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# Chapter 1

## ***War and Peace. Military Lives and Identities in Latin Verse Inscriptions: Introduction***

*Res igitur militaris, sicut Latinorum egregius auctor carminis sui testatur exordio,  
armis constat et viris.*

Therefore, the art of war, as the illustrious author of the Latin people testifies in the beginning of his poem, consists of arms and man.

Veg. Mil. 2.2.1.<sup>1</sup>

### **1.1. Introduction**

The Roman military is one of the most extensively researched institutions of Roman society and history, with a multitude of books, papers, and academics dedicated to studying it. It continues to be a popular curiosity outside the academic realm, a focus of documentaries, fictional books, films and shows, a fascination of the Roman world intrinsically intertwined with modern perceptions of Roman identity. It was studied just as much in antiquity, explicitly, discussing the military's structure, tactics and conventions (as seen in Frontinus and Vegetius, for example), and implicitly, through the wars conducted by the Romans that shaped the Empire's history (as seen in, for example, the narratives of Caesar, Livy and Tacitus), and in their epics (such as Virgil and Lucan). These past discussions focus on the Roman military as a homogenous whole, an institutional fighting machine, rather than the individuals within it. This study approaches the Roman military in a way in which it has not been before: by examining the words of the men themselves, and those closest to them, portraying what was important enough to them to immortalise it in stone, and how this affects our understanding of their perceptions of reality and (their own) identity. This study explores the lived experience of the Roman soldier, and how those serving in its ranks situated themselves within the military and society as a whole, exploring their lives beyond their combative role.

The Roman military was an institution composed of, and affected, a variety of individuals. The present work bridges the gap between previous approaches to the Roman military, where the themes situate their inscriptions in a cohesive, holistic whole, whilst the individual commentaries on these inscriptions highlight the importance of the individuals affected by the Roman military way of life. These themes have emerged from an Empire-wide corpus of Latin military verse inscriptions from 27 BC-AD 235. When military verse inscriptions have been studied in the past, it has been with an isolationist approach; never before have they been studied in a theme-based collection as they are here. Not only is the individuality of these inscriptions evident, due to the fact that they were written in verse, but there are also shared themes, some of which are standard to inscriptions in general and thus would not seem out of place with

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<sup>1</sup> All translations, unless otherwise stated, are by the author.

civilian inscriptions. Although these themes situate these individuals in the wider culture, the inscriptions themselves emphasise the individuality of the person they celebrate, much like the functioning of the imperial Roman military: the soldier was allowed to retain his individuality, whilst being within a unified, disciplined, regimented society.

What will become apparent when exploring this research is that the sources on each inscription described are individual, specific to each inscription. This is because there is no whole, coherent study on Latin military verse inscriptions, until now. This is the first complete collection of solely Latin verse inscriptions of the Roman military; before, they have been studied in isolation, the most individual, striking and often exceptional ones studied as case studies, informing us about the Roman military, when, in reality, the ones that have been least studied, or not researched at all beyond their findspot,<sup>2</sup> date and other general epigraphic data, are amongst the ones that provide us with the most practical, realistic, and genuine snapshots of the lives and identities of those within the Roman military. This study is the first corpus of military Latin verse inscriptions, collecting them into one easily accessible place, and analysing them as a body of evidence for understanding the Roman military as a whole. It is hoped that here MacMullen's romantic wishes can finally be fulfilled, and, by analysing the verses of the soldiers themselves, we can 'understand ... the soul of the soldier'.<sup>3</sup>

This research assesses the reality of life for those in the imperial Roman military, as perceived by those whose lives were based around it, and to gain an insight and understanding of how they defined themselves, as well as how others defined them, how soldiers placed themselves within society, and how society understood them. It achieves this by analysing and understanding the thoughts, emotions and perceptions as presented in Latin verse inscriptions, which are amongst the closest writings of an ancient author directly from their own hand that we have. Poetry, by its very nature, is the most personally and emotively expressive of all writing media, making it a powerful tool for understanding and analysing the various facets of identity and perceptions of reality. Military verse inscriptions provide us with an insight into the lives of Roman soldiers, and the lives of their families beyond the immediate military sphere; their wives and children are often found with them, but their parents remained at home. We can see how Roman soldiers cared for one another, both in death and life, beyond just the confines of what we may now constitute as 'military duty'. The language presented within them highlights the diversity of linguistic, and literary skill of those in, and associated with, the Roman military. They present the range of experiences that those in the Roman military could have. Studying these inscriptions reveals the contrast between the perceived, media understanding of the Roman military and the reality: now perceived as a homogenous fighting machine, the aim of this research is to depict the reality for, and experiences of, those within the imperial Roman military, through the words of the men themselves, as well as those closest to them. Essentially, what this study seeks to achieve, is to show the man inside the armour.

## **1.2. Themes**

This research explores the personal and the social, investigating the idea of the individual, from an individual perspective, in parallel with wider, social ideas, to enable a 360°, holistic perspective of the military, as an important aspect of Roman society as the spreaders of Roman

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<sup>2</sup> The exact nature of their findspot, such as a necropolis, is, more often than not, unknown. Inscriptions are found in places other than their original location, or in manuscripts, or, due to the way places have evolved over time, the original context is now unknown. When known, this is considered in the individual commentaries on these inscriptions in the chapters below.

<sup>3</sup> MacMullen 1984: 440. See discussion in Chapter 2.



poetic culture.<sup>4</sup> This is intended to offer a perspective of how those in the Roman military perceived themselves, their place in society, and their lived experience; equally, how civilians perceived soldiers and their place in society, and the experiences of the civilians who inhabited the military sphere. Examining these inscriptions from their position as identity indicators, both individually and socially, and their place within the broader corpora of wider literature,<sup>5</sup> prose inscriptions, and civilian verse inscriptions, will provide an insight into wider Roman military perceptions, culture and facets of identity, and where the military verse inscriptions fit into the wider corpus of Roman literature, ideals and culture.

Guided by the data, this research highlights how there is a balance struck between individuality and fitting within the messages of society in these inscriptions, as indicated by the chapters. These were guided by the themes present in the data, as seen in the chapter headings and in the Catalogue of Inscriptions, where the inscriptions in this study are translated into English and organised by chapter. A theme, for the sake of clarity, is defined by Braun & Clarke as something that ‘captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of *patterned* response or meaning within the data set’,<sup>6</sup> its place within the classification of ‘theme’ is dependent upon its prevalence, the determination of which is up to the discretion of the researcher, and its importance is reliant upon how it relates to the research question.<sup>7</sup> This approach enables a close examination of not only the individual level of each man within the Roman military but also the wider social understanding of these themes. How did Roman soldiers see themselves? Did they see themselves as individuals within a defined, de-individualising (societal) structure? Is this expressed in inscriptions, more specifically in verse inscriptions, which, by their very nature, allows individuals to be more expressive, more individual?

What is apparent in the inscriptions in this study is not only the shared themes, some of which are standard to all Latin inscriptions of the time and thus would not look out of place with civilian (verse) inscriptions, but also the individuality of those who made them. Sometimes the individuality is obvious: the inscription and its contents are unique. Yet, there is also the focus on the individual honoured in these inscriptions, particularly epitaphs, and the focus on the individual’s family. Although some of the themes place these individuals neatly into the wider culture around them, the inscriptions themselves emphasise the individuality of the person they celebrate, much like the functioning of the imperial Roman military. Perhaps this is why it functioned so well: it allowed the individual to keep his identity as he saw fit, whilst also slotting them into a highly rigid, de-personalising culture that is a military institution.

Why, perhaps one might ask, would focusing on the individual as well as broader society offer a reliable understanding of the perspective of identity and society, especially of a societal structure as rigid and defined as the military? The answer lies in the very fact that society is constructed of individuals, and it is their input into the wider corpus that allows for emergent themes and patterns to be identified and, therefore, placed within the structure of the ideas of wider society. Those in the military belonged to defined societal systems and values, from which sprung identities. Individuals also have their own perspectives of what the military and identity meant, based upon their own experiences and their own perceptions of society and values. An individual’s perception of reality affects their understanding of the truth about the

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<sup>4</sup> Kruschwitz 2020a.

<sup>5</sup> More specifically, verse and military prose.

<sup>6</sup> Braun & Clarke 2006: 82.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

world around them, and how their reality intertwines with the truth is what allows an interpretation of societal and individual identity constructs.<sup>8</sup>

**Chapter 2** offers an investigation, examination and consolidation of scholarship on the Roman imperial military and *carmina Latina epigraphica* (CLE), in relation to the Roman military and verse, alongside previous research approaches to the individual vs. the collective in the Roman military. This chapter discusses important scholarship on the Roman imperial military, and situates the place of verse inscriptions within the body of evidence for understanding the Roman military. It is important to understand how verse inscriptions can offer an insight into ideas spanning from the individual to the cultural and social, which this study demonstrates, for example, this chapter also explores the place of verse inscriptions into the ongoing discussion of literacy and the Roman soldier.

Verse inscriptions have been widely studied over the years, and so offering a broader perspective is vital to understanding this novel study. Military verse inscriptions have also been studied before, but that has been on a case-by-case (an individual inscription, studying a single province, or a collection of similar provinces) basis, not as broad-reaching as they are here. This is the first time an Empire-wide (geographically and chronologically) collection of Roman military verse inscriptions has been gathered and discussed, with a focus on the themes they present and what they could mean for a soldier's life and identity, in one place. What is also significant, and unique, about this data set is that has been obtained from a homogenous institution (i.e. the Roman military), a relatively stable social group, from a set of heterogenous individuals (i.e. origins, cultures, even gender, for the women whose lives were impacted by the Roman military are explored throughout this study, but especially in Chapters 3 and 8).

The chapters here have been shaped by the thematic patterns that emerged from the data gathered for this study. These themes begin with broader, more socially extensive ideas (Chapters 3-5; these are commonly found in, and discussed in academic scholarship on, Latin epigraphy), and then become focused towards more individual ideas (Chapters 6-8; only Chapter 8 has been discussed in relation to the Roman military previously, but all of these have not been discussed with a focus on *carmina Latina epigraphica* before). In some instances, this is the first time they have been studied in this context (militarily and/or with a focus on Latin verse inscriptions). The inscriptions in this study have been labelled according to their predominant theme (**ET** = Epigraphic Topoi, **LL** = Light as Life, **RI** = Religious Inscription, **AI** = Astronomical Inscription, **NW** = Natural World, **RD** = Relationship Dynamics, respectively; for example, **AI.1** = Astronomical Inscription number 1, so it is the first inscription examined in Chapter 6). Many of these themes have been explored before by scholars, as emphasised by the first of these thematic chapters, Chapter 3, which focuses on themes that have been identified by scholars as epigraphic *topoi* in verse inscriptions. Religion is often discussed in studies on the Roman military, as are family relationships. However, they have not been discussed as a collective in this context before: in the verse inscriptions of the Roman military. Nor do studies where the data has been sought from a broad geographical and chronological spread often have a focus on qualitative analysis, as is the primary focus of the analysis here; more often, they use inscriptions (often not differentiating between whether they have used prose and/or verse inscriptions in their data gathering) as a source of quantitative

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<sup>8</sup> See also Moran 2000: 11; Larkin, Shaw & Flowers 2019: 192-193. This was thought independently to Moran and Larkin et al., and before the author gained an understanding of phenomenology, but this signifies the unintentional conjunction with phenomenology which this research has taken towards its data; see section 1.3 below.

analysis. Some themes, however, are analysed here for the first time in relation to inscriptions and soldiers in general, such as Chapters 6 and 7.

The more socially extensive ideas begin in **Chapter 3 *Social and Cultural Identity: Soldiers and the Use of Epigraphic Topoi*** (inscriptions labelled **ET**) with the broadest theme of all: recognised general epigraphic *topoi* encountered in Latin military verse inscriptions, such as taking advantage of life whilst you still can, fate, mythology and the Underworld. It discusses the idea of immortality being guaranteed by an inscription on stone; immortality is linked, intrinsic, to identity, because this is how they wish to be remembered for eternity, they are conscious that this is how they will live on, and this portrayal is how they shall be remembered in perpetuity. This chapter discusses a theme that has been termed here ‘the materiality of death’. This has been vaguely pointed out by previous scholars; however, it is a key theme in these inscriptions, so much so that it is discussed as an epigraphic trope. The materiality of death refers to when the content of the inscription is metaphysical, the practical, real, tangible aspects and consequences of death, such as the tomb and the ashes or bones of the deceased, are referred to on their epitaph. Inscriptions do not always indicate how someone died, so it is important to discuss when this happens and why, especially when it concerns the military, and if it is specified that they died on active service or in action (this is also discussed in Chapter 8, the final thematic chapter of this research). This chapter explores if the soldier conformed to societal conventions, and, if so, how and why? These themes, although generic and used by/citizen and soldier alike, are a reflection on interpretations of identity, as they were part of an individual’s immortal identity.

It was recognised that a stone epitaph was erected in the place of the deceased once they had left the living, and that the living would perpetuate their memory through acknowledging their existence, that had been testified on stone. So, this leads us to ask, if these themes were a part of someone’s immortal identity, a permanent acknowledgement of their existence, and recognised as such, how were these themes used, and why use them at all? Why use a generic theme to perpetuate one’s own personal existence? This chapter also highlights a key overall underlying theme of this research: the individual vs. the collective. Although these themes have been discussed in-depth by scholars before, they have not with a Roman military focus; they place the Roman soldier, and those associated with him, within the attitudes and approaches of wider society. These epigraphic themes are not specific to military identity; they reconcile the place of the military within wider society, and where those whose lives were impacted by the military placed themselves within Roman society and culture.

**Chapter 4 *Light in the Dark: Light as Life (LL)*** develops on from Chapter 3, although this theme is not as prominent in inscriptions as those discussed in Chapter 3, and thus is not regarded as an epigraphic trope. This is more of a cultural trope, one that continues to exist today; it emphasises the timelessness of these inscriptions and the ideas they portray, as this is probably the most timeless (and culture-less, as it is seen across cultures and time) of the themes presented in these inscriptions. This is how *lux* and *lumen* are used as an expression of life, rather than of their literal translations; this idea features in both civilian and military inscriptions. Examining these verse inscriptions allows us to see the human experience and emotions behind the statistics and quantitative analysis for which inscriptions are so often used as sources of information. The *light as life* simile is where another universally human experience is explored: life, the other being death, the predominant discussion in Chapter 3. This section naturally crosses over with the ideas emergent in the beginning of Chapter 6 *Beyond the World: The Soldier and the Stars*.

Most of the inscriptions in this study are epitaphs; this, of course, will affect the ideas and themes apparent in this corpus. However, there are also religious inscriptions, and these have a chapter of their own (**Chapter 5: *To Honour, to Ask, to Obey: Religion in Military Verse Inscriptions*, RI**). Nearly every study on the Roman military explores religion, but none have approached it from this perspective (i.e. by examining their verse inscriptions) before; religious verse inscriptions of the Roman military are often examined on an individual-inscription-basis. Roman religion has been regarded as dry, unemotional, a performative process,<sup>9</sup> and this chapter puts the emotion back into Roman religion: these inscriptions demonstrate the hopes, dreams, and fears of the Roman soldier. This is the only chapter in which all the inscriptions are solely by soldiers of the Roman army (there are no naval inscriptions) who were on active service, also demonstrating the relationship between religion and the army in the Roman world; they were exclusively by the military for a military audience. The religious conduct of the Roman army highlights how it worked, if one compares the functioning of the Roman army to the religious syncretism that occurred in the Roman world; this can be likened to a microcosm of how the Roman Empire functioned as a whole.

This chapter is divided into three sections, inscriptions to the Emperor, the gods, and restoration/building work, which often involved restoring religious monuments and buildings. Although the Emperor was regarded as divine, he was also a man, in some cases a living one yet to be made divine. He was the head of the Roman military, its decision-maker in all aspects, whether it is where they go to war or who rose up through its ranks, and the one to whom ultimate victory was attested. In some cases, he fought on the front lines with his men,<sup>10</sup> thus making him integral to the Roman military, the representative of the Roman Empire and the military that protected and governed it. Religion is an important factor in a person's expression of their identity, as shall be understood not only in Chapter 5, but also other chapters. It allows more individuality to be expressed, as someone can present their individual beliefs, as well as indicating their origins, thoughts, and desires, often core needs; in a world as dangerous and reliant upon death as the military, perhaps it is not unwise to suggest that the Roman military relied more upon religion than most. Religion in the Roman world is indicative of how the Roman mindset towards other cultures operated, and how other cultures operated within the Roman Empire. As the imperial Roman military was a junction for all the cultures incorporated into the Roman Empire, this is ideal for examining how these cultures interacted and understood each other.

Chapters 6 and 7 (***Beyond the World: The Soldier and the Stars*, AI**, and ***The Fragrance of the Land to the Wilds of the Waves: The Soldier and the Natural World*, NW**, respectively) are where the most individual, unique and novel content appears. How the soldiers interacted with nature and the stars in these verse inscriptions is far more personal than prior themes discussed in this study. The interaction between soldiers/individuals of the ancient world and stars, and the natural world, in verse inscriptions have not been studied before. They indicate what the soldier loves and misses about his home, as well as other aspects of the Roman world, such as the importance of the balance of nature, which was necessary for survival. When celestial objects are mentioned in these inscriptions, this is often in tandem with natural features, such as rivers and clouds, and the stars were considered a part of nature by those in the ancient world, hence why Chapter 7 follows Chapter 6. For the ancients, the stars and the natural world were linked, some believing the stars to not only have governance over the fates of men but

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<sup>9</sup> See, for example, Rouselle 1987: 198.

<sup>10</sup> The examples of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius are perhaps the most noteworthy to mention here.

also to affect the weather and the seasons. Chapter 6 offers the ‘ordinary man’s perspective’ of the natural world in antiquity and the cosmos, for the cosmos was considered a part of the natural world. Both Chapter 6 and 7 demonstrate the (ordinary) knowledge of those inhabiting the Empire, and the knowledge of those in the Roman military. They lived a life governed by nature, perhaps more so than the average inhabitant of the Roman world, as they both used it and reshaped it to their advantage; as such, Roman soldiers perhaps had/it was more important that they had a better/more scientific understanding of the natural world than most. This seems to be the case for the higher ranks, who often explained ‘ill omens’ such as eclipses to superstitious soldiers, scientifically and/or by persuading the soldiers that it meant the gods were really on their side. These chapters demonstrate the level of education those within the Roman ranks had, as well as insights into the scientific information that was general knowledge among the soldiery/ordinary population.

These chapters on astronomy and the natural world allow us to see how the Roman soldiers, and those associated with them, situated themselves within the literal world around them; these chapters take identity beyond the boundaries of societal and cultural. Earth seems to be a particularly significant factor in individual identity in these inscriptions, as the earth upon which they were born and under which they were buried is depicted as intrinsic to their immortal identity, and thus their identity was intrinsically linked to the natural world and their identification of place and self. These two chapters are a natural conclusion to the inner ‘triad’ in this research, between religion, the natural world (including astronomy) and light as life, thus creating an intersection across the main overarching themes of this research. This is a triad of musings across the themes that emerge from the data set of inscriptions of this research, between reality, the (astronomical/natural) world, and the soul. Many of these themes are interrelated, indicative of how these do not exist in isolation, but, rather, in conjunction with, and, thus, the need for an isolationist and an overall approach.

Whilst Chapter 3, the first thematic chapter of this study, focuses on how the Roman soldier and those associated with him died, **Chapter 8 A Son and A Soldier: Family and Relationship Dynamics in Military Verse Inscriptions (RD)** focuses on how they lived. Chapter 8 focuses on the family dynamics presented in these inscriptions. But it also explores the relationships beyond the family, such as friendships and camaraderie. Many of these inscriptions intersect with the themes presented in the other chapters. Family is linked with identity, and soldiers defined themselves by their (familial) relations; in these inscriptions, not only do people identify themselves by their career rank, but also by their familial rank, often placing more emphasis on the latter. It denotes one’s origins, and how they will continue existing in the future, through their children. The nuclear family includes a father, mother and child(ren), blood family extends to family members beyond this unit, such as grandparents, siblings, and cousins. Military comrades of soldiers often refer to one another as *frater*; however, this was also used to refer to someone’s biological brother, and it is not always obvious when a *frater* was a military comrade or a biological brother, or both. It was not uncommon for soldiers to have *alumni*, and their role appears to vary: some are foster children, others more akin to slaves of the soldier. Sometimes, soldiers looked after their children, including foster children, by themselves. Friends, freedmen and slaves act as heirs, taking care of the soldier’s burial, or they, in turn, are cared for in death by a soldier. Relationships, both explicit and implied, between soldiers and other men, mainly their slaves and freedmen, but perhaps sometimes their comrades, emerge from these inscriptions.

Chapter 8 demonstrates how the family dynamics of the Roman soldier worked in reality; how people in these relationships viewed them are not so focused on by scholars, instead how they worked in practicality, for example the marriage ban on Roman soldiers. This chapter, along with Chapter 3, perhaps best offers a wider view of those living in/affected by a military environment/life, and beyond the military environment, for example inscriptions were set up for a soldier by his parents, thus away from the military hub within which he existed. Military life, therefore, extended beyond the confines of the camp, fortress, or fort. This chapter offers an emotional perspective to a part of research that is often based on quantitative analysis and legal sources, reclaiming the personal, emotional and individual aspects of these dynamics through the poetry of the soldiers and those associated with them. Thus, it offers an insight into the relationship dynamics with people a soldier would have interacted with on a daily/regular basis and on an emotional level.

This chapter concludes on more abstract concepts of identity: the character of the deceased, whether they were a soldier or a relative of a soldier, manhood and age and how this defines the deceased soldier as a man, how the soldier's family was proud of his rank within the Roman military and how it also reflected upon them. The results are not what one would expect from a study on the verse inscriptions of the Roman military: there is little focus on masculinity, few mentions of *virtus*. As a result, although an intended focus of this research initially, masculinity has not been focused on as a theme in this research. Not all inscriptions are positive about a military life: some inscriptions indicate an attitude against a military life, mainly because it took a man away from his family, both through garrisoning and putting his life in even more danger than the average inhabitant of the Roman world, not because of disdain towards a military career, which is portrayed, if mentioned, in heroic, 'manly', and brave terms.

Masculinity is a more implied theme, intrinsic to the perception of the soldier. In many respects, a military career in and of itself was tangible proof of a man's masculinity by Roman standards, and so, although manhood itself is rarely mentioned, perhaps mentioning he was a soldier was sufficient proof of his masculine qualities that it was excess to requirements to say any more about a soldier's masculine traits. The idea of masculinity in the Roman world and the idea of Roman masculinity are mentioned throughout this study, as these are two separate ideas, but they are discussed in the most detail in Chapters 5 and 8. Roman masculinity and how this affected those in the Roman military, especially focusing on the idea of *virtus*, an idea so intertwined with Roman ideas of masculinity and the military and yet so complex to explain to a modern reader that many books and studies have been written on various aspects of this purely Roman concept, are mentioned only when relevant, for they are mentioned surprisingly infrequently in these verse inscriptions. Other virtues apparent in these inscriptions are also explored in Chapter 8, in relation to their impact of our understanding of important characteristics of those in Roman military, and if those in the Roman military also felt they were important.

What is emergent from these overall themes, perhaps ironically, or perhaps logically, given the dominance of epitaphs in this data set, is the idea of survival. But not simply survival from war or from the harsh reality of life in the Roman world in general or from the natural world, the machinations of which they only had a partial understanding, but of survival of the individual themselves, of their families, their names, their ideas and their words. They are painfully aware that the only way their 'survival', the continuation of their name, shall continue is through the perpetual nature of inscriptions. Perhaps the harsh life of a Roman soldier, arguably dependent upon death, exacerbated this need for survival. However, despite knowing the perpetual nature

of stone inscriptions, they must not have realised that these little vignettes, snapshots, of their lives, and deaths, would continue to exist, and subsequently be studied, two thousand years later, thus meaning that, in some capacity, these individuals, these representatives of their society, who offer us a small window into their lives, would survive into immortality.

### 1.3. Methodology and Research Questions

The way in which the themes covered in this study were identified correlates with that of Thematic Analysis (TA), ‘a method for identifying, analyzing and interpreting patterns of meaning (‘themes’) within qualitative data’,<sup>11</sup> although this was unintentional. This methodology is used in psychology,<sup>12</sup> but the author sees no objection to referring to its usefulness in the importance of understanding the data here, especially as it gives an insight into how the methodology and analysis here is important to understanding such data; its use beyond psychology has been advocated.<sup>13</sup> The objective of TA also compliments with that of the methodology of this study: ‘not simply to summarize the data content, but to identify, and interpret, key, but not necessarily all, features of the data, guided by the research question’.<sup>14</sup> Braun and Clarke describe how TA ‘can be a method that works both to reflect reality and to unpick or unravel the surface of ‘reality’’.<sup>15</sup> The methodology of this research also intersects with thematic discourse analysis and, more specifically within this methodology, thematic decomposition analysis,<sup>16</sup> as it ‘theorizes language as constitutive of meaning and meaning as social’,<sup>17</sup> which are based on patterns and themes identified from the whole data set, like TA itself.<sup>18</sup>

Thus, emergent themes in the data were selected through recurring patterns and ideas identifiable in the data set. This lack of agenda placed onto the data, but, instead, led by the data, means that its analysis, unintentionally, corresponds with the attitudes of phenomenology, a philosophical approach:<sup>19</sup>

which emphasises the attempt to get to the truth of matters, to describe *phenomena*, in the broadest sense as whatever appears in the manner in which it appears... phenomenology’s first step is to seek to avoid all misconstructions and impositions placed on experience in advance... Explanations are not to be imposed before the phenomena have been understood from within.

Phenomenology is an unbiased philosophy, disregarding preconceptions,<sup>20</sup> focusing instead on the matter presented for analysis itself,<sup>21</sup> based upon the experience of the participant and how this affects their perception of reality and the world around them,<sup>22</sup> with importance placed upon intuition,<sup>23</sup> and “givenness”.<sup>24</sup> In phenomenology’s purest form, this also includes: how

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<sup>11</sup> Clarke & Braun 2017: 297. See also Braun & Clarke 2006: throughout, esp. 79. TA is defined throughout these papers.

<sup>12</sup> Clarke & Braun 2017: 297; Braun & Clarke 2006: 77.

<sup>13</sup> Braun & Clarke 2006: 77.

<sup>14</sup> Clarke & Braun 2017: 297.

<sup>15</sup> Braun & Clarke 2007: 81.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*; see also 79.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*: 81.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> Moran 2000: 4.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*: 9, 4-5, 11.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*: 9.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*: 5-6, 11.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*: 10, who also provides useful definitions of intuition on this page.

<sup>24</sup> ‘the view that all experience is experience to *someone*, according to a particular manner of experiencing’ (*ibid.*: 11).

this is presented to us is how we should interpret it.<sup>25</sup> In this study, the data is not being analysed following this strict principle of interpretation; as stated above, the methodology of this research has cross-overs with phenomenology, although entirely unintentionally. Phenomenology's 'call to renew philosophy went hand in hand with an appeal to return to *concrete*, lived human experience in all its richness',<sup>26</sup> 'to capture life as it is lived'.<sup>27</sup> Like TA, phenomenology sought to understand the reality of this experience,<sup>28</sup> and it is this experience of life as a soldier in the Roman Empire that this study seeks to understand.

Although this study, for obvious reasons, cannot capture the current lived experience of the imperial Roman soldier, and, therefore, means that its methodology cannot wholly intersect with that of phenomenology,<sup>29</sup> verse inscriptions, through their very nature, allows the interpreter of these works to gain a glimpse into the lived experience of someone who existed two millennia ago. Equally, this study does not wholly coincide with attitudes of phenomenology due to the fact that the historical context has to be taken into account in order to understand these inscriptions, to understand the society at the time.<sup>30</sup> Although this study seeks to analyse the individual experience through the individualism expressed in military verse inscriptions, it seeks to place this within a broader societal frame; the individual and the social are not separated but regarded as being influences upon one another, thus further meaning that it does not wholly align with phenomenological philosophy.<sup>31</sup> We also do not have all the information about societal identity, especially about those beyond the Roman mentality, to be able to make a fully informed analysis of impacts upon a person's individual expression and understanding of self in the ancient world. As societal identity conclusions are being made based upon these inscriptions, as well as the individual, then our thoughts cannot be divorced from the external factors of the world at the time, which is necessary for a phenomenological approach in its purest form.<sup>32</sup>

One of the differences between the method taken by this research and phenomenology may be solved by Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA).<sup>33</sup> In this methodology, 'the most common research designs involve collecting qualitative data from a reasonably homogenous group who share a certain contextual perspective on a given experience',<sup>34</sup> subsequently expressed and analysed in themes,<sup>35</sup> and seeks to understand 'people's everyday experience of reality, in great detail, in order to gain an understanding of the phenomenon in question'.<sup>36</sup> Although, the Roman military was not homogenous in its composition of people, the ranks and structure of how this disciplined, organised societal structure were uniform. Also, it is practically impossible understand the 'everyday' experience of the Roman soldier through (verse) inscriptions alone, but it is perhaps possible to gain an understanding of the lived experience. Pertinently for this study, 'in IPA, "homogeneity" refers to a probable shared

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<sup>25</sup> Moran 2000: 11.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*: 5.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> See *ibid.* Nor is this a psychological study, to which this branch of philosophy belongs (*ibid.*: 5-7).

<sup>30</sup> See *ibid.*: 11.

<sup>31</sup> See *ibid.*: 21; nor IPA: Larkin et al. 2019: 184.

<sup>32</sup> Moran 2000: 11.

<sup>33</sup> Larkin et al. 2019: throughout, esp. 182. Again, this cross over with how IPA works as a methodology was entirely unintentional.

<sup>34</sup> Larkin et al. 2019: 184; see also 182.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*: 191. See also Table 2 on this page.

<sup>36</sup> Braun & Clarke 2006: 80.



perspective upon the phenomenon of interest’,<sup>37</sup> and that the research extends beyond just those directly affected by the experience being studied,<sup>38</sup> those in ‘the “lived world” of th[is] person’,<sup>39</sup> highlighting the importance of the need to examine not just the soldiers themselves but those closest to them, and clearly also impacted by the lives of the soldiers, such as their wives and parents. It is used to interpret ‘complex experiences from more than one perspective’,<sup>40</sup> which is precisely what this study aims to do.

IPA is designed to be used as a qualitative methodology, in ‘larger, programmatic studies using experiential qualitative methods which maintain a commitment to depth but also augment it with a systematic and multiperspectival dimension’.<sup>41</sup> Both IPA and TA are ‘experiential’:<sup>42</sup> “experiential” research ... seeks to understand what participants’ think, feel, and do’.<sup>43</sup> Again, this is precisely what this study wishes to do, although the participants in this study are long deceased, and so the data is not obtained and analysed from spoken interviews,<sup>44</sup> but from their written words which happen to be left behind, each inscription thus acting as a ‘participant’,<sup>45</sup> or multiple ‘participants’ if others external to the immediate environment of the Roman military, such as wives and children, are also mentioned. It is this ‘multiperspectival’ aspect that ‘can address relational, systematic, or other socially nuanced research questions’,<sup>46</sup> and ‘the convergence and triangulation of viewpoints can be more persuasive than an analysis drawn from a single sample’.<sup>47</sup> A narrative needs to be constructed to understand the ‘analyses at the multiperspectival level and to present them in a coherent way to readers’,<sup>48</sup> and this is what the sequence of the chapters presented in this study aims to convey.

The purpose of IPA ‘is to produce an account that capitalises on multiplicity and offers a plausible interpretative perspective on how the participants’ lifeworlds interact and overlap’,<sup>49</sup> and ‘not to simply *pool* accounts and generate a consensus but to demonstrate the ways in which accounts from multiple perspectives *relate to* one another and to reflect upon how those differences can co-exist’.<sup>50</sup> Although, contrary to this, the objective of this study is to create ‘a general consensus’ and understanding about the Roman military and those within and associated with it, and how they portrayed their identity, how ‘accounts from multiple perspectives *relate to* one another and ... reflect upon how these differences can co-exist’ is taken into consideration when analysing the data presented in the Catalogue of Inscriptions. Perhaps this unintentional correspondence with IPA in the methodology of this study will contribute to the, advocated, innovative ways in which IPA can be used, beyond the field of psychology.<sup>51</sup>

Assumptions are not made about the inscriptions here, and were not before the data gathering. The ‘sampling strategy’ in IPA ‘begins by defining a uniform set of demographic

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<sup>37</sup> Larkin et al. 2019: 182.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*: 183. See also Table 1, 186.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*; Braun & Clarke 2006: 78; Clarke & Braun 2017: 297.

<sup>43</sup> Clarke & Braun 2017: 297.

<sup>44</sup> See also Larkin et al. 2019: 184.

<sup>45</sup> See *ibid.*: throughout.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*: 185.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*: 195.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*: 191.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*: 192.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> See also *ibid.*: 183.

characteristics’.<sup>52</sup> The ‘demographic characteristics’ imposed upon the data set are those outlined below, predominantly the limitations of being ‘*carmina*’, ‘military’ and within the date span specified for this study. All other restrictions were discounted. The author did not impose any bias on the data gathering as to what was ‘expected’ to be seen, but was merely guided by what was seen and emerged from the analysis. The data is analysed as observed in the discussion of these inscriptions below: philologically, historically, socially and culturally, seeking to place each closely examined inscription into the aims and objectives of this research, and how it can contribute towards the answer to the research questions and objectives, as well as questions and answers beyond these objectives. Phenomenology ‘steadfastly protected the subjective view of experience as a necessary part of any full understanding of the nature of knowledge’,<sup>53</sup> and this is significant to the approach taken here. This study seeks to question presupposed ideas about the Roman imperial military, to form a realistic portrait of what life in it was like, and how this affected the perceptions of those involved, either directly or indirectly, with it.

IPA also has limitations, as the focus of its data on the individual experience ‘give[s] us a one-dimensional perspective on the meaning of events and processes’.<sup>54</sup> Yet, as this study broadens beyond the individual, seeking to balance the individual with the social, then perhaps this limitation of IPA, with which the methodology of this research has unintentional cross-overs, is mitigated. However, IPA can also be used ‘to treat people’s experience as a lens for illuminating the broader meaning or consequences of an event or process to understand its wider constitution, dynamics, or mechanisms’,<sup>55</sup> and this is part of the methodological approach of this study.

The data here is analysed in terms of the main themes that have emerged from these inscriptions. Given the thematic approach of this analysis is based on the written contents of these inscriptions, what was written in the Latin verse inscriptions of the Roman military is the focus of the analysis here. Where relevant to the contents of the verse, the monumental aspects of the inscription are also considered, but the main focus is on the contents of the *carmina* themselves. These themes assist in identifying answers to the main research questions, identified before the data gathering and are as follows:

- What did it mean to be a soldier in the imperial Roman military? (Is this different to the question: what did it mean to be a Roman soldier? If yes, then seek the answer to this question, if no, then explore why this is the case).
- What did it mean to be a man in the Roman Empire? (i.e. what did masculinity mean in the Roman Empire?)

As a part of this questioning, other questions emerged that assisted in providing answers to the main research questions. These were considered when carrying out this research, and a selection of them are presented here:

- What would a soldier describe as ‘masculinity’ vs. the general population? Was there a distinct military (masculine) identity? Or did they conform to a wider ‘Roman’ ideal?
- Did they follow the military message demonstrated to the public/in other literature?

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<sup>52</sup> Larkin et al. 2019: 182.

<sup>53</sup> Moran 2000: 21.

<sup>54</sup> Larkin et al. 2019: 184.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*: 185.

- Do they perpetuate the idea of the Roman soldier, or does their own cultural background influence their portrayal and interpretation of being a soldier in the Roman military?
- Do perceptions of manhood/masculinity change over time? Is this reflected in verse inscriptions, in general literature?
  - Do they follow the idea of Roman masculinity, or their native?
- Who wrote this inscription, and how does this affect the identity expressed in it?
  - Often the answer to the former part of this question is impossible to know.
- How are perceptions of identity impacted? Are they influenced by religion, the introduction of other cultures?
- There were long-standing traditions within the military; did the idea of masculinity/being a man/being a soldier include this, or was this included by the cultures recruited into the military?
- Is there a separation between 'provincial culture' and 'Roman culture'? Did 'Romans' buried outside Rome (and perhaps also in Italy) wish to convey themselves differently to those buried in/from provinces?
- Does time affect perceptions conveyed in military verse inscriptions?
- How was the military perceived? How was war perceived? What do these inscriptions tell us about the military and war?
- What image of themselves did they wish to convey in these inscriptions?
- Is there a variation in message between legions?
- Does rank affect the content of an inscription?
- Being in the military is like being in a society within a society; it is a society with its own culture and customs existing without wider society, despite being an integral part of the dissemination and perpetuation of Roman culture and the Roman Empire.<sup>56</sup> Therefore, do Roman soldiers conform to wider society's ideals, or do they deviate?
- What is the primary function of these inscriptions? Is it to perpetuate the image of the soldier, of masculinity, or (an)other reason(s) entirely?
  - What is the content of these inscriptions?
  - What was the motivation for these inscriptions?

The key question that will be asked of all these points, including the main research questions, is *why*? Why do we see what we see in these inscriptions? Why was the inscription written in the first place? Why were the perceptions of identity discussed here expressed? Why are the themes identified in these inscriptions important enough to become familiar patterns on military verse inscriptions? Understanding *why*? is key to being able to interpret other aspects, such as *how? who? what?*

The methodological approach taken by this study was carried out in this way to ensure that enough representative data was collected to be able to answer the key research questions, as well as the sub-research questions, of this study. The data was then sorted into themes, as the research aims to be guided by the data, so that it is guided by the experiences of those who lived in the Roman Empire within the timespan chosen for this study (27 BC-235 AD), rather than the preconceptions of the author. These themes are then analysed, philologically, socially, historically, in each chapter, discussing how they are related to the objectives of this research, and placing their relevance to the idea of identity in the Roman world. This is so that a realistic portrayal of the imperial Roman military, and the identity markers of those within it, can be accurately portrayed here.

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<sup>56</sup> Kruschwitz 2020a.

In approaching the research of this study, the author was guided by the data, and so data gathering was an important first step. For the data gathering, the following steps were taken:

- Most of the data gathered for this research was obtained through the online corpora of inscriptions, EDCS and EDR, initially under those inscriptions classified on these databases as ‘military and *carmina*’.
- General searches of the EDCS and EDR databases, of all the inscriptions classified as ‘military’ and ‘*carmina*’ on these databases, were made, and relevant, and possibly relevant, data extracted.
- More specific searches on these databases were made:
  - o EDCS: “et; *carmina*” and “mil”; mil; legio; veter; emer; coh; turm; tribunu; centur; optio; tubicen; cornicularius; beneficiarius; speculator; decurio; ala
  - o EDR: *carmina omnia*; mil; coh; legio; turm/a; veter; tribunu; optio; centur; tubicen; cornicularius; beneficiarius; speculator; decurio; emer; ala
    - The decision to search for these terms specifically was guided by the data, which revealed that these terms often appeared in military verse inscriptions. However, a general search had already been done before these more specific terms were searched for in these online databases.
- Data was also sought from various regional corpora of *CLE*.<sup>57</sup>
- Each inscription was checked against its edition(s) in published authoritative corpora (such as the *CIL* and *CLE*) and images, where possible, to ensure the most reliable reading of it. This has, in some cases, led to the creation of new editions of these inscriptions (see the Catalogue of Inscriptions for more information on which editions were used for each inscription, and justifications for suggested new editions, should a new one be suggested, and/or alterations to previous editions).

Due to the large database formed by this data gathering, some restrictions to the data set had to be applied to make it manageable for a meaningful, in-depth analysis. The following deductions were made:

- Some inscriptions have been identified as ‘military’ based upon factors external to the inscription itself, such as location. Although some locations clearly were influenced purely by the Roman military, the inscriptions included in this data set have been restricted to those which specifically have a military connection in the written verse inscription, for example, when the legion to which someone belonged is stated. Therefore, there is no doubt that this inscription had a clear connection to a member of the Roman military, and, as such, may not affect, or cast doubt upon, the interpretation of the data presented here.
- Wholly Greek inscriptions have been discounted from this data set, but bilingual Latin and Greek inscriptions have been included. This is because Greek epigraphy has different conventions to Latin, and Greek inscriptions affect different parts of the Empire. By analysing only Latin and bilingual Latin and Greek inscriptions, this provides a consistency for this data set (geographically, for example). To some extent, this is a homogenous corpus, and including wholly Greek inscriptions would affect this.
- At first, all militarily linked Latin inscriptions were included in the data set, from all over the Empire, right into Late Antiquity. Upon deciding the end date of this study to

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<sup>57</sup> Such as, Kruschwitz (2020) *Poetry on the Advance: The Emergence and Formation of a Poetic Culture in Roman Britain*, and Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi (2012) *I CLE non-bücheleriani delle province africane. Introduzione*, Cugusi (2014) *CLEAfr*, and (2007) *CLEPann*, for example.

be the end of the Severan Dynasty, then the data set was narrowed down to 300 AD, as some inscriptions are merely dated to the third century AD. The start date of this study was chosen to be 27 BC, the year Octavian became Augustus and took sole control of the Roman lands, thus creating the Roman Empire.<sup>58</sup> There may be some debate as to what the Roman 'Imperial' period was, but here the 'end date' is the end of the Severan Dynasty, AD 235. Examining the wider scholarship on the Roman military emphasises how, although the Roman military changed and evolved over the centuries leading up to it, the most significant changes took place in the third century AD, and this is a major factor in why the timeline of this study concludes here. The ban on marriage was lifted under Septimius Severus, significant changes to the armour and arms of the army took place in the third century,<sup>59</sup> the structure of the ranks, and of the military itself, changed, the military's effectiveness at defending the Roman Empire decreased in the third century,<sup>60</sup> and the crisis of the third century began with the end of the Severan dynasty. The consequences of this turbulent time led to the formation of the Tetrarchy by Diocletian,<sup>61</sup> making the Empire's basic structure unrecognisable to those who had existed under what has been termed the 'Imperial period' in this study, in addition to the structure, recruitment, and deployment of the Roman military itself. Not only that, but verse inscriptions themselves appear to fall off the proverbial 'time map' in the third century, decreasing even before AD 235, significantly afterwards.

- Then the data was further narrowed down, so all those inscriptions that had a specific date post the end of the Severan Dynasty but were still dated to inside the third century AD, were dismissed from the data set. However, inscriptions that only have a date of the third century AD have been kept in the data set, in case this inscription was made around the time of the Severan Dynasty; as there is currently no further way to assign a specific date to this inscription, it should neither be immediately dismissed from the data, but it should also be borne in mind that this inscription may post-date the 'end date' of this study. Thus, the time span of this data was constrained to 27 BC-AD 235, with inscriptions that cannot be more specifically dated than the third century AD.
- Also, some inscriptions that can be deemed not intentionally metrical, but appear to be metrical due to coincidence of wording have been discounted. Many of the inscriptions that have been questioned, either by the researcher or other scholars, about their true metrical nature predominantly have features from which one could infer that they are iambic, and this is why they have been deemed to be metrical. However, upon examining them, there is a high chance that this was coincidental. For this reason also, those identified as *commatica* or *incerta*, for example, have not been included in this data set, unless their metrical intention is clear.
- Inscriptions deemed too fragmentary to be able to offer any meaningful input to the analysis of the data were not included in the data set. This does not mean that all fragmentary inscriptions have been dismissed, merely those which, although they contained military references in them, were so fragmented, and contained too much

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<sup>58</sup> See, for example, Keppie 1984: 173 for some of the reasoning behind why the timeline of this research begins with the reign of Augustus.

<sup>59</sup> Goldsworthy 2003: 131

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*: 154.

<sup>61</sup> These are just some of the examples of the changes between the military of the Principate and of Late Antiquity. Goldsworthy, for example, gives other examples (2003: 198), perhaps most significantly that 'the old tradition of the senior posts being held by senators following a mixed military and civilian career was abandoned'. Changes between the two feature throughout Keppie (1984).

conjecture as to their contents, that the author deemed them to have the ability to skew the data.

- The units of the Roman military are recognised as: the legions, *auxilia*, navy, Praetorian Guard, Urban Cohorts and the *Vigiles*. For Vegetius, the Roman military was *in tres dividitur partes, equites pedites classem* ('divided into three parts, cavalry, foot soldiers, navy', Mil. 2.1.2). Vegetius does not classify the navy as a part of the Roman army (*exercitus*), just the legions, cavalry and *auxilia* (3.1.3); but it is part of the Roman military.<sup>62</sup> This is how the Roman military is understood here, and thus verse inscriptions with references to the navy were included in this data set.
- Ranks that were considered to not be military within the time period specified,<sup>63</sup> or were not military at all,<sup>64</sup> were discounted from the data set.<sup>65</sup>
  - o The rank/position of *praefectus fabrum* was not always a military position, and so, to prevent potentially non-military positions being included in the data set, and therefore the analysis, here, this has not been included in this data set. Examples of questionable and/or it is more likely that someone's position of *praefectus fabrum* was a civilian/political post include: *CIL* IX 2128 = *CLE* 83 (cfr. p. 853) = Questori 213 = Caro 81 and *CIL* X 5844 = *CLE* 1506 = *ILS* 6270 = *SupplIt* I p. 32 = Engfer 2017.36 = *AE* 2019.356 adn. = *CLEiLAR* I 15 (he also held the position of *decurio* but, given his other positions and lack of reference to any military activity, this was probably also the civilian position of *decurio*). As no direct link to the military was found in verse inscriptions in which someone bore the rank/position of *praefectus fabrum*, this has not been included in the data set here.
  - o *CIL* IX 3193 (cfr. p. 1417) = *CLE* 209 = *ILS* 7553 = *CLERegio* IV 32 appears to refer to *caligulae*, which is a diminutive of what was sometimes used as the term for 'military boots'. However, as it cannot be definitively referring to military boots or a military lifestyle, it has not been included in the data set here.
    - These examples demonstrate the grey areas and nature of military positions, which often intersected with political/civil roles.
- As multiple sources were used to gather this data, the inscriptions in this research have their own identification system; the *CIL* numbers, etc., of each inscription can be found in the Catalogue of Inscriptions.
- In the body of this work, Latin and modern place names have been used.

A total of 136 inscriptions have been analysed as part of this final data set.

The data has been gathered from all over the Roman Empire, and from a variety of ranks (see Table 9),<sup>66</sup> to give a holistic, overall picture of the imperial Roman military, and what this meant to those with close connections to it, both in terms of the identity of the Roman soldier from external observers and the man's own sense of identity. Soldiers' approaches to their own families, and vice versa, provide insight into not only the man himself, but also others outside the system of the imperial Roman military. This data has not only provided themes that indicate the soldier's perception of his own identity, but also the perception of others outside this society

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<sup>62</sup> See above and see also Veg. mil. 4.31-33.

<sup>63</sup> As some titles that were military in the Republic were no longer military in the Empire, or some titles which were military during the time period specified were no longer military later, for example.

<sup>64</sup> Some ranks appeared to be military but, upon further research, were not. See also Appendix 3.

<sup>65</sup> The ranks that are recognised as military in this study, and the reasons for this, are most apparent in Appendix 3.

<sup>66</sup> All those ranks from the imperial Roman military that are mentioned in these inscriptions, that is. See Appendix 3.

towards the soldiers themselves, as well as an insight into how a member of the imperial Roman military understood their standing in wider society.

#### **1.4. Limitations of the Study**

Despite, or perhaps because of, the wide-ranging corpora explored for this research for data gathering purposes, there will be limitations to the data presented in this study, and, as such, must be borne in mind when considering the conclusions reached based upon this data. In addition to the ones mentioned above, limitations specific to this study are indicated here. Due to the nature of how inscriptions have survived since their production, the data available can be argued to be non-representative of the corpus of inscriptions of those living in the Roman Empire, as it is already originating from a restricted, unintentionally selected corpus. However, this corpus is not entirely biased, although the existence of some military verse inscriptions may be argued to be intentional by some, as most of these inscriptions appear to have survived through the luck of fate, rather than selected for survival from those in the past. However, this does limit our interpretation of these inscriptions through those that have survived, not through the corpus as a whole. However, enough recurring themes emerge from these inscriptions for representative conclusions to be made.

In the researcher's search for inscriptions, human error must be taken into account: some could have accidentally been mis-recorded, mis-interpreted, or simply omitted from the data set when they should have been included. This is especially true as large collections of inscriptions have been examined, and data extracted from them, for this study. Equally, in some of the databases themselves the inscriptions had been mis-labelled, either as military or not military when there was no evidence for the former and clear evidence for the latter. As such, as much as the author wishes this were true, not every military verse inscription may have been included in the analysis of this study. Some matters are up for debate; some cannot be established, some are objective, some the subject of contention/debate, such as the date of an inscription (as evident in previous scholars' dating of many of these inscriptions). Decisions, therefore, have to be made that may not necessarily fit the general consensus, or a singular decision has had to be made from a variety of conjectures. There may be some themes that the author has omitted to notice; as this is a study based upon the evidence presented in the data, the author wishes to give a representative analysis of the themes presented within this large corpus. However, this is not always possible. Equally, new inscriptions are discovered every year, which either have not come to the author's attention at the time of writing this research, or are yet to be found.

However, the wide ranging, large amount of data collected for this study means that the conclusions reached here extend beyond mere case studies, and make the conclusions reached more reliable than if a smaller data set had been analysed, or if the data had been chosen based upon the author's biases of what was believed should be in the data, rather than what the data was presenting. The author wishes to be guided by the data, which can support, contradict and/or add to the existing understanding of these inscriptions, some of which have not been translated before, let alone researched, and, therefore, how they can assist us in our understanding of the Roman imperial military and those individuals who composed this structured sub-society that upheld the Roman Empire.

#### **1.5. Conclusion**

Latin military verse inscriptions have not been explored as a collection as they have here, thematically, or with the themes discussed in this research. These inscriptions have been

researched with the aim of what can they tell us? rather than what can we glean from them? As shall be seen in the introductions of the chapters in this study, the information from these themes has been situated both within academic scholarship and contemporary Roman thinking, and some are more extensive than others, as some have already been explored in the wider scholarship, but less so in the specifically military and/or verse context here (see Chapter 5, for example), whereas this is a brand new exploration for others (such as Chapter 7), and so their place within this field of study needs to be demonstrated. As well as not being explored in relation to military verse inscriptions, many of these themes have not been explored in relation to verse inscriptions at all, most notably the themes of the natural world (Chapter 7) and astronomy (Chapter 6). The themes with the most academic background are not as extensively explored as these new themes, such as epigraphic tropes within military verse inscriptions (Chapter 3) and families and the Roman military (Chapter 8). Although much has been said about them before, they appear as themes within these inscriptions, and so were important to those who wrote and commissioned them, and, therefore, assist us with analysing the identity, thoughts, perceptions and experiences of those within, and connected to, the imperial Roman military.

Therefore, through close analysis of the inscriptions collected for this research, this study portrays how soldiers in the imperial Roman military, identified here as the military of the Roman Empire between 27 BC-AD 235, defined themselves, and how others defined them. It seeks to understand how soldiers placed themselves within society, and how they were understood by society. Identity is constructed from multi-faceted factors, including society, culture, gender, language, history of one's background, one's origins, family, how one is viewed by others and one's perception of oneself. Verse inscriptions allow this analysis to take place because they are more expressive than prose inscriptions, not only because prose inscriptions tend to be more formulaic, but by the very nature of verse itself, which is designed to give a medium to the expression of human emotions, often deeply felt, difficult to describe, and feel, emotions, and make the intangible tangible through words. Not only are the soldiers' opinions of themselves and their lives focused upon, but also those of others, how they placed the soldiers within the workings of the Roman Empire, how they identified them, compared with how the soldiers identified themselves. Military verse inscriptions have not been studied in such a way before, and this innovative study offers a unique insight into the mind of the Roman military, the operations of which are well understood by scholars, and how those within this sub-societal structure, which conveyed Roman poetic culture around the lands engulfed by it, perceived themselves and their own place within the disciplined war machine that was the Roman military.



## Chapter 2

### *Set in Stone: Literature Review*

It is characteristic of historians and commentators of all ages to dwell on the exciting and unusual, and while delighting in wars and battles to ignore the normal pursuits of peaceful citizens as unworthy of note. One may gain a superficial view of the Roman Army engaged continuously in conquests, civil wars and frontier battles, but in fact there were always long periods of peace and a Roman soldier might well spend his whole lifetime without seeing a hostile face.

Webster, *The Roman Imperial Army*, 1985: 269.

#### 2.1. Introduction

By focusing on the individuals within the military sphere, the methodology of this study is a departure from how the imperial Roman military has been researched for millennia. The men in the ranks of the Roman military did not live in an isolated sphere, separate from society; indeed, they were often the primary introduction of Roman society and ‘civilisation’ for many people inhabiting the ancient world. They were accompanied by partners, slaves, freedmen and -women, and their children. The livelihoods of camp followers were made from their attachment to the military life.<sup>67</sup> Even the family, such as their parents, they left behind were impacted by a soldier’s way of life, both practically, through separation and early death, socially, through the social ascension this assured, and morally, through the moral fibre of the soldier the military way of life conferred and ascertained.<sup>68</sup> The imperial Roman military was a society in and of itself, composed of individuals. It was a collective representative of Roman culture, composed of individuals who eventually originated from anywhere but Italy. As such, the term ‘military verse inscription’ refers to the inscriptions featured in this study, i.e. those that directly refer to a soldier and/or a military experience (such as war). ‘Military’ here refers to those who inhabited a military life, not just inscriptions made by soldiers; the inscriptions in this data set were made by mothers, fathers, wives, children, slaves, even unknown strangers who happened to commemorate military combat by inscribing it in stone.

Previous studies on the Roman military, including those in antiquity, focus on the Roman military as a collective body. The number of men in the legions is estimated, the armour they wore as a collective evaluated, the bridges, forts and walls they built excavated. The methodology of current research on the Roman military follows that of the Roman military strategists and literary historians themselves: focusing on battles, where men fought as a collective, the strategies implemented for victory, the bridges they built, the marching columns in which they travelled together. Only recently are social aspects of the military life being investigated, but this is still from a collective perspective. None of these studies focus on how this way of life impacted on the soldiers, and those who inhabited the military life with them.

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<sup>67</sup> See the discussion on *lixae* in Appendix 3.

<sup>68</sup> See the discussion throughout the thematic chapters in this study, Chapter 8 in particular.

The gods they venerated are discussed, but not the emotional impact and meaning for their religious veneration. Their family and relationships are explored in a primarily legal, formal, 'official' relationship context, i.e. mainly in relation to the marriage ban that was imposed on soldiers from the reign of Augustus to the late second century, but not on the emotional impact and feeling between the soldiers and those they had relationships with, whether they were their partner, friend, family, or slave.

Some of the themes explored in this research have not been discussed in this context before, mainly the themes of the soldier and the natural world (Chapters 6-7). How the soldier affected the natural world has been discussed, for example how they carried out deforestation for building bridges and forts, that they harvested crops and scouted the landscape, but how they interacted with the environment on a personal level and how they perceived and understood the natural world have not been discussed before. Themes that are consistently seen in Latin (verse) inscriptions have been discussed before (Chapters 3-4), but not by analysing what this means for a specific social group, especially one often perceived as distanced from society as the Roman military. The discussion on epigraphic topoi (Chapter 3) as seen throughout Latin (verse) inscriptions, for example, focuses on what this meant for those in and involved with the Roman military and how they situated themselves within society.

This research focuses on the individuals living within, and affected by, the military sphere. It focuses on their lived experience, as they expressed and understood it, through the words of the soldiers and those associated with them. This study does so through examining the Latin verse inscriptions of the Roman military. This is the first time the Latin verse inscriptions of the Roman military have been examined as a collective. Gathered from around the Empire, this study approaches the Roman military in a way that parallels the military itself: analysing the themes from a holistic data set obtained from across the Roman Empire, whilst examining the individuals within this military institution to gain an insight and understanding of the individuals within the Roman military and their lived experience.

In ancient discussions on the Roman military, the military is presented as a collective, with anecdotes about exceptional individuals scattered throughout history, to make a, usually moral, point. 'Von Domaszewski was the first scholar to stress that the Romans actually thought of their land forces as provincial armies rather than as a single monolithic institution',<sup>69</sup> and this is seen in this research, where the soldiers identified their military identity by the unit in which they served, not the Roman military as a whole. Starr's discussion on how the ships in the navy were interpreted as independent military units reflects how the land militia was perceived by the Roman military.<sup>70</sup> What Starr says about the provincial fleets can be said about the military as a whole: 'the provincial character of these fleets cannot be emphasized too strongly; only by studying each in the light of the pertinent geographical and military factors may one understand the close co-ordination of the naval establishments with the military and fiscal fabric of the various provinces and the minor variation in organization and functions from fleet to fleet'.<sup>71</sup> The soldiers in these inscriptions, as shall be seen throughout this study, identify themselves, and are identified by, the unit within which they served, if it is mentioned at all, so we can see that not only soldiers but also civilians regarded the Roman military as individual units, not as

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<sup>69</sup> Haynes 2013: 9. See also Chapter 9.

<sup>70</sup> Starr 1993: ix. See also Webster 1985: 158; Chapter 9

<sup>71</sup> Starr 1993: 109. See also Chapter 9 and Haynes' discussion of Domaszewski above.

a cohesive whole. Therefore, analysing it as such is anachronistic and not in correlation with how the Roman military was perceived in the days of the Empire.

This thematic approach is also divergent from the way verse inscriptions have been approached before. These themes are not governed by chronology or location, for example, but by the subjects mentioned in these inscriptions that appeared consistently enough to be constituted as a ‘theme’, and thus follow the ideas, imagery and subjects that were of such significance to those inhabiting the environment of the Roman military that they immortalised it in stone. This research follows the words of the soldiers and those associated with them, through how they wished to portray themselves, be portrayed by their loved ones, and portray their lived experience. Latin verse inscriptions allow this insight to occur through their very nature: they are more descriptive, emotional and purposeful in the use of language and imagery that the author wished to convey, for eternity.

## **2.2. Scholarship and the Roman Military: The Individual vs. the Collective and the Lived Experience**

Of scholarly interest since the days of its operation, the Roman military was written about and studied as a guide for generals and the elite, as highlighted by ancient military manuals such as Frontinus, Onasander and Vegetius, and was regarded as the defining institution for military elitism, discipline and expressions of manhood.<sup>72</sup> Frontinus focused on the strategies of past Roman and non-Roman military combat. Vegetius, too, discussed strategies as well as recruitment, training, structure, battle formations, administration and the workings of the legion on and off the battlefield, concluding his work with information on the Roman navy and its workings. Studies after Vegetius followed a similar line of analysis and examination of the Roman military, which can still be seen today.

Despite being the subject of such study for nearly two millennia, scholarly research into the Roman military rose in the nineteenth century, becoming defined by von Domaszewski’s (1908) *Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres*, which examined and defined the units and ranks of the Roman army, as well as describing other administrative aspects of the Roman army, including pay of various ranks. Von Domaszewski’s evidence relied on inscriptions, and obtained throughout the imperial period,<sup>73</sup> thus highlighting the significance, continued into modern scholarship, of inscriptions for understanding the Roman military. He also highlights the significance of the Roman military in the social and political evolution, and eventual downfall, of the Roman Empire.<sup>74</sup> Twenty years after von Domaszewski’s landmark work, Kromayer & Veith published their work *Heerwesen und Kriegführung der Griechen und Römer*. In this work, they present Greek and Roman warfare uniformly, despite their differences.<sup>75</sup> They, too, emphasise the importance of these ancient militaries on their respective societies.<sup>76</sup> Their work focuses mainly on battle tactics and strategy from the Mycenaean-Homeric period to Constantine’s reign, and analyses them as parts of a unified evolution. But they, too, also discuss army structure, organisation, and the historical developments of the separate armies over the period of this, what was contemplated as a, unified whole in Kromayer & Veith’s work. Discussions on the navy, like Vegetius, were approached last.

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<sup>72</sup> See discussions in Chapter 8.

<sup>73</sup> von Domaszewski 1908: 1.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> Kromayer & Veith 1928: v.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*

Research into the Roman military has continued to follow these lines of scholarly enquiry, sometimes in complete volumes examining the military as a whole institution, or fragmented into separate studies and papers on aspects of these parts of the Roman military. Scholarly research has primarily focused on discussing the physical aspects of its arrangement, i.e. its hierarchy and structure in terms of cohorts, legionary/auxiliary/unit numbers, paths of promotion, rewards and pay, ranks and administration. General studies on the Roman military tend to either focus on the Roman military as a society and a unit of fighting men, or on combat and battles and how they affected Roman politics, following the Romans' own attitude towards research and depictions of the Roman military in their literature.

This approach is seen in a multitude of general works on the Roman military. Much has been written on the Roman military, too much to summarise wholly here,<sup>77</sup> but other landmark works and authors on this social institution that affected the (political) structure of the Roman Empire exist and can be briefly discussed here. These works appeared in the 1980s and continue today, including Campbell (1984, 2002), Keppie (1984), Webster (1985), Le Bohec (1989), Goldsworthy (2003), Southern (2007), and Hoyos (2013). These studies highlight the broad range of evidence used for understanding the Roman military as a whole, perhaps best demonstrated in Goldsworthy's study: he, for example, broadly explores all areas that have been used to assist scholars with understanding the Roman army, including literature, sub-literary sources (which he classifies as papyri and writing tablets), archaeology, epigraphy, art and sculpture.<sup>78</sup> The papers such as the ones found in *Documenting the Roman Army. Essays in Honour of Margaret Roxan* (2003) indicate the variety of written records and archaeological finds, such as *diplomata*, ostraca, walls the army built, and funerary monuments of the Roman military, that have been used to obtain information about the Roman military, especially its organisational and administrative affairs.

Alongside these, books on the military encounters of the ancient world have been published, similarly to Kromayer & Veith, in which battles from the Greeks to the Romans feature, such as Lendon (2005) and Kagan (2009). Studies on Roman strategy and 'the art of war' continue, following those of the Romans themselves, such as Gilliver (2001). Amongst the more general studies on the Roman military are handbooks and encyclopaedias, such as Erdkamp (ed.) (2007) and Le Bohec (ed.) (2015). More general encyclopaedias on the ancient world also include basic information on the Roman military, such as Gagarin (ed.) (2012) and Hornblower & Spawforth (ed.) (2012). These handbooks and encyclopaedias provide basic information and summaries on the specialist roles of the Roman military, aspects of the Roman military as a whole,<sup>79</sup> and important historical battles. The handbooks and more specialised volumes contain papers on the various aspects of the Roman military. These include: organisation and promotion, relationships (from a legal perspective; this is a constant topic of interest due to the marriage ban on soldiers, but, despite this, they had their own families and 'wives'),<sup>80</sup> service, warfare,

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<sup>77</sup> See, for example, J. J. Wilkes' comments on this discussion, which were as true in 1985 as they are now: 'each year that passes testifies to the enduring attraction of the Roman army as a subject for study. To the famous descriptions of Polybius, Caesar, Tacitus and Josephus is now to be added to the still increasing body of evidence from inscriptions, sculptures, papyri, coins and the discoveries by field archaeologists. The tens of thousands of inscriptions collected and indexed in the *Corpus of Latin Inscriptions* were soon the foundation for the major works of reference on the organization of the Roman army still in use today, by Mommsen and Domaszewski ... The many-sided character of Roman military studies makes even more difficult the task of writing the good general yet comprehensive book on the Roman army eagerly awaited by teachers and students' (239).

<sup>78</sup> Goldsworthy 2003: 8-17.

<sup>79</sup> See the authors discussed in Appendix 3.

<sup>80</sup> See Chapter 8.

strategy and conquest, developments from the Republican to the Imperial to Late Antique militaries, administrative developments (such as *diplomata*) and literacy, the place of veterans in Roman society, religion of the Roman military, pay and rewards, punishments, the *limes*, the definitions of ranks, the impact of war on society, and depictions of armour and military dress, all facets that are touched upon in the more general studies on the imperial Roman military. Examples of more specialised studies on these topics include: Best (1966), Phang (2001, 2002), Campbell (2002), Cooley (ed.) (2002), de Blois & Lo Cascio (eds.) (2007), D'Amato & Sumner (2009), Sumner (2009), Rawson (ed.) (2011), Schmidt Heidenreich (2013), and Collins & McIntosh (2014). These studies, however, present different dates for what they define as 'imperial': compare Campbell's 2002 monograph *War and Society in imperial Rome, 31 BC-AD 284* with Starr's (1993) *The Roman Imperial Navy 31 B.C.-A.D. 324*, D'Amato & Sumner's (2009) *Arms and Armour of the Imperial Roman Soldier: From Marius to Commodus, 112 BC-AD 192*, and the section on the imperial Roman military in Erdkamp's *Companion to the Roman Army* (ed.) (2007) is defined as 'Actium to Adrianople', i.e. 31 BC-AD 378.

The contentious subject of the Roman military's role in 'Romanisation' exists in almost every volume on the Roman military. This research offers a nuanced contribution to this much-debated topic, both in terms of the Roman military and an individual's use of Latin. The former view, as seen in scholars such as Richmond (1935), Webster (1985) and Le Bohec (1989), was that the purpose of the Roman military was Romanisation, i.e. to spread and introduce people to the Roman way of life. This is not the perception now, such as in Byrnes (2011) and Haynes (2013), and scholars present an acquisition of Roman identity as a spectrum that one could choose to what degree they conformed to it (see, for example, Tacoma [2016]). Haynes' work (2013) on the *auxilia* in the Roman military, for example, displays the nuances of an acquisition of a 'Roman' identity through an introduction into the Roman military. If one regards Romanisation as the Romans 'impos[ing] a Roman definition of the world upon the empire ... Romanization involved subscribing to this definition and accepting one's place within it',<sup>81</sup> then it creates a spectrum of Romanisation, which is more realistic than the more severe 'Romanised'/civilised vs. 'non-Romanised'/uncivilised perspectives of previous scholarship, primarily of that pre-2000. Whilst there can be no doubt about the Roman military's influence on the spread of Roman culture, citizenship, way of life, and identity, both within the military and the wider civilian world, this spectrum is the view towards 'Romanisation' that is understood and seen here. After all, those who produced these inscriptions were 'Romanised' at least to the minimum extent of placing themselves within the epigraphic habit of the Roman Empire, writing in Latin, and presenting themselves/being presented as operating within the Roman military, which seems rather low down on the spectrum between non-conforming and fully embracing all Roman ideas and cultural norms.

The concept of 'Romanisation', especially in the military, is intertwined with the spread of Latin and literacy in the Roman world, and how this was an expression of Romanisation, if at all. The Roman military is often used as a source of understanding the spread of literacy in the ancient world, as seen in, for example, Adams (1999), Haynes (2013) and Matijević (2015). This study develops this ongoing debate; other important discussions on soldiers and literacy can be found in Best (1966), Webster (1985), Le Bohec (1989), Goldsworthy (2003), J. B. Wilkes (2012), Dickey (2015), and Ferri (2021). The work in which literacy and the Roman military is most clearly debated is in the papers in Cooley's volume (2002), particularly

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<sup>81</sup> Haynes 1999: 168. See also Tacoma's discussion on cultural interaction and exchange in the Roman world (2016: 267-268).

Woolf's. For the identity of the soldiers in the Roman military, it seems difficult not to find oneself agreeing with the conclusions of Woolf in Cooley's volume, in that the use of Latin was not the sole indicator of someone's affiliation with Roman society and culture; it could be indicative of it, but the use of Latin and Romanisation were not intertwined. Instead, Latin may have been a signifier of social status rather than ethnic identification. Although 'the one aspect of Latinization on which these papers seem to reach least agreement is that of its supposed connection with cultural identity',<sup>82</sup> to the extent that Woolf, in his conclusion of this volume, offers the extreme suggestion, a wild deviation from other scholarship, that 'perhaps we should not expend too much effort on establishing the links between writing Latin and Roman identity'.<sup>83</sup> Epigraphy enabled soldiers to display their advancement in society to their social group and beyond.<sup>84</sup> Just because someone used Latin on their inscription did not mean that they dropped their original ethnic identity, but they acquired an additional military one, as evidenced in the inscriptions here.<sup>85</sup> Although the impacts of literacy and Latin on a soldier's cultural identification are much discussed, predominantly under the umbrella of 'Romanisation', literacy and impacts of Latin on one's self-expression are not; the Latin verse inscriptions of the military allow us to investigate just that.

Published in tandem with these volumes, monographs and handbooks, are a multitude of papers focused on more singular topics, divisions of these broader studies, that are important for understanding the various and specialised facets of the practical arrangements of the Roman military. These include specialist discussions on equipment, hierarchies, defining ranks and their roles. Key scholars in these areas are: E. Birley (1928-1988), D. Breeze (1969-2020), M. P. Speidel (1978-2001), B. J. Campbell (1984-2012), Breeze & Dobson (1993), and A. R. Birley (2020).<sup>86</sup> Volumes and papers published alongside these works with a more specialised lens on singular aspects of the Roman military allow for a more generally detailed picture to be presented of facets of the military and social impacts of this institution. Such works include Starr (1993), which remains the leading work on the Roman navy, despite the third edition having been published just over thirty years ago. Studies published pre-2000 tend to be more polarised in their presentation of how the Roman military functioned; now, these perceptions are questioned and presented with a more realistic, nuanced view.<sup>87</sup> Haynes' (2013) study, for example, is a recent culmination, re-examination and evaluation of the *auxilia* and their place in the Roman army, updating the landmark work on *auxilia* by Cheeseman published in 1914. He questions ideas that have been prevailing throughout studies on the Roman army. Haynes discusses both the individual and the collective, but it becomes apparent that, however unifying one of the sole commonalities the auxiliary soldiers had, i.e. Roman culture, the decision to conform to Roman ideals was ultimately up to the individual.

Social aspects of the Roman military tend also to be explored in broad, collective terms, and have sprung up as discussions alongside the practical, organisational and administrative aspects of the Roman military that tend to be more focused on. The Roman military is often seen as a source of information for perceptions on masculinity, especially when concerning

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<sup>82</sup> Woolf 2002: 186.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>84</sup> Beltrán Lloris 2015b: 144-145.

<sup>85</sup> See Cooley's 2002 volume, especially Häussler 2002: 72-73, as well as Beltrán Lloris 2015b, as discussed above.

<sup>86</sup> These authors have written prolifically on various aspects of the Roman military; this is simply a sample of some of their works.

<sup>87</sup> For example, one need only compare how Keppie describes the men within the military itself, i.e. how they were dressed (1984: 173), which is more generalised than Goldsworthy's, who allows for more flexibility in the presentation of the Roman army, which is now the current view.

interpretations of *virtus* and *disciplina*, in the Roman world, most likely because this is how the Roman elite depicted it.<sup>88</sup> Such examples include MacMullen (1984), Alston (1998), Lendon (2005), McDonnell (2006), Southern (2007), Phang (2008), Coulston (2013) and Balmaceda (2017). Those that promise to explore the more social aspects of the Roman military do so with the same approach as seen in general studies on the Roman military. Campbell (2002) discusses the origins of war, soldiers and war, warfare and battle tactics, the effects of war on the community and politics, and how war was depicted, and perceived, publicly. Wesch-Klein's (1998) *Soziale Aspekte des römischen Heerwesens in der Kaiserzeit* is similar, discussing the hierarchy of the Roman military, the peacetime/off-duty activities of the Roman soldier, pay and rewards, medical care, soldiers' relationships, military service itself and the life of a veteran outside active duty. De la Bédoyère's (2020) *Gladius: Living, Fighting and Dying in the Roman Army* appears to be the most focused on the lived experience of the Roman soldier, and yet he, too, discusses the topics seen before: recruitment, pay and rewards, garrisoning, the Roman military and how they used the environment (for practical reasons, such as scouting, harvesting, building bridges, etc.), victory and defeat in combat, the political effects of the Roman military, the navy, peacetime duties, religion and the military's relationship with the emperor, and the soldiers' families and relationships.

Only recently have studies focusing on the less warlike aspects of the Roman military and the daily lives of the Roman soldier emerged, such as Elliott's (2017) *Empire State: How the Roman Military Built an Empire* and de la Bédoyère's book (2020). Elliott's study was the first of its kind to discuss the Roman military's duties outside combat. Before, the non-combative roles of the military tended to be discussed when describing the roles of certain ranks, or as a chapter of a book on the Roman military in general.<sup>89</sup> A recent development are also studies and questions addressing the impact of this life on the soldier himself, but these are rare. Melchior, for example, questioned whether Roman soldiers would have suffered from post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), or if this was an effect of long-range missiles, and the sound they made, that were detached from combat, and this made avoiding them much more difficult, as seen in the introduction of mass-shelling in World War One and Two and the mental devastation this brought about to those who suffered from what was then termed 'shell-shock'.<sup>90</sup> Kruschwitz and Laes wondered if the soldier in *CIL* VIII 21562 suffered from PTSD (2015a, 2020).<sup>91</sup> De la Bédoyère's chapter on violence and atrocities addresses the violent acts committed in warfare and generally in Roman society.<sup>92</sup> However, this is not a new question or angle of address; the Romans themselves did not shy away from depictions of violence.<sup>93</sup>

MacMullen's (1984) *The Legion as a Society* is dedicated to how the collective affected the individual, and thus is important to consider briefly here. For MacMullen, the mentality of the community affected that of the individual: 'the closeness of their community enabled them to fulfil their individual potential as soldiers'.<sup>94</sup> Disunity, even unfamiliarity, could cause a soldier to be reluctant to fight, or fight as well as he could. He discusses the disunity between the civilian community and the military, and the effect of the mixture of conscripts and volunteers

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<sup>88</sup> See Chapter 8.

<sup>89</sup> See Goldsworthy 2003: 142-151; Elliott 2017; Cupcea 2018 in which the non-combative role of the Roman soldier is discussed, but not explored deeply. Webster dedicates a chapter to the peacetime duties of the Roman soldier (1985: 269-284). For details of the non-combative roles of the Roman soldier, see also Appendix 3.

<sup>90</sup> See his 2011 paper. See also the discussion in Chapter 8.

<sup>91</sup> See discussion in Chapter 8.

<sup>92</sup> De la Bédoyère 2020: 207-229.

<sup>93</sup> See discussions in Chapter 8; see also, for example, depictions of violence on Trajan's Column and in Lucan's *Pharsalia*.

<sup>94</sup> MacMullen 1984: 455.

on those within the army. He emphasises the close relationships between the soldiers, the familial like atmosphere created between them in various groups within army structure and life, such as the *collegia*,<sup>95</sup> and the ways in which they addressed each other (*fratres*, *commilito* and *contubernales*).<sup>96</sup> Although the Roman military did have its own specific linguistic terms, the way in which they linguistically presented themselves differed little from the rest of civilian society, especially in mixed civilian and military settings. This observation is seen in the Latin verse inscriptions of the Roman military, especially when considering their use of epigraphic tropes, although we do see an increase in the use of military language in wholly military settings.<sup>97</sup>

MacMullen's paper focuses on the legion as a societal construct. In the *auxilia*, the original ethnic identity of the unit over time became redundant to those posted within it,<sup>98</sup> and the legions, too, 'lost their ethnic traits, and did so much earlier – we cannot say just when'.<sup>99</sup> This mixing in ethnicities, according to MacMullen, affected the way the men fought; for him, for those in a heterogenous fighting group fighting well was not such a primary motivation, and so they did not fight as well, and as bravely, as they would have, had they been in an ethnically homogenous group. For MacMullen, it was about show and distinction: how a soldier could exhibit his manliness, bravery, and military prowess, showing off his trophies, which were meaningless outside the military sphere, and fighting better with his comrades and under the eyes of his commander. That is seen in the Roman military, but it emphasises the collective more than the individual, and other qualities are often emphasised by those who created verse inscriptions.<sup>100</sup> MacMullen's analysis of the Roman army brings up important factors when considering the collective and the individual, and how the mentality of one affected the other. He compares the Roman army to modern ones, which creates an anachronistic image of the Roman army as separate from society. However, as discussed throughout this study, in the Empire the mentality between civilian and military posts was blurred; socially, for example, much of what the soldiers discuss in their inscriptions correlate with those expressed by wider society, as seen in the overall themes that have been identified in this data set.

Despite the limitations of his paper, it is clear that MacMullen wished to start a discussion on a topic which, forty years later, and with no apparent solution between, this research intends to do. In the introduction to his paper, MacMullen declares: 'an attempt to understand anything so romantic as the soul of the soldier has, I think, yet to be made'.<sup>101</sup> For MacMullen, this translated into discussing morality and social cohesion within the fighting unit, i.e. what made the men continue to fight. As he himself declares, 'the evidence naturally does not permit a psychological, to say nothing of a properly scientific, approach. Approach can only be sociological'.<sup>102</sup> As stated in the Introduction, the method of analysis here is influenced by psychological, philosophical and phenomenological methodologies; but the overall approach here aligns with, arguably, largely sociological. The nature of verse allows us to analyse it in a

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<sup>95</sup> MacMullen 1984: 443.

<sup>96</sup> See Chapter 8. See also Ferri (2021) for discussion on the specialised language of the Roman military.

<sup>97</sup> See Chapters 3, 4, 6 and 8, the latter of which is useful for comparing military and civilian inscriptions because this is where familial inscriptions are analysed. See Chapter 5 for the increased use of military language in wholly military settings, in the context of the inscription.

<sup>98</sup> MacMullen 1984: 445. See also Haynes 2013: throughout.

<sup>99</sup> MacMullen 1984: 446.

<sup>100</sup> See the themes of this study, but also the depiction of the characteristics of the soldier, as discussed in Chapter 8.

<sup>101</sup> MacMullen 1984: 440.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*



more scientific, psychological approach, a ‘more self-revealing a genre than prose’,<sup>103</sup> and surely no one can deny the romanticism of verse. In this way, this study seeks to investigate ‘the soul of the soldier’ through the most emotively expressive form of writing: verse.

Levithan, in his review of Phang’s *Roman Military Service. Ideologies of Discipline in the Late Republic and Early Principate* (2008), noted that ‘one of the strengths of *Roman Military Service* is the author’s persistence in reckoning from the larger cultural context of the Roman army. Traditional military history is always limited by the treatment of soldiers as mere extensions of their commander’s will and by the projection of modern expectations onto ancient actors, and even the best comparative military history may, by generalizing in such a way, overlook *sui generis* aspects of one society’s experience of war. This is why such a strong commitment to social and cultural history – to the shaping of the Roman soldier’s worldview and thus his experience is necessary if Roman military history is to move forward’.<sup>104</sup> Phang does this through, like other Roman military studies, focusing on the collective, through their general and political impact. This research seeks to do this through focusing on the individual’s perspective, and thematically presenting the overarching themes as a collective understanding from the individuals within the society of the imperial Roman military.

Scholarship informs us about the Roman military from a third person perspective, through collective analysis from archaeology, literature and other primary sources, and/or following the depictions of the military as described by Roman authors themselves. So, what about the writings of the soldiers themselves? Other than inscriptions, other accessible, and useful for understanding the day to day lives of the Roman military, primary documents are the Vindolanda Tablets and the papyri found in Africa. These have been extensively studied, and only tell us about the lives of the inhabitants of these specific areas. Written records on the Roman military beyond the epigraphic often come about through accidental finds, in places with extreme climates that have allowed for their preservation, such as papyri, published editions of which can be accessed in, for example, O’Fink’s (1971) *Roman Military Records on Papyrus*, or Bowman’s (1994) *Life and Letters on the Roman Frontier*, which presents and discusses the Vindolanda Tablets that had been discovered up until that point. Online databases,<sup>105</sup> such as Vindolanda Tablets Online,<sup>106</sup> allow for more instant access to these sources and for any additional finds to be constantly updated. As noted by von Domaszewski, and observed in the primary sources analysed for the Roman military in secondary literature, it is impossible to study the Roman military without studying inscriptions. But, inscriptions have been used to glean practical information about the Roman military, as seen in von Domaszewski,<sup>107</sup> and which continues in scholarship today, to find out information about the age of recruitment, ascertain and discover ranks, for some ranks in the Roman military are only known about from inscriptions, and prose and verse inscriptions are used indeterminately to ascertain this quantitative information.<sup>108</sup> Carroll highlights the de-personalising, ‘de-humanising’ aspect of analysing inscriptions through quantitative analysis alone,<sup>109</sup> something this study seeks to reclaim for these inscriptions through qualitative, accompanied by quantitative, analysis.

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<sup>103</sup> MacMullen 1984: 441.

<sup>104</sup> Levithan 2008: 14.

<sup>105</sup> See also the discussion on *carmina Latina epigraphica* and online databases below.

<sup>106</sup> <http://vindolanda.csad.ox.ac.uk/>, last accessed 23/4/2024.

<sup>107</sup> Von Domaszewski 1908: 1.

<sup>108</sup> See, for example, Saller & Shaw 1984 and other studies explored in Chapter 8.

<sup>109</sup> Carroll 2006: 23.

