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# The cult of the goddess Mefitis in light of literary and epigraphic sources

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## Abstract

The Italian goddess Mephitis was worshipped mainly in central and southern Italy between the 7th century BC and the 2nd century AD. The etymology of her name indicates liminal and mediating aspects. We can find evidence of other gods being worshipped in her cult places such as Jupiter, Mars, and Hercules. Mephitis has been linked to Leukotea, Venus, Diana, and Juno. The goddess was deprecated in the minds of Roman authors due to a negative association with sulphurous fumes in Valle d'Ansanto. I researched the way the cult of Mefitis was spread and I answered how and why this cult was changed. For this purpose, I described the literary and epigraphic sources and her cult places in Italy. The inscriptions from Mefitis' cult places contain mostly Oscan names of worshippers. A few of them were among the urban elite. The names of gentes are repeated in a few places, for example gens Mammia is found in Pompei and Potentia. The members of Oscan gentes perhaps carried the cult of the goddess to other cities and were adapted there to new circumstances. In Capua, the goddess appears at the temple of Diana and in Pompei she was identified with the figure of Venus Pompeian, who perhaps took over from her the epithet Fisica, appearing by the name of Mefitis already in Rossano di Vaglio and Grumentum. In the sanctuary of Ansanto, her original figure as the protector of fields (expressed in the epithet arva) was changed to the deity of sulphurous fumes and that figure of the goddess prevailed in the later literary sources. The figure of Mefitis is complicated and multipronged. It seems that every cult place exposed different aspects of the goddess.

## Keywords

Italy; religion; Mefitis; cult places; Italian goddess

The cult of the Italian goddess Mefitis developed from the 7th century BC to the 2nd century AD mainly in southern Italy. Not much is still known about the rituals performed at her shrines, nor do we have her images, if any ever existed, but based on surviving sources we can make some hypotheses about her competences.<sup>1</sup> In this paper, I will research, based on literary and epigraphic sources, the way of spreading the cult of Mefitis and I will answer how and why this cult has been changed. To understand the competencies of the goddess Mefitis, it is important to become acquainted with the places of her worship. I decided to make the geographical analysis of the cult places of Mefitis from the southern regions of Italy to the north: Lucania (Rossano di Vaglio, Potentia, Grumentum), Hirpini (Valle d'Ansanto, Aeclanum, Aequum Tuticum), Campania (Capua – Mons Tifata, Pompei), Lazio (Rzym, Aquinum – location Méfetes, Capodacqua and Canneto) and Galia (Laus Pompeia, Cremona).<sup>2</sup>

The topic of goddess Mefitis was first time described by Paolo Poccetti. In his first article author researched the etymology of this deity. Twenty years later he decided to get back to this problem and he analyzed two curse tablets from Ansanto. In 2008 he examined the sphere of competence of Mefitis one more time. He left the unsolved problem of meanings of her theonym, and he indicated the ambiguity of her figure.<sup>3</sup> Michel Lejeune wrote about the cult of Mefitis in her sanctuary in Rossano di Vaglio. He analyzed her epithets and connection to the other deities worshipped in her sanctuary based on the Lucanian inscription.<sup>4</sup> The cult of Mefitis in Rome was examined by Filippo Coarelli in his article from 1998. He compared the figure of the goddess from Rome and Pompei with Venus Pompeiana and Venus Libitina. He tried to determine the site of a temple of Mefitis in Rome.<sup>5</sup> The review of the cult places of Mefitis was made by Giovanna Falasca. The scholar researched archeological, epigraphic, and literary sources in order to determine the connection of Mefitis to water. She depicted Mefitis as a changeable and multi-shaped deity who can unite different worlds and protected moments of transition.<sup>6</sup>

Several hypotheses have been put forward concerning the etymology of the name of the goddess. Poccetti suggested the derivation from the words *\*medhio-dhuīhtis* meaning “that which burns within”. He also considered the connection between the word *\*medh(u)*, and the Greek μέθυ, and attributes it to a/its connection with the word “honey”. The name Mefitis would then mean “sweet as honey” and would be related to its biological cycle and health aspects, but eventually, he left the problem unresolved.<sup>7</sup> The meaning *\*medh-yo* as “middle” was claimed by Angelo Bottini and Mario Torelli. Both researchers connected it with the role of Mefitis as the protector of communication routes

