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## ROME, ITALY

### Palatine. The Brick Stamps of the Domus Tiberiana from the Archive of Clemens Krause



Season 2020

**Head Office of the German Archaeological Institute**

by Evelyne Bukowiecki, Milena Mimmo and Francesco Perotta



e-FORSCHUNGSBERICHTE DES DAI 2021 · Faszikel 1

**Cooperation partner:** German Archaeological Institute Rome; Ecole française de Rome.

**Financial support:** Short-term scholarships awarded by the Head Office of the German Archaeological Institute.

**Head of project:** K. Piesker (Division of Building Archaeology at the Head Office).

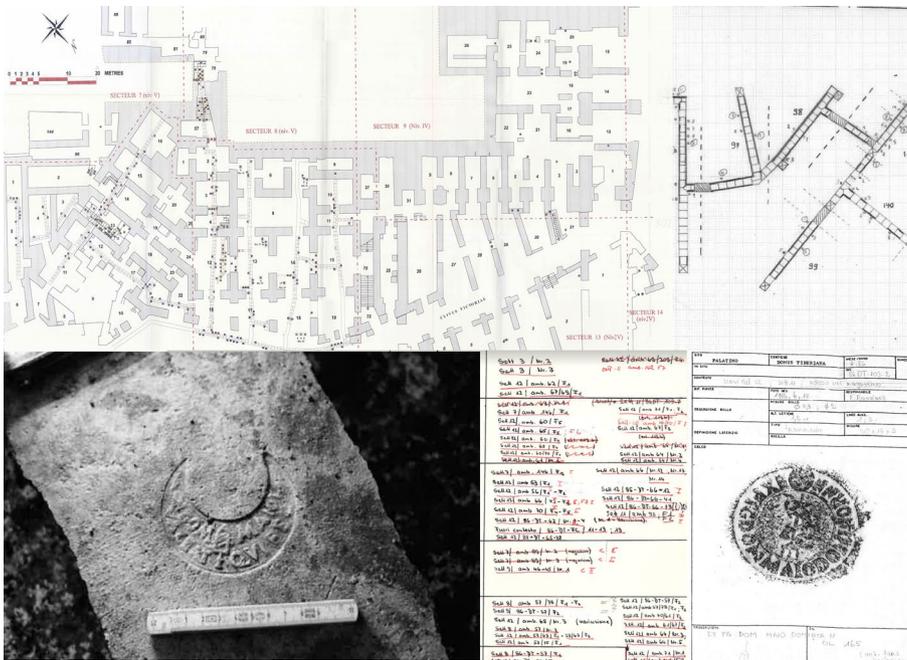
**Team:** E. Bukowiecki, M. Mimmo, F. Perotta.

*Dieser Artikel stellt die Ergebnisse der im November und Dezember 2020 im Rahmen von zwei Kurzstipendien durchgeführten Arbeiten an der bedeutenden Sammlung von Ziegelstempeln vor, die Professor Clemens Krause (Universität Freiburg, Schweiz) und sein Team während ihrer Untersuchung der Domus Tiberiana auf dem Palatin in Rom zwischen 1981 und 1987 gesammelt haben. Sie steht im Einklang mit den Untersuchungen, die Ulrike Wulf-Rheidt und Evelyne Bukowiecki im Rahmen des von Wulf-Rheidt und dem Architekturreferat an der Zentrale des DAI geleiteten »Palatin-Projektes« zu den Ziegelstempeln der anderen kaiserlichen Residenzen auf dem Palatin durchgeführt haben. Mit der Überlassung seines Archivs an die Autor\*innen verfolgte Krause die Absicht, diese unpublizierte Sammlung zu erschließen. Die vorliegende kurze Studie ist daher als ein erster Schritt zu verstehen, diese Daten für die weitere Erforschung von Ziegelstempeln als Indikatoren für die Versorgungsdynamik von Baustellen und Bauprozessen des kaiserlichen Roms nutzbar zu machen.*

*This article presents the results of two short scholarships on the important collection of brick stamps collected by Professor Clemens Krause (University of Fribourg, Switzerland) and his team during their study of the Domus Tiberiana between 1981 and 1987. The work stands in line with the research carried out by Ulrike Wulf-Rheidt and Evelyne Bukowiecki on the brick stamps of other imperial residences of the Palatine in the framework of the »Palatin-Projekt«. By entrusting his archive to the authors, Krause intended to make the most of this unpublished collection. This preliminary study should thus be interpreted as a first step towards making these data available for further research on brick stamps as indicators of the supply dynamics of building sites and construction processes in imperial Rome.*

*Questo articolo presenta i risultati di due brevi borse di studio sull'importante collezione di bolli laterizi raccolti dal professor Clemens Krause (Università di Friburgo, Svizzera) e dalla sua équipe durante lo studio condotto nella Domus Tiberiana tra il 1981 e il 1987. Esso è in linea con il lavoro svolto da Ulrike Wulf-Rheidt e Evelyne Bukowiecki sui bolli laterizi delle altre residenze imperiali del Palatino, nel quadro del »Palatin-Projekt«. Nell'affidare il suo archivio agli autori, l'intenzione di Krause era di valorizzare al massimo questa collezione inedita. Questo studio preliminare deve quindi essere interpretato come un primo passo verso la messa a disposizione di questi dati per ulteriori ricerche sui bolli laterizi, intesi come indicatori delle dinamiche di approvvigionamento dei cantieri e dei processi di costruzione della Roma imperiale.*