What is missing is a qualitative analysis of specifically verse inscriptions of the Roman military to extract information about the lived experience of the individual inhabiting the military sphere. In previous studies, the soldiers within this institutional structure have been focused on as a collective whole. Rather like the annals of history and the manuals of the military written in the Roman period, scholars now only distinguish an individual soldier in exceptional circumstances, as narrative vignettes, most notably for extremely good or bad behaviour, as narrated in the anecdotes of Roman literature, or exceptional cases as seen in inscriptions, as in the case of **NW.10**<sup>110</sup> and *CIL* XIII 8648, and these are often ones that are perceived as correlating with narratives encountered in history.<sup>111</sup>

This study examines the verse inscriptions of those who inhabited the military sphere holistically, i.e. guided by the prevailing themes noticed from the overall data set obtained for this research, whilst focusing on the individuals and the ways in which they expressed their lived experience through these verse inscriptions. This approach, of understanding the holistic, overall experience examining the individuals' depictions of facets of a life centred around/affected by the Roman military has not been done before. In the studies discussed above, the Roman military is described from its collective experience; it is not a lived experience, from these depictions, a part of an individual's life that affected all aspects of it, but it is depicted as a homogenous whole institutional experience. Whilst discussions on recruitment patterns and the navy and the *auxilia* generally indicate the various origins of those recruited into its ranks,<sup>112</sup> as well as studies on the varieties of weapons and armour between units, the *auxilia*, for example, are still approached as a collective. The Roman military is depicted as a collective, and the experiences these studies describe are therefore presented as parts of the lived experience of everyone within that collective whole. But what about the individuals within the ranks? Did they perceive it this way? Did those who inhabited the military sphere all see it the same way, i.e. did the women some of the soldiers married have a similar lived experience in a military life as a soldier? This study seeks to answer these questions through the examination of the verse inscriptions of the Roman military.

Nearly all the themes explored in this study have not been approached from a military perspective before, and thus allow us to contextualise those inhabiting a military life through how they understood their place in the world socially and environmentally. The exceptions are Chapters 5 and Chapter 8, which, respectively, focus on religious veneration and relationship dynamics as depicted in these inscriptions. Military religion is approached from examining which gods the Roman soldier venerated, how they interacted with the gods in the Roman pantheon and those they encountered in their military service, and how superstitious soldiers were: as de la Bédoyère observed, 'indeed, it is the army that probably provides us with the

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<sup>110</sup> See the discussion on **NW.10** and on *carmina* and the Roman military below.

<sup>111</sup> See, for example, the discussions on **RI.1** and **NW.10**.

<sup>112</sup> See, for example, Webster 1985: 108; Le Bohec 1989b: throughout, for example, 76 table 14, 77 table 15, 83-84, table 16, 85 table 17, 89 table 20, 94-95 table 25, 96 table 26, 97 table 28, 101 table 30; Starr 1993: 75, table 1. See Starr 1993: 76-77 for the origins of the sailors of the Roman fleets, with those in the Ravenna fleet mainly originating from Dalmatia and Pannonia, Misene mainly from the Greek East, for example. It is not always easy to tell what someone's native origins were, as seen in this study, and being a soldier in a certain unit in the Roman military does not necessarily assist with determining his origins, especially as recruitment patterns changed over time. Sailors were *peregrini* or free men, from the lower echelons of society, and most of them were not of Italic origin, primarily from the eastern Mediterranean, 'although a large number of the sailors as a whole were recruited from inland areas, the trierarchs came, in so far as they disclose their origin, from seacoast peoples' (*ibid.*: 44), their literal origins, and the experience(s) this could give them, dictating their role in the Roman military; this also occurred, to an extent, with the *auxilia*. See Haynes 1999 and 2013, for example, for the recruitment of the *auxilia*.

bulk of our evidence for Roman religion'.<sup>113</sup> Family dynamics are often discussed in relation to the Roman military, but only in legal, practical terms of how the families the soldiers made functioned and were seen in conjunction with the marriage ban. Potential relationships they had with their slaves and freedmen and -women are also discussed, as seen in Richlin (1993), Wesch-Klein (1998), Phang (2001), the papers in Hodgson, Bidwell & Schachtmann (eds.) (2009), and Ivleva (2020), for example, but only in terms of acknowledging that they had relationships with them. Soldiers' letters home depict their relationships with the parents they left behind upon their recruitment, but such finds are rare, and circumstantial.

The data set here provides a sense of homogeneity within a fundamentally heterogeneous institution, because the individuals composing it were heterogeneous, despite being recruited into an institution with a, more or less, homogeneous structure. It allows for a general analysis, because the Roman military did exist across the expanse of the Empire; the findspots may not be homogeneous or consistent in a cultural and historical context, but the Roman military, as an institution, was. Some cultural, epigraphic conventions and overarching themes exhibited in this study reflect the idea 'of a world which was quite homogeneous in itself'.<sup>114</sup> These verse inscriptions provide a stable data set, found around the Empire, and are more emotional and descriptive of the impacts of a military life on an individual and those they interacted with, a life that was inhabited by and impacted on more than just those who served within the ranks. The legal impact of this life was contemporaneously acknowledged, for example, by *diplomata* and the rights they conferred not only onto the honestly dismissed soldier but also onto his wife and children. But how did a soldier regard his wife and children? How did they regard him? How did a soldier's military service affect those beyond the immediate military sphere, i.e. his parents and siblings? This study acknowledges that those who made Latin military verse inscriptions were not just those who served in the ranks of the military, but also those who supported, loved and lived with them, i.e. their parents, wives, children and slaves. What was the emotional impact of, what was important to those who inhabited the military sphere? How do they depict their lived experience through these verse inscriptions, and why? The people who inhabited and were affected by this environment had a direct input on the creation of these inscriptions, even if it was choosing a thematic inscription and inserting the practical details of their loved one. These inscriptions offer us a unique opportunity to explore the perceptions, thoughts, feelings, emotions, *lives* of those who experienced the environment and impact of the Roman military on a daily basis, directly through the words they chose to depict it in.

These verse inscriptions are more descriptive than their prose counterpart, and, by the very nature of verse, allow them to be more emotional, expressive and purposeful in their use of language. Verse was used as an expresser of identity: the *Aeneid* came to define Roman identity as a nation. This study does also use quantitative data, but this is based solely off the data set here, to give an insight into patterns and trends within Latin military verse inscriptions and the facets of the identities of those who made them. When inscriptions have been previously studied by scholars, they are analysed as Classical literary sources are, namely as mines of factual information about the locations of legions, dating, etc. Military inscriptions have provided us with valuable, unique data. They have been extensively researched for information on ranks, roles, hierarchies, dress, weapons, and statistics about the Roman military they can provide,

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<sup>113</sup> De la Bédoyère 2020: 369. For more information and sources on Roman religion, see Chapter 5. This topic is also often discussed as a chapter of a book focused on the Roman military, such as Webster (1985), Goldsworthy (2003), Schmidt Heidenreich (2013), Haynes (2013), and de la Bédoyère (2020).

<sup>114</sup> Tacoma & Tybout 2016: 367, discussing Greek epigrams.

including the average age of death, recruitment age, retirement age, origins of those within the military, and where the legions were posted. Studying epigraphy has been becoming more influential, despite von Domaszewski's advocacy for it, since the latter part of the twentieth century.<sup>115</sup> The importance of inscriptions cannot be ignored when reading Starr's work on the Roman navy.<sup>116</sup> Those who study soldiers often also study inscriptions, perhaps one of the most visible examples of this is Keppie, who has written other works on soldiers and inscriptions both as separate subjects of research and together (1991, 2000, 2003, for example).

Epigraphy has long been recognised as a useful tool in examining the Roman military for practical purposes,<sup>117</sup> with a primary focus on quantitative analysis, yet nothing is said about the input of verse inscriptions in general and what they can tell us about life in the imperial Roman military as a lived experience, from the individual's perspective. Only isolated case studies currently offer us insights into this and very recent emerging collections of military verse inscriptions that have a geographical focus.<sup>118</sup> The importance of epigraphic evidence in the study of the Roman military is impossible to deny, and, thus, so is their importance to understanding the Roman military. Now that, in the scholarship, we have an understanding of the practical aspects of the Roman military, it is a natural progression to look beyond the practical, tangible elements that this body of evidence has been used to show us, and see how it can illuminate the more intangible, through the words of those who lived a life centred around the Roman military themselves, in the ways in which they chose to immortalise them.

### 2.3. Scholarship, *Carmina Latina Epigraphica* and the Roman Military

As seen in the general scholarly trend of interest in the Roman military, the focus on studying Latin verse inscriptions began in the nineteenth century but became more solidified in the twentieth. The volumes of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL)* (the first volume was published in the nineteenth century) are a basic resource for inscriptions, enabling them to become more accessible; the usefulness of Mommsen and his team's approach to inscriptions is evident today, with volumes of the *CIL* continuing to be published. The *CIL* did not separate prose and verse inscriptions, but presented them by their provincial findspot. This is seen in other corpora of inscriptions, where they are classified by findspot rather than the type of inscription; Latin verse inscriptions are often discussed in a provincial collection.<sup>119</sup> A volume of the *CIL* dedicated to *carmina Latina epigraphica*, *CIL XVIII*, is currently being produced, emphasising the growing importance of these inscriptions. Bücheler's volumes on *Carmina Latina Epigraphica (CLE)*, published in the late nineteenth century, and subsequently updated over the years) are collections of verse inscriptions, akin to the volumes of the *CIL*, and are invaluable to anyone researching Latin verse inscriptions.<sup>120</sup> The inscriptions in these volumes are categorised by metre and omit their prose elements in these editions,<sup>121</sup> and provide little

<sup>115</sup> See, for example, 'Caesar names many centurions, especially those conspicuous for their bravery, and the epigraphic evidence, which now for the first time begins to illuminate the study of the army, adds several individuals' (Keppie 1984: 98).

<sup>116</sup> In Starr, it becomes clear that primary evidence for the navy resides heavily in inscriptions (Starr 1993: ix; his reliance on epigraphic evidence is apparent throughout his book).

<sup>117</sup> Keppie labels it as 'our chief source-material' (1984: 150).

<sup>118</sup> See the section on *carmina Latina epigraphica* and the Roman military below. Cenati and Massaro's studies are the collections referred to here, and they were both published in 2023.

<sup>119</sup> For a list of the corpora cited in this study, see the list of abbreviations and the bibliography. See also the discussion below for examples of these corpora.

<sup>120</sup> Indeed, 'the publication of the *Carmina Latina Epigraphica* (= *CLE*) took place in cooperation with the editors of the *CIL*, Lommatzsch among them, and can therefore be regarded as a product of the comprehensive project to create a fundamental research tool' (Schmidt 2015: 770). *CLE III* (Lommatzsch) was published in the early twentieth century.

<sup>121</sup> The accompanying prose is often given in the commentary on these inscriptions.

more than the bare minimum of information on them:<sup>122</sup> this includes the findspot of the inscription, its (supposed) date, and a brief commentary, which, in the case of *CLE*, mainly references literary allusions.

*Carmina Latina epigraphica* feature, with brief commentaries like those seen in the *CIL* and *CLE*, in other corpora and collections of inscriptions, including Cholodniak's *Carmina sepulcralia latina* volumes (1897, 1904), Zarker (1958), Courtney (1995), and the various volumes by Cugusi and Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi (published in late 1990s to the early 2000s), which intend to add to the data presented in Bücheler, as new inscriptions are still being discovered. These corpora have military verse inscriptions in, but they are not the focus of these works. Again, as with the Roman military, scholars have published papers on individual inscriptions/smaller collections of inscriptions that add to our overall understanding of *carmina Latina epigraphica* and, when mentioned, military verse inscriptions. Such scholars include Kovács (2007, 2018), Eck (2013, 2020), Kruschwitz (2016, 2017, 2018, 2020), and Fernández Martínez (2020). These studies demonstrate the pattern in scholarship, that increasing interest in researching *CLE* as case studies started in the late 1990s and continued into the early 2000s. The approach of these scholars towards *carmina Latina epigraphica* has been largely on their literary and subliterate nature, and their dynamics and interplay with Latin literature, perhaps following the example of the commentaries in the *CIL* and *CLE*. They tend to focus on describing the monument and critically assessing the use of language. They focus on shared themes, imagery and formulae seen within inscriptions, mainly on epitaphs, as the most prolific surviving type of verse inscription. Investigations into individual inscriptions go into more depth, but they follow this general trend, mainly focusing on their contributions to our perceptions of literary allusion in verse inscriptions, as well as their place within existing historical knowledge.

Despite the large collection of studies on *carmina Latina epigraphica*,<sup>123</sup> it is still applicable to say that 'epigraphy, which is largely dominated by historical research, has until recently tended to neglect verse inscriptions'.<sup>124</sup> However, analysis of verse inscriptions is rapidly gaining in popularity, with the emergence of projects such as MAPPOLA (*Mapping out the poetic landscape(s) of the Roman empire*) and the other studies in CARMEN (*Communal Art – Reconceptualising Metrical Epigraphy Network*).<sup>125</sup> Online epigraphic databases make accessing these inscriptions easier and more efficient, and the emergence of MQDQ (*Musisque Deoque*) and CLEO (*Carmina Latina Epigraphica Online*) amongst the vast array of online databases already in existence may mean that Latin verse inscriptions gain more attention as they become more accessible. This aligns with the increasing interest in cultural and social identities in the Roman world in the past few decades,<sup>126</sup> as well as an increasing scholarly investigation into the metres, social history and information beyond the literary and statistical that verse inscriptions can provide. Examinations into individual military *CLE* provide us with

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<sup>122</sup> See, for example, Schmidt 2015: 769-770 for the usefulness of this work, although, to all those familiar with Latin verse inscriptions, the importance of this volume will already be understood. Schmidt (2015: 770): 'in what was then a complete collection – and still remains at least a representative one – of around 2,500 inscriptions [at the time, this was 'all *carmina epigraphica Latina* then known from the Roman world'], the relative proportion of the different categories of texts remains valid'.

<sup>123</sup> See, for example, Beltrán Lloris 2015a: 96-97; Schmidt 2015: 764-782, who provides a summary of the study, as well as a general discussion, of *CLE*; as well as sources cited above and below.

<sup>124</sup> Schmidt 2015: 768.

<sup>125</sup> MAPPOLA (2019-2024): <https://mappola.eu/>, last accessed 24/4/2024; CARMEN (2020-2024): <https://carmen-itn.eu/>, last accessed 24/4/2024.

<sup>126</sup> See Byros 2011: 15 for observations on this developing interest.

an insight into the workings of the Roman military but, so far, these have been primarily discussed as (isolated) case studies, with attempts to frame them within our understanding and knowledge of Roman history, such as Speidel (1991), Lavagne & Gschaid (1996), Adams (1999), Raith (2005), Piso (2015, 2017), and Kovács (2018).

Ironically, considering the way in which the Roman military has been understood and approached as a collective, the Latin verse inscriptions of the Roman military have not been studied as an Empire-wide collective before, but primarily as individual case studies. Previous scholars have identified individual inscriptions and the individuals within them, but they have treated them as isolated case studies, not as a verse inscription as part of a wider corpora, or the individuals within them as actors within this wider social phenomenon. Only very recently are works on the individual soldier and his self-representation emerging: Cenati's *Miles in Urbe: Identità e autorappresentazione nell'iscrizioni dei Soldati di origine danubiana e balcanica a Roma* was published in 2023, as was Massaro's 'Da Roma al Danubio. Epitaffi metrici o affettivi per/di militari nelle province nord-orientali dell'Impero' in Horster's (ed.) *Carmina Latina Epigraphica: Developments, dynamics, preferences*, which both discuss the Roman military and inscriptions, with Massaro focusing on verse inscriptions. These studies demonstrate both the need and the germination of the interest in studying the soldier as an individual, as how he perceived himself, as well as studying the Latin inscriptions of the Roman military in collections that is currently developing. But both studies approach the military and their data sets from a specific region. As of yet, there is no coherent, overarching, holistic approach taken to the Roman military, and this study contributes to the progression of this discussion by providing this. Although the geographic context is taken into consideration with each inscription, what is the focus of this overall data set are the themes and patterns that we can see emerging from the collection of military verse inscriptions as a whole.

These location/province based data sets reflect the general approach to Roman inscriptions, as seen in verse and prose, which are mostly studied by province, for example as seen in Kruschwitz's (2020) *Poetry on the Advance: The Emergence and Formation of a Poetic Culture in Roman Britain*, or Cugusi and Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi's various *CLE* collections.<sup>127</sup> No one has carried out an Empire-wide, thematic based research on the inscriptions of the Roman military,<sup>128</sup> instead primarily focusing on (a) select province(s) for their research. For this reason, the literature on military verse inscriptions is diverse in its source material, isolationist in its approach, and disjointed in its outcome. Here, they are categorised, and therefore primarily studied, through their themes. Within those themes, the inscriptions are analysed with their historical, social, wider context, as well as philologically in their detailed commentaries in each chapter, especially in Chapters 4-7. These commentaries provide a context to the inscription and the actors portrayed within it. As this study highlights, contrary to the perception of the studies where the Roman military is portrayed as a collective, although these soldiers and those associated with them were inhabiting a shared overall military institution, and there are shared

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<sup>127</sup> Although with their own issues, Schmidt advocates for the usefulness of Cugusi's volumes: 'Paolo Cugusi's extensive preliminary work for a revision of the *CLE* has been helpful in providing an overview of the enormously increased bibliography on individual verse inscriptions and of the overarching themes in epigraphic poetry. In collaboration with Maria Teresa Sblendorio Cugusi, he has begun to edit, province by province, a very useful collection of Latin verse inscriptions, which, in contrast to the *CIL*, largely omits autopsy of the inscriptions' (2015: 771). Such collections include: *Aspetti Letterari de Carmina Latina Epigraphica*, *Carmina Latina Epigraphica Africarum provinciarum post Buechelerianam collectionem editam reperta cognita*, *Studi sui carmi epigrafici: Carmina Latina Epigraphica Pannonica*, and *I Carmina Latina Epigraphica non-Buecheleriani delle province africane*. Unlike the *CIL*, and indeed most anthological collections of Latin inscriptions, the approach to the inscriptions in this study is thematic, as explained in the Introduction, and evident in the Table of Contents.

<sup>128</sup> Research has been conducted, Empire-wide, on the Roman military in general; see above.

themes across this holistic data set, inhabiting the Roman military was not a shared experience. A Roman military life was not a uniform lived experience, but just as individual as those serving within its ranks, living in and around its camps.

More focused studies such as Zarker's (1958) PhD thesis *Studies in the Carmina Latina Epigraphica*, Courtney's (1995) *Musa Lapidaria*, and Kruschwitz's (2020) paper, have military verse inscriptions in, but they are a part of their larger collection of verse inscriptions. The objective of these works was not specifically to analyse military verse inscriptions, but to provide context and commentaries on a variety of *CLE*, in which some military ones happen to feature. They are also not examined thematically, as presented in the methodology of this study. The primary focus of the discussion on inscriptions is on their literary influences and allusions.<sup>129</sup> Of the few general thematic studies of *CLE* that exist include Lattimore's (1942) *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs* and Hernández Pérez's (2001) *Poesía Latina Sepulcral de la Hispania Romana: Estudio de los Tópicos y Sus Formulaciones*, which do as their titles suggest: examine the themes in sepulchral verse inscriptions. Epitaphs, as the vast majority of our surviving epigraphic evidence, are the most focused area of analysis of *CLE*. As the data in this research has been obtained from all categories of verse inscriptions, this means that a broader range of themes, from the epigraphic habit of all those whose lives were affected by the Roman military have been identified and analysed; for some themes, this is the first time they have been studied either specifically in the context of soldiers (Chapters 3-5) or in the context of Latin verse inscriptions in general (such as Chapters 6 and 7), or both (for example, Chapter 8). The methodological approach taken in this study has enabled this identification and analysis of these new themes.

Inscriptions of the Roman military have been studied in relation to the identity of the Roman soldier, with increasing frequency over the years, both in regards to verse and prose inscriptions. Aside from the studies discussed above by Cenati (2023) and Massaro (2023), those that focus on military inscriptions in general also exist. Keppie's, for example, paper in *Documenting the Roman Army. Essays in Honour of Margaret Roxan* (2003), "Having been a soldier". The Commemoration of Military Service on Funerary Monuments of the Early Roman Empire', was observed by Brice as 'helpful in that he makes some interesting observations, and as a whole it suggests an area worthy of more work'.<sup>130</sup> Other similar studies exist, which focus on how soldiers commemorated their time in the Roman military in funerary monuments, examining both the inscription as a monument and as a text, contextualising them, for example Coulston (2014). Keppie, like Haynes, and is something that ought to be borne in mind here, points out that not every soldier would have wished to immortalise their service in stone, and thus the data set presented in this study is only representative of those who wished to be remembered, or who wished to remember someone, as a soldier.

One reference has been found by the author in the general studies on the Roman military to verse inscriptions. Le Bohec cites *CIL* III 2835, *CIL* VI 2489, *CIL* VIII 702 = 12128 and *ILS* 2167 (**ET.65**, **ET.33**, **NW.3**, **NW.6** respectively), although, as he adds, and will become evident in this study, this is 'by no means an exhaustive list!'.<sup>131</sup> He acknowledges that some soldiers' epitaphs were metrical (he mentions only epitaphs), but 'admittedly they were more metrically correct at the beginning of the first century than at the end of the second, but this was also true

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<sup>129</sup> As seen in the commentaries on these inscriptions, such as in *CLE*, the works of Cugusi and Cugusi & Splendorio Cugusi, and individual commentaries on these inscriptions, examples of which are mentioned above.

<sup>130</sup> Brice 2004: 25.

<sup>131</sup> Le Bohec 1989b: 232 n. 3.

of other social strata'.<sup>132</sup> This contributes towards the perception here that those in the Roman military differed little in attitude and mentality from wider civilian culture, at least regarding their epigraphic output. He sees epigraphic texts as indicative of the level of culture within the military: as time goes by, 'the quality of the metrical epitaphs suffered, and 'vulgar Latin' forms became more numerous with time just like any closed circle the army generated its own jargon, a military slang that is observable through inscriptions and literary texts'.<sup>133</sup> Although the metre is what most would label as 'incorrect', it is evident that this occurs more because the composer was experimenting with style, modifying the metre for artistic/linguistic reasons, or trying to make the inscription metrical regarding its layout on the stone, so sometimes they had to bend the rules; it less frequently occurs due to genuine errors or mistakes. Does this creativity for the sake of metre indicate a decline in culture? Surely it does the opposite.

Case studies with a focus on specific military verse inscriptions exist, usually ones that are notable for their content. There has been a broad approach to military verse inscriptions, with some being extensively studied, primarily for their content, some barely studied, some not at all, apart from, for example, their appearance in the *CIL*. This is reflected in the nature of this study, as it will be seen that there are more references and footnotes, more extensive scholarly discussion, on certain inscriptions than others. This makes the handling of this data important, yet difficult, as this is the first time some inscriptions have a commentary written about them, analysed for their content and contribution towards perceptions of the individual and their lived experience in the Roman military, and accompanied by an English translation, as there is an English translation provided with each inscription in this study for ease of access, so this work can be used by everyone of varying epigraphical backgrounds, in the Catalogue of Inscriptions. For others, their discussion here will be another reference, another footnote in their (long) history of research. Approaching military verse inscriptions as case studies can skew perceptions of these inscriptions to those who do not know the broad data set, as they may think that these case studies are representative of the verse inscriptions of the Roman military when, in many cases, they are the exceptions, not the rule.

Traditionally, it is the longer verse inscriptions, the ones with something unusual and/or of 'more substance' in their content, that have been researched in more depth. As this research reveals, the length of a verse inscription does not make it any more significant or noteworthy in terms of what it can demonstrate about the experiences of, and how they were interpreted by, those with connections to the Roman military. An inscription with four lines of verse can offer us just as much, if not more information, about the Roman military, the relationships between civilians and those in the Roman military, ranks in the military, understanding of Latin verse and literacy by the general populace, and the importance placed upon Latin epitaphs as an inscription with ten lines of verse.<sup>134</sup> De la Bédoyère (2020), in *Gladius: Living, Fighting and Dying in the Roman Army*, concludes his work by quoting two Latin verse inscriptions that will become familiar in this research: here labelled as **AI.5** and **NW.10**. The former is five lines long, the latter eleven, yet they both were deemed demonstrative enough of living, fighting and dying in the Roman army that they feature at the close of his book,<sup>135</sup> thus cementing the value of Latin verse inscriptions in understanding and interpreting the daily life of those in the Roman military.

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<sup>132</sup> Le Bohec 1989b: 232.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>134</sup> Here, **NW.6** and **NW.10** are specifically thought of, but this is apparent throughout this research.

<sup>135</sup> de la Bédoyère 2020: 403-404.



Some of the verse inscriptions in this study have been extensively researched, most notably **ET.40**. This is the longest surviving Latin verse inscription, and the mausoleum upon which it is inscribed has its own volume,<sup>136</sup> with an extensive commentary on this inscription. Another is **NW.10**, which has been often examined in papers for its boastful attitude and exhibition of feats of military skill.<sup>137</sup> These, however, are exceptions to the Roman military verse inscription rules and patterns, as revealed in this study. The inscriptions in this data set show a remarkable overall uniformity, whilst displaying unique individuality, rather like the functioning of the Roman military itself.

One of the most important studies for this research is Adams' (1999) *The Poets of Bu Njem: Language, Culture and the Centurionate*. He focuses on two poems by centurions from Bu Njem (**AI.3** and **RI.14**), using the language in them as case studies 'as an index to their literary, culture, educational levels, and (in some cases) bilingualism' of centurions, a topic that had not been previously studied.<sup>138</sup> This, in many respects, is the aim of this research, except for all levels of the Roman military (with the caveat of those depicted in Latin verse inscriptions). As far as the author is aware, no one else has taken this type of approach towards Latin military verse inscriptions between Adams' 1999 paper and this research. **AI.3** and **RI.14** are analysed here beyond their indications of the sociolinguistics of the Roman centurionate. Adams makes a statement that ought to be borne in mind when contemplating the inscriptions here: 'the poems provide remarkable evidence for the cultural and linguistic level of centurions, if one can make the assumption that the texts were the responsibility of the two centurions themselves. Neither text claims explicitly that it was composed by the centurion', although the language used in them implies it.<sup>139</sup> He deduces these inscriptions are 'evidence for the sort of Latin the centurions would have approved of, even if they were not themselves the sole authors of the poems'.<sup>140</sup> The reasons Adams gives for this are because the centurions had their names inscribed on the monuments, 'specimens of substandard/peculiar Latinity' as Adams describes them, 'and that implies either that they wrote the texts themselves, or were not capable of finding fault with their content', or because the centurion was hardly likely to retain errors of someone who had assisted him, if he had received assistance, if his cultural literary level was lower than the one who assisted him; this, Adams remarks, was unlikely.<sup>141</sup> This may have been the case for every rank in the Roman military, not just the centurionate.

The questions Adams asks in regard to **RI.14** are asked in general in this research here:<sup>142</sup>

The questions which I deal with in relation to the poem of Iascuthan are mainly linguistic. Does the poem tell us anything of interest about the linguistic situation in the camp, particularly if it is compared with that of Avidius? What are the sources of its Latinity? Was the writer a native speaker of Latin? Does the poem throw any light on literacy and its acquisition in the army? What generalizations can be made about the social level of centurions' Latin? The poem of Iascuthan throws up many problems of interpretation, not all of which can be solved.

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<sup>136</sup> See Slim, Lassère, Hallier, Soubiran, Pikhaus, de Buck, Devallet, Lund, W. Sørensen, Peyras, Martin, Roubillois & Michaud (1993).

<sup>137</sup> See the discussion on these inscriptions in Chapters 7 and 8 below for the evidence of the extensive research behind them.

<sup>138</sup> Adams 1999: 109.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*: 113.

This was unintentional, thought of before the author read this article, but it is important to see this approach being taken towards military *CLE*, albeit on a smaller scale, and seeing how these questions affect the analysis of these two verse inscriptions and what they can tell us about the Roman military in case studies such as these.

The origins of the authors of **AI.3** and **RI.14**, i.e. the centurions themselves, are indicative of the scope of the origins of soldiers within the Roman military: one was identified as African, the other Italian. This happens frequently in the verse inscriptions of the Roman military, either through their content and/or their use of Latin. They can ‘be treated as more or less contemporary’, with only twenty years between them.<sup>143</sup> These two poems ‘certainly tell us that there were poets of different abilities in the camp’,<sup>144</sup> both metrically and on a fundamental linguistic level, which prompts Adams to suggest ‘we may tentatively hear in the two poems evidence for the dialectal mixture which must have been typical in many military outposts’,<sup>145</sup> as well as ‘the cultural diversity of the centurionate’.<sup>146</sup> Despite what Adams identifies as the metrical faults of **RI.14**, and the odd morphological and idiomatic idiosyncrasies, overall, their language use and application indicate **RI.14** and **AI.3** were ‘the work of one who had been trained in more than the mere rudiments of literacy’,<sup>147</sup> although this itself seems to have been on varying levels.

**AI.3** and **RI.14** display the ‘imperfection’ of metre that inscriptions are often deemed to have, but still the attempt and motivation to write metrically was there, making their poetic intent apparent. Where Adams, like many other scholars who examine verse inscriptions, sees this as a fault, a failing on the part of the author; here these metrical ‘mistakes’ are viewed as expressions of creativity, experimentations in verse by the author, either for linguistic or artistic effect, or for making the verse work within the limitations of the stone, or both. Although, some ‘errors’ in the verse have occurred for other reasons, such as linguistic variations in the use of Latin across the Empire, for example, Adams indicates that the perceived ‘mistakes’ in **RI.14** may be due to the context of African Latin.<sup>148</sup> This would have a significant effect on the understanding and portrayal of Latin verse, both when written and read aloud, if someone was unused to, and did not have a concept of, the differences between long and short vowel sounds. These understandings are indicative of changes in the understandings of Latin in general, as it changed with the natural evolution of time and space.<sup>149</sup>

Adams ponders the education of the authors of these poems, and it is clear that it was diverse and acquired in different ways.<sup>150</sup> Together, these two centurion poets portray the extremes of Latin metre: whilst Adams despairs of, but gives context for, Iasucthan’s metrical ability, Avidius ‘was able to avoid errors almost entirely ... though it has to be said that his syntax and morphology were decidedly substandard’.<sup>151</sup> These verse inscriptions offer us an insight into

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<sup>143</sup> Adams 1999: 117.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*: 118.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*: 119.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*: 114. See also 115.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.* 116: ‘The impression should not be given that a vowel system in which, as Consentius noted, stressed vowels were lengthened and unstressed vowels shortened, was peculiar to Africa. Inscriptions verses from (e.g.) Rome, Spain, Gaul, and Moesia, as well as Africa, show signs of lengthening under the accent and shortening of unstressed vowels. Early signs of the beginnings of such a development can indeed be traced right back into the Republican period...’; 117: ‘nevertheless the persistent association of these ‘vices’ in the grammatical tradition with Africa must mean something’.

<sup>150</sup> See Adams’ comments on Iasucthan’s Latinity (*ibid.*: 114-116), and in Chapters 5-6.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*: 117.

the sociolinguistics, cultural background and environment of those within the centurionate, and such ‘evidence ... of the officer classes deserves to be exploited’.<sup>152</sup> Given the number of verse inscriptions in this study by or concerning the higher ranks of the Roman military, the evidence they can provide is important to understanding the lives and identities of those within the Roman military. For Adams, ‘what these various poems [of the centurionate] ... seem to reveal is a certain influence of the Roman army in inspiring cultural aspirations in its officers’.<sup>153</sup> We can use these inscriptions as indicators not only of the level of literacy of these soldiers, but also of their identity, culturally, socially, personally, in how they consciously choose to portray themselves, or how someone has chosen to portray them, and through their use of Latin, that they chose to use verse, and that their use of Latin was intertwined with their military identity.<sup>154</sup>

The literary ability and appreciation of poetry amongst the ranks of the military was well known, enough that it reached the ears of a poet in Rome, and his audience would have known this too:

*sed meus in Geticis ad Martia signa pruinis  
a rigido teritur centurione liber,  
dicitur et nostros cantare Britannia versus.*

but, near Mars’ standards, my book is made dog-eared  
in Getic hoar frosts by a hardy centurion,  
and it is said that my songs are sung in Britain.

Mart. epigr. 11.3.3-5.

For Kruschwitz, Martial’s poem is not only a soldier appreciating the work of a poet, but Martial is attributing ‘the circulation of his works ... to the Roman military’ across the Empire.<sup>155</sup> Kruschwitz addresses a lacuna in the research: ‘the way in which the Roman army, as a major factor contributing to relative mobility of individuals within the Roman Empire, may be thought of as a driver behind the diffusion and general dynamic of Roman poetry and song, has not sufficiently been explored’, also that ‘regionalized approaches to poetry and song as a cultural practice, subject to local, ethnic, social, and cultural variation and change, have not yet been pursued in a research context in which Roman poetry has largely remained a domain of study in upper-class entertainment and intertextuality’.<sup>156</sup> This study contributes to this discussion, particularly the former observation. The verse inscriptions of the Roman military allow for a more diverse profile of poets to be examined, especially as the data in this study ranges across the ranks and units of the Roman military, and their families. Perhaps the Roman military, with its increased expected use of literacy on a daily basis and probable literary training, enabled this more universal representation of poets to exist.

The *CLE* of Britain themselves ‘serve as vivid reminders of the democratic universality of poetry and song in the Roman empire’;<sup>157</sup> as this research shows, this was not just true of Britain, but across the Roman Empire. Kruschwitz does demonstrate that ‘as Roman military units advanced further to the north, poetry followed’.<sup>158</sup> This is another piece of evidence

<sup>152</sup> Adams 1999: 126.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*: 130.

<sup>154</sup> See, for example, Adams’ comments on Latin and the military (2004: 760).

<sup>155</sup> Kruschwitz 2020a: 178. See also 201.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*: 178.

<sup>157</sup> Kruschwitz 2018: 19.

<sup>158</sup> Kruschwitz 2020a: 185. See also 201.

contributing towards the argument that the Roman military were the gatekeepers of Roman customs, and spread it across the Empire, not simply through language and governance, but through culture and literature too. The verse inscriptions of northern Britain demonstrate the evolving ways in which the Roman military assimilated itself into civilian society, and ‘profoundly reflects the specifics of this challenging environment and the hopes, fears, and desires of those who served the Roman Empire’.<sup>159</sup> This mentality is demonstrated in the verse inscriptions of the Roman military across the Empire, highlighting the shared difficulties, wishes, and general lived experiences of the soldiers and those associated with them across the lands of the Roman world, in many respects regardless of context, location or time; all that changes are the nuances within Latin military verse inscriptions.

## 2.4. Conclusion

This research seeks to break the disjointed approach towards Latin military verse inscriptions of the Roman Empire by examining them as a collection. This research develops on from the general scholarship and information that has been, and continues to be, disseminated about the Roman military, using the information expressed in these verse inscriptions to assist in our understanding of the mentality of those whose lives were affected by the Roman military lifestyle, and how they were distinct from, and similar to, the wider civilian world, as well as if, and how, they preserved their native origins within these Latin inscriptions, which in and of itself became a distinctly Roman act. It is not lost on the author, that, whilst focusing on the individual, this research creates the first broad collection of Latin military verse inscriptions. But this is not at the expense of the individual; it situates them within the collective.

Verse inscriptions, as literary, personal, often first-hand accounts by the soldier himself, or someone close to him, present both practical and emotional insights into life in the Roman military. The novel perspective this research offers by focusing on the individual, whilst not ignoring the wider context of the Roman military setting, through novel methodological approaches to Latin verse inscriptions, presents us with a more nuanced perspective of the ‘lived experience’, in contrast and in conjunction with the more conventional approach of the perspective of the Roman military as a collective: a collective composed of individuals who came from diverse, heterogeneous backgrounds, installed in a homogenous institution. This enriches our understanding of the diversity of the individuals who composed the Roman military, giving life and meaning to their own individual experiences within this institution that affected more than just the soldiers serving within it. This means we can evaluate perspectives of the lived experience of the individuals whose lives were affected by the Roman military, their thoughts, emotions, hopes and beliefs, their everyday interactions and relationships with each other and beyond the military, and how they identified themselves within this institution that spanned, and was intrinsically intertwined with the functioning of, the Roman Empire. Through their inscribed *carmina*, through the words of the men and those associated with them, themselves, we can have novel insights into the Roman military by presenting the ‘voices’ of the diverse individuals composing this cohesive, disciplined institution.

Identity can be shaped by language, but it is also impacted by other factors, ‘by sex and age, religion and politics, work and play, wealth, health and a dozen other modes by which individuals fashion their selves under the gaze of others’,<sup>160</sup> for that is what identity is partially dependent upon: the gaze of others, as apparent in Latin (verse) inscriptions. As Woolf

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<sup>159</sup> Kruschwitz 2020a: 189.

<sup>160</sup> Woolf 2002: 186.

observed, ‘that component of personal identity deriving from a state of membership of a collectivity is notoriously fluid, often manipulated strategically or (to be more polite about it) is ‘context-dependent’’.<sup>161</sup> The Roman military was all at once a place of great fluidity and great stability, for the range of recruits entering its ranks shaped the ever-changing identities of the military within its units as much as it shaped their own, with opportunities of social and hierarchical ascent, yet it was a stable life, career and daily routine for those serving within its ranks.<sup>162</sup> This would have allowed for a stable military identity to be formed, depicted in the expression of rank and affiliation with the Roman military in these inscriptions, their place within and without society to be realised, as demonstrated in their similarities with and deviations from themes in civilian verse inscriptions, as well as allowing individual identities to be shaped and cemented, demonstrated in the unique and personal aspects of this collection of Latin military verse inscriptions.

Verse inscriptions provide a further individualising factor, developing and enriching our understanding of how the Roman military operated militarily, socially, individually. Studying the verse inscriptions of Roman soldiers is vital to understanding their mentality, perceptions and thoughts both towards themselves and others outside the military, and vice versa. Studying them as a collection encapsulates the wider attitudes they convey as a whole, situating them within the extended epigraphic culture around the Roman soldier, both institutionally and socially. Just as epic poems defined the Romans as a race, so do verse inscriptions define an individual, as well as the society within which they lived. Their average level of literacy and the skills they learnt within the military suggest these inscriptions had the capacity of being made entirely, from written poem to inscribed stone, and perhaps also to accompanying carved relief, by soldiers themselves. In this way, the Roman soldier could contribute to, could even have the ability to carve, his own perpetual identity in Latin, on stone, in verse.

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<sup>161</sup> Woolf 2002: 186.

<sup>162</sup> See, for example, Ferri 2021: 157-159 for the daily, and general, routines of the Roman soldier.

## Chapter 3

### ***Social and Cultural Identity: Soldiers and the Use of Epigraphic Topoi***

the story is about much more than battlefield dominance. The limits of control extended far beyond the edge of the sword. The use of manpower, the development of new military and civilian identities, the currents of religious belief, and the impact of language and law facilitated the ongoing incorporation of individuals and groups into the Empire.

Haynes, *The Blood of the Provinces*, 2013: 381.

#### **3.1. Introduction**

As the epigraphic topoi presented in this chapter are well known, widely researched, have been analysed and explained in terms of the collective attitude towards ideas of immortality, the afterlife, Fate, Fortune, untimely deaths, and society, for example, the focus of this chapter shall be on situating the importance of these themes within the understanding of the mentality of the Roman military/the Roman soldier and those connected to them. Why did the Roman military have the tropes presented here, these themes that stretched across time and space in the Roman world, from their (predominantly) Greek origins? How did their conformity to universal, cultural, social attitudes situate them within wider society? Many of these *topoi* feature in verse and prose inscriptions, thus situating them within the broader scope of the thinking, ideals and expressions of identity of those within the Roman world who used them. They are, therefore, familiar and require little explaining, especially when many are self-explanatory themselves.

In this chapter, the most frequent examples of these common epigraphic themes, both exemplary and slight deviations from the norm, shall be discussed here. The inscriptions in this chapter are amongst the most varied in length, with some of the shortest inscriptions, of only one line long, being presented alongside the longest verse inscription in existence, at just shy of a hundred lines long, thus highlighting the variety of ways in which these themes could be expressed and the various abilities with which they were expressed, to the extent that the intended poetic nature of the inscription by the author is sometimes questionable. The discussion here is of the most common epigraphic tropes that feature in these inscriptions. Most of them do not exist in isolation. Exploring the use of these well-known themes in military verse inscriptions enables us to situate the mentality of soldiers and those associated with them within that of wider Roman society and culture, to see where they conform and, if they do, deviate from the 'Roman' mentality towards burial, death and conventions of setting one's eternal memory in stone. In doing so, we may understand 'military' identity from its societal perspective: did they think like the rest of society, and did the rest of society think that they fitted in with them?

General epigraphic topoi in inscriptions, which mainly appear in epitaphs (the data in this chapter and Chapter 4 is composed entirely of epitaphs), are well known and have been

extensively discussed in scholarship. Most, therefore, explore these themes partially with the aim of, or the aim manifests itself from the themes and the extrapolation of the data, identifying Roman/ancient ideas of death and an afterlife.<sup>163</sup> Robinson observes that Lattimore ‘is mainly interested in the attitude of the ancients towards death’.<sup>164</sup> Although these themes have religious interactions (most notably the formula *D(is) M(anibus)*), they are not about religion, but the memory of the individual, often using social/cultural expressions of remembrance and epigraphic themes. Therefore, this theme and by-product of exploring these themes shall not be discussed and explained here to a great extent (apart from in the introduction on ideas of immortality, see section 3.3), but, rather, epigraphic tropes shall be explored as a way of situating Roman soldiers, who may not have necessarily had a Roman *origo*, and their identity into the societal and cultural identity of the ancient world.

The most notable of these studies on epigraphic tropes is Lattimore’s *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs*. The best way of understanding the themes he highlights in these epitaphs is by examining his chapter headings, with some examples of the sub-themes within those chapters:

- Interpretation of death
  - o Belief in immortality, and/or an afterlife, and how this was expressed
- The Underworld, cult and the safeguarding of tombs
  - o The Manes, the Underworld, protecting the tomb
- Causes of death
  - o Divine intervention, Fate and Fortune, as well as natural causes of death
- Figures for the description of death
  - o ‘Removal from the light’,<sup>165</sup> the threads of life (or, perhaps more appropriately, the threads holding us in suspense before death), the eternal home, death as an eternal sleep
- Attitude toward death
  - o Untimely death, children being buried by their parents, the flower of life/youth, dying away from home, the good qualities of the dead
- Alleviations of death
  - o Consolation, mourning, addressing the passer by, pride in the tomb, perpetual fame and memory, immortality
- Biographical themes
  - o Someone’s life story, social status, marital status
- Pagan elements in Christian epitaphs
  - o The above themes seen in pagan epitaphs and how they were discussed in Christian epitaphs

Most of the themes discussed in Lattimore’s book are apparent in the Latin verse inscriptions of the Roman military (all the examples of sub-themes within each of his chapters given above are found in these inscriptions, and discussed here, except his final chapter on Christian epitaphs; there is one Christian inscription in this study). Latin and Greek verse and prose, civilian and military, inscriptions are discussed as a part of his data set. Some themes, however,

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<sup>163</sup> See, for example, Sullivan 1939; Lattimore 1942; Jones 2018, where these themes are also exhibited. In Sullivan 1939, it becomes clear that a number of these themes were expressed by non-Romans and/or were not Roman in origin. Many of these themes, as identified by Lattimore throughout his book, were Greek in origin. For discussion of these ideas in general, using epitaphs as evidence, see works such as Crawley 1909; Cumont 1922; Dill 1925; Sullivan 1943; Carroll 2006; Haynes 2013.

<sup>164</sup> Robinson 1945: 38. Amongst other shortcomings of this useful book, including the lack of dates given for many of the inscriptions (39). Carroll takes a similar view (2006: 27).

<sup>165</sup> For discussion on this epigraphic trope, see Chapter 4, as well as Lattimore 1942: 161-164.

have more poetic influence/situation than others, for example the threads of Fate,<sup>166</sup> and the idea of light as life, which was rarely used in Latin prose.<sup>167</sup> In his book, we discover that many of the epigraphic themes, or *topoi*, originated in Greek inscriptions, but were used and made into their own by the Romans and those influenced by Roman culture, as so often happened when the Romans adopted other cultural expressions of identity into their own, from weaponry to words.

Hernández Pérez's research on a similar matter is much narrower in its approach: it concentrates on the pagan sepulchral *carmina Latina epigraphica* of Roman Spain. A number of his themes intersect with those identified in the general study of Lattimore and those identified here. He divides his study into four main themes that he identified in *CLE*: *lamentatio*, *consolatio*, *laudatio* and addressing the passer-by. These are then further divided into sub-themes, including the following:

- *lamentatio*
  - Children dying before their parents/premature death; living preferring to die instead of the deceased; Fate, Fortune and death; dying/buried abroad; tears
- *consolatio*
  - Universality and inevitability of death; life of man; death is destined; life as a loan; Epicurean ideas of death; immortality of the soul; eternal fame; 'el difunto sigue vivo en la memoria de los suyos';<sup>168</sup> funerary monument as consolation; farewell to Hope and Fortune = death liberates us from the sufferings of life
- *laudatio*
  - Irreproachable life of the deceased; good conduct of the deceased; virtues, and praising them; affection; praise of certain demographics (e.g. soldiers,<sup>169</sup> craftsmen, and other men with professions, and thus are praised for their profession and how they conducted themselves during it)
- Addressing the passer-by
  - Various ways in which the passer-by is addressed, including *praeteriens dicas: sit tibi terra levis*;<sup>170</sup> stop and read; well-wishes to the *viator*; protecting the tomb; enjoy life, whilst one still can

Hernández Pérez analyses his data both with consideration for the epigraphic and literary traditions (i.e. comparing to the epigraphic tradition, and seeing if it had been influenced by literary authors) to evaluate 'este tipo de análisis permite determinar, dentro de lo posible, en qué medida cada formulación depende de la tradición más propiamente epigráfica – y de qué tipo es ésta – y de la tradición literaria. Para ello debe tenerse en cuenta que existe una relación de interdependencia entra ambas tradiciones'.<sup>171</sup> Sometimes, he clarifies, what we see as traditions in epigraphy were mirrored in literary poetry, and vice versa. These traditions and themes did not exist in isolation, and were obviously well known enough that poets felt they could play with them. However, Hernández Pérez focuses solely on the inscriptions of Roman

<sup>166</sup> See Lattimore 1942: 159-161, for example.

<sup>167</sup> Lattimore 1942: 163. See also above.

<sup>168</sup> Hernández Pérez 2001: x.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*: 207-211 for epigraphic themes exhibited in these inscriptions. He discusses **ET.44** and **ET.14** in detail concerning the praise of their conduct during their service. He identifies the identical wording and positioning of *fortiter arma tuli/t* in **ET.14** and in **ET.43**, a near contemporary inscription from Germania (209).

<sup>170</sup> See discussion below for this quote in inscriptions.

<sup>171</sup> Hernández Pérez 2001: xiii. See also discussion on the immortality of poetry below for this almost symbiotic relationship between literary poetry and epigraphy.



Hispania, to see if there were traditions local to Hispania and/or time periods. He does determine that there were differences between the regions of Roman Spain, themes that were apparent in only some areas, and ones that existed throughout the province,<sup>172</sup> and across the Empire.<sup>173</sup> Some themes were seen in certain areas, for example some formulae, although used in various places, did have strong localisation: ‘the famous *s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis)* appears far more frequently in Spain, Rome, and Africa than elsewhere. The variant, *t(erra) t(ibi) l(evis) s(it)*, is confined almost exclusively to Africa, as is the kindred formula, *o(ssa) t(ibi) b(ene) q(uiescant)*. *D.M. et quieti aeternae* and *d. M. et perpetuae securitati* are mainly Gallic or Germanic’.<sup>174</sup> This leads Lattimore to conclude that ‘this would tend to indicate that there were no *universal* manuals in general use, or at least that, if there were such, they were not all-inclusive’.<sup>175</sup> The benefit of studying the Roman military is that it gives us a homogenous demographic (ostensibly, i.e. simply because they were those based in/around the Roman military) but from a heterogeneous set of locations, origins, cultures, and, to an extent, gender, thus allowing us to place these themes within an understanding of a stabilised social demographic.

These themes identified by scholars such as Lattimore and Hernández Pérez are also apparent in this study; not all the themes they identify are here, but most, although they are of unequal preference (see Table 3). Hernández Pérez also points out that these themes do not exist in isolation,<sup>176</sup> and this is apparent here: many of the inscriptions are repeated throughout the sections presented in this chapter, as many exhibit multiple epigraphic tropes within one inscription (see Table 3). Indeed, as Hernández Pérez says, ‘hay ciertos motivos tópicos, así como ciertas formulaciones de éstos, que están relacionados con varios de dichos elementos constitutivos a la vez’.<sup>177</sup> Despite the existence of these themes, however, there was enough variation between them to signify that individualism and originality was desired by those who composed, erected and dedicated them, and yet the wording on the monument would still be familiar.<sup>178</sup> Hernández Pérez concludes that the majority of these inscriptions were influenced by the literary tradition, but some demonstrated no influence from literary tradition.<sup>179</sup>

Rosenmeyer, although she was writing about the graffiti on the Colossus of Memnon, makes it clear throughout her book how the desire to immortalise one’s experiences, and oneself, was expressed through the creation of inscriptions. People chose to commemorate an event in their life (in this instance, their experience at this site) by situating themselves into the wider narrative, ‘but also to personalize it, make it meaningful on an individual level’.<sup>180</sup> This balance is best seen in the verse inscriptions that display these epigraphic themes: those who chose to have them on their tombstone/the tombstone of a loved one, did so with intent, to immortalise them, situate them within the wider social collective, but also do so with an individualistic slant, even if it was just by stating their name and rank in the accompanying prose section of the inscription. This worked in balance with the social and cultural context, as how people chose

<sup>172</sup> Details of which can be seen in Hernández Pérez 2001: 281-285.

<sup>173</sup> See Hernández Pérez 2001: 296, including repeated inscriptions found in provinces far away from one another.

<sup>174</sup> Lattimore 1942: 19. See also Feucht 2011: 152.

<sup>175</sup> Lattimore 1942: 19-20.

<sup>176</sup> Hernández Pérez 2001: 277.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.* He goes into detail about how these themes intersect (277-278).

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*: 285-286.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*: 286-295. Primarily of the Latin poets, but Greek influence is considered too (295-296).

<sup>180</sup> Rosenmeyer 2018: 80. This more general idea is seen throughout scholarship on the matter of epigraphic themes, however, for example in Lattimore and Hernández Pérez’s books cited above. Rosenmeyer’s comments are also useful for understanding the link between poetry and immortality, which is discussed in more detail below, esp. 91.

to depict themselves ‘speaks volumes about their own sense of self in the context of the group’.<sup>181</sup> Her observations on the graffiti on the Colossus of Memnon can be said to apply to inscriptions in general: ‘these inscriptions also fulfil what has been called the “*mnema* function,” or the function of social memory aimed at a human audience, in which the inscription extends the memory of the dedicator’s name in connection with the monument beyond the tie it would be remembered without the aid of writing. Many of the inscribers supplement their public, socially sanctioned narrative act of commemoration (*mnema* function) with a personal, particularized narrative act of self-fashioning’.<sup>182</sup>

Roman military tombstones have been researched previously, although these tend to lean towards prose inscriptions, and/or isolated incidents of finds and what they can tell us.<sup>183</sup> These studies, however, point out how valuable Roman military tombstones are when researching the Roman military: they ‘are one of the most visible remains of the vast extent of the Roman Empire. They are found in every province, but especially at the Empire’s frontiers’ and ‘the army and the epigraphical habit are two characteristic components of Roman society’.<sup>184</sup> As such, Feucht wonders ‘can we detect a trans-boarder uniformity in the funerary inscriptions of Roman legionaries in Western Europe or do they differ regionally?’.<sup>185</sup> She then goes on to describe her methodology: ‘a sample of 565 inscriptions from seven (geographical, political and ethnic) regions in Western Europe has been collected and in them the frequency of 11 themes, typical of funerary inscriptions, has been established’.<sup>186</sup> The themes she had identified were from secondary scholarship, and were: invocation of the *Manes*, name and identification of the deceased, *tribus*, provenance, age, location of the bodily remains, will and/or heirs, establishment of the memorial, praising the deceased, wishes for the deceased and *varia*.<sup>187</sup> The difference between prose themes and verse themes are, therefore, apparent in these alone, yet crossovers between verse and prose are also seen in their general themes, as have been identified by scholars.

Feucht points out a problem that has been discussed here, and this study also seeks to compliment this gap: ‘whereas most studies concerning Roman military tombstones tend to be monographs with a restricted scope of analysis dealing with an army camp, a military unit, or a province, trans-border inquiries with a broader geographical setting are rather uncommon’.<sup>188</sup> Unlike this study, however, which seeks to cover the whole Roman Empire, Feucht only explores Western Europe, only focuses on the legionaries, between AD 1-250.<sup>189</sup> Her analysis is primarily quantitative. Feucht’s paper is useful, then, for this research, for a general overview of ideas and for analysis, but the actual methodology of analysis of the paper is very different

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<sup>181</sup> Rosenmeyer 2018: 34.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>183</sup> See, for example, Anderson 1984; Keppie 2003; Goldman 2010; Feucht 2011; see also Chapter 2.

<sup>184</sup> Feucht 2011: 147.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.* For more details on her methodology, see 149.

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*: 150-158. *Varia* refers to ‘data which are either only indirectly related to our research, such as the mentioning of other non-legionary deceased persons in the inscription, or which are very divergent and only appear occasionally in inscriptions: e.g., specifications on the protection of the grave ..., specifications concerning the date or place ... of death, a Greek translation of the Latin text, an apostrophe to the reader by the deceased’ (153).

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*: 147.

<sup>189</sup> ‘this article focuses on Roman Western Europe in its entirety. For this research the Western provinces have been grouped into seven regions on the basis of political, geographical and ethnic criteria: (1) *Britannia*; (2) *Germania*: *Germania Inferior* and *Superior*; (3) Gaul: *Belgica*, *Lugdunensis*, *Aquitania*, *Narbonensis* and the three Alpine provinces; (4) Spain: *Hispania Citerior*, *Baetica* and *Lusitania*; (5) Italy: *regions I-XI*, Rome, *Sicilia*, *Sardinia* and *Corsica*; (6) the Danube region: *Raetia*, *Noricum*, *Pannonia Inferior* and *Superior*; (7) *Dalmatia* ... in this article, the term ‘legionary’ refers to the typical *miles*, *centurio* etc., but also to members of legions performing special tasks (such as a physician or a scribe), veterans, and legionaries who have gained promotion to another function outside of the legion’ (*ibid.*: 148).

to that conducted here: verse inscriptions only are examined here, and she does not state which types of inscriptions she uses (prose or verse or both) for her research, although her themes suggest that she was examining prose inscriptions. Here, the themes in verse inscriptions are focused on, whilst also incorporating those of prose sometimes in the verse, sometimes in an accompanying prose section of the overall inscription. Their themes, thus, go beyond those stated as being ‘thematic’ for prose inscriptions; what is important in verse is what it states, although they do often exhibit the themes that Feucht demonstrates are prosaic themes.

Feucht identifies what has also been seen in other studies on Roman military inscriptions: ‘that the legionaries were adapting their funeral inscriptions to regional customs’.<sup>190</sup> The reasons for this may not have been due to the soldiers choosing to conform socially, but other factors, including simply using local craftsmen. Feucht identifies for the Roman legionaries, there were ‘no attestations of *s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis)* ... for Rome, *Germania* or Gaul at all’, but it was popular in Spain.<sup>191</sup> As can be seen in the data in this chapter, however, this is not the case. Her overall analysis confirms and disputes common themes/ideas identified in prose epigraphy by scholars,<sup>192</sup> and aspects of her overall analysis are both confirmed and disputed here. She does affirm that ‘recent research shows that the ‘Romanization’ of the conquered territories was not a one-way process towards a uniform and widespread Roman cultural adoption’, nor was there a standardisation process of Romanisation either, but a more osmotic exchange between Roman and local cultural ideas and individual presentation,<sup>193</sup> which this study also seeks to highlight.

Her findings indicate to her that her ‘overview of the frequency of the different funerary themes in legionaries’ epitaphs in Western Europe has shown a significant diversity between the different regions and provinces. Hence, there is no reason to assume that absolute uniformity existed in Roman legionaries’ funerary inscriptions. ... In our view, the attested differences can be attributed to locally differentiated funerary habits’.<sup>194</sup> For Feucht, to know this in its entirety, we would need to be able to look at local, non-military customs, which, with the data we have, is not so easy.<sup>195</sup> Her study, then, leads her to conclude that ‘Roman legionaries were uniform in a whole range of ways, from their military clothing and armour to a general marriage ban and equality upon retirement, but they were certainly not uniform up to the grave’.<sup>196</sup> However, this study indicates that, whilst there is significant individualism expressed in these inscriptions, there is also a significant exchange in words, ideas, and sometimes quoting another verse epitaph in its entirety that indicates a cultural foundation, exchange and understanding when it comes to writing verse epitaphs, whether of a Roman soldier or otherwise.

People from all walks of life, civilian and military, man and woman, had these tropes featured in their epitaphs. Inscriptions that exhibit generic epigraphic topoi, and/or repeated ideas, or even the verse itself, are not redundant when considering ideas about and interpretations of identity. Repeating, reusing, exhibiting these ideas, scattered around the Empire as those in the military were, demonstrates to us how the Roman military situated themselves, and their loved ones, within society; if a soldier commissioned an inscription for his loved one using common epigraphic themes that were also seen in civilian inscriptions, that assists us in understanding how the soldiers saw their and their families’ place within society. They also demonstrate how

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<sup>190</sup> Feucht 2011: 161.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*: 172-173.

<sup>192</sup> See *ibid.*: 173.

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*: 174. See also 175.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*: 174. See also 175 for more detail on this view.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*: 174.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*: 176.

their loved ones perceived their place within society; when their remains were sent home, or their families erected a cenotaph to commemorate their life and mourn their death in the absence of being able to bury them, these themes are still exhibited in their epitaphs, situating them within society, rather than without, despite their demise potentially being caused by their profession. Repeating these ideas also helped to keep the idea on other tombstones that these may have been seen when they were still alive.

Many see epitaphs as exhibitions of one's status in society, as if they were all trying to outclass one another even in death.<sup>197</sup> This could be a motivating aspect of the erection of tombstones. But they were also born out of affection, love, grief, loss, and the wish for eternal memory.<sup>198</sup> When considering these themes, and the purposes of their appearance on tombstones, our perception can be aided by the idea of 'das kulturelle Gedächtnis': 'the Egyptologist Jan Assmann, drawing on Maurice Halbwachs' earlier work on collective memory, writes of "das kulturelle Gedächtnis," a system combining cultural codes that imbue objects with meaning with a kind of institutionalized mnemonic system that allows memory to last over a long period of time'.<sup>199</sup> As van Nijf said, 'inscriptions helped to turn the urban landscape itself into a mnemonic device, a site of civil memory'.<sup>200</sup> Although the elite classes dominated, all strata of society were represented by inscriptions.<sup>201</sup> This was a part of collective, social memory, partly designed for social conformity, and partly designed for cultural and individual remembrance.

### 3.2. Epigraphic *Topoi* Used in Military Verse Inscriptions

Many of the inscriptions cited here are quotes from the inscriptions, as evidence of these themes. The text of the complete inscriptions can be found in the Catalogue of Inscriptions, under the heading of this chapter, and are labelled: **ET.[INSCRIPTION NUMBER]**. The inscriptions in Chapter 4 should also be considered as belonging to this collection of epigraphic tropes, as this theme is also an epigraphic trope; Chapter 4 explores it in more detail, and clarifies why it is not discussed in this chapter. Many of the themes we encounter in epigraphic poetry are seen in Latin literary poetry too, including the theme of 'live, whilst you still can' (seen in, for example, Hor. *carm.* 1.4.13-20, 2.3, 1.11, with its most famous line, still used now to inspire: *carpe diem! quam minimum credula postero*, 'seize the day! Trusting in the next as little as possible', 8), the perils of Fate and Fortune, and, of course, the description of the Underworld and its inhabitants are a popular theme (exhibited best in Verg. *Aen.* 6; also see section 3.3). War itself, perhaps following Homer's *Iliad*, was a common reference in poetry, either praising it, renouncing it, or simply referring to it in terms of mythology.

#### 3.2.1. Fate

Fate, or 'the Fates', is often synonymous with death: people being seized, *rapio* and all its variants, by Fate/the Fates (which are sometimes implied) is synonymous with death/dying. It is a way of expressing that their lives were too short, they 'went before their time' as we say now. The Fates are often described as 'jealous' of the deceased in life, therefore implying that that is the reason why they stole them away so quickly from the living. Sometimes their mythological depiction of them spinning and cutting the threads of life that they controlled are

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<sup>197</sup> See, for example, Meyer 1990; van Nijf 2000; Carroll 2006: 58-59, 95-96. See also Chapter 2.

<sup>198</sup> See discussion on immortality below, as well as the discussion on cultural/collective memory.

<sup>199</sup> Rosenmeyer 2018: 34-35. See 34-35 and ns. 108-109 for more on theories of collective and cultural memory.

<sup>200</sup> Van Nijf 2000: 36.

<sup>201</sup> *Ibid.*

referred to in inscriptions. Sometimes, Fate acts with Fortune, or the Fates act, or Fate acts on its own.

**ET.41** is an epitaph to a *miles* of the *Legio IV Macedonica*.<sup>202</sup> Unusually for military verse inscriptions, his century is cited. His colleague, an *optio* of the same legion (presumably, as none other is mentioned) but from a different century (*Iulus Martialis*), made it for him.

*Vivite felic[es] quibus est | data vita fruen[d]i.  
n`a`m m[hi] | non fato datum est felice | morari.  
hic ego nunc iac[eo], | fatis compostus [in]iqu[is]. |  
crudeles superi, ni[si me] | fortuna iniqu[ua ---], |  
mea iam [---] | a++[---]  
++[---]*

In **LL.4**, an epitaph to the wife of a *beneficiarius consularis* is described as being a victim of the Fates:

*invida Fatorum genesis | mihi sustulit illam.*

A poignant, skilled epitaph for a son of a trierarchus begins with this idea, but still with the acceptance that death is a part of the natural law of life (**AI.1.1-2**):

*“A, male Parcarum dura de lege sororum, |  
raptus...”*

Asclepiades complains in **RD.8** that the Fates prevented him from dying and being with his family so, whilst he lived, he must weep and grief for the loss of his son, who had been his only other living relative, continually. Asclepiades felt his only solution left, as all his family were now gone, was to spend the rest of his days, waiting for when the Fates had planned for him to die, mourning and grieving his family.

*flere necesse est  
adsiduae, | dum mea Fata resistant.*

The link between Fate, Fortune and one's lifespan is divine, but sometimes this is interpreted as the gods are responsible for when people die, not Fate and Fortune. In **RD.9**, **LL.6** and **LL.7**, fortune is a passive agent to the gods' active designs:

## **RD.9**

*vobis nunc dii Fortuna beata{m} (vac.) |  
et semper ho<no>rata{m} (vac.) praestent (vac.) | suo numine (vac.) sancto libentes (vac.) |  
ex qua possitis obiti bene linquere natos.*

## **LL.6**

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<sup>202</sup> This legion was posted in the Iberian Peninsula (Augustus – Claudius' reigns) before being posted to Mogontiacum, Germania Superior (in the reign of Claudius), and Vespasian disbanded this legion because of its actions in the Year of the Four Emperors and Julius Civilis' rebellion, the *Legio IV Flavia Felix* created in its stead (see Hardy 1887: throughout; Campbell 2012d: 817; Wolff in Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 1042 table 8). Found near Mogontiacum, this inscription can therefore be dated between 41-70 AD (see above as well as EDCS-1100912; *CLE* 373; *AE* 2012.1029 adn.; see Hernández Guerra 2017: 394 for a photo of this inscription). Both of the soldiers in this inscription were Roman citizens, and the *miles* it is dedicated to originated from Nertobriga (see Hernández Guerra 2017: 394-395). According to Hernández Guerra, the century of Munatius existed in the *Legio X Gemina* in c. AD 41-42, which narrows down the date of this inscription (2017: 394). See also Appendix 2 for information on this legion.

*vobis dii Fortuna beata |  
et semper honorata{m} pr(a)estent, suo numin[e]| sancto,  
ex qua possitis obiti bene linquere n[atos]. |*

## LL.7

*tu opta viator  
cum pie|tate tua ipso terra leve nobis Fortuna beata, |  
ex qua tu possis obitus bene linquere natos. |*

In this small collection, Fortune was equated with life, where it is contrasted with *obitus*, the deceased.

Sometimes, the actions of the Fates are merely referred to, but the act of ‘seizing’ is enough to evoke their work on the living. It is Fate approaching that signifies death, the passage of someone’s life concluding when Fate comes to meet them, as seen, for example, in **ET.3**, where a *miles* of the 7<sup>th</sup> Legion is remembered by his brother:

*vale et bene | facito vitae, dum Fatum venit. |*

The implication is that the Fates do this because, in their jealousy, they wish to make the deceased be forgotten by the living. This is counterproductive, because it was their death that initiated the construction of their tomb, which was inscribed to ensure they existed for eternity, as seen in **ET.43**, an epitaph to an unknown *miles*, who served in an unknown legion:<sup>203</sup>

*Eripuit nobeis undevincensumus annus |  
ingressum iuenem militiam cupide. |  
Parcae falluntur Fontanum quae rapue[ru]||nt, ||  
cum sit perpetuo fama futura viri. |*

This is also seen in **ET.59**, an epitaph dedicated to a soldier of unspecified rank and who served in an unknown legion, by his family; given that the soldier was reportedly 45 when he died, this shows the range of when the ‘prime blossoming of youth’ was, particularly for men, in the Roman world.<sup>204</sup>

*Hic situs est iuuenis, primo qui flore | iuventae  
impavidus Martis. dum | <in>cautus iret in hostis,  
invida Par|carum sem<p>er sic prona volun|tas  
oppressit. memoran|de iaces Ianuari sepul|cro,  
sic felix quot | humo te mater mise|randa recondit. |*

<sup>203</sup> Based on the time and location, however, some might think it possible to conjecture the unit he might have been in. This has been dated to between 30 BC-AD 68, and was found in Saguntum, Hispania citerior (EDCS-09100381; *CLE* 978; *AE* 1989.481; *AE* 1999.913 and). In *AE* 1987.716, the editors thought it more likely that it was from the Augustan period; Cugusi (2007.117) thinks that this was more likely to be dated to the beginning of the first century AD; Gómez Pallarès (2002: 220) too thinks that it should be dated to the first half of the first century AD, on the cusp of the first century BC. The editors of *HEp* 1999.584 (216) date it to around the time of the death of Ovid. However, the editors of *AE* 1987.716 suggest that he was from Saguntum. In the Augustan period, this was a *municipium* (Keay 2012b: 1308). Given the date, and the content of other military inscriptions, it is perhaps unlikely that he served near here, and his family set up his inscription in his home town, not where he served. See also Chapter 8. Interestingly, the poem itself on the stone here ‘distingue los pentámetros de los hexámetros ... mediante sangrados’ (*HEp* 1999.584: 215), which is how we display verse inscriptions written in elegiac pentameter now, and the internal format of how elegiac pentameters work (i.e. the relationship between the first and the second line of each couplet) also is applied here (see *HEp* 1999.584: 216). See also Gómez Pallarès 2002: 217-220 and *HEp* 1999.584: 215-216 for a commentary on this inscription, and the epigraphic (funerary) themes within it. Both have a similar verdict of this inscription.

<sup>204</sup> See also the discussion on a soldier being described as a *iuuenes*, regardless of age, in Chapter 8.

However, sometimes it is death who does the seizing, or approaching, sometimes taking people away from their fate. Fate on its own is mostly used to signify the duration of life, rather than the end of it: their fate was cut short, i.e. their duration of life ended with their death. Although, sometimes it was used as a synonym of death. Examples are seen in inscriptions such as **ET.39**, an epitaph for a surveyor by his parents,<sup>205</sup> and his father was a light armed reserve troop,<sup>206</sup> and **ET.56**, an epitaph for Clarus, a soldier of unspecified rank and unit, by his *commanipularis*.

### ET.39

*Innocuus Aper ecce iaces non virginis ira,  
nec Meleager | atrox perfodit viscera ferro.  
mors tacita obrepsit subito fecitq(ue) | ruinam  
quae tibi crescenti rapuit iuvenile(m) figuram. |*

### ET.56

*cum bis duodenos aetas [c]om[pleverat annos], |  
tum rapuit Fatis mors inimica suis. |*

In **AI.9**, life is portrayed as if it were the debt of death, which is repaid when someone dies, and that to live is something that is deserved:

*quae, non | ut meruit,  
ita mortis sortem | retulit.*

The Fates are not always referred to, but the idea that life is something given to someone, allotted, which implies it was allotted by something, can be seen in examples such as **ET.33**, where there is also reference made to the Epicurean idea that we return to the state we once were in before we were alive when we die, conveying a similar message to **ET.69**:

### ET.33

*Usurae vitae | sort'e`m morti reddidit. |*

In this inscription, life is a loan of death, here *usurae vitae* meaning ‘the interest of life’, as in the ‘repayment money of a loan or a debt’, rather than the ‘fascination’. This makes it seem as if life is excess time on death, that death is the governor of life, rather than the other way around. Other inscriptions in this data set imply this, none say it quite so directly as **ET.33**.

It is almost as if the living were possessed by death, similar to **AI.2**, where Severus is now no longer the play-thing of Hope and Fortune, because he has died:

*actu(m)st, excessi. Spes et Fortuna valete. |  
nil iam plus in me vobis per s(a)ecla licebit. |*

This may be why Fortune no longer has control over Severus’ life, because it can no longer dictate the confines of it, i.e. his life is not governed by the limitations of death. In this way, Fate and Fortune can be understood as agents of death, taking someone either before or at their allotted time. As becomes apparent in **AI.9**, this was a part of nature (10-12). Although devastating, to be taken by the Fates before someone’s life was perceived to naturally come to an end was still part of the natural order of the process of death: Death, or, more likely, the

<sup>205</sup> See Lewis & Short 1945: 1133, IIC for *ensor aedificiorum*.

<sup>206</sup> See *ibid.*: 15-16, C for *accensus velatus*.

Fates/Fortune, took someone away. **AI.9**, it is someone's *spiritus* that is returned to nature,<sup>207</sup> but in most of the other inscriptions presented here where someone has been seized by the Fates, it is implied that they take the whole person. It is only Fructuosa, the wife of Proculinus, the tribune of the *Legio III Augusta* in **AI.9**, where being taken before one's time is seen as supernatural (9-12), as it was not perceived as the natural time for her to die and return to death, but this may be due to the circumstances of her death, as she appears to have been in a coma or had some sort of degenerative disease before she died (10-11). Such an attitude conveys that to be free from the constraints of life, by being dead, also meant that one was free from the impositions of Fate and Fortune, and the impending fear of death, which, as these inscriptions show, can come at any time, to anyone. Although death interrupts the individual's life, true freedom, therefore, resides in death, because one is free from the burdens of life, including the greatest burden of all: (the inevitability of) death.

Inscriptions that contain this theme include: **ET.2, ET.3, ET.4, ET.7, ET.13, ET.14, ET.17, ET.22, ET.23, ET.27, ET.29, ET.33, ET.34, ET.37, ET.39, ET.40, ET.41, ET.42, ET.43, ET.45, ET.48, ET.51, ET.54, ET.56, ET.59, ET.61, ET.62, ET.73, ET.74, LL.3, LL.4, LL.6, LL.7, AI.1, AI.2, AI.10, RD.8, RD.9.**

### 3.2.2. Commands, Requests and Advice from the Dead

Themes that can be placed under this category are often stock or formulaic phrases, such as *sit tibi terra levis*, which was so common it was often abbreviated to *STTL* in prose inscriptions, but is either written in full or played with in verse inscriptions. The abbreviation acts as an equivalent to *RIP* on modern-day tombstones, and seems to have been regarded in much the same way; when reading tombstones now, the abbreviation *RIP* is often read (out) as “rest in peace” or “*requiescat in pace*”. This expression was also seen in the poetry of the literary authors: it was ‘taken up and repeated, with beautiful variations, by Tibullus, Propertius, Ovid, Martial, and Juvenal’.<sup>208</sup>

Kruschwitz discusses Plutarch's *Περὶ πολυπραγμοσύνης* 11, in which the irresistible nature of inscriptions is made clear, especially invocations such as the ones seen in this particular theme, and therefore that these ways of attracting people to examine the inscription were effective in distracting them from their journeys/everyday lives:

τί γὰρ χαλεπὸν ἐστὶν ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν τάφων ἐπιγραφὰς μὴ ἀναγινώσκειν, ἢ τί δυσχερὲς ἐν τοῖς περιπάτοις τὰ κατὰ τῶν τοίχων γράμματα τῇ ὄψει παρατρέχειν, ὑποβάλλοντας αὐτοῖς ὅτι χρήσιμον οὐθὲν οὐδ' ἐπιτερπὲς ἐν τούτοις γέγραπται· ἀλλ' “ἐμνήσθη” ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος “ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ” καὶ “φίλων ἄριστος” ὅδε τις, καὶ πολλὰ τοιαύτης γέμοντα φλυαρίας;

For how is it difficult not to read the inscriptions on tombs when on journeys, or how is it troublesome to manage to walk past what is written on the walls with a mere glance on leisurely walks, reminding ourselves that not one useful or pleasing thing is written in them? But that Lady Such-and-Such <commemorates> Mr Such-and-Such <wishing them well> as they are <the best of friends>, and more nonsense of this type.

Plu. *Περὶ πολυπραγμοσύνης* 11, trans. by Kruschwitz 2022a: 183.

<sup>207</sup> See the discussion *animus*, *anima* and *spiritus* in Chapter 7.

<sup>208</sup> Sullivan 1939: 508. He gives an explanation for the development and use of this formula around the early Roman Empire (508-510).



Plutarch's discussion on inscriptions emphasises the aural experience of reading these epitaphs, which also contributed towards the distractability of inscriptions,<sup>209</sup> those 'physical and visible transmitter of memory'<sup>210</sup> that were 'meant to be read, and read aloud'.<sup>211</sup> This is also an indication of literacy levels of those being distracted by inscriptions; after all, 'this lettered world provided its inhabitants manifold and diverse opportunities to create, design, and send, but also to receive, and engage with, written messages'.<sup>212</sup> Direct communication with the audience, and expected reciprocal communication, indicates that these epitaphs were not just erected for show, but to be actively engaged with. This was obviously a generic enough message on epitaphs for Plutarch to parody it in his work,<sup>213</sup> and it was apparent in Latin military verse inscriptions.

Yet they were personal enough, close enough to windows into people's personal lives that, according to Plutarch, despite 'inscribed objects that were placed in public spaces for everyone to see ... to look at what is publicly visible in writing merely because it is possible to do so, may simultaneously be covered by legal frameworks and still perceived as an intrusive act, in the same way as peeking through open doors or staring at individuals in the streets could be viewed as invasive'.<sup>214</sup> What is this to tell us about the individual identities exhibited in them, despite their expression through generic, epigraphic themes? After all, verse inscriptions would have stood out more amongst the prose inscriptions:<sup>215</sup>

Los CLE estaban ahí, entre un mar de inscripciones de género variado, abarrotando calles y caminos, esperando a ser leídos por cualquier anónimo viator. Debían de ser un llamativo punto de atención, destacando por su naturaleza exclusiva y lo peculiar de su composición entre la multitud de inscripciones que los rodeaban. Gracias al uso de este código, podían ser identificados a simple vista, quizá no siempre como un texto en verso, pero sí como algo diferente.

**ET.52** is from a fragmented epitaph to a *decurio* of the *cohors II Brittonum*.<sup>216</sup>

*Opto | tibi terra leve. m(a)e|reris anima can|dida.*

**ET.46** is from an epitaph to the father of three men, one of whom was a *miles* in the *Legio III Augusta*.<sup>217</sup>

*Et tu praeteriens | [di]c, prec<or>, "sit tibi terra levis".*

<sup>209</sup> See Kruschwitz 2022a: 183-186. See also, for example, Carroll 2006: 56-57 and Limón 2014: 42 for the prolific nature of inscriptions.

<sup>210</sup> Carroll 2006: 32.

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid.*: 54.

<sup>212</sup> Kruschwitz 2022a: 186. See also Lattimore 1942: 126; Carroll 2006: 55.

<sup>213</sup> See Kruschwitz 2022a: 188-189, 197.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*: 197. See also Carroll 2006: 282 for the public nature of inscriptions.

<sup>215</sup> If they were displayed as verse; see the discussion in the chapters below on the layout of these inscriptions, as well as how they are presented in the Catalogue of Inscriptions. Some verse inscriptions would not have stood out so easily from prose inscriptions, due to their layout. Quote from Limón 2014: 42.

<sup>216</sup> Found in Thanaramusa, Mauretania Caesariensis and dated to the first part of the second century AD (Cugusi 2014a:262; EDCS-15900384; LLDB-80644, 80646). This auxiliary unit was stationed in Mauretania Caesariensis (see Holder 2003: 112), and given that his rank was stated, it is likely that he died on active service. This unit had the honorific title *cohors II Brittonum milliaria equitata civium Romanorum pia fidelis* (Davies 1974: 193; Devijer 1984: 588; Holder 1999: 242; once it is called the *cohors II Brittonum Augusta Nerviana Pacensis milliaria* (Holder 2006: 732 n. 3), thus making it a cavalry auxiliary unit in which its members were Roman citizens. See also Appendix 2.

<sup>217</sup> See discussion in Chapters 5 and 7 and Appendix 2 for more information on the *Legio III Augusta*; it was found in Numidia, the province in which this unit was stationed.

It appears that some appeals to wish that the earth may lie light on the deceased were made by the living who put up the monument. Sometimes it is a wish addressed to the passer-by ‘by the deceased’, as seen in **RD.9**, **LL.6** and **LL.7**:

### **RD.9**

*nunc rogo, si colitis Manes, cuncti | meo nomini tantum  
terra(m) leve(m) optetis.*

### **LL.6**

*quod peto, si colitis Mane[s], | cuncti meo nomini semper  
hac mihi terr[a] | leve optetis.*

### **LL.7**

*tu opta viator  
cum pie|tate tua ipso terra leve*

Sometimes, this is the only line of verse in an inscription, and thus makes us doubt the intended poetic nature of these inscriptions. However, given that it was presented in full, when it could have been abbreviated, perhaps indicates that it was intended to be written as a line of verse. The best example of this is found in a small collection of *equites singulares* inscriptions, **ET.35** and **ET.36**:<sup>218</sup>

### **ET.35**

*D(is) M(anibus). |*

*Aurel(io) Antonio curat(ori) eq(uitum) sing(ularium) d(omini) n(ostri) tu[r(ma)] | Herodes  
Kastr(is) Prior(ibus). nat(ione) Dacus, allect(us) ex | ala Gallor(um) vix(it) ann(os) XXXX  
me(n)s(es) V dies XXV, | mil(itavit) ann(os) XXI. Aur(elius) Curia tur(ma) Rufiniani et  
Aur(elius) | Leo libert(us) eius hered(es) b(ene) m(erenti) f(aciendum) c(uravit). |*

*Optamus cuncti sit tibi terra levis. |*

### **ET.36**

*D(is) M(anibus) |*

*Ulpi Titi eq(uitis) sing(ularis) Aug(usti) n(ostri) | tur(ma) Emeriti. nat(ione) Boius, vix(it) |  
ann(os) XXXV, mil(itavit) ann(os) XVI. al|lect(us) ex ala I Thr(acum) ex Pann(onia) |  
Sup(eriore). Ulpius Felicio pat(er) et | her(es) et Septim(ius) Provincia|lis et Marcellinus Verus  
| her(edes) b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecerunt). curant(e) C(aio) Cestio | Severo vet(erano) Aug(usti)  
n(ostri). |*

*Optamus cuncti sit tibi terra levis. |*

Both of these inscriptions were found in Rome, although their exact findspot is unknown. Antoninus of **ET.35** was a *curator* and an *equites singulares* from the *turma* of Herodes,<sup>219</sup> and he had served in the *Castra Prior*, the ‘Old Camp’ of the *equites singulares*. He was a Dacian

<sup>218</sup> For more on the *equites singulares*, see Chapter 4 and Appendix 2.

