua---*

<sup>115</sup> MOMMSEN, ad CIL V 2152, and CIL V, p. 204, discusses his restoration and his doubts about VALVASSONI's antiquarian work.

<sup>116</sup> J. M. FRAYN, *Sheep-Rearing and the Wool Trade in Italy during the Roman Period*, Liverpool 1984, 25, 37, noting the continuation of this industry and commerce beyond Hadrian's period. G. A. MANSUELLI, *I Cisalpini* (III sec. a. C.–III d. C.), Florence 1962, 223, remarks on the importance of tourism to Altinum. Also for the ancient city, of which little remains: C. HÜLSEN, RE 1.2, 1894, s. v. Altinum, 1697–98; E. MANGANI, F. REBECCHI and M. J. STRAZZULLA, *Emilia, Venezia, Guide archeologiche Laterza* 2, Bari-Rome 1981, 126, 160, 190–93.

<sup>117</sup> *Imp. Caesar divi Hadriani fil., divi Traiani Parthici nep., divi [Nervae]/ pronepos, T. Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Aug. Pius, pontif. max. trib. potes[t. II., cos. II.]/ thermas, in quarum exstructionem divos pater suus HS XXX polli[citus erat.]/ adiecta pecunia, quanta amplius desiderabatur, item marmoribus ad omnem o[rnatum perfecit]* (138/39; for date, ad loc. CIL XIV 98).

<sup>118</sup> MEIGGS, Ostia (above, n. 42) 409, correcting DESSAU, ad CIL XIV 98.

theater and Piazzale delle Corporazioni, is bounded by the Decumanus Maximus, Via dei Vigili, Via della Fullonica, and Via delle Corporazioni, and incorporates the Baths of Neptune, the Barracks of the Vigiles, and other utilitarian buildings.<sup>119</sup> The whole is fronted by a continuous brick portico along the Decumanus, forming an impressive sight for visitors entering Ostia by the road from Rome. Recent excavations have revealed a Domitianic phase under the barracks and baths and show that Hadrian was responsible for a renovation rather than the construction of the area;<sup>120</sup> nonetheless, the monumentality and uniformity of the whole complex that survives may be due to Hadrian's initiative. These characteristics apply to the area of Hadrian's earlier restoration of the city's core (above), and both zones attest to Hadrian's strong and abiding interest in the satellite city of Rome.<sup>121</sup> Ostia reciprocated by the dedication to him of 132/133, and by interest in the imperial cult of Hadrian and in the cult of Antinoos.<sup>122</sup>

Also in Latium, an inscription from Signia records Hadrian's testamentary donation of money, perhaps supplementing an earlier gift, for public works for the town (CIL X 5963).<sup>123</sup> During the empire this well fortified hilltop city on the slopes of the Monti Lepini was famous for its bitter but medicinal wine and its salubrious pears (e.g., Athen. 1.27.b; Celsus Med. 4.26.5).<sup>124</sup> The testamentary nature of at least part of Hadrian's donation to the city<sup>125</sup> makes it tempting to speculate that the city may have sent some of its medicinal wine or fruit to Hadrian in his final illness.

Campania, where Hadrian spent his final days, received important donations from the ailing emperor. A lacunose inscription from the amphitheater at Capua probably records that the colony constructed the edifice, *divus Hadrianus* embellished it with columns and also something undefined, and Antoninus Pius dedi-

<sup>119</sup> MEIGGS, Ostia (above, n. 42) 136–38; PAVOLINI, Ostia (above, n. 98) 53–62.

<sup>120</sup> MEIGGS, Ostia (above, n. 42) 582; PAVOLINI, Ostia (above, n. 98) 55–57, who notes a completion date of 136/137 for the Hadrianic baths; and J. S. RAINBIRD, *The Fire Stations of Imperial Rome*, PBSR 54, 1986, 159–64.

<sup>121</sup> Two other areas in Ostia have been attributed to Hadrian's initiative and funding, though only tentatively pending verification: the complex of the Case a Giardino (Reg. III, ca. A. D. 128; PAVOLINI, Ostia [above, n. 98] 30, 156–57); and the precinct of Cybele (Reg. IV, end of Hadrian's reign; MEIGGS, Ostia [above, n. 42] 364–65).

<sup>122</sup> MEIGGS, Ostia (above, n. 42) 378–79; BOATWRIGHT, HCR (above, n. 50) 255 n. 49. See too CIL XIV 92–94, 96.

<sup>123</sup> *Divo Hadr[iano]/ maximae mem[oriae]/ principi/ senatus populusq. S[igninus]/ 5 quod opera reipubl[icae utilia]/ profusa liberalita[te antea]/ data pecunia t[er] est. perfici]/ iusser[it].*

<sup>124</sup> The city was also known for its cabbage, and for its invention of *opus signinum*. See too PHILLIP, RE 2.A.2, 1923, s. v. Signia, 2347–48; NISSEN, *Italische Landeskunde II* (above, n. 1) 650–51; COARELLI, Lazio (above, n. 27) 173–78.

<sup>125</sup> MOMMSEN's restoration of this text is peculiar: the unnecessary restoration *antea* makes no good sense unless MOMMSEN means to imply that Hadrian gave two gifts or that the initial gift was of someone else, for neither of which is there any other evidence. I thank K. J. RIGSBY for advice on this inscription.

cated it. MOMMSEN restored the following text: [*Colonia Iu*]lia Felix Aug[usta Capua]/ fecit,/[divus Hadr]ianus Aug[. restituit]/ [e]t columnas ad[iecit]/ <sup>5</sup>[imp. Caes. T. Ael]ius Hadrianu[s Antoninus]/ [Aug.] Pius dedicavi[t] (CIL X 3832). His restorations have led scholars to postulate that Hadrian restored an amphitheater that had been built earlier by the town.<sup>126</sup> This theory concurs with notions about the evolution of the architectural type,<sup>127</sup> and with the general decline of Capua from the late first century A.D. on.<sup>128</sup>