1 Falasca (2002: p. 7).

2 Falasca (2002: p. 19).

3 Poccetti (1984); Poccetti (2008a); Poccetti (2008b).

4 Lejeune (1986); Lejeune (1990).

5 Coarelli (1998).

6 Falasca (2002).

7 Poccetti (2008a: p. 173).

and trades.<sup>8</sup> Michel Lejeune agreed with that etymology, but he believes that Mefitis is the goddess of mediation *par excellence*, patronizing all forms of transition, liminal moments in the lives of her followers, geographical boundaries, transitions between the divine, human, and underworld, etc. He rejected the meaning *\*medh(u)* as “intoxication, intoxicating” goddess, because he didn’t see the connection between her sanctuary and intoxicate fumes.<sup>9</sup> Filippo Coarelli, relying on the goddess’ name etymology and analysis of her sanctuary, agreed with the hypothesis of Lejeune and emphasized the cosmic aspect of the mediation of Mefitis connecting together the underworld, the earthly world, and the uranian world.<sup>10</sup>

In ancient sources, the term Mefitis occurs as a theonym and as a common noun. In the first meaning, we find Pliny the Elder, who described the sanctuary of Mefitis in Ampsanctus.<sup>11</sup> Varron and Festus<sup>12</sup> mentioned the temple of the goddess in Rome and Tacitus claimed that her cult place was in Cremona.<sup>13</sup> Servius associated Mefitis with other female deities in his commentaries on the *Aeneid*: Leukothea, Venus, Diana, and Juno.<sup>14</sup> Pseudo-Placidius informed, in his work, about a few cult places of Mefitis in Italy and underlined her Lucanian sanctuary’s relation to toxic fumes.<sup>15</sup> In lexicons, the latter form predominates,<sup>16</sup> and its oldest testimony occurs in Virgil in Book VII of the *Aeneid*, where it is referred to the oracle of Faun at Albunea.<sup>17</sup> In Persius, the same term also appears metaphorically in a passage describing the breath of a sick person.<sup>18</sup> The adjective *mefitis* is used in the same sense by Ennodius.<sup>19</sup>

One of the most important Mefitis’ cult places is the shrine of Rossano di Vaglio, built in the 4th century BC. It was rebuilt several times, the last architectural change taking place between the late Republican period and the time of Augustus when the southwest portico was restored by the *gens Acerrania*.<sup>20</sup> A collection of 58 inscriptions was found there, the vast majority of which were written in Oscan alphabet adapted from Greek. In addition, there were examples of Oscan-Greek, Latin, and Oscan-Latin inscriptions. Oscan-Greek inscriptions were made between the 4th and the 2nd century BC, then replaced by Latin inscriptions, which prevailed until the time of Augustus.<sup>21</sup> Mefitis

8 Bottini (1988: p. 71); Torelli (1990: p. 84).

9 Lejeune (1986: pp. 212–213).

10 Coarelli (1998: pp. 186–187).

11 Plin. *NH* 2, 92.

12 Varro *Ling.* 5, 49; Festus, 476.

13 Tac. *Hist.* 3, 23.

14 Ser. *Ad Aen.* 7, 84.

15 Pseudo-Placidius, *Gloss. Lat.* IV 43.

16 Poccetti (1984: p. 238).

17 Verg. *Aen.* 7, 81–84.

18 Pers. 3, 99 (*turgidus hic epulis atque albo uentre lauatur, gutture sulphureas lente exhalante mefitis*).

19 Ennod. *Carm.* 2, 112, 7 (*Oscula nulla petas, madidam suspende Mephitim*).

20 Cazanove (2003: pp. 49–50).

21 Lejeune (1990: p. 25).

appears with the epithets: *Utiana*,<sup>22</sup> *Aravina*<sup>23</sup> and *Caporoinna*.<sup>24</sup> The first epithet most likely refers to the Lucanian tribe, possibly *gens Utia*.<sup>25</sup> The second is derived from the Latin word *arva* which means *soil* and is associated with the agrarian aspect of the goddess cult. The last epithet is associated with the Latin *caper* (buck) and linked to fertility rituals and Juno Caprotina.<sup>26</sup>

