

Euergetism and city-walls in the Italian city of Telesia

Abstract

Six inscriptions relating to the construction of the fortifications of the southern Italian town of Telesia were analyzed and compared to three inscriptions of the same type from the Italian town of Grumentum.¹ The purpose of this was to gain insight into how Italian towns funded and organized the construction of city-walls during the Late Republic. The city-walls were built progressively in both towns, and in both cases were probably funded by private citizens, even if they were acting as magistrates. In Grumentum an older city-wall was gradually replaced by letting each new, annually elected magistrate build a new section. It would seem that in Telesia the walls were built first. The subsequent construction of the towers probably followed the plan of the local senate and was paid for by the magistrates themselves. The expressions *pro ludeis/ludis* on some inscriptions suggest that they were built instead of giving games.

Introduction

Inscriptions suggest that many city-walls were constructed in sections; sometimes towers and gates were added as time went by. This essay will attempt to analyze how the fortifications of Telesia, from the 1st century BC in the south of Italy, were funded and planned. This analysis is based mainly on epigraphic evidence. In particular, the relationship between private and public funding and the importance of the *summa honoraria* will be investigated, as will the meaning of the expression *pro ludis*, which is used in two of the inscriptions. A comparison with similar inscriptions from Grumentum leads us to the conclusion that private funding may have played a large part in the construction of the towers at Telesia, even though it is only implied by the inscriptions describing a few towers which were built *pro ludis*.

Telesia was chosen because it has the largest (and most interesting) number of inscriptions which mention the construction of fortifications from the Roman Republic. There are six inscriptions in total. Grumentum, which will be used as a comparison, has three comparatively detailed inscriptions. There are further examples of buildings constructed in sections by several magistrates during the 1st century BC at Arpinum (probably, as evidenced by a fragmentary inscription), Fondi, Formiae, Teanum Apulum (probably), possibly at Consilinum, at Sarsina sometime during 70–50 BC after the city had received the Roman citizenship in 90,² and at Ariminum. These are, however, not as detailed as those of Telesia. There are also examples where the whole wall and the towers were built by a pair of magistrates or by one patron (e.g. at Aeclanum, where C. Qunctius Valgus built the fortifications),³ but in these cases there are no issues concerning the funding.

Background

Public construction was encouraged after the Social War, as is clear from the law from Tarentum which forbade the demolition of houses or their replacement with smaller houses. The types of construction undertaken varied over time. During the Republic, construction was weighted towards temples, city-walls and utilitarian buildings (such as markets), while theatres and amphitheatres became more common in the 1st century AD.⁴

¹ This article, with which Jonathan Prag assisted, originated as an essay in the epigraphic course at the University of Oxford, Merton College, in 2009.

² Law from Tarentum: *ILS*, 6086 = *FIRA*, 18, ll. 32–33; Gabba 1972, 92–93.

³ Jouffroy 1986, lists the inscriptions on pp. 18–23. Most towns do not have inscriptions, which makes it impossible to say how they were built.

⁴ Lomas, 2003.

Many new municipalities and colonies were also founded after the Social and Sullan civil wars, while others had been damaged and needed repair. A great number of these settlements repaired or expanded earlier fortifications.⁵ It might seem strange that so many city-walls were built after the Social War, when the threat from other Italian towns ceased to exist, but in fact the times were rather insecure. Brigandage had become ubiquitous due to the extension of *latifundia* and large scale grazing overseen by slave-shepherds. There was great civil unrest, which is exemplified by the rebellions of Aemilius Lepidus and Catiline and the slave rebellion of Spartacus. City-walls would protect people who came in from the countryside during such episodes. They would also protect the citizens at night from robbers and brigands. The walls were also an indispensable element of a true city, since they had juridical and religious purposes; it was, for example, forbidden to bury people within the walled area.⁶

City-walls were, in fact, intimately connected with the creation of municipalities in Italy during the 1st and 2nd centuries BC. They were a part of the concept of the self-governing municipality: it can be assumed that any settlement which was described as *urbs* possessed them.⁷ Towers were not as important as the walls, and were probably not an original feature of town walls in Italy.⁸ The Roman state would often fortify strategically important Roman colonies, but *municipia* and *coloniae* in Italy proper, south of the Po, generally had to finance their fortifications themselves.