Yet the inscription from the amphitheater and the archaeological remains at the site point to a Hadrianic date for the entire building. MOMMSEN's sequence of verbs is illogical. He supplies the perfect *restituit* (line 3), perhaps because of the perfects *fecit* and *dedicavi[t]* at lines 1 and 5; *fecerat* in line 1 would lend more credibility to his *restituit* and concomitant interpretation of the inscription. We should probably substitute *statuas* or some other noun for *restituit* (cf. D. 5415);<sup>129</sup> the inscription would thus commemorate a joint undertaking of city and emperor. Furthermore, M. E. BLAKE and D. T. BISHOP judge the masonry of the amphitheater to be «comparable to that in other types of Hadrianic edifices away from the Capital;» they stress the similarity of its exterior travertine facade to that of the Colosseum, thus suggesting a derivation for the Capuan building from the Flavian amphitheater.<sup>130</sup> Various finds from the amphitheater at Capua, including granite columns with travertine capitals, sculptured reliefs of animals, a sculptured frieze of garlands swinging from Silenus heads, and numerous statues, seem Hadrianic on stylistic grounds.<sup>131</sup>

<sup>126</sup> E.g., T. W. POTTER, *Roman Italy*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1987, 84, though in passing; L. CREMA, *L'architettura romana*, Turin 1959, 436, says that the amphitheater, «generally held to be earlier than the Colosseum,» was erected by the colony and in its present form is from Hadrian. See G. PESCE, *I rilievi dell'anfiteatro campano*, Studi e materiali del Museo dell'Impero Romano 2, Rome 1941, 6, for others supporting an Augustan date.

<sup>127</sup> See PESCE, (above, n. 126) 6–7.

<sup>128</sup> M. FREDERIKSEN, *Campania*, Hertfort 1984, 310–11; see also C. HÜLSEN, RE 3.2, 1899, s.v. Capua, 1555–61.

<sup>129</sup> DE CARO, *Campania* (above, n. 21) 215, restores lines 3–5 as [*divus Hadr*]ianus Aug(ustus) [*restituit*]/ [*imagines e*]t columnas ad[*di curavit*]/ Imp. Caes. Ael]ius ...; this, however, does not solve the problems posed by MOMMSEN's sequence of verbs.

<sup>130</sup> BLAKE/BISHOP, (above, n. 1) 261, who also report that the bricks used in the interior were of local manufacture and bear the stamp CIFAF, interpreted to mean *Colonia Iulia Felix Augusta* [*Capua*] fecit. PESCE notes, however (above, n. 126) 10, only one legible stamped brick, and it is unclear whether BLAKE/BISHOP saw others. DE CARO, *Campania* (above, n. 21) 215, holds that it was reconstructed «ex novo» at the end of the first or the beginning of the second century A.D.

<sup>131</sup> PESCE (above, n. 126); DE CARO, *Campania* (above, n. 21) 216–17; BLAKE/BISHOP (above, n. 1) 261. J. HEURGON, *Note sur Capoue et les villes campaniennes au IIe siècle de notre ère*, in *Studies presented to D. M. Robinson on his 70th Birthday*, ed. G. E. MYLONAS and D. RAYMOND, St. Louis 1953, II 931–37, interprets several reliefs as personifications of Campanian cities, which he takes as indicative of Hadrian's attention to the separate parts of Italy.

If our interpretation of the inscription and the archaeological evidence is correct, the instance of Hadrian's liberality at Capua attests a joint undertaking of Hadrian and an Italian city. It may be important in this context that the Capuan amphitheater is second in size in Italy only to the Colosseum in Rome. This instance of cooperation, and that in the repair of the Via Appia from Beneventum to Aeclanum in 123, may have been aimed at encouraging local pride: the towns involved gained prestige from imperial attention while contributing relatively little for useful construction.

A late date is indicated for Hadrian's restoration of the Augustan mole at Puteoli, according to two almost identical inscriptions recording its completion by Antoninus Pius (CIL X 1640 and 1641).<sup>132</sup> In Hadrian's day Puteoli still received much of Rome's grain supply,<sup>133</sup> and the efficiency of its port was essential to Rome. The mole, originally some 372 m. long and 15 to 16 m. wide, is known from sketches and exploration of its remains before they were embedded in the city's modern breakwater, and from its depiction on a series of decorated glass flasks representing the view of Puteoli from the sea.<sup>134</sup> The glass vases, dating to the third century or later, show on the mole two monumental arches and other monuments, including two columns with standing figures. None of this decoration remains in situ,<sup>135</sup> and since the two inscriptions are silent about such embellishment, it probably was not part of Hadrian's promised benefaction. The prominence of the breakwater and its decoration in the scenes of Puteoli, however, demonstrates the importance of the port facility;<sup>136</sup> Hadrian's promise to restore the mole implies both a concern for Rome's *annona* and an interest in the city of Puteoli. Puteoli reportedly later was the site of a temple, which replaced Hadrian's first sepulcher, and of games and attendant priesthoods established for Hadrian by Antoninus Pius (HA, Hadr. 25.7, 27.3).

<sup>132</sup> CIL X 1640, from 138/139: *Imp. Caesar divi Hadriani fil./ divi Traiani Parthici nepos, divi Nervae pronepos, T. Aelius/ Hadrianus Antoninus Aug. Pius/ 5 pont. max., trib. pot. II, cos. II, / desig. III, p. p., opus pilarum vii/ maris conlapsum a divo patre/ suo promissum restituit*; 1641: *[imp. C]aesari divi [Hadriani]f, divi Traiani/ [Part]hici nepoti, divi [Nervae] pronep., T. Aelio Hadriano/ [Ant]onino Aug. Pio [pont. max., trib. pot. II, cos. II, p. p.] / [C]olonia Flav[ia Augusta Puteoli]/ 5[quod s]uper cetera ben[eficia a divo patre promiss] / sum op[us pilarum] vigi[nti vi maris conlapsum splendore]/ [anti]quo et munitio[ne adiecta restituit]*. See P. SOMMELLA, *Forma e urbanistica di Pozzuoli romana = Puteoli* 2, 1978 (1980), 74, for the identification of the original mole as Augustan.

<sup>133</sup> N. PURCELL, Puteoli, in FREDERIKSEN, *Campania* (above, n. 128) 335, with references.

<sup>134</sup> PURCELL (above, n. 133) 351, 353; the best description of the depiction of the mole on these glass vases, with references to earlier discussion, is by S. E. OSTROW, *The topography of Puteoli and Baiae on the eight glass flasks*, Puteoli 3, 1979 (1980), 113–21.