<sup>219</sup> A *curator* was also found in the *turma* of the auxiliary *ala* (ILS 2205), so perhaps he retained this position from his time in the auxiliary *alae*, or he was citing his ranks in ascending order. In a military context, a *curator* was ‘a soldier who is sent on a *cura* [mission]’ (Le Bohec ed. 2015: 276). See also Appendix 3.

who was recruited from the cavalry auxiliary units *allect(us) ex | ala Gallor(um)* ('selected from the *ala Gallorum*', 3). His monument was put up for him by his fellow *equites singulares* Aurelius Curia, who served in a different *turma* (of Rufinianus) and a freedman, presumably his own, who were his heirs. Titus of **ET.36** was an *equites singulares* who served in the *turma* of Emeritus. He was of Boian origin,<sup>220</sup> and he, too, had been chosen from the cavalry auxiliary regiments on the front lines: *al|lect(us) ex ala I Thr(acum)* ('selected from the *ala I Thracum*', 3), when it had been serving in Pannonia Superior. His monument had been put up by his heirs, his father and two other men of unspecified relation to Titus, but who were probably also *equites singulares*, and therefore his colleagues; Speidel wonders if all three were *equites singulares*.<sup>221</sup> It was, however, looked after by a veteran of the *equites singulares*. Both have been dated contemporaneously: the general consensus dates them to the third century AD.<sup>222</sup> Both had reliefs of horses on their epitaphs too, although the relief of **ET.35** was more elaborate than that of **ET.36**.<sup>223</sup>

Was there some exchange between the two? Were they made at the same time, by the same workshop in Rome? Was one seen first, and then decided to be imitated by the commissioners of the other? Did Antoninus and Titus know one another? Any of the above questions could be true, and it is difficult to determine precisely how these inscriptions, and the actors within them, interacted with one another. But it is clear to see that there was some sort of exchange between the two, with their closely worded prose sections and identically worded concluding verse line. Their only metrical part, however, is a single pentameter line that expands the *STTL* formula: *Optamus cuncti sit tibi terra levis* ('we all hope that the earth may be light for you'). For Hernández Pérez, inscriptions such as these, where the passer-by is asked 'pronuncie la fórmula *sit tibi terra levis*, como los pentámetros formulares aislados que se añaden a muchísimas inscripciones en prosa y que no pueden considerarse como auténticos *carmina epigraphica*'.<sup>224</sup> This presents a problem for some of these inscriptions, then, as there are a number with this formula, and no other poetic aspects in them, simply prose. However, it does happen that the wish for the earth to lie light on the deceased acts as a separate pentameter line to the verse itself, such as in **ET.25** and **ET.26**.

The idea of wishing that the earth might be light on the deceased is presented as a request, "may the passer by wish this for the deceased", rather than a command. It is presented as a civic duty, something passers-by were expected to do for the deceased, a part of the ritualistic behaviour of reading a tomb, remembering, and commemorating the fate of the dead.<sup>225</sup> This is seen in inscriptions presented above, such as **ET.52**, and the concluding line of **ET.75**, an epitaph to the wife of a member (with an unspecified rank) of the *cohors Surorum*:<sup>226</sup>

<sup>220</sup> He may have originated from Pannonia Superior, where he was serving in the military (see Dobó 1940: 39 nr. 120). He, therefore, appears to have been sent home, as 'der Verstorbene wurde also in der Nähe des Dienstortes bei den oberpannonischen Boiern ausgehoben' (Speidel 1994b: 356). Antoninus also appears to have been recruited from where he served on the front lines, as 'da man in der mittleren Kaiserzeit die Truppen meistens örtlich aushob, stand die Reitertruppe, aus der Antoninus zur Garde befördert wurde, wohl in Dakien. Vermutlich war es die Ala I Claudia Gallorum Capitoniana aus Niederdakien, die dann 233-235 in Mauretanien auftaucht' (*ibid.*: 332).

<sup>221</sup> Speidel 1994b: 356.

<sup>222</sup> See Cenati 2023: 289, 276 who dates both to the third century AD; Speidel also dates **ET.36** to the third century, and **ET.37** to post AD 193; Lőrincz dates **ET.37** to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century; Ricci dates **ET.36** to the end of the second-third centuries AD.

<sup>223</sup> See *CIL* VI 3191; *CIL* VI 3308; Speidel 1994b: 331, 355. **ET.36** depicted a wild boar hunt, however; **ET.37** just had a horse/someone riding a horse.

<sup>224</sup> Hernández Pérez 2001: 281.

<sup>225</sup> See also the discussion on *pietas* in Chapter 8.

<sup>226</sup> This inscription was found in the Roman cemetery in Mogontiacum, Germania Superior and can be dated to first half of the first century AD (Lazzaro 1979: 206; Lupa 1967; EDCS-11202235; LLDB-15307-11; HD022227; Arachne 3460524). This

*dic, rogo, nu<n>c, “iue|nis, sit tibi terra | levis.” (vac.).*

This can even be seen in highly fragmented inscriptions, like **ET.19**, an epitaph for a veteran of the *Legio XI Claudia* and his family:

*[---] viator et |[tit(ulum) ? l]ege. si lex | e[st]  
[leger]e tibi |*

Here, the use of *lex* is telling; with its literal meaning of ‘law’, it makes the idea of the passer-by stopping and reading the inscription more than a social norm, but an act that was expected as a rule of those passing by inscriptions. This small word, in this fragmented inscription describing a social act, therefore, may give us more information about how people interacted with inscriptions. It is often wondered if people actually interacted with the inscriptions that addressed them as they walked past them, or if they ignored them as many ignore inscriptions found around urban spaces now. The use of *lex* here, however, turns the idea of interacting with inscriptions by the anonymous *hospes/viator*, either through the act of reading through the parts of the deceased’s life that had been chosen to be depicted on these stones or by simply wishing that “the earth might be light for you”, from a social norm, something hoped for by the ‘deceased’, so that they might be remembered by the living and continue existing that way, to a civic duty, expected rather than hoped for by the ‘deceased’.

Commands are often expressed with the imperative, whereas requests are done so with the present or jussive subjunctive. Compare, for example:

**ET.51**, from an epitaph for the son of a veteran of an unspecified unit:

*dic, | rogo, praeteriens hos`pe`s,  
“sit t(ibi) t(erra) | levis et mol<l>iter ossa quiesc<a>nt.” |*

**ET.46:**

*Et tu praeteriens | [di]c, prec<or>, “sit tibi terra levis”.*

The requests and commands ‘from’ the dead are often linked to the idea of the dead giving advice. Perhaps the most common is linked to the idea of fate, that common idea of “live, mortal, whilst you still can!”. This is usually expressed by the ‘demand’ that those who are living ought to live well, successfully, happily, before they die.

**ET.31**, from an epitaph for a *venator*, a hunter in the Roman military,<sup>227</sup> of an unspecified unit, by his parents.

*... sine cri|mine vitae.  
florentes | annos mors ipsa eri|puit.  
vivite felices. | moneo, mors omnib(us) | instat.  
ex{s}emplum | a nobis discite, qui | legitis.*

---

is the only inscription that indicates the presence of the *cohors Surorum* being posted here, and it can perhaps be the same as the *cohors Surorum* which was garrisoned in Mauretania Caesariensis (Lazzaro 1979: 207; Gascou 1992: 277). This was an equestrian cohort (full name: *cohors Surorum equitata*) (Gascou 1992: 277), which leads to the conjecture that, around about the middle of the first century AD, this unit was stationed in Mogontiacum for a while (Lazzaro 1979: 207). See also Appendix 3.

<sup>227</sup> See, for example, Epplett’s paper on the Roman military’s role in capturing animals for the arena (2001: 201-222), and Dexheimer’s comments on this inscription (1998: 138-139).

**ET.25**, from an epitaph for a *tubicen*/miles of the *Legio XV Apollinaris*:<sup>228</sup>

*Vivite felices | quibus est dat|a longior (h)ora. |  
vixi ego, dum licu|it, dulciter ad supe|ros.  
dicite, si merui, | “sit tibi ter(r)a | levis.”*

This also ties in with the motif of the living are lucky; death and fate are often described as ‘unlucky’, presumably in contrast to the common *topos* of the living are lucky, because they are alive. As well as already having seen this in some of the inscriptions cited above, such as **ET.41**, we see this *topos* in **AI.5**, an epitaph for a soldier from the *Legio XIII Gemina*:<sup>229</sup>

*[---] legite et felices vita plus min[us] e[ste]. |  
[d]i uva vini et aqua prohibent ubi | Ta[r]tar(a) aditis.  
vivite, dum si[dus] | vitae dat tempus, honeste. |*

This idea of the ‘star of life’ is explained by the idea that: ‘the most manifest sign of immortality in heaven was to become a star ... this fancy apparently involves another idea, that of mortals translated alive into heavens as gods of a lesser order, or even as Olympians; for the stars are also immortal’.<sup>230</sup> Here, the star is equitable to the idea of fate, i.e. one’s life coming to an end. The conclusion of the message of this final line is loaded, heavy, with *gravitas* from the almost completely spondaic nature of *vivite, dum si[dus] | vitae dat tempus, honeste* (‘live, while the star of life gives time, honestly’), although the dactyl at the end of the line lightens the tone somewhat, appropriately, for the message this is conveying. Although this is grammatically a command, due to the imperative, it is a solemn conclusion to this epitaph of a dead man that celebrates the joys of life, and encourages others to do the same.

From **ET.12**, an epitaph for a *miles* in 5<sup>th</sup> Legion by his brother,<sup>231</sup> *coniugi et | [fili]o ... pro pietate (3)*:

*[Flete] coequeales. mors haec | [mea fletibu]s apta est.  
vi(vi)t(e) fel(i)ces q(u)i(bus) [---]. |*

From **ET.20**, a verse funerary inscription for the wife of a *beneficiarius* of an unspecified legion.

*Vivite felices nostris|que profundite Manis |  
et memores sitis nobis|cum vos esse futuros. |*

<sup>228</sup> A *tubicen* played the *tuba*/wind instruments (see Appendix 3; see also Alexandrescu 2007: 36 fig. 3 for comments on the players of wind instruments in general, and for a photo and description of this inscription). This may be why he is specified as a *tubicen* and a *miles*, i.e. to highlight his military connections and rank. This was found in Carnuntum, Pannonia Superior and dates to the middle of the first century AD (this legion was posted here twice, during Augustus-Tiberius’ reigns, and sent back in AD 71, after it had been sent to fight in the east with Corbulo and in Judaea, in the Jewish War. It left Carnuntum and was stationed in Cappadocia during Trajan’s reign, where it remained; CLE 1082; Hardy 1887: throughout; Alexandrescu 2007: 36 fig. 3; Campbell 2012d: 818; Lupa 164; <https://www.mqdq.it/texts/CE/ce1082>; LLDB-8673; EDCS-26600123; see also Appendix 2).

<sup>229</sup> For more information on this inscription, Flaminius’ rank, and the legion he served in, see Chapter 7. Carroll (2006: 53) cites this as an example that ‘the epitaphs not only commemorate a loved one, they also acted as a reminder to visitors of their own mortality’.

<sup>230</sup> Lattimore 1942: 27.

<sup>231</sup> Found in Vetera, Germania Inferior, this inscription dates to the early-late first century AD (EDCS-11100738 and LLDB-104951-4 date it between AD 10-69; HD075698 dates it between 31-AD 79). This legion was the *Legio V Alaudae*: it was stationed in Vetera during the Julio-Claudian period, and was later moved to Moesia in the reign of the Flavians, or it could have been disbanded by Vespasian (Hardy 1887: throughout; Campbell 2012d: 817; Wolff in Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 1042 table 8; Appendix 2).

From **ET.24**, a verse epitaph for a woman's, Aurelia Ursicina, brother, daughter and husband. Her brother was a *ducenarius*, her husband a *miles* of the *Legio I Adiutrix*:<sup>232</sup>

*Vivit|e felices qui 'b 'u 's ' est Fortu|na beata.*

Even in fragmentary inscriptions, we can understand the sentiment, and their origins in these formulaic ideas, such as in **ET.58**, which, like so many of the inscriptions in this chapter, contains multiple common epigraphic themes in one verse inscription.

Another common command was for the passer-by, expressed by *viator* or *hospes*, to (stop and) read the inscription, and contemplate the life and/or death of the deceased. There appear to have been two objectives of addressing the passer-by: either to read and contemplate the life of the deceased and/or to wish that the earth will lie light on them. This is seen in, for example, **ET.4**, an epitaph for an *eques* of the 11<sup>th</sup> Legion, by his *frater*:

*Hospes resiste et tumulum | contempla meum,  
mora|[re gressu]m, litteras nos|[--]++  
lege mando et ST |  
[--]US aliquis alter |facit.  
titulum intueri | scriptum quo Fato occidi. |  
rumore sancto Ilyrici | iaceo in solo.  
infunde | lacrimas quisquis es | [mihi] misericors.  
aetate | [cuncta] ceciderunt mecum | [brevi].  
[ae]quo animo vive vitam | [quoad] fieri [potest]. |*

Often, the address to the passer-by is short, such as seen in **AI.5**, or the verse aspect of **ET.16**, an epitaph for the parents of a *miles* of the Praetorian Guard:

*Have viator. si stu|diosus es, siste et | perlege.*

Most often, this address is seen in the opening lines of the verse part of these inscriptions, such as in **ET.42**, a verse epitaph to a *miles* of the *Legio II*, erected by his fellow soldier in the *Legio II*:<sup>233</sup>

*Hospes ades paucis et perlege ver|sibus acta.*

Or in the opening of **LL.7**, in which it becomes apparent that to wish that the earth may lie light on someone was an act of *pietas* by the passer by, and the creation of a tomb was an act of *pietas*, both familial and generally:<sup>234</sup>

*Respice, praeteriens viator consobrini | pietate parata.*

...

... tu opta viator

<sup>232</sup> For information on this inscription, see, for example, EDCS-29000382; *CLE* 805; HD039580; Lupa 3493; <https://www.mqdg.it/texts/CE/ce|0805>; Massaro 2023: 23, who comments on this epigraphic theme, seen in this inscription, as well as this inscription's Virgilian allusions). A *ducenarius* was an equestrian official (Watson & Campbell 2012a: 479; see also Appendix 3).

<sup>233</sup> As this was found near Mogontiacum, Germania Superior, this legion must refer to the *Legio II Augusta*, which went to Britain in AD 43 as part of the Claudian invasion, and its permanent base became Isca, Britannia (see *CLE* 1005; Campbell 2012d: 816). It was based in Argentoratum between AD 12-43 when it was garrisoned in Germania Superior (Campbell 2012d: 816; Drinkwater 2021a). However, given the military presence at Mogontiacum, it is not surprising that there was communication between these two military bases. See Appendix 2.

<sup>234</sup> See the discussion on *pietas* in Chapter 8.

*cum pie|tate tua ipso terra leve nobis Fortuna beata, |  
ex qua tu possis obitus bene linquere natos. |*

These ideas were so common that they were played with, adapted; although the wording may have been different, the sentiment was the same, as seen in the above inscriptions, and, for example the verse part of **ET.44**, an epitaph for a military tribune of the *Legio VII Gemina Pia Felix Antoniniana*:<sup>235</sup>

*Vive laetus, | qui<s>que vivis. vita parvo(m) mu|nus est,  
mox exorta est, sen|sim vigescit, deinde sen|sim deficit.*

These commands, requests and pieces of advice are sometimes jovial or joking, as in **ET.10**, an epitaph for a veteran of the *Legio V Gallica*:<sup>236</sup>

*Dum vixi, | bibi libenter. bibite vos | qui vivitis. |*

Sometimes the advice is demonstrated through the way someone lived their own life, as seen in **ET.32** and **ET.31**, an epitaph by a soldier of the *cohors III Praetoria* for his children, and for a *venator* by his parents respectively:

### **ET.32**

*Vixi quod volui, semper bene | pauper honeste.  
fraudavi | nullum. quod iuvat ossa mea. |*

A small collection of similarly worded verse inscriptions from the *Legio VII*, when they were stationed in Dalmatia, demonstrate several of these commands, requests and pieces of advice:

### **ET.3**

*Q(uintus) Baebius, Q(uinti) f(ilius) Serg(ia) Conan(a) | miles leg(ionis) VII ann(or)um XXXXV  
| stip(endiorum) XX h(ic) s(itus) e(st). |*

*Quamvis la[ss]e viator rogo ne graveris et | tumulum contempla meum  
lege et moraris iam | aliquid resciveris.  
dum vi[x]i, [hil]aris iucundus amicis |  
[nu]nc to[rpen]s iaceo hic o[ssa req]u[ies]cunt mea.  
natus | sum C'o`n`a`nis, conditu(s) [i]n Illurico.  
vale et bene | facito vitae, dum Fatum venit. |*

*Frater fratri. |*

### **ET.8**

<sup>235</sup> This inscription was found in Terraco, Hispania Citerior, on the east coast and quite far away from this legion's garrison in Legio (in the western part of the country), its permanent base of operations from the mid AD 70s onwards (see Campbell 2012d: 817 as well as discussion on *Legio VII Gemina* in Chapter 5 and Appendix 2). Perhaps this is where his family was from. *CLE* dates it to c. 215 AD (*CLE* 245), Septimius Severus' reign.

<sup>236</sup> This is one of the earliest inscriptions in this collection, and belongs to a legion that did not exist after Augustus' reforms of the Roman military in his reign, so some may argue that it does not belong in this data set. Yet, it just about fits under the timeline of 27 BC-AD 235, as it can be dated to c. 25 BC, which is when the *colonia Antiochia Pisidia*, Galatia, was founded and settled by veterans of this legion, and was where this inscription was found (EDCS-26900081; *ILS* 2238; *CLE* 243; Ramsay 1916: 89; Waldmann 1981: 98; *AE* 1989.726 adn.; *AE* 1998. 1386 adn.; Cugusi 2011.15; it was accompanied by four other inscriptions of this legion [Holder 1982: 148]). As he was a veteran of this legion, however, he must have served in the Republican period, not under Augustus' reign. See also Appendix 2.

*C(aius) Iulius C(ai) f(ilius) | Fab(ia) Ninica | mil(es) leg(ionis) VII | ann(or)um XXXIX  
stip(end)iorum) | XVIII h(ic) s(itus) e(st). |*

*Hospes resis[te et] tumultum | contempla meum.*

*lege et | moratus iam scies, quae | debeas.*

*vixi qua potui, ca|rus sum Oporum.*

*hic su|m sepultus hic oss{u}a re|quiescum mea.*

*vale et | bene facito vitae, dum Fa|tum venit.*

*Faustus l(ibertus) patrono.*

Both epitaphs are for *miles* of *Legio VII* and were found in Tilurium, Dalmatia, dating to the first half of the first century AD (before the reign of Nero, when this legion was moved to Moesia).<sup>237</sup> **ET.3** has been dated between AD 9-56,<sup>238</sup> and was decorated with a Medusa head and ornamental fish on the limestone stele, below the inscription a door had been decorated in relief.<sup>239</sup> Baebius was from Conona, a town in Pisidia, according to Mommsen.<sup>240</sup> Fabius was from Cicilia, as Ninicia was the shortened name of Colonia Iulia Augusta Felix Ninica Claudiopoli.<sup>241</sup> Both were Roman *colonia*.<sup>242</sup> It has been conjectured that those from the east were in this legion because it was garrisoned in Macedonia before it was sent to Dalmatia.<sup>243</sup> According to *CLE*, **ET.3** was written in iambic senarii, with a beginning that seemed to have the intention of being written in hendecasyllables.<sup>244</sup> Here, however, it has been determined that this has been written in six lines of relatively poor iambi senarii. The prose sections are presented much how they are in most verse inscriptions with an accompanying prose section; the last line of the first prose section is indented, and both prose sections are larger than the verse. **ET.3** is *frater fratri*; Roman soldiers often addressed each other as *frater*, so it is difficult to say here, without the name of the *frater* who put this up for Baebius, if he was his military comrade or his biological brother. However, it is more likely that he was his military comrade. As Sanader, Bradač, & Demicheli observed, ‘the expression *frater* in military terminology is not always related to the kinship relationship between two soldiers, but to friendship, which is often firmer because the soldiers live together with each other more than with the members of their families’,<sup>245</sup> and this close relationship dynamic between soldiers is seen in several of the inscriptions presented in this study.<sup>246</sup>

The *Legio VII* was stationed here between AD 9-56,<sup>247</sup> hence the dating of **ET.3**. **ET.8**, however, has been dated between AD 9-42,<sup>248</sup> although it is more likely that we can date it to the same time frame as **ET.3**. **ET.8** was also inscribed on a limestone stele, and in iambic

<sup>237</sup> EDCS-30100403; EDCS-10100892; *CIL* III 9733; *CLE* 77; [https://www.mqdq.it/textsce/CE|ce|0077](https://www.mqdq.it/textsce/CE|ce|0077;); [https://www.mqdq.it/textsce/CE|ce|1876](https://www.mqdq.it/textsce/CE|ce|1876;); Lupa 21448; HD058840, HD034294; Šašel 1986.1950; Wolff in Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 1042, table 8.

<sup>238</sup> EDCS-30100403; HD058840; LLDB-33730, 33732-4.

<sup>239</sup> *CIL* III 9733; see HD058840 for a photo of this monument. See also Šašel 1986.1950.

<sup>240</sup> See *CIL* III 9733. See also *CLE* 77.

<sup>241</sup> *CLE* 1876; Šašel 1986.1950.

<sup>242</sup> See Massaro 2023: 19-20, n. 16.

<sup>243</sup> Massaro 2023: 19 n. 16.

<sup>244</sup> *CLE* 77, with varying displays of other verses throughout, such as dactyls and elegiac pentameter. See also *CIL* III 9733; HD058840; <https://www.mqdq.it/textsce/CE|ce|0077>.

<sup>245</sup> Sanader et al. 2010: 486.

<sup>246</sup> See the discussion in Chapter 8.

<sup>247</sup> HD058840; see above.

<sup>248</sup> EDCS-10100892 dates it from 1-40; HD058840 dates it from 1-41; Lupa 21448 from AD 9-42; LLDB-5823-25, 5834 dates it from AD 1-50.



senarii.<sup>249</sup> It was also decorated with a Medusa head, and with a door relief underneath the inscription, although the overall reliefs on this stele are more ornate and elaborate than that of **ET.3**.<sup>250</sup> Again, there is a differentiation in size of the text between the verse and the prose (the prose is larger), and the concluding line is outside the frame. **ET.8**, however, was, at the very least, commissioned by Fabius' freedman; Sanader et al. think that 'his freedman Faustus set the monument and probably ordered the inscription'.<sup>251</sup>

There is a fourth verse inscription for a soldier in the *Legio VII*, **ET.53**:

*L(ucius) Ancharenus Q(uinti) f(ilius) | Ser(gia) Laranda mil(es) | leg(ionis) VII ann(or)um XL stip(endiorum) XXI | h(ic) s(itus) e(st). |*

*Q(uintus) Ancharenus haec tan[quam] | posuit tibi  
dona frater, quia | longe a patria te  
cecidisse dolet. | optaram vivo potius  
dare vin[a] | me tibi, non obito care ferenda |  
tuo. si quicquam sentire potes, | [pro t]e<m>pore  
nostro damus haec | os[ss{u}a?], "sit tibi terra levis."*

*Frater | fratri posuit.*

In this inscription, the brother of Ancharenus wishes he could drink wine with him, instead of having to pour it as a libation over his grave, which is also a theme in epitaphs, but this is the only instance of it in the data set here.<sup>252</sup>

There is another epitaph for a *miles* of the *Legio VII*, also found in Tilurium, dated from the legion's service here, as **ET.3** and **ET.8** have been. This is **ET.9**:

*L(ucius) Mummius, L(uci) | f(ilius), Fab(ia), Ancyra, | miles leg(ionis) VII, | ann(or)um XXXVI, | stipend(iorum) XVI, | h(ic) s(itus) est. ||*

*Arma bis octonis felicia qui tulit annis. |  
hic situs est Fato Mummius ipse suo. |  
si sapiunt obiti data munera, percipis am<pla> |  
et recipis nostrae pignus amicitiae. |  
hoc tibi cum titulo posuit Cornelius Chrestus |  
et dixit lachrymans, "sit tibi ter(r)a levis". ||*

*M(arcus) Cornelius M(arci) l(ibertus) | Chrestus posuit.*

The wording, however, has no similarity to **ET.3** and **ET.8**, and it was written in elegiac couplets. He was from Ankara, so he, too, was another soldier from Asia Minor.<sup>253</sup> He also does not request the reader to contemplate his life, but he does ask them to do another common request seen on tombstones, as discussed above: that the passer by might wish that the earth will lie lightly on him. The verse here also refers to if the Manes can feel, which was another relatively common trope in Latin verse inscriptions, although it is not so common as to be a

<sup>249</sup> HD058840; <https://www.mqdg.it/texts/CE/ce0077>; Šašel 1986.1950; Massaro 2023 comments on nr. 4.

<sup>250</sup> See Lupa 21448 for photos of this inscription.

<sup>251</sup> Sanader et al. 2010: 487.

<sup>252</sup> See *ibid.*: 485.

<sup>253</sup> See *AE* 1995.1232.

theme in this data set: ‘for all living people, the after life is a mystery, so they hope that the spirits of the dead are aware of living people’s good wishes and intentions’.<sup>254</sup>

There were only four verse inscriptions of the twenty three epitaphs of soldiers of *Legio VII* found at Tilurium, which led them ‘to the conclusion that there must have been a stonecutting workshop in Tilurium’,<sup>255</sup> and the number of verse inscriptions can lead to the conjecture ‘that there might have been one or more poets at the military camp, who were composing poems for the tombstones’.<sup>256</sup> Sanader et al. hypothesised that all four of these inscriptions for the *Legio VII* can be dated to before 42 AD because of the lack of mention of the honorific titles of this legion, and therefore the soldiers in these inscriptions died before AD 42.<sup>257</sup> They note that the soldiers in *Legio VII* ‘left us a lot of information about their home towns, mostly in Italia and Asia Minor’.<sup>258</sup> Tončinić’s analysis of the monuments of the *Legio VII* in Dalmatia correlates with this analysis (‘44% of the members of Legio VII originated in Asia Minor, 33% in Italy, 9% in Macedonica, and 2% in Gallia Narbonensis, while for a further 12% of the members, despite a specified domicile, it was not possible to determine whence they came’).<sup>259</sup> The soldiers in these verse inscriptions were from Galatia, Cicilia, and Asia Minor (**ET.3**, **ET.8**, and **ET.9** and **ET.53** respectively). The soldiers, therefore, were from neighbouring provinces, and Sanader et. al note that **ET.3**, **ET.8**, and **ET.9** were probably written by the same author, and they have a similar iconography, so they were likely to have been carved in the same workshop.<sup>260</sup> **ET.53** is the outlier of these four verse inscriptions of the *Legio VII* at Tilurium, in both style and iconography, thus Sanader et al. ‘believe that the author of this poem was not the same person: at least the poems were not composed in the same period of time’.<sup>261</sup> They believed it was the first of these four inscriptions, although made within the same time frame of ante-AD 42, as ‘in the entire group of inscriptions belonging to the 7<sup>th</sup> legion in Dalmatia, there’s no similar stela to the one of L. Mummius: it is a unique piece of work, both in the sense of metric inscription and funerary monument’.<sup>262</sup>

The similarities between **ET.3**, **ET.8** and **ET.53** indicated to Sanader et al. that these epitaphs were written by using ‘some kind of “poet’s manual” for epitaphs with already prepared elements for composing the poems’.<sup>263</sup> This theory is further supported by the verse of another inscription, *CLE* 76, is almost identical to that of **ET.8**,<sup>264</sup> although it has been personalised to fit the deceased individual. Indeed, Sanader et al. see this as proof ‘that some kind of album in which already prepared verses and phrases existed in the stonecutting workshops in different places of the Empire’.<sup>265</sup> This one was found in Beneventum, Italy (Apulia and Calabria), and dated to the third century;<sup>266</sup> if this man, Basseus, had any involvement in the military, it is now unknown, as his career is not specified on his epitaph. However, given the difference in dates, the person who erected his epitaph must have been familiar with **ET.8**, and wished to repeat it for Basseus’ own epitaph; Sanader et al. emphasise that ‘we cannot exclude the possibility that

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<sup>254</sup> Sanader et al. 2010: 488.

<sup>255</sup> *Ibid.*: 483.

<sup>256</sup> *Ibid.*: 484.

<sup>257</sup> *Ibid.*: 483, 489. See also Appendix 2 for information on this legion and Tončinić 2011: 9, 14.

<sup>258</sup> Sanader et al. 2010: 486.

<sup>259</sup> Tončinić 2011: 218.

<sup>260</sup> Sanader et al. 2010: 489.

<sup>261</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>262</sup> *Ibid.*: 488.

<sup>263</sup> *Ibid.*: 489.

<sup>264</sup> See *CLE* 76, 77. See also Grassl 2020: 145-150; Sanader, et al. 2010: 487.

<sup>265</sup> Sanader et al. 2010: 487.

<sup>266</sup> See EDCS-12401270; Cugusi 2003: 452.

the “poets” from Beneventum and Tilurium are the same person’.<sup>267</sup> Similar ideas to this epitaph are seen in the opening lines of **ET.4** (the first line is identical, the following few lines are similar, and then it changes completely) and *CIL* IX 2128 (again, the first line is very similar, but the rest of the poem is different).<sup>268</sup> These are both military verse (iambic senarii) inscriptions. **ET.4** was found in Dalmatia too, near Burnum, has a similar date,<sup>269</sup> and it refers to an *eques* of *Legio XI*; this legion was stationed in Tilurium between the reigns of Claudius and Nero.<sup>270</sup> Neither of these legions’ honorific title of *Claudia* are used in these inscriptions, dating them to before this title was given to them.<sup>271</sup>

This opening line was known in southern and central Italy, in the final years of the Republic:<sup>272</sup> ‘cronologicamente, sono anteriori i primi documenti italici; ma come sarà avvenuta la trasmissione a questi primi insediamenti militari in Dalmazia?’.<sup>273</sup> For Massaro, then, these Italic, old Italic, ideas were taken to Dalmatia from Italy. He believes they were transported across the Empire through ‘una trasmissione orale (mnemonica), favorita dalla loro genericità e adattabilità, quasi come *versus populares*’.<sup>274</sup> The lines of verse in this poem ‘glit altri versi, infatti, costituiti ciascuno da unità sintattiche e concettuali autonome, hanno una valenza del tutto generica, sono cioè applicabili all’epitaffio di qualsiasi defunto; solo il verso centrale doveva essere integrato, nel secondo emistichio, con l’indicazione individuale di una relazione privilegiata’.<sup>275</sup> Both **ET.3** and **ET.8**, whilst they themselves are not identically worded, are very similar in their phrasing, and the sentiments expressed within them are identical. As they were made at a similar time, for members of the same legion posted in the same place, it is likely that one influenced the other, and/or they were made in the same workshop/inscribed by the same stonemason.<sup>276</sup> This also applies to **ET.4**; although this was for a member of a different legion, his legion was also posted here, and it was created at roughly the same time. *CIL* IX 2128 also has a similar wording and is currently of an unknown date, but can we date it to the third century, like *CLE* 76, as it, too, was found in Apulia et Calabria (specifically Vitulano)?<sup>277</sup> The similar findspot cannot be a coincidence. Massaro theorises that there was a level of communication between Benevento and ‘l’insediamento legionario di *Tilurium*’.<sup>278</sup> These inscriptions indicate a transference of verse and ideas between military units, across and between military and non-military settlements, across time and across the Empire. They have been adapted slightly, but the sentiment of having the passer-by come, read the inscription and reflect on the deceased’s life was obviously a key one, one that resonated with the inhabitants and soldiers of the Roman Empire across its lands.

<sup>267</sup> Sanader et al. 2010: 487.

<sup>268</sup> See *CLE* 77. See also Cugusi (2003: 450) for discussion of the frequent occurrence of one lines of verse inscriptions being duplicated, and he sites this line, for which there is ample evidence. See also Massaro’s (2023) comments on inscriptions nr. 3 and 4 throughout, esp. 23-25.

<sup>269</sup> For example, EDCS-30600027; <https://www.mgdq.it/texts/CE|ce|0082>, LLDB-32904 and HD061523 all date it between AD 9-69.

<sup>270</sup> Wolff in Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 1042, table 8; Massaro 2023: 19, and n. 16.

<sup>271</sup> See Wolff in Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 1042, table 8.

<sup>272</sup> See Massaro 2023: 24.

<sup>273</sup> *Ibid.*: 25.

<sup>274</sup> *Ibid.* Perhaps this was the case of the *iam puer* collection (see discussion below).

<sup>275</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>276</sup> See also the discussion on the *iam puer* collection below, where postulations of the existence of identically/similarly worded inscriptions are presented, as well as Massaro’s ideas behind the transmission of these text discussed above. See also the discussion on **ET.8** by Grassl (2020: 145-150).

<sup>277</sup> See, for example, EDCS-12401639; *CIL* IX 1764.

<sup>278</sup> Massaro 2023: 26.

Inscriptions that contain this theme include: **ET.1, ET.3, ET.4, ET.8, ET.9, ET.10, ET.11, ET.12, ET.14, ET.16, ET.19, ET.20, ET.21, ET.23, ET.24, ET.25, ET.29, ET.31, ET.32, ET.35, ET.36, ET.40, ET.41, ET.42, ET.44, ET.46, ET.47, ET.51, ET.52, ET.56, ET.57, ET.58, ET.60, ET.62, ET.64, ET.69, ET.73, ET.74, LL.6, LL.7, AI.1, AI.5, NW.4, RD.9.**

### 3.2.3. Parents Doing the Duty of Their Child

A common, pathos filled theme, and unfortunate reality for many parents in the ancient world, was when they had to bury their child. A great part of their expressed grief was that the parent had to do the duty of their child, i.e. the parents had to bury the child, not the other way around, which was considered the natural order. This would have been painfully familiar for all those in the ancient world, encountered personally in some way by nearly everyone in Roman society.<sup>279</sup>

Throughout this theme is the poetic idea of ‘the bloom of youth’, often seen in Latin poetry. This idea ties into the loss of their potential, another underlying theme of this poignant aspect of funerary verse inscriptions: they died in their prime, they were not able to fulfil their potential, but were only just coming into it. This is especially seen in inscriptions for sons who died in adolescence/young adulthood, when they had just had their first shave (the *depositio barbae*) and thus had become adults: ‘the first beard is the mark of strength and vigor’.<sup>280</sup> These children ranged from toddlers to young adults in their twenties; it was not just the loss of the child themselves that impacted their parents, but also the loss of their potential and future.

Another oft referred to reason to mourn the loss of a child is identified from Virgil’s perception of the Underworld:

*huc omnis turba ad ripas effusa ruebat,  
matres atque viri, defunctaque corpora vita  
magnanimum heroum, pueri innuptaeque puellae  
impositique rogis iuvenes ante ora parentum:  
quam multa in silvis autumni frigore primo  
lapsa cadunt folia, aut ad terram gurgite ab alto  
quam multae glomerantur aves, ubi frigidus annus  
trans pontum fugat et terries immittit apricis.  
stabant orantes primi transmittere cursum  
tendebantque manus ripae ulterioris amore.  
navita sed tristis nunc hos nunc accipit illos,  
ast alios longe submotos arcet harena.*  
...  
*“haec omnis, quam cernis, inops inhumataque turba est;  
portitor ille Charon; hi, quos vehit unda, sepulti;  
nec ripas datur horrendas et rauca fluenta  
transportare prius quam sedibus ossa quierunt.  
centum errant annos voliantque haec litora circum;  
tum demum admissi stagna exoptata revisunt.”*

The overflowing crowd all rushed here, to the banks,  
mothers and men, and the bodies of brave heroes

<sup>279</sup> See Jones for an estimate of death rates and average lifespans in the ancient world (2018: 11-14).

<sup>280</sup> Lattimore 1942: 198, citing **AI.2**.

now deprived of life, boys and unmarried girls  
 and young men placed onto the funeral pyres before the eyes of their parents:  
 as many as the leaves in the woods, gliding down  
 in the first cold of autumn, or as many as the birds gathered together  
 that flock to the land from the deep sea,  
 when the cold year puts them to flight across the sea and sends them to sunny lands.  
 They were standing, begging to go across the voyage first,  
 and they were holding their hands out with love for the bank beyond.  
 But the grim ferryman accepts now these, then those,  
 but he, from a distance, keeps away the others from the shore, driven off.

...  
 “All this, which you see, is a destitute and unburied crowd;  
 The ferryman there is Charon; here, those carried on the waves, are the buried  
 Nor is it granted to transport them to the horrible banks  
 and the raucous river before their bones lie silent.  
 They wander and fly about this shore in a circle for a hundred years;  
 Only then are they admitted to and revisit the longed for lakes.”

Verg. Aen. 6.305-316, 325-330.

These children are equated with those who could not be buried, some because they were killed in battle. To not be buried was one of the most anxiety riddled thoughts in the ancient world, if for no other reason than their soul would not be at rest. Those who died early were equated with this uncertain restlessness at the end of what is supposed to be their fate. Unable to cross into the Underworld, they are mourned further because they are not able to complete their potential in death, restless and longing, for another hundred years. Sometimes, married children and sons who had had their first shave, some sons who were soldiers themselves, therefore they were considered ‘adults’, were also buried by their parents, and the sentiment of the parent mourning having to carry out this duty for their child is just as profound as those for younger children, as not only demonstrated in these epitaphs, but also in the quote from the *Aeneid* above. If the epitaph was a dual one, with one person the child, the other a relative such as the child’s father, then the focus is on the impact of the loss of the child. This widely experienced fact of life in Roman society would not have lessened the impact; arguably, it would have increased it, as grief is a universal feeling and, unfortunately, the acute grief of losing a child would have been widely experienced, either directly or indirectly by all those in the Roman world.

**ET.5** is an epitaph to Heliodorus, a thirty six year old soldier of unknown rank and who served in an unknown legion, by his parents. Despite him being an adult, they mourn him in a similar vein to those parents who have had to bury a younger child (notably, they describe themselves as ‘wretched’, which is how parents in these inscriptions who have lost their child often describe themselves). The deceased is also often referred to as ‘wretched’, as Heliodorus is, so those who are living who also refer to themselves as ‘wretched’ are equating themselves to being dead, dead whilst alive, because they have lost their loved one.

*Militia i[ns]ign[i] raptus tri[eteride] sexta,  
 s[e]dibus his | situs est mis[e]rabi[l]is Heli|[odo]rus.*

*H[eli]odo[r]us e[t C---]tiane parentes miseri f[i](lio)].*

**RD.8** is an epitaph for a thirty three year old *frumentarius* of the *Legio II Adiutrix* by his father. It appears that the death of Salvius, the *frumentarius*, meant that Asclepiades, his father, was left the sole surviving member of his family, and he also hoped that his son would have been the one making the tomb for him:

*D(is) M(anibus).* |

[-----] | *XXXVII. Salvio ann(or)um XXXIII frum(entario) leg(ionis) II Adi(utricis).* | *Iul(ius) Asclepiades caris suis.*

*Hunc titul(um) | posui miserabile munus  
non satis | ut meruistis.  
quattor amissis, te quin|tum Salvi flere necesse est  
adsiduae, | dum mea Fata resistant.  
te nunc amis|so, domus inclinata recumbit.  
depon<am> | luctus cum te sequar care per umbr<as>. |  
“dulce(m) meum Salvium,” liceat mihi dic<e>r<e> | semper.  
optaver<am> tumul(um) tu mihi ut facer<es>. |  
tot bona tum carui. merit<o> te care requiro. |*

**LL.3** mourns a younger *miles* of the *cohors X Urbana*, Justus. This epitaph highlights all the themes apparent in inscriptions by parents for their young adult son:

*D(is) [M(anibus) s(acrum)].* |

“Have Ner(ati) Iuste bene me(rens).” |

*L(ucio) Neratio Iusto | mil(iti) c(o)hor(tis) X urb(anae). vixit | annis XXIII mens(ibus) VIII. |  
hic quo anno in praetor(ium) | transiret et barbas pone|ret, mors in `hi`buit. infelicis|simi  
parentes Neratius Libe|ralis et Vettia Hermione | pientissimo fil(io) sibique vivi | fecerunt, quod  
noluerunt. | (vac.) |*

*Mors inimica tibi Fato | data. (vac.) | liquis{s}ti miseros in luce |  
parentem. aetatem flo|res processus, apstulit una | (vac.) dies. (vac.)*

**ET.34** is also for a *miles*, of the *Legio II Parthia*, who died when he was twenty seven, by his mother. It also expresses many of the sentiments expressed by parents for their children, especially for their sons who died on active service:

*Parcae te miseris rapuere parent(ibus) urna, |  
spectantes animo tuae gloriae cursum. |  
fletus in perpetuo miserae reliq(uisti) dolore, |  
nec potuit corpus a sodalib(us) tradi sepulchre. |  
me decepisti, ni(mi)um horfanum tu reliquist(i). |*

*Nigidia Firmina | mater infeliciss(ima) filio pientissimo.*

**AI.2** is similar in this respect. It is for a *miles* of an unspecified unit, by his parents:

*L(ucius) Licinius Priscus et Fabia Euplia | L(ucio) Licinio Severo filio pientissimo | (vac.)  
parentes. (vac.) |*

...

*flore genas tenero vernans et robore pollens, |  
miles eram. sum deinde cinis de milite factus. |  
nec solum hoc quia me rapuit Fatum male fecit, |  
quod pater et mater plangunt, hoc plus male fecit. |  
actu(m)st, excessi. Spes et Fortuna valete. |  
nil iam plus in me vobis per s(a)ecla licebit. |  
quod fuerat vestrum, amisi, quod erat meum, hic est. |*

The verse part of **ET.39** highlights the mourning of potential (here, expressed through *crescens*) that was lost when Aper was taken ('by the Fates' is implied) when he was in his youth, at the age of twenty two:

*Innocuus Aper ecce iaces non virginis ira,  
nec Meleager | atrox perfodit viscera ferro.  
mors tacita obrepsit subito fecitq(ue) | ruinam  
quae tibi crescenti rapuit iuvenile(m) figuram. |*

In **ET.17**, Claudius, a *veteranus* of the *Legio XI Claudia*, despite dying when he was eighty, was described as being buried by his parents [*in flor*]entem 'in the bloom [of youth]' (4), perhaps because he was buried by his parents. Regardless of his age, he was regarded as being in his youth as his parents had to bury him, and because he had served as a soldier, and continued to recognise his military status as a *veteranus*.<sup>281</sup>

*D(is) M(anibus) | et perpetuae securitati{s}. hic [---] |  
VIS[---]ER est semper quem, [---] |  
de querentem questus, [---?a]dque que | [---]  
lectu<s?>. [Cl]audius nomine, | quem [in flor]entem posuerunt  
paren|tes. pr(a)en[o]men Aurel(ius) nomenque |  
Claudiu[s]. habebat veteranus quidem |  
leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae) certus, octiens sic decies | subito  
fata rapuerunt tenebris. | et li[c]et  
sine liberos alumnos | heredes  
remisi et modo post | ob[it]um. reddo meae vitis  
rationem. | [n]unc opto ut hic  
lapes aeterna|[m] sedem quiescat et me salvum. |*

*[Pi]us et heres Hermes patrono titu|lum posuit honorandum sepulcro.*

**LL.4** is another epitaph for an adult child, Marcellina, who was the wife of a *beneficiarius consularis*. In this inscription, she is described as a daughter and a mother. Her mother is described as being killed in an accident, and Marcellina is described as wanting to die in her mother's stead (6-7). Marcellina's son, Innocentius, is described as *permansit*, so perhaps he, too, was involved in this accident, but he survived where his grandmother had not. Despite being overall for Aurelius Eptala's *pientiss(imi)* ('most pious ones', i.e. his family, 12), the inscription focuses on Marcellina.

<sup>281</sup> See discussions on the 'eternally youthful' portrayal of soldiers in Chapter 8.

**LL.6** is a verse epitaph for the son of a legionary centurion and his wife. Younger children are usually described with the epithet *dulcissimus*, -a. Sons in general are often described as *pientissimus*, reflecting the ‘filial piety’ and obedience of a son, as well as his progression of the family whilst also staying under the auspices of his *pater familias* until he became his own, as the ideal of Roman society.<sup>282</sup> This is also reflected in when daughters are given the epithet *pientissima*, such as in **LL.4**. **LL.6** contains multiple epigraphic tropes, from addressing the passer-by, the Fates and their determination of the duration of someone’s life, the materiality of death, the expanded wish of the *STTL* formula, the idea of light as life,<sup>283</sup> as well as parents mourning their child.

*Perlege cuncta, precor, cultor, pietate parentis | (vac.) |  
cum simul et matre, quod nobis inane sepulch[rum] |  
fecerunt, quanto in munere positum vide(s). |  
quod, si fata mihi dedissent luce(m) videre, |  
ista prius ipsis facerem, non ut poscerem vi[tam], |  
munus inane quidem. terra nunc dividit ist[a] |  
corpora nostra, nimis graviter parva advers[us] | vota parentum.  
quod peto, si colitis Mane[s], | cuncti meo nomini semper  
hac mihi terr[a]| leve optetis. vobis dii Fortuna beata |  
et semper honorata[m] pr(a)estent, suo numin[e]| sancto,  
ex qua possitis obiti bene linquere n[atos]. |*

*Iul(ius) Valens (centurio) leg(ionis) cum Vital(ia) Servanda | coniug(e) parentes fil(io)  
dulc(issimo) b(ene) m(erenti) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt). |*

In **ET.7**, a family is devastated by the death of their latest family member dying whilst on active service. Principius was seen as the hope and fortune of his fatherland and the future, presumably of his family, but perhaps also of the Empire itself because of his service in the military:

*Ultima clausurunt Par|carum stamina filo |  
Principii miserandi diem, | quem gloria nisi |  
avus adque pater puerum | dedere praeclara |  
militia patruoque suo iun|xere fovendum. |  
cum primum pulchra lanu|gine sumeret annos, |  
spectantes magnum patri|ae columenque futurum. |  
heu miseri gloriari sibi | laetamque senectam. |  
crudele(m) luctum domui | Ravenna remisit. |  
hoc miseros titulo pro|prium signasse dolorem. |*

Some of these inscriptions are longer, as the ones cited above, whereas others are able to express the same sentiment, evoke the same pathos, in just a few lines.

**ET.15**, an epitaph for a veteran of the 10<sup>th</sup> Praetorian cohort, so he must have been older when he died, yet his father, who made this monument for him, comments:

*Sed is mihi | debuit facere quam |  
senectae meae dolum | relinquere. |*

<sup>282</sup> See Chapter 8.

<sup>283</sup> For more details on this, see Chapter 4, where this is discussed as an epigraphic trope



This idea, of a father making an inscription for his son, because the son should have done it for his father, is seen throughout this collection. This was not only considered the duty of a son for their father, but of all children for their parents, as expressed in **ET.50**, an epitaph for the daughter of a veteran, Sperata:

*Arruntia Sperata veter(ani) | f(ilia). (h)unc titulu(m) de silic(e) | factum Arruntiu<s> | pater fecit merito. |*

*Sit tibi ter(r)a leveis. | quod ego speravi te m(ih)i | facere.*

*V(ixit) a(nnos) XX d(ies) X. h(ic) s(ita) e(st). |*

In this inscription, then, which expresses the common wish of the *STTL* formula, but, unlike others that express this wish:<sup>284</sup>

on a expliqué les caractéristiques habituelles du *carmen* funéraire (et de l'építaphe en général) comme un dispositif orienté vers le lecteur éventuel qui actualise l'építaphe en la lisant, renouvelle le souvenir de défunt et prend à son compte le souhait de repos paisible que comporte l'építaphe. Cette grille d'interprétation rend assurément compte de bien des *carmina*, mais elle ne saurait être appliquée à tous. L'építaphe d'Arruntia Sperata démontre clairement que le souhait est celui du père de la disparue. Il pourra sans doute être repris par un éventuel lecteur, mais assurément tel n'est pas son rôle. L'auteur ne se place nullement du point de vue d'un lecteur éventuel. Il immobilise et éternise un moment et les sentiments d'un père devant la tombe de sa fille.

The same, brief but poignant message is seen in the verse of **ET.27**, an epitaph for a five year old son of a *miles* of the *Legio XV Apollinaris*,<sup>285</sup> who had it made for him:

*Nutritu[s] |  
sine matre, |  
salivis suis. |  
spes et corona |  
fuit patris sui. |  
Fatus et Fortuna |  
iniquiter iudicavit. |*

Those who could 'leave their children willingly', i.e. die before their children, were considered fortunate, and were encouraged to think as such, as seen in **LL.6** and **LL.7**, and also expressed in the almost identically worded **RD.9**, as quoted above.

Inscriptions that contain this theme include: **ET.5**, **ET.6**, **ET.7**, **ET.13**, **ET.14**, **ET.15**, **ET.17**, **ET.23**, **ET.27**, **ET.29**, **ET.29**, **ET.34**, **ET.37**, **ET.39**, **ET.50**, **ET.55**, **ET.61**, **ET.62**, **ET.63**, **LL.3**, **LL.4**, **LL.6**, **LL.7**, **AI.1**, **AI.2**, **RD.8**.

### 3.2.4. Mythology and the Underworld

This is when references to Roman mythology become apparent in a non-religious context in these inscriptions (see Chapter 5 for analysis on religious military verse inscriptions; this section also follows on from the idea of Fate and Fortune discussed in section 3.2.1). In this

<sup>284</sup> Hamdoune (ed.) 2011.55: 22.

<sup>285</sup> This is also from when this legion was posted in Carnuntum, Pannonia Superior (see Appendix 2), as this is where this inscription was found.

theme, the gods are used in their metaphysical, metaphorical sense, and are used to describe people and the natural world, for example, by using the associations of these gods to create a clearer image of how an individual surpassed all others (see section 3.4 below as well). In the Roman world, for those who believed in it,<sup>286</sup> everybody went into the Underworld, irrespective of their personality, whether they were good or bad, although how they were treated, and where they went in the Underworld was dependent upon their character in life. How they were treated in death/how they died affected their entrance into the Underworld.<sup>287</sup> This was, therefore, another way of immortalising someone's deeds and character, especially when mentioning the Elysian fields; Elysium was the place for the truly good and important. Although the Underworld itself had been long acknowledged as a universally miserable place,<sup>288</sup> and this can be seen in many of the references in these inscriptions.

In **ET.13**, a son of a slave is remembered for his beauty, which is compared to the gods Cupid and Apollo. His death appears to have been drawn out (6-7), so it is likely that he had an illness. Hipponicus was a slave of the wife of *legatus* of the *Legio XXII Primigenia Pia Fidelis*. His parents were likely to have also been slaves of Pastor, the *legatus*, so it is more likely that Pastor himself paid for this inscription and altar, which the boy's parents dedicated to him. The last couplet of this inscription is strange, for it implies that people could only be loved and cherished in life, and that that ability ceased when they were dead. Is this why some people are referred to as being a body, remains, just something that is now 'empty of humanity' when they have died (see, for example, **NW.4**)?

*Aram | D(is) M(anibus) et innocen|tiae Hipponici ser(vi) | Dignillae Iun(i) Pastoris | leg(ati)  
leg(ionis) XXII Pr(imigeniae) P(iae) F(idelis) | Hedyepes et Genesia | parentes. | (vac.)*

*Ut primum adolevit pollens | viribus, decora  
facie Cupidinis | os habitumque  
gerens nec metuam | dicere Apollineus.  
huic expletis | ter centum ter denisque  
diebus, | invisae Parcae sollemnem cele|brare  
diem iamque, ut esset gra|tus amicis,  
invidia superum cess[a]|vit amari.*

Sometimes the Underworld is referred to simply in its capacity as the afterlife, the final place of the dead, and described in familiar, mythological terms, as seen in **AI.5**, where torments known from mythology in the Underworld are obliquely referred to:

*d]i uva vini et aqua prohibent ubi | Tartara  
Ditis*

The positive aspects of the Underworld are referred to in the concluding lines of verse of **LL.4**:

*et quicumque | legis nostros tu, nosti dolores.  
sic at et | Elysias senior descendis ad auras. |*

The fact that everyone goes into the Underworld, irrespective of their character in life, unlike other concepts of an afterlife, is understood and recorded in **ET.6**, an epitaph to a *decurio*,

<sup>286</sup> Although there is a debate amongst scholars about how far people believed this, and other philosophies people followed in the ancient world.

<sup>287</sup> See the discussion on Aen. 6 above.

<sup>288</sup> See Achilles' speech on the Underworld in Od. 11.487-491.

whose name is now missing, who was in charge of the *cohors III Alpina*, and his son, by his wife:

*omnia Ditis habet praeterquam nomen eoru(m), |*

i.e. Dis, another name for the Underworld, holds all those who have died, and go on to exist in the ‘afterlife’.

This is also seen in **AI.1** and **RD.8**, where the dead are referred to as ‘shades’, as they are in poetry, for example, when the dead are encountered in the Underworld:

### **AI.1**

*... nunc umbra nec umbra |*

*...*

*maior in aeternam mersit sua lumina noctem. |*

*“hic meus ut frater Stabiano litore mecum |*

*conditur in tenebris, Acheronti labitur undis.” |*

### **RD.8**

*depon<am> | luctus cum te sequar care per umbr<as>. |*

Sometimes, saying someone crossed the waters of one of the rivers of the Underworld was a way of expressing that they had died, as seen in, for example, **LL.7**, an epitaph for an *equites singulares*, by two *equites singulares*:

*... hunc demersit at Styga Pluton*

This is also seen in **ET.42**:

*hic ego nunc cogor | Stygias transire paludes,*

*sedibus aeter|nis me mea Fata tenent.*

*sedes* is used to refer to the ‘eternal abode’ of the deceased, i.e. their final resting place in the Underworld (as in **ET.17** and **ET.42**, for example) as well as their tomb being referred to as their ‘eternal abode’.<sup>289</sup>

**AI.1** is heavily Underworld-themed, and refers to the boy’s final resting place as:

*in his iaceo telluris sedibus atrae*

Sometimes, it is their place in the Underworld, as in **AI.1** and **ET.33**, for example, which is their *sedes*, their ‘eternal abode’, but sometimes it is the monument itself, as seen in **RD.11**, **ET.5**, and **ET.17**, an epitaph for a veteran of the *Legio XI Claudia*:<sup>290</sup>

*... octiens sic decies | subito*

*fata rapuerunt tenebris. ...*

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<sup>289</sup> Sullivan reiterates Cumont’s explanation, that this originated in Egypt, where the tomb was regarded as the eternal home of the deceased: ‘from Egypt the formula probably passed to Syria and other eastern countries, to be carried westward by slaves and freedmen who made it popular throughout the Roman Empire. No doubt this way of looking on the grave had a special appeal for such people. To many of them, life was a fitful fever after which they hoped to find rest in the peaceful security of their new home’ (1939: 508). Cumont 1922: 3, 48. See also Dill 1925: 601. Both of these meanings are used in the *Aeneid* (for example, 6.328, 639).

<sup>290</sup> Which, at this period of time, was garrisoned in Durostorum (Cugusi 2008.62: 119). See Appendix 2.

...

... [n]unc opto ut hic  
lapes aeterna|[m] sedem quiescat et me salvum. |

In this inscription, the Underworld is also described poetically as *tenebris*.

Inscriptions that contain this theme include: **ET.2, ET.5, ET.6, ET.13, ET.14, ET.17, ET.20, ET.40, ET.42, ET.73, ET.74, LL.4, LL.6, LL.7, AI.1, AI.5, RD.8.**

### 3.3. Immortality: Perpetuated by Poetry, the Reason for Inscriptions

Ennius and Butler, almost two thousand years apart, made similar observations about how the the living perpetuate the memory of the dead, make them immortal, through (poetic) words:

Yet meet we shall, and part, and meet again,  
Where dead men meet, on lips of living men.<sup>291</sup>

*nemo me lacrimis <decoret nec funera fletu  
faxit.> cur? volito vivos per ora virum  
sed quid poetas? opifices post mortem nobilitari volunt.*<sup>292</sup>

Cicero, too, made this observation: *vita enim mortuorum in memoria est posita vivorum.*<sup>293</sup>

Poetry and inscriptions have always been intertwined, including in Latin literature. In some verse inscriptions, it is acknowledged, either implicitly or explicitly, that not only does the (stone) inscription and/or tomb confer immortality itself onto the deceased (see section 3.4 below), but also that poetry in and of itself is an immortalising medium.<sup>294</sup> Yet all are reliant upon people: ‘poetry emerges from and is attended to by the mortal body; it makes it way into the world by means of instruments, whether vocal, musical, or notational; and it is stored and circulated on inscribed objects, whether temporary compositions impressed into wax tablets, or more enduring texts inked onto papyrus’.<sup>295</sup>

The immortality of poetry is often commented upon by poets, most likely led by the example of Homer, whose epic poems shaped the entire identity of the ancient Greek, and subsequently Roman, worlds, culture and society, a poet, whose name had already been cemented in the history, and literary, books of antiquity. Virgil would follow, with his epic poem based on the travels of Aeneas, a Homeric character, and how he came to found Roman society, therefore placing the basis of Roman identity in Homeric tradition. These works were so intrinsic to ancient identity that even the ancients knew they could not die, even after they had.<sup>296</sup> Other Greek poets had survived into the Roman era, and were quoted in their letters and learnt about in schools. The immortality of poetry had already been attested, simply through the works of

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<sup>291</sup> Samuel Butler *The Life After Death*, quoted in Haynes 1913: 7.

<sup>292</sup> Enn. var. 15-16 Vahlen: ‘Let no one honour me with tears nor shed tears/at my funeral. Why? I fly about on the lips of living men / But why poets? Craftsmen want to be famous after death.’ Allegedly the ‘epitaph’ of Ennius, by Ennius himself, which is significant, given his place in the history of Latin literature as ‘the father of *all* Latin poetry’ as he is thought to have brought elegiacs to Latin verse (see Martelli 2018: 70-71, quote from 71).

<sup>293</sup> ‘for the life of the dead is determined in the memory of the living’ (Cic. Phil. 9.5.10).

<sup>294</sup> For discussions on immortality in literary Latin poetry, see, for example Sullivan 1943; Ramsby 2005: 365-391; Carroll 2006: 31; Turpin, Huelsenbeck, Mulligan, Francese & Miller 2016: 183-192; Martelli 2018: 69-82; Goldschmidt 2018: 101-120; Platt 2018: 21-50; La Bua 2023: 351-366 as well as the works of the poets cited here.

<sup>295</sup> Platt 2018: 22.

<sup>296</sup> See also Gómez Pallarès’ commentary on this inscription, where she comments on the common theme of poets, in her case she uses the example of Horace, commenting on how they will become immortal through (the dissemination and continued reading of) their poetry (2002: 218). See also *HEp* 1999.584: 215-216.

these two major poets, and the popular dissemination of others. It seems no stretch of the imagination, then, to see how the ancients came to understand that they, too, could be immortalised through poetry, especially through epigraphic poetry, which would, arguably, have, simply through the proliferation and exhibition of the medium, automatically had a wider, farther reaching audience than the poetry preserved in books.

Throughout his works, Ovid comments on the immortality of poetry, and how his poems will make him immortal. This is, perhaps, most apparent in Am. 1.15, the conclusion to which gives us an idea behind why some people may have chosen to have the deceased's memory inscribed in verse, and explains the rationale behind some of the epigraphic tropes listed above:

*ergo, cum silices, cum dens patientis aratri  
depereant aevo, carmina morte carent.  
cedant carminibus reges regumque triumpho,  
cedat et auriferi ripa benigna Tagi!  
vilia miretur vulgas: mihi flavus Apollo  
pocula Castalia plena ministret aqua,  
sustineamque coma metuentem frigora myrtum.  
atque a sollicito multus amante legar!  
pascitur in vivis Livor; post fata quiescit,  
cum suus ex merito quemque tuetur honos.  
ergo etiam cum me supremus adederit ignis,  
vivam, parsque mei multa superstes erit.*

Therefore, while you grow quiet, while the teeth of the patient plough  
are lost to time, poetry is free from death.  
Kings and the triumphs of kings yield to poetry,  
and, yield, the bounteous banks of gold-bearing Tagus!  
May the cheap be admired by the crowd; for me, may golden-haired Apollo  
supply the cups of Castalia, filled with water,  
and may I sustain my hair with myrtle that is afraid of the cold,  
and may I be read by the many tormented by love!  
Envy is fed by the living; after their fate is at rest,  
when one's own honour protects them through their merit.  
Therefore, also when the final fires of life have eaten me up,  
I shall live, and the great part of me shall survive.

Ov, am. 1.15.31-42.

For Ovid, then, not only do (ordinary) people's words live on in poetry, but even what was once history does too. The whole poem itself is about how poetry will make its authors immortal, how they will live beyond the ages more than those with famous military, political and legal deeds (Am. 1.15.1-6). If one wishes to become immortal, the best way to do so is through writing poetry: *mortale est, quod quaeris, opus. mihi fama perennis / quaeritur, in toto semper ut orbe canar* ('it is mortal, this work that you ask of me. I seek enduring / fame, so I will always be sung throughout the entire world', Am. 1.15.7-8). He cites poetic outputs: either poets themselves, or playwrights, in which poetry was, in the ancient world, a key component of plays. For him, the subjects and the poets will live as long as the other does, such as: *cum sole et luna semper Aratus erit; /... carmina sublimis tunc sunt peritura Lucreti, / exitio terras cum*

*dabit una dies; / Tityrus et segestes Aeneiaque arma legentur, / Roma triumphati dum caput orbis erit* ('while there is a sun and moon, there will always be Aratus; /... then the sublime verses of Lucretius will be destroyed, / when one day will give the earth to ruin; / Tityrus and the crops, and the arms of Aeneas shall be read, while Rome will be the leader of the world through her triumphs', Ov. Am. 1.15.16, 23-27).

Love, death and war all intertwine throughout Latin poetry. Often the love elegists "lament", for it cannot surely be taken seriously, that they are unable to write glorified poems of war, but must instead write about their trials and tribulations with mercurial lovers. Perhaps the best example of this is Ov. Am. 1.9, where he equates lovers with soldiers and uses military scenarios and language to describe how they are the same: the lover stays vigilantly outside his mistress' door, as does a soldier with his *dux*, the soldier is faced with traversing through adverse weather and across terrains, and so, too, would the lover to see his mistress, for example. War is both depicted with glory and horror in works such as the epic poems of Virgil and Lucan. It is recognised by these poets that with the poetry of love and war comes immortality. For all the poets, their work shall make them immortal, as seen in Prop. 3.2.25-26, and for Horace, his poetry will gain him immortality, divinity and join the stars (Carm. 1.29-35), which was, as it is now, a popular thought among the ancients that when people died they turned into a star/joined the celestial sphere.<sup>297</sup>

Throughout the works of Propertius and Tibullus is the theme of death, including reference to love conquering death, the poet's death, and the poet writing his own epitaph (Tib. 1.3.53-56, Prop. 2.14.27-28) or comments on his own tombstone (Prop. 1.17.10, 1.7.23-24, 2.1.71-72, 3.1.36-38), with the intention of remembrance (Prop. 1.7.23-24), and he gives instructions for his own funeral and burial (Prop. 2.13.17-42). These epigraphic themes were apparent in literary poetic 'epitaphs':<sup>298</sup> Propertius' reflection on his tomb implies that the verbal interaction between the stone and the public was already well-recognised by the first century BC (*nec poterunt iuvenes nostro reticere sepulcro / 'adoris nostri magne poeta iaces'*, 'young men will not be able to be silent by my tomb, / "you, the great poet of our love, lies dead"', 1.7.24-24).

Propertius also composed epitaphs and poems for those who had died, including two soldiers who were unburied (1.21-22), and recognised that his own destiny was *quandocumque igitur vitam me fata reposcent, / et breve in exiguo marmore nomen ero* ('therefore, someday the Fates shall claim my life, / and I will become a brief name on a small slab of marble', 2.1.71-72): 'given that the language of epitaphs was known to any Roman, since he could read countless funerary epigraphs on both sides of the roadways, Propertius recreates the literary convention of the epitaphs and expects the reader both to recognize the relationship between the elegy that he is reading and the epitaphs in fashion, and to surrender to the cultural and literary game proposed by the poet'.<sup>299</sup> Virgil was said to have written his own epitaph, in elegiacs, on his tomb. Carroll observes that literature may have inspired poetic inscriptions, which can be a

<sup>297</sup> See, for example, Cumont 1922: 91-105; Rodríguez Herrera 1999: 194-195. See also the discussion in the chapters below.

<sup>298</sup> See also Cumont's comment on Tib. 2.6.30 (1922: 191).

<sup>299</sup> Rodríguez Herrera 1999: 194-195. See this article for a discussion on epitaphs in Propertius' elegies and how he plays with funerary epigraphic themes within them, especially in 2.1. See also Flaschenreim 1997 for themes of death throughout Propertius' poetry, as well as the immortality that poetry can confer onto its poet. See Platt 2018 for poetry and epitaphs in general, for example, although Platt is discussing Greek inscriptions/epigrammatic poetry. Carroll 2006: 31: 'some of these poets were greatly concerned with permanent stone memorials. The literary works they left behind would go some way towards preserving their memory, but the inscribed words on their gravestones were clearly viewed as a mnemonic aid for future generations'.

cause for repeated ideas in them, and ‘there may have been cross-fertilizing influences between poetry and funerary epigraphy that is reflected in duplications of and variations on themes in various parts of the Empire’.<sup>300</sup> There was certainly an awareness of one another between funerary verse epigraphy and literary poetry, as seen in the discussion above and the many identified parallels and allusions identified in commentaries on verse inscriptions, so it is very likely that this is more than a postulated theory.

Regardless of whether they believed in life after death, a general consensus can be seen from these inscriptions and literary poetry: that immortality could be gained through the (poetic) words one left behind, which itself became equitable to a monument attesting this immortality. These poets, by writing their own epitaphs, depicting themselves through the words they knew would out-live them, controlled their immortal image. On the very odd occasion, we see reference to the poet of an inscription claiming to be the deceased themselves; they wished to have control over how they were depicted in death by preparing their tomb in life. As such, these were self-constructed identities. But most were created by those who loved them, those who held their immortality because they remembered them.

Catullus immortalised his own brother by lamenting his death in his poetry (68). Horace mourns his deceased friends (Carm. 1.24, 28, in the latter he emphasises the importance of burial), comments on where he wished to be buried, and thus mourned (Carm. 2.6.21-23), and even writes about his own impending death (Carm. 2.20), where he tells his friends not to mourn at his funeral, nor honour him with a tomb, as both will be in vain, as he will not be there, in words very reminiscent of the poem *Immortality* by Clare Harner (1934): ‘Do not stand/By my grave, and cry. / I am not there, / I did not die’. No, he shall exist through his poetry which, like Martial’s, will travel the world: after his death *me Colchus et qui dissimulat metum / Marsae cohortis Dacus et ultimi / noscent Geloni, me peritus / discet Hiber Rhodanique potor* (‘the Colchian and the Dacian who conceals his fear / of the Marsian cohort and, last but not least, / the Geloni shall know me, the Spaniard / and the drinker of the Rhone shall become skilled through me [i.e. the only existing part of him: his poetry]’, Hor. Carm. 2.17-20). Yet, Horace’s most significant poem on this matter is Carm. 3.30, which, expressing a similar sentiment to Ovid, is about how his poetry, passed around the world, will be his everlasting monument, and his existence shall continue through it: *non omnis moriar ... usque ego postera / crescā laude recens* (‘All of me shall not die ... my existence shall continue, / fresh from future praise’, Hor. Carm. 2.6-7). But even he outlived longer than he predicted (8-9). Without poetry, Agamemnon would not be famous (Hor. Carm. 4.9.25-28), and it is those who exist in poetry who continue into immortality.

Similarly, ‘inscribed texts were thought to preserve memory as long as they survived’.<sup>301</sup> Immortality, like poetry, was mimetic, and generated and perpetuated through repetition. Its utterance by the tongues of man ensured its longevity. Inscriptions automatically achieved what poets longed to: immortality, through their very nature as being written on stone. ‘What an epitaph accomplishes, then, is what all literature has to accomplish: to make poetry that convinces the reader that the poet speaks, and that the poem gives access to his living voice – even though the individual author may have been buried for more than two hundred years. This is the immortality of literature brought about by *reading* – to bring alive the voice of a dead

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<sup>300</sup> Carroll 2006: 107.

<sup>301</sup> *Ibid.*: 19.

author'.<sup>302</sup> Yet, both are still dependent on the willingness of the reader to approach their work: the deceased in an epitaph 'depends on the passerby for reanimation and speech'.<sup>303</sup> Even if the relatives/friends/heirs of the deceased did not write the poem on the stone, using stock and formulaic phrases, either from a stonemason or ones they had encountered from other inscriptions, they enabled the deceased to live on through the interaction of the living with the stone, simply by stating their name, and, in the case of the military, their rank. Something must have resonated with them in those stock/formulaic phrases for them to choose to put it on the epitaph of their loved one.

All these inscriptions have been erected for a deceased loved one, whether familial, romantic or platonic. Rosenmeyer comments on how 'part of revering the divine... was the act of leaving behind one's mark; and leaving one's mark ... also offered an opportunity for self-expression',<sup>304</sup> yet this is true of inscriptions in general. Where there is a name, there is an expression of identity, and this is solidified by the immortal permanence of stone. Even if they used stock formulae, and/or experimented with them, those who erected these inscriptions were immortalising their relative/themselves simply by stating their name and, when their position within the Roman military is expressed, intertwining that with their professional and social identity.

### 3.3.1. To Exist in Words

The implicit purpose of an inscription in general, especially an epitaph, is to create someone's immortal existence through words.<sup>305</sup> Yet, sometimes, this is overtly acknowledged. Sometimes, that these words were written in verses is indicated within the verse itself. Inscriptions, such as **ET.9** and **ET.14**, particularly where the passer-by and/or the creator of the inscription is encouraged to interact with the deceased, such as wish that the earth will be light on them, were clearly created as an act of remembrance. For others, through the use of this theme, their purpose was to continue the existence of the deceased into perpetuity, beyond the act of simply inscribing them in stone. The reference to the written word is sometimes to the inscription on the tomb, sometimes the verse in the inscription itself. This overall theme is not so common, but it is a part of the idea of the creation of immortality through inscriptions, and how inscriptions are rationalised, within the inscription itself, as creating an immortal identity for the deceased themselves.

In **ET.60**, the author is aware that people expect to understand how someone died through the inscription they are reading. Yet, who died is not exactly obvious in this inscription, unless one reads the accompanying prose at the beginning: [---] *Marcio Frugi* | [---] *Marciae L(uci) f(iliae) Cypare* ('by Marcus Frugi for Marcia Cypare, daughter of Lucius', 1). In a reflection of the sentiment seen in inscriptions such **ET.73**, **ET.74** and *RIU* III 910, the epigraphic trope where the passage of life in one's prime, *iam puer et iuvenis iam vir*, is expressed as brief, either in sentiment or through phrasing or both (here expressed by *mox*, 10), the son's life is mourned for its lost potential; perhaps his name was at now fragmented beginning of this inscription. His mother also died, presumably in childbirth.

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<sup>302</sup> Johnson 2010: 14.

<sup>303</sup> Rosenmeyer 2018: 90.

<sup>304</sup> *Ibid.*: 26.

<sup>305</sup> See above, where it is clear that these inscriptions were written so people would stop and read them, and consider the life of the deceased.



Alternatively, the son lived, and the mother did not. If this is the case, which appears to be the more likely scenario, the inscription could be said to chart the life of the son, a life he could have through his mother's sacrifice, through giving birth to him. His parents were looking forward to his arrival, as they prepared for it (6). Each member of the family has their own section: the mother, who was looking forward to his birth (6-8), his father was hoping that he would live beyond infancy (9-10), an infrequent occurrence and so not an unexpected wish, and the son (10-12), who joined the military, specifically the army, and who worked so that he would be remembered by history, as implied by his desire *magna ... aemulare* ('to emulate the greats', 12), for his military deeds. Given the context, it seems as if Marcius Frugi was the boy, named after his mother, Marcia, because he was her son, her progeny, the modern phrase now apt, but tragic, in this context: the fruit of her labour.

[---] Marcio Frugi | [---] Marciae L(uci) f(iliae) Cypare. |

[N]on te qui properas viator ire, |  
 [tr]istes (h)endecasyllabi tenebunt. |  
 [q]uit credas homo tempori futur[o], |  
 [p]aucis hic tibi casus indicabit. |  
 [d]ulci pondere cum gravata | [m]ater  
 incluso utero decem k(alendas) |  
 [ga]udebat pueri ededis partus, |  
 [vo]tis iamque pater deos rogabat  
 ut | [p]rimos pueri videret annos  
 mox cas|[t]ris iuvenem daret legendum,  
 For|[t]una dum magna studet aemulare. |

In **ET.67**, the *conlega et amicus*, therefore not only a friend but also a fellow soldier, of a *signifer* of the 9<sup>th</sup> cohort, of which unit we do not know, wrote this verse inscription. This, therefore, exhibits the knowledge of poetry, genres of poetry and metre, and literacy of soldiers within the Roman military.<sup>306</sup> Although the verses themselves are not overtly acknowledged as being a part of his immortal identity, the function of inscriptions, and the known perpetuity of verse, is implied in its function here.

Sex(to) Naevio | L(uci) f(ilio) Pub(lilia) | Verecundo sign(ifero) | coh(ortis) XIII nato | Veronae.

Ossa | relata domum, | cinis hic adoperta | quiescit.  
 heredes | titulum. versiculos | Cornelius epoi | conlegae et amico. |

**ET.38** is an epitaph for a freedman, and, in expressing 'his' gratitude for his patron, Cotta. Cotta is celebrating and immortalising himself and his good deeds towards Zosimus and his family, as well as charting the life, and milestones of his family, of his deceased freedman, Zosimus. Given Cotta's friendship with Ovid and our knowledge of his own poetic output,<sup>307</sup> it is tempting to conjecture that Cotta wrote this elegiac inscription for his freedman and his family himself, especially given the concluding two lines of the verse:

M(arcus) Aurelius Cottae | Maximi l(ibertus) Zosimus | accensus patroni. |

<sup>306</sup> See also Carroll 2006: 58, as well as Chapter 2, for links between creating and interacting with inscriptions and literacy.

<sup>307</sup> See, for example, Courtney 1995: 245.

*Libertinus eram, fateor, | sed facta legetur |  
 patrono Cotta nobilis umbra mea, |  
 qui mihi saepe libens census donavit | equestris,  
 qui iussit natos | tollere, quos aleret, |  
 quique suas commisit opes | mihi, semper et idem  
 dotavit | natus ut pater ipse meas, |  
 Cottanumque meum produxit | honore tribuni,  
 quem fortis | castris Caesaris emeruit. |  
 quid non Cotta dedit? | qui nunc | et carmina tristis  
 haec dedit | in tumulo conspicienda meo. |*

*Aurelia Saturnia Zosimi. |*

**ET.43** is another epitaph where the immortalisation/continued existence of the deceased is implied, but the intentionality is clear. It is an epitaph for a soldier of unspecified rank, and who served in an unknown legion, although it seems that he was probably a newly recruited *miles*. It was discussed earlier, under the trope of Fate, as there is this apparent contradiction: the Fates took him away because they were jealous of him, but this epitaph to him enables him to exist into the future, forever. This inscription also displays aspects of the theme of “gloria raggiunta in vita”, a frequent theme in Greek epigraphy, especially of those who died in combat, but this is rare in Latin inscriptions.<sup>308</sup>

*M(arcus) Acilius L(uci) f(ilius) | Fontanus. |*

*Eripuit nobis undevincensumus annus |  
 ingressum iuenem militiam cupide. |  
 Parcae falluntur Fontanum quae rapue[ru]||nt, ||  
 cum sit perpetuo fama futura viri. |*

Sometimes, the more common epigraphic tropes are played with (see section 3.2), and adapted to fit with attracting people to read verses. People may have been put off; after all, they do take longer to read and appreciate fully. This is exhibited in the opening verse lines of **ET.29**, where the passer by is addressed, and thus the deceased lived on through those who read about them, and continued their memory in this way:

*Qui legis et flores viae carmina pia  
 hospes, consist[e et p]erleg[e qui | f]uerim.*

This idea, of someone’s memory existing through being immortalised on a tomb, is also exhibited in **ET.59**:

*memoran|de iaces Ianuari sepul|cro*

In **ET.40**, this intention is made explicit. Throughout the verses on it, the monument, and aspects of it, are described in detail. The monument was made to be magnificent, to be admired by every passer-by and, through it:

*permittant mihi [Fa]ta loq[ui, n]octisq(ue) timendae, |  
 regnator Stygius. sic immortalis haberi |*

<sup>308</sup> Cugusi used this term for this theme (1981). Lattimore identifies this inscription as the only example of this type of *post mortem* glorification of a soldier in Latin epigraphy (1942: 210). See Hernández Pérez 2001: 208-209. See also Chapter 8.

*iam debet pater ecce tuus Ditisque relictis |  
tristem deservisse domum, dum tempore toto |  
mavolt haec monumenta sequi, scriptisque per aevum |  
[vi]vere nominibus, solitis insistere lucis, |  
[adsi]due patrias hinc cernere dulciter arces, |  
quosque dedit natis prope semper habere Penates. |*

Rather poignantly, it is acknowledged that sometimes these inscriptions acted in the stead of a body of the deceased, when the deceased could not be brought home, particularly those who died away on military service. Therefore, the inscription does not only indicate where they should have been buried, but stands in the stead of their body, where their body should be. Therefore, their words exist where the body does not.

The tomb itself was described as eternal, as seen in **ET.17**:

*... [n]unc opto ut hic  
lapes aeterna[m] sedem quiescat et me salvum. |*

The words were to remember the dead; sometimes, they were to remember the living they left behind, and the grief their absence left them with, as seen in the conclusion of **ET.7**:

*hoc miseros titulo proprium signasse dolorem. |*

Also in **LL.4**:

*quicumque | legis nostros tu, nosti dolores.*

In the case of Marcus Antonius Antius Lupus, who had been killed by Commodus, his memory was restored, and sustained, in his epitaph (albeit this is announced in the prose part of his inscription). For Klingenberg, this inscription is an example of *damnatio memoriae* being revoked, and of its effects on the private and public sphere of commemoration.<sup>309</sup>

## **ET.28**

*cuius memoria per vim oppressi in | integrum secundum amplissimi ordinis | co(n)sultum  
restituta est. sepulchrum ab eo coeptum | Claudiae Regillae uxori et Antiae Marcellinae fil(iae)  
| pietatis suae erga eum testificandae gratia, et | nominis eius in perpetuum celebrandi.*

Inscriptions that contain this theme include: **ET.1, ET.4, ET.7, ET.9, ET.17, ET.18, ET.28, ET.29, ET.38, ET.40, ET.42, ET.43, ET.53, ET.55, ET.59, ET.60, ET.67, LL.4, AI.9.**

### **3.3.2. Remembering Deeds.**

Following on from this theme is the function of inscriptions where they were used to remember a person's deeds in life. This includes how a person conducted their life in general, thus creating a sense of implicit advice for the living (see above), as well as, in a specifically military context, those inscriptions in which a soldier's military career was remembered/outlined.

Arguably, the idea of 'remembering someone's deeds,' especially when concerning their military career, applies to any verse inscription that has an accompanying prose inscription detailing their military career, regardless of what the verse inscription itself says. However,

<sup>309</sup> Klingenberg 2011: 184. Lupus 'unter Pertinax postum rehabilitiert' (224).

here, we are focusing on the content of the verse, and reasons why it was written as well as the prose.

**ET.59** highlights this purpose; the implication is that he was killed in action. The use of *memoranda* should be noted: this is a necessary function of a tomb.

*Hic situs est iuuenis, primo qui flore | iuventae  
impavidus Martis. dum | <in>cautus iret in hostis,  
invida Par|carum sem<p>er sic prona volun|tas  
oppressit. **memoran|de iaces Ianuari sepul|cro,**  
sic felix quot | humo te mater mise|randa recondit. |*

Another inscription where it is clear that the verse inscription was written for the immortalisation of someone's deeds is in **ET.29**, an epitaph to a *speculator* in the Praetorian Guard.

**Qui legis et flores viae carmina pia**  
*hospes, consist[e et p]erleg[e qui | f]uerim.  
fraternis manibus tumulusque et coniugis eius |  
traditus est m[ihi nun]c quem mors inimica peremit. |  
nam his septenos [tibi] Roma laboribus annos  
praestiterat[m], | quom me miserum mala Fata vocarunt. |  
egressum castris duo me videre parentes |  
linquentem vitae et commoda militiae. |  
hi duo viderunt fratres, **dulcissima coiu**x |  
**fraterna quae mi titulum donavit apertum** |  
**quem vos ++++ere et vestris ostendere gnateis** |  
**possetis, quorum vita per saecula currit.** |  
dicite, "Maria tibi bene sit quae +e+++ [c]aru[m] |  
coniugis habuisti germanum +e+++ dedi[sti]." |*

**ET.42** is similar in this respect: the verses are indicated as something that should be read, to understand the deeds and life of the deceased in this epitaph:

**Hospes ades paucis et perlege ver|sibus acta.**  
*aeternu`m patriae hic | erit, ipsa domus,  
hic erit inclusus tumu|lo, hic Iulius ipse,  
hic{s} cinis ex caro cor|pore factus erit.  
cum me`a` iucunde | aetas florebat ab annis  
advenit fati | terminus ips`e` meis.  
ultimus ipse `f`uit | XXXXV annus,  
cum mihi fatalis ve|nit acerba die`s`.  
hic ego nunc cogor | Stygias transire paludes,  
sedibus aeter|nis me mea Fata tenent.  
me memini Gal|li`a` natum caroq(ue) pare[nt]e,  
et miles collo | fortiter arm[a t]uli.  
Gallia crudelis tri|buit mihi [f]un[us ---],  
[---] cultos artus ter|ra cinisqu(e) P[---].*

**ET.55**, an epitaph to a soldier of unknown rank and serving in an unknown legion who was killed in battle, expresses a similar sentiment, but the verses are stated as being written as a part of the expression of his father's grief for the loss of his son, not for the immortalisation of his deeds. Although, given his military career, which subsequently led to his death, and the description of his character, it was perhaps felt this was implied. In instances such as these, we also get a sense of the creation of inscriptions: some people pre-wrote the verse inscription themselves and then dictated it to a stonecutter, who carved it into the stone.