*Cet article présente le résultat de deux courtes bourses d'études sur l'importante collection de timbres sur brique réunis par le professeur Clemens Krause (Université de Fribourg, Suisse) et son équipe lors de leur étude de la Domus Tiberiana entre 1981 et 1987. Ils s'inscrivent dans la continuité des travaux réalisés par Ulrike Wulf-Rheidt et Evelyne Bukowiecki sur les timbres sur brique des autres résidences impériales du Palatin, dans le cadre du »Palatin-Projekt«. En confiant ses archives aux auteurs, l'intention de Krause était de valoriser au mieux cette collection inédite. Cette étude préliminaire doit donc être interprétée comme une première étape vers la mise à*



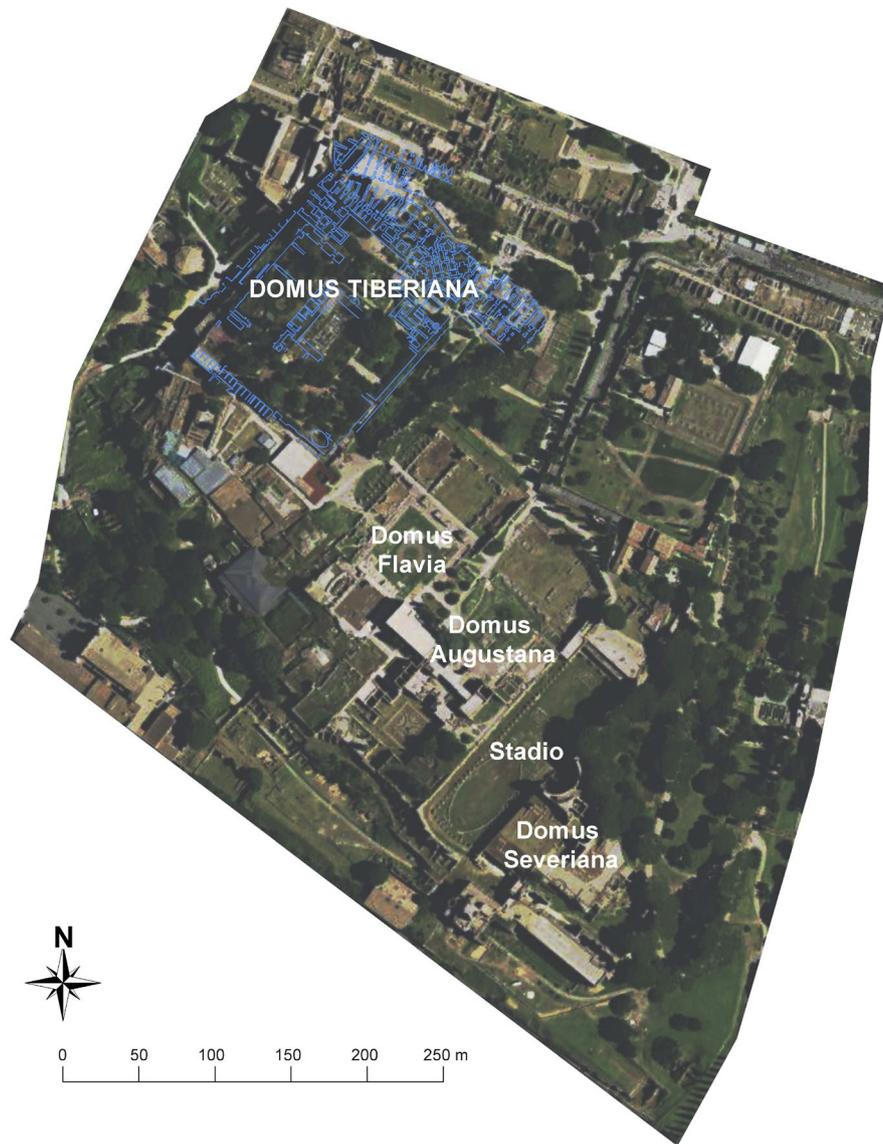
1 Collection of sample documents from the archive of Clemens Krause. (Plan: Gilles Margueron; Photo and images: Krause's team; graphic processing Milena Mimmo)

*disposition de ces données qui viendront alimenter utilement les prochaines recherches consacrées aux timbres sur brique en tant qu'indicateurs de la dynamique d'approvisionnement des chantiers et des processus de construction de la Rome impériale.*

### Introduction

1 At the end of 2017, Clemens Krause, director of the Swiss Institute in Rome from 1977 to 1985, entrusted us with the documentation from his team relating to the brick stamps found during the excavations he directed from 1981 to 1987 in the *Domus Tiberiana* <sup>↗</sup> on the *Palatine Hill* <sup>↗</sup>. He intended to make this rich and very well-structured archive available for further research (Fig. 1). It is composed of various well-ordered folders containing fact sheets for each stamp (dimensions, location, epigraphic information, characteristics of the brick, context of discovery, dating, and references to the CIL), accompanied by photos, pencil rubbings, and numerous localisation maps, all organized by topographical sectors. In addition, this extraordinary collection has been enriched by an excellent unpublished master's thesis written by Gilles Margueron in 1996 [1], which comprises a preliminary study of this collection that contains more than 400 specimens.