<sup>135</sup> OSTROW (above, n. 134) 113–19.

<sup>136</sup> OSTROW (above, n. 134) 113–14.

### c. Conjecturally Dated and Undatable Donations

We can offer conjectural dates for Hadrian's aid to five other Italian cities. His liberality in Gabii apparently falls at the beginning or middle of his reign; Venusia and Beneventum seem to have benefited from him ca. 123–127; and this date has been presumed also for Cingulum and Firmum in Picenum.

Hadrian's interest and benefactions in Gabii have recently been brought into relief by the excavations conducted there since the 1950s by the Spanish School in Rome.<sup>137</sup> Gabii was famous for its age and its shrine of Iuno Gabina, a healing deity especially protective of the eyes.<sup>138</sup> Paradoxically, although from Cicero's time through that of Juvenal Gabii figures in literature as a *topos* for desolated former greatness, numerous inscriptions, sculpture and archaeological finds attest rich dedications and monuments from the time of Augustus at least through Hadrian's period.<sup>139</sup> The documentary evidence may reflect the generosity of the rich owners of nearby villas rather than the prosperity of the city's inhabitants.<sup>140</sup> Hadrian was a most liberal patron of the city, which was voluble in its gratitude. At least one statue depicting him was found at Gabii,<sup>141</sup> and a marble base is inscribed with a dedication made sometime after 128 by the city to him and Sabina, the enrichers of the *municipium* (CIL XIV 2799).<sup>142</sup> Also from Gabii come two fragmentary dedications to Hadrian, CIL XIV 2796 and 2798.<sup>143</sup>

Other inscriptions, and the excavations recently published by M. ALMAGRO-

<sup>137</sup> M. ALMAGRO-GORBEA, *El santuario de Iuno en Gabii*, Rome 1982, is the definitive publication.

<sup>138</sup> In addition to the work cited in n. 137 above, see also WEISS, RE 7.1, 1910, s.v. Gabii, 420–22; M. ALMAGRO-GORBEA, *Il Tempio cosiddetto di Giunone Gabina: situazione attuale dello studio*, *Archeologia Laziale* III, QuadAEI 4, Rome 1980, 170.

<sup>139</sup> Cic. pro Plancio 23; Hor. Epod. 1.11.7; Prop. 4.1.34; Lucan 7.392; Juv. 3.192, 6.56, 7.4 and 10.100; Hadrianic inscriptions are cited below. Gabii provides a dedication to Septimius Severus (post 199), CIL XIV 2800, and an inscription from the time of Elagabalus, 2809. CIL XIV 2794 lists statues erected in 51–54 in Gabii's forum that include Drusus Pater, Germanicus, Drusus Caesar, Agrippina the Elder, and Antonia. A. BLANCO, *Las esculturas de Gabii*, CTEER 10, 1958, 57–82, discusses an Eros dated to the first half of the second century A.D., and lists among other finds portraits identified as personages from Agrippa to Geta. The archaeological material, however, seems to diminish after Hadrian, with the city abandoned in 266: ALMAGRO-GORBEA, *Santuario* (above, n. 137) 623–24.

<sup>140</sup> E.g., COARELLI, *Dintorni di Roma* (above, n. 43) 168.

<sup>141</sup> Number 29 in BLANCO's list (above, n. 139) 65, and see also his n. 1, found in the excavations of 1792 in zones near the Forum of Gabii and the temple.

<sup>142</sup> *Hadriano Augusto cos. III, p.p., Sabinae Augustae, locupletatoribus municipii ex d. d., publice*.

<sup>143</sup> CIL XIV 2796: [Imp. Ca]esari divi [Traia]/[ni P]arthic. fl., [divi]/[Ne]rvae n., Traian[o]/[Had]riano Aug./---; 2798 (122/123): [--]/[imp. Caesari]/[divi] Traiani [Parthici fl.]/[divi] Nervae nepot./[Traiano] Hadriano Aug./[pont. max., trib.] pot. VII, cos. III, 5 imp. II, ] p.p., sua pec. fecit.



GORBEA, give details on Hadrian's patronage. He restored Gabii's aqueduct (CIL XIV 2797).<sup>144</sup> A fragmentary inscription found in excavations undertaken near the temple from 1956 to 1965 may indicate Hadrian's responsibility for another, unspecified, restoration. This new inscription is opisthographic, and the drilled holes in its top and the one remaining finished side indicate that it was to be set in a balustrade or some other arrangement so that both sides could be read (AE 1982, 142).<sup>145</sup> An inscription of 140 records a meeting of Gabii's decurions in the Curia Aelia Augusta (CIL XIV 2795, line 5), but this building is identified only in excavations of 1792 that were subsequently reburied. The curia's name may simply reflect an honor for Hadrian rather than his responsibility for the construction of the building.<sup>146</sup>

The lacunose inscription that may record Hadrian's restoration of some delapidated building came from near the temple, and has been used by the Spanish excavators to suggest that Hadrian rehabilitated the archaic temple or some of its adjacencies. Brick stamps found in the restoration work of the *temenos* indicate a date of after 123 for the work.<sup>147</sup> The excavators hypothesize that Hadrian restored the temple either while repairing damage from an earthquake of 117, or because his attention was attracted to Gabii's ruinous buildings as he passed the city on his way to his villas at Praeneste or in Tibur.<sup>148</sup> They ascribe his restoration work in Gabii to a general policy of building.<sup>149</sup> In the context of Hadrian's other donations to cities and shrines in Italy, however, we may specify his aims to attribute his donations to Gabii at least partly to his interest in ancient Italian cults.

