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1 Introduction

We have focused our field surveys also in 2018 summer season on Ostia Antica backed by grants from JSPS KAKENHI(1), in order to reveal the actual life and situation of the general public in the ancient Roman period(2). This report summarizes the outcome of the graffiti survey(3). We confirmed the graffiti previously published like we did last year, then investigated the present conditions and situation of Ostia-graffiti. And we would like to present the information obtained in the process.

2 Confirmation investigation

This year's survey was carried out in 6 of 61 remains that graffiti has been confirmed(for 3 remains the reinvestigation of the last year). As a result, we were able to reconfirm the 118 graffiti out of 161 from 6 remains. The number ($G \cdot \cdot \cdot$) of graffiti corresponds on "Ostia-Harbour City of Ancient Rome"(4), and the published graffiti refers to graffiti listed in that homepage. For a room of each remains, refer to the each sections of that homepage.

(1) Caseggiato di Diana(I, III, 3-4)

In this remain (closed), we confirmed 3 graffiti out of 4 total(G0015, G0016, G0018), and obtained new information about G0018. G0018, according to the homepage, is a comorbid graffito that letters (IRIIN) is affixed to the pyramid iconography that interpreted as a crane. However, when we observed the letters, it is written in black lines and were not scratched as iconography. Are the letters to those of the modern cannot be asserted, it should not be associated with at least iconography and letters. It is a good example of the importance of empirical.

(2) Domus di Giove e Ganimede (I, IV, 2)

In this remains (closed), we confirmed by the reinvestigation newly G0029 and G0032, as the result, were able to reconfirm 21 graffiti out of 26 total(5). In addition, we reaffirmed the G0484-G0487 that belong to "Unknown" until now as graffiti of this remains. Because it is limited to the presentation of photos in the homepage, here we would like to present the details (see also Figs. 5 to 7).

• G0484

Three graffiti are included in the photo named G0484. The three graffiti are aligned to the left and right, from the left to the ①. By the way this photo is turned upside down, it is considered a cause that it has not been reconfirmed so far.





(2)Unclassified texts (Room 33 east wall, 1×7 cm(line 1), 1×3 cm(line 2))



This is a graffito consisting of some letters. At present the beginning of the upper left is O, per center might be able to read COS.

③Numbers (Room 33 east wall, 7.5×8cm) IIIIIIIIII (10)



$\cdot \operatorname{G0485} \sim \operatorname{G0486}$

Three graffiti are included in the two photos named G0485 and G0486. The three graffiti are aligned vertically, from the upper to the ①.

①Numbers (Room 33 south wall, 3×5.5cm) IIIIII (6)



Two lines at the beginning that are narrower in the upper are not A, probably numbers. That the vertical line is diagonally is by no means uncommon.

⁽²⁾Unclassified texts (Room 33 south wall, 5×10 cm)





Vertical line and + symbol are marked collectively respectively. They are classified as "Numbers" on the homepage, but the vertical lines aside, meaning of + symbol and the relationship between both are unknown.

③Numbers? (Room 33 south wall, 1.5×11.5cm)
IIII (4)
XXXXXXX (70)



Vertical line and \times symbol is marked collectively respectively. It may be understood as number (I = 4, X = 10) together. However, since both are somewhat apart, it should be considered as a separate graffito. There is something like graffito on the right side of the \times symbol, but it is unknown at this time.

 \cdot G0487 Dates ? (Room 33 south wall, $1.5\times8 {\rm cm})$ XIII MAR(tias)





This is a graffito consisting of about six letters. It can be identified relatively clear first letter is X, second and third from the last are MA. Because the beginning is X, the Greek word is possible, but we understand it under the present conditions as "Dates" of the Latin based on there being many "Numbers" around it.

(3) Domus del Tempio Rotondo (I, IX, 2)

In this remains, we confirmed by the reinvestigation newly G0058, as the result, were able to reconfirm all graffiti (4 total).

(4) Sacello delle Tre Navate(III, II, 12)

In this remain (closed), we confirmed 11 graffiti out of 12 total(G0153, G0154, 0155, 0156, G0394, G0494, 0515, 0516, 0517, G0518, G0519). We were not able to confirm only G0152, but it seems to have been already almost at the time of the 2008, completely lost at the time of the 2015(6). And for G0155, we confirmed that there is another one letter before(left) of the conventional reading(Φ OPA)(Fig. 1). It can be identified I from the vertical line, or Γ and C(Σ) in view of the space between it and Φ . Although this graffito is classified as "Unknown text", it will be the end of name such as Θ εισιφορα. Actually, the name is written down by Greek letters near in the same wall(G0153 : 'Aβασκαντι[α]νος, G0154 : Διοδωρος).