2 Two short-term scholarships initiated by the Division of Building Archaeology (Architekturreferat) at the Head Office of the German Archaeological Institute at the end of 2020 [2] have allowed us to study and update Clemens Krause's collection. The results are summarized in this short report. The interest of the Architekturreferat dates back to its »Palatin-Projekt« directed by Ulrike Wulf-Rheidt. Based on the thorough study of four large building complexes on the Palatine Hill (*Domus Severiana* <sup>↗</sup>, Stadium, *Domus Augustana* <sup>↗</sup>, and *Domus Flavia* <sup>↗</sup>), Ulrike Wulf-Rheidt and Evelyne Bukowiecki created a unified catalogue of all the brick stamps found in these four structures (Fig. 2). After the publication of this collection that contains almost 1000 brick stamps in *Römische Mitteilungen* [3] and *iDAI.objects/Arachne* <sup>↗</sup> [4] in 2015, the two of them decided to build upon this experience by adding other collections of brick stamps in Rome and its vicinity in the



framework of a new project (»BOLARO – Bolli Laterizi di Roma«). Due to the untimely death of Ulrike Wulf-Rheidt in June 2018, the project had to be put on hold. Thanks to the encouragement of Katja Piesker, the new director of the Architekturreferat, and thanks to the stimulating proposal of Clemens Krause, we have now been able to resume our work and take a small step towards the proposed »BOLARO Project« [5].

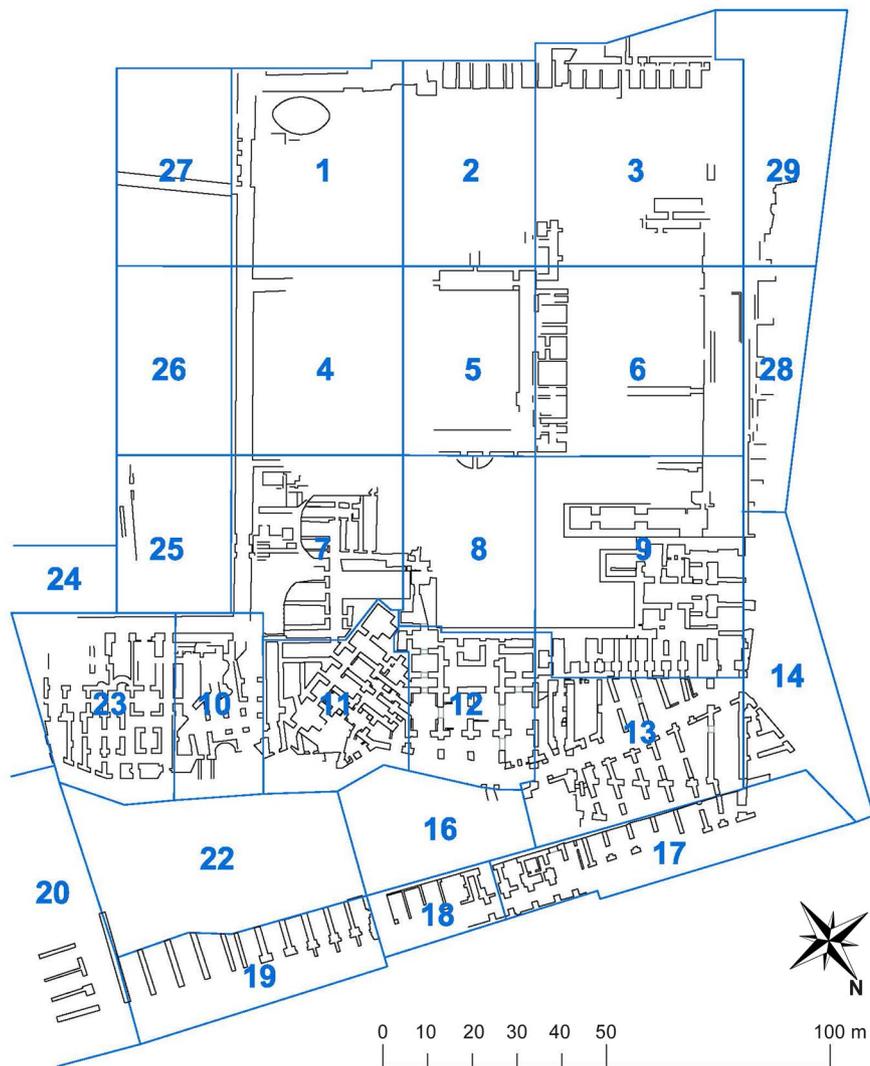
- 3 The meticulous organization of the archive of Clemens Krause has proven to be a stable working basis, even 40 years after its compilation. Our main aim was to update and harmonize the collected data and to make it publicly available. In doing so, the archive can serve to enrich our knowledge about the *Domus Tiberiana* and promote the study of brick stamps as indicators of the supply dynamics of building sites and construction processes in Imperial Rome.

### Methodology

#### *Identifying and dating the brick stamps of the Domus Tiberiana*

- 4 In Margueron's preliminary study of the *Domus Tiberiana* brick stamps, the catalogue included a total of 440 specimens of which only 389 were found in the archive of Clemens Krause. By adding 20 stamps identified in the bibliography, the collection presented here comprises 409 specimens. Each brick stamp received a new inventory number with the prefix »DT« for »*Domus Tiberiana*« (DT.1, DT.2, ...DT.409). The detailed list of 409 stamps with the new fact sheets will be made available as part of the future »BOLARO Project«.
- 5 As a first step, we set the various localisation maps to one side and concentrated on the necessary updating of the identification and dating of all stamps. The basis for this was provided by the indispensable and excellent online database of Roman brick stamps »I bolli doliari romani dell'Italia centro-occidentale« edited by Eva Margareta Steinby (with the collaboration of Carmen Colomba Carraro) [6] as well as several essential previous studies on Roman bricks and brick production [7].
- 6 We then applied the system of »chronological groups« established during the study of the brick stamps from the »Palatin-Projekt« of the DAI [8] to the

2 Palatine (Rome). Positioning of the *Domus Tiberiana* in relation to the other imperial residences on the Palatine Hill. (Vectorisation and graphic processing: Milena Mimmo)



3 Plan of the *Domus Tiberiana* sectors. (Vectorisation and graphic processing: Milena Mimmo)

132 different productions identified among the 409 specimens. In doing so, the material was divided into eight chronological groups, which reflect both the main phases of the Palatine construction sites and important events in the history of brick production in the *urbs*. It is distinctive of the brick stamps from the *Domus Tiberiana* that none of them dates to later than the Severian period. Therefore, only the first seven ›chronological groups‹ are represented here.