<sup>144</sup> *Imp. Caesar divi Tra[iani Parthici filius, divi Nervae nepos, Traianus Hadrianus]/ Aug. pontif[ex maximus, trib. pot. ---, imp. ---, cos. ---, p. p., ]/ aquae ductum Gabinis[---]/ quam[---].*

<sup>145</sup> One side has been restored to read: *Imp[er]ator Caesar]/ P. Ae[lius divi Traiani f.]/ [T]ra[ianus Augustus, pont. ]/[m]aximus, tr. [pot. ---, cos. ---, p. p., ]/[ru]inis vetu[state prostratum]/ [restituit];* the other side is less intelligible, with only ----[isi i (or l). E. RODRIGUEZ ALMEIDA, *Epigrafía Gabina Novísima. Hallazgos epigráficos de las excavaciones españolas en las campañas de 1956 a 1965*, CTEER 12, 1969, 39–41; C. BASAS-FAURE, in *ALMAGRO-GORBEA, Santuario* (above, n. 137), n. 16, pp. 226–27. The restoration of the longer text extraordinarily includes «P. Aelius» and omits «Hadrianus.»

<sup>146</sup> BLAKE/BISHOP, (above, n. 1) 273, who briefly recapitulate the report of VISCONTI from the early nineteenth century; cf. COARELLI, *Dintorni di Roma* (above, n. 43) 172.

<sup>147</sup> J. ARXÉ, in *ALMAGRO-GORBEA, Santuario* (above, n. 137) 219–20, postulates the second quarter of the second century for the reconstruction. COARELLI, *Dintorni di Roma* (above, n. 43) 171–72, identifies as Fortuna the divinity to whom the extant temple was dedicated, a deity of antiquity and reverence equal to Iuno's.

<sup>148</sup> ARXÉ, in *ALMAGRO-GORBEA, Santuario* (above, n. 137) 219–20, with *ALMAGRO-GORBEA*, *ibid.* 619, 623. The restoration was centered on the *tabernae* and basement on the west side of the *temenos*.

<sup>149</sup> *ALMAGRO-GORBEA, Santuario* (above, n. 137) 624, referring to BEAUJEU (above, n. 96) 217–18, and others. Their neglect of Hadrian's religious policy is odd, since on p. 623 they ascribe Augustus' restoration of the temple to his policy of restoring traditional cults.

Venusia, on the border of Samnium and Apulia, and Beneventum, in Samnium, two cities connected by the Via Appia that was partially restored by Hadrian and local inhabitants in 123 (above, p.239),<sup>150</sup> show uncommon evidence of Hadrianic building activity, *curatores* appointed specially by Hadrian to oversee some building. C.Neratius Proculus Betitius Pius Maximillianus, mentioned in the discussion of Aeclanum, had a career that included positions as *flamen* of Hadrian and patron in Aeclanum, and as Hadrian's *curator operum publicorum* in Venusia (CIL IX 1160 = D.6485).<sup>151</sup> *Curatores operum publicorum*, who were appointed for cities either by emperors or by provincial governors (cf. Ulp. Dig. 1.16.7.1), are rare: Augustus seems to have appointed C.Fabricius Tuscus as *praefectus operum* to oversee imperially ordered work in Alexandria Troas,<sup>152</sup> Vespasian appointed Q.Caesius Fistulanus *curator operum publicorum* for Nola (CIL X 1266), and Hadrian appointed this Neratius *curator* of public works in Venusia, as well as C.Ennius Firmus *curator* of works on a bath in Beneventum.<sup>153</sup> In all four cases the tribes of the *curatores* or their other positions tend to show that they came from the cities in which they received their special commissions. The evidence does not allow us to know if these *curatores* were instrumental in obtaining imperial benefactions for their cities, or if the emperors chose them as well-respected locals who could supervise imperially-funded public works. We mentioned previously Neratius' marriage connection to L.Neratius Priscus; at least in Aeclanum, patronage seems to have been responsible for the extraordinary curatorship.<sup>154</sup>

There is no other information about the public works Neratius supervised in Venusia. What little has been excavated of this ancient commercial center indi-

<sup>150</sup> Additionally, C. Utius Celer, patron of Aesernia farther north, was appointed by Hadrian to be *curator* of a *via Cu---*, possibly a road in the region (CIL IX 2655).

<sup>151</sup> C. Neratio C. fil./ C. n., C. pron., C. abn., Cor./ Proculo Betitio Pio/ Maximiliano/ 5quaest., Ilvir. quinq. p. c./ flamine divi Hadriani/ curatori operum publ./ Venusiae dato ab divo/ Hadriano, curat. Kal./<sup>10</sup> Nolanorum dato ab imp./ Antonino Aug. Pio./ Epaphroditus et/ Conventa lib./ l. d. d.

<sup>152</sup> P.A. BRUNT, C. Fabricius Tuscus and an Augustan dilectus, ZPE 13, 1974, 161–85, esp. 182, who gives a full discussion of Fabricius' life and notes the peculiarity of Augustus' ordering work and installing a *curator* in a senatorial province.

<sup>153</sup> See below for Ennius. Specific discussions of imperially appointed curatorships of public works are rare: see BRUNT, (above, n. 152) 182, and MACMULLEN, (above, n. 22) 211, 226 n. 30; KORNEIMANN, RE 4.2, 1901, s.v. *curatores* 4 (*Curatores operum publicorum*), 1802. For *curatores operum publicorum* in general, see W. LANGHAMMER, Die rechtliche und soziale Stellung der magistratus municipales und der decuriones in der Übergangsphase der Städte von sich selbst verwaltenden Gemeinden zu Vollzugsorganen des spätantiken Zwangsstaates (2.–4. Jahrhundert der römischen Kaiserzeit), Wiesbaden 1973, 178–80, cf. 246, 247.

<sup>154</sup> I have not found this aspect of curatorships discussed in work on *curatores*, nor does R.P. SALLER's excellent book, *Personal Patronage under the Early Empire*, Cambridge 1982, have anything on the subject.

cates a general well-being during the first six centuries of our era,<sup>155</sup> and a recent find of a monumental inscription referring either to Trajan or to Hadrian has been reported.<sup>156</sup> Hadrian's concern for public buildings in Venusia is similar to his concern for one public monument in Beneventum, another city along the Via Appia.