[---] pro[batus in] | armis [---]. |  
occidit [in] | bello Num[id]um, veri[tatis] | amator (vac.) |  
hos patr[ ---] | inscripsi v[er]sus dictante | dolore (vac.)  
Fortuna(m) incu[sans quod] | non mihi ta[lia] | natus (vac.) |  
composuit C+++ | +++ | [---] 't'riste | dicavit. (vac.) |

**ET.14**, an epitaph to a soldier of the 6<sup>th</sup> legion when it was posted in Syria (as the inscription itself states), goes into detail about his military career. He was only eighteen when he died; the narrative appears to indicate that he was a new recruit who died whilst on active service, and he died in battle, so no one knew exactly how he died, and so they could not pass that detail onto his parents:

“lectus miles eras, legio quae sexta tenebat, |  
[qui] pius in Syria fortiter arma tulit, |  
et Fortuna nimis saevas exercuit eiras, |  
quam sic ut torrens ante diem rapuit.” |  
“nemo ne votisqu[e] meis adeo usque parentes |  
militiae referat splendida facta suae. |

The play on *mereo* can hardly be missed in an inscription such as **ET.30**, an epitaph to a *miles* in the navy:

Natus sum summa in pauperie. merui post classicus miles |  
ad latus Augusti annos septemque decemque |  
nullo odio sine offense, missus quoque honeste. |

This was not just reserved for soldiers; given the nature of this study, it will make it seem as if it was the domain of soldiers and how they were remembered. However, this was also an aspect of their careers as soldiers in the Roman military. Others, with different careers, were remembered in a similar vein. Soldiers, too, remembered the deeds of their loved ones. Perhaps one of the most heartfelt is **ET.21**, where a *hydraularius salariarius* of the *Legio II Adiutrix* describes his wife's skilled playing on the same instrument, and how he lauds her for surpassing his musical skill.<sup>310</sup> This makes us wonder if she, too, was employed by the military to play this instrument.

...  
artibus edocta, superabat sola maritu|m.  
vox ei grata fuit, pulsabat pollice cordas, |

<sup>310</sup> This instrument was a water organ. As the *Legio II Adiutrix* was given the honorary titles *Pia Fidelis* in AD 70 by Vespasian, so this inscription must have been set up before then (Campbell 2012d: 816). See Appendices 2 and 3.

...

... *hydraula grata regebat.*

There was a rather more formulaic idea, less personal than some of the other inscriptions where a person's deeds, characteristics and ways of life are discussed. This also belongs in the category of inscriptions where they were found away from one another, in different military units, and, yet, were worded almost identically to one another:

### ET.32

...

*Q(uitus) Caetronius | Q(uiti) f(ilius) Pub(lilia) | Passer | mil(es) coh(ortis) III pr(aetoriae) annis XVIII | missus duobus Geminis | sibi et | Masuriae M(arci) f(ilia) Marcellae. |*

*Vixi quod volui, semper bene | pauper honeste.  
fraudavi | nullum. quod iuvat ossa mea. |*

### ET.64

*T(itus) Cominius | C(ai) f(ilius) R[o]milia | Ateste miles | leg(ionis) XI anno|rum XL stip(endiorum) XVI | h(ic) s(itus) e(st). frater | fratri posuit. |*

*Vix{s}i quad potui, sem|per bene pauper honest(vac.)e(vac.). |  
[fr]audavi nullum. nunc iuvat | [os]sa mea. |*

**ET.32** is from Rome, for an Italian soldier, and **ET.64**, although found in Burnum, Dalmatia, was also for a soldier of Italian origins (he was from Ateste). The universality of this phrase allows it to be used by others, despite its rather personal sounding nature: 'in apparenza autobiografico, in quanto non contiene elementi propriamente personali, ma è applicabile a cinque lo scelga come 'manifesto' della propria vita'.<sup>311</sup> This similarity in wording leads to Massaro to conjecture that they are near contemporaries.<sup>312</sup> Massaro wonders, then, how this inscription came to Dalmatia, but, one also wonders, how it came to Rome? Why did it have to originate from Rome and travel to Dalmatia? Presumably the answer lies in the Italian connection: both are Italian, so it is more likely that it went out with one, rather than in?<sup>313</sup> After all, Ateste is still a long way away from Rome. Massaro concludes that 'lasciamo perdere l'antica teoria del 'manuale di bottega', che in questo caso affiorerebbe solo in due documenti così distanti. Anche qui, non saprei pensare che a una circolazione o trasmissione orale: del resto, nella sua genericità sentenziosa, potrebbe essere un autentico *carmen popolare*; di matrice popolare appare l'austera saggezza e moralità che esprime, nonché la fiducia che una vita onesta dia frutto (quale che sia) nella condizione di defunto'.<sup>314</sup>

Very rarely, the way in which one lived is contrasted with the (unfairness of) the way in which they died, thus memorialising their deeds and characteristics. **ET.71**, an epitaph to a centurion and his wife, exhibits this:

*T(itus) Acclenus T(iti) f(ilius) Qui(rina) cent[u(rio)]. | Annia T(iti) l(iberta) (vac.) Helena (vac.) uxor. |*

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<sup>311</sup> Massaro 2023: 26.

<sup>312</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>313</sup> *Ibid.*: 26-27.

<sup>314</sup> *Ibid.*: 27.

*Frugi summa qum probitate | fide magna.  
concordes indigne | morbo excruciatu morte obierunt. ||*

*D(ecimus) Vergilius Am̄rantus a(nnos) LXXX.*

It is also rare when we know the cause of someone's death.<sup>315</sup>

In **AI.9**, Proculus, the *tribunus* of the *Legio III Augusta*, recognises that his wife will both be remembered through the words on her inscription and he remembers her deeds.<sup>316</sup> Fructuosa is remembered for her perfect Roman matron behaviour, and her life is revealed through the inscription, as is the manner of her death. Proculus recognises that epitaphs and remembering people simply through their name and birth *sunt enim mortis | solacia* ('are the consolations of death', 2-3), are a way of making someone's memory immortal (4), and are the final way in which someone's life can be acknowledged and recounted (1-2); did doing so through a verse inscription, then, increase the prestige of the remembered/the one remembering them? Did it somehow have an effect on how others perceived their existence, and how their loved ones had perceived it? Verse inscriptions allow us to gain more insight into the deceased, and their loved ones who put them up. Although they are more practical and not as abstract as modern poetry, we can gain a perspective of the emotional impact of these lives, individuals and lived experiences through Latin verse inscriptions. To immortalise someone in an inscription was a pious act, and some may argue that the more ostentatious it was, the more *pietas* there was in the act. However, this is only apparent in the narrative of **ET.40**; to remember someone, and/or an event, in stone, in verse, appears to have had enough meaning, regardless of how flamboyant the monument the inscription was written on. Yet, Proculus' verse also indicates that immortal identities were encapsulated in someone's name and descent, which is surely also a comment on prose inscriptions, in which this information is the primary information presented about the individual. Verse elaborates more, and allows for an in-depth eternal, personal, memory. As shall be seen in Chapter 8, it was primarily the family who ensured the immortal identity through a (verse) stone inscription, although other people who were close to the soldier, for example his freedman or comrades, also contributed to the immortalisation of the memory of a life.

Some are serious, as the ones presented above are, whereas others are more joking, seemingly playing with epigraphic tropes rather than wholly being about the way the deceased lived, for example, from **ET.10**, an epitaph to a veteran of the *Legio V Gallica*, by his biological brother:

*Dum vixi, | bibi libenter. bibite vos | qui vivitis. |*

Inscriptions that contain this theme include: **ET.2, ET.3, ET.9, ET.10, ET.14, ET.17, ET.21, ET.22, ET.23, ET.25, ET.28, ET.29, ET.30, ET.31, ET.32, ET.34, ET.38, ET.39, ET.40, ET.42, ET.43, ET.51, ET.53, ET.58, ET.59, ET.61, ET.62, ET.63, ET.64, ET.71, ET.73, ET.74, LL.3, LL.4, LL.7, AI.2, AI.9, AI.10, NW.1, NW.3, NW.4, RD.9.**

### **3.3.3. Meritus: A Tomb or Inscription Is Deserved**

Following on from the previous section, and linked to this implicit theme of immortality and the reason for creating inscriptions, is the idea of a tomb or inscription was deserved. There were two ways in which this was expressed: a) through the formulaic phrase, *bene merenti*,

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<sup>315</sup> See also Lattimore 1942: 144.

<sup>316</sup> See also the discussion in Chapter 8 on the values of the family members of the Roman soldier.

used so commonly that it was abbreviated to *b m*, and this featured in the prose accompaniment to the verse, or b) within the verse itself. Usually, when *mereo*, and any of its forms, featured within the verse itself, it had the additional element on the play on the military use of *mereo* ('to serve').<sup>317</sup> Here, given the prosaic nature of the formula *b m*, only uses of *mereo* within the verse parts of these inscriptions shall be highlighted and discussed; however, let it be noted that most of the references to *mereo* appear in the accompanying prose part of the inscription, in the phrase *b(ene) m(erenti)*, but it does highlight the prevailing idea of a tomb being something which the deceased deserved.

In **NW.1**, it is implied that Sentilius put up this inscription for Valerianus, a centurion of the Praetorian Guard, due to a combination of factors that are displayed in this inscription, most notably his personality, characteristics and his service in the Roman military, specifically in the Praetorian Guard:

*Hic situs est iusti iu[dex] | laudator et aeq[ui]. |*  
*Sassina quem genuit, | nunc Aquileia tenet. |*  
*[s]eptimae qui cohortis | centuriam reguit. |*  
*praetoriae fidus non | barbaricae legion[is]. |*  
*C(aius) Manlius hic Valeri|anus nomine dictus. |*  
*Sentilius fratri, quia | meritis, posuit. |*

In **NW.3**, the wife of Ingenuus, Virula, uses *mereo* to describe his service in the Roman military:

...  
*Germaniae meruit specula[t]or et cornicul[ar]ius |*  
*legionis. initium vitis vitae fuit finis. |*

As was the service of Trebius, a *miles* in the navy, described by his son in **ET.30**:

... *merui post classicus miles |*  
*ad latus Augusti annos septemque decemque |*  
*nullo odio sine offense, missus quoq(ue) honeste. |*

Soldiers also referred to their wives' accolades with *mereo*, such as Diascentus', a veteran of the *equites singulares*, epitaph to his wife Paterna in **RD.9**, who deserved this tomb because she was an ideal Roman matron (5), i.e. she fulfilled the duties that were expected of her as a woman in the Roman world, by having children and being faithful to her husband. A similar regard is seen by Rogatus, a *sesquiplicarius classis*, for his wife in **ET.58**:<sup>318</sup>

...*Herinnius Rogatus ses`q`uplicarius cla[ssis ---] |*  
*maritae meae (vac.) dignae et meritae.*

Through this theme (although in **ET.17** this is in the prose part of the inscription), we discover that to have a tomb/inscription/urn (i.e. to be buried, with care and ceremoniously, with a permanent act of remembrance) was an honour in and of itself. In **ET.17**, the epitaph to Claudius, a veteran of the *Legio XI Claudia*,<sup>319</sup> concludes with the prose line clarifying who set this up for him, and why:

<sup>317</sup> See Kidd 1957: 133 for this definition of *mereo*.

<sup>318</sup> See also the discussion on the characteristics of the soldier's family members in Chapter 8.

<sup>319</sup> This inscription must have been made before the legion received the honorary titles *Pia Fidelis* (see Appendix 2).



[Pi]us et heres Hermes patrono titulum posuit honorandum sepulcro.

In some prose sections accompanying verse inscriptions, we can see *mereo* being used in the military sense of ‘to serve’. *emereo*, and its derivations, meant that someone had completed their military service. This is seen, for example, in **ET.29**:

[---] Orfius [C(ai) f(ilius) F]al(erna) speculator | [in praetor]io meruit a(nnos) XIII | [vixit a(nnos)] XXXV. T(itus) Orfius C(ai) f(ilius) Fal(erna) | [frate]r et Maria L(uci) f(ilia) Polla propt̃e r̃ eius pietatem de suo [fecerunt]. |

Inscriptions that contain this theme include: **ET.2**, **ET.17**, **ET.28**, **ET.29**, **ET.30**, **ET.38**, **ET.40**, **ET.47**, **ET.52**,<sup>320</sup> **ET.58**, **LL.7**, **NW.1**, **NW.3**, **RD.9**.

### 3.4. *iam puer et iuvenis iam vir*: A Collection

As well as **ET.40**, arguably the most famous of all *carmina Latina epigraphica*, which hails as the longest verse inscription in existence at over ninety lines, displaying almost every epigraphic trope within its verses, there is a collection of inscriptions that perfectly encapsulate all these epigraphic tropes, such as the speedy passage of life, which other inscriptions highlight, and use as a part of the idea of ‘live, whilst you still can’: ‘ce poème en latin vulgaire développe trois thèmes principaux: la vie de l’homme est peu sûre; le plaisir et une conduite conforme à la morale sont également importants pour une vie agréable; les *honores* d’une carrière sont inutiles. Ce qui est conforme à la tradition épicurienne’.<sup>321</sup> Some see the point of this poem residing in its conclusion: *talis eris tumulto superumque oblitus honores*, and enjoying life and living well were regarded with equal importance for a life of wisdom.<sup>322</sup> There is also a reference here to the other epigraphic theme of ‘light as life’.<sup>323</sup> This collection is fascinating, as they were found in three different locations, two with provable military connections within the inscription itself, and yet they have almost exactly the same wording; they were somehow copied from one another, and taken to these other locations. We also know, sort of, who made them, as the verses spell out the acrostic (except for **ET.74**, which is missing line 8 of the verse, although presumably this was a mistake): *Lupus fecit*. This was a technique sometimes used in epigraphic verse to denote the author of the poem.<sup>324</sup> Here, these duplicates will be examined in more depth than the other inscriptions in this chapter, due to their differences in location, not always obvious military connections, and because:<sup>325</sup>

Un caso estremo, e quindi infrequente, è quello di interi testi che abbiamo incontrato reduplicate sul luogo o a distanza (il più macroscopico l’epigramma di *Lupus*), eventualmente come ‘schemi’ adattabili con varianti circoscritte a situazioni o relazioni specifiche differenti [**ET.3**]; Ma anche in questi casi non ha senso classificarli semplicemente come ‘doppioni’, senza cercare di individuare, in quanto possibile, la

<sup>320</sup> Potentially (see the comments on this inscription in the Catalogue of Inscriptions).

<sup>321</sup> AE 1971.634 adn. See also Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.38 for a complete list of the various themes, which have been discussed in this chapter already, apparent in this inscription are discussed in detail, also in comparison to other inscriptions seen in this chapter. See also Adamik 1976: 204, 206; Eck 2013: 123.

<sup>322</sup> See Adamik 1976: 204.

<sup>323</sup> See Chapter 4, on this very trope, as well as Cugusi’s comment on the use of *candida* in 11 (Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.38).

<sup>324</sup> See Révay 1943a and b: 145, 147; Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.38; Fehér 2010: 18-20, who identified this acrostic; see also other inscriptions with an acrostic throughout this study.

<sup>325</sup> Massaro 2023: 59 n. 229.

genesi della replica, il senso della sua scelta, le modalità di adattamento, e così via, sempre in un'ottica di singolarità differenziata, più che id generica stereotipia.

The most complete one of this collection is **ET.73**; out of the three inscriptions in this collection, this has been the most widely studied.<sup>326</sup>

*Memoriae Q(uinti) [Ael(i) Apoll]oni mil(itis) coh(ortis) (milliariae) nov(a)e Suror(um) stip(endiorum) III | vix(it) ann(os) XX. Aelia Marcia mater filio dulcissimo et Aelia | (vac.) Apollonia soror eius faciendum curaverunt. |*

*Lubrica quassa levis fragilis bona vel mala fallax (vac.) |  
Vita data est homini, (vac.) non certo limite cretae, |  
Per varios casus tenuato stamine pende(n)s. (vac.) |  
Vivito mortalis dum{dum} dant tibi tempora Parc(a)e, |  
Seu te rura tenent urbes seu castra vel (a)equor (vac.). |  
Flores ama Veneris, Cereris bona munera carpe |  
Et Nysyi larga et pingua dona Minervae. (vac.) |  
Candida(m) vita(m) cole iustissima mente serenus. |  
Iam puer et iuenis iam vir et fessus ab annis. (vac.) |  
Talis eris tumulo, superumque oblitus honores. |*

This dactylic hexameter epitaph,<sup>327</sup> found on Daru Street, Óbuda,<sup>328</sup> (Aquincum, Pannonia Inferior), near the legionary amphitheatre,<sup>329</sup> is for a *miles* of the *cohors miliariae novae Surorum*, commissioned by his mother and sister, and made by someone called Lupus, as we find out from the acrostic: ‘who Lupus was we cannot tell’.<sup>330</sup> Soproni suggests Lupus was a well-educated freedman.<sup>331</sup> According to Cugusi, the name Lupus was common in Pannonia, and so ‘rende del tutto plausibile che il poeta sia realmente di origine pannonica’.<sup>332</sup> For Cugusi, the metrical irregularities, ‘trovano la loro spiegazione nella difficoltà di romanizzazione delle province danubiane periferiche, e quindi nell’incompleta romanizzazione del poeta Lupo stesso’, yet he did still write in Latin.<sup>333</sup> This may give us an explanation for the meaning of the phrase *faciendum curavit*: this was used when someone commissioned the inscription, not erected it themselves. However, we would need more evidence on this to know that conclusively.

According to Courtney, ‘the cohort mentioned was apparently raised by Alexander Severus, which will give a terminus post quem of 222 A.D’.<sup>334</sup> Cugusi dates it to circa AD 230 on this basis: ‘la coh. I milliaria nova Severiana Surorum sagittariorum fu creata nel 225 sotto Severo

<sup>326</sup> See Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007 for a complete list of the literature on this inscription.

<sup>327</sup> See Courtney 1995: 398; Cugusi 1996.43; Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.38; AE 2013.1715; Fehér 2010: 18-20, with some mistakes, although these may perhaps be better described as aspects of Vulgar/Late Latin, rather than Classical (see Adamik 1976: 206). See also Fehér 2010: 18-20; Fehér 2020: 77-79 for a discussion on the language usage in ET.74 and RIU III 910. See also <https://www.mqdg.it/texts/CE/lappel0304>; Eck 2013: 119. Kuntić-Makvić 1976: 57-58, nr. 15 scans it. See also Adamik 1976, throughout, especially 203.

<sup>328</sup> See Soproni 1962: 51; Adamik 1976: 206 for this findspot; Maróti 2003.29: 35; Fehér 2010: 18-20.

<sup>329</sup> Schmid 1957: 315.

<sup>330</sup> Courtney 1995: 398. Fehér 2010: 18-20. Révay is one of those who attempts to deduce who this was (1943: 145-148). Fehér (2010: 18-20) refutes the attempts of those who have tried.

<sup>331</sup> Soproni 1962: 55.

<sup>332</sup> Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.38. Schmidt also thinks that he was local (1957: 316).

<sup>333</sup> Cugusi 1996.43.

<sup>334</sup> Courtney 1995: 398. See also Nagy 1939: 136; Révay 1943: 146.

Alessandro',<sup>335</sup> thus making this one of the latest dated inscriptions in this study,<sup>336</sup> and the unit only existed in Pannonia, where it was permanently garrisoned on the island in Ulcisia Castra.<sup>337</sup> They were stationed here at the same time as the *Legio II Adiutrix* was posted in Aquincum, its main base of operations, and this legion took over Ulcisia Castra after this cohort left.<sup>338</sup> Apollonius, a common Syrian *cognomen*, was probably Syrian himself, thus his family would have been too,<sup>339</sup> although this *cognomen* is not unknown in Pannonia and Aquincum.<sup>340</sup> Révay suggests that he was perhaps born in Aquincum, from a 'Romanised' family,<sup>341</sup> although this could be due to a lack of surviving evidence.<sup>342</sup>

This version was on a limestone sarcophagus; the sarcophagus itself looks rather basic, in comparison to other sarcophagi and their reliefs, and the writing is not as neatly carved as other verse inscriptions in this study, written in unevenly sized and aligned square capitals. Regardless, the line breaks on the stone do correlate with the line breaks according to the metre.<sup>343</sup> It has multiple literary allusions, and plays with language, perhaps exhibited best in the use of *creta* and *superi*. In line 5, 'the *creta* denotes, in a metaphor from the circus, the chalk line which marks the finish of the race of life'.<sup>344</sup> In Lewis & Short, the multiple meanings of *creta* add nuance and purpose to its use here: it originated from the idea of the Cretan earth, 'i.e. chalk, white earth or clay',<sup>345</sup> and was used in works known for their geographical and agricultural discussions (Pliny, Varro and Cato). It was also used idiomatically to refer to 'remov[ing] all trouble from the mind',<sup>346</sup> as well as practically, as pointed out by Courtney, as chalk was used to denote the end of a race course. Pertinently, considering this poem's understanding and use of epigraphic tropes, 'from its whiteness is borrowed the trope for *something favorable or lucky*', seen in poetry.<sup>347</sup>

There are references to literary authors such as Ovid, Lucretius, Horace and Virgil,<sup>348</sup> perhaps the most pertinent being *iam iuvenis*, *iam vir*, *iam se formosior ipso est* ('now a young man, now a man, now he is more beautiful than even himself', Ov. Met. 10.523).<sup>349</sup> This comes from the story of the birth of Adonis, considered that quintessential example of manhood even now.

<sup>335</sup> Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.38. Cugusi also bases this date on the ductus of the script (1996.44).

<sup>336</sup> Some date it to AD 201-250 (EDCS-15000151; <https://www.mqdg.it/textsce/CE/appe/0304>; HD019352; Schmid 1957: 315; Fehér 2010: 18-20), some AD 222 onwards (Courtney 1995: 398), others AD 201-225 (LLDB-22229-23, 23018, 23067, 23069, 23071, 71816; Lupa 2908. See also Nagy 1939: 122; Soproni 1962: 52; Maróti 2003.29: 35; AE 2013.1715). Révay 1943: 144, 147, AE 1977.634, Kuntić-Makvić 1976: 57-58, nr. 15, Zarker 1958.82 date it to the third century. Cugusi dates to c. AD 230 (2003: 455; 2004.156; 2007.175; Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.38). The explanation for this is given by Révay 1943: 146. See also this date for *RIU* III 910, discussed below, as a part of this collection (see the sources quoted above as well as, for example, HD017644; <https://www.mqdg.it/textsce/CE/appe/0684>; LLDB-6198-6201, -64788-89; Fehér 2020: 77-79). See also the discussion below.

<sup>337</sup> See Kuntić-Makvić 1976: 58, nr. 15. See also Cugusi 1996.37. We do not know when it left (see Nagy 1939: 137).

<sup>338</sup> See Nagy 1939: 144-145 for the history of the *Legio II Adiutrix* at Aquincum, and the service of the *cohors I milliaria nova Severiana Surorum sagittiorum* at Ulcisia Castra. See also Maróti 2003: 5. See also Appendix 2.

<sup>339</sup> See Révay 1943: 144, 147. See also Soproni 1962: 53; Fehér 2010: 18-20.

<sup>340</sup> See Fehér 2010: 18-20.

<sup>341</sup> Révay 1943: 144.

<sup>342</sup> See Nagy 1939: 146.

<sup>343</sup> See also Fehér 2010: 18-20, where this is one of the few occasions where this correlation is pointed out: 'omnes versus carminis incipient una cum versi tituli' (19). See also Eck 2013: 119, but he sees this as the function of the acrostic being priority.

<sup>344</sup> Courtney 1995: 398. See also Zarker 1958.83.

<sup>345</sup> Lewis & Short 1945: 481.

<sup>346</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>347</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>348</sup> See Courtney 1995: 398-399 for a full discussion on the literary allusions in this poem, and the authors referenced. See also AE 1971.634; AE 2005.161 adn.; Révay 1943: 146-147; Schmid 1957: throughout; Szilágyi 1963: throughout; Cugusi 1996.40-43; Cugusi 2004.157; Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.38. Adamik (1976: 204-206) goes into detail about the various ways this is exhibited.

<sup>349</sup> See Courtney 1995: 399; Cugusi 1996.43; Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.38.

The beginning section of this poem where Adonis' life begins (Ov. Met. 10.519) sets the tone for his life, and is very similar to the opening of this poem, certainly in sentiment: *labitur occulte fallitque volatilis aetas, / et nihil est annis velocius* ('fleeting life slips away secretly and escapes our notice, / and nothing is swifter than the years', 10.519-520). His story, of a life cut short, despite being adored by a goddess, would last as a prime example of even the best, favoured by the gods, must succumb to death and to time.

These verses were dedicated to three men, one of whom we know was old enough to be a grandfather, but each, through the subtext of this poem, were considered to have died in the prime of their life, they were good men, and their lives were too short. At least two of them served in the military, and it can hardly escape our notice that Adonis died a violent death; did these men, perhaps, also die a violent death, whilst on active service? These poetic sentiments, both in Ovid and in this verse, encapsulates the overall objective of this verse, and of so many other verse inscriptions: the fragile, fleeting nature of life, and how it is encapsulated by the stages of mankind. Therefore, one must appreciate life, whilst one still can, for even the favoured of the gods and praised by all can be defeated and taken from life, and those they love, by death, Fate and time.

The Epicurean aspects of this poem are often emphasised.<sup>350</sup> Nagy saw this as the influence of Syrians bringing eastern culture and mindsets to Pannonia.<sup>351</sup> Soproni suggested that this poem was undeniably Epicurean, and he agrees with Nagy's interpretation that this was a last stand of Epicureanism in the East, having been brought to Aquincum by the Syrians.<sup>352</sup> Yet, many of the inscriptions and their themes discussed in this chapter encompassed and expressed the ideas identified as Epicurean in this poem; as can be seen, these inscriptions feature throughout the ages of the Empire, and the Empire itself. Natural aspects of this poem are discussed in Chapter 7, yet it is important to discuss them here also, as they have been linked to Epicurean attitudes. For Adamik, the various inhabited landscapes referred to in line 5 of the poem can be an allusion to Hor. Carm. 1.1, where the same ways of living are referred to, although he sees this as meaning that wherever people live, however they live, they must live according to Epicurean teachings.<sup>353</sup>

Found near to **ET.73** was *RIU* III 910,<sup>354</sup> 'a fragment from another sarcophagus with the first halves of the lines of the same poem',<sup>355</sup> so can be reconstructed using **ET.73**. This one, too, has the complete acrostic of *Lupus fecit*. The reason for the existence of this double is given by Cugusi as:

<sup>350</sup> See, for example, Zarker 1958.82; Nagy 1939: 120; Révay 1943: 145, 147; Schmid 1957: throughout; Soproni 1962: 54-55; Adamik 1976: throughout; Courtney 1995: 399; Cugusi 1996.38-43; Cugusi 2004.158; Cugusi 2007.175; Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.38; Fehér 2010: 18-20 Eck 2013: 123-124; AE 2013.1715.

<sup>351</sup> See Nagy 1939: 122.

<sup>352</sup> Soproni 1962: 54.

<sup>353</sup> Adamik 1976: 204.

<sup>354</sup> AE 1965.165 = AE 1977.634 adn. = *RIU* III 910 = Maróti 2003.29 = AE 2005.161 adn. = *CLEPann* 39 = *ZPE* 184 (2013) pp. 117-118 = AE 2014.1039 adn. = *TitAq* IV 1639 = EDCS-09900421. This edition has been created using *RIU* III 910; *CLEPann* 39; *ZPE* 184 (2013) p. 117; AE 1965.165; Maróti 2003.29; *TitAq* IV 1639, and photographs of this inscription. For the photographs of this inscription, see Maróti 2003.29; *TitAq* IV 1639; EDCS-09900421; HD017644; Lupa 3164. Some of the damage to the stone appears to have occurred before the inscription was carved, as the gaps in the words are where the letters have been worked around the damaged parts of the stone.

<sup>355</sup> Courtney 1995: 398. See also Cugusi 2003: 455; Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.39. See Soproni (1962: 51-52) for an in-depth description of **ET.74** and *RIU* III 910 (see 53 for a drawing of *RIU* III 910, as well as Barkóczi & Soproni 1981: 255 for a drawing). See also Kuntić-Makvić 1976: 57 description of **ET.74**; see HD017644; Maróti 2003.29: 35; Lupa 3164; Fehér 2020: 77-79 for photos and description of *RIU* III 910; Nagy 1939: 119 for a description and photo of this sarcophagus, 121 for a drawing of the inscription; Fehér 2010: 18-20.

Non stupisce che, probabilmente proprio a causa del rilevante impegno culturale del ‘poeta’, il carme abbia avuto fortuna, come prova il ‘doppione’ rinvenuto nella vicina località di Ulcisia Castra, infra **39** [here labelled as *RIU* III 910].

*Lubrica quassa levis [fragilis bona vel mala fallax] |*  
*Vita data est homini, non c[erto limite cretae], |*  
*Per varios c(vac.)as<u>s ten[uato stamine pende(n?)s]. |*  
*Vivito mortalis (vac.) dunc [dant tibi tempora Parc(a?)e], |*  
*Seu te rura colens ur(vac.)be[s seu castra vel (a?)equor]. |*  
*Flores ama Veneris, Cere[ris bona munera carpe] |*  
*Et Nysyi larga{e} et ping[ui]a dona Minervae]. |*  
*Candida(m) vita(m) cole (vac.) ius[tissima mente serenus]. |*  
*Iam puer et iuvenis iam [vir et fessus ab annis]. |*  
*Talis eri(vac.)s tu(vac.)mulo, sup[erumque oblitus honores]. |*<sup>356</sup>

For Cugusi, this was a copy of **ET.73**, thus giving **ET.73** an earlier date than *RIU* III 910, because of the skill of **ET.73**.<sup>357</sup> If there was an accompanying prose inscription, clarifying who this was dedicated to, which there probably was, then this no longer exists. What exists of the verse is very fragmented, but it can be reconstructed using the other inscriptions in this collection, especially **ET.73**. *RIU* III 910 was found in Ulcisia Castra, near Aquincum, and is contemporary with **ET.73**.<sup>358</sup> The *cohors I Sagittiorum Syriaca*, recruited from the eastern part of the Empire, were garrisoned in Ulcisia Castra,<sup>359</sup> and multiple inscriptions, including epitaphs and burial stamps, have been found in and around this location and nearby areas by/mentioning this cohort,<sup>360</sup> as well as by the other military units stationed at or near here.<sup>361</sup> The camp had been built outside the wall of the camp, next to that was the cemetery’s garden, and there was a vineyard near the camp.<sup>362</sup>

The *cohors I Sagittiorum Syriaca* protected the *limes* of Aquincum, helped to reconstruct the camp at Ulcisia, probably also the road system around Aquincum in AD 230, which connected, for example, Aquincum and Ulcisia Castra together, and corresponded with the inhabitants of the *vicus*.<sup>363</sup> So, we can perhaps conjecture that the now unknown dedicatee of *RIU* III 910 served alongside Apollonius, and thus one would have been likely to have known about the other’s death and subsequent grave. He, too, was probably of Syrian origin; Soproni assumes

<sup>356</sup> See the translations of **ET.73** and **ET.74**; the translation of this inscription is as follows:

Inconstant, battered, light, fragile, deceitful, good or bad,  
 is the life that is given to man, with no defined line of chalk,  
 hanging between various disasters on a dwindling thread.  
 Live, mortal, while the Fates give you time,  
 either the countryside or the cities or the camps or the seas hold you.  
 Love the flowers of Venus, seize the good gifts of Ceres  
 and the bounty of Bacchus and the fertile gifts of Minerva,  
 Cultivate a bright life, cheerful with the fairest mind.  
 Now a boy, and a young man, now a man, and tired by the years.  
 You will be like this in a tomb, and forget the honours of the living.

<sup>357</sup> See Cugusi 1996.44.

<sup>358</sup> Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.39. See also Soproni 1962: 53. See above for the date and location of *RIU* III 910, as well as see HD017644; Lupa 3164 for the location (on a map) of the findspot of this inscription. See Barkóczy & Soproni 1981: 254-255 for the specific findspot of this inscription.

<sup>359</sup> Révay 1943: 147; Maróti 2003: 5. See also Soproni 1962: 53; Cugusi 1996.44. Nagy (1939: 137, see 137-139, 142-143) for a history and description of this camp, including a floor plan of the camp.

<sup>360</sup> See Nagy 1939: throughout.

<sup>361</sup> See Maróti 2003: 6.

<sup>362</sup> Nagy 1939: 137.

<sup>363</sup> *Ibid.*: 115, 136, 142. See also Maróti 2003: 5.

that there was a significant Syrian presence in Szentendre, like at Intercisa, where the other Syrian cohort was garrisoned.<sup>364</sup> This unit was created by Severus Alexander, and initially stationed at Ulcisia Castra, which leads Soproni to surmise that this accounts for the existence of Syrians here, at this time.<sup>365</sup> Although its military nature, if it had one at all, is not stated in the text, and therefore, by the methodology of this study, should not be included here,<sup>366</sup> it is important to discuss it, as an almost exact duplicate of **ET.73**.

There are some minor differences between **ET.73** and *RIU* III 910,<sup>367</sup> including more ligatures, but the letters were the same, and so Soproni assumes that **ET.73** and *RIU* III 910 were created in the same workshop.<sup>368</sup> Soproni goes as far as to suggest that two other almost identically worded military verse inscriptions, **LL.4** and **LL.5**, were created by this professional workshop, perhaps located in Aquincum, due to their similarities to *RIU* III 910, and this inscription's similarities to **ET.73**.<sup>369</sup> He identifies the lettering of **LL.4** as identical to *RIU* III 910, and they were both made of the same limestone.<sup>370</sup> **LL.5**'s identical wording to **LL.4** leads him to surmise that they were made in the same workshop.<sup>371</sup> The similarity in wording in **ET.21** to **LL.4** and **LL.5** also leads to the conjecture that this was made in the same workshop.<sup>372</sup> **LL.4** was found near Ulcisia Castra and Aquincum (it was found in Campona, now Nagytetyen), and the known dating of the posting of the *ala I Thracum* here makes it contemporaneous with **ET.73** and *RIU* III 910.<sup>373</sup> They were also all written in hexameter, which leads Soproni to conclude that they were written by the same person, and saw it as unlikely that more than one poet existed in a stonemason's workshop, this poet being Lupus.<sup>374</sup> He suggests that these poems were part of a collection that people could choose from.<sup>375</sup>

Cugusi, on the other hand, suggests that *RIU* III 910 was ordered because of the successful reception of the verse of **ET.73**, and he dismisses Soproni's theory, as 'pare ... suggerita dalla volontà preconcepita di arricchire i tratti di una per sonalità poetica minore sì, ma certo non disprezzabile qual è Lupo: è infatti ipotesi non suffragata dall presenza di somiglianze, assodabili con qualche certezza, tra i due 'doppioni' di Aquincum/Ulcisia castra ed i *CLE* 555/556/489, dei quali, tra l'altro, 556 costituisce una semplice formula'.<sup>376</sup> Szilágyi, too, disagrees with Soproni's analysis. For example, he doubts that the stonecutter would have been the same person as the poet, the similarity in their letterforms do not confirm that they were made in the same workshop, and their content and metre also dissuades him from following

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<sup>364</sup> Soproni 1962: 53.

<sup>365</sup> *Ibid.*: 54.

<sup>366</sup> EDCS-09900421 does not classify this as military either, although, considering that not all military inscriptions are identified as such on this database, this should not necessarily be taken into consideration when affirming the validity of the labelling of an inscription as 'military'.

<sup>367</sup> As can be seen in the texts presented here; these are also discussed in Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.39; these differences make the grammar and metre correct (Szilágyi 1963: 189).

<sup>368</sup> See Soproni 1962: 52.

<sup>369</sup> See *ibid.*: 54-55. See also Cugusi 1996.44-45; see also Szilágyi's discussion of Soproni's arguments on this matter (1963: 189-190). See also Nagy 1939: 128; Fehér 2020: 77-79 for discussion on the location of a stonemason's workshop in Aquincum. Fehér (2020: 77-79) also thinks that they were made in the same workshop, in Aquincum.

<sup>370</sup> Soproni 1962: 54.

<sup>371</sup> *Ibid.*: 54-55.

<sup>372</sup> *Ibid.*: 55. Nagy has a similar, but not identical, analysis and discussion of links between **LL.5** and **ET.21**.

<sup>373</sup> Soproni 1962: 55.

<sup>374</sup> *Ibid.* See also discussion on whether this was from a model poem, or indeed translated from a Greek poem, in Adamik 1976: 205.

<sup>375</sup> Soproni 1962: 55.

<sup>376</sup> Cugusi 1996.44. See also Cugusi 2003: 451-452. See also Cugusi 2003: throughout for theories of duplicated inscriptions being 'ordered'.

Soproni's analysis: for him, 'the four verses are derived from at least three poets'.<sup>377</sup> Szilágyi states 'the analysis of the divergences of both variants establishes the certain fact that the two cannot be attributed to the same person', predominantly based on the language usage and subtle corrections between the two, which improves **ET.73** metrically and grammatically, 'the variation of a text borrowed from others is a usual practice as regards the repeated verses and motives in almost every case'; for him, the creator of *RIU* III 910 was, therefore, the better poet.<sup>378</sup>

For Szilágyi, there were three possibilities: that Lupus wrote the original in Aquincum, and another poet from Aquincum created *RIU* III 910, both **ET.73** and *RIU* III 910 were imported (he believes this is the most unlikely), one was imported and the other was created from that import (he suggests this was more likely, and that it may have been imported from Rome).<sup>379</sup> Szilágyi concludes by saying:<sup>380</sup>

Independently of the answer which will be given to this question by eventual fortunate finds in the future, it is doubtless that the poem of Lupus divulged Roman literary culture in Aquincum; for the rest such significance must be attributed to the entire literature of verse epitaphs [sic]. If the variant, let it be one or the other of both preserved inscriptions, was produced locally, this would mean the presence of a person of sufficient literary ability for such a task in Aquincum, or even more than one person, as it is proved by the verse epitaph of Aelia Sabina, made doubtless in this city. We may suppose that those who have chosen the text of the grave inscription had a say as regards the same, though this is no necessary inference in all cases. If it happened in the case of Lupus' poem, we must attribute a more than average culture to the customer, since this poem ... is a rather singular phenomenon among the verse epitaphs very conventional not only as to the expressions but as to their ideas, too. The fact that our verse makes use of the reminiscences of classical poets is rather a connecting link with the remaining verse epitaphs than a distinguishing feature.

Such long duplicates are rare,<sup>381</sup> but, as can especially be seen in this chapter, have been found. However, these are the most significantly copied. Given the location of its findspot, we can perhaps conjecture that the dedicatee also served in the same military unit as Apollonius. Apollonius was buried away from *Ulcisia Castra* because his coffin was discovered in his family cemetery, and was thought by Nagy to have been where the Syrians had settled in Aquincum, where his family lived.<sup>382</sup> *RIU* III 910 was found in the Roman cemetery here, in what is modern day Szentendre,<sup>383</sup> thus placing both of them within cemeteries; it is uncommon that we know the exact location, and context of this location, of military verse inscriptions. Unlike **ET.73**, this was not on a sarcophagus, but a limestone slab from a tomb.<sup>384</sup> Sometimes, families in this area were 'in Grabgärten beigesetzt, die mit einer Mauer umgeben waren – wahrscheinlich war

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<sup>377</sup> See Szilágyi 1963: 193, see discussion 189-193.

<sup>378</sup> Szilágyi 1963: 191-193. Quotes from 193. See also above. Fehér (2020: 77-79) also sees this inscription as amending the errors of **ET.74**.

<sup>379</sup> Szilágyi 1963: 191-193.

<sup>380</sup> *Ibid.*: 193-194.

<sup>381</sup> See *ibid.*: 191, 193; Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007:39.

<sup>382</sup> Révay 1943: 144. See also Nagy 1939: 118-119 and Soproni 1962: 52-53 for discussion on the location of this inscription, and the common occurrence of family cemeteries in Aquincum.

<sup>383</sup> Soproni 1962: 51-52.

<sup>384</sup> *Ibid.*: 53. See also 52; Barkóczi & Soproni 1981: 254-255; Fehér 2020: 77-79.

auch jener Stein ein Teil einer solchen Grabgartenwand, auf dem auch der Vers des Dichters Lupus erhalten blieb'.<sup>385</sup> For Fehér, then:<sup>386</sup>

Has ob res titulum nostrum de exemplo Aquincensi imitatum, non ex contratio puto, eo magis, quod hunc titulum ex litteris conexit compluribus posteriorem esse opinior quam gemellum Aquincensem, qui circ. saec. III priori tribuendus est. Unde titulum nostrum circ. tempore Severi Alexandri vel Paulo post positum esse opinior.

Those who have identified the similarities between these inscriptions usually only mention **ET.73** and *RIU* III 910.<sup>387</sup>

**ET.74** is the third inscription in this collection, found away from **ET.73** and *RIU* III 910. Out of the three, **ET.74** is the least written about. What is remarkable about this inscription is the distance it was found away from **ET.73** and *RIU* III 910. For Szilágyi, examples of similar/identical inscriptions can either be shown to have been ordered from the same workshop, or, when they were found far away from one another, that Rome was their source, sometimes Africa.<sup>388</sup> However, this was not true in this instance. This repetition in Lupus' poetry makes one wonder the same questions Szilágyi did: was Lupus from/a visitor to Aquincum? Was he the creator of *RIU* III 910 (everyone seems to be of the opinion that **ET.73** came first)? Was he the composer of the poem?<sup>389</sup> Szilágyi's proposal that both or one of the above texts in this collection were imported is an intriguing one, considering the isolated instance of **ET.74**, and yet the duality of **ET.73** and *RIU* III 910. Szilágyi believed that it there was a strong possibility of this verse being imported.<sup>390</sup> The various ways in which he suggests this is: 'Whether one of these [educated men] brought it from Rome or has written it with the help of his qualification acquired there, or it reached Pannonia by another route, through collections of poems circulating here or formularies used possibly by the stonecarvers'.<sup>391</sup> But what if this was imported through the military bringing poetry with them? Perhaps this was the, as at that time unknown, imported original of **ET.73** and *RIU* III 910.

**ET.74**, a 'bräunlichem Kurkar' stele, is contemporaneous with **ET.73** and *RIU* III 910, but was found in Raphia, Palestina, on the border of Egypt.<sup>392</sup> Raphia lay on the main (coastal) route between Egypt and Palestine,<sup>393</sup> which linked together 'the two great military bases of Alexandria in Egypt and Antioch in Syria'.<sup>394</sup> It does have an accompanying prose section, which informs us that this fragmented stone epitaph was by the grandson of a tribune, made from the grandson's own money and, interestingly, upon the insistence of the tribune's (or perhaps the grandson's, it is not clear who they refer to) mess-mates. Eck sees the mess-mates

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<sup>385</sup> Maróti 2003: 6.

<sup>386</sup> Fehér 2020: 77-79.

<sup>387</sup> See, for example, Soproni 1962: 51, 54; Szilágyi 1963: 189-192; Adamik 1976: 203; Barkóczi & Soproni 1981: 254-255; Courtney 1995: 398; Cugusi 2004.156; Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.38; Fehér 2010: 18-20; *AE* 2014.1039 adn. In Fehér 2020: 77-79, for example, these three inscriptions are mentioned and compared linguistically. Eck (2013) discusses all of them throughout his paper, which is a commentary on these three inscriptions, so also see this paper for an in-depth discussion and analysis of these inscriptions. **ET.75** was found two years after **ET.74**, and fifteen years before *RIU* III 910 (*AE* 2013.1715).

<sup>388</sup> Szilágyi 1963: 191, 193.

<sup>389</sup> See *ibid.*: 191, 193. See Fehér 2010: 18-20; Fehér 2020: 77-79 for potential reasoning behind why **ET.74** came before *RIU* III 910.

<sup>390</sup> See Szilágyi 1963: 191, 193-194.

<sup>391</sup> *Ibid.*: 194.

<sup>392</sup> Quote from Eck 2013: 118; see also EDCS-57300097; LLDB-102480-86, 111876; *AE* 2013.1715; Avi-Yonah 1950-1: 57; Holm 2005; Eck 2013: 118. See also *AE* 2013.1715 for the findspots of the other inscriptions in this collection.

<sup>393</sup> Lembke 2013; see Avi-Yonah 1950-1: 57.

<sup>394</sup> Avi-Yonah 1950-1: 55, 57. See this paper for details on this road.



as those of Maximianus, ‘nicht die des Verstorbenen; den andernfalls sollte man eher ein zusätzliches Pronomen erwarten, das auf diesen verwiesen hätte’.<sup>395</sup>

[---]m|nas trib(unus). |

L[ubrica quas]sa levis fragilis bona vel mala falla<x> |  
[Vita data est h]omini, non certo li[mi]te cret<ae>, |  
P[er varios c]asus tenuato sta[m]ine p[er]ende(n)<s>. |  
V[ivito mortal]is dum dant tibi [tempora Par]c(a)e, |  
Seu [te rura col]ens urbes vel castra vel (a)equor. |  
Flores ama Veneris, Cereris bona munera carpe |  
Et N'y's'y'i larga{s} et pingua dona Minervae. |  
Iam puer et iuvenis iam vir iam fessus ab annis. |  
Talis eris tumult'o, superumq(ue) oblitus <h>onore<s>. |

Aur(elius) Maximianus nepos eius de s(ua) p(ecunia) | instantibus contubernalibus.

**ET.74** almost spells out the acrostic *Lupus fecit*, but not quite, as line 8 of the verse seen in **ET.73** and *RIU* III 910, is missing. This was either an accident of transmission (the line was forgotten when it was imported to Raphia, which means that **ET.74** was an import of **ET.73** and *RIU* III 910, not the other way around, as has been previously suggested) or that the acrostic *Lupus fecit* was unintentional (if **ET.74** and *RIU* III 910 were imported from **ET.73**). It is more likely that the former option is correct – after all, it is much easier to forget a line than add one, especially one that fits with the overall tone of the poem. The military connections between these three inscriptions cannot be denied – two of them have explicit military links, one implicit. Unlike the explicit stating of the unit Apollonius served in (**ET.73**), and therefore the implicit unit that *RIU* III 910 undoubtedly had links to, we do not know the unit in which the tribune of **ET.74** served. Interestingly, ‘in Syria Palaestina gehört der Grabinschriften, die in lateinischer Sprache abgefasst sind, in den militärischen Kontext ... an den meisten anderen Orten in der Provinz trifft man auf Latein fast nur im militärischen Kontext’.<sup>396</sup> For Eck, then, ‘spricht schon die schlichte Tasche, das hier Latein für die Inschrift verwendet wurde, dafür, dass auch dieses Grabdenkmal für einen Angehörigen des Heeres geschaffen wurde’, also indicated by the fact that the creation of this inscription came about through the prompting of military mess-mates.<sup>397</sup> Given the number of units sent to and garrisoned in Syria and the nearby area over the Empire, there are a number of options that this tribune could have served in.

Eck supposes that ‘wenn sich die Bezeichnung *trib(unus)* tatsächlich auf den Verstorbenen bezieht und dieser derselben Einheit wie sein Enkel angehörte, dann könnte dies entweder eine Abteilung einer Legion gewesen sein, die im Süden nahe der Provinzgrenze stationiert war, oder – eher – eine Auxiliareinheit’.<sup>398</sup> The most likely unit for this tribune to have served in, however, seems to be the *Legio VI Ferrata*. It was garrisoned in Palestine, and was possibly sent to Syria Phoenice in the reign of Severus Alexander.<sup>399</sup> This legion had spent most of its service in Syria;<sup>400</sup> the legions here ‘were not to the same extent as those on the Danube and Rhine massed together in permanent camps; they were needed for police duties in the large and

<sup>395</sup> Eck 2013: 122.

<sup>396</sup> *Ibid.*: 125.

<sup>397</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>398</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>399</sup> Campbell 2012d: 817.

<sup>400</sup> See Hardy 1887: throughout. See also the movements of this unit as described by Campbell 2012d: 817, and the descriptions of the military units in Syria by Thomas Parker (in Le Bohec [ed.] 2015: 972-973).

restless cities of Syria, and were accordingly more dispersed among the towns and less used to the discipline and training of camp life'.<sup>401</sup> From this, we can conjecture, also given the role of units and vexillations in nearby Egypt, that a part of the role of the soldiers posted here was to defend and protect the road, especially a main road such as the one Raphia lay on.<sup>402</sup> Although, the link between Syria and Palestine was not immediate for this legion: they were posted to Cappadocia after they served in Syria. They were then potentially sent to Armenia, before being sent back to Syria until the Year of the Four Emperors, when it then went to fight in Moesia.<sup>403</sup> Within a few months, however, it was sent back to Syria.<sup>404</sup> It was later moved to Judaea, by the early to mid second century AD, where it remained, for the majority of the rest of its time in service.<sup>405</sup> After the Parthian War, during the reign of Trajan, the *Legio VI Ferrata* was moved to Arabia and then to northern Palestine (Judaea).<sup>406</sup>

Alternatively, he could have belonged to the *Legio III Gallica*, which was stationed in Raphanaea, where the *Legio VI Ferrata* had been, when *Legio VI Ferrata* was sent to Palestine, in the second century AD.<sup>407</sup> This legion was cashiered in AD 218/219, but reinstated by Severus Alexander, and sent to Danaba, Damascus.<sup>408</sup> During his reign, Septimius Severus split Syria into two provinces, so the *Legio III Gallica* was now stationed as Raphanaea in Syria Phoenice.<sup>409</sup> When it was stationed in Syria, the *Legio VI Ferrata* was garrisoned in Raphanaea in the early Principate, and their role appeared to be that of 'an internal security force'.<sup>410</sup> This surely must be another name for Raphia.<sup>411</sup>

This strategic site in the Orontes Valley controls the crossroads that includes an east-west road connecting the Phoenician coast with the important client state of Emesa in central Syria. The legion could also watch over the Ituraeans, famed for their banditry, to the south. Recent archaeological investigations at Raphanaea suggest the presence of only a few scattered villages before the arrival of the legion and that the urban settlement was in fact a consequence of the legionary presence. In short, this legion was not originally deployed in an existing urban site [as is often said of military units posted in the eastern provinces].

Perhaps, in the various moments in its history when it was sent back to Syria, the *Legio VI Ferrata* was sent back to Raphia, perhaps taking over from the *Legio III Gallica* when it was resent here by Severus Alexander. There is also the possibility that he served in the *Legio XV Apollinaris*, which served in 'Dalmatia, then in Pannonia until the reign of Claudius, then in Syria under Nero, once more in Pannonia until the reign of Trajan, and finally in Egypt (c. 106-117) and in Cappadocia',<sup>412</sup> but this seems like a less likely fit, considering the dates, times and locations.

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<sup>401</sup> Hardy 1887: 633.

<sup>402</sup> See discussion on soldiers in Egypt in Chapter 5.

<sup>403</sup> See Hardy 1887: 633, 639, 643.

<sup>404</sup> *Ibid.*: 644.

<sup>405</sup> *Ibid.*: 652, 656.

<sup>406</sup> See Campbell 2012d: 817; Thomas Parker in Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 973; Wolff in Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 1043.

<sup>407</sup> Campbell 2012d: 817; Thomas Parker in Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 973.

<sup>408</sup> Campbell 2012d: 817.

<sup>409</sup> Thomas Parker in Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 973.

<sup>410</sup> *Ibid.*: 972.

<sup>411</sup> *Ibid.* See, for example, Webster 1985: 35; Maxfield 2000: 410 for military units in the East being more likely to be stationed in towns, those in the west fortresses.

<sup>412</sup> Wolff in Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 1043. See also Appendix 2.

The edition of *AE* explains the likely scenario of the existence of this poem:<sup>413</sup>

Le texte a sans doute été composé en Panonie, terre latine, avant d'arriver en Syrie-Palestine avec des militaires qui avaient été en garnison en Europe centrale et se retrouvaient en poste à *Raphia*, lieu probable de stationnement d'une unité militaire (d'où l'emploi du latin).

This, therefore, would date **ET.74** to post AD 222, at the earliest, more likely post AD 230, potentially post AD 235. We do not know where the *cohors I Sagittiorum Syriaca* was posted after it served in *Ulcisia Castra*, or when. Perhaps this unit was posted to *Raphia* at some point in the mid third century AD. Alternatively, as tribunes were temporary postings, only for a few years, perhaps this, now, unnamed *tribunus* served in Pannonia in or around the area of *Aquincum*, came in contact with this inscription, noted it down and took it with him to *Raphia*. Alternatively, it was his grandson who served in/around *Aquincum*, noted down the inscription, and brought it to *Raphia*, where he set up his grandfather's inscription. Given the history of postulated legion that this tribune was from (*Legio VI Ferrata*), and that the 220s were a fraught time for the Syrian legions,<sup>414</sup> it seems unlikely that this poem would have gone to Syria from Pannonia. Eck, however, like other scholars who have studied this text, is of the opinion that the original poem was composed in Pannonia, probably *Aquincum*.<sup>415</sup> Eck tries to see a connection between how this poem moved from Pannonia to Syria, but concludes that 'einen konkreten Weg, auf dem das Grabgedicht nach Syria Palaestina kam, kann man mit unseren derzeitigen Kenntnissen nicht aufzeigen. Doch scheint sicher zu sein, dass dieser Transfer durch Personen erfolgte, die dem römischen Heer angehörten'.<sup>416</sup> He wonders if the tribune was transferred from Pannonia Inferior to Syria Palestina, as the style of the monument is rather Danubian, not Syrian.<sup>417</sup>

For Eck, this is an example of a soldier being posted elsewhere in the Empire, and bringing his customs with him, 'ein weiteres Beispiel für den kulturellen Austausch innerhalb des Reiches, der vom Heer und seinen Angehörigen getragen wurde'.<sup>418</sup> Why, then, would the grandson need to be prompted to erect this inscription for his grandfather; after all, this was a part of family duty?<sup>419</sup> Eck postulates that this is a part of the self-awareness of the soldiers bringing their own culture with them.<sup>420</sup> Yet, as discussed earlier, some have felt that this expressed Syrian sentiments, which were brought to Pannonia through the deployment of Syrian troops. It would be tempting to see a Syrian link between the grandfather, his military service and his origins, considering that his grandson erected this inscription to him near Syria. Military service often ran in the family, so it is tempting to see a link between the grandson being a Syrian recruit into the *cohors I Sagittiorum Syriaca*, descended from a soldier who served in one of the Syrian legions connected to *Raphia*, such as the *Legio III Gallica* or the *Legio VI Ferrata*. After all, we know that recruitment became localised as the Empire went on, and his grandfather, and potentially father, would have been old enough to have served in either legion (*III Gallica* upon its garrison here, and the *Legio VI Ferrata* upon its reposting here during Septimius Severus'

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<sup>413</sup> *AE* 2013.1715.

<sup>414</sup> See Thomas Parker in Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 973.

<sup>415</sup> See Eck 2013: 118-119, 122-123, for reasons why. He thinks it was especially commissioned for one of the deceased in the Pannonian versions (123). See also, for example, Cugusi 2003: 455.

<sup>416</sup> Eck 2013: 125.

<sup>417</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>418</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>419</sup> See *ibid.*

<sup>420</sup> *Ibid.*

reign). It is even more tempting to see a direct connection between **ET.73** and **ET.74** when one considers that there was a town called Apollonia near Raphia,<sup>421</sup> but that seems a little far fetched. Could Maximianus have set this inscription up for his grandfather, having encountered it when abroad, serving in a Syrian unit, when reading the inscriptions of fellow deceased Syrian soldiers, despite (or, perhaps, because of, given his own Roman sounding name) its Roman and Greek epigraphic, thematic nature?

Some aspects of inscriptions held a resonance for others, beyond the personal application for which they had originally been used, especially when we examine the case of **ET.73**, **ET.74** and *RIU* III 910. That ‘verses could be memorised more easily’<sup>422</sup> is apparent in verse inscriptions, where repeated poetic ideas become tropes, sometimes to the extent that entire verse inscriptions are repeated and transmitted across the Empire. As experienced from books, poetry, films, any type of modern media, we are able to identify with others we will never know, and we use this understanding to help shape our own identities. For those who imitate concepts, lines, ideas from epic poems, or from other inscriptions, it is clear that there was both a sought identity and an identity to be sought in Latin verse inscriptions. These may be general concepts, but they also had personal meaning to the person who chose to use it in the inscription they made.

At the very least, this collection of inscriptions demonstrates the transportability of verse, and verse inscriptions, across the Roman world. The ideas expressed within them are trans-imperial, across the ages and lands, as seen in the ideas conveyed in the epigraphic tropes, featured in this chapter.<sup>423</sup> There was a universality to these ideas, obviously something people saw comfort, and perhaps truth, in. Perhaps the idea of living life whilst one still can was enough, a reminder to encourage the living to seize the opportunity that the dead no longer have. These ideas still exist now, having become timeless as well as universal, not only across contemporary cultures in the Roman world, but across cultures evolved through, and departed by, time. There is something about these ideas that speak to the human within us, within every inhabitant of the world, no matter what country or era they originate from. After all, when someone has a life changing, usually threatening, event happen to them, their mindset often changes to that of living whilst they still can, to the fullest, towards seeking present happiness rather than future fame. It appears that Martial was right, that soldiers brought poetry with them to the four corners of the Roman world, not only the greats, but also the verses and ideas they encountered along the way. Through his analysis of this collection of identical inscriptions, Eck summarises what the Latin verse inscriptions of the Roman military did for those immortalised within them: ‘für diese Soldaten aber waren dann der Text und die Stele ein Teil der in der Fremde bewahrten Identität’.<sup>424</sup>

### 3.5. The Materiality of Death

This epigraphic trope is not mentioned as often as the other tropes, but aspects of it are collected and called, here, for the first time ‘the materiality of death’. This appears in *carmina Latina epigraphica* both for and by soldiers and civilians so, although military verse inscriptions have been focused on for the data gathered here, it is safe to assume that this was a universal theme.

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<sup>421</sup> See Eck 2013: 118; Roll & Tal 2008: 132.

<sup>422</sup> Matijević 2015: 289.

<sup>423</sup> See also Eck’s thoughts on this verse (2013: 123).

<sup>424</sup> Eck 2013: 125.

However, more research with a greater focus on civilian inscriptions would be needed to ascertain this.

Here, the idea of ‘the materiality of death’ refers to when material, tangible, literal aspects of death are mentioned in the inscription. These include references to: the tomb, the inscription, the ashes or bones of the deceased, and the funeral. These are often referred to in these inscriptions, enough that this idea has been identified as an epigraphic trope here.

Inscriptions other than the ones discussed below which contain this theme include: **ET.2, ET.3, ET.4, ET.5, ET.6, ET.7, ET.8, ET.9, ET.14, ET.16, ET.17, ET.18, ET.21, ET.26, ET.28, ET.29, ET.32, ET.34, ET.38, ET.40, ET.42, ET.45, ET.48, ET.50, ET.55, ET.56, ET.59, ET.60, ET.62, ET.64, ET.65, ET.66, ET.67, ET.68, ET.69, ET.70, ET.72, ET.73, ET.74, ET.75, LL.6, LL.7, AI.1, AI.2, AI.5, AI.10, NW.3, NW.4, RD.9.**

### 3.5.1. The Tomb, the Inscription, the Verse

As seen in sections 3.3.1 and 3.2.3, the idea that the inscription, on the tomb, was in verse is referred to within the inscription itself. This can be individually (i.e., just because the tomb is mentioned, does not mean that the verse has to be), or several of them can be mentioned in the inscription. The tomb was the ‘eternal dwelling’ through which the deceased continued to exist among the living through their appreciation, contemplation and thus perpetuation of their (former) existence in the world, which was expressed, in more detail, in the verse inscription.

Perhaps the most notable example of a verse inscription where the material aspects of the inscription (the tomb, the verse) are interacted within the verses themselves is **ET.40**. A large proportion of this inscription is about material aspects of the tomb, where references to the monument, and parts of the monument, itself are made throughout the verse inscription adorning it, such as the beehive, as well as other aspects, such as:

**a**

...  
... *memoratio, multa(ue) servet, |*  
*secum per titulos mansuris forties annis. |*  
*ecce recens pietas omni placitura favor |*  
*ingentem famae numerum cum laude meretur, |*  
*exemplo iam plena novo, quam Flavius alto |*  
*more Secundus agens patrio signavit honore. |*  
...  
*mobilibus signis hilaris scalptura n[ou]a[t]ur |*  
*et licet atsidue probet hos vaga turba [dec]ores, |*  
*lucentes stupeat pariter pendere columnas. |*  
*quit cum militiae titulus, ipsumque parentem |*  
*numinibus dederis? ...*

Indeed, it is expected that the deceased father will rejoice and spurn the crowds of the dead in the Underworld:

... *quod sciat hic tantam faciem superesse sepulchri |*  
*perpetua novitate sui, s[i]c stare nitentes |*  
*consensus lapidum ...*

But the most explicit, and significant, reference to the verses themselves are in the first stanza of **ET.40b**. In **b**, Secundus describes parts of the monument he had omitted to describe from **a**, the beehive and what is thought to be a weathervane, but he begins by referring to *pietas* directly, and describing the verses on the monument: they were as integral to the monument as the other sculptural aspects were.

*Huc iterum Pietas. venerandas erige mentes |  
et mea quo nost<r>i carmina more fove. |  
ecce Secundus adest iterum, qui pectore sancto |  
non monimenta patri sed nova templa dedit. |  
quo nunc Calliope gemino me limite cogis, |  
quas iam transegi rusus adire vias? |*

Here, the obscure reference to limits/boundaries and roads/ways are metaphysical comments on the limitations of different types of metre. **b** is composed in elegiac pentameter, whereas **a** was in hexameter. Like Ovid (Am. 3.1.5-8), Secundus directly addresses one of the Muses (Calliope) to make a reference to this change in metrical layout and pattern, i.e. the missing foot in the pentameter and, subsequently, the visually extra indented odd line of hexameter in an elegiac pentameter couplet. The *gemino limite*, the ‘double boundary’, refers to the format of elegiac pentameter; now writing in couplets, Secundus is restricted to two lines in which to express a sentiment, as the two lines in an elegiac couplet often comprised one idea. Here, *cogo* is used in a similar way to Ovid in his *Tristia*; in Trist. 3.7.10, Ovid uses the verb *cogo* to refer to the act of writing in elegiac verse.<sup>425</sup> The ‘as I come to the end of the road’ sentiment is expressed here in a similar way to the English saying; Secundus is referring to the fact that he is coming to the conclusion of his verse inscription, again, as he has written an addendum to the longer hexameter inscription in elegiac pentameter, and he, continuing the imagery of boundaries and limits, compares this concluding additional verse to a road. Secundus comments on how one’s morals/character can be seen through the verses one writes. Ironically, considering this monument’s posterity, it is the verses which dictate the fame of the tomb, by describing what was on it, and make the life of the deceased known and truthful (**ET.40b.17-18**). In this way, the act of writing verses was as much a part of *pietas* as constructing a tomb for one’s relative was.

In **ET.40**, we learn that the deceased himself prepared the site for his tomb with a grove, and it was believed that he would continue to exist in the grove after his death:

...  
... *haec gaudia saepe videntem |  
quae quondam dedit ipse loco, dum munera Bacchi |  
multa creat, primasq(ue) cupit componere vi[te]s |  
et nemus exornat revocatis saepius undis. |*  
...  
... *dum tempore toto |  
mauolt haec monumenta sequi, scriptisq(ue) per aevom |  
[vi]vere nominibus, solitis insistere lucis, | ...*

The deceased is referred to as being ‘concealed’ or ‘shut in’ a tomb, as seen in some of the examples given above, such as **AI.1**, **ET.21**, and **ET.66**, a verse epitaph for a veteran of the

<sup>425</sup> See Lewis & Short 1945: 862.

*Legio XV Apollinaris* and who subsequently worked as a *magister ludi*, a not uncommon job for a veteran soldier, made by his wife and freedwoman, where the only versified part of this inscription refers to the deceased's current existence of lying in state in a tomb:

... *servat me,*  
*securus, quoque.* | *nunc contegor hic tumulo.*

A father, who had taken the equestrian military route,<sup>426</sup> immortalised his grief, rather than aspects about the deceased, in an inscription for his sons, where, although time will take away his tears, 'c'est parce qu'il emporte tout...seule l'inscription dans la pierre perurera ... ainsi de deuil et les souffrances osnt comme fixes dans la pierre contre laquelle le temps ne pourra rien, contre lequel jusqu'a present il n'a rien pu'.<sup>427</sup>

#### ET.45

*Atro dolore,* | *percussus ab ini|quissima Fortu|na, erepto*  
*mihi* | *horum solacio.* | *cohibui lacrimas,* | *quas tempus*  
*'d'e|tu<l>it, cives, et 't`i`u|los fixi.*

The verse inscriptions, and the tombs, were acknowledged as pieces of public writing. They encouraged strangers to read about the life of the deceased, to remember them, and to perpetuate their existence through the memory of the living. Who created the tomb is sometimes referred to, including who had input on the composition/creation of the verse inscription on the tomb. The inscription sometimes allows us to find out who was involved with its creation, especially when they were created whilst the deceased was still living, in preparation for their death. This is most notably seen in inscriptions such as **ET.62**, where the entirety of the verse is about preparing the tomb in anticipation of one's death. This is also mentioned in **ET.40**, where it is mentioned that people criticised this practice, as a superstition. Other examples include **ET.2**, an epitaph for Publius Aelius Ulpius, a veteran from the rank of a *decurio*, who set up his own tomb and inscription in preparation for his death:

*Hanc sedem longo placuit sacrare labori* |  
*hanc requiem fessos tandem qua conderet artus.* |  
*Ulpius emeritis longaevi muneris annis* |  
*ipse suo curam titulo dedit, ipse sepulcri* |  
*arbiter hospitium membris Fatoque paravit.* |

This is also seen in the verse and prose aspects of **ET.42**:

*Hospes ades paucis et perlege ver|sibus acta.*  
*aetern`u`m patriae hic | erit, ipsa domus,*  
*hic erit inclusus tumu|lo, hic Iulius ipse,*  
*hic{s} cinis ex caro cor|pore factus erit.*

...

<sup>426</sup> 'La *militia* est un service militaire que certains, assez rares, poursuivent tandis que la plupart des autres entrent dans l'administration impériale où ils gerent des procuratèles. Le jeune chevalier (ou le jeune notable municipal, ce qui pourrait être le cas ici), qui a été *praefectus fabrum*, responsable des services dans une légion, exerce ensuite trois commandements, dont la succession avait été fixée par l'empereur Claude ..., puis définitivement établie par Néron ou par Vespasien: la prefecture d'une cohort auxiliaire, le tribunat de légion (c'est-à-dire un autre commandement d'infanterie, mais d'une cohort legionnaire), enfin un commandement de cavalerie, la prefecture d'une aile d'auxiliaires. C'est là un schema où, selon les besoins en encadrement, un commandement peut être remplacé par un autre. En fonction des besoins aussi, certains de ces commandements peuvent être renouvelés dans un autre corps (*iteration militiae*)' (Hamdoune (ed.) 2011.153: 248 n. 189).

<sup>427</sup> Hamdoune (ed.) 2011.153: 249.

*Gallia crudelis tri|buit mihi [f]un[us ---],  
[---] cultos artus ter|ra cinisqu(e) P[---].*

*[---]TO Gnatus | miles leg(ionis) II P[---]AT her'e's | eius est.*

In **ET.29**, the creator of the tomb is mentioned throughout, which also highlights the importance of the performative aspect of people remembering the deceased, by reading their inscriptions, and this also adds to the ongoing debate about the *viator* reading the inscriptions out loud when they interacted with them:

*Qui legis et flores viae carmina pia  
hospes, consist[e et p]erleg[e qui | f]uerim.  
fraternis manibus tumulusque et coniugis eius |  
traditus est m[ihi nun]c quem mors inimica peremit. |  
nam bis septenos [tibi] Roma laboribus annos  
praestit[er]a[m], | quom me miserum mala Fata vocarunt. |  
egressum castris duo me videre parentes |  
linquentem vitae et commoda militiae. |  
hi duo viderunt fratres, dulcissima coiu[m] |  
fraterna quae mi titulum donavit apertum |  
quem vos + + + + ere et vestris ostendere gnateis |  
possetis, quorum vita per saecula currit. |  
dicite, “Maria tibi bene sit quae + e + + + [c]aru[m] |  
coniugis habuisti germanum + e + + + dedi[sti].” |*

Verses on the tomb were considered a gift for the deceased, as seen in **ET.38**:

*... qui nunc | et carmina tristis  
haec dedit | in tumulo conspicienda meo. |*

The tomb is sometimes referred to as a ‘gift’; to whom, however, is not clear. The likely candidates are either a gift to the deceased themselves, or perhaps *Dis Manibus*, the spirits of the departed.

## LL.6

*Perlege cuncta, precor, cultor, pietate parentis | (vac.) |  
cum simul et matre, quod nobis inane sepulch[rum] |  
fecerunt, quanto in munere positum vide(s). |  
quod, si fata mihi dedissent luce(m) videre, |  
ista prius ipsis facerem, non ut poscerem vi[tam], |  
munus inane quidem. terra nunc dividit ist[a] |  
corpora nostra, nimis graviter parva advers[us] | vota parentum.  
quod peto, si colitis Mane[s], | cuncti meo nomini semper  
hac mihi terr[a] | leve optetis. vobis dii Fortuna beata |  
et semper honorata[m] pr(a)estent, suo numin[e] | sancto,  
ex qua possitis obiti bene linquere n[atos]. |*

## LL.7

*Respice, praeteriens viator consobrini | pietate parata.  
cum lacrimis statui, quan]to in munere posto videtis.*



*Pannonia terra | creat, tumulat Italia tellus  
ann(is) XXVI. ut sibi | castris honorem a`d`quireret ipse,  
dolori ma[g]|no substentavit tempore longo.  
postea, cum | sperans dolorem effugisse nefandam,  
ante | diem meritum hunc demersit at Styga Pluton. |  
quotsi Fata eo sinuissent luce(m) videre, (vac.) |  
ista prius triste munus posui dolori, repletus |  
munus inane quidem. terra nunc dividit ista |  
oss{u}a sub titulo potius. tu opta viator  
cum pie|tate tua ipso terra leve nobis Fortuna beata, |  
ex qua tu possis obitus bene linquere natos. |*

These similarly worded inscriptions also contain another motif:<sup>428</sup> the land divides the body of the deceased. This presumably means that those in the Roman world knew the body would decompose and return to the soil. It is perhaps a little far fetched to suggest this is an illusion to the Epicurean/Lucretian philosophy that people return to atoms once they are dead.

When a tomb is described as ‘deserved’, however, based upon the person’s characteristics, the tomb was a gift for the deceased (see section 3.3.3, and Chapter 8):

## RD.9

*coniugis (vac.) obsequio, (vac.) meruit (vac.) | in munere functae (vac.) sep{h}ulc(h)rum  
(vac.) | dignum pro meritis a coniuge amante{m}, |  
perciperet titulum suo nomine testans. |*

Sometimes, the verse inscription confirms this is the final resting place of the deceased, such as in **AI.5**, where Flaminus ‘declares’: *militavi aq(uilifer) nunc hic s[u]m* (‘I served as a soldier and now here I am’, 3). This is also seen in **ET.18**, an epitaph by the brother and mother of a *bucinator* of the *cohors Mattiacorum*.<sup>429</sup>

*Si modo sunt Ma|nes, sentiant. spes vi|t(a)e nostr(a)e fueras.  
nu(n)|c quis ubi iaceas indi|cat iste lapis.*

## 3.5.2. Ashes and Bones

A part of this theme of the materiality of death includes these inscriptions directly referencing the ashes or bones of the deceased buried under the monument,<sup>430</sup> or, in some cases, the absence of remains that the family, for various reasons, were unable to bury. This was used by/for citizens, of women and men, children and adults, and military men alike.<sup>431</sup> The idea of the materiality of death is not unique to military verse inscriptions, but there are certain aspects that have a specifically military flare, for example when their ashes had to be sent home, or the tomb stood in for their body.

<sup>428</sup> See the commentaries on these inscriptions in Chapter 4.

<sup>429</sup> This could possibly have been the *cohors II Mattiacorum*, as fragments of a diploma from December AD 145/146 attest to this auxiliary cohort being in Moesia Inferior, which is the province in which this inscription was found (it was found in Obodinenie), and then they later moved on to Thracia (Weiß 2001: 263). If this does indeed refer to this cohort, then the current given date of the early to mid third century ought to be changed to the mid second century AD. See Appendix 2 for more information on this unit.

<sup>430</sup> Dill says that a reference to the ashes of the deceased is rare (1925: 601), but, given how often they have been referred to in this data set, we can say that this was a part of the theme ‘the materiality of death’, and was relatively common.

<sup>431</sup> See the examples of epitaphs presented in Jones’ book (2015: for example, 48, 142).

### 3.5.2.1. Burial of Ashes and Bones

This sub-theme of the materiality of death also crosses over with that of earth in nature in these inscriptions; this is discussed in more detail in Chapter 7 for ideas of burial in Latin military verse inscriptions, especially of being born in one place, and buried in another. Only Massaro, so far, has been found to refer to this theme in inscriptions: ‘l’antitesi fra *natus e conditus*, di un motivo peraltro ricorrente quando la morte sopravviene in località diversa da quella di nascita (e quindi dei primi affetti familiari e socio-ambientali)’.<sup>432</sup> Feucht’s study indicates that, although most legionaries were from abroad, percentages of legionaries demonstrating that they died away from home ‘are in fact rather low’, but ‘the legionaries of *Germania* and *Dalmatia* want[ed] to emphasise their *origo*’,<sup>433</sup> which is demonstrated in the data here.

This also correlates with the idea that ‘the provenance [of the deceased] is rarely recorded in inscriptions, except for those belonging to persons living, working and sometimes also dying far from home, like legionaries’,<sup>434</sup> and this is indeed seen as a relatively common idea within these military verse inscriptions. This is also referred to in the *STTL* formula itself; around about the time that this formula was becoming popular, *lapis* was also sometimes used instead of *terra*, ‘but *terra* won out in the end, no doubt because the poor (who generally use the words) thought in terms of the earth that would cover them, rather than of the stones of a tomb that would never be theirs’,<sup>435</sup> which may also be why some people refer to the stone/tomb itself on the inscription, to prove that they could afford it. This theme is also apparent in the common abbreviation *H(ic) S(itus) E(st)*.<sup>436</sup> That the deceased’s remains were buried was clearly important to those setting up these inscriptions, and that they were buried where their tomb is. As we have seen above, to have a tomb was an honour, but, it appears, so was being buried; it was a comfort to the families (in opposition to section 3.5.2.2 below). Either their bodies or their ashes were buried in tombs, and both are referred to.

**ET.42** encapsulates the ideas expressed in the theme of the materiality of death arguably the best, and the most poignantly. This inscription is filled with epigraphic tropes in general, and with the materiality of death in tandem with them, thus highlighting its ‘trope-esque’ quality, as epigraphic tropes rarely exist in an inscription in isolation. This inscription, by a soldier and for a soldier, mentions nearly every epigraphic trope, whilst exhibiting Niger’s military career, and his bravery during it. His body, and ashes, are referred to throughout his epitaph, highlighting the dissonance between the desire to perpetuate someone’s ‘life’, memory and humanity through the living interacting with their monument, a funereal monument, designed for the dead. It is often some other agent who turns someone into ashes; they are not just ‘cremated’ as a part of the funeral process. Here, it was Fate who turned him into a corpse, which was turned into ashes.<sup>437</sup>

*C(aius) Iulius C(ai) f(ilius) Vol(tinia) | Carc(asone) Niger mi|les leg(ionis) II annor(um) | XXXXV aer(orum) XVII | h(ic) s(itus) e(st). |*

*Hospes ades paucis et perlege ver|sibus acta.  
aetern`u`m patriae hic | erit, ipsa domus,*

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<sup>432</sup> Massaro 2023: 24.

<sup>433</sup> Feucht 2011: 160-161.

<sup>434</sup> *Ibid.*: 151.

<sup>435</sup> Sullivan 1939: 509.

<sup>436</sup> See Feucht 2011: 151.

<sup>437</sup> See the discussion on this inscription in Chapter 7.

*hic erit inclusus tumu|lo, hic Iulius ipse,*  
*hic{s} cinis ex caro cor|pore factus erit.*  
*cum me`a` iucunde | aetas florebat ab annis*  
*advenit fati | terminus ips`e` meis.*  
*ultimus ipse `f`uit | XXXXV annus,*  
*cum mihi fatalis ve|nit acerba die`s`.*  
*hic ego nunc cogor | Stygias transire paludes,*  
*sedibus aeter|nis me mea Fata tenent.*  
*me memini Gal|li`a` natum caroq(ue) pare[nt]e,*  
*et miles collo | fortiter arm[a t]uli.*  
*Gallia crudelis tri|buit mihi [f]un[us ---],*  
*[---] cultos artus ter|ra cinisqu(e) P[---].*  
*[---]TO Gnatus | miles leg(ionis) II P[---]AT her`e`s | eius est.*

In **ET.32** and **ET.64**, how the deceased lived their life is not only beneficial for their soul after they have died, but also for their bones:

#### ET.32

*Vixi quod volui, semper bene | pauper honeste.*  
*fraudavi | nullum. quod iuvat ossa mea. |*

#### ET.64

*Vix{s}i quad potui, sem|per bene pauper honest(vac.)e(vac.). |*  
*[fr]audavi nullum. nunc iuvat | [os]sa mea. |*

The bones are usually referred to as at rest in the tomb, and their now deceased existence contrasts with their living personality.

#### ET.8

*hic su|m sepultus hic oss{u}a re|quiescum mea.*

#### ET.3

*dum vi[x]i, [hil]aris iucundus amicis |*  
*[nu]nc to[rpen]s iaceo hic o[ssa req]u[ies]cunt mea.*  
*natus | sum C`o`n`a`nis, conditu(s) [i]n Illurico.*

Similar imagery of there being ‘nothing left but the (burnt) bones ... left after him’, as seen in **ET.3**, is found in both prose and verse inscriptions.<sup>438</sup>

Maybe these inscriptions were partly set up to retain the deceased’s humanity, after all, they become bones and ashes in death, everything that was once theirs in life is gone with their death (see the concluding line of **AI.2**), and, as the sons of the tribune of *Legio II Adiutrix* viewed their father after he had died in **NW.4**:

Πατρίς ἐμοὶ Συρίης δάπεδον | πόλεως Καπετωλιάδαο. (vac.) |  
 κείμε δ’ ἐν Πα[ί]οσι κενὸν ὄργανον ἀνθρώποισι.

<sup>438</sup> Sanader et al. 2010: 486.

By remembering his deeds, then, who he was and what he did in life, the inscribed tombstone retained their father's humanity, after it had left his own body upon his death.

### 3.5.2.2. Ashes Sent Home

Another significant factor of burial was where they were buried. References to being buried in their homeland/away from their homeland indicates that this was of importance to those in the Roman world, such as in **ET.69**, an epitaph for a veteran who held the rank of *optio* in the *Legio III Augusta*, made by his son in law, who was also a veteran soldier:

*"Non fueras, | nunc es. iterum | nunc desines es|se."*

*Hic situs est patri|ae.*

The wife of Ingenuus, a *speculator*, *cornicularius* and *centurio* respectively, comments that she decided to bury his body where he originated from, not where he died, in **NW.3**:

*Iulius Ingenu(u)s obiit in Gallia morte. |*  
*coniunx patriae gremio mandat Virula corpus. |*

This theme seems particularly pertinent for soldiers, who were away fighting, sometimes on campaign, sometimes they were posted abroad, but we are not always sure if they died in battle or just whilst they were on active service. For some, their return home was not a cheery one, marked by an epitaph and the comment that their ashes were able to be returned home. This is even referred to by Propertius, a tragic fact of military life, in an elegy addressed to a soldier, rebuking him for leaving his wife to become a soldier, at the conclusion of a list of ways in which a soldier can die: *neve aliquid de te flendum referatur in urna: / sic redeunt, illis qui cecidere locis* ('or weeping that some part of you shall be brought back in an urn: / they return in this way, those who die in those places', Prop. 3.12.13-14). A similar phrase is found in **ET.34**, an inscription for a soldier of the *Legio II Parthica* by his mother:

*Parcae te miseris rapuere parent(ibus) urna, |*

Given the content of **ET.42** where his ashes and body are referred to not as separate entities, then we can perhaps conjecture that where someone refers to their body being buried, they are referring to their ashes being buried in a tomb.

This sub-theme exhibits the social, not just personal, significance to be able to bury one's relative, and how important this was for the deceased themselves. This is highlighted in **ET.59**, where a mother considers her son fortunate, because he could be buried by her:

*... memoran|de iaces Ianuari sepul|cro,*  
*sic felix quot | humo te mater mise|randa recondit. |*

To have their ashes sent home was important enough to comment on this in their epitaph. Sometimes, it is the only thing commented on in their verse epitaph. This probably links back to the idea of having a tomb being an honour, and was felt strongly about in the ancient world, as seen throughout ancient literature.