#### *Locating the brick stamps of the Domus Tiberiana*

7 In the next step, a careful analysis of the various locations of the brick stamps in the *Domus Tiberiana* was carried out. The objective was to create maps or plans that bring together all the topographical data available in the archive. A new general plan of all the structures was drawn in CAD based on a plan created by Margueron [9], into which more detailed plans from the archive were integrated. Then, the brick stamps were mapped out, distinguishing those *in situ* (connected to a structure) from those found out of context (positioned in a free space in the plans). Different symbols allow for stamps taken from the archive (a small circle) to be distinguished from those found in the bibliography (a small square). Different colours relate to the different ›chronological groups‹ [10].

8 Interestingly, the brick stamps were only found in eight out of 29 sectors defined by Clemens Krause within the *Domus Tiberiana*. In total, 13 new plans were compiled for this study. Three plans are dedicated to the positioning of the *Domus Tiberiana* on the Palatine Hill (Fig. 2), to the sectors within the structure as defined by Clemens Krause (Fig. 3), and to four different levels (Fig. 4). The abundance of stamps in the sewer system has led to the creation of two extra plans: one showing the stamps found in the structure (Fig. 5), and one dedicated exclusively to the stamps in the sewers (named A to Y) (Fig. 6). The last eight maps, which cannot be presented here owing to a lack of space, show each of the sectors comprising brick stamps in greater detail.

9 In structuring the information from the archive, it became necessary to reorganise the topographic levels used by Clemens Krause in order to obtain



4



5

4 Plan of the structures and sewers in sectors 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 17, with indication of the different levels. (Vectorisation and graphic processing: Milena Mimmo)

5 Locations of the *in situ* and out of context brick stamps in the structures of the *Domus Tiberiana*. (Vectorisation and graphic processing: Milena Mimmo)

the best solution for stamps without a known level (about 200 specimens, mainly from the sewers) and to overcome the problem of not knowing the precise height of the brick stamps within the structure. Therefore, a system combining topographic levels and floor levels was defined (Fig. 4):

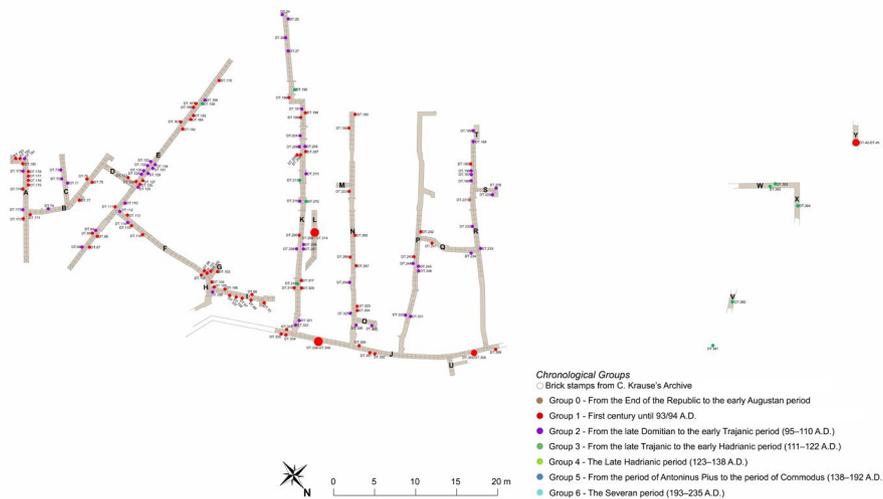
- Level 1: Nova via, with 1a for the ground floor and 1b for the first floor;
- Level 2: *Clivus Victoriae*, with 2a for the sewers, 2b for the ground floor, and 2c for the first floor;
- Level 3: Main nucleus of the *Domus*, with 3a for the sewers, 3b for the obliterated structures and the archaeological layers under the main nucleus, and 3c for the main nucleus itself; and
- Level 4: *Horti*.

### The distribution of the brick stamps within the *Domus Tiberiana*

10 To complete the localisation plans of the brick stamps found in the *Domus Tiberiana* (Fig. 5. 6), organised according to topographic sectors and pre-defined levels, we relied on the rich and precise information provided by the archive of Clemens Krause as well as on available published sources [11], since we were unable to carry out on-site inspections due to the COVID-19 pandemic. The new plans which have been made take into account both the additional stamps mentioned in the bibliography and the revised dating of some of the brick stamps. Hopefully, this will shed new light on the dating of some structural interventions and their relationship with the traditionally assumed phases of the *Domus Tiberiana* in the future.

### *The rooms along the Nova via (levels 1a, 1b)*

11 In the rooms to the south of the Nova via (sector 17) 19 brick stamps were recorded. They are distributed between level 1a and level 2b, while three stamps cannot be assigned with certainty to one of the two levels. Most of the stamps found can be dated to the Hadrianic period, confirming the data traditionally attributed to the construction of these rooms, despite the residual use of some stamped bricks from the previous period (first decade of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D.). One brick stamp attests to the restoration of a doorstep on



6 Locations of the *in situ* and out of context brick stamps in the sewers of the *Domus Tiberiana*. (Vectorisation and graphic processing: Milena Mimmo)

the first floor during the Antonine period (CIL 728 compl.) and three stamps from the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. were found out of context.