An inscription found in Beneventan territory names C. Ennius Firmus as Hadrian's *curator* for bath works, almost certainly for Beneventum (CIL IX 1419, found at Aequum Tuticum s. Magnum).<sup>157</sup> Beneventum was a nodal point for much of the road system in central and south Italy, as well as a thriving industrial and agricultural center during the republic and empire. Its prosperity reached a high point in the Trajanic and Hadrianic period with the construction of the Via Traiana from Beneventum to Aequum Tuticum, thence to Brundisium, and with the concurrent imperial repairs to the Via Appia. Most of the known major Beneventan monuments are late Trajanic or Hadrianic: Hadrian's baths, known only from the above inscription, the city's theater, and the Porta Aurea, which marks the beginning of the Via Traiana.<sup>158</sup> The ruins of a large building in the Via Posillipo may be a bath structure,<sup>159</sup> but since these await systematic excavation we have no clear idea of the identification and extent of the bath works supervised by Hadrian's *curator* C. Ennius Firmus.

My inclination is to date Hadrian's varied gestures of liberality in Samnium between his restoration of the Via Appia in 123 and his Italian tour of 127, which coincides generally with the consulship in 126 of C. Eggius Ambibulus of Aeclanum. W. WEBER and others have proposed the date of 127, that of Hadrian's tour

<sup>155</sup> E. GRECO, *Magna Graecia*, 2nd ed., Guide archeologiche Laterza 12, Bari-Rome 1981, 277–80; JACOBONE, *Venusia* (above n. 22) 92–122; G. RADKE, *RE* 8 A. 1, 1955, s.v. *Venusia* 1, 892–96. D. ADAMESTEANU, *L'attività archeologica in Basilicata*, in *Letteratura e arte figurata nella Magna Graecia*. Atti del sesto convegno di studi sulla Magna Graecia, Naples 1967, 260–63, also reports a bath.

<sup>156</sup> ADAMESTEANU, (above, n. 155) 262.

<sup>157</sup> I. O. M. / *C. Ennius C. f. Firmus / permissu decurion. C(oloniae) B(eneventanae) / Benevento aedilis, / I(ovis) i. d., quaestor, / curator operis thermarum / datus ab imp. Caesare Hadriano Aug.* In the entry for the inscriptions of Aequum Tuticum, CIL IX, p. 122, MOMMSEN argues convincingly that the land was under the jurisdiction of Beneventum.

<sup>158</sup> DE CARO, *Campania* (above, n. 21) 185–98; E. T. SALMON, *PECS* s.v. *Beneventum*, 149; G. BENDINELLI and R. BIANCHI BANDINELLI, *EAA* 2, 1959, s.v. *Beneventum*, 50–53; and C. HÜLSEN, *RE* 3.1, 1897, s.v. *Beneventum* 2, 273–75. DE CARO, 186, reports without references an inscription from the theater that documents Hadrian's appointment of a *curator* for the construction of the theater, inaugurated in A. D. 126, but I have not been able to verify the report. From the style and subject of the reliefs on its attic, the completion of the Porta Aurea has been attributed to Hadrian: DE CARO, 189–92; BENDINELLI and BIANCHI BANDINELLI, 52–53; and (e.g.) I. A. RICHMOND, *The Arch of Beneventum*, in *Roman Archaeology and Art*, ed. P. SALWAY, London 1969, 229–37. This theory, however, contradicts the date of 113/114 in the dedicatory inscription (CIL IX 1558 = D. 296 = SMALLWOOD, 408 b).

<sup>159</sup> DE CARO, *Campania* (above, n. 21) 186; SALMON, *PECS* s.v. *Beneventum* 149.

and his restoration of the temple at Cupra Maritima in Picenum, also for the donations of Hadrian to the Picene cities of Firmum and Cingulum.<sup>160</sup> We should note, however, that Hadrian's appointment of a *curator* in Picene Matilica came at least three years later, sometime after 130 (see above, p. 250). The evidence is least satisfactory for Hadrian's interest in Firmum, an ancient Picene city five miles from the Adriatic sea.<sup>161</sup> A fragmentary inscription from the environs of Firmum's theater,<sup>162</sup> CIL IX 5353, has been restored by MOMMSEN to read [--- *imp. Caes. T. Ae]lius Hadrianus [Antoninus Aug. Pius] / [ex pecunia quam divus Hadrianus lar]gitus erat et re[---*, thus crediting Hadrian with granting money for a restoration actually completed by Antoninus Pius. No other evidence documents Hadrian's interest in the city,<sup>163</sup> and MOMMSEN's restoration is quite speculative, since we do not know the size of the original inscription. We cannot positively identify the Hadrian of the first line, and whoever bestowed something noted by the second line cannot be identified with certainty, and may be a private citizen.<sup>164</sup>

More secure is Hadrian's liberality to Cingulum, where an inscription seen by MOMMSEN records Hadrian's restoration of an aqueduct that had collapsed with decrepitude (CIL IX 5681).<sup>165</sup> Though little remains of this city, inscriptions indicate a steady if moderate prosperity until at least the mid-fourth century.<sup>166</sup> This Hadrianic restoration and that of the aqueduct at Gabii are our only Italian donations that corroborate the biography's statement that Hadrian gave innumerable aqueducts in his own name (HA, Hadr. 20.5).

Other epigraphically attested benefactions of Hadrian to Italian towns are undatable and very poorly known. A large marble fragment from Heba, perhaps part of an architrave, witnesses Hadrian's restoration of an important public building there (AE 1946, 222).<sup>167</sup> This comes from «Le Sassaie,» a site that has

<sup>160</sup> WEBER (above, n. 1) 200; GARZETTI (above, n. 1) 394.

<sup>161</sup> For the city: GAGGIOTTI, Umbria (above, n. 67) 189–90, 266–73; G. ANNIBALDI, EAA 3, 1960, s. v. Fermo 624–25; C. HÜLSEN, RE 6.2, 1909, s. v. Firmum, 2380–81.

<sup>162</sup> MOMMSEN, ad loc., identifies the provenance as an amphitheater, but the ruins there are probably of a theater: GAGGIOTTI, Umbria (above, n. 67) 268–73.

<sup>163</sup> Dedications to other emperors are found in the town: CIL IX 5354, to Marcus Aurelius in 145/146; 5355, to either Marcus Aurelius or Lucius Verus; and 5356, to some undeterminable emperor, apparently for restoring another building.

<sup>164</sup> I am particularly puzzled by the *et re*... after the restored *largitus erat*, which seems to imply a restoration by Hadrian himself.