Since the creation of the Italian municipalities occurred mainly during the 1st and 2nd centuries BC, most city-walls in Roman Italy were also constructed during the Republican period. Jouffroy was able to find mentions (literary or epigraphic) or archaeological traces of 94 town walls/tower/gates constructed during the Republican era. Of these, 42 walls date to the 4th or 3rd centuries, 17 to the 2nd and 35 to the 1st. 20 walls have been dated to the Early Imperial Period (up to and including the Flavians), almost all of which date to the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius. There are no traces or references to walls during the Antonine period, during which the walls of Italian cities were clearly neglected. During the reign of the Severans and the 3rd century BC, there are 6 mentions. For the 4th and early 5th century there are 7. The republican inscriptions clearly dominate the record, and this is particularly true of inscriptions—as opposed to other form of evidence—which mention the construction of towers and walls.⁹

Construction could be surprisingly quick; in AD 265 Verona constructed a wall in just eight months, and the walls of Constantinople were repaired in the wake of an earthquake in 447 in two months. In part, this rapidity can be explained by the use of concrete, standard-sized stones and bricks.¹⁰ In the Republican period, however, construction seems to have been a much more drawn-out affair, even though the same construction methods were used, as the cases of Telesia and Grumentum below will show.

It is important to bear in mind that magistrates had to fund certain projects during their tenure. During the Empire and under Caesar, municipal magistrates were normally obliged to pay 2000 HS¹¹ on games during their year of office, though they could choose to spend this money on constructions instead.¹² The term for this fee is *summa honoraria*. This compulsory euergetism might be seen merely as the codification of social pressures that would have obliged magistrates to contribute in any case,¹³ and it seems that the magistrates often exceeded these amounts if they had the financial capacity to do so.¹⁴ However, most acts of euergetism where the funding was entirely private were, in fact, on a very moderate scale; these acts might consist in setting up a statue, an altar or making small additions to buildings.¹⁵ In many cases it is impossible to judge whether a building was financed through public or private money, or a combination of both. The towers at Telesia are an example of this.

The *Lex Coloniae Genetivae* from Spain has been dated to just after Caesar's death, and contains detailed regulations for the spending of private money on games by *duoviri* and *aediles*. Thus, the practice of the *summa honoraria* clearly existed during the Republic, though it is uncertain whether it was enshrined by law before Caesar's dictatorship. An inscription from Pompeii from the Republican period can be interpreted as an example of such a law: the *duumviri* constructed a *laconicum* and *detractuarium* ex | *ea pecunia quod e lege in ludos aut in monumento | consumere oportuit*.¹⁶ However, there is some doubt as to what exactly the term *ea pecunia* refers to, as it could conceivably be fines (or some other source of revenue, such as a rent from specific properties), as is the case in the municipal law from Tarentum (Il. 32–38).¹⁷ This law

⁵ Gabba (1972) lists several such towns, 95–106.

⁶ Gabba 1972, 108–110.

⁷ Poccetti 1988, 306–307.

⁸ Poccetti 1988, 323.

⁹ Jouffroy (1986) lists the inscriptions and literary references and discusses them on pp. 24–25, 65–66, 110, 142–143, 155–156.

¹⁰ Town walls of Verona: *CIL* V, 3329 = *ILS*, 544; Rebuffat 1986, 354, 359.

¹¹ HS = sesterces.

¹² See *CIL* III, 12042 = D. 7210 for Cnossos; *CIL* I2, 594 = II, 5439 = D. 6087 = Crawford, *Roman Statutes for the Lex Coloniae Genetivae* no. 25 chapter 70 and 71 for the *duumviri* and *aediles* respectively.

¹³ Veyne 1990, 11.

¹⁴ Cébeillac-Gervasoni 1990, 703–704.

¹⁵ Cébeillac-Gervasoni 1990, 720–721.

¹⁶ *ILLRP* 648 = *CIL* I2, 1635; X, 829; D. 5706.

¹⁷ Pobjoy 2000, 82; Marengo 1996, 78–79.



Fig. 1. Map of Italy showing the locations of Telesia and Grumentum relative to Rome (map adapted from original by Eric Gabbia and NordNordWest, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Italy_topographic_map-blank.svg).

(of which only a few paragraphs remain) states that half the amount of certain construction-fines were to be paid to the treasury, and half were to be used by the magistrate who exacted the fine on the games he was to give, or on a monument. Perhaps the most obvious interpretation of this passage is that the money a magistrate exacted would, thus, be added to the funds for the games he had to stage, since the law refers to the games in the future tense. The Caesarean *lex Coloniae Genetivae* allowed *duoviri* to add 2000 HS from the public funds to the 2000 HS they had to spend on games; the *aediles* were allowed to add 1000 HS. Therefore, the fines that the *lex Tarentina* refers to were most likely an addition to the public funds of 2000 or 1000 HS allocated to the magistrates. It is reasonable to conclude that the inscription from Pompeii

probably refers to a combination of private (*summa honoraria*) and public money.