In **ET.70**, an epitaph to Severus, a *miles* of the 9<sup>th</sup> Praetorian cohort, who also served as a *speculator*, by his father, there are two matters referred to: where he died, and, poignantly, that his ashes were brought back home by his father.

*Decessit Faleris, | cuius cineres |*  
*Antistius Coraesius | ret{t}ulit pater. |*

Verecundus' ashes were sent home (**ET.67**), by whom we do not know, but perhaps they were sent home by the military itself. Home meant being sent back to their parents. Both Verecundus and Severus were Italian; it seemed particularly important for those who were born in Italy to be returned home.

*Ossa | relata domum, | cinis hic adoperta | quiescit.*

In **AI.2**, the return of Lucius' ashes, a *miles* of an unknown unit, from his military service is more implied in the content of the inscription than outright stated, as it was in the examples presented above. This is the only inscription the author knows of where the idea of the materiality of death being a prominent epigraphic trope is alluded to by a previous scholar. Lattimore says of this inscription 'CE 409, 3 – 5 (Umbria). There are similar expressions in CE 1005, 1054, 1111, 1135, 1145, [p. 177] 1158, 1205, 1222, 1232, 1327, 1511, 1949. CE 1245, 4 (Caesarea, Mauretaoni) has pulvis et ossa', when he is discussing attitudes towards death and the idea of men turning to dust in death.<sup>439</sup>

*miles eram. sum deinde cinis de milite factus. |*

...

*quod fuerat vestrum, amisi, quod erat meum, hic est. |*

### 3.5.2.3. Dying/Buried far from Home

As a continuation, and/or perhaps integral part, of this theme, and again perhaps unique to military verse inscriptions,<sup>440</sup> is the idea of someone's ashes being sent home. There is always the implicit question of whether these soldiers died away from home because they died in combat/on active service; sometimes we are able to know this from the inscription itself, other times not. The act of burying someone was seen as important, if not more important, for the deceased as it was for the family. It was important for their body, and their inscription was important for the longevity of their existence, maintained by cultural norms and memory. To not be buried was a great anxiety in the ancient world, seen throughout ancient literature as well as implicit in these epitaphs (arguably, simply by their creation).

Burial for the Greeks and the Romans 'was considered a religious duty, to be performed, even in the case of executed criminals, by the nearest relative',<sup>441</sup> a matter most of those who study the Classics are familiar with, through the plot of Sophocles' *Antigone*, generated and perpetuated entirely by Antigone's desire to bury her brother in spite of the law forbidding her to do so. This is also seen as important in Virgil's description of the entrance to the Underworld in the *Aeneid*. This was a religious duty because 'the ghost of the dead man would wander about with a baneful influence on the lives of those who had denied him his due receipt to the underworld. Even the stranger who chanced upon a corpse was bound to give it at least a symbolic burial by casting over it three handfuls of earth. This rite was also performed symbolically for the man whose body had been lost in a foreign land or at sea, and a *cenotaph*, or empty tomb, was erected in his honor and all due observances were paid to it'<sup>442</sup> (as seen in

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<sup>439</sup> Lattimore 1942: 176-177 n. 29.

<sup>440</sup> Although a wider analysis of inscriptions from all walks of life would give a definitive answer to this.

<sup>441</sup> Heller 1932: 193. He describes the funeral practices in detail (193-197). See also Cumont 1922: 64-67, 190-191.

<sup>442</sup> Heller: 'In Rome, failure to complete the rites of burial had to be atoned for by the annual sacrifice of a sow, *porca peaecidanea*. Until this was done, the family was *funesta*, 'tainted with death'. Even in the case of cremation the old religious

**ET.14).** Even the site of burial itself was considered a religious place.<sup>443</sup> Songs were important for the funeral itself: the *nenia*, or funeral dirge, ‘was originally a kind of folk-poetry comparable to the Homeric θρῆνος or γόος ..., or to the Corsican vocero. In Rome it remained folk-poetry, and was consequently despised by Roman literary men’,<sup>444</sup> and it was performed throughout the funeral and burial process. Funeral rites for soldiers, given the isolated nature of many of their outposts/being posted away from their families, were often performed by soldiers, and soldiers were also buried outside forts, equitable with the law banning burial within the city limits.<sup>445</sup> There were burial clubs soldiers could belong to, to ensure that they were buried, yet these inscriptions, given that they were all dedicated by someone personal/by the soldier themselves, were not made by a burial club.

Burying someone was also a legal obligation, and, in many cases, it was the heir who was expected to bury the deceased.<sup>446</sup> Burial included commemorating the dead with a monument: ‘defined by Ulpian as ‘something which exists to preserve memory’, and later glossed by Servius as ‘inscribed name and record’’.<sup>447</sup> This was not compulsory, however, but it was if it had been specified by the deceased in their will, which made it ‘a moral obligation laid on a specific person, the heir (unless another was designated), and ultimately dependent on his or her sense of responsibility’.<sup>448</sup> This, therefore, meant that an epitaph had two functions in the Roman world: ‘it commemorated the dead by simply recording the name, sometimes with his or her achievements, and it also stated in writing the commemorator’s discharge of his duty. It was the Roman way of indicating the discharge of a particularly Roman obligation’.<sup>449</sup> This also explains why, in these tombstones for the deceased, the commemorators name themselves, and explain their relation (and therefore duty) to the deceased. It highlighted how the deceased was either a Roman citizen or ‘a recipient of Latin rights (the *ius Latii*)’, because only they could create a legally valid will in which they could specify this.<sup>450</sup> Legionaries, by definition of their status and rank within the Roman military, were Roman citizens, auxiliaries were not, but were ‘citizens-pending’. This may explain the dominance of legionaries in these inscriptions overall (see Chapter 9).

This idea of being buried/dying far from home is featured in several military verse inscriptions, and it continues to highlight the importance of someone’s remains being sent home, and the significance of being buried at home, and therefore the implicit, loaded meaning of when someone is buried (far) away from their homeland. Perhaps one of the most poignant is **ET.48**, for a *lixa*, a camp follower, so someone who was not serving in the military ranks directly, but who followed the military camps, and thus had a military orientated life.<sup>451</sup> It was found in Carnuntum, Pannonia Superior, but the *lixa* was Italian:

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feeling required at least symbolic burial by means of a finger cut off (*os resectum*) and interred before the body was burned’ (1932: 193).

<sup>443</sup> Carroll 2006: 79.

<sup>444</sup> Heller 1932: 194.

<sup>445</sup> See Anderson 1984: 11, for example (and 11-13 for burial practices in the Roman military in general), as well as Chapter 8.

<sup>446</sup> This was also a legal obligation (see Meyer 1990: 76-77; see also Carroll 2006: 33).

<sup>447</sup> Meyer 1990: 77; the Latin of both is quoted in n. 19. See also Carroll 2006: 30.

<sup>448</sup> Meyer 1990: 77. See also 77-78.

<sup>449</sup> Meyer 1990: 78. See also Feucht 2011: 152: ‘formulas, which mention the establishment of the memorial and the name and status of those responsible, are considered an expression of social cohesion’. See also 168.

<sup>450</sup> Meyer 1990: 79. See also 80-81.

<sup>451</sup> See Appendix 3.

*Cominius hic iaceo, | sed morte peremptu[s]. |*  
*[optab]am in patriam [---] | [---] cum fatribus. |*  
*[ve]rti quos liqui et | morti debita fata dedi. |*  
*o utinam Italiae poti|us mea Fata dedissent, |*  
*quam premeret cine[res ---].*

Some examples of inscriptions where someone's ashes were sent home include:

#### ET.70

*Decessit Faleris, | cuius cineres |*  
*Antistius Coraesius | ret{t}ulit pater. |*

#### ET.72

*Hic est crematus. | ossa relata domi.*

In the inscriptions in this data set where someone's ashes/remains were sent home (**AI.2, NW.3, ET.67, ET.70, ET.72**), they were soldiers who had died abroad, and were sent home, or collected and brought home, after they had been cremated. It is interesting to note that most of them were Italian (**AI.2, ET.67, ET.70, ET.72**).

In **ET.7**, a sailor who came from Dalmatia, died in Ravenna; all that was sent home was the news that he had died on active service, the result of which meant that they put up a cenotaph for him on his native Dalmatian soil. Those who had commissioned and/or composed this verse inscription belonged to the military and/or were stone masons.<sup>452</sup>

*crudele(m) luctum domui | Ravenna remisit. |*  
*hoc miseros titulo pro|prium signasse dolorem. |*

In other inscriptions, it is less clear whether their remains were sent home. Some soldiers' remains, on the other hand, were left where they fell. In **ET.14**, it appears that his family did not know about his military exploits, and so we have the rather emotive imagery of parents not only waiting for their son's body to return home, but also waiting to hear of his military exploits. This inscription is similar to the famous *CIL* XIII 8648,<sup>453</sup> where a man erected a funeral monument to his brother, who was a centurion in the Battle of Teutoburg Forest, that famous Roman defeat against Arminius, and, in the prose inscription, asks a stranger who might find his remains to bury his bones. The death of Verecundus, the *miles* of the 6<sup>th</sup> Legion in **ET.14**, abroad meant that his family could not perform the funeral rites for him. Not only that, but there is a sense of injustice and profound grief at Verecundus not being able to perform those rituals for his father, because he had been posted too far away from home. This cenotaph was erected in what was probably his home town, where his parents lived, in Tortosa, Hispania Tarraconensis, and he was serving in Syria, which also highlights the highly mobile nature of those serving in the Roman legions and how the geographical breadth of their service away from home affected their ability to participate in normal family life, such as participating in funeral rites of their family members. This is seen as a greater injustice than Verecundus' body itself not being able to be buried; this anguish is presented in fewer lines at the end of the

<sup>452</sup> Mesihović 2011: 29. See the commentaries on this inscription in Mesihović 2011: 28-32; Massaro 2023.35-36, nr. 16, in the latter of which it is specified that he came from the Lašvan basin.

<sup>453</sup> *CIL* XIII 8648 (4, p. 143) = *ILS* 2244 = *CSIR* D 3.1.1 = Lehner 1918.622 = Wiegels 2010: 465 = *AE* 1952.181 = *AE* 1953.222 = *AE* 1955.34 = *AE* 2009.924 adn. = *AE* 2010.1025 adn. = *AE* 2019.1080 adn. = *AE* 2019.1081 adn. = EDCS-11100742.

inscription. It is implied that his body was left where it fell in battle, as often happened on Roman battlefields: the dead were left where they fell. It is said that after the Battle of Adrianople, the land where the battle took place was white with bones because there were so many fallen, and so many unburied. This was another casualty of war: the lack of the family being able to perform the funeral rites, a basic, sacred rite in the eyes of the ancients, and the lack of anyone doing this for the deceased either, who was, instead, left where they fell, exposed to the elements, abandoned by the military, but not forgotten by their families, and, as the family requests, not to be forgotten by the passer-by, who, although all other funereal rites have been denied to Verecundus, may he not be denied the request that the earth will lie light on him by the passer-by.

The funeral rites referred to in this inscription include a reference to Roman funeral practice and conduct, based on belief (thus linking it to the theme of the funeral in section 3.5.2.5 below, although this is a case of a lack of a funeral). The Romans believed that the soul left through the mouth and, as such, as a part of the burial process, their heir/closest relative kissed the dying person at the moment of their death, so they could take their soul and stop it from wandering (ET.14.17).<sup>454</sup> The content of this poem is primarily about the rites and rights Verecundus missed out on conducting for his father when he died, and his mother concludes by saying that she was not able to do the same, but at least his father could be buried peacefully, whereas Verecundus only has the bare minimum: a cenotaph, and a request that the passer-by might wish that the earth will lie light for him. The family was denied being able to conduct these rites by Verecundus' military service: they could not hear of his military deeds, he was not able to participate in family events and services, and they were not able to bury him, and thus were also not able to carry out the traditional funeral rites for him. Verecundus, as his father's heir, was supposed to lead the funeral rites, including the final kiss. But Verecundus was denied these rites, as was his father; we do not know who took Verecundus' place in his stead. But at least his father, with whom he shares this verse inscription, would have had these rites performed for him, and thus makes Verecundus' lack of burial and funeral rites all the more tragic. The last rite he has left is that a stranger passing by would read this inscription and wish that the earth would be light for him.

#### 3.5.2.4. Tomb Standing in for the Body

Linked to this idea was the idea of the tomb standing in for a body. Sometimes, especially due to the nature of dying abroad on active service, the tomb itself was all the family and friends had for their deceased loved one. As seen above, having a tomb in and of itself was an honour, and to not be buried was clearly a worry for those in the ancient world, hence part of their fear of dying at sea. This meant that the tomb stood in for the body sometimes, especially if the soldier's body could not be returned home. This theme is specific to soldiers.

It is unclear whether ET.34 refers to the soldier's ashes returning home, or that he was buried far from home, or he could not be buried, for reasons that are horrendous to contemplate (for example, that his body was not intact enough after his death in military combat for him to be buried in a tomb). The emphasis on him leaving, and never coming back ('left us behind', 'you left me orphaned') imply that his body did not return home.

*Parcae te miseris rapuere parent(ibus) urna, |*  
*spectantes animo tuae gloriae cursum. |*

<sup>454</sup> See Crawley 1909: 186; Heller 1932: 193-194, for example.



*fletus in perpetuo miserae reliq(uisti) dolore, |  
nec potuit corpus a sodalib(us) tradi sepulchre. |  
me decepisti, ni(mi)um horfanum tu reliquist(i). |*

*Nigidia Firmina | mater infeliciss(ima) filio pientissimo.*

In **ET.14**, a passer by was able to do what those abroad could not: regard him in death, and remember him, through the existence of his verse inscription. Although Verecundus' remains might have been abandoned on some battlefield somewhere, unable to be cared for and buried by his family, his empty tomb allowed his parents to remember him publicly, and wish that the public might do the same. This cenotaph stood in for him, as well as standing for his eternal existence through interaction with the stone and performative, social memory. His mother, through 'Verecundus' speaking, also questions whether a tomb acted as an entrance to the gods (19-20), and thus the tomb acted not only as a perpetual memorial for someone whose remains could not be laid to rest, but it also acted as an entrance to the gods above (see also the discussion on this inscription in Chapter 6).

An empty tomb, although perhaps more expected for a soldier, was a fear and affected civilians too, as seen in this inscription for the wife of a soldier from a Syrian cohort:<sup>455</sup>

#### **ET.75**

*Paulla Ti(berii) | Iuli S<e>lvani | ex c(o)hor(te) Sur(orum) | anno(s) XXIIIX | h(ic) s(ita) e(st). |*

*(H)ospes si vacu(u)m | est tumuli, cog|noscere cas{s}us, |  
perlege, nam mo|rtis [---] caus{s}a | dolenda fu{u}it. |  
dic, rogo, nu<n>c, "iue|nis, sit tibi terra | levis." (vac.).*

It has been suggested by Zarker that 'this epigram may have been copied and is somewhat unsuitable for Paulla because of the term iuvenis; although iuvenis is used to refer to a girl, it is not the term one would expect',<sup>456</sup> which provides us with more evidence that this was a shared idea/theme, even down to the poetic expression of this fear.

#### **3.5.2.5. The Funeral**

Very few inscriptions refer to the funeral itself. Sometimes, they were prepared for in advance (such as in **ET.56.7**), sometimes it was referred to in the context of a parent having to bury their child, and therefore witness their funeral:

#### **ET.6**

*orba queror genetrix miseri post funera nati, |  
...  
o genitor felix qui nec tua funera vidit. |*

#### **3.6. Conclusion**

The only way in which the soldiers in these verse inscriptions deviate from civilian society in mentality is that they express their military identity, either through their service or by stating their rank within the Roman military. By expressing these epigraphic tropes, and the way in

<sup>455</sup> This was not classified as a verse inscription on EDCS-11202235, but was identified as poetic by Nagy (1939: 122).

<sup>456</sup> Zarker 1958.113.

which they do so, conforms to the norms of wider society. They have the same wishes and advice for the living, they treat death and the Fates the same way, and they do not necessarily die on the battlefield, sometimes they are killed by the same diseases and pestilences that killed civilians. The lack of reference to the military life and/or war to make it its own epigraphic trope within this corpus of military verse inscriptions may surprise some, although it is not the first time this has been observed before.<sup>457</sup> Here, this is identified as a universal pattern amongst the Roman military: emphasising their military life was not a priority to them in their expression of their life after their death.

Due to the nature of this study, however, it should be pointed out that showing their military identity was guaranteed, as this was a key factor in the way in which the data was gathered.<sup>458</sup> Yet, the way in which they express their military identity is significant: some simply state it as their job in the prose accompaniment to their verse inscription, others include it within the verse, thus making it significant beyond just a title and career. Sometimes, this is because they were killed in action, others because of how their career affected themselves and the way in which others regarded them, often their parents, and thus that impacted on their identity, whilst they were living and after they had died, as well as that of their family. Those who died on active service did not necessarily die in battle, however: very rarely is it stated that they were killed in action, but on active service is referenced more often. Sometimes, their rank is never stated, but the military link in the causation of their death indicates their military activity in life. This was significant for the way in which they either wanted themselves to be regarded, or how others wanted them to be regarded. More often than not, they do not refer to their own military action; it is more frequently their parents who refer to this, especially if their parents had to bury them, and carry out the duty of their child for their premature death, sometimes caused by military service.

These inscriptions span the ages. The greatest concentration of them fits with the pattern noticed by epigraphers of the greatest production of inscriptions during the Roman Empire: the late second to the third centuries AD (see Table 3 and Appendix 4). The second most common is the early first century AD, when epigraphy was just starting to become more prolific.<sup>459</sup> There is also a great breadth of military ranks exhibited in these inscriptions, both in terms of seniority and the diverse range of ranks (see Figure 3.1 and Table 3). The most commonly expressed individual rank was, however, the lowest of all: the *miles*, followed by the *veteranus* and then the *centurio*. But there are significant jumps between the occurrence of these ranks; most of the other ranks, especially the specialised ones, feature in singular instances (see Figure 3.1). This is the same for the units mentioned in these inscriptions (Figure 3.2 and Table 3): there is a far greater range of military units mentioned, and a mixture of all the units in the Roman military are represented, such as the navy, the legions, the auxiliary units, and the urban cohorts. The most common of the units, as demonstrated throughout this study, were the legions; of the

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<sup>457</sup> See Massaro: ‘per un breve consuntivo, osserviamo anzitutto, in relazione proprio alla connotazione da ambiente militare, che di retorica militare o bellica non abbiamo incontrato alcuna traccia, che non appena nei due versi del tardo Catalogo, nr. 32. Nei complementi affettivi è anzi assai raro incontrare anche specifici accenni alla vita o ambiente militare, e per lo più indiretti’ (2023: 56). See also Chapter 8 for when military life and warfare are discussed.

<sup>458</sup> See Keppie for potential issues with this, although this has already been indicated in this study: ‘students of Roman military epigraphy are generally dependent on the epigraphic texts themselves to announce that the deceased had been a soldier. Yet do we know that all need have wished to remember it, or for it to be remembered? I do wonder whether the low numbers of soldiers seeming to return to Italy after service in the Early Empire may result partly from them not reporting it at death – though we should normally expect pride in service honourably completed to be celebrated’ (2003: 48).

<sup>459</sup> See also Chapter 9.

singular units, the Praetorian Guard and the *equites singulares* were the most commonly mentioned in the inscriptions that mention epigraphic tropes (see figure 3.2).

We often know of their origins, because it is commented upon when they die away from home (see Table 3 and Figure 3.3); Italian soldiers' remains tended to be sent home. Aside from those with unknown origins, following the pattern of this overall data set (see Chapter 9), those of Italian (or postulated Italian) origins far outweigh the others; second are those who lived along the Danubian and Rhine frontiers and of African origin. Italy also far outweighed the other provinces in terms of findspot (see Figure 3.4 and Table 3), with the African and Pannonian provinces coming in as the two next most frequent locations for finding these inscriptions. Hexameter (or being hexameter-esque) was the most common metre, elegiac couplets the second (see Table 3 and Figure 3.5), which is perhaps expected for epitaphs. A far larger proportion of the inscriptions in this chapter were for soldiers (see Figure 3.6 and Table 3). Hardly any of the themes exist in isolation, with multiple epigraphic tropes being demonstrated in these inscriptions (see Table 3). The most common trope was the 'materiality of death', closely followed by 'remembering deeds' and 'commands, requests and advice from the dead' (see Figure 3.7). As the 'materiality of death' had several sub-categories, it is expected that it would appear generally more times than the more specialised themes without sub-categories within them, such as 'parents doing the duty of their child' or, the least frequently used theme, 'a tomb or inscription is deserved'.

As soldiers, those in the Roman military were one of the few groups in the Roman world who had a regular income, so not only could they, but also their families, through their income, be able to provide for themselves and/or their families with an inscription when they died.<sup>460</sup> Despite their military service, then, and perhaps this being linked to their death, the use of these epigraphic tropes within these soldiers' epitaphs demonstrates that their behaviour, and the way in which others behaved towards them, in acts of remembrance correlated with that of wider society. As shall be seen by this study, 'the general value of Latin inscriptions [is] there is no phase of Roman life not illustrated by them',<sup>461</sup> and this applies to the Roman military too. The only obvious, ostensible difference is that some actively mention their military lives in their inscriptions; others do not go beyond merely stating their rank within the Roman military, like any civilian would mention their career in the Roman world.

The similarities between the commemoration of civilians and of soldiers have been pointed out before, but in a different context. Keppie, in his paper *'Having been a soldier': The commemoration of military service on funerary monuments of the early Roman Empire*, notes that the 'memorials at Aquileia [including funerary inscriptions and reliefs] to soldiers of the Praetorian Guard who died on service there under Augustus', similarly to Ateste, 'as a group, the memorials fit well into the rich corpus of primarily civilian monuments of the town'.<sup>462</sup> For the Praetorian Guards and legionaries from the period of Augustus-Julio-Claudians, Keppie observes that 'there is little sign of standardisation: a surprisingly wide variety of memorials might be set up, hardly differing from those favoured by the civilian population'.<sup>463</sup> He also noted that 'if the Latin text is accompanied by a representation of the soldier in relief, those who died while still serving are much more likely (though not exclusively) to be shown in military dress, but those retired will normally (but not always) be depicted togate, i.e. in civilian

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<sup>460</sup> See Kuntić-Makvić 1976: 62.

<sup>461</sup> Gordon 1946: 152.

<sup>462</sup> Keppie 2003: 36.

<sup>463</sup> *Ibid.*: 41.

dress, as citizens',<sup>464</sup> which is interesting, as, when epigraphic tropes are expressed within the verse inscription itself, there is little difference between the *veteranus* and the soldier on active service.

This has also been observed by Massaro, in a similar context. He examined thirty six Latin epitaphs 'by or for soldiers in the geographical area from Dalmatia to the Danube limes'.<sup>465</sup> His data spans from the first to the fourth centuries AD, and 'they all contain affective expressions in verse or prose', and he, too, emphasises the variety seen in these inscriptions, as well as their similarities.<sup>466</sup> His data was gathered from the EDCS database, using the filters 'Dalmatia, Dacia, Moesia Inferior and Superior, Noricum, Pannonia Inferior and Superior' and 'milites, tituli sepulcrales, and carmina',<sup>467</sup> and 'dall'elenco scaturito ho poi escluso i testi troppo frammentari e quelli che in effetti non hanno nulla di poetico e neppure di affective. Di qualche altro document sono venuto a conoscenza in modo casuale'.<sup>468</sup> He recognises the cultural milieu that made up the Roman military, and he has a similar interpretation to the one given here: 'negli stazionamenti militari questa gioventù eterogena imparava a usare il latino non solo come necessaria lingua veicolare, ma anche come lingua espressive e affettiva, fino a gustarla perfino nelle sue forme letterarie'.<sup>469</sup>

This is exhibited in the *carmina Latina epigraphica* in general of the Roman military, across the Empire. His assessment of his data leads him to observe 'affetti, elogi, situazioni ed emozioni non differiscono in sostanza da quelli di analoga produzione epigrafica da ambiente e società civile. Quando sono loro a dedicare complementi affettivi a moglie o figli, i militari, di qualsiasi grado, non manifestano altro che sensibilità e dolore di mariti et padri'.<sup>470</sup> His observations of his data leads him to conclude that 'sul piano quindi esistenziale, affettivo, la vita militare non produce, nella nostra documentazione, atteggiamenti differenti da quelli di altri stati o ambienti di vita'.<sup>471</sup> The funerary *carmina Latina epigraphica* leads Massaro to conclude that they were about expressing affection, not celebrating one's achievements in life; both aspects are seen here, although there is more emphasis on expressing affection.<sup>472</sup> Whilst Massaro's observation that a soldier's potential for further advancement in his career is wished for, a lack of expression of pride in one's career advancement/achievements and public status is, although perhaps surprisingly limited, not absent from funerary inscriptions, nor from military verse inscriptions overall.<sup>473</sup>

Examining the Roman military is a useful tool for perceiving the length and breadth of the Roman Empire, because they were a relatively stable social group, with only evolving, rather than drastic, changes over the period examined here, which spanned the Empire (see Table 3 and Appendix 4), and yet encompassed a vast social and cultural group that was representative of the inhabitants of the Empire. It, therefore, provides a consistent, stable, social demographic within a changing society, changes that were largely carried out by the military itself as they

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<sup>464</sup> Keppie 2003: 38.

<sup>465</sup> Massaro 2023: 15.

<sup>466</sup> *Ibid.* What he calls 'affective prose' appears to be similar to what others refer to as *commatica* (see 16-17).

<sup>467</sup> *Ibid.*: 17-18.

<sup>468</sup> *Ibid.*: 18. So he had a narrower approach to data gathering than the one taken here (see the Introduction for the methodology of this study), but it was not wholly dissimilar, including the coming across some texts by chance.

<sup>469</sup> *Ibid.*: 17.

<sup>470</sup> *Ibid.*: 56. See also Chapter 8.

<sup>471</sup> *Ibid.*: 57. See also Chapter 8.

<sup>472</sup> See also Chapter 8.

<sup>473</sup> See Massaro 2023: 56, who only examines funerary inscriptions. For evidence contrary to this, see discussion throughout this study.

conquered and brought new lands and peoples into the Roman Empire. These epigraphic tropes span the Empire, sometimes leaving from Italy, sometimes inspiring inscriptions in Italy, mirroring the movements of the soldier himself, in life and death. The movements of the Roman military do not always make it easy to determine which way these ideas and themes in inscriptions went. To truly know if they affected the civilians in the land around them, we would have to conduct an analysis of the civilian and military inscriptions of the Roman Empire. However, given that the families of the soldiers, as well as the soldiers themselves, exhibited these ideas, across the ages and throughout the Empire, this indicates the universal reception and understanding of these topoi, and therefore of their significance across the Empire. We see these ideas often repeated in the same wording. Sometimes whole verse inscriptions were copied across the Empire. Although their audience changed, for some of these inscriptions were made by military comrades near their place of service and others were erected in their hometowns by their families far away from the front lines, the messages they, and those commemorating them, wished to convey were the same.

Some have seen the epigraphic habit, especially the poetic epigraphic habit, of the Roman military as an act of Romanisation, a purposeful expression of Romaness and Roman status:<sup>474</sup> ‘the status displayed through an epitaph was in general a specifically Roman one’ itself, as Meyer observed.<sup>475</sup> Anyone who just looks at inscriptions containing epigraphic tropes, which often originated with the Greeks but, as they were wont to do, were popularised and integrated into their own identity, were expressed more by the Romans, would also perhaps come to this conclusion. These tropes would not be chosen by themselves and their families if they did not carry any meaning. As Massaro says:<sup>476</sup>

perciò il torto maggiore che potremmo fare a questa produzione testuale anonima sarebbe di considerarla poco differenziata, come semplice espressione di luoghi comuni basata su formule *standard*: a chi ha compost in modo più o meno originale, o anche, molto più di rado, ha adottato (e adattato) questi testi (in quanto circolanti come *populares*) si chiedeva di dar voce espressive ai sentimenti personali del committente (se non componeva egli stesso) nella situazione e/o relazione specifica con il defunto, per il quale si erige il singolo monument di support al testo stesso che vi si fa incidere a perpetua memoria, perché solo su quel support venga letto da chi vi si accosta.

As much as there are repetitions in wording and meaning, there are also aspects of individualism within them. As these inscriptions, epitaphs, are acts of remembrance, they are ‘also ... linked intimately to the expression of identity, in fact many different facets of identity’.<sup>477</sup> We see this throughout these inscriptions, despite their formulaic and thematic approaches to commemorating the dead. The fact that they sometimes merely exhibit an individual’s name is an act of identity expression.

They are also often taken as evidence of the use of manuals of verse inscriptions in stonemasons’ workshops around the Empire, with some being more popular than others in

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<sup>474</sup> See also, for example, Kuntić-Makvić 1976: 62-63; Meyer 1990; Keppie 2003: 32, although Keppie is discussing the time period from the reign of Augustus to the end of the Julio-Claudians, when soldiers tended to be Italian overall. Only later did local recruiting patterns occur, when wanting to exhibit one’s ‘differentness’ from everyone else would probably have been the opposite: they would have been more likely to want to demonstrate their links to the community.

<sup>475</sup> Meyer 1990: 89.

<sup>476</sup> Massaro 2023: 58-59. See also 17.

<sup>477</sup> Carroll 2006: 28.

certain regions.<sup>478</sup> This may have been the case in some places, but this also takes away much of the agency of those choosing and writing these epitaphs, especially when some emphasise the level of control the stonemason had in creating the inscription. Surely some people would have liaised with the stonemason? Even in inscriptions where it is made explicit that they were made during someone's lifetime, epigraphic tropes are displayed. There were regional differences, but the use of popular monuments and themes 'is often the result of the wish of individuals in that community to emulate their neighbours and to conform to what was deemed a suitable form of self-representation'.<sup>479</sup> Even when there are themes evident across these verse inscriptions, 'alle epigraphische überlieferten Gedichte können Originalität beanspruchen'.<sup>480</sup> Carroll's analysis of the situation regarding the use of manuals vs. own-composition is perhaps the most accurate.<sup>481</sup>

the likelihood is that there were different ways of composing an epitaph. It could be composed by the dedicator himself, or he could dictate a text that he knew from poetry, or he could select from a collection the letter-cutter had, or he could choose a ready-made stone from the workshop, or the end product on the stone could be a combination of all these. The customer could also be inspired by epitaphs he had seen on other funerary monuments in his community or region, choosing a text that was considered appropriate and proper by others and thereby conforming to local practice. This could account for some of the regionalism in epigraphic formulae.

'Existing tombs acted as models for others',<sup>482</sup> which we can see clearly here, especially in instances such as the *iam puer et iuvenis iam vir* collection, when whole verse inscriptions were copied. As Robinson observed, 'other formulas, even if taken from professional stonecutters' manuals, as Cagnat believed, like the stock grave inscriptions to be bought in Cincinnati today or the verse obituaries kept on hand by newspapers, may have had special meanings read into them'.<sup>483</sup> What is also special about the Roman military as a demographic to examine for the creation of identity through verse inscriptions is contemplating how they were created. Feucht conjectures that, 'the adoption of local habits by Roman legionaries for their funerary monuments might, however, also be due to necessity, that is, due to the influence of local stonecutters and workshops, rather than a conscious choice. The Roman army most probably cooperated with local stonecutters for the manufacturing of epitaphs. These masons each had their own limited sample of funerary texts, reflecting the taste and traditions of the local community',<sup>484</sup> which may have been true in some cases. Yet, given the isolated nature of some military outposts, and the diverse range of roles acquired and practiced in the Roman military, including civil engineering, workshops in their fortresses such as pottery, stone- and metalwork, and the names of legions were inscribed on milestones, as well as expectation of levels of literacy, it is not outside of the realm of possibility that some soldiers were able to carve their own (verse) inscriptions.

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<sup>478</sup> See, for example, Szilágyi 1963: 190-191; Adamik 1976: 205-206; Cugusi 2003: 458-459, 464, who takes a more nuanced view of duplicated inscriptions and ideas for their existence; Feucht 2011: 175-176; Massaro 2023: 57-58, who also takes a more nuanced view. Carroll (2006: 106): 'the use of manuals or collections of poetic themes may also be supported by the existence of identical, or almost identical, verses inscribed on monuments that were found in different places'.

<sup>479</sup> Carroll 2006: 91.

<sup>480</sup> Grassl 2020: 148.

<sup>481</sup> Carroll 2006: 108.

<sup>482</sup> *Ibid.*: 91.

<sup>483</sup> Robinson 1945: 39. See also Carroll 2006: throughout.

<sup>484</sup> Feucht 2011: 175-176.

Carroll's remarks on funerary inscriptions are important to consider here when contemplating the reasons for their erection. Many of her arguments have been made here, and by others before: that 'it was the visitors to the tombs – either family and friends or complete strangers – who kept the memory of the dead alive',<sup>485</sup> and thus needed an audience.<sup>486</sup> Creating a Latin inscription was a noticeably Roman act, and thus those who put up these monuments did so with the knowledge that this would situate them/the deceased within Roman/local societal and cultural conventions, and their distribution in the public sphere intertwined inscriptions of the dead with the lives of the living.<sup>487</sup> All this was done to alleviate the anxiety of being forgotten by the living, and therefore to fade into oblivion, rather than one's existence be solidified for eternity through carved words.<sup>488</sup> The act of *damnatio memoriae* exhibits the power that was felt to reside in one's inscribed/written existence.<sup>489</sup>

Administrative centres and sites of Roman military concentration were 'areas where the Roman cultural practice of funerary commemoration through an inscribed stone monument was most prevalent and most rapidly adopted'.<sup>490</sup> Most of the epitaphs from Britain were connected with the military, hardly any exist in the civilian south, and 'if we look at the areas on the Rhine and Danube, it is apparent that the custom of erecting stone tombs and carving stone grave markers caught on in the frontier zone only after the arrival of the Roman army. The earliest inscribed monuments dating to the first decades of the first century AD belong to soldiers'.<sup>491</sup> It has also been shown 'that the earliest Roman gravestones in Mainz were carved by stonemasons from north-east Italy who probably followed the troops to the Rhine'.<sup>492</sup> One is left to wonder if these stonemasons were men from within the Roman military itself, or men who knew that they would have had business from that demographic.

Tombstones lined the roads leading to towns, calling to the passer-by to contemplate their tomb, the last proof that they existed, their final words existing for as long as the stone did. Those in ancient society believed that, as we do now, it is our words, our perpetuation of someone's character, our memory of them, and our memories with them, that means they still exist among the living. Cicero acknowledged that epitaphs were intended for the future, not only the present.<sup>493</sup> So, when the memories of our living nearest and dearest are gone, what else can be done? Perpetuate our existence in words inscribed on a tombstone. The Romans were a practically minded race, after all: 'it was no doubt this perplexity of mind with regard to conscious immortality that made Cicero and other Romans turn with enthusiasm to the idea of immortality of name and fame. To the practical Roman mind this was something tangible and appealing'.<sup>494</sup> Immortality through poetry, through inscriptions, is not existent in the literal sense, but in the memorial: immortality is perpetuated through the living, and through living memory. It is generated through performative action, interaction with the epitaph, which is how

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<sup>485</sup> Carroll 2006: 1. See also 18, 282.

<sup>486</sup> *Ibid.*: 2. See also 18.

<sup>487</sup> See *ibid.*: 2, 18, 20, 280. See also, for example, Cooley 2002: 10; Prag 2002: 15; Beltrán Lloris 2015b: throughout; Matijević 2015: 299; Kruschwitz 2018: 18.

<sup>488</sup> See Carroll 2006: throughout, as well as throughout this chapter. See also, for example, Lattimore 1942: 126.

<sup>489</sup> See, for example, Carroll 2006: 79, 280. See also the inscriptions in this study that demonstrate the effects of *damnatio memoriae*, such as **ET.28**, **RI.14** and **AI.3**.

<sup>490</sup> Carroll 2006: 16-17.

<sup>491</sup> *Ibid.*: 17.

<sup>492</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>493</sup> Cic. Tusc. 1.14.31-32. 'He clearly connects children, inheritance, wills, monuments, and epitaphs, suggesting that all fell into one Roman mental category, and that succession (natural and legal) is marked in the concrete by *monumenta* and *elogia*' (Meyer 1990: 76). See also Dill's comments on the general Roman mentality towards death (1925: 602-603).

<sup>494</sup> Sullivan 1943: 17.

we remember, and so they know that that is how they will ensure their memory lives onto into perpetuity. This immortality through their own words, their own creation, expressed in verse, is personal immortality of the utmost individualism.

What we see expressed in these epigraphic themes are themes that stretch beyond the definitions ‘Romanness’; their roots in Greek epitaphs sprouted from a universal human consciousness of the experience of life. There is something deeply human about them that resonates with us now, across cultures, and across the ages. They were applied to soldier and citizen alike, and by them too. But we see these themes, too, fleshed out and disseminated in poetry in general, from Latin to modern day poetry. Poetry can convey thoughts and feelings as tangibly as the words they are written in, make them material, make them known. Wilfred Owen quotes Horace (Carm. 3.2.13), defies his saying by describing the horrors of the First World War in terrible detail to contradict ‘the old lie: *Dulce et decorum est / Pro patria mori*’.<sup>495</sup> This idea is not so explicitly scorned in the epigraphic poems of the soldiers of the Roman military.<sup>496</sup> Although a son’s exploits in the military were still regarded as something to be celebrated and cherished by his parents, his body, for example in **ET.14**, was denied the basic rite of burial, instead left upon a battleground. Despite the attitude of Horace (seen especially in Carm. 3.2), which was the general attitude towards military service in antiquity, primarily because victory and pride in a country was won through conquest by the sword, those who were killed in battle and left unburied, despite their noble death, were still believed to be stuck on the shores of the Styx, along with other innocents taken before their time, for a hundred years, waiting for the relief of the afterlife beyond that of limbo. Although disease and the cruelty of Fate was a universal threat to all, military service was a life that was, predominantly, chosen by the soldier, and is what takes away a son from his family before his time, when he was in the prime of his life, not allowing him to fulfil his potential.<sup>497</sup> His tomb and the words inscribed upon it took his place, especially when his body could not be returned home.

When analysing these poems, and the themes within them overall, especially when reading **ET.42**, one cannot help but be reminded of the poem by Rupert Brooke, penned in World War One and just as relevant almost two thousand years after the burial of these soldiers, longing for home and keeping their identities with them, turning the earth they were buried under into a part of their eternal identity, inscribed in verse, in stone, for eternity to witness:

If I should die, think only this of me:  
That there’s some corner of a foreign field  
That is forever England. There shall be  
In that rich earth a richer dust concealed;  
A dust whom England bore, shaped, made aware,  
Gave, once, her flowers to love, her ways to roam;  
A body of England’s, breathing English air,  
Washed by the rivers, blest by the suns of home.

And think, this heart, all evil shed away,  
A pulse in the eternal mind, no less,  
Gives somewhere back the thoughts by England given;  
Her sights and sounds; dreams happy as her day;

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<sup>495</sup> Wilfred Owen, *Dulce et Decorum est*, 1920.

<sup>496</sup> See also Chapter 8, sections 8.9 and 8.10.

<sup>497</sup> See Chapter 8, sections 8.8-8.10.



And laughter, learnt of friends; and gentleness,  
In hearts at peace, under an English heaven.

Rupert Brooke, *The Soldier*, 1915.

With such a focus on the perpetuation of their personal memory through humanity, both through the living and repeated motifs, whose importance was so deeply embedded in the human psyche that they are not only universal across space and culture but also across time and society, so much so that they make those who died two thousand years ago familiar and recognisable, it makes one wonder what they would think of us now, approaching them through the rather impersonal approach of research, trying to understand wider questions through their inscriptions, the remaining fragments of an individual's memory, the sealed testament of their existence.

Table 3: A table summarising the inscriptions featured in Chapter 3

Key: Fate = F; Commands, Requests and Advice from the Dead = CRA; Parents Doing the Duty of their Child = PC; Mythology and the Underworld = MU; To Exist in Words = EW; Remembering Deeds. = RD; A Tomb or Inscription is Deserved = TID; Materiality of Death = MD

| No.   | Military rank                                                         | Unit                     | Origin of Writer / Dedicatee | Origin of Soldier | For / By | Date                                 | Location                                                        | Metre               | Epigraphic trope(s) |
|-------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------|----------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| ET.1  | Unknown                                                               | Unknown                  | Italian?                     | Italian?          | For      | Second half of the second century AD | Mutina / Moderna, Aemilia / Regio VIII, Italia                  | Iambic senarii      | CRA, EW             |
| ET.2  | <i>Veteranus ex decurione</i>                                         | Unknown                  | Unknown                      | Unknown           | By       | AD 131-170                           | Tibiscum / Caransebes, Dacia                                    | Hexameters          | F, MU, RD, TID, MD  |
| ET.3  | <i>Miles</i>                                                          | <i>Legio VII</i>         | Unknown                      | Galatia           | For / by | AD 9-42                              | Tilurium / Vojnić, near Trilj, Dalmatia                         | Iambic senarii      | F, CRA, RD, MD      |
|       |                                                                       |                          | Galatia                      |                   |          |                                      |                                                                 |                     |                     |
| ET.4  | <i>Eques</i>                                                          | <i>Legio XI</i>          | Unknown                      | Italian           | For / by | AD 9-42                              | Burnum / Mokro Polje, Dalmatia                                  | Iambic senarii      | F, CRA, EW, MD      |
|       |                                                                       |                          | Italian                      |                   |          |                                      |                                                                 |                     |                     |
| ET.5  | Unspecified                                                           | Unknown                  | Unknown                      | Unknown           | For      | Third-fourth centuries AD            | Novi Grad, Dalmatia                                             | Hexameters          | F, PC, MU, MD       |
| ET.6  | <i>Decurionus equitum</i>                                             | <i>Cohors III Alpina</i> | Unknown                      | Unknown           | For      | First century AD                     | Salona / Solin, Dalmatia                                        | Elegiac couplets    | PC, MU, MD          |
| ET.7  | Unspecified                                                           | <i>Classis Ravenna</i>   | Dalmatian                    | Dalmatian         | For      | Third century AD                     | Dabricam / Travnik, Dalmatia                                    | Hexameters          | F, PC, EW, MD       |
| ET.8  | <i>Miles</i>                                                          | <i>Legio VII</i>         | Cicilia                      | Cicilia           | For      | AD 9-42                              | Tilurium / Vojnić, near Trilj, Dalmatia                         | Iambic senarii      | CRA, MD             |
| ET.9  | <i>Miles</i>                                                          | <i>Legio VII</i>         | Asia Minor                   | Asia Minor        | For      | AD 6-42                              | Tilurium / Vojnić, near Trilj, Dalmatia                         | Elegiac couplets    | EW, RD, MD, CRA     |
| ET.10 | <i>Veteranus</i>                                                      | <i>Legio V Gallica</i>   | Italian                      | Italian           | For      | c. 25-1 BC                           | Antiochia Pisidiae / Yalvac, Galatia                            | Trochaic septenarii | CRA, RD             |
| ET.11 | <i>Veteranus ex beneficiario consularis equestris militia petitor</i> | Unknown                  | Unknown                      | Unknown           | For      | Third century AD                     | Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium / Cologne, Germania Inferior | Trochaic            | CRA                 |

|              |                                 |                                         |                        |                        |     |                                    |                                                      |                          |                            |
|--------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-----|------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| <b>ET.12</b> | <i>Miles</i>                    | <i>Legio V</i>                          | Italian                | Italian                | For | AD 10-69                           | Colonia Ulpia Traiana / Xanten, Germania Inferior    | Hexameters               | CRA                        |
| <b>ET.13</b> | <i>Legatus legionis</i>         | <i>Legio XII Primigenia Pia Fidelis</i> | Unknown                | Unknown                | By? | AD 157-159                         | Mogontiacum / Mainz, Germania Superior               | Iambic senarii           | F, PC, MU                  |
| <b>ET.14</b> | <i>Miles</i>                    | <i>Legio VI Ferrata</i>                 | Hispania Tarraconensis | Hispania Tarraconensis | For | AD 71-100                          | Tortosa / Dertosa, Hispania Tarraconensis            | Elegiac couplets         | F, CRA, PC, MU, RD, MD     |
| <b>ET.15</b> | <i>Veteranus</i>                | <i>Cohors X Praetoria</i>               | Italian?               | Italian?               | For | Second century AD                  | Puteoli / Pozzuoli, Italia                           | Hendecasyllables         | PC                         |
| <b>ET.16</b> | <i>Miles praetorianus</i>       | Praetorian Guard                        | Unknown                | Unknown                | By  | Third century AD                   | Comakovci / Chomakovtsi, Moesia Inferior             | Iambic senarii           | CRA, TID, MD               |
| <b>ET.17</b> | <i>Veteranus</i>                | <i>Legio XI Claudia</i>                 | Unknown                | Unknown                | For | Third-fourth centuries AD          | Tomis / Constanta, Moesia Inferior                   | Iambic senarii           | F, PC, MU, EW, RD, TID, MD |
|              | <i>Centurio</i>                 |                                         |                        |                        |     |                                    |                                                      |                          |                            |
| <b>ET.18</b> | <i>Bucinator</i>                | <i>Cohors Mattiacorum</i>               | Unknown                | Unknown                | For | First half of the third century AD | Nicopolis ad Istrum / Obedinie, Moesia Inferior      | Iambic septenarius       | EW, MD                     |
| <b>ET.19</b> | <i>Veteranus</i>                | <i>Legio XI Claudia</i>                 | Unknown                | Unknown                | For | Second century AD                  | Reselets, Moesia Inferior                            | Hexameter?               | CRA                        |
| <b>ET.20</b> | <i>Beneficiarius</i>            | Unknown                                 | Unknown                | Unknown                | By  | AD 151-300                         | Viminacium / Kostolac, Moesia Superior               | Hexameters               | CRA, MU                    |
| <b>ET.21</b> | <i>Hydraylarius salariarius</i> | <i>Legio II Adiutrix</i>                | Pannonia?              | Pannonia?              | By  | First half of the third century AD | Aquincum / Budapest, Pannonia Inferior               | Hexameters               | CRA, RD, MD                |
|              |                                 |                                         |                        |                        |     |                                    |                                                      | Final elegiac pentameter |                            |
|              |                                 |                                         |                        |                        |     |                                    |                                                      |                          |                            |
| <b>ET.22</b> | <i>Veteranus</i>                | <i>Legio XV Apollinaris</i>             | Italian                | Italian                | For | AD 39-63                           | Carnuntum / Bad-Deutsch-Altenburg, Pannonia Superior | Elegiac couplets         | F, RD                      |
| <b>ET.23</b> | <i>Frumentarius</i>             |                                         |                        |                        | By  |                                    |                                                      | Trochaics                |                            |

|              |                                |                                      |                          |                    |     |                                    |                                                      |                                                              |                        |
|--------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|-----|------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|
|              |                                | <i>Legio X Gemina</i>                | Unknown / Greek?         | Unknown / Greek    |     | Third century AD                   | Carnuntum / Bad-Deutsch-Altenburg, Pannonia Superior | Iambics                                                      | F, CRA, PC, RD         |
| <b>ET.24</b> | <i>Ducenarius</i>              |                                      | Unknown                  | Unknown            | For | First half of the third century AD | Brigetio / Komarom, Pannonia Superior                | Hexameter                                                    | CRA                    |
|              | <i>Miles</i>                   | <i>Legio I Adiutrix</i>              |                          |                    |     |                                    |                                                      |                                                              |                        |
| <b>ET.25</b> | <i>Tubicen</i>                 | <i>Legio XV Apollinaris</i>          | Unknown                  | Unknown            | For | AD 39-56                           | Carnuntum / Petronell-Carnuntum, Pannonia Superior   | Elegiac couplets                                             | CRA, RD                |
|              | <i>Miles</i>                   |                                      |                          |                    |     |                                    |                                                      | Final elegiac pentameter                                     |                        |
| <b>ET.26</b> | <i>Miles</i>                   | <i>Cohors I Praetoria</i>            | Danubian                 | Danubian           | For | First half of the third century AD | Carnuntum / Petronell-Carnuntum, Pannonia Superior   | Elegiac couplets                                             | MD                     |
|              | <i>Evocatus</i>                |                                      |                          |                    |     |                                    |                                                      | Final elegiac pentameter                                     |                        |
| <b>ET.27</b> | <i>Miles</i>                   | <i>Legio XV Apollinaris</i>          | Germany / western Empire | Unknown            | By  | AD 71-114                          | Carnuntum / Petronell-Carnuntum, Pannonia Superior   | Iambic / trochaic rhythm                                     | F, PC                  |
|              |                                |                                      | Unknown                  |                    |     |                                    |                                                      |                                                              |                        |
| <b>ET.28</b> | <i>Tribunus militum</i>        | <i>Legio II Adiutrix Pia Fidelis</i> | Unknown                  | Unknown            | For | AD 193-195                         | Rome, Italia                                         | Hexameters                                                   | EW, RD, TID, MD        |
|              |                                |                                      |                          |                    |     |                                    |                                                      |                                                              |                        |
| <b>ET.29</b> | <i>Speculator in praetorio</i> | Praetorian Guard                     | Italian                  | Italian            | For | First half of the first century AD | Forum Sempronii / Fossombrone, Italy                 | Dactylic elegiacs/dactylic hexameter with the odd elegiac in | F, CRA, PC, EW, RD, MD |
| <b>ET.30</b> | <i>Classicus miles</i>         | Unknown                              | Unknown / Italian?       | Unknown / Italian? | For | AD 1-70                            | Aquileia, Venetia et Histria / Regio X, Italia       | Hexameters                                                   | RD, TID                |
| <b>ET.31</b> | <i>Venator</i>                 | Unknown                              | Italian?                 | Italian?           | For | End of the second-third century AD | Verona, Venetia et Histria / Regio X, Italia         | Elegiac couplets                                             | CRA, RD                |
| <b>ET.32</b> | <i>Miles</i>                   | <i>Cohors II Praetoria</i>           | Unknown                  | Unknown            | By  | AD 29-50                           | Rome, Italia                                         | Elegiac couplets                                             | CRA, RD, MD            |
| <b>ET.33</b> | <i>Miles</i>                   | <i>Cohors VIII Praetoria</i>         | Unknown                  | Italian            | For |                                    | Nola / Napoli, Italia                                | Iambic senarii                                               | F                      |

|              |                           |                                             |                        |                        |          |                                     |                                                        |                               |                             |
|--------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|----------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|
|              |                           |                                             | Italian                |                        |          | Second half of the first century AD |                                                        |                               |                             |
| <b>ET.34</b> | <i>Miles</i>              | <i>Legio II Parthica</i>                    | Italian?               | Italian?               | For      | AD 197-300                          | Mediolanum / Milan, Italia                             | Hexameter                     | F, PC, RD, MD               |
| <b>ET.35</b> | <i>Curator</i>            | <i>Equites singulares, turma Herodis</i>    | Dacian                 | Dacian                 | For      | AD 193-300                          | Rome, Italia                                           | Pentameter                    | CRA, PC                     |
|              | Unspecified               | <i>Ala Gallorum</i>                         |                        |                        |          |                                     |                                                        |                               |                             |
|              | Unspecified               | <i>Equites singulares, turma Rufinianus</i> | Unknown                | Unknown                | By       |                                     |                                                        |                               |                             |
| <b>ET.36</b> | <i>Veteranus</i>          | <i>Equites singulares, turma Emeriti</i>    | Boian / Pannonian      | Boian / Pannonian      | For      | AD 193-300                          | Rome, Italia                                           | Pentameter                    | CRA                         |
|              |                           | <i>Ala I Thracum</i>                        |                        |                        |          |                                     |                                                        |                               |                             |
|              | <i>Veteranus</i>          | <i>Equites singulares</i>                   | Unknown                | Unknown                | By       |                                     |                                                        |                               |                             |
| <b>ET.37</b> | Unspecified               | Unknown                                     | Italian                | Italian                | For      | AD 150-170                          | Nepet Etruria / Nepi, Italia                           | Hexameter? / commaticum       | F                           |
| <b>ET.38</b> | <i>Tribunus</i>           | Unknown                                     | Unknown                | Unknown                | Mentions | AD 20-50                            | Rome, Italia                                           | Elegiac couplets              | EW, RD, TID, MD             |
|              |                           |                                             | Italian                |                        |          |                                     |                                                        |                               |                             |
| <b>ET.39</b> | <i>Mensor aedificorum</i> | Unknown                                     | Gallia Narbonensis     | Gallia Narbonensis     | For      | AD 117-183                          | Rome, Italia                                           | Hexameters                    | F, PC, RD                   |
|              | <i>Accensus velatus</i>   |                                             |                        |                        | By       |                                     |                                                        |                               |                             |
| <b>ET.40</b> | <i>Veteranus?</i>         | Unknown                                     | African?               | African?               | For      | Second century AD                   | Colonia Flavia Cillium / Tunisia, Africa Proconsularis | Hexameter<br>Elegiac couplets | F, CRA, MU, EW, RD, TID, MD |
| <b>ET.41</b> | <i>Miles</i>              | <i>Legio IIII Macedonica,</i>               | Hispania Tarraconensis | Hispania Tarraconensis | For      | AD 42-70                            | Mainz / Mogontiacum,                                   | Hexameter                     | F, CRA                      |

|              |                          |                                               |                    |                    |         |                                            |                                                      |                     |                   |
|--------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|---------|--------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
|              |                          | <i>centuria Munati</i>                        |                    |                    |         |                                            | Germania Superior                                    |                     |                   |
|              | <i>Miles</i>             | <i>Legio III Macedonica, centuria Iuli</i>    |                    |                    | By      |                                            |                                                      |                     |                   |
| <b>ET.42</b> | <i>Miles</i>             | <i>Legio II</i>                               | Gallia Narbonensis | Gallia Narbonensis | For     | First century AD (pre- AD 43)              | Mogontiacum / Mainz, Germania Superior               | Elegiac couplets    | F, MU, EW, RD, MD |
|              |                          |                                               | Unknown            |                    |         |                                            |                                                      |                     |                   |
| <b>ET.43</b> | <i>Miles? Tiro?</i>      | Unknown                                       | Hispania Citerior  | Hispania Citerior  | For     | First half of the first century AD         | Saguntum / Sagunto, Hispania Citerior                | Elegiac couplets    | F, EW, RD         |
| <b>ET.44</b> | <i>Tribunus militum</i>  | <i>Legio VII Gemina Pia Felix Antoniniana</i> | Spanish            | Spanish            | For     | AD 211-222                                 | Terraco / Terragona, Hispania Citerior               | Trochaic septenarii | CRA               |
| <b>ET.45</b> | Unknown ( <i>eques</i> ) | Unknown                                       | Unknown            | Unknown            | By      | Third century AD                           | Auzia / Sour El-Ghozlane, Mauretania Caesariensis    | Commatica/iambic    | F, MD             |
| <b>ET.46</b> | <i>Miles</i>             | <i>Legio III Augusta</i>                      | African / Punic    | African / Punic    | By      | Third century AD                           | Guigba / El Guigba, Numidia                          | Pentameter          | CRA               |
| <b>ET.47</b> | <i>Veteranus</i>         | Unknown                                       | African?           | African?           | By      | Third century AD                           | Lambaesis, Numidia                                   | Elegiac couplets    | CRA, TID          |
|              |                          |                                               | Unknown            |                    |         |                                            |                                                      |                     |                   |
| <b>ET.48</b> | <i>Lixa</i>              | Unknown                                       | Italian            | Italian            | For     | Second half of the first century AD        | Carnuntum / Bad-Deutsch-Altenburg, Pannonia Superior | Elegiac couplets    | F, MD             |
| <b>ET.49</b> | Unspecified              | <i>Legio XXX</i>                              | Italian?           | Italian?           | For     | 30 BC-AD 14                                | Beneventum / Benevento, Italia                       | Iambic senarii      | RD                |
| <b>ET.50</b> | <i>Veteranus</i>         | Unknown                                       | Italian            | Italian            | By      | First century AD                           | Mactaris / Mactar, Africa Proconsularis              | Dactyls and iambic  | PC, MD            |
| <b>ET.51</b> | N/A                      |                                               | Spanish            | Unknown            | Unknown | First half of the first century AD (prose) | Caesarea / Cherchell, Mauretania Caesariensis        | Hexameters          | F, CRA, RD        |

|              |                                |                            |                                    |                                   |     |                                                 |                                                    |                            |                    |
|--------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----|-------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------|
|              | <i>Veteranus</i>               | Unknown                    | Unknown                            |                                   |     | Fourth-fifth century AD (verse)                 |                                                    |                            |                    |
| <b>ET.52</b> | <i>Decurio</i>                 | <i>Cohors II Brittonum</i> | Unknown                            | Unknown                           | For | First half of the second century AD?            | Thanaramusa / Berrouaghia, Mauretania Caesariensis | Iambic? Uncertain          | CRA                |
| <b>ET.53</b> | <i>Miles</i>                   | <i>Legio VII</i>           | Asia Minor                         | Asia Minor                        | For | AD 1-41                                         | Tilurium / Vojnić, near Trilj, Dalmatia            | Dactylic / trochaic        | EW, RD             |
| <b>ET.54</b> | <i>Classis</i>                 | <i>Classis Ravenna</i>     | Unknown                            | Unknown                           | By  | Unknown                                         | Ravenna, Italia                                    | Iambic senarii             | F                  |
| <b>ET.55</b> | Unknown                        | Unknown                    | Unknown                            | Unknown                           | For | AD 138-160 / first half of the third century AD | Testour / Tichillia, Africa Proconsularis          | Hexameter                  | EW, RD, MD         |
| <b>ET.56</b> | <i>Commanipularis</i>          | Unknown                    | Unknown / German?                  | Unknown / German?                 | By  | Second century AD                               | Mogontiacum / Mainz, Germania Superior             | Elegiac couplets           | F, CRA, MD         |
| <b>ET.57</b> | <i>Architectus navalis</i>     | Unknown                    | Unknown                            | Unknown                           | For | First century BC                                | Minturnae / Minturno, Italia                       | Iambic                     | CRA                |
| <b>ET.58</b> | <i>Sesquiplicarius classis</i> | Unknown                    | Unknown<br>Mauretania Caesariensis | Unknown                           | By  | Second century AD                               | Caesarea / Cherchell, Mauretania Caesariensis      | Hexameters                 | CRA, RD            |
| <b>ET.59</b> | Unknown                        | Unknown                    | Mauretania Caesariensis / unknown  | Mauretania Caesariensis / unknown | For | Third-fourth centuries AD                       | Auzia / Sour El-Ghozlane, Mauretania Caesariensis  | Hexameters                 | F, EW, RD, MD      |
| <b>ET.60</b> | N/A                            | N/A                        | Unknown                            | Unknown                           | N/A | Second century AD                               | Firmum Picenum / Fermo, Italia                     | Phalaeian hendecasyllables | CRA, EW, MD        |
| <b>ET.61</b> | Unknown                        | Praetorian Guard           | Unknown / Italian?                 | Unknown / Italian?                | For | First half of the second century AD             | Rome, Italia                                       | Iambic senarii             | F, PC, RD          |
| <b>ET.62</b> | Unknown                        | Unknown                    | Unknown / Italian?                 | Unknown / Italian?                | For | AD 71-100                                       | Rome, Italia                                       | Elegiac couplets           | F, CRA, PC, RD, MD |
| <b>ET.63</b> | <i>Centurio</i>                |                            | Italian?                           | Italian?                          | For | AD 161-200                                      |                                                    | Iambic senarii             | RD                 |

|              |                                 |                                    |                       |                       |         |                                                                                                                                         |                                                         |                  |             |
|--------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|---------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|------------------|-------------|
|              | <i>Veteranus</i>                | <i>Legio XXX<br/>Ulpia Victrix</i> |                       |                       |         |                                                                                                                                         | Augusta<br>Taurinorum /<br>Torino, Italia               |                  |             |
| <b>ET.64</b> | <i>Miles</i>                    | <i>Legio XI</i>                    | Italian               | Italian               | For     | AD 9-42                                                                                                                                 | Burnum /<br>Ivosevci,<br>Dalmatia                       | Elegiac couplets | CRA, RD, MD |
| <b>ET.65</b> | <i>Eques</i>                    | <i>Ala<br/>Vocontiorum</i>         | Unknown               | Unknown               | For     | Second half of<br>the second<br>century AD                                                                                              | Colonia Ulpia<br>Traiana / Xanten,<br>Germania Inferior | Elegiac couplets | MD          |
| <b>ET.66</b> | <i>Veteranus</i>                | <i>Legio XV<br/>Apollinaris</i>    | Pannonian?            | Pannonian?            | For     | First half of<br>the first<br>century AD /<br>second half of<br>the first<br>century to the<br>beginning of<br>the second<br>century AD | Scarbantia /<br>Sopron, Pannonia<br>Superior            | Elegiac couplets | MD          |
| <b>ET.67</b> | <i>Signifer</i>                 | <i>Cohors XIII</i>                 | Italian               | Italian               | For, by | Second half of<br>the first<br>century BC-<br>first half of the<br>first century<br>AD / AD 69-<br>150                                  | Rome, Italia                                            | Hexameters       | EW, MD      |
| <b>ET.68</b> | <i>Veteranus</i>                | <i>Cohors X<br/>Praetoria</i>      | Unknown /<br>Italian? | Unknown /<br>Italian? | For     | AD 51-150                                                                                                                               | Sarsina / Sassina,<br>Italy                             | Hexameters       | MD          |
| <b>ET.69</b> | <i>Veteranus ex<br/>optione</i> | <i>Legio III<br/>Augusta</i>       | African /<br>Numidian | African /<br>Numidian | For     | Second or the<br>third century<br>AD /<br>beginning of<br>the third<br>century AD                                                       | Lambaesis,<br>Numidia                                   | Hexameters       | CRA, MD     |
|              | <i>Veteranus</i>                | Unknown                            | Unknown               | Unknown               | By      |                                                                                                                                         |                                                         |                  |             |
| <b>ET.70</b> | <i>Miles</i>                    | <i>Cohors VIII<br/>Praetoria</i>   | Italian               | Italian               | For     | Second<br>century AD                                                                                                                    | Hadria? /<br>Cerchiara, Italia                          | Iambic           | MD          |
|              | <i>Speculator</i>               |                                    |                       |                       |         |                                                                                                                                         |                                                         |                  |             |
| <b>ET.71</b> | <i>Centurio</i>                 | Unknown                            | Italian?              | Italian?              | For     | 50 BC-AD 30                                                                                                                             | Corduba /<br>Cordoba, Baetica                           | Hexameter        | RD          |



|              |                                 |                                       |            |            |         |                                    |                                                                         |                          |                          |
|--------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------|------------|---------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <b>ET.72</b> | <i>Centurio</i>                 | <i>Legio VIII Augusta</i>             | Italian?   | Italian?   | For, by | AD 9-45                            | Poetovio / Ptuj, Pannonia Superior                                      | Pentameter               | MD                       |
| <b>ET.73</b> | <i>Miles</i>                    | <i>Cohors miliariae novae Surorum</i> | Syrian?    | Syrian?    | For     | AD 222-235                         | Aquincum / Budapest, Pannonia Inferior                                  | Hexameter                | F, CRA, MU, RD, MD       |
| <b>ET.74</b> | <i>Tribunus</i>                 | Unknown                               | Unknown    | Unknown    | For     | First half of the third century AD | Raphia / Rafa, Palestina                                                | Hexameter                | F, CRA, MU, RD, MD       |
| <b>ET.75</b> | Unknown                         | <i>Cohors Surorum</i>                 | Unknown    | Unknown    | By      | First half of the first century AD | Mogontiacum / Mainz, Germania Superior                                  | Hexameter and pentameter | CRA, P, MD               |
| <b>LL.3</b>  | <i>Miles</i>                    | <i>Cohors X Urbana</i>                | Italian    | Italian    | For     | First half of the third century AD | Saepinum / Saepino, Samnium / Regio IV, Italia                          | Iambic octonarius        | F, RD, PC                |
| <b>LL.4</b>  | <i>Beneficiarius consularis</i> | <i>Ala I Thracum</i>                  | Pannonian  | Pannonian  | By      | Third century AD                   | Rome, Italia                                                            | Hexameters               | F, MU, EW, RD, PC        |
|              |                                 |                                       | Thracian   |            |         |                                    |                                                                         |                          |                          |
| <b>LL.6</b>  | <i>Centurio</i>                 | <i>Equites singulares</i>             | Pannonian? | Pannonian? | By      | Third century AD                   | Rome, Italia                                                            | Hexameters               | F, CRA, PC, MU, MD       |
| <b>LL.7</b>  | Unspecified                     | <i>Equites singulares</i>             | Pannonian  | Pannonian  | For, by | Third century AD                   | Rome, Italia                                                            | Hexameters               | CRA, PC, MU, RD, TID, MD |
| <b>AI.1</b>  | <i>Trierarchus</i>              | <i>Classis Praetoriae Misenatium</i>  | Italian?   | Italian?   | By      | Post AD 71                         | Stabiae / Castellammare di Stabia, Latium et Campania / Regio I, Italia | Hexameter                | F, CRA, PC, MU, MD       |
| <b>AI.2</b>  | <i>Miles</i>                    | Unknown                               | Italian    | Italian    | For     | Late first century AD?             | Stabiae / Castellammare di Stabia, Latium et Campania / Regio I, Italia | Hexameters               | F, PC, RD, MD            |
| <b>AI.5</b>  | <i>aquilifer</i>                | <i>Legio XIV Gemina</i>               | Italian    | Italian    | By?     | AD 43-61 / 62                      | Viroconium / Wroxeter, Britannia                                        | Hexameters               | CRA, MU, MD              |
| <b>AI.9</b>  | <i>Tribunus</i>                 | <i>Legio III Augusta</i>              | African?   | African?   | By      | Third century AD                   | Lambaesis, Numidia                                                      | Iambic senarii           | RD, EW                   |

|              |                                    |                               |                         |                         |         |                                                        |                                                         |                                 |                        |
|--------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|---------|--------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------|
| <b>AI.10</b> | Unknown                            | Unknown                       | Unknown                 | Unknown                 | By      | Unknown                                                | Thugga / Dougga,<br>Africa<br>Proconsularis             | Iambic senarii                  | F, RD, MD              |
| <b>NW.1</b>  | <i>Centurio</i>                    | Praetorian<br>Guard           | Italian                 | Italian                 | For, by | AD 168-193                                             | Aquileia, Venetia<br>et Histria / Regio<br>X, Italia    | Elegiac couplets                | RD, TID                |
| <b>NW.3</b>  | <i>Speculator</i>                  | <i>Legio I<br/>Germanica</i>  | Africa<br>Proconsularis | Africa<br>Proconsularis | For     | Late first<br>century BC -<br>late first<br>century AD | Kasra / Chusira,<br>Africa<br>Proconsularis             | Hexameter                       | RD, TID, MD            |
|              | <i>Cornicularius</i>               |                               |                         |                         |         |                                                        |                                                         |                                 |                        |
|              | <i>Centurio</i>                    |                               |                         |                         |         |                                                        |                                                         |                                 |                        |
| <b>NW.4</b>  | <i>Tribunus<br/>angusticlavius</i> | <i>Legio II<br/>Adiutrix</i>  | Palestina               | Palestina               | For     | Late second-<br>early third<br>centuries AD            | Aquincum /<br>Budapest,<br>Pannonia Inferior            | Latin hexameter                 | CRA, RD, MD            |
|              |                                    |                               |                         |                         |         |                                                        |                                                         | Greek spondees /<br>heptameters |                        |
| <b>RD.8</b>  | <i>Frumentarius</i>                | <i>Legio II<br/>Adiutrix</i>  | Unknown                 | Unknown                 | For     | Second-third<br>century AD                             | Sirmium /<br>Sremska<br>Mitrovica,<br>Pannonia Inferior | Hexameter                       | F, PC, MU              |
| <b>RD.9</b>  | <i>Veteranus</i>                   | <i>Equites<br/>singulares</i> | German                  | German                  | By      | Second<br>century AD                                   | Rome, Italia                                            | Hexameters                      | F, CRA, RD,<br>TID, MD |

Figure 3.1: A graph to show the ranks held by the soldiers in the inscriptions of Chapter 3

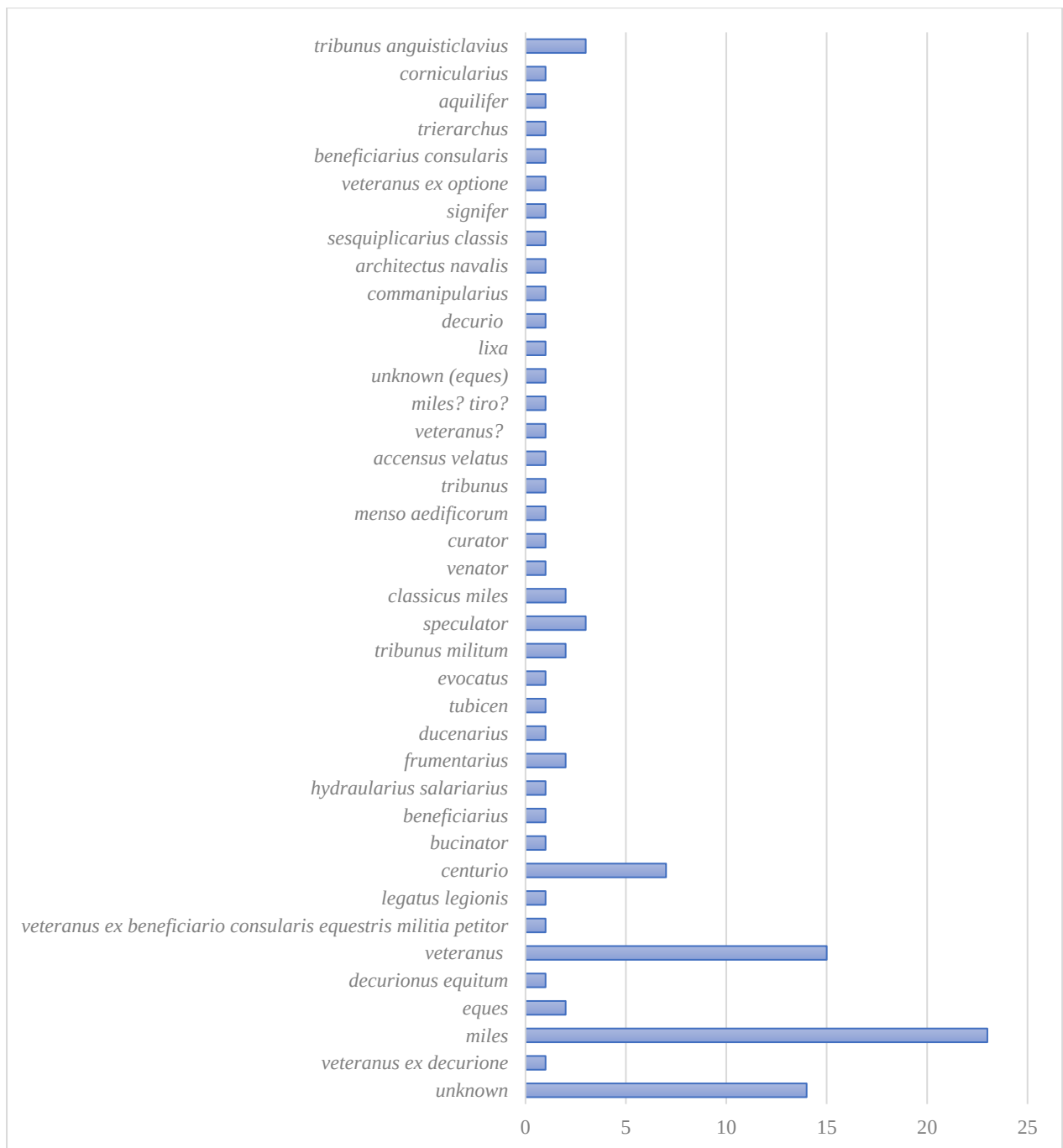


Figure 3.2: A graph to show the various units these soldiers served in, in the inscriptions in Chapter 3

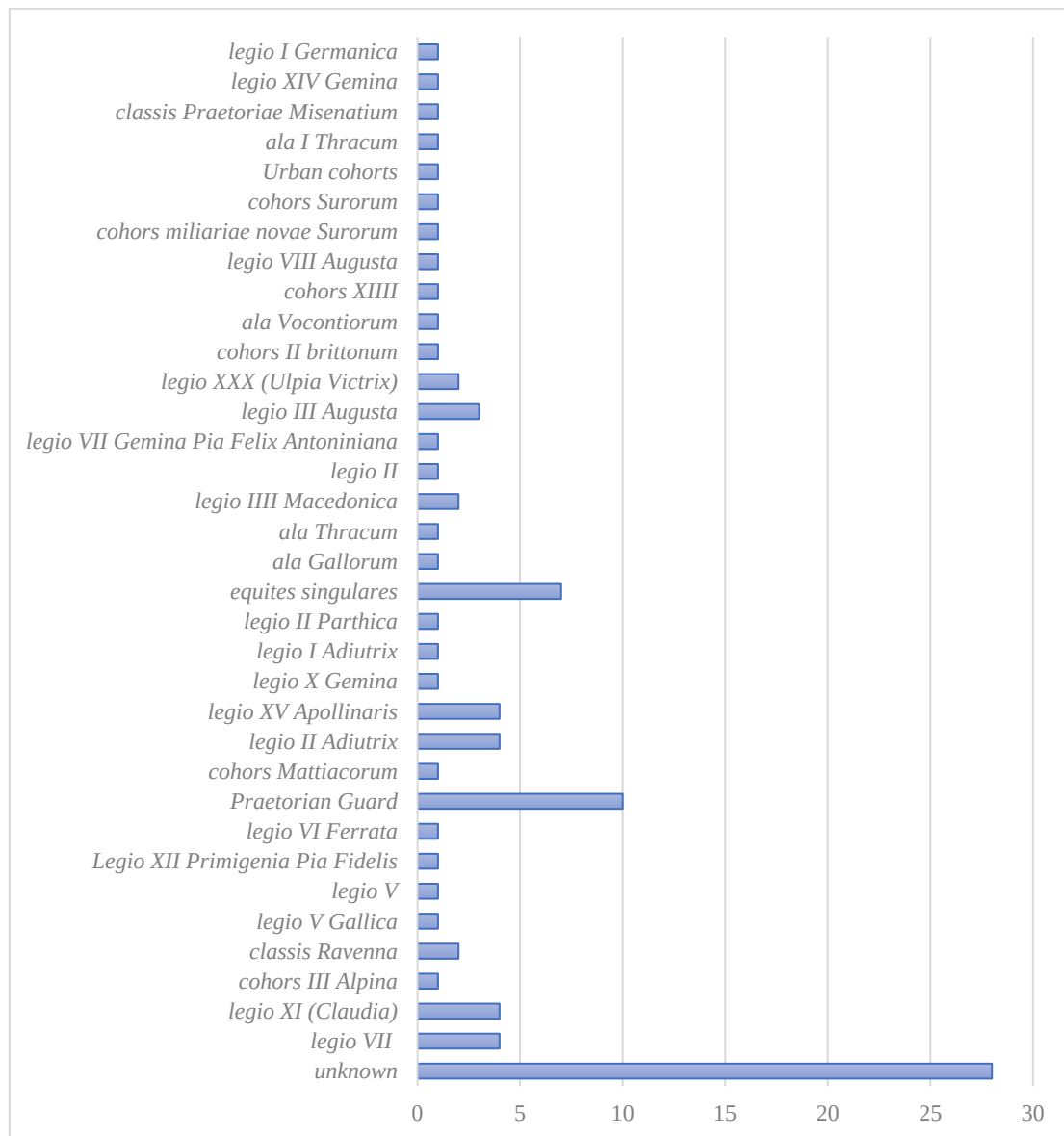


Figure 3.3: A graph to show the proportion of inscriptions by soldiers vs. ones for soldiers in which epigraphic topoi are present

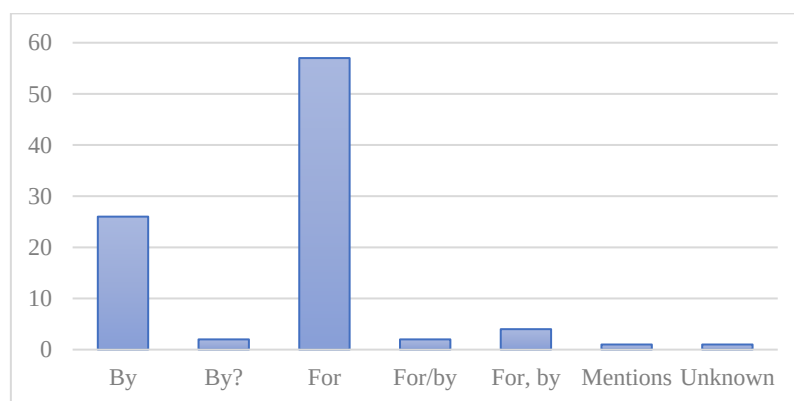


Figure 3.4: A graph to show the origin of the soldiers featured in Chapter 3

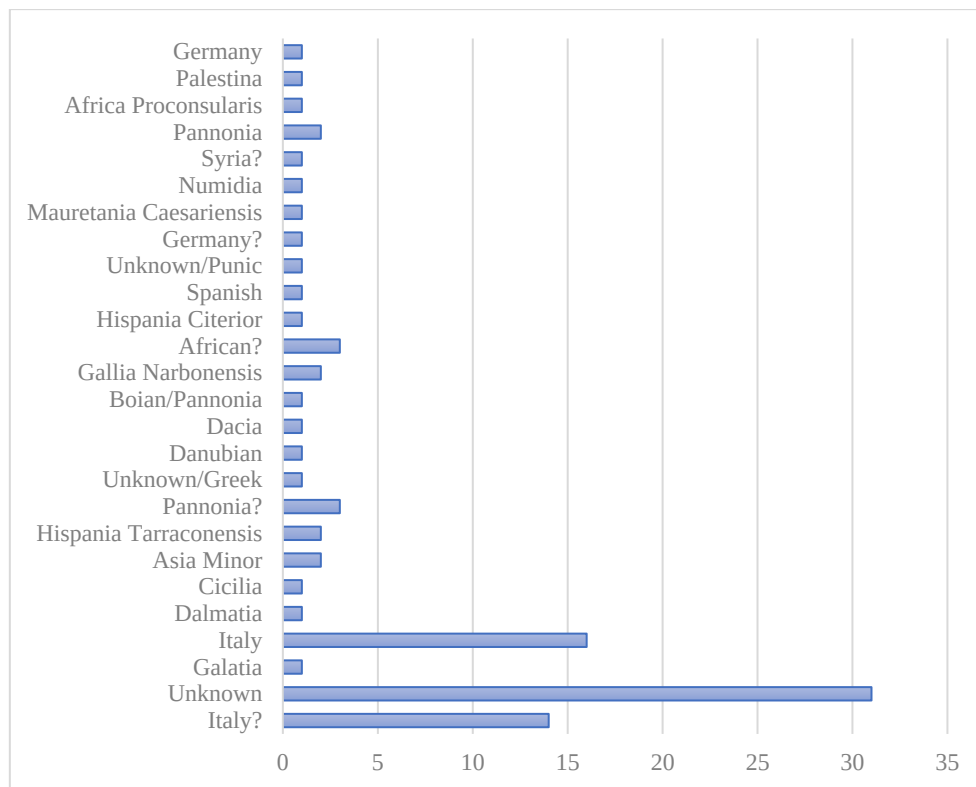


Figure 3.5: A graph to show the provinces where the inscriptions in Chapter 3 were found

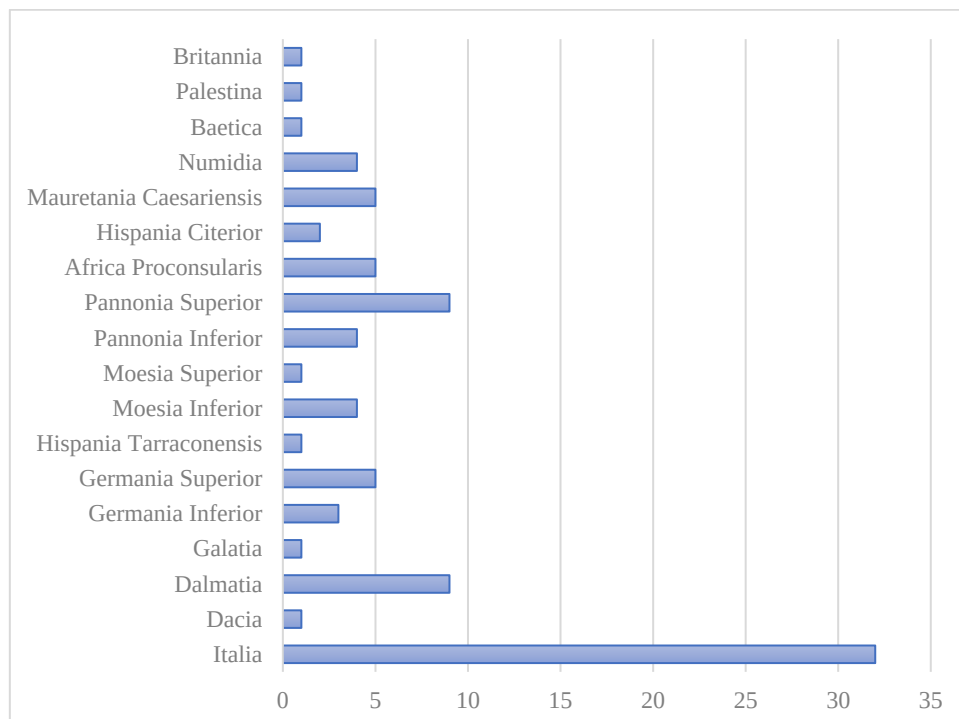


Figure 3.6: A graph to show the variety in metres used in the inscriptions in Chapter 3

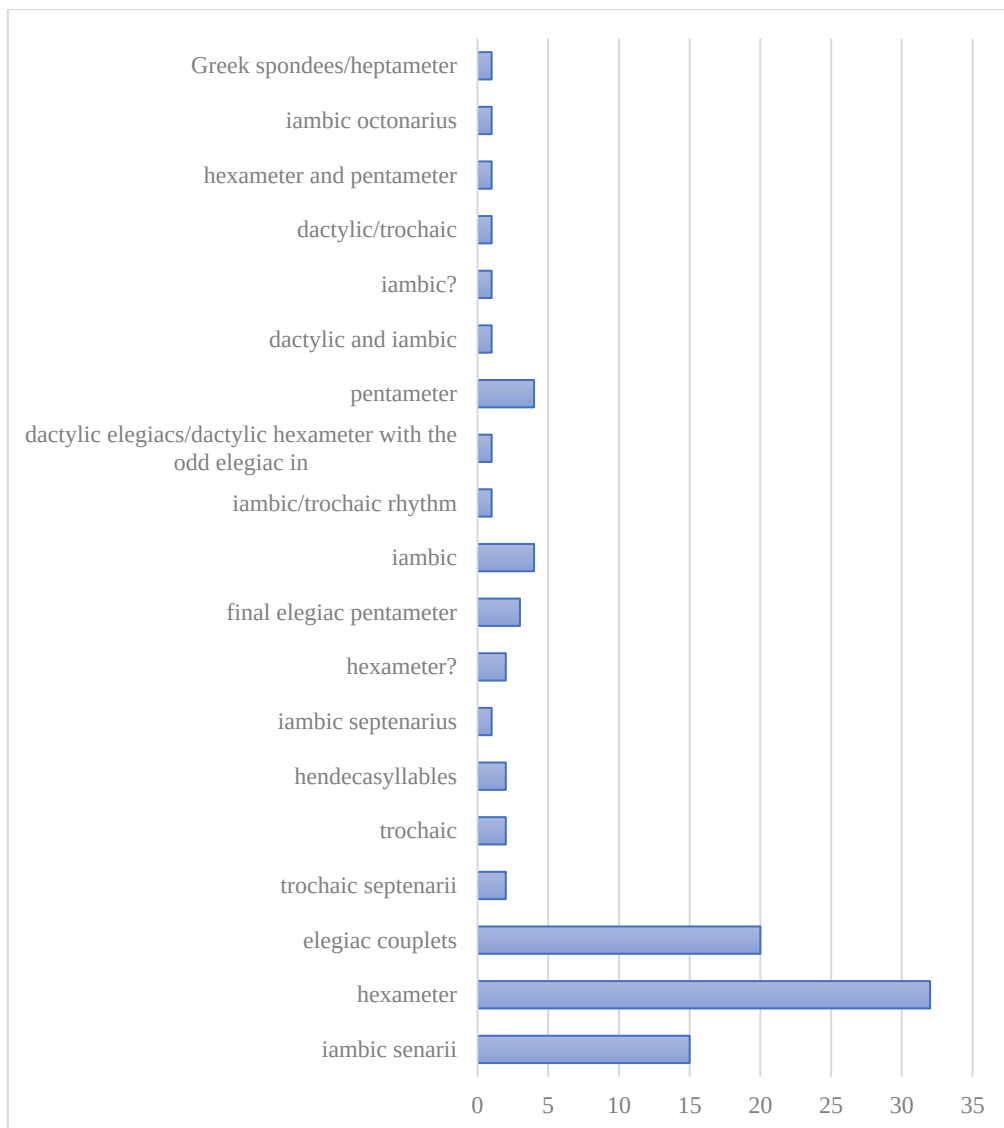
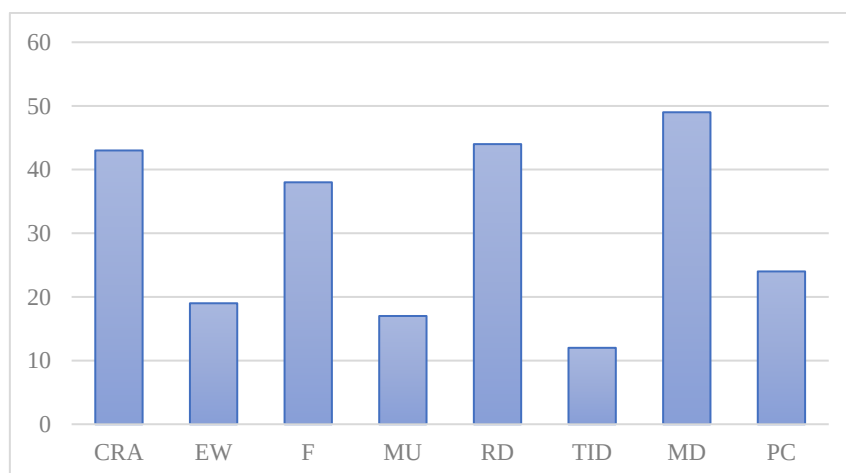


Figure 3.7: A graph to show the frequency of the use of epigraphic topoi in Chapter 3



## Chapter 4

### *Light in the Dark: Light as Life*

*‘Naevia lux’, inquit, ‘Naevia lumen, have.’*

‘Naevia, light of my life,’ he said. ‘Naevia, the light by which I see, hello!’