Fig. 1 Tracing of G0155

(5) Casa a Giardino(III, IX, 4)

In this remains, we confirmed by the reinvestigation newly the G0197 and G0198, as the result, were able to reconfirm 16 graffiti out of 23 total.

(6) Casseggiato degli Aurighi(III, X, 1)

In the remains with the maximum number of graffiti at Ostia(93 total)(7), we investigated it mainly on Room17(closed) and Room26 - 32(closed) where graffiti are concentrated. As a result, we confirmed 23 graffiti out of 40 total in Room 17, 14 graffiti out of 18 total in Room 28, all graffiti(2 total) in Room 29, all graffiti(16 total) in Room 30, all graffiti(7 total) in Room 32, 1 graffiti out of 10 total in other places(8). In addition, we were able to affirm the G0469(Room 30) and G0470(Room 24) that belong to "Unknown" until now as

graffiti of this remains (then, 65 graffiti out of 95 total). We were not able to confirm the nearly half of them in Room17, because we were not able to divide these into individual graffito for crowding of graffiti in each wall (specifically east wall)(Fig. 2). The future investigation and analysis must require.





Fig. 2 A part of east wall in Room 17

3 Discovery of new graffiti

On our confirmation investigation, we discovered 17 new graffiti(10 letter graffiti and 7 non-letter graffiti (object graffiti)) in three remains. We present them here. The presentation does by letter reprint, photo, tracing. For a detail of each remains and their rooms, refer to the each sections of the homepage as described above. We acquire the graffito number sequentially from the left side of wall.

The distinction graffiti or not is the whether it was done intentionaly (for example, in case of a simple graffito comprised only of consecutive lines, we assume to be intentional if it consists of more than 3 lines). Although the old and new determination of graffiti is essential, there is not the systematic basis under the present conditions, then we determined individually in the field (overall structure, letter form, line quality, etc.).

(1) Domus di Giove e Ganimede (I, IV, 2)





②Numbers (north wall, 2. 5×5 . 5cm) IIIIIIIIII? (10?)



// / // /X

The distinction of the lines becomes difficult for restoration, but we can confirm around 10 lines.



Fig. 3 A left part of north wall in Room 27

③Numbers (south wall, 3. 5×6cm) III (3)



(4)Numbers (south wall, 3. 5×10.5 cm) I IIIIIIIIII? (10?)



Because the right part is damaged, the accurate number is unidentified, but we confirm at least 10 lines.



Fig. 4 A left part of south wall in Room 27

(5)Unclassified texts (south wall, 7×5 cm, letter height : 1cm)



The things like some letters are detected, but relatively clear letters are limited to the three M-shaped things that are aligned vertically in the right end.



Fig. 5 A right part of south wall in Room 27

Room 31①Human figure ? (north wall)



An outline is assumed a part of the human figure (leg from breast). Sag of the center might be *fallus*. Although it is letter graffito, there is many "Erotica" (in particular, homosexuality) in Room 31(5 graffiti out of 17 total)(9), and the existence is not mysterious.

• Room 33

(1) Erotica object (north wall, 4×27 . 5cm)





At first glance, it can be assumed the drawing of *fallus*. The object graffito is rare in "Erotica"(2 graffiti out of 17 tolat), but it might express a glans by dividing the left edge part of the two long horizontal lines in a curve and a vertical line, and a scrotum by blowing up the right end part of the lower horizontal line(10). The meaning and the relations of two triangular objects (left: 1.5×2 cm, right: 2×2 cm) around it are unknown, but possibly they might be understood with female genitalia.

②Numbers (east wall, 12×23cm) IIIIIIIII IIIIIIIII? (18?)



Because the center part is damaged, the accurate number is unidentified, but we confirm at least 18 lines.



Fig. 6 East wall of Room 33

③Numbers (south wall, 3×8cm) IIIIIIIII (8)





//////

Fig. 7 South wall of Room 33

④Numbers (west wall, 1×2. 5cm) IIIIII? (6?)