<sup>165</sup> *Im[p.] Caesar d[ivi Traiani Parth. f.]/ divi Nervae nepos, Tr[aianus Hadrianus Aug.]/ pont. max., trib. po[t. --]I, cos./ aquaeductum ve[tust]ate conla[psum]/ <sup>5</sup>pecunia su[a] Cingula[nis]/ rest[ituit].*

<sup>166</sup> CIL IX 5682–84 are dedications to emperors and private citizens from the third to the mid-fourth century. For the town and its history, see C. HÜLSEN, RE 3.2, 1899, s. v. Cingulum 1, 2561; GAGGIOTTI, Umbria (above, n. 67) 245–46.

<sup>167</sup> [*Imp. Caes.] Traian[us H]adria[nus aedem] vetu[st]ate collapsa[m] restituit*] (or *reparavit*] or *reficiendam curavit*)). This restoration is accepted, with some doubts, by W. Eck and

provided other Roman remains of the first through early third centuries of our era.<sup>168</sup> Hadrian's donation fits with recent evidence from survey archaeology that the upper reaches of river valleys in Etruria began to prosper in the second century as the lower areas began to decline.<sup>169</sup> Without further evidence we cannot know whether Hadrian's donation spurred this growth, or was in response to it.

Closer to Rome and on the north shore of the Alban Lake Hadrian restored some building or buildings in Castrimoenium, according to a fragmentary inscription (CIL XIV 2460).<sup>170</sup> Other inscriptions indicate that the town flourished in the imperial age through the reign of Antoninus Pius (CIL XIV 2459, 2462). What buildings Hadrian restored cannot now be determined with any certainty, but we may safely suppose that the city's proximity to Rome facilitated its receiving imperial attention.<sup>171</sup>

In Fabrateria Vetus, a small city in Latium near Fregellae located off of the Via Latina, Hadrian restored an edifice that had fallen from age and neglect (CIL X 5649, probably an architrave).<sup>172</sup> Little evidence attests to this ancient city of the Hernici in the imperial period, when it seems to have been overshadowed by Fabrateria Nova.<sup>173</sup> The identification of Hadrian's restoration and its motivation remain uncertain.

E. PACK, Das römische Heba. Materialien aus der Vorarbeit zu CIL XI Suppl. alterum, Chiron 11, 1981, 149–50. The rectangular inscription, perhaps of Luna marble, had a double cornice at the top and bottom: P. RAVEGGI, NSc 1947, 49–50.

<sup>168</sup> P. RAVEGGI, NSc 1947, 49–51; A. MINTO, NSc 1919, 199 ff. For the famous Tabula Hebana, see J. H. OLIVER and R. E. A. PALMER, Text of the Tabula Hebana, AJP 75, 1954, 225–49; A. GIULIANO, EAA 4, 1961, s.v. Magliano, 776; A. MINTO, NSc 1947, 54. For evaluation of the town's dubious identification with Le Sassie, see ECK and PACK, (above, n. 167) 159–62.

<sup>169</sup> S. L. DYSON, Settlement Reconstruction in the Ager Cosanus and the Albegna Valley: Wesleyan University research, 1974–79, in G. BARKER and R. HODGES, Archaeology and Italian Society, Oxford 1981, 269–74; I. ATTOLINI et al., Ricognizione archeologica nell'ager Cosanus e nella valle dell'Albegna. Rapporto preliminare 1982/83, Archeologia Medievale 10, 1983, 455–59. The place may also have been important in Etruscan times: cf. the provenance here of the famous Etruscan lead tablet of the fifth or fourth centuries B. C. that is inscribed on both sides with a religious text, on which see ATTOLINI et al., 455.

<sup>170</sup> [Ex li]ber[alitate imp.] Caes. [divi]/ [Traiani Par]thi[ci]f, divi Nervae[n.]/ [Traiani] Hadriani Aug[ust]i/ [p]ecun[ia] vetustat[is]/ [mun]i[cip]i. Cas[tr]imoenien[sis]. DESSAU suggests ad loc. that lines 3 and 4 should be supplemented [adiecta]/ [p]ecun[ia] [pub]lica vetustat[is] corruptam], which would thus attest to another instance of Hadrian's cooperation with locals.

<sup>171</sup> For the city, see C. HÜLSEN, RE 3.2, 1899, s.v. Castrimoenium, 1777; COARELLI, Dintorni di Roma (above, n. 43) 66, 112–13.

<sup>172</sup> Imp. Caesar d[iv]i Traiani Parthici f, divi Nervae n., Trai[anus] Hadrianu[s] / Aug., pont. max., tri[umph]at[or] vet[er]ustat[is] dilapsas pecunia [sua res] tituit. The plural dilapsas suggests a completion of columnas, porticus, balneas, turres or the like.

<sup>173</sup> C. HÜLSEN, RE 6.2, 1909, s.vv. Fabrateria, Fabrateria nova, 1887–88; COARELLI, Lazio (above, n. 27) 163–65, 204–205.

Neapolis, which remained essentially a Greek city well into the third century,<sup>174</sup> attracted Hadrian's philhellene interests. The passage in his biography quoted above (p. 245; HA, Hadr. 19.1) states that Hadrian held the Neapolitan office of demarch. Lead pipes inscribed with Hadrian's name and unearthed in Naples attest to his ownership of some building in the city (CIL X 1496).<sup>175</sup> Neapolis also had a phratry of the *Antinoitae et Eunostidae*, attested at the end of the second or the beginning of the third century (CIL VI 1851 a, c), which is apparently simply the phratry Eunostidae renamed during the Hadrianic period in honor of Antinoos.<sup>176</sup> Here, as in Lanuvium and Ostia, we may perhaps detect a manifestation of municipal gratitude to the emperor for his benefactions.