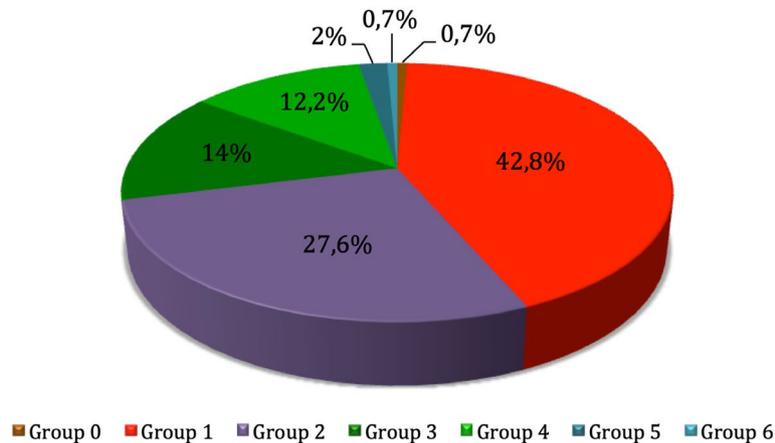
*The rooms north of the Clivus Victoriae (levels 2a, 2b, 2c)*

- 12 The rooms north of the *Clivus Victoriae* take up part of sectors 13 and 14. Like the previous levels, these structures also belong to the considerable enlargement undertaken in the Hadrianic period on the northern front of the *Domus* and the brick stamps confirm this date. About half of the 26 specimens identified can be dated to the early Hadrianic period. The latter are all *in situ* and are located both in the sewers and in the structures on the ground and first floors. In level 2c, only one stamp, dating from 198 to 211 A.D., attests to a later floor restoration. Most of the 14 stamps found out of context can also be dated to the Hadrianic period.

*The main nucleus of the Domus Tiberiana and the sewer system (levels 3a, 3b, 3c)*

- 13 The main nucleus of the *Domus Tiberiana* covers sectors 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, and partially 13. A total of 362 stamps have been identified in this area. In sector 12, 36 stamps come from level 2b, which corresponds to the construction of a bath complex predating the Domitian monumental phase. Almost all of the stamps found in the destruction layers of the baths date to the early Domitian period, which is consistent with the beginning of this important construction phase of the *Domus*.
- 14 A complex sewer system runs between sectors 8, 11, 12, and 13. The sewers (level 3a) have yielded 179 brick stamps, of which only seven were found out of context. The installation of the sewer system certainly dates to the Domitian period. 75 brick stamps dated to the beginning of the Domitian period were found in all the sewer sections except sewer C and the small transects. During the construction of the sewer system, particular care seems to have been devoted to sewer J, the collector below the *Clivus Victoriae*, where the almost exclusive use of a single brick production dating from this period is attested (CIL 992a).

- 15 Bricks predating the Domitian period are present in sewers E, R, Y, and L. The latter is made with a single production of bricks from the age of Caligula (CIL 1404) and is disconnected from the rest of the sewer network; it is to be considered a purely pre-Domitian construction.
- 16 According to the dating of the brick stamps, the sewer system was most likely completed between the end of the Domitian period and the beginning of the Trajanic period. 31 stamps belonging to this chronological interval are distributed in almost the whole sewer system (sewers A, B, C, E, F, I, J, K, N, O, Q, R, and S). Following the topographical distribution of the brick stamps, it seems that the works proceeded from sewer J northwards and from southeast to northwest (with sewers N, P, R, and T finished last). Only in the two long sewers E and K are there also late Trajanic brick stamps. Out of these, all the *in situ* specimens belong to one production (CIL 962b) and are always placed in the sewer sections below the doors. Their use is evidently linked to a single maintenance operation. In the western part of the *Domus*, the sewers W and X have only yielded brick stamps from the Hadrianic period.
- 17 In the main spaces of the *Domus* (level 3c), 13 Domitian brick stamps were found in the walls and arches above the doors of sectors 7 and 9, and in the floors of sectors 9 and 12. In the central rooms of the *Domus* (sectors 8 and 12), the *in situ* brick stamps attest to a floor restoration in the Trajanic period. The two staircases in rooms 57 and 78 were built with a large number of bricks dated to a slightly earlier period (21 stamps dated after 95 A.D.) and were completed towards the end of the Trajanic period. In contrast, the two staircases in rooms 61 and 141 were built in the Hadrianic period with bricks from 118 to 126 A.D. and a particularly large quantity of bricks dated to 123 A.D. The brick stamps of the Hadrianic period are concentrated mainly in the floors and walls in the western part of the *Domus* (sectors 9, 13, and partly 12) and can be connected with the enlargement of the structure in this period. The 32 out-of-context brick stamps of this level cover a wide chronological spectrum, of which the most represented are Domitian and Hadrianic productions; this is consistent with the main phases of the *Domus Tiberiana*.



7 Shares of the ›chronological groups‹ of the brick stamps in the *Domus Tiberiana*. (Chart: Francesco Perotta)

#### The level 4

- 18 On the upper level, only two stamped *bipedalis* were found, which were inserted in a *suspensurae* pavement and used to drain a hanging garden and waterproof the rooms below. Both date to the Neronian period.

#### The dating of the Domus Tiberiana brick stamps

- 19 Concerning the dating of the brick stamps identified in the *Domus Tiberiana*, out of the whole collection of 409 specimens, only 3 belong to the ›chronological group‹ 0; 175 to group 1; 113 to group 2; 57 to group 3; 50 to group 4; 8 to group 5; and 3 to group 6 (Fig. 7).