The end of graffito meight be two vertical lines getting narrow downward not V. In the case of numeral (whether "Numbers" or "Dates"), V is usually written earlier, and it is no exception with the graffiti of Ostia (e.g. G0027 and G0028 in the same Domus di Giove e Ganimede). Because the trace of three vertical lines remains between two vertical lines of the end and one vertical line before it, the number of the original line is probably 9.



Fig. 8 West wall of Room 33

(north wall, 7.5×18.5 cm) IIIIIIIIIIIIIII ? (17?)



Because the left part is damaged, the accurate number is unidentified, but we confirm at least 17 lines.

6Erotica object (north wall, 4×9 . 5cm)



Two long horizontal lines are related by a curve and a vertical line in the left edge part. It is more plain than Room 33①, but it may be understood with *fallus* equally as the shape is similar.



Fig. 9 North wall of Room 33

(2) Sacello delle Tre Navate(III, II, 12)



(3) Terme dei Sette Sapienti (III,X,2), Room 5(=The room of the Seven Sages) (1)Vegetative motifs (lower section of west wall, 22×10 cm)



This graffito is a tree having many branches and leaves and a long root. Parallels are there(G0437 and G0451, it is interesting with both are those of the ""Terme" Marittime (III,VIII,2)"), but is rare in Ostia. It is characteristic of the tree to have some round fruit. Although a relief, the tree with some round fruit emerges to a gravestone from Ostia (Fig. 10). We imagine that it is more likely to express some kind of allegories and scenes as the thing which seems to be a ladder is seen in the right side of the tree.



Fig. 10 The tree with some round fruit (Tombstone side near the entrance of the Cafeteria)

2 Unidentified objects (lower section of west wall)



This graffito is a building like tower with structure on the rectangular base. Unfortunately although the details are not known, we might assume that it is the lighthouse of Portus (G0230, G0390, G0446, G0510) and Trajan's Column (G0228) classified in "Famous buildings" from the outline, and the thing such as the altar.

3 Ships (lower section of west wall)



This graffito is a ship having the flat hull and some oars. The bow is decorated with \times symbol, the sail is detected in central upper, too. Ship drawing is not rare in Ostia graffiti (37 total), but a thing around the stern which is not found in the others is interesting. Is it an anchor and an attached small boat expressing an anchorage scene ? (11).

(4) Unidentified objects (lower section of west wall)



Although the line is clear, the identification of this graffito is unknown. There are no parallels to Langner(2001), but if attention to the branches (palm?) protruding from the top, it might be vessel to put it, or altar in which it is included.



Fig. 11 The lower section of west wall

4 Indications based on the field work

(1) Sacello delle Tre Navate(III, II, 12)

The graffiti of this remain is 13 total in addition to the one that newly discovered. The breakdown of that is as follows : 8 in absidal cella, right wall(G0152, G0153, G0154, 0155, 0156, G0394, G0494, G0519), and 5 in left wall(0515, 0516, 0517, G0518, aboved (2)①). Most contents are only "Names"(12), but it is interesting that Latin graffiti are in the left wall. Greek graffiti in the right wall. Moreover, The part (red plaster) that Latin graffiti have been scrated is in a hole(73×24 cm) in the wall, it was embedded in the masonry wall during renovation(Fig. 12)(13). Therefore, in Latin graffiti and Greek graffiti there is age difference, it would be considered as the latter is new. It does not mean that it denies the coexistence of both walls, the

synchronism of both graffiti. In the first place, 13 graffiti of two walls how far reflect the fact of Sacello delle Tre Navate. Given the graffiti of the final stage is easy to be left, there are extremely many Greek graffiti in neighborhood remains of Regio III including adjacent Casseggiato degli Aurighi(III, X, 1) (29 graffiti out of 38 total(14)). People using the Greek began to come and go in this Regio, at least it is reliable that came and went(15).