Mart. epigr. 1.68.6.

#### 4.1. Introduction

*Lumen* and *lux* in epitaphs usually mean ‘light’ in the sense of ‘light as life’. Not only is ‘to live is to see the light’, but ‘light is life itself’,<sup>498</sup> and there are sub-ways in which light as life imagery is applied in the inscriptions here. This is not unique to military inscriptions, but this imagery was common to all epitaphs, civilian and military. ‘Light as life’ is such a common idea in literature and epigraphy that it is often used in conjunction with other epigraphic tropes,<sup>499</sup> that it ought to be considered one itself,<sup>500</sup> and it is common enough to be understood as a part of societal and cultural imagery, where life is contrasted to death, as light is to darkness,<sup>501</sup> a juxtaposition in imagery that continues today, perhaps known best from Christianity where light and darkness are constantly contrasted, as antheses and as the other’s originator.<sup>502</sup> However, this imagery is older than Christianity, and the instances found in this data set are all from pagan inscriptions.

Two major aspects of this ‘light as life’ imagery emerge from this data, and they intersect: the life of those who died young was said to be ‘light’, and the, implicit, contrast of the one celebrated on the inscription going into the dark, whilst they, explicitly, left the living in the light. The dead, the shades of the Underworld, cannot inhabit the lit world of the living.<sup>503</sup> Yet only something that ‘has a shadow is real... there is no thing which is *just* a shadow, except man. There can be no shadows without light’.<sup>504</sup> By that reasoning, the dead are the shadows of the light they once were on Earth, and only the dead can exist because they were once living. Thus, when the living describe the dead with this distinction of light versus darkness, they feel as though they have been completely cut off from their deceased loved one. Yet, man ‘does not create either dark or light... He is in the hands of Light and Dark; he is subordinate to these powers being, and he cannot remove the Dark from his Twilight to under-stand it, to submit

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<sup>498</sup> Lattimore 1942: 163; see also discussion below. This theme of ‘light as life’ was realised independently of Lattimore.

<sup>499</sup> See also, for example, Gómez Pallarès 2002: 84, as well as the inscriptions cited in this chapter in the appendix, where their use of various epigraphic tropes is clear.

<sup>500</sup> Gómez Pallarès 2002: 126; Gómez Pallarès 2023 on *CLEO* T10. See also Gómez Pallarès’ discussion of *CIL* II<sup>2</sup>/14 1279, the much discussed, linguistically similar, inscription to **LL.1**, where the ‘lacking in light’ equals death motif is also expressed, and was significant to epigraphic and literary tropes, throughout the occurrence of Roman history and epigraphic habit (82-83). See also Oliver 1957: 156. See also Mariner Bigona 1955: 232-234, esp. 233 for light and death.

<sup>501</sup> See also Lattimore 1942: 162; see also discussion below.

<sup>502</sup> See, for example, Hunt 2014: 88. See also Sanders 1965: throughout.

<sup>503</sup> Rohde 1925: 9.

<sup>504</sup> Vycinas 1966: 3.

oneself to it, and to guard its gold and pitch in one's own life and world'.<sup>505</sup> According to Vycinas, 'modern man, by clearly determining causes and principles, attempts to chase the night from his Twilight world and establish a spotless and shadowless day'.<sup>506</sup> Those in the Roman world tried to achieve this too, their way of conquering death was through immortalising the deceased on stone, and how they established that light dominated the darkness because death was defeated by the perpetual existence of someone's memory in a stone inscription, which relied on the living to be sustained.

This idea and the contrast of light as life and darkness as death are found in ancient literature. Indeed, these ideas are deeply ingrained in modern thinking, "the dialectic of light and darkness, of day and night, [... as] love of light and fear of darkness is so universal that it surely must be considered as one of the archetypes of human thought".<sup>507</sup> This dichotomy pervades throughout the human psyche, and literature, probably stemming from an ancient fear of the unknown, initially for survival reasons, of which death is the ultimate unknown. Darkness obscures everything that is known around us, and it is light that makes it known; this is probably why, when someone comes to an understanding, it is known as 'enlightenment', a word with which *lux* and *lumen* both have associations.<sup>508</sup>

Death, an emotionally difficult subject, has always been surrounded by euphemistic language, so it is little wonder that its opposite, life, is described in a like manner, using light to contrast it with death by using the opposing imagery of 'light as life' and 'darkness/night as death'.<sup>509</sup> Perhaps it is the seemingly never-ending pervasiveness of darkness that led to the creation of this imagery. Darkness as death and light as life feature in both civilian and military inscriptions, this contrast in, for example, the civilian inscriptions *CLE* 608,<sup>510</sup> *CLE* 813,<sup>511</sup> *CLE* 1061,<sup>512</sup> *CLE* 1066.<sup>513</sup> In **ET.68**, the tomb is something that is inherently dark: Clemens was buried *condite perpetuis tumulis | sine lucis hiatu* ('in an everlasting tomb without an opening for light', 5), which perhaps implies that tombs were sometimes built with an opening to allow light to enter. Death is often associated with *atra* in inscriptions,<sup>514</sup> as it is in literature.<sup>515</sup> Darkness and light were contrasted through colours: with light came colour, with darkness, colour was depleted.<sup>516</sup> Sanders defines *ater*, poetically, as the absence of light, rather than a colour in its own right, and he sees it the way in which *ater* is used in depictions of the Underworld: as a part of the gloom, enshrouding the dead.<sup>517</sup> Thus, it becomes a psychological/emotive description as well as a literal one, a way of describing one's surroundings. After all, death unites all, as it is the one thing everyone can know and

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<sup>505</sup> Vycinas 1966: 6.

<sup>506</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>507</sup> Quote from J. Tasker Grimbert 1990: 250 in Clarke & Baccianti 2014: 3 n. 1.

<sup>508</sup> See also Vycinas 1966: 3 for connections between light, ideas and existence.

<sup>509</sup> See, for example, Sanders 1965: 138-157. See discussion on Sanders' work below.

<sup>510</sup> Light imagery here is *lumen* and this is for a young boy (see EDR166727).

<sup>511</sup> Again, from a parent for their child, although this is for an adult child this time. Here, life as light is *lux* (7, 12), and life and death are contrasted by light and darkness (12) (see EDR148559).

<sup>512</sup> Again, for a young child by her father; light as life is *lumen* (27); when someone dies, they go to the eternal stars (28-29) (see EDR158127).

<sup>513</sup> Again, this is for a child. The sun, here *Phoebus*, was used to denote the passing of the years (3), and there is a clear connection between light (*lux*) and life (5-8) (see EDR11416).

<sup>514</sup> For example, *CLE* 608; *CLE* 1262; *CLE* 1339; *CLE* 1066; EDR (see footnotes above); often called an *atra dies*, 'a coal black day'.

<sup>515</sup> See, for example, Verg. Aen. 6.429, 6.866, 6.272, 1.89, 11.28. *Atra* is also associated with night in the *Aeneid* (6.272; 6.866). Night is both used metaphorically for death and literally.

<sup>516</sup> See Sanders 1965: 165. See also 43.

<sup>517</sup> *Ibid.*: 165.



understand, across all cultures, as it affects everyone and yet it can never be understood by anyone, because the living will never truly grasp what it is to be dead. Yet they can understand grief, as those who are left behind are affected by the loss of their loved ones. In a basic sense, even living is different for everyone, due to the diversity in cultures and societies which brings about a diversity in thinking and interpretation of reality, but the unknown, and the absolute definite finality of it, is what unites everyone, across cultures and across the ages.<sup>518</sup> It is in this way that we can now understand and interpret the experiences of the soldiers and their families in the Roman world, from the words they have inscribed, even though they have been gone for two millennia. Ideas of light as life and darkness as death are the same in military and civilian inscriptions; as shall be seen, these ideas are cross cultural, cross lingual, thus this imagery is not unique to the military, but it assists in understanding how the military placed themselves within the wider society and culture of the Roman world.

Ginevra's in-depth analysis on the idea of 'light as life', and subsequently 'darkness as death', in Indo-European languages,<sup>519</sup> is vital for understanding the cultural and societal extent of this imagery.<sup>520</sup> He presents the range of ways in which light was used to express different aspects of life, being alive and living throughout Indo-European poetry, and how this existed in Proto-Indo-European,<sup>521</sup> demonstrating the longevity of this idea in human thought. Fundamentally, this imagery boils down to various ways in which 'to be alive is to be in the light' is expressed and the idea of 'to see for to live',<sup>522</sup> both of which are expressed in the various nuanced meanings of *lux* and *lumen*. Although, 'in some figurative usages..., to be in the light does not stand for the plain condition of being alive, but rather for the broader condition of being healthy and/or safe as well',<sup>523</sup> 'i.e. to be ideally alive'.<sup>524</sup>

To be in 'the world of the living'<sup>525</sup> was 'the most desirable location to reach and to stay in';<sup>526</sup> it was the place where, in many Indo-European languages, and specifically in their poetry, light was used as 'a conceptualization of ... a location (standing for the world of the living) which newborns are said to reach, living humans to stay in, and the dead to leave',<sup>527</sup> evidence for which is seen in the inscriptions presented here. The extent to which these aspects of 'light as life' exists in Indo-European languages can 'be shown to reflect a combination of these two figurative processes, whose great success may be rooted in universal human experience'.<sup>528</sup> The various ways in which the idea of 'to be alive is to be in the light', and, by the law of opposites, 'to be dead is to be in the darkness', are summarised in the table Ginevra presents in his discussion:

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<sup>518</sup> See also Rohde 1925: 26.

<sup>519</sup> Which include 'Hittite (attested in Anatolia during the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BCE), Ancient Greek (Greece and Anatolia) and Vedic Sanskrit (South Asia; both from the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BCE onwards), Latin (Italy, from the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE onwards), as well as ancient Germanic languages such as Old English, Old Norse, and Old Saxon (North-Western Europe, Middle Ages)' (Ginevra 2021: 164).

<sup>520</sup> *Ibid.*: throughout.

<sup>521</sup> '(probably spoken before the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BCE)' (*ibid.*: 164).

<sup>522</sup> *Ibid.*: 163.

<sup>523</sup> *Ibid.*: 168-169. See also Gómez Pallarès 2023 on CLEO T10, in which this aspect of 'light as life' is one of the 'fundamental' ideas expressed.

<sup>524</sup> Ginevra 2021: 170. See also 174; Vycinas 1966: 3.

<sup>525</sup> Ginevra 2021: 165-166.

<sup>526</sup> *Ibid.*: 165. See also 173, 177 for explanation of 'being in the light' being used metaphorically as an actual location, going into the light is a movement, and giving or taking life as a force.

<sup>527</sup> *Ibid.*: 168.

<sup>528</sup> *Ibid.*: 165.

|    | Source domain                                                  | Target domain                                       |
|----|----------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| 1a | LOCATION:<br>BE IN THE LIGHT                                   | STATE:<br>BE ALIVE                                  |
| 1b | LOCATION:<br>BE IN THE DARKNESS                                | STATE:<br>BE DEAD                                   |
| 2a | MOVEMENT:<br>GO TO THE LIGHT                                   | CHANGE OF STATE:<br>BE BORN (BECOME ALIVE)          |
| 2b | MOVEMENT:<br>GO TO THE DARKNESS                                | CHANGE OF STATE:<br>DIE (BECOME DEAD)               |
| 3a | FORCE-DYNAMIC ACTION:<br>LEAD TO THE LIGHT                     | CAUSATION PROCESS:<br>BESTOW LIFE (MAKE ALIVE)      |
| 3b | FORCE-DYNAMIC ACTION:<br>LEAD TO THE DARKNESS                  | CAUSATION PROCESS:<br>KILL (MAKE DEAD)              |
| 3c | FORCE-DYNAMIC ACTION:<br>LEAD BACK TO THE LIGHT AWAY FROM EVIL | CAUSATION PROCESS:<br>HEAL/SAVE (MAKE HEALTHY/SAFE) |

Table 4.1: A table summarising the various nuances of the imagery of ‘light as life’ in Indo-European languages.<sup>529</sup>

The way in which life became connected to light ‘reflects a metonymic process, rather than a metaphoric one’,<sup>530</sup> with ‘the to be alive is to be in the light metaphor ... clearly connected to the figurative use of to see (the light) for to be alive’.<sup>531</sup> The latter idea was classified as a “complex event Idealized Cognitive Model” (ICM) by Ginevra.<sup>532</sup> This is a concept with multiple sub-meanings connected to it, and can be used separately from the main ICM.<sup>533</sup> In this case, ‘within IE poetics, to be alive seems to have been conceptualized as a complex event ICM involving several distinct subevents that are habitually more or less co-present in the life of a human being (at least within an idealized conceptualization), such as to see, to eat, to speak, to breathe, to hear, or to stand’,<sup>534</sup> these aspects of life ‘standing for the complex event to be alive allows for the reconstruction of an extremely ancient (prehistoric, more precisely) folk theory of human life as a complex embodied experience (in some ways anticipating the findings of contemporary cognitive theory)’.<sup>535</sup> It has been postulated that figurative language was so pervasive in Indo-European languages because ‘highly conventional metaphors often have an experiential basis’,<sup>536</sup> founded on universal human experience: bodily functions and cultural, and social, experiences.<sup>537</sup> Ginevra defines ‘light as life’ and its pervasive and continued use as ‘a universal experiential basis (by which being alive usually implies being located on the sun-lit surface of the earth) might be among the possible reasons for the high success of the type to be alive is to be in the light’.<sup>538</sup>

Although Sanders’ (1965) two volumes *Licht en duisternis in de christelijke grafchriften. Bijdrage tot der studie der latijnse metrische epigrafie van de vroegchristelijke tijd* are about Christian verse inscriptions, his observations and comments are important to consider here. He mentions pagan ideas in comparison to Christian ones, as well as acknowledges the non-Christian origins of many of the Christian ideas concerning light and life.<sup>539</sup> Such examples include *lux* being used to mean ‘day’ in opposition to *nox* being used to mean ‘night’,<sup>540</sup> birth

<sup>529</sup> Ginevra 2021: 174. He also provides a summary of the various ways in which ‘light as life’ is expressed (177-178).

<sup>530</sup> *Ibid.*: 175.

<sup>531</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>532</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>533</sup> See *ibid.* for clarification on the definition of this term.

<sup>534</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>535</sup> *Ibid.*: 176.

<sup>536</sup> *Ibid.*: 177, discussing Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 19-20.

<sup>537</sup> *Ibid.*: 177.

<sup>538</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>539</sup> For example, Sanders 1965: 35, 43-47, 99, 925.

<sup>540</sup> *Ibid.*: 29, 42.

being equated to entering into the light,<sup>541</sup> and that light could be a source of pain for the living left behind.<sup>542</sup> Light was used as a measure of time, with the sun and the moon being used to track ages and dates.<sup>543</sup> Many of the ideas Sanders mentions are also apparent in prose inscriptions.

What becomes apparent from Sanders' work is that, although they appear in a different context and therefore were, and must be, understood differently, these uses of light were still apparent as a theme in pagan and Christian verse inscriptions. His study reveals how the pagan ideas identified in this research continued into Christian thinking, ideas about light and life that still persist today.<sup>544</sup> It was universal to the human interpretation of life, but describing 'light as life' has a distinctly poetic flavour to it.<sup>545</sup> His study on light in Christian verse inscriptions, for example, discusses light as an astronomical concept,<sup>546</sup> but as a strictly Christian concept. The specific ideas, therefore, deviate from those presented here; for example, the ideas of heaven and the deceased going to the stars as presented in his study are not featured here, i.e. as a place that people went to when they died, because he interprets it as a Christian concept.<sup>547</sup> One of the most significant differences in the use of light imagery in Christian verse inscriptions is the connection between dawn and resurrection,<sup>548</sup> which is not present in pagan inscriptions. As seen in Chapter 3, for them death was final, with no hope of resurrection, as final as blowing out a candle, the person's life gone as easily as the flame, and all that remained of them was the smoke trail of the living's memories.

But one of the most significant ideas featured in his volumes is the idea of 'darkness as death' and 'light as life'. He compares and contrasts the pagan thinking towards this imagery with Christian, and how the pagan attitude eventually became inverted in Christian thinking.<sup>549</sup> For the pagans, to be on earth meant to be in the light, whereas to be dead meant to be in the dark. For the Christians, however,<sup>550</sup> to be on earth was to be in the darkness,<sup>551</sup> and to be dead was to be in the light. Yet this was not a wholly revolutionary idea, as it had existed as a concept since Plato and Philo Judaeus, and was in Stoic philosophy;<sup>552</sup> this inversion had been rumbling in the background, but Christianity brought it to the forefront.<sup>553</sup> This emphasises the duality implied throughout Sanders' volumes when one considers the pagan and Christian uses of light imagery in their verse inscriptions: the pagan uses were more practical, more literal, more linked to the (tangible) human experience, whereas the Christian was more metaphorical (founded upon the duality of sin vs. goodness), based on the (perceived; religious) morality of others and the self through an external deity.<sup>554</sup>

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<sup>541</sup> Sanders 1965: 45 (as seen in *ILCV* 3336.1).

<sup>542</sup> *Ibid.*: 50-51.

<sup>543</sup> As seen in **AI.1**; see discussion in Chapter 6. See Sanders 1965: 13-14. He suggests that using the sun and the moon to depict the years was an artistic/poetic flare (16-17).

<sup>544</sup> See also Sanders 1965: 43, 46 for the universality and persistence of 'light as life' imagery.

<sup>545</sup> See *ibid.*: 54.

<sup>546</sup> See Chapter 6; Sanders 1965: 488-623, including *caelum* and *caelestis* (594-623).

<sup>547</sup> Although the idea of someone turning into a star when they died did exist (see Chapter 6).

<sup>548</sup> See, for example, Sanders 1965: 31-33.

<sup>549</sup> See *ibid.*: 138-139, 149.

<sup>550</sup> With the caveat of for the ordinary people (*ibid.*: 149, see also 152).

<sup>551</sup> Sanders 1965: 157.

<sup>552</sup> *Ibid.*: 150-151.

<sup>553</sup> *Ibid.*: 149-151.

<sup>554</sup> See *ibid.*: 153-154, 157.

In the inscriptions presented in this study, the stars are used primarily in a practical, non-metaphorical sense.<sup>555</sup> But this continues the link between *lux/lumen*, the stars and the natural world (of which the stars were a part), the culmination of which is seen in Chapter 7.<sup>556</sup> The various ways in which *lux* and *lumen* were used/can be interpreted from Christian verse inscriptions, which also cross-over/stem from pagan/non-Christian themes (found in verse inscriptions and beyond) are apparent throughout Sanders' study. Both were sometimes used to refer to a 'day', as in the literal sense.<sup>557</sup> But *sidus* was also used to mean 'year', 'month' or 'day' in this sense, similarly to how *lux* and *lumen* were used.<sup>558</sup> *Lux*, *lumen*, *astrum*, and *sidus*,<sup>559</sup> were used in this way in Christian verse inscriptions, i.e. to mean 'a signifier of practical time'.<sup>560</sup> *Lux* and *lumen* were both also used to mean 'living' just as a state of existence, but this was more common in the Christian verse inscriptions, according to Sanders.<sup>561</sup>

*Lumen*, originally *lucmen*, comes from the verb *luceo*, which means 'to be light or clear, to shine, beam, glitter'.<sup>562</sup> *lumen* has multiple meanings, which, essentially, are 'light', in a literal sense, 'life', as in 'light of/as life', and 'the eye'.<sup>563</sup> This latter meaning of *lumen* = 'eye' 'goes back at least as far as Lucretius, but it may be as old as Ennius. It may also allude to the common idea of the sun as the all-seeing eye'.<sup>564</sup> The meaning of *lumen* in *lumen ademptum* in Aen. 3.658 is disputed, but Glenn believes that this is an allusion to Catull. 68.93,<sup>565</sup> where Polyphemus 'in losing his sight or the light of day (*lumen*), ... has been condemned to a living death (*lumen ademptum*)'.<sup>566</sup> Indeed, Ginevra conjectures that the stem of the Greek name for Hades, also a name for the Underworld, may have originated from a Proto-Indo-European combination meaning "not-seeing" or 'un-seen, in-visible'.<sup>567</sup> These 'meanings would attest to the association between the concept to not see and the god/realm of death, which corresponds, inversely, to the figurative usage of to see for to be alive and closely matches the frequent usage of terms for 'darkness' or 'shadow' to refer to the Realm of the Dead in Greek literature'.<sup>568</sup> This idea seems to have bled into Roman literature and ideology, as *umbra* is often used to refer those inhabiting the Underworld, *atra* to describe it. These themes are seen in inscriptions. *Lumen*, according to Sanders, referred to the light on Earth, the light in which humans existed, more than *lux*.<sup>569</sup> *Lumen* can also mean 'brightness, splendor, gleam' and 'daylight, day'.<sup>570</sup> These meanings, as well as 'light of life', according to Lewis & Short, are the poetic meanings

<sup>555</sup> When they are, it is in reference to the duration of someone's life, i.e. counting the years by the movements of the sun (AI.1) or the 'star of life' (AI.5), which is akin to the theme presented in this chapter (see Chapter 6).

<sup>556</sup> As seen in Chapters 6-7. Sanders also discusses *aer*, *aurae*, *aether* or *aetherius*, but in a Christian context, which is different to how they ought to be understood here.

<sup>557</sup> Sanders 1965: 37, 39.

<sup>558</sup> *Ibid.*: 41. See the discussion on AI.5 below.

<sup>559</sup> With decreasing frequency.

<sup>560</sup> See Sanders 1965: 41.

<sup>561</sup> *Ibid.*: 55.

<sup>562</sup> Lewis & Short 1945: 1079; de Vaan 2008: 355; Kidd 2016: 125; *luceo* has many of the same connotations, simply in verbal form, as *lumen* and *lux*.

<sup>563</sup> Lewis & Short 1945: 1084; Kidd 2016: 126. See Lewis & Short 1945: 1084-1085 for an extensive list, with references, for each of these various meanings. See also Kidd 2016: 126 for less in-depth presentation of these meanings of *lumen*. See also Glenn 1974: 37; Sanders 1965: 73, 84 for the connections between *lumina* and the eyes in non-Christian epitaphs. This meaning remains the same in Christian inscriptions.

<sup>564</sup> Mac Góráin 2017: 387. For light and seeing connections, see also Ginevra 2021: esp. 176.

<sup>565</sup> Glenn 1974: 37. See below for allusions to Catullus and *lumen* in the inscriptions presented here.

<sup>566</sup> *Ibid.*: 37-38

<sup>567</sup> Ginevra 2021: 171, see also for more details on the logic behind this.

<sup>568</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>569</sup> Sanders 1965: 46.

<sup>570</sup> Lewis & Short 1945: 1084.

of *lumen*,<sup>571</sup> its meaning as ‘the eye’ is, according to Lewis & Short, ‘mostly poet[ic]’.<sup>572</sup> Perhaps in a similar way to the idea of ‘the flower of youth’ meaning a(n exemplary) young man, *lumen* is also used to mean ‘a light, i.e. a most distinguished person or thing, an ornament, glory, luminary’.<sup>573</sup> Like *cosmos*, *lumen* can also mean ‘ornaments of style’.<sup>574</sup>

*Lux* also comes from *luceo*,<sup>575</sup> although, according to de Vaan, *luceo* derived from *lux*,<sup>576</sup> as do various other words, all of which have connotations of *light/being illuminated/splendid/daylight*,<sup>577</sup> *lux* is the root of all these words,<sup>578</sup> including *lumen*.<sup>579</sup> De Vaan lists the origins of *lux*,<sup>580</sup> from Proto-Italic and Proto-Indo-European, and its other Indo-European languages cognates, all of which have the same meanings/connotations of *light/illuminate/splendid/shine/some link to sunlight*.<sup>581</sup> Unlike *lumen*, *lux* does have a meaning of celestial light,<sup>582</sup> its meaning more explicitly linked to this type of light, rather than any type of light,<sup>583</sup> in both poetic and prosaic contexts, particularly in reference to ‘daylight’.<sup>584</sup> Indeed, it means ‘day’ in some verse inscriptions, when it is used to reckon the passage of time in days, like when *sol* is sometimes used to denote the passing of time in years, for example in *CLE* 422 (see also Chapter 6). It also means ‘life’ and ‘an eye, ... eyesight’,<sup>585</sup> and the same authors use these various meanings in different contexts. Again, it can also mean in a prestigious sense, ‘A light, of an eminent man to whom all eyes turn’,<sup>586</sup> and it can also mean ‘a light’ as in a help or an inspiration or metaphorical use of the English ‘illumination’.<sup>587</sup> Along with the other similar meanings to *lumen*,<sup>588</sup> thus these two nouns, although not completely synonymous, have very similar meanings, just with slight nuances, especially when it comes to what type of light they describe: *lumen* describes any light, but primarily the light on Earth, whereas *lux* describes specifically celestial light. These meanings of *lux*, particularly that of celestial light, are especially seen in **AI.6**, the only inscription in this data set where *lux* is mentioned not as a metaphor for life, but is, instead, contrasted with the deified personification of night: *Nox dea fit lux* (‘Goddess Night becomes light!’, 12).

One cannot help but wonder at this triple layered meaning of *lumen* and *lux* as light-eyes-life, and the scientific importance of light for the ability to see, for light is how we are able to perceive life. It was only with ibn al-Haytham, also known as Alhazen, who lived from c. AD 965-1038, it was understood that ‘our vision is the result of reflecting light to the eyes, and *not*

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<sup>571</sup> Lewis & Short 1945: 1084.

<sup>572</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>573</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>574</sup> *Ibid.*: 1085; see Chapter 7 for discussion on the meaning of *cosmos*.

<sup>575</sup> Lewis & Short 1945: 1088. See also Sanders 1965: for example, 61-62 for various meanings of *lux* in Christian verse inscriptions.

<sup>576</sup> De Vaan 2008: 355.

<sup>577</sup> For an extensive list, see *ibid.*

<sup>578</sup> *Ibid.*: 356.

<sup>579</sup> *Ibid.*: 355.

<sup>580</sup> *Ibid.*: 356.

<sup>581</sup> See also Rohde 1925: 4 for life existing ‘in the sunlight’.

<sup>582</sup> Lewis & Short 1945: 1088.

<sup>583</sup> *Ibid.*: 1084; see 1088 for an extensive list, with references, for each of the various meanings of *lux*. See also Brockliss 2017: 6 for meanings of *lux* and its connections to its Greek counterpart, and how that also had similar origins and meanings to *lux*, and *lumen*.

<sup>584</sup> Lewis & Short 1945: 1088.

<sup>585</sup> *Ibid.* See also Ginevra 2021: 177 n. 11 for *lux* and its meaning of sight, as well as its parallels in other Indo-European languages.

<sup>586</sup> Lewis & Short 1945: 1088.

<sup>587</sup> *Ibid.*; see also Kidd 2016: 126 for a not so in-depth list of these various meanings of *lux*.

<sup>588</sup> Lewis & Short 1945: 1088.

by emitting light from them'.<sup>589</sup> Before that, the ancients believed that light came from the eyes, not that they received it.<sup>590</sup> Empedocles compared 'the eye to a lantern, imagining fire to exist within it. Euclid later introduced the idea of light rays as straight lines ... It was these rays that actually caused us to see things when they emanated from our eyes and fell on objects'.<sup>591</sup> But this indicates that there was some inherent understanding of the importance of light in order to see, although this also would have been obvious from basic experimentation: turn off the light, and you cannot see, and vice versa.

A Hindu verse: '*Lead me from untruth to truth / From death to immortality / From darkness to light*'<sup>592</sup> coincides with the main three meanings of *lumen* and *lux*. For philosophers, the light is the ideal of existence, of living,<sup>593</sup> and so, for those who say they are in the light in these inscriptions believe that living itself is enough for an ideal existence. For them, it is not about higher philosophical thought, but it is about living, continuing, and forever being remembered, whether it is for great deeds, or for simply having their name inscribed on a stone for all to see, for all of time to remember. Despite this idea of 'light as life' being prolific in an assortment of Indo-European languages throughout the ages, and, therefore, cultures, its use in the Latin verse inscriptions of the Roman military assists us in understanding how those who belonged to this institution perceived how their lives fit into the narrative of the wider world and its workings around them, how they were a part of wider society, the world they inhabited, and, perhaps, also the cosmos, through expressing a thought that was universal to all cultures throughout the Roman Empire, and throughout time.

## 4.2. Leaving the Living in the Light

In an inscription to a veteran of an unknown legion (**LL.1**), the wife of the deceased veteran wishes that she were dead too, a relatively common sentiment in inscriptions. There is an inscription with which **LL.1** is often compared, *CIL* II<sup>2</sup>/14 1279, due to their similarities in language; it was for a deceased civilian, thus highlighting how military inscriptions often crossed paths with civilian inscriptions, especially when it came to epigraphic tropes. Dated to AD 201-230,<sup>594</sup> **LL.1**, a stone inscription which now no longer exists,<sup>595</sup> was found in Tarracae, Hispanior Citerior.<sup>596</sup> According to the editors of the *CIL*, the deceased was a veteran of the

<sup>589</sup> Zewail 2003: 29.

<sup>590</sup> Turpin et al. 2016: 110. It is interesting, however, that Seneca notes Aristotle *Ab omni, inquit, levitate acies radios suos replicat* ('he says, the pupil reflects its own rays from every smooth surface', nat. 1.3.7). See also Sanders 1965: 73.

<sup>591</sup> Morris 2016: 31.

<sup>592</sup> Zewail 2003: 33, from *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad*, I.3.28 (see Panduranga Bhatta 2009: 54).

<sup>593</sup> Vycinas 1966: 3.

<sup>594</sup> Gómez Pallarès 2023 on *CLEO* T10. See also Oliver 1957: 159; Thigpen 1995: 177, 182; Gómez Pallarès 2002: 127. See also *CIL* II<sup>2</sup>/14 1089 for the date. See also Alföldy 1975.228 and Hernández Pérez 2001, who date it simply to the third century AD.

<sup>595</sup> Gómez Pallarès 2023 on *CLEO* T10; EDCS-05503460. See also HispaniaEpigraphica Online Database 10091; Oliver 1957: 159; Thigpen 1995: 177; Gómez Pallarès 2002: 122. See also Alföldy 1975.228, who discusses this inscription and provides an edition.

<sup>596</sup> HispaniaEpigraphica Online Database 10091; Gómez Pallarès 2023 on *CLEO* T10; EDCS-05503460. See also Hernández Pérez 2001: 303. See commentary, bibliography, edition, translation, an explanation of the metre, and information on this inscription in *CIL* II<sup>2</sup>/14 1089. See discussion of this inscription by Oliver 1957: 159-160; Thigpen 1995: 177-183; Gómez Pallarès 2002: 122; Tantimonaco 2017: 123-124. Much has been written on this inscription, hence why only its use of 'light as life' is being discussed here. Much has been particularly discussed on the parallels between **LL.1** and *CIL* II<sup>2</sup>/14 1279 by Gómez Pallarès 2002: 122-126 (T11; **LL.1**), 79-86 (T4; *CIL* II<sup>2</sup>/14 1279) (between T4 and T11), as well as Thigpen 1995: 177-183 and 192-202 (Gómez Pallarès 2023 on *CLEO* T10). Oliver 1957: 152-162 and Tantimonaco 2017: 123-124; briefly alluded to by Alföldy 1975.228. Both of these inscriptions came from Tarraco, although it is unknown which inspired the other. Gómez Pallarès 2002 dates them both no more specifically than to the third century (127, 83; see also Thigpen 1995: 193); both also have similar hexameter metre (see, for example, Thigpen 1995: 193). Within the inscription he labels as T4 (*CIL* II<sup>2</sup>/14 1279), 'light as life', or, rather, in this instance, the absence of light in one who is living = the dedicator wishes to be

*Legio VII Gemina*,<sup>597</sup> probably based on location, as the part of the inscription where his legion would have been stationed was no longer extant when it was copied into the manuscripts.

This legion was originally called *Legio VII Hispana*, as it was raised in Spain by Galba, and when it was ‘reconstituted in [AD] 70’ it was called *Gemina* and given the title *Felix*, ‘possibly for distinguished service in Upper Germany in 72/3’.<sup>598</sup> Its titles increased to *Gemina Pia Felix* under Septimius Severus.<sup>599</sup> This legion became the sole legionary force in Spain from AD 74 onwards, when ‘military activity in Spain itself was restricted in scope and occasion’, and they were stationed at Legio (León),<sup>600</sup> where they ‘helped administer the major gold-mines in the territory of the Astures’.<sup>601</sup> Recruitment for the legion and auxiliary units in Spain became more local as time went on, and Spanish recruits were in service across the Roman Empire,<sup>602</sup> making it likely that this veteran was a local. As is often found in these ‘light as life’ inscriptions, **LL.1** is seven lines of hexameter.<sup>603</sup> The veteran died at just over 57 years old, thus the use of *lux* in this inscription does not also encompass the common theme found in inscriptions where light is used as a metaphor for life: life lost in youth.

In this inscription, the wife of the veteran laments, now that her husband is dead: *vivere iam quo | me? lucem iam nolo vi|dere.* (vac.) | / *dulcem | carui lucem, cum te | amisi ego coniux.* (‘because what should I live for now? Now I don’t want to see the light. / I am missing the sweet light since I, I lost you, my husband.’, **LL.1.3-4**). This lament is not an uncommon one, especially in relation to the theme of light as life in verse inscriptions.<sup>604</sup> Many have pointed out the balance and rhyme of *vivere...videre*,<sup>605</sup> but no one has pointed out the balance of *vivere...lucem*, both references to life, beginning their phrases of lament, which are four words long, balancing the line. Here, the meanings of *lux* are played with: both meanings of literal light and ‘life as light’ can be seen in this inscription. For the wife, the light is something she no longer wants to be in, i.e. she no longer wants to live, because her husband is no longer in the light with her, and therefore no longer wants to ‘ver la luz del día’ as Fernández Martínez translates 3.<sup>606</sup> According to Thigpen, ‘*me...lucem iam nolo vi/dere*: Most of the epigraphical parallels to this phrase come from Rome. Popova maintains that this formula ultimately derives from Catull. 50.12: *versarer cupiens videre lucem*’.<sup>607</sup> Her husband represented life for her, as indicated by 4; it was as if she lived for him. Although this inscription uses *lux* and not *lumen*, the imagery here is similar to Catullus’ use of *lumen* in 68b.92-100: ‘Catullus’ designation of his brother as *lumen* signified not just that he was the light of Catullus’ life, but that his death

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dead/lives as if they were dead, is expressed as both *lumen* and *lux*, and it is the father of a deceased son who laments not wanting to live now that his son is dead, amongst other common epigraphic tropes (Gómez Pallarès 2002: 84). See also Oliver: ‘on the theme of death as the removal of light’ (1957: 157). See also Mariner Bigona 1955: 229-236 for discussions about these two inscriptions. See also above.

<sup>597</sup> *CIL* II<sup>2</sup>/14 1089.

<sup>598</sup> Campbell 2012d: 817.

<sup>599</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>600</sup> Richardson 2010: 373; *ibid.* See also Keay 2012a: 190.

<sup>601</sup> Keay 2012c: 1433.

<sup>602</sup> Richardson 2010: 370-374.

<sup>603</sup> See, for example <https://www.mqdg.it/textsce/CE|ce|0542>; Gómez Pallarès 2002: 126-127; Gómez Pallarès 2023 on *CLEO* T10. See also Thigpen 1995: 177; *CIL* II<sup>2</sup>/14 1089; Hernández Pérez 2001.

<sup>604</sup> See Sanders 1965: 58. See also 368-369.

<sup>605</sup> There is a list of the rhymes found in this inscription in Gómez Pallarès 2002: 126 and Gómez Pallarès 2023 on *CLEO* T10.

<sup>606</sup> Fernández Martínez 1998: 293.

<sup>607</sup> Thigpen 1995: 180.

may presage Catullus' end as well'.<sup>608</sup> Most significantly, not only for this inscription but also for all inscriptions where light is used as a metaphor for life, in Lucretius *lumen* is also used to 'indicate life, especially when it is being lost'.<sup>609</sup>

In this inscription, Tantimonaco argues that the *Manes* are equated with the *Inferi*, and she cites examples in Roman literature where the *Manes* and *Inferi* are equated as well as other inscriptions where this occurs, and which have similar wording to this inscription, apart from the *Inferi* are invoked to carry out the seizing of the wretched survivor.<sup>610</sup> However, the author here also argues that the *Manes* could be said to be standing in for Fate/the Fates which, as has been acknowledged in the previous chapter, are more often the ones who take people to their deaths.<sup>611</sup> These themes are found throughout the Roman Empire, therefore making 'la péninsule Ibérique ne faisait pas exception'.<sup>612</sup> However, this is usually when someone is seized from their death prematurely; perhaps, then, we may conjecture that the *Manes* or *Inferi* are invoked to take someone to their death when it is either not premature or when they are being invoked to do the seizing, rather than stated that they did the seizing (which the Fates do). Therefore, it is the Fates who take people prematurely from their lives, snatching them from the world of the living as they are the ones who determine the set course of someone's life, whereas the *Manes* or *Inferi* take someone away either who begs for death or whose death came upon them naturally, i.e. at a more apt age for death. For the living, in this instance, their grief is so intense that they have lost the motivation to live, to continue living. For them, life has no meaning and has lost all pleasure with the loss of their lost loved one. They, those who wish to no longer be in the light, where their loved one no longer exists, themselves might as well be considered dead.<sup>613</sup>

These inscriptions also demonstrate that the duality in meanings within *lux* and *lumen* were recognised and played with by the populace. In **LL.1**, *visis* (6) is often translated as 'dreams',<sup>614</sup> although Thigpen and Gómez Pallarès translate it, as the author has here, as 'visions'.<sup>615</sup> This carries on the motif of sight that is implicit in the use of the Latin terms for 'light', although this is more specifically encompassed by *lumen* than *lux*. The inscription in which this play with the duality of *lumen* is most evident is **LL.2**. This is an epitaph by a *beneficiarius legati* for his son, who died when he was five years old (1). Schallmayer identifies this *beneficiarius legati* 'tat Dienst im Stab des Legionslegaten der legio IIII Flavia, als sein Sohn verstarb',<sup>616</sup> presumably due to its location. The *Legio IV Flavia Felix* had been made from the *Legio IV*

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<sup>608</sup> Seider 2016: 301. See also 299-300. This inscription has a similar message and wording to Catullus' lament of the death of his brother: 68b.92-96. Gómez Pallarès 2002: 126 lists parallels between this verse inscription and works of literature such as Verg. Aen., Prop. and Ov. Ars. See also Thigpen 1995: 180-182 for literary parallels.

<sup>609</sup> Seider 2016: 301 n. 124.

<sup>610</sup> Tantimonaco 2017: 124; the inscriptions to which she refers are *CIL* II<sup>2</sup>/14 1279 (= *RIT* 441) and *CILA* III 362. See also Oliver 1957: 157 for discussion on the *Manes* and *Inferi* in reference to *CIL* II<sup>2</sup>/14 1279. See also *AE* 2017.564 adn. for a brief discussion on the *Manes* and *Inferi* being equated.

<sup>611</sup> See also *AE* 2017.564 adn.

<sup>612</sup> *AE* 2017.564 adn.

<sup>613</sup> See also Gómez Pallarès 2002: 126. See above.

<sup>614</sup> Tantimonaco 2017: 123, who says it was inspired by Ov. Ars 1.659; according to Shackleton Bailey 1978: 324 '*visis* = *somniis*'; Gómez Pallarès 2023 on *CLEO* T10

<sup>615</sup> Thigpen 1995: 177, 182, where he explains his rationale behind this translation; Gómez Pallarès 2002: 127.

<sup>616</sup> Schallmayer 1990 588.



*Macedonica* in AD 70,<sup>617</sup> and they were posted in various places until they were permanently posted at Singidunum in Moesia Superior, possibly during Hadrian's reign.<sup>618</sup>

This epitaph was found in Viminacium, Moesia superior,<sup>619</sup> in this province 'all known recruiting was external'.<sup>620</sup> It is dated between AD 151-300,<sup>621</sup> and contains two lines of nearly entirely spondaic hexameter,<sup>622</sup> demonstrating how even the shortest poems can be crafted to suit the situation, the spondaic nature of this epitaph giving it a loaded, grief-stricken sound. The monument itself was fragmented into three pieces, and it is now missing; it had a relief of a seated boy above the *campus*.<sup>623</sup> Here, knowledge of the duality of *lumen* is demonstrated: *lumen* could be translated as either 'eye' or 'life', thus giving the alternative translation of **LL.2.3**: 'whose attentive eye regretfully grieves'. Arguably, this makes more sense, as eyes weep, and so it perpetuates the grieving message. For von Premerstein and Vulić, 3 does not make sense because it 'kann nur von dem gesagt werden, der nach einem sechsnüchtig erwarteten Anwesenden ausspäht'.<sup>624</sup> Yet, if we translate *lumen* as 'life', it creates a contrast between *de[s]iderio*, *lumen* and *dolet*, life and death (grief/regret caused by death, which both frame *lumen*). His son's death leads Valerianus to *lumen intentus* ('contemplat[e] life', 3). This also incorporates the duality of *lumen* when considering the Virgilian theme of children dying before the eyes of their parents.<sup>625</sup> This is found in Homer too, in the *Iliad*, and yet it becomes uniquely Virgilian because he adds the phrase *ante ora parentum*, which 'occurs eight times in the *Aeneid*...', and unlike many other Virgilian formulas, there is no Homeric precedent for the phrase'.<sup>626</sup>

Although this is 'appropriate in a poem that is famously all about points of view',<sup>627</sup> the same can be said about verse epitaphs: after all, what are they, if not subjective, emotive expressions of an opinion about the deceased, either for how the dedicator wished them to be remembered or how they felt about their death, or both? The 'self-reflexive quality' of the *Aeneid* is just as evident in verse epitaphs where<sup>628</sup> the dedicators express information about themselves and/or their own emotions, rather than information about the deceased or as well as, in an epitaph, as we see in **LL.2**. Like these scenes in the *Aeneid*, in **LL.2**, as in other inscriptions in this chapter, the 'parents [are] the viewers',<sup>629</sup> it is in these scenes that 'the dual threats of death *ante ora parentum* – dying in the face of one's parent, or watching one's own progeny die – yield to the realization of a greater truth: the fate of one's offspring ... is ultimately beyond a parent's control',<sup>630</sup> and nowhere is this more evident than in this inscription with the use of *lumen*. What, perhaps, would have made this more poignant for a Roman audience was that this was the death of a son, buried by his father, as the death of a son was a threat to the line of succession

<sup>617</sup> Campbell 2012d: 817. See also Hardy 1887: 645-646.

<sup>618</sup> Campbell 2012d: 817. See also Hardy 1887: 645-646, 649, 652, 653, 656, where it appears that this legion spent most of its service in Moesia Superior. See also Appendix 2 for more information on this legion.

<sup>619</sup> EDCS-30200736; now Kostolac, Serbia. See also Mirković 1986.113 and Schallmayer 1990.588 for commentary, bibliography and edition of this inscription.

<sup>620</sup> Saller & Shaw 1984: 144 n. 81.

<sup>621</sup> EDCS-30200736; HD035808. Schallmayer 1990.588 dates it to the second century AD.

<sup>622</sup> Classified as 'other metres' by <https://www.mqdq.it/texts/CE/appe/0704>.

<sup>623</sup> HD035808.

<sup>624</sup> Quote from Mirković 1986.113: 133, who directly quotes this from Premerstein and Vulić.

<sup>625</sup> O'Sullivan 2009: throughout.

<sup>626</sup> *Ibid.*: 447-448. See 454 for examples of children dying before their parents in the *Iliad*.

<sup>627</sup> *Ibid.*: 448.

<sup>628</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>629</sup> *Ibid.*: 449.

<sup>630</sup> *Ibid.*: 450-451.

and carrying on the family in the Roman world:<sup>631</sup> ‘in patriarchal succession, the son is the father’s mirror *and* substitute, his immortality *and* his ruin’,<sup>632</sup> thus the father’s ‘light’, the continuation of his life through his children, has been halted by the death of his son, perhaps his only son.

As is common in epitaphs, *mors immatura* is lamented.<sup>633</sup> Sometimes, it is linked with the idea of ‘light as life’, presumably because youth is considered bright and burning and passionate, a time in someone’s life when they learn about themselves until they settle into the adult they shall become, and they rely on the youth to continue the family line, like the sun rising again after the darkness of night is over. This theme is not only exhibited in **LL.2**, but also in **LL.3**,<sup>634</sup> where a twenty three year old man, a *miles* of the 10<sup>th</sup> Urban cohort, is mourned by his parents.<sup>635</sup> The phrase *in praetor(ium) | transiret* (‘he went into the *praetorium*’, 4) has parallels in other inscriptions, which states someone’s promotion, after many years, from the Urban to the Praetorian cohorts. Here, the parents lament their son’s sudden death robbing him of opportunity of being promoted to the Praetorian Guard,<sup>636</sup> which, notably, is in the prose and not the verse part of this inscription, probably because this is where his military career is outlined. Not only that, but Justus was also robbed by death of celebrating his *depositio barbae*, performed at the age of twenty four, ‘dell’offerta ritual cioe che i giovani nell’uscire dalla giovinezza all’eta matura facevano alle divinita’,<sup>637</sup> thus meaning that he had not officially entered into manhood when he died.<sup>638</sup>

Dated from the early to the mid third century AD and found in Saepinum, Italy,<sup>639</sup> **LL.3** is identified here as two lines of iambic octonarius, with enjambement.<sup>640</sup> Here, once again, those bereaved are left behind *in luce* (‘in the light’, 7). The contrast between *mors* beginning the line and *luce* ending it cannot be ignored; if death is darkness and light is life, then they are contrasting the actualisation of the metaphorical linguistic manifestation of ‘death’, i.e. the unexpressed implication of darkness, with the metaphorical linguistic manifestation of the realism of ‘light’, i.e. the metaphor for ‘life’, within this line. Perhaps the idea of the sun rising after the darkness of night, i.e. the child continuing the line of the parents after their deaths, is implicit in the multitude of meanings we are to understand from the more celestial/astronomical aspects of *lux*, as exhibited here, where the parents mourn for their son who died in his youth. Alternatively, it is simply that he, by dying, left his parents in the daylight, whilst he went down into the darkness of the Underworld. Although death is blamed for cutting his life short (1), it is Justus who is blamed for leaving his parents: *liquis{s}ti miseros in luce | parentem* (‘you left your wretched parent / in the light’, 1-2). His death was clearly sudden (*Mors inimica tibi Fato*

<sup>631</sup> O’Sullivan 2009: throughout. See also Chapter 8.

<sup>632</sup> *Ibid.*: 478. See also Chapter 8 and other inscriptions in this study such as **ET.14**.

<sup>633</sup> See also Mirković 1986.113. See also discussion in Chapter 3.

<sup>634</sup> This is also accompanied by other epigraphic tropes, such as dying in the prime of life and a sudden death being equated with ‘being stolen away’. See also EDR073037 and HD025309 for a photo of this inscription.

<sup>635</sup> See also *CIL* IX 6604. See Appendix 2.

<sup>636</sup> Maiuri 1926: 246, where the other inscriptions this phrase, or similar phrase, is used in are specified. See *CIL* IX 6604. Lines 3-4 of **LL.3**. See Appendices 2 and 3.

<sup>637</sup> Maiuri 1926: 248. See also *AE* 1927.120; Chapter 8.

<sup>638</sup> Maiuri 1926: 248.

<sup>639</sup> EDR073037 and EDCS-16200823. See also HD025309; <https://www.mqdg.it/texts/CE/lappe/0357>. See also commentary on this inscription in Maiuri 1926: 246-248, nr. 4 for details about this inscription. See also Zarker 1958.138. See also *CIL* IX 6604 for date. Here, as with the other inscriptions in this section, only the theme ‘light as life’ is focused on.

<sup>640</sup> Identified as ‘unknown’ metres by EDR073037. Identified as ‘other metres’ and ‘pentameter’ by <https://www.mqdg.it/texts/CE/lappe/0357>. It is classified as ‘commatica’ by Zarker 1958.138. Identified as ‘commata dactylica’ in *CIL* IX 6604.

| *data* [‘An envious death had been given to you by Fate’, 1], *apstulit una* | (vac.) *dies*. (vac.) [‘one day stole you away’, 2]), but not specified, so we can only conjecture as to how he died; we can only guess that his death had something to do with his military career.

### 4.3. The Life of Those Who Died Young

The two aspects of ‘light as life’ identified in these inscriptions intertwine: leaving the living in the light and light being used to represent the life of those who died young. Perhaps this is most evident in **AI.1**, where Antonus, a young man aged about eighteen when he died, was described as *maior*, in *aeternam mersit sua lumina noctem* (‘older, he plunged the light of his life into the eternal night’, 10). This highlights the contrast between *lumen* meaning ‘light as life’ and *nox*, or some other form of darkness, being used to refer to death. This light imagery is used in Antonus’ ‘age couplet’, continuing the light imagery seen in this poem with Proculus, although his age was charted by the orbits of the sun and his existence as a shade in the underworld, not in the tomb, is commented upon (3-4, 6-7). Although his life is not reckoned in such a practical manner as the years of the orbits of the sun as Proculus’, the description of Antonus’ life uses the conventional imagery for life found in epitaphs.<sup>641</sup> *lumen* (10), hence why it has been translated as ‘light of life’ here.

Light is also used as a reference to the prime of someone’s life, which is encompassed by the idea of ‘youth’. For men, the ‘youth’ of their life appears to have been longer, and arrive later, than in modern Western thinking.<sup>642</sup> Soldiers from their early/mid-teens to about their forties, even one at the age of eighty, from the data here, were considered to be in his ‘youth’, perhaps because a soldier was considered to be in his prime; ‘youth’, certainly with men, in ancient Roman thinking appears to have correlated with when a man was in his prime. Aeneas was described as being in the ‘*lumen[que] iuuentae / purpureum*’ (‘the radiant light / of youth’, Aen. 1.590).<sup>643</sup> *Lux* is also used in this way, in reference to feminine ‘youth’, when they were still *puellae*.<sup>644</sup> Perhaps this was correlated with fertility and child-bearing/-producing age, as women were no longer perceived to be young when they reached their late twenties, by which time they would have been expected to have had children, so feminine youth was perceived to be before they could have children, masculine when they could have children, and soldiers often married and had families later in life (see Chapter 8).

The idea of ‘leaving the living in the light’ morphs into another theme: the life of those who died young being described as ‘light’. This was seen in **LL.2** and **LL.3** above, but it is more specifically relating to the dead, rather than to the living. In this aspect of the idea of ‘light as life’, it is the dead who leave the light, not the living who remain there, although, arguably, the two are interchangeable. This is demonstrated in **LL.4**. This inscription on a limestone sarcophagus is for the wife of a *beneficiarius consularis*, and also by his father-in-law, who both, at least, commissioned this inscription; perhaps they wrote it too.<sup>645</sup> It was found in

<sup>641</sup> As revealed here. See, for example *CIL* II 4427, **LL.6**, **LL.7**, **LL.3**. See discussion in Chapter 6 below.

<sup>642</sup> See discussion in Chapter 8.

<sup>643</sup> See Nabel 2015: 692. See also Mac Góráin 2017: 396.

<sup>644</sup> See Ov. Am. 1.5.7-8. See also Ingleheart 2012: 231 n. 23.

<sup>645</sup> For sources for this inscription, see Lupa 2785; EDCS-26600595; HD048582. HD048582 gives a short commentary on the various readings of this text as well as the description of the text’s layout on the inscription, which spreads out across the epigraphic field. Much has been written on this inscription: see AE 1999.126 for date, location, commentary and bibliography on this inscription; Adamik 1997: 157-168 for the same, and who seems to think that it was *Victorinus* commissioned it alone (166); Nelis-Clément 2000: 330 for discussion on this inscription. See Kuntić-Makvić 1976: 46-49, nr. 6 for location, bibliography and commentary on this inscription; Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.48: 104-107 for the same. See also Fitz,

Campona, Pannonia Inferior.<sup>646</sup> It was found in a post of the *ala I Thracum*,<sup>647</sup> so, presumably, this is the section of the military to which this *beneficiarius consularis* was attached; perhaps a legate's headquarters were here.<sup>648</sup> However, for Kuntić-Makvić, the fact that the *beneficiarius consularis*' (of **LL.4**) military unit is unnamed is indicative that there was no unit stationed in Campona, although its ancient name would suggest otherwise, but that Victorinus had retired and moved here, as he felt that he would have stated his unit if he was still in one.<sup>649</sup> As can be seen in many of the inscriptions in this study, this is not the case; there are several instances where a soldier states his military rank but not the unit to which he had been posted. **LL.4** and **LL.5** were commissioned, and perhaps composed, by members of the Roman military, who were non-native Roman civilians, with wives with probably the same social status, and whose whole family, including themselves, mentioned in these inscriptions were probably locally born, yet they are expressing their grief for their lost loved one through a recognised Roman cultural practice, using an Indo-European linguistically universal concept towards life and death. Further evidence of these inscriptions having been made by locals, rather than Romans, is in the way these inscriptions have been criticised for being poor quality. They follow the formulae and tropes found in Roman epigraphy, and they have mistakes in the language.<sup>650</sup>

Marcellina's husband was called Julius Victorinus and her father has a Thracian name: Aurelius Eptala.<sup>651</sup> The majority of *beneficarii*, from the middle of the second century AD, were commonly recruited locally, 'la plupart d'entre eux restait Durant leur temps de service dans la même province et dans les mêmes fonctions (ou du moins dans des fonctions *d'officiales*)',<sup>652</sup> indicating that Victorinus probably originated from Pannonia. Also, 'at least a part of the native population lived in the auxiliary *vici* and ... the auxiliary fort had grown into the centre of their *civitas*',<sup>653</sup> all of which explains how Victorinus was living close enough to his extended family for his father-in-law to be included in the commissioning of this epitaph, something which is not common with military men, who mainly focus on their nuclear family in their inscriptions.<sup>654</sup>

**LL.4** has been dated variously from AD 225-250 to 231-270.<sup>655</sup> Again, this is accompanied by other epigraphic themes, such as *mors immatura*, materiality of death, fate stealing someone away to their death,<sup>656</sup> parents dying before their children and direct address to the passer-by.

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Mócsy and Soproni 2001: 1522 for information on the inscription and an edition. For more information on this rank, see Appendix 3.

<sup>646</sup> EDCS-26600595; Lupa 2785; HD048582. See also Cugusi 2007: 104. See also *CLE*: 267.

<sup>647</sup> *CLE*: 267. See also Kuntić-Makvić 1976: 48, Nr. 6; Kovács 2020: 302.

<sup>648</sup> Kuntić-Makvić 1976: 48, Nr. 6.

<sup>649</sup> *Ibid.* However, as has been demonstrated throughout this study, this is not the case, as plenty of military men who are not retired do not state the unit to which they belonged.

<sup>650</sup> Kovács 2020: 310-311.

<sup>651</sup> Nelis-Clément 2000: 330. See also Schallmayer 1990.588 for discussion on the names of all three, as well as identification of Eptala as Thracian.

<sup>652</sup> Nelis-Clément 2000: 330.

<sup>653</sup> Kovács 2020: 302-303.

<sup>654</sup> See Chapter 8.

<sup>655</sup> Lupa 2785 and EDCS-26600595 and HD048582 respectively. See also Adamik 1997: 166 for an explanation behind the reasoning of this inscription's dating. See also Schallmayer 1990.588 for a dating of the late second to the early third century AD. Lőrincz 2001.192 dates it to the beginning to the mid-third century AD.

<sup>656</sup> See also the discussion on this inscription in Chapter 6.

In this hexameter epitaph for Aurelia Marcellina,<sup>657</sup> her death is described as *rap|ta(m) de luce serena. / huic aetas prima cum | florebat in annis, / invida Fatorum genesis | mihi sustulit illam.* ('she .... had been seized from the serene light. / When her life was first blossoming in years, / the jealous horoscope of the Fates stole her away from me', 3-5). Here, again, 'light as life' is *lux*, described as *serena*; according to the edition of *AE*, '*lux serena* est une reminiscence littéraire'.<sup>658</sup> Perhaps this use of 'light as life' motif in Latin poetry, even faulty Latin poetry, stemmed from, as Adamik believed, 'da es für die unbekannten Autoren der Epitaphe leichter war, den literarischen Standard in der Wortwahl nachzuahmen, als in der syntaktischen und metrischen Anlage',<sup>659</sup> yet even 'ein schlechtes Grabgedicht von vielen Standpunkten aus lehrreich sein kann, wenn man es soziolinguistisch betrachtet' when examining language and its use.<sup>660</sup> This is the analysis here, as the trope of 'light as life' is not only used in epigraphy, but throughout Indo-European languages, since before Latin and Greek; in fact, it has existed for so long that it appears its origins are unknown.

This phrase is repeated in another inscription: **LL.5**.<sup>661</sup> Cugusi rejects the idea that they were written by the same person because 'ma non esistono ragioni cogenti in tal senso, anche perché la ricca proliferazione di 'doppioni' in tutti i tempi e in tutte le zone dell'Impero costituisce un forte elemento di dissuasione dal postulare identità di mano',<sup>662</sup> which can be seen in the evidence presented, and discussed, in this study. This stone inscription was found in Gorsium, Pannonia Inferior, not far from where **LL.4** was found,<sup>663</sup> with roughly the same date. **LL.5** has an earlier date of AD 201-205, although some give it a vaguer date of the early to mid-third century.<sup>664</sup> This is also by a soldier, and his wife, for their daughter, who died at the age of twenty five (2).

The woman in question was Aurelia Sabina, her father Marcus Aurelius Attianus, decurion of the *ala I Thracum*, also called the *ala I Thracum veterana sagittaria*.<sup>665</sup> According to Kuntić-Makvić, the *ala I Thracum* only existed in Pannonia Inferior, and only from the middle of the second century AD.<sup>666</sup> But this unit has been suggested to have been in Pannonia Superior before its posting in Pannonia Inferior: 'it is attested [here]... by *diplomata* for the period 139-167, and was still there under Caracalla (or Elagabalus) and Severus Alexander', with the last

<sup>657</sup> Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.48: 105. See also Kuntić-Makvić 1976: 46-48, nr. 6; dactylic hexameter *CLE* 555: 266-267 and <https://www.mqdg.it/texts/CE/ce0555>. For Adamik 1997: 157, 160-161, the errors in Latin metre are indicative of poor education and a low level of culture in Pannonia.

<sup>658</sup> *AE* 1999.422. For Cugusi, this is an allusion to Lucretius (Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.48; 106). See also Adamik 1997: 161 for other literary allusions this phrase conjures up. In his discussion of this inscription, Adamik points out the common metaphor in Roman literature, both verse and prose, of *lux* being used to represent life (1997: 161). See also Adamik 1997: 161 for discussion on the meanings of *serenus*, -a, -um, as well as Kidd 2016: 196; Lewis & Short 1945: 1678.

<sup>659</sup> Adamik 1997: 158.

<sup>660</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>661</sup> See also Nelis-Clément 2000: 330 n. 191; Cugusi 1996: 380; Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.45: 100 for remarks on this connection. Adamik 1997: 161 alludes to this. For further discussion on **LL.5**, see also Mander 2013.773: 322, 24 for discussion, edition, translation, date, description, location of this inscription; Fehér 2020.1899 for information, description, edition, photograph, bibliography and commentary.

<sup>662</sup> Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.45: 100. See also Chapter 3.

<sup>663</sup> Adamik 1997: 165; Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.45: 98; EDCS-17800035; Lupa 3587; HD0002079. See also *CLE* 556 and Mander 2013.773: 322, 24 for location. See also Kuntić-Makvić 1976: 42-43 for discussion on this inscription. See also Adamik 1997: 166, and n. 74; *AE* 2004.1133 adn. See also *CIL* III 3351 for location.

<sup>664</sup> EDCS-17800035; for the early to mid-third century date, see (Lupa 3587; HD0002079; see also Mander 2013 773; *CLE* 556; Kuntić-Makvić 1976: 43 dates it to the end of the second to the third century AD. *CIL* III 3351 dates it to the third century, as does Fehér 2020.1899, and it is like the other verse inscriptions in Aquinci and the province from that time).

<sup>665</sup> Kuntić-Makvić 1976: 43; Lörincz 2001: 211; Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.45: 99; Fehér 2020.1899. See also Adamik 1997: 166; Lupa 3587.

<sup>666</sup> Kuntić-Makvić 1976: 43. See also Adamik 1997: 166. Fehér 2020.1899 believes that the existence of this cohort gives it a third century AD date.

known record of this unit dating from AD 251.<sup>667</sup> Its title indicates that it was unit of archers, and most, possibly all, of the Thracian units in the Roman army were created in the first century AD.<sup>668</sup> Both a *beneficiarius consularis* and a *decurio* of an *ala*, who has been described as above the *beneficiarius consularis* and below the centurion in rank,<sup>669</sup> could afford a funerary monument and poem, for Adamik, ‘aber zuwenig Bildung und Kultur, um die prosodischen Fehler und Vulgarismen zu vermeiden’.<sup>670</sup> For Adamik, Victorinus compensated for his inferior rank ‘mit der Länge seines Grabgedichtes kompensieren’,<sup>671</sup> which provides a somewhat unbelievable rationale for why **LL.4** is longer than **LL.5**. It has often been questioned, and subsequently dismissed, that they were written by the same hand,<sup>672</sup> yet, given their proximity, and that they both may have been commissioned, at the very least, by two soldiers of the same military division, it seems highly likely that if they were not written by the same person, that one, at least, influenced the other.

The second line of verse is almost identical to **LL.4**: *qu'a`m | lapis is`p`[e] tegit (vac.) | raptam d]e luce | serena* (‘She whom this stone itself holds had been seized from the serene light’, 3),<sup>673</sup> and they share the theme of a parent having to bury their child.<sup>674</sup> The verse of **LL.5** itself, however, is far shorter than **LL.4**, at four lines of dactylic hexameter.<sup>675</sup> For Adamik, the close geographical and linguistic connection of these two inscriptions (**LL.4** and **LL.5**) suggests that they had similar origins, although he believes that **LL.4** is individualistic and unique, over **LL.5**, which he believes is formulaic.<sup>676</sup> Yet, despite this, he seems to think that it was more likely that **LL.4** imitated **LL.5** because.<sup>677</sup>

*Marcus Aurelius Attianus decurio alae I Thracum* den Stein auf dem Grab seiner Frau errichtet hat. Die *ala I Thracum* war in Pannonia Inferior im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert stationiert. Der Vorname und Name von Attianus – Marcus Aurelius – können auf den Kaiser Marcus Aurelius hinweisen; so könnte dieses Gedicht am Ende des 2. oder am Anfang des 3. Jahrhunderts entstanden sein

The contrast of the *luce serena* (3) from which Sabina was taken by her untimely death is created with the *fessos parentes*, (tired parents’, 4), those who should be buried, especially as both phrases end each of their respective lines. This creates further connections of young life being associated with light: their lives were bright, still active and not fading with the years, as contrasted to the oncoming darkness of older parents, a darkness associated with exhaustion and sleep that leads to death. Light, therefore, is an apt metaphor of life, as *lux* is sometimes translated as ‘daylight’, and so this imagery of the cycle of day and night perpetuates the cycle of life and death: a bright, burning youth/young adulthood where one is most active, contrasted with the dimming daylight, or the oncoming darkness, of old age and eventual death.

<sup>667</sup> Jarrett 1969: 218.

<sup>668</sup> *Ibid.*: 215.

<sup>669</sup> See Appendix 3.

<sup>670</sup> Adamik 1997: 166.

<sup>671</sup> *Ibid.*: 167.

<sup>672</sup> See Chapter 3.

<sup>673</sup> See also Adamik 1997: 165.

<sup>674</sup> For discussion on this, see Chapter 3 and, for example, Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.45: 100.

<sup>675</sup> Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.45: 99; see also <https://www.mqdg.it/textsce/CE|cel0556>; Kuntić-Makvić 1976: 43; Fehér 2020.1899, with explanation.

<sup>676</sup> Adamik 1997: 165.

<sup>677</sup> *Ibid.*: 166.



As has been seen in the other inscriptions in this section, this light imagery for life is nearly always used by family members about other family members, whether it is because their death leaves the ones who loved them the most behind in the light, or because their young light was intended to carry on after the parents, only to be snuffed out prematurely by death/Fate. Nowhere is this more evident than in **LL.6**, which is a mixed hexameter epitaph to a little boy,<sup>678</sup> unnamed and unaged, clearly young due to the epithet *duclissimo* ('sweetest', 13), assigned to him, rather than *pietissimus*.<sup>679</sup> Once again, we see the 'light as life' motif coupled with other epigraphic tropes, such as the materiality of death, address to the passer by, a modification of the *STTL* formula, and the fortune of those who die before their children. This inscription is now missing, but it was found in Rome, possibly on the via Appia.<sup>680</sup> Dated to the third century AD,<sup>681</sup> precisely dated to 'not long after 202' by Adams,<sup>682</sup> this epitaph was by a *centurio*, Julius Valens, and his wife, Vitalia Servanda for their son, and it expresses a motif that is sometimes found in these inscriptions of the wish to be buried with one's family (see, for example, **ET.48**).<sup>683</sup>

## LL.6

*D(is) M(anibus).* |

*Perlege cuncta, precor, cultor, pietate parentis | (vac.) |*  
*cum simul et matre, quod nobis inane sepulch[rum] |*  
*fecerunt, quanto in munere positum vide(s). |*  
*quod, si fata mihi dedissent luce(m) videre, |*  
*ista prius ipsis facerem, non ut poscerem vi[tam], |*  
*munus inane quidem. terra nunc dividit ist[a] |*  
*corpora nostra, nimis graviter parva advers[us] | vota parentum.*  
*quod peto, si colitis Mane[s], | cuncti meo nomini semper*  
*hac mihi terr[a] | leve optetis. vobis dii Fortuna beata |*  
*et semper honorata[m] pr(a)estent, suo numin[e] | sancto,*  
*ex qua possitis obiti bene linquere n[atos]. |*

*Iul(ius) Valens (centurio) leg(ionis) cum Vital(ia) Servanda | coniug(e) parentes fil(io)*  
*dulc(issimo) b(ene) m(erenti) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt). |*

This centurion is known from other inscriptions,<sup>684</sup> from these, we know that he was the heir for his friend, Aurelius Mucianus, a veteran from a *numerus* of the *equites singulari Augusti* who was from Thracia, and set up a prose epitaph for him,<sup>685</sup> and they both are featured in another inscription, where they both acted as the heirs for an Aurelius Bithus, another *equites*

<sup>678</sup> EDR166808; <https://www.mqdg.it/textsce/CE|ce|0475>. See also Speidel 1994b: 424 nr. 760.

<sup>679</sup> See discussion in Chapter 8.

<sup>680</sup> *CIL* VI 3608; EDR166808; what type of object it was is not known either (EDR166808). See also Speidel 1994b: 424 nr. 760. It is called 'an inept hexameter epitaph' by Adams, in which 'scarcely a single line scans correctly as a hexameter (1 is an exception), though several come close and other lines have sequences of dactyls and spondees (e.g. 7, 8) without achieving the right number of feet or complete correctness. Two of the clausulae (in 3, 8) can only be scanned accentually, but in most lines the ending is quantitatively correct' (1999: 129).

<sup>681</sup> EDR166808, for example.

<sup>682</sup> Adams 1999: 129.

<sup>683</sup> This is also implicit in inscriptions on family tombs (see Chapter 8).

<sup>684</sup> See EDR166808 and Speidel 1994b: 424 nr. 760.

<sup>685</sup> This inscription was found in Rome, between the via Appia and the via Latina (EDR152633) and has the same dating as **LL.6**.

*singulares* from the *numerus Bataonum castris*.<sup>686</sup> Mucianus and Valens were from Thracia, ‘and it may be conjectured that Latin was his [Valens’] second language’.<sup>687</sup> This inscription was found near Anazarbus, Cilicia, so we can come to the conclusion that these three had been posted there on campaign. It is dated to AD 197-218, giving **LL.6** a *terminus post quem* of between AD 197-218, as Valens was a *beneficiarius*, so he clearly became a *centurio* between the deaths of Aurelius Bithus and Aurelius Mucianus. Valens himself is a bit of an outlier as he ‘ist einer der wenigen Reiter mit Familie’ and, as he features in Speidel’s *Die Denkmäler der Kaiserreiter. Equites singulares Augusti*,<sup>688</sup> presumably he was a centurion in a legion of the *equites singulari*.<sup>689</sup> As Septimius Severus declared in AD 193 that any legionary could have a role in the guards,<sup>690</sup> perhaps this is how a *centurio legionis* came to be in the *equites singulares*, and/or in Rome with close connections to the *equites singulares*, and preferred to identify himself with his *centurio legionis* rank.<sup>691</sup>

The inscriptions he set up for his friends indicate he had close connections to the *equites singulares* for a while. This also demonstrates his wealth, the fact that he was able to pay for two inscriptions on his own, as presumably he paid for **LL.6** even though it was commissioned by himself and his wife, and he, presumably, shared the cost of the inscription for Aurelius Bithus. The fact that he was once a *beneficiarius* proves his level of learning, as this was more of an administrative role, as well as him becoming a centurion later, which may suggest that he wrote, or at least contributed to its composition, the verse inscription set up for his son.<sup>692</sup> It is clear what his priorities are, and where his emotions lie: the two inscriptions for his friends are standard, formulaic, prose inscriptions, yet the inscription for his son is deeply personal, filled with pathos and plays linguistically with epigraphic tropes.<sup>693</sup>

Another indication that the little boy was young when he died, perhaps even stillborn, is evident in the light as life imagery used in his epitaph: *quod, si fata mihi dedissent luce(m) videre* (‘if the Fates had given the light for me to see’, **LL.6.5**), indicating that his parents considered him either to have not been granted enough life, or a life at all, by the Fates who, as seen in Chapter 3, governed the lifespan of every mortal. Again, it is *lux* that is used to denote life, and the duality of the concept of its derivative *lumen* is evident here in the use of *videre*; life is light, and it is something that can be seen. This idea is further emphasised by the concluding word of the following line: *vi[tam]* (‘life’, 6).

In many ways, the acts and memories of life are conducted through what we can see, and how we perceive these events, and so it makes sense that these two concepts would be coupled together. Seeing is, for this concept, an intrinsic part of life, which is something we witness as well as exist through. The whole text has a religious feel to it,<sup>694</sup> and it makes it seem as if children are the votive offerings to parents by the Fates, who can take them away as easily as

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<sup>686</sup> HD055451; EDR152633.

<sup>687</sup> Adams 1999: 129.

<sup>688</sup> Speidel 1994b: 424 nr. 760.

<sup>689</sup> See Chapter 2 and Appendices 2 and 3 for further details on the role of the centurion in the Roman military, and the *Equites singulares*.

<sup>690</sup> Székely 2014: 77.

<sup>691</sup> See discussion on **LL.7** below.

<sup>692</sup> For more information on these ranks, see Appendix 3.

<sup>693</sup> Although it does share similarities with another inscription: EDR078396, in their concluding lines; in fact, the concluding lines of **LL.6** were used to reconstruct the missing parts of EDR078396. See also *CIL* VI 3608.

<sup>694</sup> See, especially, line 1.



they can give them. Life was a gift, an idea repeated throughout this verse inscription;<sup>695</sup> the Fates are the ones who *dedissent luce(m)* ('had given the light', **LL.6.5**), they are the ones who give the light of life. They are the ones who can give life, take death, or choose not to give life at all, the latter of which appears to be the case for the boy who had barely, if at all, seen in the light of the living.

Finally, we come to **LL.7**, another hexameter epitaph by two *equites singulares* for their colleague, and one of them was the cousin of the deceased *equites singulares*.<sup>696</sup> Its wording is almost identical wording to **LL.6**; they have been dated to similar periods,<sup>697</sup> and both were found in Rome.<sup>698</sup> The exact location of **LL.7**'s findspot is unknown,<sup>699</sup> but Székely postulates that it was from the cemetery of the imperial guard, which was outside Rome.<sup>700</sup> For Bücheler, the men named in this inscription were all of German origin.<sup>701</sup> It is a marble funerary altar, with a relief of someone riding a horse, hunting, and there is a dog facing off a boar underneath the horse's hooves, of which the top half is now missing.<sup>702</sup> This was a common relief in the Danubian provinces, especially those the Thracians lived in.<sup>703</sup>

## LL.7

*Respice, praeteriens viator consobrini | pietate parata.  
cum lacrimis statui, quan|to in munere posto videtis.  
Pannonia terra | creat, tumulat Italia tellus  
ann(is) XXVI. ut sibi | castris honorem a`d`quireret ipse,  
dolori ma[g]|no sustentavit tempore longo.  
postea, cum | sperans dolorem effugisse nefandam,  
ante | diem meritum hunc demersit at Styga Pluton. |  
quotsi Fata eo sinuissent luce(m) videre, (vac.) |  
ista prius triste munus posui dolori, repletus |  
munus inane quidem. terra nunc dividit ista |  
oss{u}a sub titulo potius. tu opta viator  
cum pie|tate tua ipso terra leve nobis Fortuna beata, |  
ex qua tu possis obitus bene linquere natos. |*

*Val(erius) Antoninus et Aur(elius) Victorinus hered(es) | Ulpio Quintiano eq(uiti) sing(ulari)  
ben(e) mer(enti) posuer(unt). |*

Once more, we have the 'light as life' theme integrated with other epigraphic tropes, the same as the ones we find in **LL.6**, such as the materiality of death, address to the *viator*, and those who die before their children are fortunate, and there are some other common themes in other

<sup>695</sup> Through the repetition of *munus* on lines 4 and 7 and the use of *dare* in line 5.

<sup>696</sup> For the metre, see <https://www.mqddq.it/texts/CE/ce/0474>; EDR116404; *CLE* 474; *CIL* VI 32808; Speidel 1994b: 327, nr. 596; Székely 2014: 78, 80.

<sup>697</sup> For dating, see EDR116404 for third century AD, and Speidel 1994b: 328, nr. 596; AD 98-139; EDCS-22900184; *CLE* 474; and *CIL* VI 32808 for end of the second century AD date. See also Székely 2014: 78. For wording, see also *CLE* 474: 225. See also Adams 1999: 129.

<sup>698</sup> EDR116404; EDCS-22900184; Székely 2014: 78.

<sup>699</sup> It is now in the Musei Capitolini, NCE 576 (EDR116404). See also CensusID 161281, <https://database.census.de/detail/161281>, last accessed 8/4/2024.

<sup>700</sup> Székely 2014: 78.

<sup>701</sup> *CLE* 474: 224.

<sup>702</sup> CensusID 161281, <https://database.census.de/detail/161281>, last accessed 8/4/2024; EDR116404; Speidel 1994b: 327-328, nr. 596; see all for photo of the monument. See also Székely 2014: 78-79.