Mefitis shared her sanctuary with other deities, which is characteristic of Italian shrines. Minor deities were recorded in epigraphic texts with an epithet referring to the name of the goddess, which may indicate their subordination to Mefitis. RV-33 mentions Mamer, a Lucanian form of Mars, associated with both war and agriculture. Inscription RV-58, dating back to the 2nd century BC, mentions the name of Heracles and is the oldest found Oscan-Greek inscription from the southern Italian area referring to this deity.<sup>27</sup> Mefitis is also associated with Venus, with whom she shares the epithet *Fisica*,<sup>28</sup> discovered with Venus at Pompeii.<sup>29</sup> The meaning of this epithet is obscure. There are a few hypotheses about it. Koch claimed the roots of this word are Oscan and have a connection to the cult of Mefitis, but he doesn't give precise answers about the meaning of this epithet.<sup>30</sup> Falasca suggested the translation as *trustworthy, which establishes pacts, which protects promises or superintendent of the things of nature, who attends to what is natural*.<sup>31</sup> The most important partner of the goddess at Rossano di Vaglio was Jupiter, whose name is mentioned in inscriptions RV-17, 18, and RV-19. According to the Battiloro researcher, perhaps also the dedication RV-56 refers to Jupiter and Mefitis. Jupiter is the only one of the deities worshipped in the sanctuary who does not bear an epithet formed from the goddess. As deities take care of the uranian and chthonic spheres, Jupiter and Mefitis are a complement to each other, and symbolize the two spheres that make up the world.<sup>32</sup> The complementarity of Mefitis and Jupiter may be evidenced by how the double altar located in the shrine was constructed. Paolo Poccetti and Maria Luisa Nava believe that the altar was dedicated to Mefitis and to some masculine warrior deity, possibly Mamers/Mars.<sup>33</sup> In the other inscription, Mefitis appears as *domina Iovia* and *regina*.<sup>34</sup>

22 RV-11 (in Oscan), RV-22, RV-32 (in Latin).

23 RV-21, RV-26.

24 RV-06.

25 Lejeune claims the epithet derives from the group of Lucanian settle but Torelli doesn't agree and connects it to *gentilicium Vtius* relying on inscription RV-38 and passus from Strabo (6.1.3. C 254).

26 De Vaan (2008: p. 89); Battiloro (2018: pp. 138–139).

27 Poccetti & Nava (2001: p. 100).

28 RV-05.

29 Battiloro (2018: pp. 140–141).

30 Koch (1955: pp. 5–6).

31 Falasca (2002: pp. 34–35).

32 Battiloro (2018: pp. 56–57).

33 Poccetti & Nava (2001: p. 96).

34 Poccetti (2008a: pp. 168–169).

Epithet *Iovia* appears also on the inscription from Capua with the name Venus and it may indicate a relation between these two goddesses.<sup>35</sup>

In the first century AD, the shrine of the goddess was moved from Rossano di Vaglio to Potentia. Five Latin inscriptions with the name of the goddess were discovered there, including three with the epithet *Utiana*. One of them was put up by two of three viri, P. Meneius and Cn. Babullus in the 1st century AD. Another text reports a donation made by C. Mammius Bassus and C. Eppius to Mefitis Utiana. Perhaps Mammius was connected with Oscan *gens Mammii* from Capua<sup>36</sup> and Pompei. In Pompei *gens Mammia* made an inscription for Mefitis Fisica.<sup>37</sup> Also, Eppius was discovered on the inscription from Capua.<sup>38</sup> The next dedication was made at private expenses by M. Helvius Clarus Veluranus Priscus, a public official from the 2nd/3rd century AD, who also served as *curator rei publicae*. The last of the inscriptions contain only the term: *Mephiti/ sacrum*.<sup>39</sup> From Grumentum comes one inscription in which Mefitis appears with the epithet *Fisica* connected with Mefitis from Rossano di Vaglio and Venus from Pompei.<sup>40</sup>

The sanctuary at Valle d'Ansanto (Ampsactus in ancient literary sources) is the only one that was extensively discussed by the Roman authors. It was an extra-urban sanctuary, located in a place characterized by volcanic phenomena, as repeatedly written about by Roman authors.<sup>41</sup> The place of worship of the goddess was mentioned by Plinius as *aedes*<sup>42</sup> and by Ti. Claudius Donatus as *locus*.<sup>43</sup> According to Servius, it is considered the oldest and most important place of worship of the goddess. He named this place pre-roman *umbilicus Italiae*.<sup>44</sup> In this same passus, the author claims Ampsactus to be dangerous to living beings because of his sulphurous fumes.<sup>45</sup> In another comment, he asserts that in Ampsactus animals were sacrificed by being led into the sulphurous waters and forced to inhale the fumes, as a result of which they died. That way, the goddess herself, through the medium of water, was supposed to accept the sacrifice.<sup>46</sup>