Fig. 12 The absidal cella, left wall

(2) Casseggiato degli Aurighi(III, X, 1)

• Room 17

This room is a small room (180×380(maximum curved portion)×245(maximum)cm) under the stairs, but has the 40 graffiti(Fig. 13). This reaches nearly half of this remains that has the maximum score of graffiti in Ostia (93 total), and even in the whole Ostia it is within the top five. All the contents are letter graffiti. Moreover, except for the "Numbers" (68 total), "Dates" (39 total), "Names" (24 total) which accounts for a large number in Ostia graffiti, there are long, many miscellaneous graffiti ("People-About people" (7 total: G0268, G0274, G0287, G0288, G0294, G0302, G0305), "Erotica" (5 total: G0280, G0284, G0286, G0293, G0299), "Names" (4 total), "Dates" (3 total), "Alphabets" (2 total : G0276, G0277), "Amphitheatre and circus" (1 total : G0270), "Master and slaves"(1 total: G0282)(16), "Medicine"(1 total: G0279), "Unclassified texts"(16 total). What was the specific room having these many graffiti really used for? This is important to the context of graffiti, and we expect that it is to imagine Ostia at the time. In the first place this room was not specific, and the graffiti of other rooms were only lost in repair, reconstruction at the time and in process handed down process, then a similar scene might have spread everywhere. It is existence of G0296 to be interesting here(17). Unfortunately we are not able to reconfirm, but it wrote down the names of consul Marcus Gavius Squilla Gallicanus and Sextus Carminius Vetus, and is equivalent for the 150. As it is said that the building was finished in the early period of Antoninus Pius reign (about the 140)(18), G0296 was not deleted and continued staying for a long time. It is unknown how many this remains and this room continued functioning to, but at least it may be over in one or two hundred years. Although it is not exposed to wind and rain, it is hard to think that it received no maintenance for several hundred years, but we are able to understand that the existence of many graffiti is because there has been left. If that is the case, it is a sleeply place, but a place where not a few number of people to enter and exit, e.g., something like a storeroom ?

Therefore, what kind of people did enter and leave this place, write down many graffiti? When we assume here a storeroom, the first user must be the resident of this remains, and a those slave in particular. G0282 is right regarded as the graffito due to the hand of the slave(19). Besides, if we guess from the contents, it is certain that there were people full of literacy ability. They express the greetings (G0287, G0299) or rivalry

in love (G0293)(20) freely and it is like a typical phrase, but does own act to posing as a joke in G0268, G0305(21). There are many the Greek graffiti (12 out of 13 total in this remain)(22), and not to say that they are slaves, but no doubt that also includes the people from east and their descendants. Although "Unclassified texts" accounts for nearly half, as already mentioned, it may be only we do not understand and probably we could not divide the crowding of graffiti in each wall into individual graffito. But among "Unclassified texts" about Greek graffiti, Solin points out that what we are not able to understand is due to us, but the possibility with the cause to a writer of graffiti(23). In other words, the existence of many graffiti which we are not able to understand the contents even if we are able to read individual letters are the characteristics of the Greek graffiti of Ostia (and Rome). It is lower literacy of the writers (as for the writer's own problem, and the most of graffiti is from the late second century for the third century when are running out of knowledge of the Greek in the west). In the first place the writers (non-Greek, the non-east origin) do not understand Greek, and they tried unsuccessfully to representation by Greek in reference to whether any. Actually, the person who practiced the Greek alphabet in this room exists, then the existence of people having lower literacy is reliable.



Fig. 13 Room17 (left : Left direction from the entrance, right : Entrance front)

• Room 26~32

Room 26-32 is rooms belonging to the northwest division of Casseggiato degli Aurighi. They are connected mutually, but it is away from Room 33 and 34(public restroom) of the same division.

The graffiti are concentrated in Room 28 (14 total), 30 (16 total), 32 (7 total), when it is added 2 graffiti (G0307, G0308) of Room29 and probably 4 graffiti (G0252, G0255, G0256, G0257) of somewhere in three rooms, it reaches 43 total. The characteristic in the graffiti is that there are extremely many commercial contents. Only the 4 graffiti about product price and payment(G0258, G0264 etc., 8 total in the whole Ostia)(24) are directly classified as "Commercial texts", but the slave purchase (G0259)(25), the dedication to Hermes (G0260, G0261)(26) are very commercial, besides, G0311 with "as" symbol (classified as "Numbers")(27), and G0257 (about the birth of sheep ?)(28) classified as "Animals" may be a commercial

relation, too. These rooms are told to have been a hotel for a while based on G0308(29), but rather suggest that this division had a commercial function from the graffiti. Various people must have come and gone because of the function, but the many writers of graffiti may be the seller of the product from contents.