#### Group 0: From the End of the Republic to the early Augustan period

- 20 Among the three specimens of group 0 (0,7 % of the total 409), one was found in a conduit and two are found out of context. All three stamps can be attributed to L. Volusius Phasis (two of type CIL 1536 and one of its variant).

#### Group 1: First century until 93/94 A.D.

- 21 Group 1 is the most numerous with 175 specimens (42,8 %): 61 were found in structures, 110 in the sewer system, and 4 out of context.
- 22 The batches of bricks from this period come from nine different productions. The production of the Domitii Tullus and Lucanus is represented by 90 stamps (two of type CIL 991b; 35 of 992a; one of 994; one of 999e; one of 999g; one of an undefined variant of 1094; one of 1094b/c; two of 1094c; three of 1094e; one of 1096a/c compl.; one of 1097c I; three of 1097c II; eight of 1097f; twelve of 1253c; eleven of 1449a. The Caninianae are represented by nine stamps (six variants of CIL 118; two examples of 117; and one of 1897). The Domitianae are represented by 36 brick stamps (one of CIL 148; six of 150a; three of 152a compl.; one of 152b; 24 of 153; and one of 1346b). The production of the *gens Domitia* is represented by three stamps (one of CIL 983 var.; two which are not registered in the CIL and are impressed by the officinatores Cn. Sin( ) and M. Fulvius Phasis. The Marcianae are represented by seven stamps (one of CIL 306b compl.; one of 306c and five which are not registered in the CIL). The Sextianae are represented

by one stamp (CIL 1445 var.). The *Viccianae* are represented by two stamps (S. 200).

- 23 The seven self-employed producers in this group are: L. Allius Maximus, represented by ten stamps (792); Ti. Claudius Sabinus, represented by one stamp (933a); Cuspius Demetrius, represented by four stamps (three of 970a; and one of 970b I); M. Marius Primigenius, represented by one stamp (1293I); Sabinus Nereus, represented by 15 stamps (1404); L. Antonius Felix, represented by two stamps (S. 224); and C. Naevius Pamphilus, represented by one stamp (S. 422 corr).

*Group 2: From the late Domitian to the early Trajanic period (95–110 A.D.)*

- 24 Group 2 is also very well represented with 113 specimens (27,6 %): 57 were found in structures, 53 in the sewers, and 3 out of context.

- 25 The batches of bricks from this period come from ten different productions. The production of the *Domitii Tullus* and *Lucanus* is represented by 19 stamps (nine of CIL 1000e; one of 1002; one of 1094d; two of 1097e; three of 1449b; and three of 1449e). The production of the *gens Domitia* is represented by two stamps (one of CIL 1014a and one of 1348a). The *Caniniana* are represented by 43 stamps (13 of CIL 119a; six of 119b; one of 120; 17 of 962a; one of 962a var.; four of 1105; and one of N. 962/3). The *Caepioniana* are represented by four stamps (CIL 61). The *Officina Dolearia Maior* is represented by one stamp (CIL 1390). The *Macedoniana* are represented by two stamps (CIL 822). The *Publiliana* are represented by one stamp (CIL 712). The *opus Sulpicianum* is represented by one stamp (CIL 583b I-VII/VIII). The *Tonneiana* are represented by 39 stamps (25 of CIL 635a; one of 635c; eight of 637; and five of 638). The only self-employed producer is L. Cornelius Priscus, who is represented by three stamps (S. 259 compl).

*Group 3: From the late Trajanic to the early Hadrianic period (111–122 A.D.)*

- 26 Group 3 includes 57 specimens (14 %): 47 were found in the structures, 9 from the sewers, and one out of context.

- 27 The batches of bricks from this period come from eleven different productions. The production of the *gens Domitia* is represented by 13 stamps

(two of CIL 276; one of 1028; one of 1038a; three of 1075a; four of 1106b; one of 1106a; and one of 1347I). The *Caniniana* are represented by eleven stamps (three of CIL 123; and eight of 962b). The *Aristiana* are represented by two stamps (CIL 12). The *Med( )* are represented by one stamp (CIL 330). The *Oceanae Minores* are represented by seven stamps (three of CIL 362I; one of 362I/II; one of 376a; one of 377a; and one of 377b compl.). The *opus Salarese* is represented by one stamp (CIL 495 or 496). The *opus Sulpicianum* is represented by ten stamps (one of CIL 565m; one of 585 var.; three of 595b; two of 596b compl.; two of 596b compl./ c I-IV; and one of 596c I-V). The *praedia* of *Plotina Augusta* are represented by five stamps (CIL 702). The self-employed producers in this period are *Anteros Severianus*, represented by five stamps (four of CIL 811b and one of 811f I) and L. *Bellicius Sollers* represented by two stamps (CIL 887b).

*Group 4: The Late Hadrianic period (123–138 A.D.)*

- 28 Group 4 includes 50 specimens (12,2 %), all of which are found in the structures.