#### IV. Conclusions

Hadrian's direct relations with Italian cities were numerous and varied. He was involved with Italian towns administratively: he accepted municipal magistracies at least five times (in an unidentified town near Formiae, Neapolis, Hadria, twice in Ostia, and reportedly in other towns in Latium), appointed *curatores rei publicae* five times (in Trebula Mutuesca, Tarracina, Ancona, Comum, and Matilica), centuriated and assigned land twice (in Ostia and Lanuvium), and changed the civic status of two towns (Aeclanum and Formiae). His replacement of earlier terminal stones in Veietan territory, if acceptable, also betokens imperial administrative interest in a town's life. Hadrian's preferred intervention in Italy, however, was through building activities, which are attested in twenty-one cities, with more than one building and/or restoration donated in Ostia, Lanuvium, Signia and Gabii. Most of the Hadrianic work was restoration: six, possibly seven temples or sanctuaries (in Antium, Aricia-Grove of Diana, Cupra Maritima, Lanuvium, Gabii, Ostia, possibly Heba); two aqueducts (in Gabii and Cingulum); an amphitheater (in Capua); possibly a theater (in Firmum); a mole (in Puteoli); a firefighters' barracks and a bath building (in Ostia); and five unidentifiable public buildings (in Caiatia, Aequiculi, Lanuvium, Castrimoenium and Fabrateria Vetus). Other building activity seems to have involved new construction: utilitarian buildings in Ostia; baths in Beneventum; perhaps a new *curia* in Gabii; and unknown buildings in Altinum, Signia, Venusia and possibly Neapolis.

<sup>174</sup> L. ROBERT, CRAI 1970, 9–10, for bibliography; DE CARO, Campania (above, n. 21) 18–26; G. MACCHIAROLI, ed., Napoli antica, Naples 1985, 115–39, 386–89, especially 130–32. In his thorough history of the Roman city, E. LEPORE, Neapolis, Città dell'Impero Romano, in Storia di Napoli. Storia politica ed economica, I, Naples 1975, esp. 155–59, is unduly swayed by a belief in a crisis in Italy of the end of the first and beginning second centuries A.D. <sup>175</sup> *Imp. Caes(aris) Traian(i) Hadr(iani) Aug(usti)*.

<sup>176</sup> M. NAPOLI, Napoli greco-romana, Naples 1959, 179–81; MACCHIAROLI, Napoli antica (above, n. 174) 387. To my knowledge, Hadrian's building is never mentioned in topographical studies of Naples.

Hadrian's various municipal activities, known from chance finds and imprecise references in literary sources, have the appearance of randomness and almost caprice on his part. Only Ostia and, to a lesser extent, Lanuvium, Neapolis and Aeclanum provide evidence of Hadrian's repeated and diversified interest. These underscore the inadequacy and ambiguity of our knowledge: correspondingly full information for other cities might reveal a similar picture of building activity and administrative interventions, but it is more probable that these four cities are extraordinary cases.

Keeping in mind that we have no way of accurately assessing the representative nature of our information, we can draw some conclusions. The lack of evidence for Hadrian's sustained interest in any one city or for a rational plan for a large area makes easily comprehensible the ancients' association of Hadrian's municipal building with his travels. This association is supported by the information assessed above for Hadrian's donations in Caiatia, Antium, Cupra Maritima and perhaps Aequiculi. Yet the scattered locations and different dates of Hadrian's interactions, such as his works in Heba and Altinum, argue against construing all his benefactions as by-products of his journeys.

Other explanations can be offered as well. F. MILLAR and others have rightly emphasized the importance and effectiveness of the constant petitioning of the emperor by his subjects.<sup>177</sup> Despite the absence of direct evidence for Italian cities' approaching Hadrian and for the functioning of patronage in these avenues, such petitioning and response must have occurred often. It would explain in part the relatively frequent instances of Hadrian's interactions in Latium and Campania. The traditional location here of the estates of prominent senators and others had just been reaffirmed by Trajan's requirement of all senators to have one-third of their holdings in Italian land (Plin. Ep. 6.19.4).<sup>178</sup> In addition, the proximity of the imperial court, either in Rome or at one of the imperial villas, meant that delegations could be sent to Hadrian and to his counsellors by wealthy and even by relatively modest towns, as for example by Signia. Imperial patronage of individuals may be seen in Hadrian's interventions in Aeclanum and his appointments of various types of *curatores* in Tarracina and Ancona, Trebula Mutuesca, Matilica, Comum, Venusia and Beneventum.

Some explanations of Hadrian's interventions in Italian cities are apparently unique to their cases. Although we have associated Hadrianic roadwork with his activities in Beneventum, Aeclanum and Venusia, this seems an isolated instance, since we have no evidence for works in any cities along other roads he repaired.<sup>179</sup> The extraordinary Greek heritage of Neapolis may account in part for

<sup>177</sup> F. MILLAR, *The Emperor in the Roman World 31 B.C. – A.D. 337*, Ithaca, NY 1977, esp. 420–34 for imperial relations with cities.

<sup>178</sup> E.g., ECK, *Staatliche Organisation* (above, n. 5) 201–202.

<sup>179</sup> Repairs attested on the Via Iulia Augusta in northern Italy (A.D. 125: CIL V 8095 [?], 8102, 8103, 8106); the Via Flaminia (A.D. 124: CIL XI 6619, 6620); the road from Naples to

Hadrian's interventions there; likewise, Hadrian's personal background is said to have determined his acceptance of the post of *duumvir quinquennalis* in his ancestral Hadria. Particular political considerations in part may have drawn Hadrian to restore a shrine in Diana's grove originally erected by a Parthian noble. The general elusiveness of the evidence for Hadrian's reign, however, often renders such explanations speculative.

It is hard to discern overall policies at work, besides the general one of demonstrating imperial munificence and concern.<sup>180</sup> We may be justified in arguing that policies explain two groups of data. Hadrian's six restorations of ancient temples and shrines substantiate his biography's statement about Hadrian's concern for «Roman» religious rites and customs (HA, Hadr. 22.10).<sup>181</sup> Similarly, Hadrian's assumption of many different municipal offices, even if he did not personally discharge their duties, manifests a belief in the value of the individual municipalities and their structures that is apparent also in his *oratio de Italicensibus* (Gell. 16.13.3–5). Yet since Hadrian's grants of colonial status to Aeclanum and to Formiae contradict the policy stated in this oration of the beginning of his reign, it seems we should not overemphasize Hadrian's adherence to policies throughout his principate.

What policies can be discerned are cultural, religious and political, not economic. Economic considerations may have played a part in some interventions, Hadrian's restorations of Puteoli's mole and his work in Ostia. But the sporadic nature of his interventions overall, together with the rarity and ambiguity of those with economic and demographic consequences (colonization and land assignment), argue against assuming that Hadrian was responding to general economic problems in Italy.