Telesia

Telesia, which lies in the south of Italy (Fig. 1), is first mentioned by Livy (22.13.1) in his narration of events during 217, at which time Telesia was captured by Hannibal. It was probably re-founded as a Roman colony under Sulla (*CIL* IX, 205), and once again under Augustus, before being

abandoned during the Middle Ages.¹⁸ The city-walls, though in ruins, are exceptionally well-preserved along almost the whole of their circuit, as are the towers. The walls and towers were built with the same method, *opus incertum* or *quasi reticulatum* (i.e. concrete faced with randomly sized or almost square stones).¹⁹ The town had 35 towers, of which almost all remain, and five gates, of which there are remains of two. Some towers were round, others were polygonal. The walls had a thickness of only ca 1.7–1.9 m, for which reason there must have been a walkway, perhaps of wood, at their top.²⁰

probably explains why there are six inscriptions mentioning them, and none as yet found mentioning the walls.²¹

The fortifications were clearly carefully planned as a whole. No towers or sections of wall could have been *ad-hoc* additions, since the removal of just one tower would significantly weaken the defences of that sector.²² The uniform, grid-shaped street network suggests that the town was also completely reorganized and rebuilt when it became colonized by Sulla.²³ A commission of three men was usually appointed to supervise the foundation of a colony such as Telesia.²⁴ They

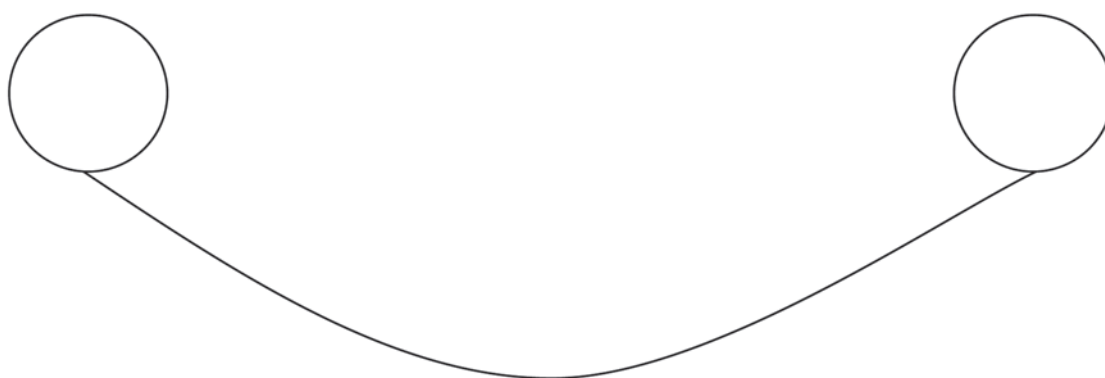


Fig. 2. Schematic plan of a section of wall between two projecting towers.

At positions which were easier to defend, on sides of the town where there were rivers and marshy land, there were fewer towers and the walls followed the contours of the landscape. At areas where the town faced the open plain, the city-wall had a very sophisticated design, unrivalled until the Renaissance, with projection towers which were connected by concave walls (Fig. 2). An enemy who assaulted the walls would be fired upon from the towers on each side. The towers were the key points in the defences, from which siege engines could fire upon the attackers, while the walls only sealed off the space between them. These defences are unique in Roman Italy. The theory behind their design can only be found in the treatise on fortifications of Philon of Byzantium (*Poliorketika* 1. 39–40), for which reason Quilici thinks the plan was conceived by Sullan colonists, who returned from campaigns in the east to eventually settle in the new colony founded for them there. In fact, we know that the towns of Dura Europos in Syria, and Side in Asia Minor had this type of wall by this time. The importance of the towers in the defence system

were responsible for the centuriation of the surrounding territory and for the layout of the town, which was itself normally divided into a grid network.²⁵ A colony would be given certain types of buildings such as walls, a forum, a temple, a curia and a basilica. Construction was usually not completed by the time the commission left. A reason that the walls are never mentioned in inscriptions might be because they were constructed through public funds immediately during the period when the colony was funded, since they were essential

¹⁸ For the dating of the colony see note 38 p. 104 in Quilici (1966), and Mommsen's comments on the inscription in the *CIL IX*.