It is a comparison with Casa a Giardino to be interesting here. In Giardino, it has been said that the center part where many graffiti remained in was a store and an atelier. It depends on the existence of many "Numbers" (39 adding ? out of 74 total)(30), but there is hardly "Numbers" in more commercial Room 26-32 by concrete information (5 total). Besides, the text graffiti of Gardino are very plain, and it is limited to 1(Okuyama(2018), () -7-()) out of 10 total what we are able to understand the contents. Object graffiti is many (25 out of 74 total), and forms a clear contrast. Aside from 14 graffiti of Room 26-32, there is not one in Room17. Is the situation of such Giardino for the people having lower literacy not to be able to write a letter ? Now, we passed through graffiti investigation into Casseggiato degli Aurighi, it is possible very much. Or is this because it was done intentionally ? For example, the object graffiti seemed to have possibilities to function as a kind of interior decoration(31). Actually, it was more likely to be a house if a center part was not a store and a atelier. And it correspond with a trend of the whole Ostia of the times (from the latter half of second century to third century) that was done the graffiti, in other words, the specific gravity of the function that was more residential than commerce increased. A writer of graffiti will be a owner of house, the family and slave, guest. But the structure of the whole these remains is specific as the center part is located like an island by large space, and there are six big water trays in the space. Animals might be

accommodated here if we consider large space and water trays. If that is the case, was the center part a something like guest house rather than a general house or as close to the coast a facility with the relation for a longshoreman?

5 Conclusion

In this report, we presented the result of the graffiti investigation that we performed at Ostia in 2018 summer season. At first, we are able to get some knowledge (the remains identification of graffiti that belong to "Unknown" and the correction of conventional reading) as well as the reconfirmation of known graffiti by the confirmation investigation that we performed in 6 remains (as for 3 remains the reexamination of last year). And we were able to publish the 17 new graffiti (10 letter graffiti, 7 object graffiti) which we discovered in three remains on a confirmation investigation. Besides, we stepped into the problem of the character and the graffiti writer of these remains from knowledge provided by our investigation about Casseggiato degli Aurighi(III, X, 1) with Sacello delle Tre Navate(III, II, 12) among investigation remains, and from the considerations the problem of function and graffiti writer of Casa a Giardino which we investigated in last year also. On this occasion, the many Greek graffiti of the former two remains were one of the keys, but this characteristic is of Regio III where they are located. To pay more attention to the whole Regio, an investigation into Casa delle Volte Dipinte (III,V,1), Casa delle Ierodule (III,IX,6) (reexamination), Casa delle Pareti Gialle (III,IX,12) having a certain number of graffiti including Greek graffiti in the Regio is indispensable, it is a challenge from the next year onward. Of course, we must not forget the cooperation with the archeology, architecture, geography, and the history of art from the viewpoint of fresco and graffiti motif, but at first want to present the accumulation of the graffiti information and the consideration based on it.

Notes

(1) Please refer to the our last year survey so far : Japanese Research Group of Ostia Antica, *REPORT OF THE INVESTIGATION OF OSTIA ANTICA IN 2017-2018* (http://www.koji007.tokyo/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/report-ostia-antica-in-2017-2018.pdf).

(2) We wish to extend our sincere gratitude to Dott.ssa Mariarosaria Barbera, Il Direttore del Parco Archeologico di Ostia Antica, and Dott. Marco Sangiorio, Direttore del tecnico delle medesima Area, for their undivided support and guidance throughout this survey.

(3) On another outcomes, see each report.

(4) <u>http://www.ostia-antica.org/</u>.

(5) For last year's graffiti survey and data, see http://www.koji007.tokyo/wpcontent/uploads/2018/07/report-ostia-antica-in-2017-2018.pdf, pp. 28-30.

(6) Solin(2008), p. 121. For the 2015, refer to the column of G0152 in the homepage.

(7) Although it is 95 total according to the homepage, as the result of investigation, we exclude G0461 and G0388 because G0461 is the same as G0298, in G0388 the upper photograph is around G0275, the lower photograph is around G0295 and G0297.

(8) G0313(next to one of the paintings of charioteers in the ambulatory) ; G0455, G0456, G0457, G0459, G0460, G0462, G0463, G0465, G0514(Unknown).

(9) G0030, 0033a, 0033b, 0034, 0035. G0036h.

(10) For the drawing of *fallus*, see Langner(2001), p. 32.