- 29 The batches of bricks from this period come from 14 different productions. The production of the *gens Domitia* is represented by 13 stamps (four of CIL 1029a/b; one of 1051; one of 1113corr.; one of 1114; one of 1116d; one of 1118b; three of 1343; and one of S. 280). The *Caniniana* are represented by four stamps (CIL 1033). The production of the *Portus Licini* is represented by ten stamps (nine of CIL 272 and one of 1032). The *Caepioniana* are represented by six stamps (one of CIL 105b; two of 108 corr.; and three of 109). The *Macedoniana* are represented by one stamp (CIL 300). The *Marciana* are represented by three stamps (two of CIL 319 and one of 313). The *Med( )* are represented by two stamps (one of CIL 846 and one of 852 compl.). The *Ponticulana* are represented by one stamp (CIL 399). The *Publiliana* are represented by one stamp (CIL 1422). The *opus Salarese* is represented by one stamp (CIL 493). The *opus Sulpicianum* is represented by seven stamps (one of CIL 563a/b; four of 563k; one of 565c; and one of 893 var.). The only self-employed producer in this period is A. *Aristius Menandrus*, who is represented by one stamp (CIL 829).

*Group 5: From the period of Antoninus Pius to the period of Commodus (138–192 A.D.)*

30 Group 5 is present with only 8 specimens (2 %), all of which are found in the structures.

31 Despite the small number of specimens, the batches of bricks from this period come from four different productions. The production of the *gens Domitia* is represented by five stamps (three of CIL 1067 and two of 1081). The Domitianae are represented by one stamp (CIL 728 compl.). The Macedonianae are represented by one stamp (CIL 292e). The Ponticulanae are represented by one specimen (CIL 399 var.).

*Group 6: The Severan period (193–235 A.D.)*

32 Group 6 includes only 3 specimens (0,7 %), all of which are found in the structures.

33 The batches of bricks from this period come from two different productions. The production of the Domitianae Veteres is represented by two stamps (one of CIL 159 and one of 165), while the Marcianae are represented by one stamp (CIL 324).

### The supply of bricks to the Domus Tiberiana construction site

*The provenance of the Domus Tiberiana bricks*

34 The *Domus Tiberiana* brick stamps came from the following areas close to or in Rome:

a) area of [Statonia](#)<sup>?</sup>: From there came the group of figlinae of the Domitii, which represent more than 53 % of the 132 different types identified among the 409 specimens found in the structures of the *Domus Tiberiana*: 21 of the Domitii Tullus and Lucanus (105 specimens), 23 of the *gens Domitia* (51 specimens), 7 of the Domitianae (37 specimens), 1 of the Domitianae Maiores, 1 of the Domitianae Veteres, 15 of the Caninianae (73 specimens) and 2 of the *Portus Licini* (10 specimens). Also from Statonia came 3 stamps of the Macedonianae (4 specimens), 2 of the Ponticulanae (2 specimens), 2 of the Publilianae (2 specimens), and possibly also 1 stamp of the Aristianae (2 specimens) in reference to the domina Flavia Seia Isaurica to whom the

Publilianae belonged. Finally, 1 stamp of the self-employed producer L. Allius Maximus (10 examples) may also have come from Statonia, where an M. Allius Clemens officinator of the Domitii Tullus and Lucanus are both attested.

b) area of Horta: From there came 6 stamps of the Marcianae (11 specimens) and 5 of the Ocoeanae Minores (7 specimens).

c) area of Ameria and Narnia: From there came 4 stamps of the Caepionianae (10 specimens).

d) area of Statonia and Horta: From there came 1 stamp of the Sextianae. In addition, the stamps of the following producers may have come from there: 2 stamps of Cuspius Demetrius (4 specimens), 1 stamp of C. Naevius Pamphilus, one stamp of L. Antonius Felix (2 specimens), 1 stamp of M. Marius Primigenius, 1 of Ti. Claudius Sabinus and 1 of Sabinus Nereus (15 specimens).

e) area of Statonia, Horta, Ameria, and Narnia: From there came 3 stamps of the Med( ) (3 specimens), 4 of the Tonneianae (39 specimens), and 1 of the Viccianae (2 specimens). The stamps of the self-employed producers may also have come from there: 1 stamp of A. Aristius Menandrus, 2 stamps of Anteros Severianus (5 specimens), 1 stamp of L. Bellicius Sollers (2 specimens), 3 stamps of L. Cornelius Priscus (3 specimens) and 2 stamps of L. Volusius Phasis (3 specimens).

f) area of Tuder and [Perusia](#)<sup>?</sup>: From there came 1 stamp of Plotina Augusta (5 specimens).

g) [Via Salaria](#)<sup>?</sup>: From there came 2 stamps of the *opus Salarese* (2 specimens).

h) urban productions: From the city of [Rome](#)<sup>?</sup> itself came 11 stamps of the *opus Sulpicianum* (18 specimens), possibly from the area of the Baths of Caracalla in the *vicus Sulpicius*.

35 In comparing the provenance of the brick stamps from the *Domus Tiberiana* with those from our study of the brick stamps from the *Domus Severiana*, the Stadium, the *Domus Augustana*, and the *Domus Flavia* in the framework of the »Palatin-Projekt« [12], we would like to highlight that the batches of bricks for the construction of the *Domus Tiberiana* also mainly came from

CIL XV, 1	DT	DS	ST	DA	DF
108	2				1
117 a	2	1			
118 a -b-c	6	2	5	12	3
119 a	19	3		3	3
148	1	1	1		
152 a	3	1			
152 b	1	1			1
153	24	3	2	28	9
159	1		1		
165	1		1		
276	2				1
300	1	1			
319	2		3		
324	1		2		
330	1		1		2
376 a	1		1		3
377	2		1		1
399	2			2	
563	5		1	1	36
565	2		26	10	1
583 b	1		3		1
585	1				44
595	2		2		7
596	5		5	16	33
635	26		6		
637	8	1	6	5	
638	5	1			1
712	1	3			
792	10	1	2	2	
846	1		1		
962 a	26	1			
991	1			1	
992 a	35	1	3		5
999	2	1	1	1	6
1000	9		1	7	4
1033	4	1			
1094	8	2	7	1	1
1096	1	1	15	1	
1097	20	3	11	5	3
1105	4			1	
1113	1				2
1116	1				8
1253 c	12	1	1	1	
1346 b	1	4	3	7	
1347	1		1	3	8
1449	15	2	10	1	5
1536	3	3	1		
1897	1		1		

**Tab. 1** Overview of the brick productions used in the Imperial Palaces of the Palatine.  
T = Domus Tiberiana. DS = Domus Severiana. ST = Stadium. DA = Domus Augustana. DF = Domus Flavia. (Chart: Francesco Perotta)

the middle Tiber Valley. Interestingly, there is a certain topographic homogeneity in the productions belonging to the ›chronological group‹ 1.