¹⁹ Quilici 1966, 85.

²⁰ For the number of towers and gates, see map on p. 87 (Quilici 1966).

²¹ For a full description of the fortifications and their layout see Quilici (1966) pp. 93–97 and figures 3–43. In the *Poliorketika* a system of hemispherical walls with interconnecting towers is described. Nossow (2009, 17–19) discusses the application of this technique to fortifications in the eastern Mediterranean.

²² With the exception of an external water cistern added at a later period to the exterior of the wall close to where the aqueduct entered the city.

²³ Quilici 1966, 98.

²⁴ On the layout of colonies, see Salmon 1969 (19–28). His generalizations have been questioned in recent publications and are not necessarily considered valid for the period before the Second Punic War, see for example Pelgrom 2008. However, we can still use Salmon's account for the period under consideration in this essay.

²⁵ This is true at least for the period after the Second Punic War, see Fentress 2000, 17–18, Pelgrom 2008, 358–367.

for the community and, though probably expensive, not prohibitively so (since virtually all towns had them).

There are six inscriptions from Telesia dating to the Republican period which mention the construction of towers. They were built by different *duoviri*, who were the magistrates normally responsible for construction.²⁶

(1, 2) The first text comes from two different stones which contained the same text:²⁷

L(ucius) Minucius T(iti) f(ilius) Cato, L(ucius) Statorius L(ucii) f(ilius) | Balbus pr(aetores) duovir(i) turris quin(que) | d(e) d(ecurionum) s(ententia) faciundas coeraverunt.

The first stone was found inside a structure of the city-walls close to the Porta Alifana during renovation work. The left side of the inscription was missing. A short while later, another inscription was found at the base of the city-walls ca 200 m from the Porta Alifana, whose right side was missing. The block on which this text is written is curvilinear. Consequently, it must have been fastened to the outer part of a round tower.²⁸

This new text (1, 2) gives a clue as to how to reconstruct the fragmentary and older *CIL* IX, 2233:

... Minuci ... | Balbus [pr.] d[uovir] | d.d.s. fa[ci]u[nd]... coeraver | eidemque [probavere].

A comparison between (1, 2) and this text enabled Cavuoto to give a highly likely reconstruction as follows:²⁹

(3) *[L(ucius)] Minuci[us] T(iti) f(ilius) Cato, L(ucius) Statorius L(ucii) f(ilius) | Balbus pr(aetores) | d[uovir] turris quinque? | d(e) d(ecurionum) s(ententia) fa[ci]u[nd]as coeraverunt | eidemque [probaverunt].*

One should note that (1, 2) states that Cato and Balbus constructed five towers, while according to (3) they also examined the constructions. This might be because the *duoviri* decided to put up inscriptions on all of the towers before they left office, some of which had not yet been finished.³⁰ Five adjacent towers were built and each received one inscription on two

adjoining blocks of stone. The distance of ca 200 metres between the find-spots of inscription 1 and 2 suggests that they are the extremes of a series of five towers, since the average distance between towers at this part of the wall is 30–45 m.³¹

Another inscription was found in a deposit about 1000 metres outside the city-walls. Like the other inscriptions, the text appears to have been inscribed on two blocks. In this case only the right block has been found. It records the construction of five more towers under new *duoviri*:³²

(4) *[...] C(ai) f(ilius) L(ucius) Orfius [L(ucii) f(ilius)] | [pr(aetores) duoviri] q[ui]nque turres | [d(e) d(ecurionum) s(ententia) faciundas coer]arunt idemque pr[o]barunt.*

Two further inscriptions can be found in *CIL* IX. No. 2230 was found under a tower at the southern part of the wall, to the left of the gate towards Benevento; 2235 was found close to a tower near the amphitheatre (which stands just a few dozen metres from the walls):

(5) *L(ucius) Mummius L(uci) f(ilius) C(aius) Manlius C(ai) f(ilius) | pr(aetores) duovir(i) pro ludeis turris duas | d(e) d(ecurionum) s(ententia) faciundas coerarunt (CIL IX, 2235 = ILLRP, 675)*

(6) *M(arcus) Lollius M(arci) f(ilius) Qua[rtus] | turris duas pro ludis... (CIL IX, 2230)*

The latter inscription is fragmentary and does not say whether two towers were restored or whether they were constructed, though the formulation is so similar to *CIL* IX, 2235 that one suspects that it reports the construction of two towers.³³ Inscription 6 may record works undertaken by a single *duumvir*.