(11) Langner(2001), pp. 67-70.

 $(12) \quad G0152~?, \quad G0153, \quad G0154, \quad G0155, \quad G0515~?, \quad G0518, \quad G0519.$

(13) This situation is described only with the left of the window of the left wall on the homepage, and it is grasped in the survey report in 2015, which is presented in the image(see G0152), but more description is not.

(14) Regio III : 29 graffiti (Sacello delle Tre Navate(III, II, 12) : 6 graffiti (G0152, G0153, G0154, G0155, G0156, G0519) ; Casa delle Volte Dipinte(III,V,1) : 3 graffiti (G0164, G0167, G0168) ; Casa delle Ierodule (III,IX,6) : 3 gaffiti (G0600(=Falzone(2014), N $_{0}$ 47), G0612(=Falzone(2014), N $_{0}$ 59), G0614(=Falzone(2014), N $_{0}$ 61)) ; Casa delle Pareti Gialle (III,IX,12) : 3 graffiti (G0211, G0215, G0221) ; Casseggiato degli Aurighi(III, X, 1) : 13 graffiti (G0260, G0268, G0269, G0271, G0273, G0276, G0277, G0289, G0290, G0292, G0297, G0305, G0307,) ; Caseggiato di Annio(III,XIV,4) : 1 graffito (G0334)).

Other than Regio III : 9 graffiti (Domus di Giove e Ganimede (I, IV, 2) : 1 graffito (G0023) ; Quattro Tempietti (II,VIII,2) : 3 graffiti (G0138, G0140, G0141) ; Caseggiato del Temistocle (V,XI,2) : 1 graffito (G0520) ; Unknown : 4 graffiti (G0373, G0375, G0377, G0508)).

(15) On this point, by connecting it with a ship drawing (G0394, G0494), Becatti suggested that Sacello delle Tre Navate was a meeting place of Greek sailor (navicellai) and shipowner (armatori), and Dionysus worship was performed there(Becatti(1954), pp. 95-97). Solin also admits the possibility was the place Dionysus worship there(Solin(2008), p. 121).

(16) See note 19.

(17) M CAVIO SQUILLA GALLICANO | SEX CARMINIO VETERE [co(n)s(ulibus)].

(18) Calza(1954), p. 147.

(19) EX PERSECVNDE DOMINII SALVTIS EME. This graffito is classified in [Religion – Christianity] by being interpreted as [Lord give safety from the persecutor(?)]. However, we are able to interpret

PERSECVNDE as not only the persecutor but also the pursuer (or pursuit). In this case we may translate it "please save me from the persecutor (or pursuit) of master". Then, in this report, we classify this graffito in "Master and slaves".

(20) G0287 : OBIILIA SVO | [---]OLATIO VA(le) "Obelia to her ..., greetings" ; G0299 : PVPA V(ale) SAL(utem)"Darling (doll), hello, greetings".

(21) G0268 : Pantes panta | eperranal aigw manas ou/den aigraya("Every comer scrawls the walls with his graffiti, The only one who's written none is me"); G0305 : Pantes dia/grafousi, egw mo/nos ouden egrapa. | Pugizo pantas tous | epitoilografous("Every comer scrawls the walls with

his graffiti. The only one who's written none is me. Bugger all these scrawlers ! ").

(22) See note 14 (without G0260).

(23) Solin(1972), pp. 191-192.

(24) G0258 : PANIIM A(sses) VIII | LIGNA A(sses) V("Bread 8 asses, wood 5 asses") ; G0264 : (denarii) III | A(sses) VIII | A(sses) VIII.

(25) HICEGOMENAEMI ("Here I bought (the slave) Menas").

(26) G260: Errin dikaie, kerdoc Ektiko [di]dou ("Righteous Hermes (Mercurius), bring profit to Hektikos"); G0261: MERCVR(io) V(otum) L(ibens) S(olvit or olverunt) PCO | AES SOLVVIMVS ("I advanced and achieved an oath to Mercury ...").

(27) IOCINA | (denarii) C C C C C | X X V.

(28) MIIAI VIS . OVIIS NATI.

(29) VIII IDVS SIIPTIIMBRIIS | LICINIVS HOSPIIS VIGVIT ("On September 6 the host Licinius ...").

- (30) Okuyama(2018), pp. 34-61.
- (31) Langner(2001), p. 140.

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