<sup>703</sup> Székely 2014: 79.

epitaphs as well, most prominently *Pannonia terra | creat, tumulat Italia tellus* ('the land of Pannonia / created him, the earth of Italy buries him', **LL.7.3-4**).<sup>704</sup> Soldiers with Pannonian origins in the Praetorian Guard and the *equites singulares* began in the second century AD and increased from Septimius Severus' rule onwards,<sup>705</sup> talented fighters whose loyalty lay with him.<sup>706</sup> Quintianus, and possibly his colleagues Valens and Victorinus, one of whom was his cousin, were Pannonian. Pannonians were perceived as bloodthirsty and brave, fierce and born warriors.<sup>707</sup> On their epitaphs, 'one can find themes both from their homelands, traditions and from new Roman erudition',<sup>708</sup> and epigraphic evidence informs us 'that from time to time their families, wives and kin moved to Rome with the guardsmen'.<sup>709</sup> Quintianus may not have been from Italy, yet he is buried there, and his epitaph expresses Roman ideology and mythology. This Roman aspect of his identity may have been portrayed linguistically, literally due to it being written in Latin, but the pictorial relief accompanying it is typically Pannonian, the rider, who was presumably meant to be Quintianus himself, carrying out a typically Pannonian sport which the soldiers from Pannonia were known for: hunting.<sup>710</sup> This proficiency in hunting and riding began in childhood, 'e che anche per questo venissero scelti come membri della guardia imperial a cavallo nel III secolo'.<sup>711</sup> Indeed, Székely comments on how this inscription is an example of cultural syncretism under the Roman Empire.<sup>712</sup>

The 'light as life' imagery follows immediately after the lines expressing Quintianus' life in the military and physical hardships,<sup>713</sup> and the implicit connotations with darkness that appear from *hunc demersit at Styga Pluton* ('at least Pluto plunged that man into the Stygian waters', **LL.7.9**).<sup>714</sup> are exacerbated by the immediate following of *quotsi Fata eo sinuissent luce(m) videre* ('But if the Fates had wound the light for him to see', 10). The 'light as life' imagery is remarkably similar to that of **LL.6**, yet with one significant difference: the verb is *sinuo* ('weave/wind'), not *do*. Life here is not bestowed upon the deceased, only to be rapidly taken away, or, in the case of **LL.6**, never given at all, but it adheres more closely to the mythology of the Fates: that they spin the threads of life, weaving one's destiny with them. In **LL.7** there is an additional light and dark contrast, but in Quintianus' lived experience: here, the contrast of life = light and dark = death is subtly inverted, for he lived in pain and he received the relief he wished for in death, when he went to the Underworld. The similarity between the two inscriptions, and yet the subtle changes where in the imagery and language regarding *lux* as light, similarity in location, and their commissioners/authors had connections with the *equites singulares* all imply that these two poems were connected, even on the basic level of one influencing or inspiring the other.

If the date of AD 98-139 is correct, then **LL.7** influenced **LL.6**, perhaps a fellow or later soldier being inspired by the poetry of those before him. But if the closest to a date we can come to for

<sup>704</sup> See the discussion in Chapter 7.

<sup>705</sup> Székely 2014: 73, 80. See discussion for reasons for this: 74-75. See details on the role of the Praetorian Guard and *Equites singulares* in Appendix 3.

<sup>706</sup> Székely 2014: 75.

<sup>707</sup> *Ibid.*: 75, 77.

<sup>708</sup> *Ibid.*: 73.

<sup>709</sup> *Ibid.* This may have been the case for Julius Valens; see discussion above. See also 75, 80.

<sup>710</sup> See *ibid.*: 79-80.

<sup>711</sup> *Ibid.*: 80.

<sup>712</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>713</sup> See the discussion on this in Chapter 8.

<sup>714</sup> See **AI.1.12**, which this can be compared to here, for someone dying/their death being compared to being dragged down into the waters of an Underworld river.

both is the third century AD, then it will be difficult to state which poem influenced the other, soldiers perhaps wanting to mimic the poetry of their fellow soldiers for a feeling of solidarity, or if, indeed, they were made by the same stonemason who simply liked this language and decided to use it again. Light, here, has the idea more of ascension, of continuation, and this, implicitly, appears to have the other meaning of ‘light as life’ theme, which is leaving the living in the light. Despite living until he was twenty six, Quintinanus was still denied seeing the light, despite having lived in pain, perhaps because he is now dead, rather than it being something he was denied from the beginning of his life. He is denied seeing the light, because he is no longer with the living, no longer with his friends and family who set this up for him. Yet the light of life is still something the Fates are in control of, who see it at all, who continues to see it, when someone is ultimately plunged into the blind darkness of death.

#### 4.4. Conclusion

This universality in how light as life is treated from civilian to soldier, from soldier to son, from family to soldier, from an array of places, exhibits the cultural and social universality of this imagery. The correlation in dates is striking, too: they nearly all have been dated to the third century AD (see Table 4.2 and Appendix 4). They are evenly split between Italian and provincial findspots, yet only two out of the seven have potentially Italian authors; the rest are provincial, mainly featuring people of Pannonian origin (Table 4.2 and compared Figures 4.2 and 4.5). Nearly all of them have been written in hexameter, although with varying degrees of adherence to the rules of metre (see Table 4.2 and Figure 4.3). 75% used *lux* over *lumen* for ‘light as life’ (see Table 4.2 and Figure 4.1), and both terms appeared to have their explicit and implicit meanings depicted in their uses. They were used across a variety of ranks; no two ranks were the same (see Table 4.2). This imagery was not simply limited to more senior ranks, more ‘literate’ ranks using it just as frequently as those with a typically lower level of learning (see Table 4.2 and Appendix 3).

Light may be ‘undying’ in a physical way;<sup>715</sup> to those observing it, it does. A candle can be extinguished, a lamp burnt out, the sun sinks below the horizon, bringing with it darkness and night. Yet light does return: a candle can be relit, a lamp rekindled, at night, light comes from the stars and the moon and the sun rises at dawn. Yet it is through the reappearance of light that the darkness is extinguished, almost as if life is the extinguisher of death, because those who live beyond the dead, those reading these inscriptions, not only remember and appreciate their light that burned brightly with potential and warmth whilst they lived, but they also perpetuate the existence of those who died, by reading their inscription, and, in this way, keep their life burning with a fading ember of light. As civilians also used this cross-cultural, and cross-lingual, imagery, this is a perfect way of transitioning into investigating the soldier and how they perceived themselves within the wider world, through family links, nature, the stars, and, finally, society, with a focus on the soldier and his place within the world, natural, cosmological and social, as the following chapters investigate.

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<sup>715</sup> Grandy 2014: 36.

Table 4.2: A table to summarising the data in Chapter 4

| Inscription | Rank                            | Unit                                 | Origin of writer / dedicatee | Origin of soldier       | For / by   | Date                                                 | Location                                                                | Metre             | lux or lumen |
|-------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------|------------|------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| LL.1        | <i>veteranus</i>                | <i>Legio VII Gemina</i>              | Spanish?                     | Spanish                 | For        | AD 201-230                                           | Terraco / Terragona, Hispania Citerior                                  | Hexameter         | <i>lux</i>   |
| LL.2        | <i>beneficiarius legati</i>     | <i>Legio IIII Flavia</i>             | Moesia Superior?             | Moesia Superior?        | By         | Second half of the second century – third century AD | Viminacium / Kostolac, Moesia Superior                                  | Hexameter         | <i>lumen</i> |
| LL.3        | <i>miles</i>                    | <i>Cohors X urbana</i>               | Italian                      | Italian                 | For        | First half of the third century AD                   | Saepinum / Saepino, Samnium / Regio IV, Italia                          | Iambic octonarius | <i>lux</i>   |
| LL.4        | <i>beneficiarius consularis</i> | <i>Ala I Thracum</i>                 | Pannonian, Thracian          | Pannonian               | By         | Second half of the third AD                          | Campona / Nagyteteny, Pannonia Inferior                                 | Hexameter         | <i>lux</i>   |
| LL.5        | <i>decurio</i>                  | <i>Ala I Thracum</i>                 | Pannonian                    | Pannonian               | By         | First half of the third century AD                   | Gorsium / Szabadbattyán, Pannonia Inferior                              | Hexameter         | <i>lux</i>   |
| LL.6        | <i>centurio</i>                 | Unspecified legion                   | Pannonian?                   | Pannonian?              | By         | Third century AD                                     | Possibly the via Appia, Rome, Italia                                    | Hexameter         | <i>lux</i>   |
|             |                                 | <i>equites singulares</i>            |                              |                         |            |                                                      |                                                                         |                   |              |
| LL.7        | Unknown / <i>miles</i>          | <i>Equites singulares</i>            | Pannonian                    | Pannonian               | For and by | Third century AD                                     | Rome, Italia                                                            | Hexameter         | <i>lux</i>   |
| AI.1        | <i>trierarchus</i>              | <i>Classis praetoriae Misenatium</i> | Italian?                     | Roman citizen, Italian? | By         | Post AD 71                                           | Stabiae / Castellammare di Stabia, Latium et Campania / Regio I, Italia | Hexameter         | <i>lumen</i> |

Figure 4.1: A graph to show the frequency of *lux* and *lumen* meaning ‘light as life’ in military verse inscriptions

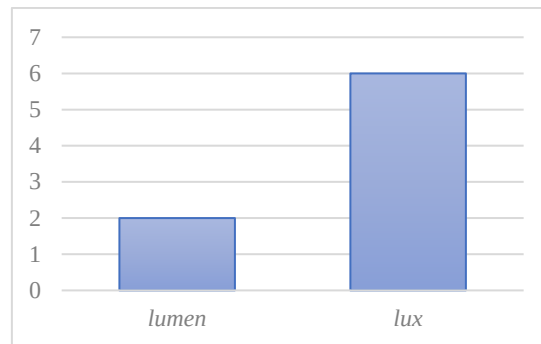


Figure 4.2: A graph to show the origins of the soldiers who use *lux* and *lumen* to represent life

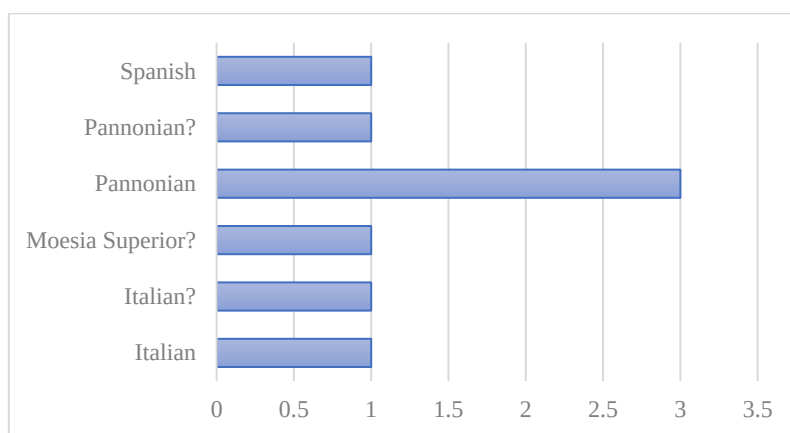


Figure 4.3: A graph to show the metres used in ‘light as life’ military verse inscriptions

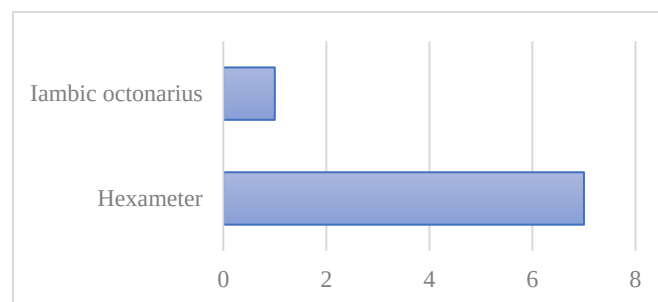


Figure 4.4: A graph to show the units in which the soldiers featured in inscriptions where ‘light as life’ imagery is used were posted

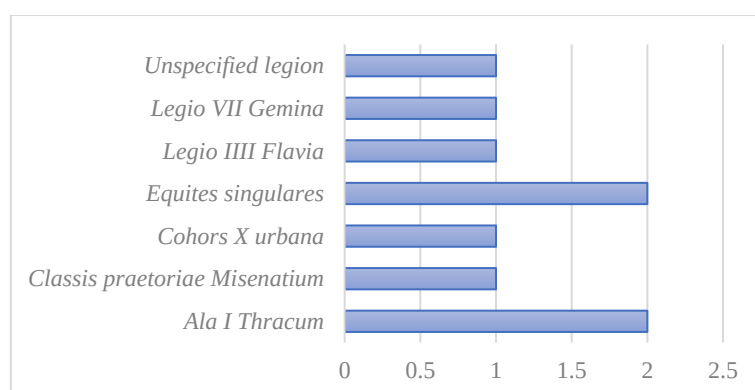


*Figure 4.5: A graph to show the provincial findspots of military verse inscriptions where ‘light as life’ imagery is used*

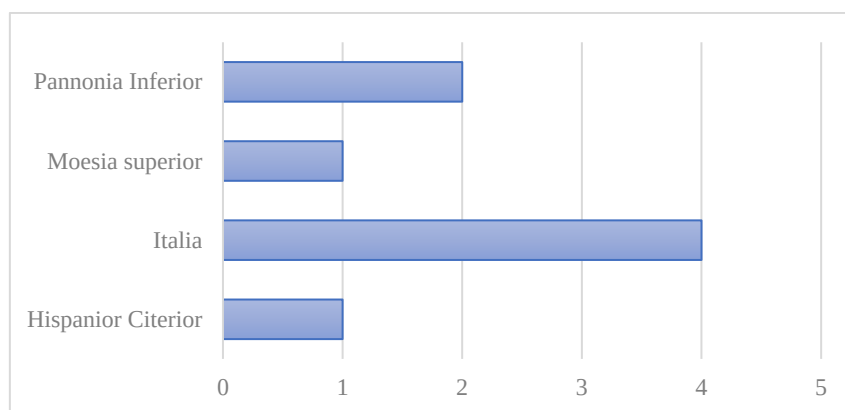
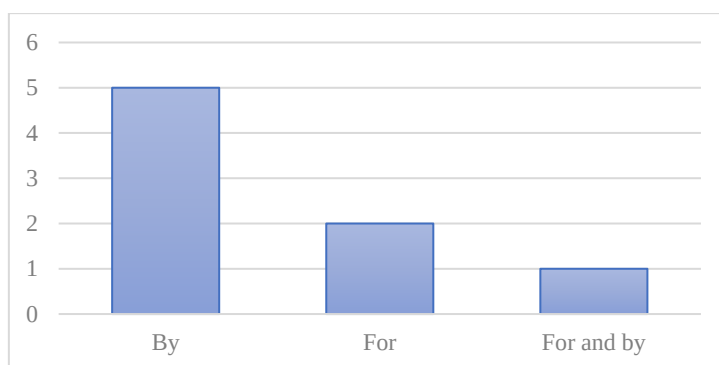


*Figure 4.6: A graph to show if military verse inscriptions featuring ‘light as life’ imagery were for or by a soldier*



## Chapter 5

### *To Honour, To Ask, To Obey: Religion in Military Verse Inscriptions*

ὅ τί περ πρὸς γένεσιν οὐσία, τοῦτο πρὸς πίστιν ἀλήθεια.

For as Being is to Becoming, so is Truth to Belief.

Pl., Ti. 29c, trans. by Bury 1929: 52.

#### 5.1. Introduction

Read any book on the Roman military and it will be almost impossible to find one without a discussion, most likely a chapter, on religion in the Roman military, backup up by, predominantly, archaeological and epigraphic evidence. Much has been written on religion in the Roman military, but most is on prose inscriptions, and on specific gods or a province;<sup>716</sup> general attitudes as seen in the verse inscriptions of the Roman military have not been discussed before. Votive Latin verse inscriptions to gods of the Roman pantheon, non-Roman gods, and honorific ones about/to the Emperor are included in this chapter. They are discussed mainly by the type of deity mentioned in them (for example, inscriptions mentioning the nymphs are presented together) and/or by the province they were found in (for example, Britain). These inscriptions, set up in thanks or wishing for a deity's help or in celebration of the Emperor, give us an insight into the soldier's lived experience through exhibiting his present fears and future hopes, his relief at the cessation of combat or a campaign, his pride in his victories and achievements. The deities they venerate highlight the multitude of backgrounds men from the ranks of the military came from, and how they retained their origins in tandem with adhering to Roman customs of ritual and veneration, thus exhibiting the variety of ways in which identity could be expressed, the man vs. the soldier. This also demonstrates how the soldier interacted with the (cultural, religious) environment of the area he was garrisoned in. In these inscriptions, we can see singular ranks, primarily the centurions, protecting their comrades through religious veneration, the individual working on behalf of the collective. Their verse inscriptions to the Emperor highlight their adherence to the religious customs of the Empire and military, and how they expressed *pietas* to the commander of the military.<sup>717</sup>

In this chapter, inscriptions erected for religious purposes are discussed; this includes when soldiers have set up a verse inscription for a god in thanks for a safe return to their garrison, in recognition of a dream or a vision of a deity, and to immortalise their offerings to a deity, i.e. when a god is invoked as a part of their performative function that was such an integral part of Roman religion.<sup>718</sup> As is apparent in many of the inscriptions in other chapters, there are some

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<sup>716</sup> For discussions on religion in the Roman military, see, for example, Richmond 1962; Helgeland 1978; Birley 1978; Campbell 1984; Keppie 1984; Webster 1985; Haynes 1993; Sagredo San Eustaquio & Jiménez de Furundarena 1996; Stoll 2007; Southern 2007; Goldsworthy 2003; Herz 2006; Chappell 2010; Haynes 2013; de la Bédoyère 2020; Glomb 2021.

<sup>717</sup> See Chapter 8 for discussions on *pietas*.

<sup>718</sup> See the discussion on *pietas* in Chapter 8.

occasions when the gods/deities are mentioned, but their purpose was not religious, for example, **AI.9** and **LL.7**. These inscriptions have not been discussed here. There are some epitaphs with religious aspects, such as **LL.6**, but this does not make them religious. Here, a religious inscription is defined as one in which its primary purpose is to invoke a god, and/or celebrate the emperor, that divinity in waiting. There was one Christian inscription, but it is not discussed here because it was not made for religious reasons, but familial.<sup>719</sup> As such, all the gods referred to in the religious verse inscriptions of the Roman army were pagan. The creation of these inscriptions mirrors that of the general ‘évolution de la production épigraphique en vers: elle se développe d’abord avec la littérature dans le centre du pouvoir, s’entend ensuite dans les provinces et reprend les idées du centre politique et culturel; puis la poésie épigraphique se développe de façon autonome; à partir du IV<sup>e</sup> s., apparaît une culture poétique épigraphique chrétienne en liaison avec l’idéologie officielle’,<sup>720</sup> as the earliest inscriptions tend to be by those of a senatorial/consular rank, mentioning their military exploits but not their titles, and then, as we come to the most prolific era of producing verse inscriptions, in general and militarily (see Appendix 4), they start to be made by those with a military rank, and not necessarily about their military exploits (but note that most of them are of a higher rank, and of ranks that required their holder to be literate), and this explains, partly, why there are no Christian inscriptions in this chapter.

There were some boundaries that were not crossed, for example Sangredo San Eustaquio & Jiménez de Furundarena observe it was unusual for an inscription to be erected by both legionaries and auxiliaries.<sup>721</sup> This is the case in these inscriptions too, as there is no inscription that has been erected by both an auxiliary and a legionary soldier (only two were done on behalf of a legion and a *numerus* by a centurion, **RI.14** and **NW.8**, but even in these the military units are mentioned separately). There are inscriptions erected by multiple soldiers, but they tend to be upon the initiative/duty of one soldier, and authorised by his superior (see, for example, **RI.14** and **RI.18**). There are many, however, that have been put up by an individual. Those that have been erected for more than one person tend to have been done so by a centurion (a *centurio* or a *primus pilus*), as a part of his religious duties, on behalf of the whole legion. None of the inscriptions in this chapter are by a member of the Roman navy, making the analysis here truly of the Roman army.

We see multiple instances of soldiers, of all ranks, especially high ranks, in this chapter, venerating ‘foreign’ gods, usually those of the land they had been posted to, perhaps out of respect for the local deities in this, to them, unknown land. Sometimes, it is more likely that these inscriptions were made by a professional, but the legions did have the means, and did, to create their own religious inscriptions,<sup>722</sup> and it is evident that some of these inscriptions were made by the soldier himself. Although, of course, this veneration was done through ‘Roman’ means, i.e. through epigraphy and writing in Latin, but this was probably because sometimes these inscriptions were erected through official channels and on behalf of a whole unit/in a military setting, or because they wished to make their inscription accessible to the highest number of people possible, which, in the Roman world, meant writing in Latin. Roman religion was a performative act, and setting up an inscription to the gods was a part of this religious expression. Documents such as the *Feriale Duranum*, as well as examples such as the

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<sup>719</sup> It features in Chapter 8.

<sup>720</sup> AE 2005.161 adn.

<sup>721</sup> Sangredo San Eustaquio & Jiménez de Furundarena 1996: 292.

<sup>722</sup> See, for example, earlier discussion, and Richmond 1962: 190-191.



inscriptions in this chapter, indicate how important religion was to the Roman way of life, especially to the Roman military, and how it permeated every aspect of it, including their day to day activities.

Exploring and understanding the *Feriale Duranum* is key to understanding the religion of the Roman military. It survives on a fragmented papyrus found in what was thought to be the archives of the *cohors XX Palmyrenorum* in the fortress of Dura-Europos, Syria.<sup>723</sup> Dated to Severus Alexander's reign, it lists the official military religious festival days on a calendar, including the *rosalia signorum*, the day the *signa* were venerated and men were discharged, and important days in the imperial cult, as well as general festival days celebrated by soldiers and civilians alike. The importance of the imperial cult in military religion, exhibited in documents such as these, which indicate how military religion was 'shaped and determined by the emperor cult',<sup>724</sup> is why there is a section on the emperor in this chapter. Images of the emperor and the gods were housed in the *aedes*, where the sacred standards (*aquila*, *signa* and *vexilla*) were kept: this cult of the standards 'también aparece muy claro que este culto militar está relacionada con el culto imperial, gracias a la dedicación *pro salute*'.<sup>725</sup>

It is thought that the *Feriale Duranum* originally was a document that was sent to every unit of the Roman army, and that it originated with Augustus as a part of his drive to standardise the Roman military, which then was added to over the ensuing emperors' reigns. As such, it was believed that, as it outlined the official religious calendar, the *Feriale Duranum* was used for the purposes of Romanising the auxiliary units. As the festivals stem from a long history of religious tradition, and were celebrated on the same days, across the Empire,<sup>726</sup> 'auxiliary soldiers became familiar with a heritage that was not theirs through birth, but through service'.<sup>727</sup> However, that belief is now more nuanced, the overall conclusion being that such regimented, routine religious acts probably contributed towards 'Romanisation' in the sense of creating a more Roman orientated mindset when it came to religion, but that such performative, regular acts were created with the intention towards societal and cultural cohesion, connection and understanding within the military, rather than making the non-Roman recruits 'Roman', and that it was conceived to give the Roman soldiers holidays, like civilians.<sup>728</sup>

Roman military religion highlights the elasticity of the Roman mentality whilst existing within a rigid framework. They, like the civilians, had to adhere to official state religion, which primarily pertained to participating in the emperor's cult and venerating the main gods of the Roman pantheon. This involved solemn religious occasions as well as feasts and banquets, and being allowed to worship other gods and cults outside the official Roman set. Like the Roman military camps themselves, the civilian and the military worlds were intermingled, and joined in festivities together, yet they had their own specific military aspects to their religious worship, i.e. venerating their various *signa*, and the legions themselves.

Soldiers within the Roman military were allowed to venerate non-Roman gods, as seen in their (verse) inscriptions. When one considers the auxiliaries and their religious activity, for example,

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<sup>723</sup> For the full text and translation of this document see, for example, Helgeland 1978: 1481-1486; Hekster 2008: 127-129.

<sup>724</sup> Stoll 2007: 453.

<sup>725</sup> Sagredo San Eustaquio & Jiménez de Furundarena 1996: 295. See 294-295. See also Veg. mil. 2.6.

<sup>726</sup> For discussion on this, for both sides, see, for example, Helgeland 1978: 1487-1488, 1493, 1501; Webster 1985: 276-277; Herz 2006; Haynes 1993: 141-145; Stoll 2007: 453, 455; Chappell 2010: 102; Haynes 2013: chapters 12-14; the more modern research tends to give the more nuanced view.

<sup>727</sup> Haynes 1993: 144.

<sup>728</sup> See, for example, Haynes 1993: 141-145; Stoll 2007: throughout; Haynes 2013.

‘collectively, they participated in the officially practiced military cults and especially the imperial cult, as the *Feriale Duranum* shows they did in other parts of the empire ... Auxiliaries, though, unlike rank-and-file legionaries, were not important agents of diffusion of the cosmopolitan mix of cults typical in Dacia in particular and of the northern frontier as a whole’.<sup>729</sup> The same can be said for beyond Dacia. There is evidence in this chapter that the legionaries too participated in local religious cults, and even consuls brought foreign gods with them. In this chapter, there are Roman consuls venerating non-Roman gods, alongside gods from the Roman pantheon in the case of **RI.3**, in gratitude for their military achievements and ascension up the *cursus honorum* (see **RI.2** and **RI.3**), gods they either encountered during their military service or were from their homelands.

More obviously so than the other chapters, the discussion of Romanisation becomes more prominent. It is difficult to read a paper or a chapter on Roman religion, especially when intertwined with the military, and not find a discussion on its indication of Romanisation, both within the military and throughout the province they had conquered and inhabited. This is especially considered because of *interpretatio Romana*, put simply, when non-Roman gods were interpreted in a Roman manner.<sup>730</sup> Once, interpretations of this were definitive, “this is a part of imperialism and conquest, of wanting to obliterate all trace of the people they had defeated”, whereas now this is more nuanced, and here it is believed that this was a part of how the Roman people came to understand the gods of the peoples they had conquered, and therefore the gods of that land. Some see the transport of religion across and throughout the Empire itself as Romanising: wherever the soldiers went, especially, so did religion.<sup>731</sup> Men in the Roman army venerated a wide variety of gods, as evident in their prose and verse inscriptions, from all over the Roman world, and many that were not native either to the Roman world or to their own countries: they had encountered them along the way, in their travels in the Roman ranks. One of the most famous episodes in Roman history of soldiers venerating a non-Roman god, having been introduced to it through their deployment, is probably in Tacitus: *undique clamor, et orientem solem (ita in Syria mos est) tertiani salutavere* (‘there was a shout from all sides, and the men from the Third Legion Augusta greeted the the rising sun [as is the custom in Syria]’, Hist. 3.24.3).

Soldiers had to venerate the emperor as a part of Roman society, but, other than that, in their own personal religious veneration they, as civilians, were given relatively free reign.<sup>732</sup> The most famous examples of non-Roman cult worship in the Roman army are those of Mithras and Jupiter Dolichenus. In this chapter, gods in the Roman pantheon are worshipped, as well as Roman-but-not-in-the-Roman-pantheon, and completely non-Roman gods. Yet, Mithras, ‘the only god that appears to have been fundamentally male-oriented, in the full sense of the word’<sup>733</sup> and that god famously known for being popular with soldiers in the Roman army, does not appear in their verse inscriptions. Neither does Jupiter Dolichenus. Neither is there any veneration to Hercules, barely any to Mars, and only a few mentions of *virtus*.<sup>734</sup> This will probably surprise most, especially when non-Roman gods are venerated in these inscriptions, albeit far less frequently than Roman gods (see Figure 5.10). Not all the deities mentioned in these verse inscriptions were Roman, many are from other societies, either because a soldier

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<sup>729</sup> Chappell 2010: 102.

<sup>730</sup> More on this is discussed below.

<sup>731</sup> See, for example, Richmond 1962: 196.

<sup>732</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>733</sup> Lipka 2009: 184.

<sup>734</sup> See also Chapter 8.

was posted in a foreign land and brought his gods with him, like Aeneas founding the new Troy that would become Rome, or because the soldier adapted to the local ways of life, adopting their gods because he wished to venerate the local deity or because he had adopted the deity himself. Sometimes the distinction between the latter two is not obvious.

For Richmond, this wide variety of choice meant that ‘the unofficial cults are too much the matter of individual choice, or even caprice, to serve as a useful criterion of religious feeling in the Roman army. They reveal, indeed, a rich and chequered catholicity of belief rather than a solid continuum; and this is understandable when not only the choice, but the motives for choice, were themselves so wide’.<sup>735</sup> The wide variety of choice is true, and allowed the soldiers to venerate gods more specific to their situation, or who reminded them of home. But as for this meaning that this variety cannot ‘serve as a useful criterion of religious feeling in the Roman army’ is false; it emphasises the Roman societal approach, especially when considering that of the Roman military, towards other nations, societies and, as such, cultures. The Romans did not conquer and obliterate, conquer and extend Rome so that the Empire was populated by people who all thought, worshipped and spoke the same way, as was the older scholarly feeling, they conquered and extended their lands, and they had set Roman standards and practices (i.e. the official religious worship as demonstrated by the *Feriale Duranum* and the concept of Roman citizenship) that were expected to be adhered to, yet, beyond that adherence, which in and of itself was broad ranging and flexible, they allowed other religions, cultures and individualism to be expressed. Once more, we see the ideas of the individual vs. the collective and the spectrum of ‘Romanisation’ expressed here, and this is especially highlighted in this chapter, where some inscriptions were erected for individual reasons, others on behalf of a military collective, all under the auspices of religion, whether Roman or non-Roman, but all expressed in a Roman epigraphical manner.

The Roman military has often been regarded as a microcosm for Roman society, and, in many ways, it was, just not in the ways that previous scholars have interpreted it. Previously thought to have been a microcosm of Roman society because they upheld Roman religion, morals, and cultural behaviours and disseminated this around the conquered lands of the Roman Empire, the Roman military is here regarded with a more nuanced view, that they were a microcosm of Roman society, representative of its flexibility, adaptability, and heterogenous nature of the multicultural mingling that the Roman world brought together. They were ‘Roman’ to the extent that they fought on behalf of the Roman Emperor, they used Latin in their day to day speech, and they had to adhere to aspects of official Roman religion. Yet, underneath that outward layer of ‘Romanness’, there was no issue with individuals expressing their non-Roman cultural and social origins in other respects, such as their linguistic use, their religious expression, and their name. What shall become apparent in this chapter is what becomes evident in every discussion on Roman religion: just how intertwined Roman religion, politics and military activity were. The emperor relied on the military for his legitimisation of power, both in raising him to the role and sustaining him in it, as well as carrying out military conquests in his name, and he was venerated the Empire over through the imperial cult. Aspiring senators and politicians had military roles as a part of their political career, and those who had a military career could retire and later go into civilian public service roles. Those senators also held religious posts as a part of their political career, and centurions and *primi pili* erected religious (verse and prose) inscriptions on behalf of their unit, sometimes under the authority of their legates.

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<sup>735</sup> Richmond 1962: 196.

## 5.2. Roman Gods

This section will discuss the votive inscriptions soldiers dedicated to gods in the Roman pantheon. These include the gods of the Roman pantheon in their more recognisable forms, such as Jupiter, and in more specialised, localised forms, such as Venus Erucina and Grannus Apollo. They will appear throughout this chapter, however, as gods sometimes appear in conjunction with other gods; Jupiter especially is mentioned in inscriptions dedicated to the health of the emperor (see section 5.4). Many of these involve high ranking and/or men from the senatorial class, and describe acts of warfare as well as, or sometimes instead of, describing their military career. They range from long inscriptions to no more than a couple of lines, but most seem to have been written in thanks for and/or in an expression of their own achievements.

One of the most important deities, especially to early imperial imagery, was Venus.<sup>736</sup> **RI.1** is an unusual votive inscription to Venus Erucina, found under the ruins of her temple found on Mount Erice, Sicily.<sup>737</sup> It is one of the earliest dated inscriptions from this data set, originating from the early first century AD,<sup>738</sup> and it is now a tablet, from a stone statue base.<sup>739</sup> It is unusual in its findspot, as the only verse inscription in this corpus to be found on Sicily, and in its contents. It is composed of two different types of verse,<sup>740</sup> in hexameter and pentameter (ii and iii, and iv respectively). Despite its fragmentary nature,<sup>741</sup> enough survives that we can see it was unusually detailed about the brutality of war, one of only a very few in this corpus to discuss war, its brutalities, fatalities and casualties. It may be conforming to Republican attitudes, given its date, and the time within which the actors in this inscription would have lived before **RI.1** was set up. **RI.1** was also erected in thanks for a military victory. In the few military verse inscriptions mentioning combat, this tends to be in inscriptions such as these, where a soldier is giving thanks to a deity, through performative acts of dedicating arms and/or an inscribed monument, for their success/survival in warfare (see **RI.17**).

What is left of **RI.1** now:

### **RI.1a**

[---]us VIIvir E[---] | (vac.) M (vac.) | [--- Vene]ri Erucinae (vac.) [d(onum)] d(edit) (vac.). ||

i.

[--- procon]sule bella (vac.) |

[---]ius hostis (vac.) ||

ii.

Felicem gladium [---] |

Aproni effigiem I[---] | [---] duxque |

hic idem fuit, hic I[---] | [---]e v<i>ctor |

<sup>736</sup> Although she only became a major player in the Roman pantheon in the Empire; under the late Republic and early Empire, she gained favour with the major political players (see Scheid 2012: 1541).

<sup>737</sup> AE 2013.636 adn.; ILS 939; CLE 1525; EDR092733; EDCS-22000842; CIL X 7257; HD006236; Kleijwegt 1992: 134; Thomasson 1996: 29, nr. 21a; Muscolino 2013: 462-467; Vacanti, Prag, Cummings, Chartrand, Vitale, Metcalfe, & Stoyanova 2022, which has a map depicting its exact location. Only one fragment remains, with lines 1-11 on, in the Museo Regionale Agostino Pepoli, Trapani, Italy; the other fragment, with lines 12-32 on, is now lost.

<sup>738</sup> See discussion on Lucius Apronius Caesianus below. Vacanti et al. 2022 date it between AD 21-25.

<sup>739</sup> See, for example, Vacanti et al. 2022.

<sup>740</sup> CLE 1525.

<sup>741</sup> See the interpretations of this inscription as presented by CIL and CLE in the Catalogue of Inscriptions.

*praetextae positae [---] | [--- re]sumptae |*  
*septemvir puer han[c---] | [--- r]o'g'arat |*  
*Caesar quam dederat [t ---] | [--- rel]i'q'ui <t>. ||*  
*L(ucio) Apronio ||*

iii.

*Divor[um ---] |*  
*mut[ua ---] |*  
*filius Aproni maio[r ---] |*  
*Gaetulas gentes q[---] |*  
*effigiem cari genitor[is ---] |*  
*Aeneadum alma paren[s ---] |*  
*armaque quae gessit, scuto C[---] |*  
*quanta patet virtus, ens[is ---] |*  
*caedibus attritus consummatque [---] |*  
*qua cecidit 'f'os(s)u's' barbar[us ---] |*

iv.

*Quo nihil est utrique magis vener[---] |*  
*hoc tibi sacrarunt filius atque [---]: |*  
*Caesaris effigiem posuit pe[---] |*  
*certavit pietas, su[---] ||*

We know about the identity of the dedicator of **RI.1**, and his military activities, for it is believed that he was Lucius Apronius Caesianus;<sup>742</sup> if this is the case, this would make **RI.1** an important inscription. The son of Lucius Apronius, proconsul of Africa (AD 18-21),<sup>743</sup> features in Dio Cassius and Tacitus' *Annales*.<sup>744</sup> He had been originally fighting in Pannonia, but was sent to Africa to subdue the Numidian tribes, who were led by Tacfarinas,<sup>745</sup> 'a Numidian or Gaetulan member of the Musulami 'tribe', who, having proved his leadership in war, established far-ranging but fragile alliances with other Mauri, Gaetulan and Garamantes groups, based on resentment of Roman rule'.<sup>746</sup> This problem had begun with 'Octavian's defeat of Antony [as it] led directly to the southern 'Gaetulan' problem, drawing Roman arms as far as the pre-desert'.<sup>747</sup> Tacfarinas 'was a shrewd fighter, well familiar with Roman tactics and strategy, since he had fought in the auxiliary forces',<sup>748</sup> thus showing both the danger of an auxiliary defecting to the Romans, as well as how auxiliary fighters were deemed Roman whilst they were fighting for the Romans, in their military, but the enemy when they fought against them, regardless of their previous allegiance to Rome. There were Gaetulan auxiliaries and veterans, so perhaps Tacfarinas hailed from them.<sup>749</sup>

<sup>742</sup> The first line where his full name would have been given is missing, but enough of the last line remains that we can see *L(ucio) Apronio*.

<sup>743</sup> See *ILS* 939; *CLE* 1525; *CIL* X 7257; Box 1932: 166; Kleijwegt 1992: 134; Thomasson 1996: 29, nr. 21; Muscolino 2013: 464-465; Vacanti et al. 2022; see also discussion below. Due to this, much has been written on this inscription.

<sup>744</sup> D.C. 58.19.1; Tac. ann. 6.30, 3.21; see discussion below.

<sup>745</sup> Kleijwegt 1992: 134; *CIL* X 7257.

<sup>746</sup> Whittaker 1996: 596. See also *CIL* X 7257.

<sup>747</sup> Whittaker 1996: 616.

<sup>748</sup> Kleijwegt 1992: 134. See also Whittaker 1996: 593; Syme & Levick 2012: 1425.

<sup>749</sup> Whittaker 1996: 586, 603-604, 608, 612-613; Shaw 2014: 532

Caesianus was a key player in the offensive against Tacfarinas in c. AD 20,<sup>750</sup> although exactly in what capacity is debated;<sup>751</sup> his father was also involved in the fighting.<sup>752</sup> In this inscription, Caesianus is celebrated for his victory over the Gaetuli.<sup>753</sup> Despite this being in thanks for Caesianus' victory, Lucius Apronius Maior and his military and political career are also venerated in this inscription. Indeed, this appears to be addressed in the final line of **RI.1**, in which the father and son's *certavit pietas* ('their piety was contested', 25). The verb *certo* suggests a military/physical contest,<sup>754</sup> so was this overall military combat in which they both participated also considered an exhibition, a competition of *pietas*? If the supplemented interpretation by the editors of *CIL* and *CLE* are correct and the end of the line read *su[mma in utroque fuit]*, then either their dual religious veneration to Venus Erucina and/or their joint efforts in this combat against Tacfarinas were sufficient to demonstrate that their *pietas* 'was greatest in both of them'.

Caesianus put the Gaetuli (according to this inscription) and Tacfarinas' Numidians to flight (according to Tacitus):

*postquam deflexit ad maritimos locos, inligatus praeda stativis castris adhaerebat, missu patris Apronius Caesianus cum equite et cohortibus auxiliariis, quis velocissimos legionum addiderat, prosperam adversum Numidas pugnam facit pellitque in deserta.*

After he [Tacfarinas] turned back to the coastal area, he, impeded, kept close to the booty provided by the stationary camps; having been sent by his father, Apronius Caesianus, with cavalry and auxiliary cohorts, to which he had added the fastest of the legions, waged a battle against the successful Numidians and routed them into the desert.

Tac. Ann. 3.21.

This, therefore, has been interpreted as a reference to this very flight.<sup>755</sup> Sirtica was where the Gaetuli, Marmaridae and Nasamones resided, and it was a 'semi-arid coastal area along the shore of the Greater Syrtis (Gulf of Sidra)' in Syria;<sup>756</sup> the Gaetuli also lived to the south of Africa, in the Sahara.<sup>757</sup> This description of Sirtica almost directly correlates with Tacitus' description of Caesianus' encounter with Tacfarinas and his Numidians. The most plausible scenario is that Tacitus did not know the name of the tribe of Africans whom Caesianus had bested, but he used the generic name 'Numidians' to attribute to all the Africans composing Tacfarinas' troops, given the proximity of Numidia and Gaetulia.<sup>758</sup> 'the use of general terms

<sup>750</sup> Box 1932: 166; Kleijwegt 1992: 134; *CLE* 1525; Tac. ann. 3.21. Tacfarinas became a problem in AD 17 (Syme & Levick 2012: 1425); however, he was ultimately defeated by Publius Cornelius Dolabella in 23/24, who was then the proconsul of Africa (Whittaker 1996: 595; Cadoux & Badian 2012: 121: 378; Vacanti et al. 2022).

<sup>751</sup> Suggestions have ranged between *legatus*, *tribunus militum*, *comes et contubernalis*, and *legatus pro praetore*, see *CIL* X 7257; Kleijwegt 1992: 136; Vacanti et al. 2022.

<sup>752</sup> See Tac. Ann. 3.21.

<sup>753</sup> Kleijwegt 1992: 134.

<sup>754</sup> See, for example, Kidd 1957: 32.

<sup>755</sup> Kleijwegt, Thomasson and Mommsen, for example, saw this as referring to this event (Kleijwegt 1992: 134-135; Thomasson 1996: 29, nr. 21; Muscolino 2013: 464-465 respectively).

<sup>756</sup> Reynolds 2012: 1373. See also Whittaker 1996: 593; Shaw 2014: 120, 529 map 35.1 for the location of the lands of the Gaetuli.

<sup>757</sup> Whittaker 1996: 593.

<sup>758</sup> Shaw 2014: 531.

like *tota Gaetulia* or Numidia by ancient and modern historians gives a misleading impression of African unity, which did not exist'.<sup>759</sup>

The inscription, therefore, is more specific about who Caesianus fought; if it was commissioned, at the very least, by him, which, given the specific content and that it is a personal votive inscription, seems likely that he was involved in **RI.1**'s composition, and therefore makes sense for this inscription to be more specific about who he fought against. Alternatively, it is because 'Gaetuli' was also the generic name used by the Romans for southern African tribes.<sup>760</sup> So, the same comment about Tacitus using the term 'Numidians' could apply to the use of *Gaetuli* here. If the interpretation of the first line of verse [*A patre hic missus Libyae procon]sule bella...* ('sent to Libya by his father, the proconsul', **RI.1c.3**) is correct, then that makes Tacitus' *missu patris* almost a direct quote of this inscription,<sup>761</sup> according to the editors of the *CIL*, this episode in Tacitus' *Annales* is 'confirmant[que] carmina' ('confirmed by this verse inscription').<sup>762</sup> This makes this inscription exciting, as it likely refers to an actual historical event of warfare that we have a narrative of in the histories of the Roman Empire, not often encountered, and we can identify that these were the Gaetulians living along the Gulf of Sidra, rather than south of Numidia, in the Sahara Desert.

Alternatively, this is somehow a reference to Caesianus' brother-in-law Gnaeus Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus, governor of Upper Germany between AD 30-39.<sup>763</sup> Although it is difficult to see how this (**RI.1.iv.4**) could be a reference to him, with the interpretation of *CIL* and *CLE* being *Gaetulas gentes q[uod dedit ipse fugae]* ('because he himself put to flight the Gaetolian people', 14) being incorrect. This is the more implausible of the two options. Gaetulicus 'was very popular with his soldiers and with the neighbouring army (that is, of Lower Germany)',<sup>764</sup> where his father-in-law, Caesianus' father, Lucius Apronius was the legate.<sup>765</sup> The Apronian family, it seems, not only had high-ranking elite military posts, but was also wrapped up tightly with the imperial household.<sup>766</sup> Gaetulicus was heavily involved in politics, later accused of leading a conspiracy to murder Caligula, for which he was executed in AD 39.<sup>767</sup> Both Gaetulicus and Lucius Apronius, who was a praetor at the time, were involved in the plot against Sejanus, despite both at one point being on (allegedly) good terms with Sejanus.<sup>768</sup> Caesianus had, according to Dio Cassius, mocked Tiberius for being bald, which afterwards led to baldheaded people being nicknamed Caesianus; Tiberius appears to have ignored this

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<sup>759</sup> Whittaker 1996: 595.

<sup>760</sup> *Ibid.*: 593, 595; Bruce Hitchner 2010: 35; Shaw 2014: 532, 537

<sup>761</sup> Bücheler, in his commentary on this text, seems to think that there is a direct linguistic connection between this inscription and Tacitus' narration of these events (*CLE* 1525). The editors of the *CIL* also makes a direct connection between the two.

<sup>762</sup> This is how we know about his consulship, *CIL* X 7257.

<sup>763</sup> See Schatzman 1974: 558; Balsdon & Badian 2012: 121, but especially the commentary in *CIL* X 7257.

<sup>764</sup> Schatzman 1974: 558; Tac. Ann. 4.73; see also Balsdon & Badian 2012: 121, who attribute this popularity because he was 'a lax disciplinarian'.

<sup>765</sup> Boddington 1963: 14-15; Balsdon & Badian 2012: 121; Campbell 2012b: 127; *CIL* X 7257. Tacitus suggests that it was Gaetulicus' connection to Lucius Apronius that enabled him to win favour in his father-in-law's province too (Ann. 6.30). Lucius Apronius had his own illustrious career, both politically and militarily. See also de Saulcy 1878 throughout; Thomasson 1996: 29, Nr. 21a; Vacanti et al. 2022 for details of his career; see *CIL* X 7257 for an extensive account of his military career, and where he can be found in Roman history; see, for example, Tac. Ann. 3.21, 4.73, 4.13 for aspects of his military and political career. He received the *triumphalia ornamentata* and a statue crowned with bay leaves for his deeds in Africa (see *CIL* X 7257, of which this is an almost direct translation).

<sup>766</sup> See discussion above and below, as well as Grant 1950: 55-56.

<sup>767</sup> Balsdon & Badian 2012: 121: 380.

<sup>768</sup> See Boddington's suggestions on this matter (1963: 15). See also Schatzman 1974: 558-559; D.C. 58.19.1. Gaetulius was accused of choosing one of Sejanus' sons as his son-in-law (Schatzmann 1974: 558) and Lucius Apronius Caesianus was one 'of those connected with Seianus who escaped conviction' (Schatzmann 1974: 559; D.C. 58.19.1) and Sejanus' friend (Grant 1950: 56; Boddington 1963: 14-15).

mockery.<sup>769</sup> Gaetulicus ‘was an erotic poet, regarded by Martial as one of his models’.<sup>770</sup> It may be too far fetched to suggest that Gaetulicus wrote these verses, but it highlights the level of education and literacy of military commanders of the Roman Empire, and the importance of verse to them. Gaetulicus’ own interest in poetry may have inspired Caesianus.

**RI.1** demonstrates the cross-over between religious, political and military careers to create an overall public political career. Caesianus had been awarded a prestigious priesthood by Tiberius: *septemvir epulonum*.<sup>771</sup> Military language is often used in religious inscriptions. Caesianus received this title on account of his military prowess, proven by his deeds. We only know that he received this religious title, as a reward for his actions in battle against Tacfarinas, described here and in Tacitus, because of this inscription.<sup>772</sup> A *septemvir epulonum* was a ‘member of a college of seven priests in charge of great feasts’.<sup>773</sup> ‘Priesthoods’, Syme stated, ‘declare high birth or reward success’.<sup>774</sup> The *septemviri epulonum* were one of the *quattor amplissima sacerdotia*.<sup>775</sup> According to the narrative of this inscription, Caesianus was a young military commander, and he was given his priesthood at a young age, as he became a legal man he immediately donned the toga of his priesthood (**RI.1**.ii.4-6, iii.5-7).<sup>776</sup> This means he was leading the offensive against Tacfarinas when he was still legally a child, a *puer*, although this could place him anywhere from his mid-teens to early twenties.<sup>777</sup>

He was given the priesthood because he was too young for a magistracy.<sup>778</sup> Kleijwegt theorises this was not an uncommon occurrence, especially in the days of the late Republic/early Empire.<sup>779</sup> What is unusual is he was given the *septemvir epulonum* so young, ‘since this normally was not awarded to young debutants, at least not in the Julio-Claudian period... The 27 other *septemviri epulonum* whom we happen to know for this period were already of praetorian or consular rank, or just before the praetorship, when they entered the priesthood’.<sup>780</sup> The editors of the *CIL* compare this act with when Lepidus was celebrated for his military deeds. When he was still legally a *puer*: *Aemilius Lepidus, puer etiam tum, progressus in aciem, hostem interemit, civem servavit. cuius tam memorabilis operis index est in Capitolio statua bullata et incincta praetexta senatus consulto posita: iniquum enim putavit eum honori nondum tempestivum videri qui iam virtutis maturus fuisset* (‘Aemilius Lepidus, also then a boy, advanced into battle, killed an enemy, and saved the life of a fellow citizen. As a sign of his great and memorable deed, a statue, on the consultation of the Senate, had been placed on the Capitol, adorned with his *toga praetexta* and *bulla*: for it was thought unfair that he seemed too young for honour, when he was already mature enough for *virtus*’, Val. Max. 3.1.1).<sup>781</sup> This

<sup>769</sup> D.C. 58.19.1.

<sup>770</sup> Balsdon & Badian 2012: 121: 380.

<sup>771</sup> Kleijwegt 1992: 135, 138; *CIL* X 7257.

<sup>772</sup> *CIL* X 7257.

<sup>773</sup> Hurley & Vervaet 2010: 337.

<sup>774</sup> Syme 1989: 241.

<sup>775</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>776</sup> See also Kleijwegt 1992: 135. See also Vacanti et al. 2022 for discussion on this; *CIL* X 7257, who words it well: *ubi inter se opponuntur praetextae duae puerilis posita et sacerdotalis sumpta* (‘where the two *praetextae* are contrasted, the one of boyhood is put down and the one of priesthood is taken up’).

<sup>777</sup> Looking at both the scholarly understanding of the subject, and the soldiers in this study, as, for some of them it is clear that they had not yet gone through some of the ceremonies of manhood before they had passed away, such as not yet performing the *depositio barbae*. This is relatively common in inscriptions of that nature; see Chapter 8.

<sup>778</sup> See *CIL* X 7257.

<sup>779</sup> Kleijwegt 1992: 135-138, where he gives extensive, and famous, examples.

<sup>780</sup> *Ibid.*: 138. But there are examples of men receiving religious offices/titles at a young age (138-139).

<sup>781</sup> See *CIL* X 7257 for this comparison.



example, as **RI.1** and in a few Latin verse inscriptions in this study, directly links *virtus* with battle prowess, and that it was connected not to age, but to (military) deeds.<sup>782</sup>

With examples such as these from the early Empire, it demonstrates the ways of the Republic were still influencing the ways of the Empire,<sup>783</sup> and that the transition from Republic to Empire was still in effect, especially when concerning the military. Caesianus was from a well-known, elite family; his father had his own political career, and apparently had ‘*excellenti virtute* according to Velleius’.<sup>784</sup> Caesianus’ own *virtus* is commented on in this inscription, only in relation to his military career (**RI.1.iv.8**). Perhaps because it was his military career that earned Caesianus his religious promotion, and why he is thanking/venerating Venus here, as he mentions only his military career and his elevation to the *septemvir epulonum*, which indicates this was made early on in Caesianus’ political career.

His greater level of education is exhibited in this inscription. Caesianus is from an elite background.<sup>785</sup> This military renown was a part of Caesianus’ senatorial/political career, rather than being strictly military orientated; this is exhibited in his priesthood, as ‘they were an integral part of a senatorial career, in the Republic as well as in the imperial period’.<sup>786</sup> The inscription itself, although lauding a military career, ‘is an official dedication in a famous temple and involves Tiberius himself, and is an important example of senatorial self-representation, more frequent in the provinces than in Rome with the exception of those who obtained ornamenta triumphalia’.<sup>787</sup> There does seem to be a correlation between the higher up the rank/more elite background of the military man in question, the more triumphant and glorifying their verse inscriptions appear to be; those who are of lower rank/social standing correlate more with the subject of civilian inscriptions, on matters such as life and death, and the character of the deceased, defining themselves partly by their military rank, not by their conquests. Here Caesianus’ *virtus* and sense of public self is defined by, based on, and elevated by his military achievements.

Caesianus went on to have an illustrious political career: he was *consul ordinarius* in AD 39, with Caligula as his colleague, and, potentially, he also became the governor of Africa, like his father, at the apex of his career.<sup>788</sup> He remained in the religious world, as his name is preserved in the *fasti Antiates* and *acta Arvalium* in AD 39.<sup>789</sup> Caesianus’ career, throughout his life, demonstrates his elite position, possibly the most elite of all the soldiers in this study.<sup>790</sup>

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<sup>782</sup> See also Chapter 8.

<sup>783</sup> That, and also that both Caesianus and his father were ‘active in the same province [, as this] may come as a surprise, but once again we must emphasize that this had happened frequently during the Republic’ (Kleijwegt 1992: 136).

<sup>784</sup> Grant 1950: 55-56.

<sup>785</sup> For reasons why all senatorial inscriptions, despite the necessity of holding a military position for those embarking on a political/senatorial career, have not been included in this data set, see the Introduction. See also Kleijwegt (1992: 137): ‘On the basis of further examples from the imperial period, we may accept service under the command of kinsmen as an established practice. We know from Pliny the Younger that the governor of a province was to a certain extent free to choose his members of staff. When his son was of the right age (close to or immediately after reaching adulthood), he could accompany him in an official position or just as a *comes*. However, this was done with a specific purpose in mind. Sons were taken along to learn the trade of a senator’. Emphasis added by the author.

<sup>786</sup> Kleijwegt 1992: 137. See also above.

<sup>787</sup> Vacanti et al. 2022.

<sup>788</sup> See Kleijwegt 1992: 139; *CLE* 1525c; *CIL* X 7257 for details of his career, especially the commentary of *CIL* X 7257. See also Box 1932: 166, where other positions Caesianus may have held are conjectured, but we have no information about his life beyond AD 39.

<sup>789</sup> *CIL* X 7257. The only other piece of information that we know about him is on a completely unrelated note in Plin. Nat. 11.85.213).

<sup>790</sup> Kleijwegt 1992: 139.

As to his age while holding the military command in Africa, nothing can be proved beyond doubt. The usual age for donning the *toga virilis* was between fourteen and eighteen. If we take it that he was born around AD 4, that would make him a *consul* at the age of thirty-five, which is not unlikely in the early Principate. Although his family does not seem to have belonged to the patrician class, given the fact that he was an *amicus* of Tiberius (although that is not beyond doubt) and that his father had been a *triumvir monetalis*, Apronius Caesianus can at least be shown to have been in a privileged position. The fact that Tiberius offered him a priesthood instead of honouring him with a candidacy for the quaestorship may also indicate that fact that he was under twenty.

What is notable about the text is the length and sophistication of the language and verse; this is exhibited in the purposeful variety of the verse, and linguistic features, such as alliteration (*as*, *cs* and *ps*). The now fragmentary nature of the text makes it difficult to prove that there was a correlation between the presentation of the text on the stone and the layout of verse, which would be significant here as the actors in it are from the elite class of Roman society, but it does appear that the verses in **RI.1** were laid out according to the conventions of Latin verse. It is difficult to identify accurately the metre of the poem, but ii does have hexameter beginnings, and iii, thought to provide the endings of the lines of ii, are hexameter. iv could be either hexameter or pentameter. *CLE* and *CIL*, for example, both interpret iv as pentameter, presumably because of iv.9-14, where the majority of the lines remain, and they seem to be elegiac couplets.

The triumphant part of the text, the section about Caesianus' achievements (dedicating his *toga praetextata*, receiving the toga of the *septemvir* back, that his father asked for that title and Tiberius granted it, dedicating his sword and an effigy of his father to Venus Erucina, **RI.1.ii** and iii) is in hexameter. The section that is more graphic about war, venerates Venus, and is more solemn is in elegiac pentameter (iii), thus correlating with the typical genres/tone used for these metres in Latin literature. The script is surprising in its informality. The prose opening line of the text is in monumental square capital, the first line on the stone clear, the second line less so, and the lines of verse are written in small, rustic capitals, giving the poem a more home/self-made appearance.<sup>791</sup> Yet, this 'does not suggest that the monument in its entirety was not of particular value. The apparent epigraphic inexperience may be due, in fact, to a stone mason more skilled in Greek than in Latin'.<sup>792</sup>

Caesianus was not the only military leader who made dedications to Venus Erucina, although the most significant dedications occurred in the days of the Republic.<sup>793</sup> After the Augustan period, there is no evidence of the goddess Venus Erucina and her cult.<sup>794</sup> Venus Erucina was 'a goddess who leaves and comes back'.<sup>795</sup> A part of her festival practices on Sicily involved her leaving for Africa, and, after nine days, a dove, accompanied by other doves, was seen returning to the island.<sup>796</sup> Perhaps this is why Caesianus dedicated his arms, *toga praetexta*, and statues of his father and Tiberius to her, to say thanks for his return to Italy from Africa, after his military campaigns abroad, and he, like the dove, returned, having assisted in the

<sup>791</sup> See photos on Vacanti et al. 2022; EDCS-22000842. See also commentary Vacanti et al. 2022; *CIL* X 7257; *CLE* 1525.

<sup>792</sup> Vacanti et al. 2022.

<sup>793</sup> Frank 1932: 19-20. See Palmer 1976: 47; Stumpp 2001: 117; Anguissola 2006: 643-645; Str. 6.2.6 for more information on this.

<sup>794</sup> Stumpp 2001: 119.

<sup>795</sup> Burkert 2004: 7.

<sup>796</sup> *Ibid.*

pacification of rebellious tribes. It has been theorised that Venus Erucina's cult title came from 'the goddess' association with *eruca* of the cabbage family (cf. Vergil *Ecl.* 7.34: *intibaque et Venerem revocans eruca morantem*)<sup>797</sup> and that the Italic goddess named Venus had associations with gardening and vegetation.<sup>798</sup> The historical evidence is that 'if one traces these relationships still farther back, it appears that Venus Erucina was none other than the old Phoenician Ashtart (Astarte) of Eryx, for whose worship there we have inscriptional evidence (*CIS* 135, 140.1)'.<sup>799</sup>

We have her mythological history recorded in the history books of the Roman Empire. Diodorus Siculus provides a history of Venus Erucina, and how her shrine came to be on Mount Eryx.<sup>800</sup> According to myth, Eryx, king of Sicily, was the son of Aphrodite and Butas. He founded the city of Eryx, naming it after himself. At the highest point in this city, i.e. Mount Eryx itself, he founded a temple, with a shrine and dedications, to his mother. Aphrodite favoured the city, and so became called Aphrodite Eruciene. The temple grew in popularity over time, and was subsequently visited by Aeneas, which must be why Aeneas is referenced in this inscription (**RI.1.iv.6**, as well as the allusion to the *Aeneid* in the following line). But this does also appear to be integral to the Romans' identity as the collective 'descendants' of Aeneas, which is how they are described here, and in **RI.13d**. Caesianus, like any Roman would have been, must have been proud to know that he was a worshipper at the same place as Aeneas was known to have been, also returning to Italy from a long journey, and after a war. The Romans, Diocorus Siculus claims, worshipped Venus Erucina more venerably than all who had gone before, as they were her claimed descendants:

καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν ἐπιτυχεῖς ὄντες, τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς αὐξήσεως ἡμεῖβοντο ταῖς προσηκούσαις χάρισι καὶ τιμαῖς. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ καταντῶντες εἰς τὴν νῆσον ὕπατοι καὶ στρατηγοὶ καὶ πάντες οἱ μετὰ τινος ἐξουσίας ἐπιδημοῦντες, ἐπειδὴν εἰς τὸν Ἑρυκα παραβάλωσι, μεγαλοπρεπέσι θυσίαις καὶ τιμαῖς κοσμοῦσι τὸ τέμενος, καὶ τὸ σχυθροπὸν τῆς ἐξουσίας ἀποθέμενοι μεταβάλλουσιν εἰς παιδιὰς καὶ γυναικῶν ὁμιλίαν μετὰ πολλῆς ἰλαρότητος, μόνως οὕτω νομίζοντες κεχαρισμένην τῇ θεῷ ποιήσιν τὴν ἑαυτῶν παρουσίαν·

And for this reason were successful in their undertakings, they were but requiting her who was the cause of their aggrandisement with such expressions of gratitude and honours as they owed her. The consuls and praetors, for instance, who visit the island and all Romans who sojourn there clothed with any authority, whenever they come to Eryx, embellish the sanctuary with magnificent sacrifices and honours, and laying aside the austerity of their authority, they enter into sports and have conversation with women in a spirit of great gaiety, believing that only in this way will they make their presence there pleasing to the goddess.

D.S. 4. 83, trans. by Oldfather, 1939, 82-83.

This type of votive dedication of a trophy is not unusual for military men, although this is one of the few inscriptions in this corpus where military arms were dedicated to a deity. The other significant one is an elaborate, multi-metrical verse inscription where a soldier dedicates his

<sup>797</sup> McKay 1964: 364.

<sup>798</sup> Anderson 1955: 233.

<sup>799</sup> *Ibid.*: 237.

<sup>800</sup> D. S. 6.83. See also Stumpp 2001: 117, who quotes Servius: *Erycina, quam Aeneas secum advexit* ('Erucina, whom Aeneas carried with him', Serv. Aen. 1.720).

hunting trophies to the goddess Diana (**RI.13**). Although this inscription is mainly about Caesianus, both father and son in this inscription had had illustrious political and military careers, and had made their mark on history.<sup>801</sup> This inscription is significant two-fold: for its evidence of a cult that seems to disappear, and for its place in the evidence of history, backing up recorded Roman military historical events, and the Roman history books reinforcing evidence from an inscription.

Mars was also an important member of the Roman pantheon (and Venus' mythological lover). **RI.2** is another long verse inscription in mixed metres,<sup>802</sup> by a member of the elite. It mentions Mars, specified in his capacity as the god of war, but it is not for Mars. It is another votive inscription with a weapon dedicated to the god, also a spear. This stone inscription, too, has links to Africa, although these ones are more direct, as it was found in Lambaesis, Numidia, on a statue base of the god Medaurus, to whom this inscription is dedicated.<sup>803</sup> Although the inscription itself is now lost, the base still exists, 'en place dans la niche du troisième sanctuaire à gauche en partant du sanctuaire principal'.<sup>804</sup> Curiously, considering it mentions Mars by name and that this was on a statue to Medaurus, this was found in front of the temple of Aesclepius and Salus, two different divinities who were associated with healing and health.<sup>805</sup> In **RI.2**, the implication is that, by setting up a statue to Medaurus here, the dedicant is making him sacred/establishing his sanctity in a land foreign to the god (**RI.2.3**); Dyczek, Kolendo, Łajtar, Plóciennik & Rzepkowski understand that this was a different building, a small temple to Medaurus.<sup>806</sup> The name of the dedicant is now lost to us, as it has been erased (**RI.2.8, 11**),<sup>807</sup> hence the conjectures about his name.

**RI.2** dates from the more usual date range we see for military verse inscriptions: the late second century AD. There is a debate, however, about when in the late second century AD it can be precisely dated to. The majority date it to AD 167-169,<sup>808</sup> others to AD 178-180.<sup>809</sup> All are agreed, however, that this was made by someone who was once the *legatus* of the *Legio III Augusta*. Some say this dates to the 160s because we can surmise the name of the consul missing in this inscription, as we have an almost complete list of the names of the *legati* of the *Legio III Augusta* under Marcus Aurelius, and only Marcus Lucceius Torquatus Bassianus/Cassianus had *damnatio memoriae* placed upon him (and the dedicant of this inscription, if they were two

<sup>801</sup> For the full extent of both of their careers, and their military honours, and the Roman era history books in which they are referred to, see *CIL* X 7257 commentary.

<sup>802</sup> Lines 1-10, the first section of the inscription, are elegiac couplets; lines 11-4, the second section, are iambic trimetres (*AE* 2011.1769).

<sup>803</sup> EDCS-20600032; HD031417; LLDB-98122-3, 141771; *ILS* 4881; *AE* 2011.1769; *AE* 2014.1568 adn.; *AE* 2013.2147 adn.; *CLE* 1527; *AE* 2016.1964 adn.; *CIL* VIII 2581; *CIL* III p. 285; Dyczek, Kolendo, Łajtar, Plóciennik & Rzepkowski 2014: 73. Much has been written on this inscription, including a translation in Polish and a new, detailed, revised commentary in 2010, by Dyczek, Kolendo, Łajtar, Plóciennik & Rzepkowski, and is revised again by the same authors in 2014; also Kolendo, Plóciennik & Rzepkowski revised it again in 2013, this time with an English translation. Várhelyi 2010 also offers comments on and offers the first English translation of this text (33-35), for example. Therefore, the religious and military aspects of this inscription shall be focused on here, as well as aspects of the dedicant's identity.

<sup>804</sup> *CIL* VIII 2581. See also Dyczek et al. 2014: 73, see 77 for more detail on where it, exactly, was found.

<sup>805</sup> Many have thought that it was found in this temple (*ILS* 4881; *CLE* 1527; *CIL* VIII 2581; *CIL* III p. 285; Várhelyi 2010: 34, 37; see also discussion on Asclepius below). Another inscription to Medaurus has also been found in this temple (see *ILS* 4881, Várhelyi 2010: 35; *CIL* III p. 285).

<sup>806</sup> See Dyczek et al. 2014: 77.

<sup>807</sup> *ILS* 4881; Várhelyi 2010: 34-35; *AE* 2016.1964 adn.; *CIL* III p. 285, but Dyczek et al. 2014 rectify this, stating that it was found 'in situ dans une des chapelles qui se dressaient devant le sanctuaire principal du temple d'Esculape et de Salus' (77).

<sup>808</sup> Thomasson 1996: 158, no. 37k; *CIL* VIII 2581; see below.

<sup>809</sup> EDCS-20600032; LLDB-91822-23, 141771; *AE* 2011.1769; *AE* 2016.1964 adn. Others have dated it to AD 168, such as Várhelyi 2010: 34; Dyczek et al. 2014: 80.

different people),<sup>810</sup> as he was killed by Commodus in the early 190s.<sup>811</sup> Theorising that this inscription was erected between AD 178-180, Dyczek et al. (2014) disregarded the interpretation that this individual was Marcus Lucceius Torquatus B/Cassianus, who was the *legatus* of Numidia and the *Legio III Augusta* and *consul designatus* in AD 169, whose name can be seen on inscriptions dated between AD 167-168,<sup>812</sup> but belonged to an unnamed individual, whose name would fit with the metre, and dated it between AD 178-180.<sup>813</sup> The warfare referred to in this inscription can possibly be identified as the Marcomannic Wars under Marcus Aurelius (AD 166-73, 177-180),<sup>814</sup> which is further indication that this could not be B/Cassianus.<sup>815</sup> Some have suggested that that Medaurius (**RI.2.14**) was the dedicant's *agnomen* or *signum*, highlighting his affiliation with the god;<sup>816</sup> considering Medaurus' origins, and the likely Dalmatian origins of this consul, perhaps he is describing himself as 'Medaurian', directly stating his *origio* as from Risinus, Dalmatia, Medaurus' city.<sup>817</sup>

Lambaesis was 'the military capital of the province of Africa',<sup>818</sup> and the military base of the *Legio III Augusta*. **RI.2** refers not to Numidia, but to Risinium, a town in the bay of Dalmatia.<sup>819</sup> Medaurus was the patron deity (he is addressed both as *Medaurus* and as *Lar populi* in **RI.2.2-3, 14**) of Risinium and the people who lived there.<sup>820</sup> This statue of this Dalmatian god follows a pattern seen in the votive inscriptions of the *legati* of the *Legio III Augusta*: they erected inscriptions 'en l'honneur de différentes divinités rarement attestées. La majeure partie d'entre elles étant liées à des villes natales des légats, il y a lieu de croire que ces monuments épigraphiques témoignent de sentiments religieux très personnels',<sup>821</sup> as well as other gods, including Jupiter Valens and Silvanus Pegasianus, and Asclepius and Salus.<sup>822</sup> This pattern concerning the *legati* of the *Legio III Augusta* may have been initiated by one *legatus*, Fonteius Frontinianus, 'qui fit construire ce complexe religieux' at Lambaesis, 'ses successeurs auraient tout simplement suivi son exemple'.<sup>823</sup> Much of Roman religion, and Roman military customs, seem to have originated through the idea of 'follow by example'. Lambaesis was not the only place with a similar pattern of religious dedicatory worship by its military presence, and this worship of rare gods by members of the Roman military, from all ranks, allowed them to spread around the Roman world.<sup>824</sup> Was it for a purpose, though, like a missionary, to bring a wider audience to the god, or was it simply to bring a piece of home by bringing a god along with

<sup>810</sup> Thomasson 1996: 158, no. 37k; Dyczek et al. 2014: 80. The epigraphic and archaeological evidence of the site also dates it to the AD 160s (see Dyczek et al. 2014: 77).

<sup>811</sup> Thomasson 1996: 158, no. 37k; Várhelyi 2010: 34 n. 41; see Dyczek et al. 2014: 80 for information on B/Cassianus. See below.

<sup>812</sup> As Várhelyi states (2010: 33-34). *CIL* III p. 285; Thomasson 1996: 158, no. 37k; *ILS* 4881. The editors of the *CIL* only date the first, elegiac part of the inscription to c. AD 167. It was the extensive responsibility of the *Legio III Augusta* in Numidia, and therefore the extensive responsibility of the *legatus* of this legion, that earned him the title *consul designatus*, according to Dyczek et al. 2014: 79.

<sup>813</sup> See, for example, *AE* 2011.1769; *AE* 2016.1964 adn.; Dyczek et al. 2014: 74, 80, where they explain their reasoning behind this rejection of the prevailing theory.

<sup>814</sup> *AE* 2011.1769; Dyczek et al. 2014: 79.

<sup>815</sup> See Dyczek et al. 2014: 80.

<sup>816</sup> *AE* 2016.1964 adn.; Dyczek et al. 2014: 74.

<sup>817</sup> See discussion on Risinnus below and Várhelyi 2010: 33-34, 36; *CIL* III p. 285. See *AE* 2016.1964 adn. for identifying him with this rank and *origio*.

<sup>818</sup> Várhelyi 2010: 34.

<sup>819</sup> Near direct translation of *ILS* 4881 commentary; Dyczek et al. 2014: 73.

<sup>820</sup> *AE* 2011.1769; *AE* 2013.2147; *AE* 2016.1964 adn.; *CLE* 1527; Várhelyi 2010: 33-35; Dyczek et al. 2014: 79, 83 (where more information on his connection to the people of Risinium is given). He is seen in other epigraphic evidence (see *AE* 2011.1769; *ILS* 4881; Dyczek et al. 2014: 81-82).

<sup>821</sup> Dyczek et al. 2014: 73, see also 78; see also *AE* 2011.1769.

<sup>822</sup> Dyczek et al. 2014: 78.

<sup>823</sup> See *ibid.*: 79.

<sup>824</sup> See *ibid.*

them, as Aeneas did when he fled Troy? After all, he does equate Medaurus to Lar, and the Lares, the gods of house and family, are amongst the gods Aeneas brings with him, as statues, from Troy.

The two verses, as in **RI.1**, are in two different metres: the first, and more descriptive, both about Medaurus and the dedicant, is in elegiac pentameter. The second, describing what was dedicated to Medaurus, is in iambic senarii. Dyczek et al (2014) believe that the two sections of this inscription were written by two different authors, because of the differences in quality between the two, and that the second half of the inscription was written a significant period of time after the first.<sup>825</sup> Dessau suggests 11 had been added later, when he had been made a consul, but the implication is that the dedicator had input on both verses.<sup>826</sup> Alternatively, Dyczek et al. (2014) suggest, ‘il est cependant possible que les deux parties aient été rédigées par la même personne qui, tout simplement, maniait mieux la technique des distiques élégiaques que celle de iambes’.<sup>827</sup> The editors of *AE* also postulate the iambic trimeters were ‘rédigée par un autre auteur, quelque mois plus tard’, and observe that the first section of elegiac couplets is more metrically ‘correct’ than the second half of trimeters,<sup>828</sup> so much so that Dyczek et al. (2014) remark that ‘la langue de cette partie semble assez éloignée de la poésie, elle est plus proche de la prose’.<sup>829</sup> The section in which multiple literary verse allusions have been recognised, such as to Virgil, Ovid, Statius, and especially Silius Italicus, is in the first, elegiac section.<sup>830</sup> The layout of both sections of verse conform to how they were presented on the stone.<sup>831</sup> Like **RI.1**, this affirms the theory presented throughout this research that the layout of verse did matter to many of those who erected verse inscriptions, and it had an established visual format.

**RI.1** and **RI.2** had input from men of a senatorial, elite, and therefore more well-educated background; the verse inscriptions that can be identified with following the format of verse in correspondence with the layout of the verse on the stone seem to be by those with a greater level of education, either visible through their social standing or through their use of language and understanding of metre. Those by less well-educated backgrounds, although they clearly wrote their inscriptions with the intention of writing verse, did not always do so by correlating the format of verse and its layout on the stone; however, there are exceptions to this, where the higher ranks did not make metrically sound inscriptions, and the lower ranks made metrically proficient and creative inscriptions. Their understanding of metre tends to be less skilled, if we compare it to the literary greats. This indicates that those who understood the correlation between verse and its format would have been able to read, as they must have visually seen a poem and be told that that is how it was supposed to be presented. Those who perhaps did not have a correlation between their verse and its layout on the stone perhaps could not read, but had heard verse read aloud. Some may argue that this was due to the limitation of space on the stone, but, as can be seen in **AI.7**, for example, those who did not have enough space on the

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<sup>825</sup> Dyczek et al. 2014: 77.

<sup>826</sup> *ILS* 4881; Thomasson 1996: 158, no. 37k. See also Dyczek et al. 2014: 79.

<sup>827</sup> Dyczek et al. 2014: 77.

<sup>828</sup> *AE* 2011.1769. See also *AE* 2016.1964 adn.; Thomasson 1996: 158, no. 37k believes that the first half is in elegiac distichs and the second half is in iambic senarii. See also Dyczek et al. 2014: 76-77.

<sup>829</sup> Dyczek et al. 2014: 77.

<sup>830</sup> See *CLE* 1527 for these allusions; for a full list, see Dyczek et al. 2014: 75-76.

<sup>831</sup> For debate on how the stone looked, see Dyczek et al. 2014: 74, but the *CIL* follows the text as presented in Konarzewski, so it is trusted that this is how the inscription looked on the stone. As it is now missing, however, this cannot be proven with material evidence.

stone to present it as verse, such as in **RI.2**, did create a correlation between the format of the verse and its layout on the stone, just in a lateral manner.

It makes little difference whether the person carving the inscription contributed to the layout: with **RI.2**, it is suggested that a professional stonemason carved it.<sup>832</sup> Given the greater amount of money the dedicator would have had access to, this seems likely. Although, as is revealed throughout this study, several inscriptions (such as **AI.7**, **NW.7** and **NW.1**) were written by higher ranking officers/these officers were involved in their creation, and perhaps were also made by these officers. Even **RI.1** has something of the home-made about it, and the author was on a similar social standing to the dedicator of **RI.2**. This indicates the level of care taken when creating these inscriptions on a compositional level. Given the personal, and specifically linked to the god Medaurus' identity, information presented in this inscription, it is likely that the dedicant had a significant input on the content of this inscription.

Although it does not refer to a military title, **RI.2** does refer to the dedicant having partaken in military combat, Mars the god of war, and he dedicates his spear to Medaurus (9-10, 13-14). It is unclear if this is because he was skilled in throwing spears, or because he had used this spear in battle; the way he refers to it makes it seem more like either a military exercise, a special feat that he accomplished, rather than an action he committed in battle, or, which is more plausible, that he had managed to mimic Medaurus' signature move (compare 5-6 and 13). This inscription, once more, emphasises the intersection between public office, religion, and military engagement, but consuls themselves no longer participated in war, but they once had a military career: *notus Gradivo belli vetus ac tibi Caesar | / Marce, in primore rarus ubique acie* ('formerly known to Mars of war, and you, Marcus / Caesar, he, an exceptional soldier, always and everywhere in the front battle line', 9-10). Both Mars and the emperor are invoked in this inscription in their military capacities, Mars as the god of war, the emperor by implication as the head of the Roman military, as is Medaurus himself.<sup>833</sup> The soldier in this inscription describes himself as *in primore rarus ubique acie* ('an exceptional soldier, always and everywhere in the front battle line', 10) so, despite this describing a statue a now anonymous *consul designatus* set up to Medaurus, dedicated because of his promotion in his political career,<sup>834</sup> it is heavily focused on his military exploits. He is now no longer on active service, as indicated by him being described as *notus Gradivo belli vetus*, but he was an exceptional soldier who always fought in the front battle line, and, in language reminiscent of **NW.10**, he was able to perform a feat of military athleticism, and, in doing so, replicate the signature move of his native deity. This appears to be what he is referring to in the peculiar line *respirantem faciem patrii numinis* ('the breathing likeness of the god of my homeland', 12): in being able to also throw a spear *refreno ex equo* ('from a restrained horse', 13), he is describing himself as the breathing, animated, living version of the statue of Medaurus (4-6), as if he, in that moment, had been the god himself.

This is a rare instance in these military verse inscriptions of the composer (or, at the very least, the one who had an influence on the existence of this inscription) not having a specified military rank (see also **RI.1**). Like **RI.1**, it refers to military combat, and has therefore been included in this collection; it has been described as offering 'a special insight into the complex motivations that shaped [senatorial] dedications', and has been perceived as offering more insight into 'the

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<sup>832</sup> Dyczek et al. 2014: 76.

<sup>833</sup> See, for example, *CLE* 1527, as well as the content of the inscription, where the result of this inscription being erected due to military combat is evident.

<sup>834</sup> See also *AE* 2016.1964 adn.

perspective of senatorial religion'.<sup>835</sup> It conforms to the religious and military pattern at the time, partly due to the movements of the senatorial elite, who were becoming more provincialised, and partly due to the combat referred to in the inscription itself. During the Marcomannic Wars, worship of tutelary deities became more important, 'pendant les grandes invasions barbares dans les régions danubiennes, on observe une hausse notable de la religiosité tant officielle que privée. Ce phénomène concerne tout l'Empire romain, mais il prend une ampleur exceptionnelle dans les régions menacées par les attaques des ennemis'.<sup>836</sup>

**RI.2** highlights the general as well as local aspects of life in the Roman Empire. Even those in the higher social elites wished to depict themselves, and their power, not only as Roman citizens but also with their provincial origins, which they did through religion, through depicting their piety with Roman religion and the imperial cult, but their actual religious piety was conducted through their own local religious affiliations.<sup>837</sup> Although military combat is referred to in this inscription, it is not the focus of **RI.2**, even less so than **RI.1**. But the senatorial elite's former military involvement was significant enough for them to include it in their dedicatory inscriptions, despite this not being the primary focus of these inscriptions. In both, the primary focus is their piety and reverence towards the god they are venerating, and the emperor. Yet, their military careers were the making of their political ones, political careers which established and/or re-affirmed their families' place within the Roman senatorial class. As the years went by, the senatorial class, like the military itself, included provincials, who came from different cultural, social, and religious backgrounds, but nevertheless conformed to the Roman understandings of these facets of life. Despite the reference to Mars, and the emperor, emphasising the dedicant's conformity to Roman religion and the imperial cult, **RI.2** is dedicated to Medaurus. Medaurus was represented riding a horse and throwing a spear,<sup>838</sup> which is why the dedicant dedicates a spear to this god, as he had replicated this manoeuvre; this is referenced in the inscription itself (**RI.2.13-14**). Dyczek et al. (2014) theorise that this inscription describes a statue of Medaurus, and that the statue base it was found on was a replica of one in Risinium, although there does not seem to be any material proof of this (for Dyczek et al., this is a key part of the proof).<sup>839</sup> The inscription gives us enough evidence that the appearance an equestrian statue of the god Medaurus can be recreated.<sup>840</sup>

Like **RI.1**, the aim of this inscription, although it refers to military combat, was to emphasise the piety of the dedicant, through their acts of dedicating a statue, weapons, invoking the emperor, and immortalising these acts in accompanying verse inscriptions: 'the most remarkable aspect of the poem is that it provides evidence for the *active* role Bassianus saw himself taking in installing this divinity in the Asclepius temple at Lambaesis. Lines 3 and 4 literally call upon Medaurus to take care of this Asclepius temple beyond his duties in the god's own home in Dalmatia'.<sup>841</sup> Yet, his aim was not to bring Medaurus to Lambaesis, to introduce the people to a new cult: 'the tone of the inscription is, in fact, quite personal, and the line *sancte Medaure domi et sancte hic* (v. 3) gives a sense of religious commitment that is rather intimate and appears to travel with Bassianus, wherever his duties might take him'.<sup>842</sup> This is how

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<sup>835</sup> Várhelyi 2010: 34.

<sup>836</sup> Dyczek et al. 2014: 83.

<sup>837</sup> See *ibid.*: 79.

<sup>838</sup> Near direct translation of *ILS* 4881. See also, for example, Várhelyi 2010: 36; Dyczek et al. 2014: 81.

<sup>839</sup> Dyczek et al. 2014: 73, 79-81; *AE* 2016.1964 adn.

<sup>840</sup> *AE* 2013.2147 adn.

<sup>841</sup> Várhelyi 2010: 35.