The expressions *pro ludeis/ludis* are important and, thus, deserve further comment. If one supposes that each *duumvir* would spend 2000 sesterces plus 2000 sesterces from public funds on games, the normal *summa honoraria* of the 1st century AD, then he would not have been able to afford to build even one tower without adding extra money (the combined

²⁶ They were also responsible for games (Abbott & Johnson 1926, 60).

²⁷ Cavuoto 1975, 218.

²⁸ Cavuoto 1975, 217. The city was conceived from the perspective of an outsider: the expression *post muros* (i.e. after the walls) in several Italic languages meant the area inside the walls (Pocetti 1988, 318). The impressiveness of the fortifications would have been most apparent from the outside. Any inscription would, therefore, be located on the exterior. The act of putting up inscriptions shows that towers were seen as a type of monumental construction, though of course they had a very practical purpose, comparable to other public buildings.

²⁹ Cavuoto 1975, 220–221.

³⁰ As was suggested by Jonathan Prag on the 18th of February 2009.

³¹ Quilici 1966, 85.

³² Cavuoto 1975, 222.

³³ *CIL* 2230 is described as *litteris maximis et pulcherrimis*; this makes it different from the other inscriptions. Number one (1) has irregularly sized letters; two (2) is of much higher quality, but still falls far short of that of the best official inscriptions. See photos on plate 1 after p. 228 in Cavuoto 1975. On account of Mommsen's description it has been suggested that it dates from the reign of Augustus, under whom the town was, again, made a colony for veterans, and that the inscription records restorations (Quilici 1966, 104 n. 40). However, since no photograph of the inscription has been published, it is pure speculation to assume that it has to be from the principate because of Mommsen's *litteris maximis et pulcherrimis*.

money of the two *duoviri* would be 8000 sesterces). Towers were expensive; for example, one inscription records the construction of a tower in Teanum Apulum cost 15,000 sesterces during exactly the same period.³⁴ If the *summa honoraria* was not yet legally demanded at this date, the funds available would be even smaller.

Normally, only small undertakings were funded with money earmarked for games. An analysis of all the inscriptions in *CIL* and *AE* from Italy, which have the expression *pro ludis/pro ludeis*, show that usually sums of a few thousand sesterces were involved. There are 24 inscriptions, of which 9 are from Pompeii and refer to constructions of seats (*cunei*) in the smaller theatre and amphitheatre;³⁵ some of them have the expression *ex decurionum decreto*, others do not. Of the other 15 inscriptions, four were probably inscribed on statues bases.³⁶ One inscription mentions a *porticus* and *saepta*,³⁷ one mentions a fountain,³⁸ and one mentions a *gradus* (steps) and another object of Tiburtine stone that cannot be identified due to the fragmentary inscription.³⁹ Another inscription mention sums of 2000 HS paid for something instead of games,⁴⁰ one mentions the construction of a street and *lucus*,⁴¹ one mentions the paving of a street,⁴² one mentions *canales* (drains) and⁴³ in two the construction cannot be identified.⁴⁴ Finally there are the inscriptions from Telesia, which would appear to refer to the most expensive enterprises of all the inscriptions that have the expression *pro ludis/pro ludeis*. The only other comparable expense may have been the construction of a *porticus* and *saepta*.

This clearly suggests that the money normally expended on games would not have been enough for two towers. Thus, the question is where the additional money came from. Fines

could have been used, but the inscriptions in *CIL* and *AE*, which have the expression *ex multis*, all mention expenditure on a very moderate scale.⁴⁵ Two such inscriptions are from Leptis Magna in Africa. One was written in the 1st century AD on a console dedicated to Liber Pater and mentions the cost: 62 *denarii* from fines with 53 *denarii* added by the magistrate himself—that is a total cost of 460 HS.⁴⁶ The other one from ca AD 200 was written on a large marble bowl.⁴⁷ Two statues from Neapolis in Africa were built using an equal amount of fines and private money by the same two persons,⁴⁸ an *aedes* (a shrine) was built in Africa Proconsularis from fines,⁴⁹ a quaestor at Lilybaeum built stone tables (or perhaps weights) from fines⁵⁰ and a small bronze statue with a base (in Gallia Narbonensis) was built using fines.⁵¹ Considering that these examples are from later dates, when the economy had expanded substantially due to the Empire, and are mostly from wealthy provinces, it seems very unlikely that a small town like Telesia could amass 20,000 HS in fines in one single year for two towers, let alone in two different years. Of course we cannot be absolutely sure that practices in exacting fines were the same in republican Italy as in Imperial provinces.⁵² The most reasonable conclusion is, therefore, that the extra money came from the magistrates' own pockets, because games were not normally very expensive, nor would fines normally have provided enough money. One should note that the *lex Coloniae Genetivae* specifies that a *minimum* of 2000 HS had to be spent on games. Therefore, it is not an issue that the expression *ex sua pecunia* is not used, even though the towers appear to have been mainly funded through private means. This is due to the fact that, technically speaking, this was a fee (assuming that Telesia legally required such spending, which seems likely considering these two *pro ludis* inscriptions).