The sanctuary at Ansanto is associated in Roman literature with the oracle of the Faun at Albunea. Virgil described the character of this location by the adjective *mephitim* meaning

35 CIL X 3776.

36 CIL X 2944; AE 1956, 37; CIL X 4212; CIL X 3786.

37 Ve 32.

38 CIL X 3999; CIL X 4125.

39 CIL X 133; CIL X 132; CIL X 131; AE 1974, 0297; CIL X 130.

40 CIL X 203; Falasca (2002: pp. 34–35).

41 Cic. *Div.* 1, 79 (*non videmus quam sint varia terrarum genera? ex quibus et mortifera quaedam pars est, ut et Ampsancti in Hirpinis*); Verg. *Aen.* 7, 563–571 (*Est locus Italiae medio sub montibus altis, nobilis et fama multis memoratus in oris, Ampsancti valles: densis hunc frondibus atrum urguet utrimque latus nemoris, medioque fragosus dat sonitum saxis et torto vertice torrens. Hic specus horrendum et saevi spiracula Ditis monstrantur, ruptoque ingens Acheronte vorago pestiferas aperit fauces, quis condita Erinyes, invisum numen, terras caelumque levabat*).

42 Plin. *HN* 2, 92.

43 Claud. Donat. 7, 565.

44 Serv. *Ad Aen.* 7, 563 (*hunc locum umbilicum Italiae chorographi dicunt*).

45 Serv. *Ad Aen.* 7, 563.

46 Serv. *Ad Georg.* 4, 466.

pestilential air.<sup>47</sup> According to the myth, Leukothea hid there, got into the sea with her son, and, rescued by Neptune, was carried to Lazio. According to Ovid, there Carmenta, the mother of Evander, deified Leukothea and her son as Mater Matuta and Portunus, guardian deities of mothers and ports.<sup>48</sup> But Virgil says that she was changed into a spring called Albunea, at which an oracle was established.<sup>49</sup> Albunea and Ansanto are described in analogous terms. The two primary elements that characterize both landscapes are dense forest and the sound of flowing water. Both places were used to communicate with the underworld. Both places also crossed paths of different ethnic groups, so they were religious centers used by different communities. Perhaps the natural conditions described above are the cause of the depreciation of the cult of the goddess, who became associated mainly with the unhealthy fumes characteristic of her place of worship at Ansanto.<sup>50</sup> The use of a word derived from the name Mefitis to describe sulphurous waters seems to be merely a literary form, not common in everyday language. The term *spiracula* was also used to describe sulphurous fumes in Ansanto and was associated with the earth and access to the afterlife.<sup>51</sup> There is only one inscription from the sanctuary, dating back to the 2nd century BC, in which the goddess appears with the epithet *arva* referring to the care of crops and the natural world.<sup>52</sup>

At the two other Mefitis cult sites in Hirpinia, only epigraphic evidence survives. At Aequum Tuticum, one Latin inscription was discovered with information about a votive made to the goddess by Paccia Quintilla,<sup>53</sup> but no archaeological material was found to prove the existence of the cult site.<sup>54</sup> The name Paccia may be associated with Oscan *gens Paccia* known from Latin inscription in the temple of Diana Tifatina, goddess connected with Mefitis.<sup>55</sup> At Aeclanum remains of the sanctuary and elements of a marble statue of a woman identified with Hera were discovered.<sup>56</sup> A fragment of a pedestal with an Oscan inscription dedicated to the goddess Mefitis was also found. The inscription was wrought by a woman from the pro-Roman *gens Magia*, who supported Sulla during the social war.<sup>57</sup> A dedication was also found to Mars and Fatuus, also connected with the oracle at Albunea. Another inscription found on one of the travertine blocks indicates the involvement of state officials in the cult, which can be deduced from the verb *famatted*, meaning “commissioned by public institutions”.<sup>58</sup>

47 Verg. *Aen.* 7, 82–84 (*genitoris, adit lucosque sub alta consulit Albunea, nemorum quae maxima sacro fonte sonat saevamque exhalat opaca mephitim*).