Almost every city Hadrian aided shows evidence of prosperity both before and after his reign, so that his individual effect on their economic standing is difficult to gauge. The working of patronage suggests that the towns had a certain level of well being, or at least an influential patron or some other representative, before they could gain access to the emperor.<sup>182</sup> More obvious are the numerous advantages of Hadrian's building activities: the creation of jobs for artisans and

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Nuceria (A.D. 121: CIL X 6939, 6940); and the Via Cassia, from Clusium to Florentia (CIL XI 6668). C. MERCKEL, *Die Ingenieurtechnik im Altertum*, Berlin 1899, 172, mentions a double road built by Hadrian to facilitate traffic from the harbor at Aquileia to Ponte di Isonzo, but I am unable to confirm this.

<sup>180</sup> H. KLOFT, *Liberalitas Principis. Herkunft und Bedeutung. Studien zur Prinzipatsideologie*, Cologne 1970, 73–170, 178–82; specifically for the importance of imperially building, pp. 115–20. For a detailed discussion of an earlier emperor's relations with Italian cities, see KEEPIE, CVSI (above, n. 13) 120–22, on Augustus' varied interactions with Italian towns.

<sup>181</sup> The predilection for the most ancient cults may also reflect Hadrian's archaistic tendencies.

<sup>182</sup> SALLER, *Personal Patronage* (above, n. 154) 58–78.



construction workers, the improvement of urban life through furnishing aqueducts, temples and other public works and through encouraging others to similar liberality, and the concomitant strengthening of urban markets and of the agriculture of surrounding regions. Yet these effects were probably not the primary motivation for Hadrian's work, and in any case we can scarcely discern the means by which they were obtained. Evidence for the transfer of funds, personal direction of work and the like is most disappointing, basically the inscription recording Hadrian's cooperation with local landowners for repair of the Via Appia in 123.

The assessment of Hadrian's interactions in Italian cities underscores the multiplicity of means by which Hadrian evinced his interest in Italian towns, and the vitality of Italy during the Hadrianic period. Despite Hadrian's physical absence from Italy for long periods, his various interactions with the cities of the peninsula made his presence felt. Probably consciously, he treated Italian cities in much the same way as he did cities in the Roman provinces, and the great «Provinces» coin issues struck near the end of his reign depict Italia as one of the 26 personifications of areas of the Roman world.<sup>183</sup> Such similarities, however, should not obscure the individual nature of Hadrian's interventions in Italian towns. Hadrian was almost certainly responding to distinct requests and needs, some of which may have originated in his own complex personality.

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<sup>183</sup> J. M. C. TOYNBEE, *The Hadrianic School*, Cambridge 1934, 2, 109–111; P. L. STRACK, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts. II: Die Reichsprägung zur Zeit des Hadrian*, Stuttgart 1933, 141. After this paper went to press two more presumable building donations of Hadrian came to my attention. Caesena, on the Via Aemilia about 30 km. from the Adriatic, is the provenance of the following fragmentary inscription: [*imp. Caesar d[iv]i Traiani [Parthici Dacici fil., divi Nervae nep., Traianus H]adrianus Aug. [pont. max., trib. pot. ---, cos. ---, p. p.] liberalitat[e sua --- restituit?*] (G. SUSINI, *La liberalitas di Adriano a Cesena*, *Atti e Memorie, Deputazione di Storia Patria per la Romagna* 10, 1958–59, 281–85). Hadrian may also have restored sacred buildings in Nomentum, some 18 km. northeast of Rome: *Imp. Caesaris T[raiano]/Hadriano Aug. [pont. max.]/trib. pot. XX, im[p. II, cos. III, p. p.]/respublica Nomen[tanorum patrono] /<sup>3</sup>suo et aedium sa[crarum restitutori]* (AE 1976, 114 = C. PALA, *Nomentum, Forma Italiae, regio I*, vol. XII, Rome 1976, p. 48). Both donations are included in the following table. H. JOUFFROY, *La construction publique en Italie et dans l'Afrique romaine*, Strasbourg 1986, which lists some of Hadrian's building donations in Italy, also came to my notice too late for inclusion in this paper.

*Italian Cities with Hadrianic Interventions*

City	Intervention	Date
Aeclanum	Grant of colonial status Collaborative road work	Ca. 126 (?) 123
Aequiculi	Restoration of public buildings	128/129
Altinum	Building	137/138
Ancona	Appointment of <i>curator rei publicae</i>	Ca. 125–128
Antium	Restoration of temple	120/121
Aricia	Restoration of shrine at Nemi	121/122
Beneventum	Appointment of <i>curator operis thermarum</i>	No date
Caesena	Restoration (?)	No date
Caiaitia	Embellishment of public work	120/121
Capua	Embellishment of amphitheater	End of reign
Castrimoenium	Restoration	No date
Cingulum	Restoration of aqueduct	No date
Comum	Appointment of <i>curator rei publicae</i>	No date
Cupra Maritima	Restoration of Temple of Dea Cupra	126/127
Fabrateria Vetus	Restoration	No date
Firmum	Restoration of theater?	No date
Formiae	Grant of colonial status	Middle or end of reign
Gabii	Restoration of aqueduct Restoration of building Restoration of <i>temenos</i> Curia?	No date No date Mid-reign No date
Hadria	Was <i>duumvir quinquennalis</i>	No date
Heba	Restoration of temple (?)	No date
Lanuvium	Land assignments Restoration of statue of Iuno Sospita Restoration of public building	No date 135/136 No date
Matilica	Appointment of <i>curator rei publicae</i>	Post 130
Neapolis	Was demarch Building	No date No date
Nomentum	Restoration of sacred buildings?	136
Ostia	Land assignments Was twice <i>duumvir</i> Construction and reconstruction of two city areas	No date By 126 Beginning and end of reign
Puteoli	Restoration of mole	End of reign
Signia	Completion of public works	By testamentary bequest
Tarracina	Appointment of <i>curator rei publicae</i>	Ca. 125–128
Trebula Mutuesca	Appointment of <i>curator rei publicae</i>	137
Veii	Restoration of boundary stones	No date
Venusia	Appointment of <i>curator operum publicorum</i>	No date