If the towers built *pro ludis* were privately financed, where did the money for the other towers come from? In general, there were three sources of income (besides fines) for a lo-

³⁴ *P(ublius) Tarsaeus P(ubli) f(ilius) | aed(ilis) turrim de sua | peq(unia) f(aciundam) c(oeravit) eid(emque) pro(bavit) | const(at) HS (quindecim milibus)* (Rossi 1976, no. 2, 51–52, with photo). Rossi dates it to the middle of the 1st century BC due to the lack of a *cognomen* of the person mentioned, some archaic spelling (q for c, ei for i) and the formula *constat sestertiis tot* (and one might add that the carving was made without shading). Another inscription in the *CIL* (IX, 2254 = ILS 5327) mentions a reconstruction of a tower in Pinna for 4936 HS, which confirms that 15,000 is in the right order.

³⁵ *CIL* IV, 845, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857a–d.

³⁶ *CIL* VI, 903 from Antium in Latium; *CIL* XI, 3782 from Marruvium in Samnium; *CIL* XI, 7413 from Ferentinum in Latium; *CIL* XI, 7436a also from Ferentinum. The last of these is extremely fragmentary and identification with a statue base doubtful.

³⁷ *AE* 1933, 152 = *AE* 1991, 543 from Aufidena in Samnium.

³⁸ *AE* 1951, 185 = *AE* 1993, 682 from Tarquinii in Etruria.

³⁹ *CIL* XIV, 2623 = *AE* 2002, 297 from Tusculum in Latium.

⁴⁰ *AE* 1995, 291 from Ulubrae in Latium refers to a *seivir augustalis*.

⁴¹ *CIL* IX, 1643 from Beneventum.

⁴² *CIL* XI, 3083 from Falerii in Etruria.

⁴³ *CIL* IX, 4903 = *CIL* IX, 4947 = *AE* 2001, 908 from Trebula Mutuesca in Samnium.

⁴⁴ *AE* 1904, 39 from Volsinii; *AE* 1909, 59 from Ferentinum.

⁴⁵ Tran (2008, 344–345) has a short discussion on practices in Africa. *CIL* XII, 1377f and *CIL* X, 7266 also have the expression *ex multis*, though it is not known what they referred to.

⁴⁶ *IRT* 294 = *AE* 2003, 1902.

⁴⁷ This inscription, *IRT* 597, is not part of the *CIL* or *AE* but is worth mentioning.

⁴⁸ *CIL* VIII, 972 & 973, undated Imperial.

⁴⁹ *CIL* VIII, 12445, undated Imperial.

⁵⁰ *CIL* X, 7235, undated Imperial; restoration of the text with either *mensas* or *mensuras* is possible.

⁵¹ *AE* 1955, 107.

⁵² Maximum fines ranging between 500 and 100,000 HS are mentioned in inscriptions from the Late Republic and Early Empire, though most range between a maximum of 5000 and 20,000. However, since these relate to grave offences they must have been rare (Le Roux 1996, 165–166).

cal government: taxes on trade such as port dues and money-changing, revenues from land and urban property (which could lie far away from the town) and payments for office (*summa honoraria*). There were no direct taxes.⁵³ The scale of the economy of smaller municipalities is estimable by the prohibition of borrowing more than 50,000 HS a year at Irni in Spain;⁵⁴ interest on this sum would have been 6000 HS per year (ca 12%), at most. Loans of 70,000 are mentioned for Italian towns.⁵⁵ One can speculate that the interest might have been around one-tenth or more of the yearly budget, so a figure of 100,000 HS or less may be a for the yearly budget (that is for smaller *municipia*, such as Telesia). 100,000 HS was also the property limit for entry into the decurionate.