48 Ov. *Fast.* 6, 527–550.

49 Verg. *Aen.* 7, 81–101.

50 Petracchia (2014: p. 187).

51 Verg. *Aen.* 7, 568; Enn. *Ann.* 265.

52 Falasca (2002: p. 24); Falasca (2002: p. 15–18).

53 CIL IX 1421.

54 Falasca (2002: pp. 33–34).

55 Pobjoy (1997: p. 85).

56 Falasca (2002: pp. 32–33).

57 Ve 162 (*siviitt magia mefit /Sevia Magia Mefit(ei)/*); Poccetti (2008b: p. 372).

58 Poccetti (2008b: pp. 370–371).

Within Campania, dedications to Mefitis have been discovered in Capua and Pompeii. From Capua comes an inscription found in the vicinity of Mount Tifata,<sup>59</sup> where Diana was also worshipped, which accentuates the relationship between Mefitis and this goddess as protector of wildlife.<sup>60</sup> Diana with the epithet *Trivia* is a protector of roads and cross-roads. She is also a deity of mediation and passage. Servius wrote that her epithet *Trivia* refers to her presence in earth, heaven, and underworld and it connected her with Mefitis as a mediatrix.<sup>61</sup> An Oscan inscription was found at Pompeii with a dedication to Mefitis made by the *gens Mammia*, a family perhaps of Oscan-Umbrian origin.<sup>62</sup> Pompeian Mefitis was associated with Venus with the epithet *Fisica*, whose priests were also members of *gens Mammia*. It does not appear that Venus was simply a Romanized form of Mefitis, her cult predating the foundation of the Roman colony at Pompeii, but undoubtedly the two goddesses influenced each other.<sup>63</sup> There are a few Pompeian frescos with images of Venus. The goddess is depicted wearing a crown in the form of a city wall, with a scepter, olive branch, and rudder of a ship, wearing a blue mantle decorated with stars. She is accompanied by Cupid holding a mirror before her. The goddess stands on a quadriga harnessed to an elephant. On her sides are Genius and Fortune.<sup>64</sup> The *gens Mammia* also appears on a Latin inscription from Luceria, where they dedicate a votive to the goddess Dite related to Proserpine. The cult of this figure is evidenced only in Luceria. Poccetti has noted a connection between Dite and Mefitis,<sup>65</sup> particularly in the valley of Ansanto, where Virgil spoke of the existence of *spiracula Ditis*.<sup>66</sup> Mefitis' association with the figures of Dite and Proserpine indicates her aspect as a goddess associated with the underworld and the world of the dead.<sup>67</sup>

According to Warron's account, the goddess also had her place of worship on Esquiline (*lucus Mefitis*), but she does not appear in any official calendar. Her place of worship is mentioned by Festus (*aedes Mefitis*).<sup>68</sup> No traces of her temple have survived. Hypothetically, it is placed on an elevation south of *Vicus Patricius* and near the *domus Papiriorum*. Coarelli hypothesized that it was the members of this family who introduced the cult of Mefitis to Rome.<sup>69</sup> The place of worship of the goddess was adjacent, on one hand, to the temple of Juno Lucina, associated with birth, and on the other, to the temple of

59 CIL X 3811.

60 Falasca (2002: p. 34).

61 Serv. Verg. *Aen.* IV 511.

62 Ve 32.

63 Coarelli (1998: pp. 186–188).

64 Hamilton Swindler (1923: p. 306).

65 Poccetti (2008b: p. 374).

66 Verg. *Aen.* 7, 568.

67 Poccetti (2008b: p. 375).

68 Varr. *Ling.*, 5, 49; Fest. 476 L.

69 Borbonus & Dumser & Galli (2002: pp. 239–240).



Venus Libitina, associated with the world of the dead and it also may indicate her role as a mediator.<sup>70</sup>

At Aquinum (loc. Mèfete), an Oscan inscription dedicated to Juno from the 2nd century BC was discovered, which may indicate that the two goddesses shared a place of worship, as was the case in Rome. The toponym Mèfete indicates the worship of the Mefitis in this place.<sup>71</sup> At the location of Capodacqua in the 4th century BC, there was a shrine located near a water source. Votive offerings have been dated to the 4th–2nd centuries BC. Also discovered, preserved in the monastery of Canneto, is a limestone column with a dedication to Mefitis made by two *liberti* of Sabellian origin: N. Satrius Stabilis and P. Pompenius Salvis.<sup>72</sup>