*Comparison of the Domus Tiberiana with the construction sites of other imperial palaces on the Palatine Hill*

- 36 All in all, the evidence from the *Domus Tiberiana* stands in line with the observations made in the framework of the »Palatin-Projekt« [13] and confirms our views on the organisation of the supply of materials of imperial Rome's extra-large projects in general [14], and on the supply of bricks to these building sites in particular.
- 37 For example, just like in the palaces investigated in the previous project (Tab. 1), the brick stamps of the *Domus Tiberiana* are mostly from the ›chronological group‹ 1 (first century until 93/94 A.D.), and they come almost exclusively from the figlinae of the Domitii. In particular, we find the productions of T. Greius Iannuarius from the Caniniana (CIL 117 and 118), L. Valerius Severus from the Domitiana (CIL 153), and for the productions of Lucanus and Tullus, those of Callistus (CIL 992), Primigenius (CIL 1000), Cn. Domitius Arignotus (CIL 1094), Cn. Domitius Euaristus (CIL 1096), Cn. Domitius Amandus (CIL 1097), L. Lurius Proculus (CIL 1253), and L. Sextilius Rufus (CIL 1449). It is interesting to note that, during this period, the supply of the construction sites seems to have been partly ensured by independent producers such as L. Allius Maximus (CIL 792) or L. Volusius Phasis (CIL 1536).
- 38 It seems, however, that, from the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century onwards, the brick supply of the *Domus Tiberiana* was distinguished from other construction sites by a predominant use of the material of T. Greius Iannuarius (CIL 119) and L. Munatius Crescens (CIL 962) from the Caniniana as well as L. Licinius Felix from the Tonneiana (CIL 635).
- 39 Finally, apart from the sporadic use of productions of the Sulpicianae, the Hadrianic construction sites of the *Domus Tiberiana* seem to have been supplied by different production chains from the contemporary sites in the south-eastern part of the Palatine. In this period, the most frequently represented productions in the *Domus Tiberiana* were those of the *gens Domitia*

with Q. Oppius Iustus (CIL 272) and Q. F( ) Aprilis (S.280) as well as of the Marciane with C. Calpetanus Favor (CIL 313).

### Conclusion

40 We are well aware that two months of work on the archive of Clemens Krause and the brick stamps of the *Domus Tiberiana* are not enough to explore all the possible avenues of reflection around this rich and important collection. We hope, however, that our first attempt to valorise this archive will be a useful contribution to studies of the imperial palaces on the Palatine and that it becomes a stepping stone to the proposed »BOLARO Project«.

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### *Endnotes*

[1] Margueron 1996.

[2] A two-month scholarship was awarded to Milena Mimmo from November to December 2020 and a one-month scholarship in November 2020 was awarded to Francesco Perotta by the Head Office of the German Archaeological Institute.

[3] Bukowiecki – Wulf-Rheidt 2015a. See also Bukowiecki – Wulf-Rheidt 2015b.

[4] [Arachne: »Die Ziegelstempel der kaiserlichen Palastanlagen auf dem Palatin in Rom«](#).

[5] The »BOLARO Project« is conceived as a cooperation between the École française de Rome, the Architekturreferat, and the German Archaeological Institute in Rome.

[6] [Bolli Doliari Romani dell’Italia Centro-Occidentale](#).

[7] Bloch 1947 (reprinted from BCom 64–66, 1936–1938); Bodel 1983; Filippi – Stanco 2005; Gasperoni 2003; Helen 1975; PIR 2; Quilici 1974; Righini 1975; Setälä 1977; Steinby 1973; Steinby 1974/1975; Steinby 1978/1979; Steinby 1979; Steinby 1986; Steinby 1987; Steinby 1999; Steinby 2012; Steinby 2016; Vella 2013.

[8] Bukowiecki – Wulf-Rheidt 2015a, 314–319.

[9] Margueron 1996.

[10] The colour scheme has been adapted from Bukowiecki – Wulf-Rheidt 2015a.

[11] Krause 1994; Krause 1995; Krause 1998; Krause 2002; Krause 2009; Monaco 1975/1976; Serlorenzi et al. 2016; Tomei et al. 1986; Tomei – Filetici 2012; [ARCHEOSITARPROJECT](#).

[12] Bukowiecki – Wulf-Rheidt 2015a; Bukowiecki – Wulf-Rheidt 2015b.

[13] Bukowiecki – Wulf-Rheidt 2015a, 392–414.

[14] On extra-large projects in the ancient world, see also »XXL – Monumentalized Knowledge. Extra-Large Projects in Ancient Civilizations«-[Research group B-2-TOPOI](#) and in particular »Roms »Größe« – von Großbaustellen, megalomanen Bauprojekten und der Normalität kaiserlicher Bautätigkeit«-[Research project-B-2-1-TOPOI](#).

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