Duncan-Jones has estimated that the income from selling an office (*summa honoraria*) was ca 35,000 HS in the African city of Thugga during the 3rd century AD. Since magistracies cost at least 4000 HS (twice the price of magistracies in the 1st century AD), a reasonable guess for Telesia's income from this source of funding is around 17,000 HS. This was exactly the cost of municipal employees at Urso in Spain in the 1st century AD.⁵⁶

Since taxes were low, the only major source left which could have fund expensive constructions is rents. Cicero's hometown of Arpinum, which was also a rather small town, depended on rents from properties in Gallia Cisalpina for the maintenance of religious rites, temples and public buildings;⁵⁷ Atella, a neighbouring town of Telesia (ca 35 km away), also depended heavily on rents from that region.⁵⁸ There is a similar example from Telesia itself. In the 1st century, two *duoviri* built wool-working shops (*lanariae*) from their own money; the rent from which would go to paying for the food and drink (*mulsa* and *crustum*) at Augustus' yearly birthday celebration.⁵⁹ This was long after the walls were built, however, and in this example the income would not have been substantial. Cicero himself owned *insulae* in Rome. The overdue rents from just some of these *insulae* amounted to 100,000 HS.⁶⁰ If one speculates that rents brought in 75,000 HS a year to Telesia, it would still not be enough for five tow-

ers (ca 75,000 HS) and other constructions, maintenance, administration, festivals etc. One should consider that in all of the above examples rents were used to defray fixed costs,⁶¹ while the number of towers built seems to have varied each year. The immediate funds, then, for the construction of five towers which are mentioned in the inscriptions would probably have had to be borrowed and gradually repaid, unless the magistrates forwarded private money.⁶² The total cost of all the towers of the city would have been around 525,000 HS ($35 \times 15,000$).

The construction of the fortifications went on over several years. If five towers were constructed by each annual pair of *duoviri*, it would take at least seven years to finish the job of building the towers. It probably took longer than this since sometimes only two towers were built. The fact that the expression DSS occurs on all inscriptions suggests that the planning of the town wall was undertaken by the local senate, and that the addition of new towers each year by the new magistrates followed a preconceived plan. Presumably there were drawings for the fortifications, unless the architect lived in the town.

Grumentum

The construction of a new wall at Grumentum may illustrate what happened at Telesia. The town is similarly located in the south of Italy (*Fig. 1*), and may have been founded as a colony in the 3rd century. It was conquered and destroyed in the Social War, and almost immediately rebuilt. It covered an area of ca 30 ha of a mountain spur.⁶³ The town was a colony in the 1st century (it was governed by *praetores duoviri*), but its exact status in earlier periods is unclear, though from the *Liber Coloniarum* it is clear that its territory was centuriated in the 2nd century BC.⁶⁴ The town underwent extensive reconstruction or development in the period after the Social War, exemplified by the construction of new walls and an aqueduct.⁶⁵ Livy mentions that the town had a wall in 207 (27.41.3). On the western side, the remains of a 20 m long and 2 m high wall of *opus incertum* have been found, which

⁵³ Duncan-Jones 1985, 29; Abbott & Jones 1926, 138–143. Examples of income are bee-keeping, mines, pasturage, land, forests, fishing, and public, water all of which were hired out or used for a fee (Le Roux 1996, 161–163).

⁵⁴ *Lex Irnitana* LXXX (see *AE* 1986, 333).

⁵⁵ For example, two men owed 70,000 HS to Trebula Suffenatium in the 1st century AD; and land was acquired from Ferentinum for 70,000 HS at a similar date (see Gregori 1996, 26–27, 33).

⁵⁶ Duncan-Jones 1985, 29.

⁵⁷ *Cic. Fam.* xiii.11.

⁵⁸ *Cic. Fam.* xiii.7.

⁵⁹ *CIL* IX, 2226.

⁶⁰ *Cic. Att.* xv.17.1.

⁶¹ In the case of Cicero, he planned to divert the income from these and other *insulae* to the payment of his son's expenditure while in Greece (*Att.* XII.32.2).

⁶² Which was not uncommon (Le Roux 1996, 166–168).

⁶³ Thaler & Zschätzsch 2004, 241–242; Giardino 1981, 43–45; an archaeological survey supports the theory that the town was founded in the 3rd century (Munzi *et al.* 2000, 448).

⁶⁴ *Lib. Col.* I, p. 209, 4–10 L.