Two references to the cult of Mefitis come from northern Italy. A Latin inscription dating to the first half of the second century AD was found at Laus Pompeia about a votive offering made by L. Caesius Asiaticus to a temple of the goddess.<sup>73</sup> Perhaps the cult was transferred there by Oscan visitors.<sup>74</sup> The last evidence of the worship of the goddess comes from Cremona. The only mention of it is in a text by Tacitus, who claims that the temple of Mefitis was the only remaining structure after a fire that broke out in 69–70 AD because it was located outside the city walls.<sup>75</sup> There is also an inscription attesting to the existence of a Mefitis temple at this site, but it was placed by Theodor Mommsen in a collection of *falsae et alienae* and no evidence of its authenticity has yet been obtained.<sup>76</sup>

Summarizing the discussed sources on the cult of Mefitis, it can be concluded that the goddess at the beginning of her cult represented extensive competencies, the traces of which survived, among others, in the commentaries of Servius. The oldest found inscriptions date back to the fourth century BC, while the youngest comes from the turn of the second and third centuries AD. A few of them have been made by public officials (CIL X 130–133 in Potentia; CIL V 6353 in Laus Pompeia). In the epigraphic sources the names of a few gens are reiterated, for example, *gens Mammia* (in Pompeii and Potentia). In Capua, the goddess appears at the temple of Diana, the main goddess of the city with whom she is associated in her mediating aspect. It is associated with the *gens Paccia*, also known for his dedication to Mefitis in Aequum Tuticum, which may prove that this family supported the cult in both places. In Pompeii, she was identified with the figure of Venus Pompeian, who perhaps took over from her the epithet *Fisica*, appearing by the name of Mefitis already in Rossano di Vaglio and Grumentum. The Mammia gentilicium associated with the Mefitis cult in Pompeii also appears on the Potentia inscription, where the sanctuary of the goddess of Rossano di Vaglio was moved. The origins of this gentilicium are mostly Oscan (e. g. Paccia, Mammia, Helvius) but it was the person who achieved the

70 Poccetti (2008a: p. 159).

71 Falasca (2002: p. 32).

72 CIL X 5047; Falasca (2002: pp. 37–39).

73 CIL V 6353.

74 Falasca (2002: p. 39).

75 Tac. *Hist.* 3, 23.

76 CIL V 451\*; Falasca (2002: p. 40).

high social status in the Roman structure. The members of Oscan *gentes* perhaps carried the cult of the goddess to other cities, where it was adapted to new circumstances. The figure of Mefitis is complicated and multipronged. There is no one universal depiction of Mefitis but there are many faces of this goddess. It seems that every cult place exposed different aspects of Mefitis. The contrast between the various images of the goddess can be seen in the example of Rossano di Vaglio and Ansanto. In the first location, a complex image of the goddess appears as a mediator between the worlds, the protector of the fields and fertility. This image of the goddess was transferred to Potentia and Grumentum, as evidenced by similar inscriptions. In the sanctuary of Ansanto her figure as protector of fields (expressed in the epithet *arva*) was changed to the deity of the sulphurous fumes. The last dedication in her honor comes from the 2nd/3rd century BC. Later, she is only mentioned in literary sources. Writing in the 4th/5th century, Servius still remembers her multi-faceted nature, linking her with Diana, Venus, Juno, and Leukothea, but other authors focus solely on her negative aspect related to Ansanto's sulphur fumes. Her name becomes synonymous with the odor and breath of the sick person.

**Tab. 1.** Cult places of Mefitis in literary and epigraphic sources.

Cult place		Literary sources	Epigraphic sources
Lucania	Rossano di Vaglio		RV 01–58
	Grumentum		CIL X 203
	Potentia		CIL X 130, 131, 132, 133; AE 1974, 0297
Hirpinia	Valle d'Ansanto	Verg. <i>Aen.</i> 7, 563–572; Serv. <i>Ad Aen.</i> 7, 563; Serv. <i>Ad Georg.</i> 4, 466; Cic. <i>Div.</i> 1, 36, 59; Claud. Donat. 7, 565; Plin. <i>HN</i> 2, 208; Vib. Seq. 185	Falasca, 2002, 24
	Aeclanum		Ve 162
	Aequum Tuticum		CIL IX 1421
Campania	Capua (Mons Tifata)		CIL X 3811
	Pompeii		Ve 32
Latium	Rome (Esquiline Hill)	Varr. <i>Ling.</i> 5,49; Fest. 348	
	Aquinum		Falasca, 2002, 32
	Capodacqua/Canneto		CIL X 5048
Gallia	Laus Pompeia		CIL V 6353
	Cremona	Tac. <i>Hist.</i> 2, 33, 15–18	CIL V 451*

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