⁶⁵ Giardino 1983, 209–210.

have been dated to the 1st century BC, while a 3 m long and 1.4 m high wall of *opus quasi reticulatum* has been found on the south side. It too has been dated to the 1st century BC on account of the construction technique.⁶⁶ There are three inscriptions from Grumentum which mention the construction of these new walls:

(7) From 57, *C(aius) Bruttius C(ai) f(ilius) | Ser(gia) aed(ilis) pro q(uaestore) | mur(um) p(edes) CC de sua | peq(unia) faciundum | coer(avit) P(ublio) Cornel(io) | Q(uinto) Caecil(io) co(n)s(ulibus)*
(CIL X, 219 = ILLRP, 608)

(8) From 56, [...] | [t]urrem [de sua] | peq(unia) fa[ciendam] coer[...] | Cn. Corn(elio) L. [Marc(io) co(n)s(ulibus)]
(AE 2002, 377)

This inscription was found under rubble in the baths at Grumentum.⁶⁷

(9) From 51, [Se]x(tus) Q(uinti) Poppaedi[e]i Sex(ti) f(ili) | [S]er(gia) C(aius) Aebutius C(ai) f(ilius) | [G]al(eria?) aediles moerum | [p]edes DCC de sua | [p]equnia faciundu[m] | [c]oeraver(unt) Ser(vio) Sulpici[o] | M(arco) Marcello co(n)s(ulibus)
(CIL X, 220 = ILLRP, 607)⁶⁸

The fact that there are six years between the inscriptions shows that construction was an extended process; since all inscriptions contain the expression *de sua pecunia* it would appear that it was entirely dependent on private funding. The *aediles* built the walls at Grumentum, while the *praetores duoviri* constructed walls at Telesia.

As the inscriptions show, construction was not continuous, but progressed in sections as funding became available. One magistrate would contribute money of his own to construct two hundred feet of the wall, another seven hundred feet, and a third a tower. It must surely be the case that the old fortifications were still standing and were being gradually replaced by newer ones. Otherwise, there would have been large holes in the defences. The procedure of having new magistrates construct new segments of the fortifications is very similar to that at Telesia, though at Grumentum the funding was private. This leads one to suspect that the same may have been the case in Telesia.

The fact that a few new towers were built by each new pair of *duoviri*, suggests that the source of funding in Telesia may have been intended to be private, just as at Grumentum, though probably with the exception that a small part of the sum was taken from public funds. Grumentum and Telesia were not that far apart and the walls were constructed more or less at the same time. For this reason, similar practices of funding might be expected. Not one of the five inscriptions from Telesia mentions construction using private funds, but it would appear that the two inscriptions which mention constructions *pro ludeis* were built mainly through *summae honorariae*, which greatly exceeded the minimum contribution of 2000 HS. If private money was used for completing two towers, it is highly possible that the five towers constructed by other magistrates were also funded through private money added to public funds. Nonetheless, public funding through loans is also conceivable.

Conclusions

The expression *DDS*, which is used in all inscriptions from Telesia, probably means that the construction of the towers followed the plan of the local senate. It would seem that the walls were built first, since they are not mentioned in the inscriptions, which only mention towers. It is possible that the reason for leaving the construction of the towers for later was meant to attract private funding for them, as was probably the case for at least four towers (inscriptions 5 & 6).

The constructions at Telesia and Grumentum were very drawn-out affairs compared to those at Verona and Constantinople, which were completed during a later period. The constructions at Telesia and Grumentum also lacked an individual overseer for the whole project. It would not have been impossible to contract out the building of the whole wall for a long period, the cost of which would have been met through the yearly revenue of the municipality. Instead, the cities compelled or let magistrates oversee work on small parts of the fortifications each year. One might ask why they would use this kind of procedure if not because it was hoped or expected that magistrates would pay for part of the building costs themselves, for which they could claim the responsibility of those parts in return. This would not have been possible if all of the fortifications were being constructed simultaneously. In this case the magistrates might merely have paid for a layer of one metre of the city-walls and, thus, would have been unable to take credit for a specific construction. The construction in small units is best explained by the need to find a new patron who was willing to pay for a new section. In Grumentum, at least, the inscriptions are explicit about this. If all funding was clear and pooled, a more continuous form of

⁶⁶ Zschätzsch 2002, 293–294.

⁶⁷ Zschätzsch 2002, 292–294.

⁶⁸ Degraffi says that the length of the wall is 1200 feet, while in *CIL* it is given as 700 (DCC).

construction would have been expected, with work going on along the whole length of the wall, rather than being limited to specific sections which were built to completion. I would therefore suggest that private funding was used at Telesia, at least partially, even though this is not acknowledged in the inscriptions.

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