<sup>842</sup> *Ibid.*: 35-36.



religion is often expressed in these verse inscriptions, especially when they are primarily to a foreign god, with mentions of/assimilations to Roman gods: as personal acts, snippets of their individual origins shining through as much as possible in a Roman divine dominated world.<sup>843</sup>

**RI.3** is another verse inscription by someone who was a consul and a *legatus Augusti pro praetore*, and both ranks are specified in this inscription (in the first and last lines, both on the stone as as it is presented in verse). This verse inscription is about Gaius Fulvius Maximus,<sup>844</sup> and it gives an extensive account of his life and career, seemingly in chronological order. He was of Italic origin (2), before being posted to the *Hiberos Ce[lt]as | Venetos Delmatas* ('the Iberians, the Celts, the Venetians, the Dalmatians', 3), presumably, if it was at the beginning of his career, in a military and/or lowly administrative capacity; given the people presented, it is more likely that this was in reference to a military posting. He was then in an unknown kingdom (often postulated as *Liburna*), the beginning of the line lost to time, and then he was posted to the land of the Iapydes (4), again, presumably in a military capacity, before he finally received his consular posting in Germany (5).<sup>845</sup>

This altar, made of trachyte, was found in Bonna, Germania Inferior.<sup>846</sup> Bonna had an auxiliary garrison from the first to the third centuries AD, and a legionary fortress from the reign of Claudius until AD 353.<sup>847</sup> The *cohors I Thracum* and the *ala Frontoniana* were stationed there from the early to the mid first century AD.<sup>848</sup> Various units were stationed in the legionary fortress at Bonna, starting with *Legio I*, the *cohors V Asturum* and the *ala Pomponiana*, and 'at 27 hectares, the Bonn legionary fortress is the largest known for a single legion'.<sup>849</sup> Then, the *Legio XI* came in AD 70 to rebuild it, after the garrison burnt it down in the Batavian Revolt earlier on in that year.<sup>850</sup> The *Legio XI* left in AD 83, and were replaced by the *Legio I Minervia*, where they remained until the fourth century AD, making it likely that Maximus was in command of this legion.<sup>851</sup> Perhaps Maximus was stationed there himself. The inscription, in contrast to **RI.1** and **RI.2**, dates to the early third century AD.<sup>852</sup>

Maximus states that he became *consul suffectus [ex] | vernō die* ('from a spring day', **RI.3.1**), i.e. on the first of March.<sup>853</sup> He claims that he was the governor *Germaniarum*, but the plural was likely poetic licence and he was the governor of Germania Inferior.<sup>854</sup> A *legatus Augusti pro praetore* was a man of senatorial rank 'in charge of a province and legionary troops', a delegate of the emperor to act in his stead as military commander in the provinces of the Empire.<sup>855</sup> Given the personal, specific nature of the contents of this inscription, as well as the

<sup>843</sup> For example, see discussions on **AI.7**.

<sup>844</sup> Presumably his *praenomen* was Gaius, considering that this was his father's, but this part of the text is now missing.

<sup>845</sup> See also *ILS* 1195; Lehner 1918: 149; *CLE* 20; *CIL* XIII 8007 for conjectures on his career. Presumably this is dependent on the conjecture that he was Fulvius Maximus, *consul ordinis* in AD 263 (see below).

<sup>846</sup> EDCS-11100232; <https://www.mqdg.it/texts/CE/ce0020>; HD079858; *ILS* 1195; *CLE* 20; *CIL* XIII 8007; Lehner 1918: 149; Kakoschke 2002: 10.4.

<sup>847</sup> See Salway & Drinkwater 2012: 239 for more details on the history of Roman Bonn, see Reddé in Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 107.

<sup>848</sup> Reddé in Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 107.

<sup>849</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>850</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>851</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>852</sup> HD079858 dates it between AD 201-250; *AE* 1999.95 adn. dates **RI.3** to early third century, to the Severan dynasty. Saddington 1999: 158; *LLDB*-91822-23, 141771 dates it to AD 263, following Mommsen, who believed Maximus here to be a Fulvius Maximus who was *consul ordinis* in AD 263 (see *CIL* XIII 8007). See also *CLE* 20, who prefers a dating to Trajan or Hadrian or the Antonines. Lehner says that Mommsen's dating is erroneous (1918: 149). This is believed to be the case here.

<sup>853</sup> See *ILS* 1195; Lehner 1918: 149.

<sup>854</sup> See Lehner 1918: 149; Saddington 1999: 158. Bücheler believed that he was the *legatus Augusti pro praetore* of both Germania Superior and Inferior (*CLE* 20).

<sup>855</sup> Campbell in Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 423. See also Appendix 3.

clear understanding of metrics and older pronunciation of certain words,<sup>856</sup> it seems likely that Maximus may have composed this inscription. The letters are well, and evenly, carved in square capitals, the concluding prose letters slightly larger than the verse, which is often seen in verse inscriptions with an accompanying prose description, so one wonders if this was carved by a professional stonemason;<sup>857</sup> Maximus would certainly have been able to afford it.

Maximus' altar (which he refers to in the inscription, **RI.3.7**) is dedicated to predominantly Roman deities: Concordia, the Camenae, Mars, and *Lar Pacis, [e]t deorum stirpe | genito Caesari* ('and to the lineage of gods born from the family of Caesar', 7-9). However, it appears to have originally been dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus (1); perhaps this was this altar's intended use, or it had already been carved onto the stone in anticipation of this use. Apollo, too, is invoked, but by his Celtic surname *Grannus*, seen in Dacian, Scottish and Germanic inscriptions.<sup>858</sup> This use of Grannus to mean Apollo was likely to have been influenced by Maximus' German consulship, and/or perhaps his time among the Celts. Apollo Grannus was a healing god, a sun god, and summarised by Lehner as 'Grannus is ein mit Apollo identischer keltischer Heilgott'.<sup>859</sup> He was the 'tutelary god of the healing springs at Aachen (Aquae Granni)',<sup>860</sup> where his worship was extended to during the Severan period.<sup>861</sup> Apollo Grannus was worshipped by the Gauls and Germans, the Celtic and Illyrian tribes.<sup>862</sup> Apollo Grannus' 'worship centred in Raetia and who even numbered Caracalla among his votaries'.<sup>863</sup> Caracalla went on a tour, visiting 'several sacralised spaces dedicated to the healing divinities in Raetia and Dacia',<sup>864</sup> between AD 212-217,<sup>865</sup> because he wished to be healed from his visions of his brother, Geta, whom he had murdered, and this is when he began worshipping Apollo Grannus.<sup>866</sup> This may have increased his popularity abroad and among the Roman elite, which may be why Maximus addresses Apollo in this way. This may also assist us with dating this inscription, reaffirming its identification with the Severan dynasty.

Could we possibly date this inscription to in or around AD 213, when Caracalla was concerned 'with the propitiation of healing deities; included among these, according to the obviously incomplete list supplied by Dio Cassius, was, notably for us, Grannus, a Celtic god syncretistically conflated with Apollo and worshipped in Germany – where the emperor was campaigning in the same year'?<sup>867</sup> Maximus sees himself as *Divum sodalis* ('companion of the gods', **RI.3.1**); Dessau understood this as him being a companion of an emperor, either

<sup>856</sup> The verse was clearly intended to be written as iambic senarii, for example, Maximus must be scanned as the archaic pronunciation *Maxumus* (5) and there is a double *I* in *Concordiae* (8) to make the line scan as six iambic feet.

<sup>857</sup> See photos HD079858; EDCS-11100232; *CIL* website.

<sup>858</sup> Lewis & Short 1945: 824. A temple to Apollo Grannus has been found in Faimingen (Bayern), in south western Germany, which is from the mid second century AD (see Schmidt 2000: 125, 127-128; Weber 1985). See also Cook 1906: 441 n. 3 for a list of inscriptions mentioning Apollo Grannus, and for an explanation of the origin of the name *Grannus*. See also Sigerist 1927: 303 for how and where Apollo Grannus has been revered. See also Webster 1995: 159; Meyer 2019: 195-196 for an example of Apollo Grannus appearing on an inscription in Scotland, by a *procurator Augusti*.

<sup>859</sup> Lehner 1918: 149. See also, for example, Salazar 2002: 352 for Apollo Grannus' healing qualities ('originally a Celtic deity assimilated into Roman belief, whose cult was always related to medicinal springs'), as well as the discussion below.

<sup>860</sup> Saddington 1999: 158, who makes specific reference to this inscription.

<sup>861</sup> Fündling 2015: 1089.

<sup>862</sup> See Peters 2005: 16; Cook 1906: 441 for his worship by the Gauls; Marwood 1984: 322; Macurdy 1912: 251; Meyer 2019: 194, 199, where one of the most important centres for worshipping Apollo Grannus was at Grand, France.

<sup>863</sup> Birley 1966: 228. See also Nock 1952: 222.

<sup>864</sup> Szabó 2022: 170.

<sup>865</sup> *Ibid.*: 102; see also Meyer 2019: 194.

<sup>866</sup> Szabó 2022: 170; Simelon 2010: 797-798.

<sup>867</sup> Marwood 1984: 322.

Claudius, Titus, Hadrian or Antoninus.<sup>868</sup> Caracalla went to Gaul in AD 213 and ‘lead[ing] a military campaign in southern Germany’ in the same year.<sup>869</sup> This is when he visited a sanctuary of Apollo Grannus, perhaps in Raetia, Germania Superior, an event which Dio Cassius described.<sup>870</sup> Could Maximus have been sent to his post in Germania Inferior as a part of Caracalla’s *expeditio Germanica*? Out of all the gods invoked in these verses, only Apollo Grannus is invoked using his non-Roman name. All the gods from the Roman pantheon invoked on this altar are associated with music and poetry, war and peace: (Apollo) Grannus and the Camenae, Concordia (with the epithet *Sospes*, 7) and Lar Pacis, and Mars. *Sospes Concordia* and Lar Pacis frame the list of deities invoked, with Apollo Grannus and the Camenae side by side, and Mars between deities associated with poetry and music, and peace.

**RI.3** highlights the transient nature of life in the Roman military, especially for those higher up the ranks, who moved around from post to post, from province to province, as they ascended the *cursus honorum*. We do not know why Maximus dedicated this altar to these gods, but it was presumably as the result of some military action. Although, it has been suggested that this altar was erected when his children came of age (6).<sup>871</sup> He specifies he had two adult twin children, although he does not mention his wife/partner (6). But why would he spend an entire inscription intended to celebrate the coming of age of his children talking about himself? In inscriptions are specifically about people other than the dedicant, they tend to talk about them in the body of the text, as can be seen in inscriptions throughout this study. Perhaps he was divinely inspired, hence why he wrote it in verse. Although most military verse inscriptions are not outwardly boasting, examples such as these, where the men describe their life and career, give an implicit boasting, at the very least an outward pride, at their progression through the hierarchy, whether that for social and political reasons, such as here, or for military focused reasons (see inscriptions such as **NW.3**). Although, those who were of Italic origin and/or held higher, more elite posts, such as being in the Praetorian Guard became more superior in their tone about their origins and rank(s) as the years went by (see, for example, **NW.1**); it is difficult not to see a correlation between this and the decreasing Italic origins of those within the Roman military. This altar indicates that Maximus, its dedicant, was Roman, in his outlook, career and life. He worships the Roman pantheon, and the imperial cult, whilst also adopting a different name for Apollo, one picked up on his postings around the Roman world. **RI.3**, in many ways, summarises the Roman attitude to war, peace, religion and verse. As the Roman attitude to warfare shows, peace was brought about by war, and these acts of peace-bringing war were immortalised in musical verse.<sup>872</sup>

Not all religious (verse) inscriptions were by the higher ranking members of the Roman military. Nor are they all so elaborate, but they state their function as simply as any prose inscription, but in verse. This is seen in **RI.4**. Although the inscription describes this as an *ara* (1), **RI.4** was written on a marble tablet, and is a dedication by a prefect of a cohort to Jupiter, the greatest of all the gods in the Roman pantheon:<sup>873</sup>

<sup>868</sup> *ILS* 1195. Bücheler and Mommsen suggest that he was a companion of either Trajan, Hadrian or one of the Antonines (*CLE* 20; *CIL* XIII 8007).

<sup>869</sup> Meckler 2010: 52; Fündling 2015: 1087; D.C. 88.15.6-7.

<sup>870</sup> See, for example, Fündling 2015: 1089. D.C. 78.15.6.

<sup>871</sup> *CLE* 20; Lehner 1918: 149.

<sup>872</sup> One need only think of the *Aeneid* and the *Iliad*, Lucan’s *Pharsalia* and Silus Italicus’ *Punica*.

<sup>873</sup> Despite this, this inscription was not classified as military by EDCS-13003258.

#### RI.4

[Ha]nc [t]ibi | quam vo|vi, posui, | bone Iup|p[i]ter aram. |  
praef(ectus) coh(ortis) | nomine | Galloni|us.

This elegiac couplet appears to have been thought out with some consideration when contemplating the format of the words on the inscription. Between *hanc tibi*, *bone Iup*, and *praef coh* was some sort of interpunct, on every third line of writing on the inscription (see the layout of the inscription in the *CIL*). As this was written on nine lines on the stone, this was clearly taken into consideration. There does seem to have been consideration taken towards the wording itself, for *hanc* and *aram* encircle the first line of verse, the linguistic object, and the literal as this is meant to be an *ara* to Jupiter, standing out as the important aspect of this inscription.

According to the editors of the *CIL*, it is likely that the cohort Gallonius was the prefect of was the *cohors I Chalcidenorum*. **RI.4** was found in the ruins of Bir-oum-Ali (Bîr Umm Alî, Tripolitania), Numidia,<sup>874</sup> where this cohort was posted after AD 162; inscriptions identifying members of this cohort can be directly dated to 163-164.<sup>875</sup> This cohort, along with its other Chalcideian cohorts, was initially posted to Moesia, and then sent to Africa.<sup>876</sup> Bîr Umm Alî is on the Algerian-Tunisian frontier, which ‘coupe l’emplacement du bourg antique’,<sup>877</sup> and it is ‘près des ruines d’un grand village situé sur l’ancienne route de Theveste à Capsa’.<sup>878</sup> **RI.4** was found in the ruins of Bir-oum-Ali, near *CIL* VIII 17589, a funerary inscription to the wife of a prefect of the *cohors I Chalcidenorum*, Suetonius Ianuarius, and several other military (prose) inscriptions have been found here, including one to *Disciplina Militaris*,<sup>879</sup> a dedicatory inscription to the emperor to Marcus Aurelius by the *legatus Augustus pro praetore* for the *cohors I Chalcidenorum equitata*, and inscriptions of a similar ilk.<sup>880</sup> This latter inscription can be dated between December AD 163 and 164, and, in this inscription, ‘la *cohors I Chalcidenorum equitata* ... est sans doute identique à une *cohors Chalcidenorum* qui appartenait à l’armée d’Afrique dès l’époque flavienne; elle doit être distinguée d’une *cohors I Flavia Chalcidenorum equitata sagittariorum*, I on constate la présence en Syrie en 157 et en 162’.<sup>881</sup> In the scholarship throughout the ages there is confusion between these two units, or whether they were one unit or two separate units.

As Gallonius was the *praefectus cohortis*, the cohort he was in charge of must have been the *I Chalcidenorum equitata*, a cavalry auxiliary cohort. Three auxiliary cohorts were recruited from Chalcis,<sup>882</sup> the other two being the *I Flavia Chalcidenorum sagittariorum*, an auxiliary cohort into which Syrian archers were recruited, including the Ituraei, Hamii, and Damasceni; this cohort has been identified as being among the auxiliary cohorts on Trajan’s Column,<sup>883</sup> and

<sup>874</sup> EDCS-13003258; *CIL* VIII 17586; *ILAlg* 3839; Rey-Coquais 1978; Grainger 2017: 107: 68.

<sup>875</sup> See *ILAlg* 3841-3842. See also *CLE* 874. Southern gives slightly more detail about the movements of this cohort; they were previously stationed at Gemellae, for example, in AD 126-127 (1989: 90). See also Carcopino 1933: 44; Holder 2003: 139.

<sup>876</sup> Grainger 2017: 106; we have evidence for this from diplomata from AD 127-129 (Holder 2003: 113; Holder 2006: 775; Matei-Popescu 2014: 299).

<sup>877</sup> *ILAlg* 3839.

<sup>878</sup> *CIL* VIII 17589.

<sup>879</sup> *ILAlg* 3839.

<sup>880</sup> Gsell see collection here (1922.3839-3867: 373-375), and in *CIL* VIII 17585-17605. Six of these can be identified as military through the contents of their inscription, but not all; the military units that can be identified through these inscriptions are the *Cohors I Chalcidenorum* and the *Legio III Augusta*. **RI.8** is the only verse inscription in this collection.

<sup>881</sup> *ILAlg* 3841. This cohort can be seen in three inscriptions of Bir-oum-Ali: *CIL* VIII 17587, 17588, 17589.

<sup>882</sup> Grainger 2017: 105.

<sup>883</sup> Lepper & Frere 1988: 19.

the *II Chalcidenorum sagittariorum*.<sup>884</sup> Grainger conjectures that *I Flavia Chalcidenorum sagittariorum*, ‘from its name, was clearly recruited after 70, and probably by Vespasian; the other two, lacking such an imperial indicator, were presumably recruited earlier, perhaps simultaneously, or maybe one at a time; the difference between them – one horsed and the other archers – might imply a simultaneous origin, or even a single original regiment, later split into two’.<sup>885</sup> Chalcis was situated ‘at a major road junction and at the interface of desert and cultivation [which] led it to become a major garrison and government centre’;<sup>886</sup> Grainger conjectures that ‘this is probably another case of the mobilisation of a city militia and their later retention as part of the regular army’.<sup>887</sup> *Cohors I Chalcidenorum equitata* is found on two other inscriptions in Thelepte, and all these inscriptions are ‘by or for serving officers’, one by a *legatus Augusti pro praetore*, another the wife of a *praefectus* and **RI.8**, by the *praefectus cohortis*.<sup>888</sup> This collection of inscriptions ‘strongly suggest[s] that the unit was stationed at this place for some time, and the dating extends its stay at least into the 160s’.<sup>889</sup>

It is not initially clear if the inscription itself was carved by Gallonius, as all we are left with now are written records of it. But it is certain that he had input in its composition; we can perhaps conjecture that he at least composed the poem, even if he did not inscribe it himself. However, *posui* indicates he did erect and compose this inscription himself. One wonders if Gallonius was Syrian. If so, one must admire his Latin ability; it is often more difficult to create something simple than complicated, especially in language, and for him to create such a metrically accurate inscription, using simple Latin, and including his own name within the metre must be admired. It indicates his familiarity with prose inscriptions, and the common language used on prose religious inscriptions, with which Gallonius plays.

This inscription is unique, not only for its brevity, despite its poetic nature, but that it is by the prefect of a cohort, ostensibly for himself. As we shall see throughout this chapter, often it is the leaders of a military regiment who erected inscriptions, on behalf of their men, and, if they did not, it was for personal reasons, and hence it is justifiable that they would erect the inscription themselves. Unusually, Gallonius does not present a personal reason why he decided to create this inscription. Yet, it appears that the soldiers’ general familiarity with Jupiter provided them with a multitude of reasons for setting up an inscription to the leader of the gods.<sup>890</sup>

Esta divinidad era especialmente querida y familiar para los soldados, ya que el culto propiamente military a las <<insignias>> estaba directamente relacionada con el de Júpiter, porque *aquilae*, *signa* y *vexilla* eran otras tantas manifestaciones del dios tutelar de Roma. Además, la relación entre el culto a Júpiter y el culto imperial era evidente para los soldados, ya que en las ceremonias religiosas oficiales realizadas en los campamentos se entremezclaban estos dos cultos, además del culto a los *signa*.

Por ello, los soldados tendían a honrar a esta divinidad siempre que terminaban la relajación de una misión y casi en cualquier circunstancia. Es posible considerar que estas manifestaciones de piedad que vinculaban los cultos a Júpiter, a las insignias y a

<sup>884</sup> Grainger 2017: 105.

<sup>885</sup> *Ibid.*: 105-106.

<sup>886</sup> *Ibid.*: 105.

<sup>887</sup> *Ibid.*: 106.

<sup>888</sup> *Ibid.*: 107.

<sup>889</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>890</sup> Sagredo San Eustaquio & Jiménez de Furundarena 1996: 292.

los emperadores, además de una función religiosa clara, fuera también una manifestación de lealtad al ejército, al emperador, a Roma y a sus dios tutelar, y como tal una reafirmación de aquello que se juraba en el *sacramentum*.

He could have set this inscription up for similar reasons why Lucius Cammius Maximus, a fellow *praefectus cohortis*, of the *Cohors I Hispanorum equitata*, set up a prose inscription to Jupiter Optimus Maximus in Alauna, Britannia: ‘this is linked with the New Year vows made annually for the safety and welfare of the Roman state’.<sup>891</sup> Gallonius may be a non-native Roman, and therefore his altar to Jupiter, apex of the Roman pantheon, must be noted. Jupiter is seldom, if ever, addressed as *bonus Jupiter*, his more common epithets of *Jupiter Optimus Maximus*, for example, nowhere in sight; in this capacity, he was the ‘protector of the Roman people and its army’.<sup>892</sup> One wonders if this is partially because Gallonius was aware of Jupiter’s more common epithets of *Optimus Maximus* and decided to use a derivative of *optimus* to address him. Although this is most likely due to the metrical constraints, of which Gallonius is aware, in many ways, this simplification of his address makes this inscription seem even more personal. Once more, we see a member of the Roman military identifying himself by his rank within the army, which here precedes Gallonius’ name. This identification that the soldiers often employ in these inscriptions, of pairing their rank with their name, is almost formulaic in and of itself, as if it is an additional part of their name, as much as their filiation or their tribe, often in the stead of the latter.

Many of these inscriptions are brief in their appreciation of the gods. Like **RI.4**, a similarly brief verse also to a member of the Roman pantheon, **RI.5** is an altar, written in hexameters,<sup>893</sup> to Mercury:

#### RI.5

*Optatus Cassius | optionis f(i)lius). |*  
*susceptum merito | votum tibi | [M]ercuri solvi, |*  
*ut facias hilares, | semper tua | templa colamus.*

Dated to the first century AD,<sup>894</sup> **RI.5** is a grey Quarona granite altar found in Novara, Transpadana, near the Porta Mortara, in the city of Santa Maria.<sup>895</sup> The altar itself is a small, simple one, often seen as a votive offering for a deity, both for Roman and non-Roman gods. The writing on the inscription is faint, but seems fairly consistent and well carved, although not very deeply.<sup>896</sup> This is not classified as a military inscription, but *Optionis* has been taken as a proper name,<sup>897</sup> so it often understood to say ‘Optatus Cassius, son of Optio’. As observed by Mennella & Pestarino, ‘la struttura dell’onomastica dell’offerente non ricalca ancora completamente lo schema dei tria nomina, ma potrebbe essere dipesa dalle esigenze della composizione metrica’.<sup>898</sup> However, given **ET.50**, where a daughter of a veteran identifies herself as *veteranus filiae*, where *veteranus* is not used as a first name, perhaps we can offer a similar situation here: Optatus Cassius was the son of an *optio*. Perhaps he did not know his father’s name, merely his status. If this is the case, then it is significant that this was a crucial

<sup>891</sup> Richmond 1962: 187 (see also for other inscriptions set up to Jupiter Optimus Maximus by *praefecti cohortis*); *RIB* 282.

<sup>892</sup> Richmond 1962: 187.

<sup>893</sup> See *CLE* 262; EDR109084.

<sup>894</sup> <https://www.mqdg.it/texts/CE/ce0262>; EDR109084; *SupIt* 31: 107; Mennella 1999: 169, nr. 19.

<sup>895</sup> EDR109084; EDCS-07800942; *CIL* V 6506; *SupIt* 31: 107; Mennella 1999: 169, nr. 19.

<sup>896</sup> See photo on EDCS-07800942.

<sup>897</sup> See the interpretations in, for example, *ILS* 3205; *CLE* 262; EDR109084; Mennella 1999: 169, nr. 19.

<sup>898</sup> Mennella & Pestarino 2019: 107. See also Mennella 1999: 169, nr. 19.

identity definer and identifier, both for someone's parental identity and their own identity, that they wished to display in an inscription to a god. Here, this son was integrated into Roman culture, not only able to compose a verse inscription to Mercury, or at least contribute to its creation, but he could refer to Roman ritual practice in hexameters, which were clearly written with thought as each hexameter line is a block of three lines on the stone, each with a similar number of syllables.

We have an interesting collection of inscriptions from Britain to both Roman and non-Roman gods, which mainly focus on the rural deities. Again, they are shorter and by men who did not belong to the senatorial elite. **RI.6** is the only example of a Roman god amongst the military Latin verse inscriptions of Britain, and it is curious because it seems as if it was not originally intended to be verse, or, at the very least, that the verse aspect of it was never completed. The inscription was written on a limestone altar, which now exists in two fragmented pieces.<sup>899</sup> The writing of the prose part is significantly larger, and written in monumental square capitals, whereas the verse is smaller, unfinished, and much more lightly engraved, in more rustic, less carefully written letters (Figure 5.1).<sup>900</sup> The guidelines are evident on the stone. Found at the Mount, York, with *RIB* 664 a fragmentary inscribed altar of unknown dedication, **RI.6** must date before around AD 120,<sup>901</sup> as *Legio VI* in York arrived in AD 120.<sup>902</sup> Whilst stationed in Britain, the *Legio IX Hispana* went from Lindum to Eboracum in the late first century AD,<sup>903</sup> thus dating this inscription to the late first to the early second century AD.

## RI.6

*D[eo sancto] | Silva[no s(acrum)]. | L(ucius) Celerin<i?>us | Vitalis corni(cularius) |  
leg(ionis) VIII His(panae) | v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito).*

*et donum hoc donum |  
adpertiniat, cautum attiggam.*



Figure 5.1: A close up of the verse section of **RI.6**.<sup>904</sup>

<sup>899</sup> *RIB* 659; York Museums and Gallery Trust 2020, 'altar', <https://www.yorkmuseumstrust.org.uk/collections/search/item/?id=8641>, last accessed 8/4/2024. See also HD069924; Yorkshire Philosophical Society 1891.22a: 43; *EE* 928; Watkin 1885: 152; Kruschwitz 2017: 24. See also photos of **RI.6**.

<sup>900</sup> See Kruschwitz 2017: 25. See also York Museums and Gallery Trust 2020, 'altar', <https://www.yorkmuseumstrust.org.uk/collections/search/item/?id=8641>, last accessed 8/4/2024.

<sup>901</sup> *RIB* 659; Kruschwitz 2017: 24; Yorkshire Philosophical Society 1891.22a: 43. See also *EE* 928; *AE* 2017.896 adn.

<sup>902</sup> *RIB* 659. See also York Museums and Gallery Trust 2020, 'altar', <https://www.yorkmuseumstrust.org.uk/collections/search/item/?id=8641>, last accessed 8/4/2024. HD069924 more specifically dates it between AD 71-122. See discussion below.

<sup>903</sup> Hardy 1887: 645.

<sup>904</sup> EDCS-07800942.

This votive inscription to Silvanus, as we can see, is by the *cornicularius* of the *Legio VIII Hispania*. Previously posted in Spain (30-19? BC), Illyricum, Upper Germany and then Pannonia in the early first century AD, and it was temporarily in Africa in the 20s,<sup>905</sup> the legion was then sent from Pannonia as part of the invading force of Britain in AD 43. It was first stationed in Lindum (Lincoln) after the invasion, and then it was moved to Eboracum (York) in c. AD 71.<sup>906</sup> It is now famous for mysteriously disappearing from the records at some point in the second century, which led to myths and legends being created about its whereabouts, lost to the peat bogs of the tribes of Scotland, whereas now it seems to have been decided that it had a rather more unglamorous end.<sup>907</sup>

It used to be thought that the legion was destroyed in some catastrophe in northern England, even in Scotland, and this view formed the basis of Rosemary Sutcliff's famous novel, *The Eagle of the Ninth* (1954). Now it is generally believed that the legion was in fact transferred to one of Rome's provinces on the Continent. We still do not know what its eventual fate was.

However, 'all we can say for certain is that the Ninth is absent, as is *XXII Deiotariana*, from the two inscribed columns erected at Rome early in Marcus' reign, which is listed in near clockwise geographical sequence, the legions serving in his reign (*ILS* 2288)'.<sup>908</sup> The *Legio IX Hispania* came to Britain as one of the four invading legions, and when and where it disappeared is not known.

Although this inscription is to a Roman god, Silvanus, the god of the forest (as his very name suggests) and the countryside,<sup>909</sup> 'beyond the boundaries of the cultivated fields',<sup>910</sup> it leans towards the more rural aspects of the verse religious inscriptions by the members of the Roman military posted in Britain. This may be due to the nature of the gods and worship in Roman Britain, as:<sup>911</sup>

Before their customs were tained by the influence of the classical cultures, the Celts ... worshipped where natural features suggested to them the presence of a god – pools, springs, the sources of rivers, wells and, of course, the sacred grove or *nemeton*. Cemeteries and grave-mounds were also considered sacred, as were the *temenoi*, ditched rural-enclosures which rarely show evidence of internal structures. ... In the pre-Roman period shrines or temples were rare, the notion of worshipping in a roofed building apparently being alien to the Celts. Contact with the Romans introduced this new kind of sacred place, which Lewis suggests would be fairly elaborate in more Romanized areas, but on the fringe of civilization might only be a simple round or rectangular shrine.

Silvanus has associations with forests and agriculture, and 'to a lesser extent with hunting and herding',<sup>912</sup> activities the Roman military were associated with carrying out; inscriptions were set up to Silvanus by the *venatores* and *venatores immunes* in the Roman military.<sup>913</sup> As 'it was

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<sup>905</sup> Hardy 1887: 630; Campbell 2012d: 817-818.

<sup>906</sup> Campbell 2012d: 817-818.

<sup>907</sup> Keppie 1991: 50. See also Campbell 2018; See also Campbell 2012d: 817-818.

<sup>908</sup> Keppie 2000: 174.

<sup>909</sup> Howatson (ed). 2011; Boykin Rives 2012: 1367.

<sup>910</sup> Howatson (ed). 2011.

<sup>911</sup> Charlton & Mitcheson 1983: 147.

<sup>912</sup> Boykin Rives 2012: 1367.; see also Yorkshire Philosophical Society 1891.22a: 44.

<sup>913</sup> See Epplett 2001: 213-214.



important to propitiate him before violating his territory, e.g. cutting down trees’,<sup>914</sup> can we conjecture that this inscription was put up to set Silvanus at ease before the army had to carry out some non-military fieldwork, such as deforestation? When considering the other examples of British Latin military verse inscriptions, Silvanus was sometimes accompanied by nymphs.<sup>915</sup> Some expand *corni* to *cornicen*,<sup>916</sup> which may make more sense based on the content of the inscription alone, as *cornicines* wore lion and bear skins as a part of their uniform.<sup>917</sup> However, this may be reading too much into Vitalis’ rank and the content of his inscription, as other ranks in the Roman military dedicated inscriptions to Silvanus, not simply those who wore animal skins as a part of their uniform.<sup>918</sup> The *cornicularius* does not appear to have been a particularly elite rank.<sup>919</sup>

Silvanus has been described as an ‘unofficial god’, as:<sup>920</sup>

The god did not have a place in the official calendar, nor an official priest or sanctuary in Rome. He is depicted on official monuments or coins no earlier than the beginning of the second century A.D. [notably, around the time that **RI.6** was erected, although this may have no correlation], despite his apparent popularity in the lower strata of predominantly male Roman society. Nevertheless, there are a few examples of the worship of the god by freemen, and even by members of the senatorial élite.

Although his origins are pre-Roman,<sup>921</sup> Silvanus was adopted as a Roman god, and this must be the way in which those in Britain were introduced to him, although Vitalis has a Roman name, so perhaps he himself was not originally from Britain. He does not appear to have been affiliated with a local god here,<sup>922</sup> appearing instead in his Roman guise, which offers more weight to the argument that Vitalis was not a local. It has been noted that ‘several altars to Silvanus ... have been found in the north of England’.<sup>923</sup> This altar fits the pattern of inscriptions dedicated to Silvanus, as ‘most ... were erected by individuals, of whom fewer than 10 per cent seem to have been members of the élite’, therefore making him a popular deity, venerated throughout the Empire, including all over Britain,<sup>924</sup> perhaps because of his rustic nature, and the rustic nature of British pre-Roman worship, as it is recognised that not only did the locals of a province take on Roman customs and culture, but so did the soldiers posted there.<sup>925</sup>

Silvanus was often paired with Jupiter in votive inscriptions, especially in Sirmium, Pannonia, Aquincum, Carnuntum and Gorsium;<sup>926</sup> indeed, ‘the cult of Silvanus has since the work of Domaszewski been considered the most important local, indigenous divine agency of Pannonia and was reappropriated in numerous forms during the Principate’, and he was ‘the second most

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<sup>914</sup> Howaston (ed.) 2011.

<sup>915</sup> Boykin Rives 2012: 1367.

<sup>916</sup> See, for example, Kruschwitz 2017: 24 n. 5: ‘if Cereini(?)us Vitalis was indeed a *cornicularius*, then one would have to imagine that he served the legionary legate as a secretary’. See also *EE* 928.

<sup>917</sup> Epplert 2001: 215.

<sup>918</sup> *Ibid.*: throughout.

<sup>919</sup> See Appendix 3 for information on this rank.

<sup>920</sup> Lipka 2009: 178.

<sup>921</sup> Leeming 2006.

<sup>922</sup> See, for example, Breeze 2004, for Silvanus being paired with a British god in *RIB* 194, an inscription from Colchester. See also Webster 1995: 156 for Silvanus being paired with a local god.

<sup>923</sup> Yorkshire Philosophical Society 1891.22a: 44.

<sup>924</sup> Breeze 2004: 228; Boykin Rives 2012: 1367. see Charlton & Mitcheson 1983: 151 for Silvanus being worshipped all over Britain.

<sup>925</sup> As seen in, most pertinently, through their religious worship, as seen throughout, for example, Charlton & Mitcheson 1983.

<sup>926</sup> Ferjančić & Babić 2009: 245.

popular divinity of the two provinces of Pannoniae after Jupiter'.<sup>927</sup> Diana and Silvanus, deities both associated with the forest and hunting, were 'both favourites of Danubian *Equites Singulares Augusti*'.<sup>928</sup> That is not to suggest that Vitalis was an *equites singulares Augusti*, but could he have perhaps come from the Danubian area?<sup>929</sup> After all, 'it is possible to detect a sort of "shunting" process with legions moved along a line encompassing Britain, the Rhine and the Danube, and the East'.<sup>930</sup> Perhaps Vitalis had previously been with the legion when it was posted in Pannonia, although, depending on the date of the inscription, that could potentially make him an old serving member of the Roman military. Silvanus did have associations with Celtic areas of the Roman world, and associations with the youth, so perhaps this indicates that Vitalis was a younger man in the Roman army: 'In the north-western parts of the Roman Empire mention is being made of the *iuuentutes*' dedications to the Nymphs, Diana, Epona (the Celtic horse god) and Silvanus, which may, at least, indicate that their religious preference did not lie with the gods of the urbanized world. The *iuuentutes*' devotion to the cult of the imperial house does not impinge on that fact'.<sup>931</sup>

The additional iambic senarius line makes this primarily prose inscription share aspects of warnings found on prose epitaphs, where people are warned not to damage the stone.<sup>932</sup> The line itself refers to the altar, *hoc donum* ('this gift', **RI.6.3**), as a part of the vow to Silvanus, indicating that these inscribed votive altars had a religious meaning beyond simply identifying the commissioner on the stone as the deviser of the altar, and therefore that they go beyond a simple vanity project. Although Kruschwitz sees this as a part of 'a binding declaration' between the reader and the stone, evidence of 'the (otherwise rarely attested) practice of making actual physical contact with an inscribed object as part of a broader ritual (and in reading a text that quite literally draws its interlocutor near through text layout and design)'.<sup>933</sup> Mommsen believed this concluding verse line should be directed to the passer-by,<sup>934</sup> yet Kruschwitz regarded this as 'more realistically, however, this phrase is crucial evidence for non-silent reading of monumental texts, obligating its readership (and quite possibly in this case the dedicant first and foremost), through an act of reading out a binding declaration, to a respectful, religious treatment of a sacred monument'.<sup>935</sup> One wonders if the final verse line was intended by the author (presumably Vitalis had a hand in it), or if it was an addition later. But, we can see, that it was intentionally inscribed with care, not simply graffitied on, as it has been initially carved and written between guidelines.<sup>936</sup>

Kruschwitz reintroduced the idea that the final line of this inscription was a line of iambic senarius,<sup>937</sup> and he states 'it has been argued that this second part was added by a different hand and that it thus constitutes a subsequent addition ... This may be the case; if the present text exists only in its original draft stage, however, then it is entirely possible that it dates to the

<sup>927</sup> Szabó 2022: 63.

<sup>928</sup> Davies 1976b: 107, n. 55.

<sup>929</sup> See also Charlton & Mitcheson 1983: for associations between Silvanus and other gods, in this instance, an altar to Vinotonus Silvanus, by Julius Secundus, centurion of the *Cohors I Thracorum* (147).

<sup>930</sup> Keppie 2000: 174.

<sup>931</sup> Kleijwegt 1994: 86.

<sup>932</sup> Although Kruschwitz disagrees with this (2017: 26).

<sup>933</sup> Kruschwitz 2017: 26. See also *AE* 2017.896 adn.

<sup>934</sup> *RIB* 659; Kruschwitz 2017: 26.

<sup>935</sup> Kruschwitz 2017: 26.

<sup>936</sup> See *ibid.*: 25-26.

<sup>937</sup> *Ibid.*: 24-26. He scans the line on 25. 'The only person who (so far) appears to have considered this option was Otto Hirschfeld... The item is absent from Bücheler-Lommatzsch, *Carmina Latina Epigraphica* as well as all subsequent additions to it' (*ibid.*: 25 n. 7). See also *EE* 928.

exact same time and was written by the same person, only superficially incised to determine and capture the final arrangement of the text across the object. The reason as to why the cutting of the letters has remained unfinished is unclear and not evident from the text itself'.<sup>938</sup> One wonders if this inscription falls into the 'accidentally metrical' category mentioned in the introduction. Given its primarily prosaic nature, even the verse line shares aspects with warnings found on prose inscriptions not to damage the stone,<sup>939</sup> similarities can be seen between this line and verse and prose examples,<sup>940</sup> and especially as Kruschwitz comments that 'while this senarius is elegant neither from a metrical nor from a syntactical point of view, this constitutes an important addition to the miniscule corpus of poetic texts that survive from Roman Britain'.<sup>941</sup>

Yet, as has been seen before, some verse inscriptions can be one or two lines long and their poetic intentionality is clear. There certainly seems to be an intentional aspect to the metricality of this verse here, especially as it contrasts with the classically abbreviated prose part of the inscription. Also, 'a sudden reduction in letter size, drawing the reader closer into the text, is a common device to mark the transition from prose to verse',<sup>942</sup> as is seen in the inscriptions throughout this study. Its importance to the corpus of Latin verse inscriptions surviving from Roman Britain is not only because it adds to the volume of poetic Latin inscriptions from Britain, but also because of its contents. As noted above, the verse, religious inscriptions from Roman Britain refer to rustic, rural gods, deities outside the urban sphere.

### 5.3. Lesser Known Gods, Nymphs and Non-Roman Gods

There is an unusual collection of Latin verse inscriptions from Roman Britain, yet they offer a representative sample of Roman religious worship. We have already encountered one god from the Roman pantheon, and later we shall encounter the nymphs. As we have seen, in religious inscriptions found across the Roman world, especially those by the Roman military, we encounter an eclectic collection of gods, both native and non-native, Roman and non-Roman, worshipped by everyone and the individual. In **RI.7**, we encounter a god so unknown that the dedicator either did not know his name or could not recollect it when he made the inscription:

#### **RI.7**

*Deo qui vias | et semitas com|mentus est.*

*T(itus) Ir|das s(ingularis) c(onsularis) f(ecit) v(otum) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito). |*

*Q(uintus) Varius Vita|lis b̄(ene) f̄(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) aram | sacram resti|tuit |  
Aproniano et Bra|dua co(n)s(ulibus).*

This stone altar, originally by a *singularis consularis*, and later restored by a *beneficiarius consularis*, dates at the latest to AD 191, according to the consular date of the restoration, although we cannot know if the restoration was done contemporaneously as the original

<sup>938</sup> Kruschwitz 2017: 25 n. 8.

<sup>939</sup> Also, Kruschwitz argues against this interpretation (*ibid.*: 26 n. 14).

<sup>940</sup> *RIB* quote Accius Trag. 304; *RIB* 659 (as do Watkin 1885: 152; Yorkshire Philosophical Society 1891.22a: 44); Kruschwitz quotes Cic. Brut. 44 (2017: 26 n. 14).

<sup>941</sup> Kruschwitz 2017: 25.

<sup>942</sup> *Ibid.*: 26. See also *AE* 2017.896 adn.

erection of the inscription or afterwards.<sup>943</sup> It now exists in the manuscript record,<sup>944</sup> and it was found at Thronbrough-on-Swale or Catterick Bridge, near Cataractonium.<sup>945</sup> It has been identified as another iambic senarius in *CLE* only because of the line *Deo qui vias | et semitas com|mentus est*, ‘(with an iambic shortening in *deo*)’, which leads one to wonder whether this ‘may or may not be accidental in its formation’,<sup>946</sup> as, apart from that, the text correlates with a prose votive inscription, as seen in other verse religious inscriptions featured in this chapter. Again, this leads us to wonder whether this was an accidental verse creation, based on **RI.6** above and it is iambic in nature. But this inscription features in other *carmina Latina epigraphica* corpora, such as *CLE*, Schumacher’s *Die Carmina Latina Epigraphica* and on the CLEO database, so it is not just Kruschwitz who is of the opinion that this is of a metrical nature.<sup>947</sup> Due to these doubts about its metrical nature, however.<sup>948</sup>

Por lo tanto, es necesario determinar si hay más indicios de que el texto se compusiera con pretensiones métricas o poéticas: a primera vista esta suposición parece correcta debido a la presencia de la palabra semita. Esta palabra se observa con frecuencia en poemas en el sentido de uia. Por otra parte, semita también tiene su propio significado: quiere decir pequeño camino o sendero. En este sentido la palabra no es en absoluto poética, sino que se observa en prosa. En esta inscripción se agradece a un dios que siempre encuentre el camino correcto. El pasaje pretende decir que ese camino siempre estuvo ahí y que solo había que encontrarlo.

The line fits the pattern of iambic senarius (if we follow the rule stated above about *deo*), including the caesura in the third foot.<sup>949</sup> There appears to be no correlation between the line breaks on the stone and the metrical format of the verse. Schumacher concludes that this was intentionally metrical because of the use of *commentus*, which, although often used in a comic sense, was used to mean ‘showing the way’.<sup>950</sup>

Die Junktur semitas (oder auch uias u. ä.) comminisci ist unbelegt, also Produkt eines kreativen Umgangs mit der Sprache: Das lässt darauf schließen, dass der als jambischer Vers gemessene Passus vielleicht wirklich als solcher beabsichtigt war, obwohl semita allein nicht sonderlich poetisch ist und obwohl comminisci ein Wort ist, das poetisch nur in der Komödie vorkommt: Aber beide Wörter werden zu einem neuen Inhalt zusammengefügt und ersetzen so die Formel Deo Mercurio, wie sie sich in Britannien häufig findet.

It seems that this altar was created to thank the god for showing Irdas the way.<sup>951</sup> Kruschwitz states that *Deo qui vias | et semitas com|mentus est* (‘to the god who devised the roads and paths’, **RI.7.3**) is Mercury, and that the author of the inscription, which, without the original,

<sup>943</sup> *CIL* VII 271; *CLE* 25; HD069984; EDCS-07801016; *ILS* 3929; Schumacher 2012: 146, 150; Cugusi 2014: 367 8; Kruschwitz 2015: 66-67; Schumacher 2023a. Davies 1976a: 137 implies that there was some connection between Irdas and Varius Vitalis.

<sup>944</sup> See the photos provided for this inscription on EDCS and on the *CIL* website; HD069984; Kruschwitz 2015: 66; Schumacher 2012: 146; Schumacher 2023a.

<sup>945</sup> EDCS-07801016; HD069984; *ILS* 3929; *CIL* VII 271; Davies 1976a: 136; Cugusi 2014: 367 8; Kruschwitz 2015: 66; *RIB* 725.

<sup>946</sup> Kruschwitz 2015: 67. See also Schumacher 2012: 148; Schumacher 2023a; *RIB* 725.

<sup>947</sup> It is also identified as a senarius in *ILS* 3929; *CIL* VII 271; *RIB* 725; Cugusi 2014: 367 8; Schumacher 2023a. All based on Bücheler’s original observation.

<sup>948</sup> Schumacher 2023a. This appears to be a direct translation of Schumacher’s comments on the prose/verse nature of the text (2012: 148).

<sup>949</sup> See Kidd 1957: 32.

<sup>950</sup> Schumacher 2012: 148, quote from 149.

<sup>951</sup> See, for example, Schumacher 2012: 149.

we have very little chance of being able to assertively identify if it was made by Irdas himself or not, is purposefully ‘vague in its avoidance of naming this deity’.<sup>952</sup> However, we can offer two alternatives to this suggestion: if this inscription was made to be purposefully metrical, then a more poetic way of addressing Mercury seems appropriate, although, why he was not then named in the prose part of the inscription is confounding, as this happens in other religious military Latin verse inscriptions. Alternatively, the god is a native British one, one Irdas does not know the name of, but wished to venerate him anyway.

Irdas is an unusual name, and otherwise unheard of,<sup>953</sup> but it does share similarities with names found in Germany,<sup>954</sup> so it is tempting to identify Irdas of Pannonian, Germanic or Danubian origin, especially when considering the composition of the garrison in Britannia. Epigraphy, already identified as important to understanding key aspects of the Roman world, including the military, is significant in identifying allegiances, identities and cultures, and expressions of this, in Roman Britain.<sup>955</sup>

Much recent work on Romanization has begun to explore the potential of nonelite material culture, exploring emerging Romano-British art styles and religious practices as well as changing dietary patterns to measure acceptance of, and resistance to, Romanized ways. The picture is complicated by an increasing awareness of the diversity of the “Roman” garrison, which was composed of German, Gaulish, Danubian, and North African troops, although in the later empire military units recruited locally. Incomers have been identified among the later Roman inhumation cemeteries at Eboracum and at Lankhills near Venta Belgarum (Winchester). Epigraphy remains one of the main sources for the identification of individuals and their origin, and for the names of Romano-British deities, but the epigraphic habit is largely limited to military sites, with other evidence such as bronze figurines or Romano-Celtic temples painting a very different picture of religious worship in the province.

Eboracum was a major military fortress in Roman Britain in the first and second centuries.<sup>956</sup> The *Legio IX Hispana* built the legionary fortress there, on the north of the river Ouse, probably due to its strategic position, at the earliest in AD 71, ‘built first in wood, during the 2<sup>nd</sup> century it was rebuilt in stone’,<sup>957</sup> in c. AD 100,<sup>958</sup> and the legion was replaced by *Legio VI Victrix* in 120,<sup>959</sup> therefore dating this inscription between AD 71-120. The fortress was rebuilt in c. AD 79 and again in 107/108.<sup>960</sup> The *Legio VI Victrix* served first in Spain from Augustus’ reign until AD 69, and it was then posted to Novaesium, Lower Germany. It was then sent to Vetera by AD 105, and then to Britain in the 120s, where it was stationed at York,<sup>961</sup> ‘probably until the end of the Roman period’.<sup>962</sup> Located in a strategically useful position, near significant

<sup>952</sup> Kruschwitz 2015: 67. See also Cugusi 2014.8: 367 for identifying this as Mercury.

<sup>953</sup> Which has caused confusion in the past as to how to interpret this name in a transcription; see, for example, Schumacher 2012: 149; Kruschwitz 2015: 67; *RIB* 725. See also Cugusi 2014.8: 367.

<sup>954</sup> See Kruschwitz 2015: 67.

<sup>955</sup> Eckhardt 2010.

<sup>956</sup> See Hardy 1887: throughout; Roberts 2007; Mattingly 2007: 146-149; Eckhardt 2010; Howatson (ed.) 2011; Richmond & Millett 2012: 482; Esmonde Cleary 2015; Darvill 2021; *RIB* 292; for information on Roman York; see also below.

<sup>957</sup> Darvill 2021.

<sup>958</sup> Esmonde Cleary 2015.

<sup>959</sup> Blagg 1980: 30-31; Howatson (ed.) 2011; Richmond & Millett 2012: 482; Esmonde Cleary 2015; Darvill 2021, and above for details and dating of Roman York.

<sup>960</sup> Roberts (ed.) 2007; Richmond & Millett 2012: 482. See also Esmonde Cleary 2015.

<sup>961</sup> Campbell 2012d: 817. See also Hardy 1887, throughout. See Appendix 2 for information on this legion, and Appendix 3 for information on the ranks in this inscription.

<sup>962</sup> Esmonde Cleary 2015.

roads, including Dere Street, ‘Catterick became a long-term transit base for the northern frontier’.<sup>963</sup> There was a major garrison posted at the fort of Catterick too.<sup>964</sup> Both **RI.6** and **RI.7** have direct and indirect links to the *Legio IX Hispana*; although we have no evidence that either Irdas or Varius Vitalis served in the *Legio IX Hispana*, given the date and location of the inscription, it seems fair to suggest that Varius Vitalis may have served in either *Legio IX Hispana* or *Legio VI Victrix*. Varius Vitalis, considering his duties, would have been literate, and, given Irdas’ duties, he, too, would have been literate, and therefore both could have had direct input on the content of this inscription.

One wonders which auxiliary unit Irdas may have been seconded from. This may also be indicative of his potential Pannonian origins, or at the very least that he was from a Pannonian cohort, because ‘for the Claudian invasion of Britain in A.D. 43, Aulus Plautius brought with him from Pannonia legio IX Hispana, and it is reasonable to suspect that it was accompanied by some of the auxilia from that province’.<sup>965</sup> The Pannonian *auxilia* in Britain were the *ala I Pannoniorum Tampiana*, *ala I Pannoniorum Sabinianarum*, *cohors I Pannoniorum*, *cohors II Pannoniorum*, *cohors V Pannoniorum*, another Pannonian cohort of unknown number, *cohors I Breucorum*, *cohors III Breucorum*, *ala Augusta ob virtutem appellata*.<sup>966</sup> In E. Birley’s examination of *Pannonians in Roman Britain*, the *cohors III Breucorum* ‘is first attested in Britain in 122... it has left tiles at various sites in West Yorkshire, presumably all pre-Hadrianic, and is to be restored on *RIB* 739 at Bowes/Lavatrae: a building-inscription honouring Hadrian, already p(ater) p(atriae), under a governor restorable as Sex. Iulius Severus, therefore circa 130-132’;<sup>967</sup> there is ‘an altar from Old Carlisle near Wigton in Cumbria, *RIB* 894, [which] gives us a praefectus equitum ... commanding the ala Augusta ob virtutem appellata in A.D. 191’;<sup>968</sup> and there are links between those of Pannonian origin and *Legio VI Victrix*.<sup>969</sup>

A *beneficiarius consularis* was senior to a *singularis consularis*, which is also surprising, perhaps, that he would restore a monument by one.<sup>970</sup> Irdas’ name is perhaps indicative also of his auxiliary origins, that and Britain contained ‘more auxiliary troops than any other province in the Empire’.<sup>971</sup> Also, ‘*alae* and auxiliary cohorts often received under officers from the governors’ *singulares* guards to uphold their training and discipline’.<sup>972</sup> It is tempting to conjecture that Irdas and Varius Vitalis knew each other, served the same governor, one perhaps the senior of the other, but that is too far into speculation to be made into an assertion. However, Davies suggests that there was a link between these two:<sup>973</sup>

The overlap of *beneficiarius* and *singularis consularis* is instructive, and there may well be a very simple reason. The *beneficarii* were normally stationed at the provincial capital at the governor’s praetorium – as were the *singulares* – but were on occasions posted to forts in frontier areas or key road-posts; that they were concerned primarily with ensuring that lines of communication and supply-routes were supervised and

<sup>963</sup> Mattingly 2007: 147. For more details on Catterick’s strategic position, considering roads, see also the discussion below.

<sup>964</sup> See Mattingly 2007: 264, figure 11, 189, 179. The *beneficiarius consularis* at Catterick to which he refers at 189 must surely include Varius Vitalis.

<sup>965</sup> Birley 1988a: 151.

<sup>966</sup> See throughout *ibid.*

<sup>967</sup> *Ibid.*: 153.

<sup>968</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>969</sup> *Ibid.*: throughout.

<sup>970</sup> For more information on these ranks, see Appendix 3.

<sup>971</sup> Davies 1976a: 141.

<sup>972</sup> Speidel 1994a: 216.

<sup>973</sup> Davies 1976a: 137-138; quote from 138-139.

secure can be seen from the fact that they often dedicated to the goddesses of roads and crossroads (Biviae Triviae Quadriviae); hence it should be noted that the altar which the *beneficiarius* Vitalis restored at Catterick had been set up originally by the *singularis* Irdas ... The *beneficiarius* also acted as a police and intelligence officer and supervised traffic crossing the frontier or passing through key road-junctions. All five forts where *singulares* are attested were vital sites in Roman military lines of communication ...

It would appear that the *singulares* were regularly employed in Britain to carry messages between the governor at York or London and posts in distant parts of the province, which were manned by personnel specially selected by him to carry out important military and administrative tasks.

Although his reasoning implies there was a direct connection between Irdas and Varius Vitalis, perhaps this, instead, provides a reason for why Varius Vitalis felt the need to renovate the altar previously set up by Irdas, and why Irdas initially set up the inscription to the unspecified, perhaps native British, rather than unnamed Mercury, god *deo qui vias et semitas commentus est*: because the safety of the roads and ways was a paramount part of both Irdas and Varius Vitalis' roles in the military as a *singularis consularis* and *beneficiarius consularis* respectively. Considering Catterick's important position in terms of the roads of Roman Britain, 'it was heavily garrisoned by the late Flavian period and remained a vital controlled route until late Roman times',<sup>974</sup> it is unsurprising that the 'god who devised the roads and paths' had an altar set up to him here, and that this altar was considered important enough to renovate. Also, significantly, considering Irdas and Varius Vitalis' roles, 'studded with forts along its length, Dere Street ran north from Catterick to Corbridge (where the vexillation fortress was soon replaced by a sequence of auxiliary forts)'. This explains why this altar, and god, was of importance to this *singularis consularis* and *beneficiarius consularis*, soldiers with auxiliary and legionary attachments, and how they both ended up in the vicinity of Catterick, rather than presenting evidence for there being a direct connection between these two men.

Next is a small collection of inscriptions dedicated to the Nymphs, from all over the Roman world. In this corpus, there are three in total. Votive inscriptions to the nymphs by members of the Roman military are not unusual, 'meistens sind es Dankinschriften'.<sup>975</sup> The verse inscriptions to the Nymphs by members of the Roman military are hopeful for the future, and two of the three<sup>976</sup> of the *carmina Latina epigraphica* here are associated with water, as 'den Nymphen geweihte Inschriften wurden meistens an Wasserläufen oder Quellen aufgestellt und sind Dankinschriften'.<sup>977</sup> The first of these shall be discussed here briefly, as it is discussed in more detail below, both further down in this chapter and in Chapter 7.

Not found in Britain, but mentioning a British unit, **NW.8** is a bilingual inscription found approximately three miles north of the Roman fort at Germisara, Upper Dacia,<sup>978</sup> and it was found in the baths.<sup>979</sup> This was the location of one of the three most important health resorts in Dacia, with an associated healing deity, seen in this inscription.<sup>980</sup> Inscribed on a limestone

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<sup>974</sup> Mattingly 2007: 147. See 147-149 also for the important routes linked with Catterick in Roman Britain.

<sup>975</sup> Schumacher 2012: 91.

<sup>976</sup> There are question marks about where **RI.8** was found (see below).

<sup>977</sup> Schumacher 2012: 89.

<sup>978</sup> EDCS-71200587; Dana 2015; Bellido & Hernández Pérez 2020: 428.

<sup>979</sup> Piso 2015: 47, who gives a detailed description, and map of these baths (50-51); Dana 2015; Bellido & Hernández Pérez 2020: 428.

<sup>980</sup> Piso 2015: 48-49.

stele, a large chunk of this inscription is now missing.<sup>981</sup> The Greek elaborates upon the Latin,<sup>982</sup> but the Latin appears to have been the inspiration of the Greek, as the Latin is noticeably more skilled and poetic than the Greek; Petolescu notes that this is probably due to the difficulty of translating this literary Latin poem into Greek.<sup>983</sup> The Latin and the Greek text have been inscribed by different hands,<sup>984</sup> so the differences in the quality of the Latin and Greek could also be due to the composers of these texts, if they were written by other people, or if a different person translated the Latin poem into Greek, for example. It has been dated to the late second century, specifically AD 183-185.<sup>985</sup> This inscription was dedicated to the nymph(s) of the thermal waters in Germisara.<sup>986</sup>

This is not the only time a military verse inscription is addressed to a nymph, nor with a link to nymphs and sleep/dreams. Yet the importance of healing here is particularly emphasised, not only because of the healing powers of the spring, but also because of the other deities mentioned: Asclepius and Artemis, as it is believed that two of the three hot springs here were associated with Asclepius and Artemis, the other Hygia,<sup>987</sup> and Justinus set up a Hypnos statue as a votive gift to these nymphs (28). Sleep is known for its assistance in the healing process, and one wonders if the Romans knew of this too, especially given that the prefect of the Britons gave a Hypnos statue to the nymphs of these healing springs. Asclepius ‘intéressait surtout les membres de l’administration et les militaires’,<sup>988</sup> which, as has been demonstrated throughout this study, often intersect. Artemis and the nymphs have similar natural imagery associated with them in this inscription.<sup>989</sup> Here, it is the joys of the disabled being healed that are celebrated in the Greek part, and they mark their healing in a similar manner to how the soldier celebrates the annual festival of the nymphs of this spring in the Latin part, with flora and water. One wonders if the soldiers were among the injured, but, given that the soldier’s actions are described in the singular and in Latin, whereas the disabled are in the plural and in Greek, it creates a disassociation between the two groups; it makes it seem as if the soldiers were non-locals, the disabled local inhabitants of Dacia.<sup>990</sup> In this inscription, the soldier’s actions in religious festivals are described: the *miles Brittannicus* here stands in as a representative of not only the Roman military, but also of all those celebrating these festivals. This *miles*, we are told (NW.8.3-5):

*soll[e]mni(a) annua ducit, |  
ex voto referens, solvitque vota priora |  
temporis excessi, et ru<r>sum suscipit ipse*

These annual festivals were conducted for the local nymph, *ex voto referens* (‘repaying her with his vow’, 4). The soldier, by conducting these ceremonies, restored and renewed the vows of the past (5), and thus encapsulated the steadfast adherence to tradition as well as progression in the present that the military, in many ways, represented in the Roman world. This is similar to the conduct of the soldiers in **RI.14**, the only other inscription in this study where a *numerus* is

<sup>981</sup> *Ibid.*: 47; Dana 2015. Photos and sketch available in Piso 2015: 55, figures 3-6; EDCS-71200587.

<sup>982</sup> See, for example, Bellido & Hernández Pérez 2020: 433-434.

<sup>983</sup> Petolescu 2021: 212.

<sup>984</sup> Piso 2015: 56; Dana 2015.

<sup>985</sup> Dana 2015; Bellido & Hernández Pérez 2020: 428.

<sup>986</sup> Piso 2015: 47; Dana 2015; Bellido & Hernández Pérez 2020: 430.

<sup>987</sup> See also Piso 2015: 49, esp. for Artemis and healing, 55 for details on the springs.

<sup>988</sup> Dyczek et al. 2014: 79.

<sup>989</sup> Piso 2015: 49-50.

<sup>990</sup> See Adams’ discussion on the different uses of Greek and Latin above, and how Latin was the language of choice for the military (1999: 128-129).



mentioned. Line 6, *cui cristatus apex procumbit vortice summo* ('to whom the crested peak bends down at the greatest whirlpool'), seems to indicate that the soldier conducted these festivals in armour, and that this *miles* was not a *miles gregarius*, but a centurion, perhaps Justinus himself. Thus, we have the centurion acting on behalf of his unit, the individual of the highest specifically military rank, for the responsibilities and aspirations of the ranks above this one merged with social and political,<sup>991</sup> was the one who represented the soldiers in religious ceremonies.<sup>992</sup> The ceremony was to celebrate the nymph's healing waters, and thus were conducted around the greatest of them. **NW.8**, therefore, provides us with a unique insight into how specialist and individual ceremonies were carried out for specific deities, and the different ways in which they were venerated; in the case of this nymph, they operated around public, yearly festivals, and veneration of her healing springs, conducted by the centurion. Unfortunately, the part that specified the details about the soldier's actions in this are so fragmented as to be almost completely lost (7-16), but they appear to have involved the centurion looking at and evaluating, perhaps also interacting with, the water of the largest of the pools and adorning a statue of the nymph with a crown made of vines.

The native name *Odrysta* is used to address the nymph(s), thus indicating she was a Dacian divinity.<sup>993</sup> However, it cannot be determined if this inscription was for one or several nymphs because of the traditions of the languages used to express this votive offering: 'im lateinischen Text mit einer einzigen Nymphe, eigentlich der alten einheimischen Gottheit ..., und im griechischen Text mit der griechisch-römischen Tradition, laut der die Nymphen zumeist eine Dreiergruppe bildeten',<sup>994</sup> which highlights some of the problems encountered when using different languages in the same inscription, and how languages were part of the essential identity of both people and ideas. Although Bellido & Hernández Pérez believe that the singular nymph in the Latin text is a singular working for a plural,<sup>995</sup> perhaps in the same way that *miles Britannicus* represents his whole *numerus*. This repeats between the Latin and Greek parts of the inscription, for what is singular (i.e. the nymphs, the soldier) in the Latin is plural in the Greek (**NW.8.16**).<sup>996</sup>

Despite this inscription being for the nymph(s), rustic and natural goddesses, dedicated a statue of Hypnos to this/these nymph/s (**NW.8.28**), which he specifies in this inscription for the nymphs, as the Greek part focuses more on the nymphs and their healing abilities for the locals, whereas the Latin focuses on the healing spring of the nymph(s) and the religious conduct of the soldier in their festivals. It seems remarkable that he would set up a statue of a deity for another divinity, but this is perhaps because of the soporific connotations of the nymphs, as also seen in the Greek text (16),<sup>997</sup> as well as the connections between sleep and healing. This also 'bezieht sich auf die *incubatio* (ἐγκύμησις), eine Praxis die den Menschen mit der Gottheit durch den Traum in Verbindung bringt und ihm Hinweise auf eine wirksame Therapie seiner Krankheit gibt',<sup>998</sup> which is probably why he dedicates a statue of Hypnos to these nymphs, and why the nymphs are connected with dreams and sleep in **RI.9**; like **RI.9**, Bellido & Hernández

<sup>991</sup> See Appendix 3.

<sup>992</sup> As seen throughout this chapter.

<sup>993</sup> See Piso 2015: 60 for this being the native epithet of the nymph of this spring and surrounding land; Bellido & Hernández Pérez 2020: 427, 434, 439, where they explain the origins of this epithet.

<sup>994</sup> Piso 2015: 58.

<sup>995</sup> Bellido & Hernández Pérez 2020: 434.

<sup>996</sup> See *ibid.*

<sup>997</sup> Piso 2015: 61.

<sup>998</sup> *Ibid.*

Pérez felt that a dream inspired the erection of this inscription.<sup>999</sup> Hypnos also lived in a cave.<sup>1000</sup> However, this inscription, too small for a statue, has been conjectured to be for the text only, perhaps to highlight who dedicated it.<sup>1001</sup>

There is also another altar dedicated to nymphs by the tribune of the *numerus singularius Britannicianorum* during Septimius Severus' reign (Ep. Anh. 10): 'Das heißt, dass der *numerus* im Augenblick der Weihung des Denkmals einer *cohors milliaria* gleichgesetzt war und dass ihr Befehlshaber eben die zweite Stufe der *militia equestris* bekleidete'.<sup>1002</sup> This inscription was not erected in isolation in Germisara, for there were fourteen other monuments for nymphs here, also with water and sylvanian imagery in.<sup>1003</sup> There were other votive inscriptions to these nymphs and other deities by members of this very *numerus*, and they also assisted in construction and restoration projects of this shrine.<sup>1004</sup> Although this appears to be the only military verse inscription. Piso compares the importance of the nymphs in Germisara to that of the Dea Nympha Brigantia in Britain,<sup>1005</sup> which is important to consider because of the unit in which Justinus served.

**NW.8** is by a centurion of the *Legio V Macedonica*,<sup>1006</sup> thus meaning that two of the inscriptions to the Nymphs are by centurions. The second is **RI.8**, an unusually boastful inscription for a Roman soldier. It is not often that we encounter soldiers being openly boastful about their careers, but we see it here.<sup>1007</sup> This is also not the only time we encounter a boastful soldier who remains anonymous (see **NW.10**).<sup>1008</sup> We learn that the soldier in question reached the rank of a *primus pilus*, yet he remains unnamed (in terms of the inscription that we have remaining; the editors of *AE* conjecture that he was a M. Insteius Valens, found in another inscription),<sup>1009</sup> and he also boasts about seeing the Nymphs naked. Given the history of encountering nude deities in Classical mythology, one wonders if this was an impressive feat or great foolishness. Although, given that he lived to be able to have this tale carved on a stone inscription makes it seem as if it was a feat that he was proud of, the final line, the crowning conclusion to a successful military career. He proudly boasts of his military career in four lines, yet in the fifth he boasts of his greatest achievement, a religious one, seeing the Nymphs in their natural state.

## RI.8

[O]ptavi Dacos tenere caesos, (vac.) tenui. |  
 [opt]avi in sella pacis residere, (vac.) sedi. |  
 [o]ptavi claros sequi triumphos, (vac.) factum. |  
 optavi primi commoda plena pili, (vac.) hab[ui]. |  
 optavi nudas videre Nymphas, (vac.) vidi. |

<sup>999</sup> Bellido & Hernández Pérez 2020: 430, 444-445, where they cite other epigraphic examples of Hypnos being associated with Asclepius.

<sup>1000</sup> Piso 2015: 63.

<sup>1001</sup> See *ibid.*: 55, and see 63.

<sup>1002</sup> *Ibid.*: 48.

<sup>1003</sup> *Ibid.*: 49.

<sup>1004</sup> Bellido & Hernández Pérez 2020: 430, 443.

<sup>1005</sup> Piso 2015: 49.

<sup>1006</sup> For more details on his military service, see below.

<sup>1007</sup> The other exception to this rule is **NW.10**. We do see this about their achievements outside the military sphere, such as hunting, see below; it is curious that this is encountered mainly in religious/votive inscriptions.

<sup>1008</sup> *AE* 2014.1555 adn. conjectures that there was another inscription, which is now lost, that would have revealed the name of the *primus pilus*. Le Bohec does the same (see below). See also Duncan-Jones 1969, where this inscription is briefly mentioned.

<sup>1009</sup> *AE* 2014.1555 adn.

**RI.8** dates to the second century AD, after Trajan's Dacian War.<sup>1010</sup> It was found in Aquae Flavianae, Numidia.<sup>1011</sup> One would presume, given the content of the inscription, that it was by the *primus pilus* himself, a position that Adams describes as 'the pinnacle of the hierarchy'.<sup>1012</sup> Given the epigraphic evidence found here, there was a sanctuary to the Nymphs here for healing.<sup>1013</sup> Cugusi postulates he could have served in the *Legio III Augusta*,<sup>1014</sup> and he was sent in a vexillation to assist in Trajan's Dacian Wars.<sup>1015</sup> Pertinently, considering **NW.8**, Asclepius and Hygeia, 'le couple guérisseur veillait sur la station thermale d'*Aquae Flavianae* qui a fourni statuettes d'Esculape et d'Hygie et une dédicace qui révèle des relations étroites avec Lambaesis et les officiers de la *III<sup>a</sup> Augusta*'.<sup>1016</sup> Due to the date they allocate to this inscription, the editors of *AE* also conjecture that this *primus pilus* served in the *Legio III Augusta*, 'et serait resté à Lambèse une fois libéré du service'.<sup>1017</sup> According to the editors of *AE*, 'le dédicant fit le voeu de tuer des Daces alors qu'il était centurion, pendant les guerres daciques de Domitien, et accomplit ce voeu pendant la campagne dacique de Trajan, une fois devenu primipile'.<sup>1018</sup> Although there is a reference to Dacians, that there was a Dacian War under Domitian, and so this centurion could have been referring to this war.<sup>1019</sup>

Le Bohec calls this centurion 'un centurion tueur et voyeur'.<sup>1020</sup> He is keen to emphasise that 'ce site a peut-être été fondé par l'armée, disons bien: «peut-être»; il ne faut pas trop prêter aux militaires, qui avaient pour metier de tuer et non de construire des routes ou des villes pour les civils', the latter half of this statement we know now is not true.<sup>1021</sup> The military connections with this location are difficult to deny, as the location of Aquae Flavianae was 'située sur une voie romaine qui a été construite à cette époque et qui reliait Lambèse, capitale de la Numidie et quartier general de l'armée d'Afrique, à Tébessa'.<sup>1022</sup> Le Bohec sees this soldier as not of African descent because 'les Romains, d'Afrique et d'ailleurs, étaient trop orgueilleux pour ne pas se faire connaître', which led him to conclude 'il faut donc supposer que l'auteur de ce texte a fait graver deux inscriptions distinctes, l'une avec son nom, et qu'elles ont été séparées',<sup>1023</sup> which, we have seen, is not necessarily the case. Although many Roman soldiers proclaim their origins, there are others who do not, and therefore creates difficulties around sweeping statements about their origins, or apparent lack thereof. In other inscriptions we see unidentified

<sup>1010</sup> Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2012.101. <https://www.mqdg.it/texts/CE/appe0348> post dates it from AD 106. See also Le Bohec 2014: 306, who dates it after either AD 101-102 and 105-106, the dates of Trajan's Dacian Wars. Le Bohec's overall judgement, however, corresponds with that of the editors of *AE*, as the Dacians and the Romans fought periodically between AD 85-106 (see more details 306-310). The dating given by the editors of *AE* is also supported by the fact that *primus pilus* is written as two separate words here, a preferred way of spelling this rank in the first century; in the second, it became written as *primuspilus* (Le Bohec 2014: 311). Although this could have been written this way to suit the metre, rather than the written conventions of the century. See also Platt 2016: 161-179 paper on it, which focuses primarily on the final line, on this centurion's act of seeing the Nymphs. The editors of *AE* date it between the end of the first to the beginning of the second century AD (*AE* 2014.1555 adn.), probably because Aquae Flavianae was founded under the Flavians (Le Bohec 2014: 305). Pikaus 1981: 641 and Dunbabin 1989: 16 date it to Trajan's reign.

<sup>1011</sup> EDCS-07900031; Adams 1999: 127; Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2012: 99; *AE* 2014.1555 adn.; Le Bohec 2014: 305.

<sup>1012</sup> Adams 1999: 127. See discussion on this post in Appendix 3.

<sup>1013</sup> Le Bohec 2014: 312.

<sup>1014</sup> As does Le Bohec (*ibid.*: 311-312). As the *Legio III Augusta* was stationed in Numidia from the time of Caligula onwards, this is a reasonable hypothesis (Hardy 1887: 652; Cherry 2010: 80; Wilson 2012: 1026; see also Campbell 2012d: 817).

<sup>1015</sup> Paraphrase of 'fortasse fuit noster primipilus legionis *III Augustae*, cuius vexillatio fortasse bello Traiani Dacico adfuit' (Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2012.101); Platt (2016) also believes that this *primus pilus* also fought in Trajan's Dacian Wars (161).

<sup>1016</sup> Benseddik 2005: 275. See below on discussion on **NW.8**, and the links between Asclepius, Nymphs and healing springs.

<sup>1017</sup> *AE* 2014.1555 adn.

<sup>1018</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1019</sup> See Appendix 1.

<sup>1020</sup> Le Bohec 2014: 305, in his chapter on this inscription, with this title.

<sup>1021</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1022</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1023</sup> *Ibid.*: 306.

soldiers, beyond their military identity, where evidence of another accompanying inscription presenting other identity markers is missing. Le Bohec's opinion on the story of **RI.8** is:<sup>1024</sup>

On voit donc l'hypothèse qui se fait jour: l'anonyme des *Aquæ Flavianæ* était centurion quand eurent lieu les guerres daciques de Domitien, servant dans une légion éloignée du Danube; il ressentit une profonde humiliation et une haine vigoureuse quand il apprit que l'Empire romain devait payer tribut; il forma alors le vœu de tuer des Daces. Son unité fut appelée par Trajan et il put satisfaire sa rancœur et réaliser son rêve.

It is a romantic idea, but unprovable. He conjectures that the anonymous *primus pilus* of this inscription served in the *Legio III Augusta*.<sup>1025</sup>

à Lambèse, à 65 km à l'ouest de Hr el-Hammam, où il a eu son dernier poste et où il a reçu l'avis qu'il était retraité. Comme beaucoup de vétérans, il est resté là où il a été libéré. À un moment donné, il s'est rendu au sanctuaire des Nymphes de Hr el-Hammam pour voir les Nymphes nues.

This votive epigram is written in five lines of iambic senarii,<sup>1026</sup> despite Adams' claims that these 'five lines do not scan as verse',<sup>1027</sup> and others have called this 'quasi-verse'.<sup>1028</sup> For Adams, 'the structure is reinforced by marked rhythms at key points of the line'.<sup>1029</sup> There are distinct syllabic patterns in this poem, most notably the spondee in each opening foot, followed by an iambus, the iambus or spondee in the fourth and sixth feet, and the trochee or spondee in the fifth foot. There is a caesura in the third foot of lines 2 and 4. There is an interesting pattern in this inscription, where the objects of each line, although not directly stated in the Latin, alternate between 'them' and 'it', ultimately concluding where they began, with 'them', although a very different 'them':

*tenui* [i.e. *Dacos caesos*]. I held **them**.  
*sedi* [i.e. *in sella*]. I sat in **it**.  
*factum* [i.e. *claros triumphos*]. I followed **them**.  
*hab[ui]* [i.e. *commoda plena*]. I had **it**.  
*vidi* [i.e. *nudas Nymphas*]. I saw **them**.

If the layout of the inscription, as displayed above,<sup>1030</sup> appears to be how it was on the stone,<sup>1031</sup> then the format on the stone correlates with the format of the verse, as it should be laid out according to line breaks and metre in iambic senarii. The poem itself is structured as a "priamel" building to a striking and unexpected final statement, affords a climactic role to the act of autopsy'.<sup>1032</sup> The linguistic parallelism in the text is apparent: *tenere – tenui, residere –*

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<sup>1024</sup> Le Bohec 2014: 310.

<sup>1025</sup> *Ibid.*: 312.

<sup>1026</sup> As scanned by the author. According to Cugusi (Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2012.101: 225) and <https://www.mqdg.it/texts/CE/appe0348>, however, it is trochaic. Although it does contain more trochees than iambs, it follows the conventions of iambic senarius. See Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2012.101: 225 for this being an epigram. For Zarker 1958.25 'the meter is rather irregular', but only if you see it as trochaic senarii, which is how he sees it, and not as iambic senarii.

<sup>1027</sup> Adams 1999: 127.

<sup>1028</sup> See *ibid.*: 127 n. 91, for example.

<sup>1029</sup> *Ibid.*: 127.

<sup>1030</sup> This is how it is displayed in all the sources it has been found in.

<sup>1031</sup> As this is how it is displayed in all the secondary scholarship, including Zarker 1958.25; AE 1928. 37; Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2012.101.

<sup>1032</sup> Platt 2016: 161.

*sedi*, [implied *habere*] – *habui*, *sequi* – [implied *secutus*] *factum*, *videre* – *vidi*.<sup>1033</sup> It has clearly been thought out and crafted. This mirroring, making the objective verb of the wish the verb of fulfilment in the final foot (or final foot and a half) of each line creates a sense of definitiveness and accomplishment on the part of the *primus pilus*. His *sella pacis* ('seat of peace', 2) has been regarded as a civilian post,<sup>1034</sup> which Cugusi describes as 'civile ... cum militaribus miscetur, cum contra disiunctum debuit esse' ('his civilian post, which was combined with his military, when it should be disconnected from it').<sup>1035</sup> This is indicative of the cross overs of military roles with civilian life, especially with the policing/border control/judge roles that centurions had, particularly in the provinces. However, it is perhaps more plausible that he held this civilian role after he retired/after he became a *primus pilus*, as it was common for soldiers to retire and rise to important local civilian bureaucratic roles,<sup>1036</sup> and that the inscription is not in chronological order, but in order of his achievements and where he felt they ranked in his life: the two final ones refer to his greatest achievements, that he achieved the rank of *primus pilus* and he saw the Nymphs naked.

Why this *primus pilus* (or ex *primus pilus*) would announce that on an inscription is puzzling, and therefore makes classifying this inscription as 'votive' difficult. This act has been a cause of great consternation amongst the scholars examining **RI.8**. For Zarker, 'the sight of the "nudae nymphaea" is surprising and a problem; perhaps he had a vision of some sort. It is unlikely that he would boast of what seems to be an indiscreet act'.<sup>1037</sup> Le Bohec offers some reasons behind this desire,<sup>1038</sup> but concludes that 'et il vaut mieux sans doute admettre que le primipile voilait bénéficié d'une vision divine', as, after all, this was not the only time divine visions had been witnessed at Aquae Flaviae.<sup>1039</sup> Wypustek interprets this as 'n'est plus reliée au culte des Nymphes dans cette localité thermale et salubre, mais vue comme une allusion ironique et humoristique au bel Hylas capturé par les Nymphes et héroïsé par cet événement final digne de mention dans la carrière d'un officier'.<sup>1040</sup> Given that the objective of this poem is to highlight the achievements of the *primus pilus* of the inscription, this seems unlikely.

For Cugusi, 'V. 5 autem metaphorice positum est, nam post vota quae consequi par sit scriptor votum exprimit vere nefastum – nefas enim deas nudas videre, ut monet' ('verse 5 is regarded as a metaphor, for after a vow which the writer understands is a part of it, the vow really becomes a sin – for it was a sin to see goddesses naked, as [the literature, some examples of which Cugusi then cites] warns').<sup>1041</sup> The only exception around this, in Cugusi's opinion, is 'nisi quis putet hic recini locum illum Catull. 64, 16-17 *illa atque haud alia viderunt luce marina / mortalis oculis nudato corpore Nymphae*, quem locum epici scriptores ipsi recinuerunt, ut puta Sil. VII, 412' ('unless someone might think that he is quoting that passage from Catullus 64.16-17 *and mortals, on that day and no other, can see with their eyes / the Nymphs, their bodies naked*, which passage epic writers themselves have quoted, such as Sil. 7.412').<sup>1042</sup> Cugusi is not the only one to see the connection between **RI.8** and Catullus: 'quite

<sup>1033</sup> See also Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2012.101: 225.

<sup>1034</sup> Zarker 1958.25; Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2012.101: 225.

<sup>1035</sup> Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2012.101: 225.

<sup>1036</sup> See also Zarker 1958.25.

<sup>1037</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1038</sup> Le Bohec 2014: 314-315.

<sup>1039</sup> *Ibid.*: 315.

<sup>1040</sup> *AE* 2015.54 adn.

<sup>1041</sup> Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2012.101: 225.

<sup>1042</sup> *Ibid.* The text from Catullus here, however, has been used from Postgate 2017, due to conjectures in the reading of *illa* [?] *atque alia*....

apart from the correctness of the Latin and the contrived rhetorical structure, it has been suggested that there may be a connection (direct or indirect) between the final line of this allusive piece and Catull. 64.16-17'.<sup>1043</sup> This passage of Catullus continues: *nutricum tenus extantis e gurgite cano* (64.18), thus making this line, 'and mortals, on that day and no other, can see with their eyes / the Nymphs, their bodies naked, / visibly standing out of the white frothing sea up to their breasts'. This inscription was found in the thermal baths at Aquae Flavianae, and a temple to the Nymphs.<sup>1044</sup> Dunbabin links these two connections together to rationalise the *primus pilus*' wish to see the Nymphs naked: 'in view of the findspot, it seems likely that this has some reference to the decoration of the building with figures of the Nymphs, an over-elaborate compliment to the building'.<sup>1045</sup> These aspects continue the idea of the Nymphs being connected with water. As Numidia is on the coast of Africa, perhaps he believed he saw the Nymphs in the sea. Alternatively, this, considering his level of Latin and likely connected to the high proficient level of literacy his role would have required, *primus pilus* was apparently unaware of these warnings, or of Catullus, and it was in his ignorance of Roman mythological custom, as a possible non-native speaker of Latin, that he declared he witnessed this event on stone. This, however, seems unlikely.

Platt uses this inscription as a case study of the importance of seeing the gods in Roman and Greek religion, and the paradoxes that accompany this desire/problem: 'the desire to see the gods is, fundamentally, a desire that knows its own limits. Understood as the most corporeally ambiguous yet conceptually acute of the sensory faulties, sight therefore offered the ideal medium by which desire for proximity to the divine could convey both the frustration and the possibility of its own fulfilment'.<sup>1046</sup> Seeing was one of the most important senses in Roman religion, giving it a sense of 'seeing is believing', more so than more tangible senses such as touch.<sup>1047</sup> This is demonstrated in the other inscriptions in this chapter, especially for those in this section, for minor gods, the nymphs and non-Roman gods. The creation of **RI.9** was prompted specifically by a vision of the nymphs, who appear to have had some sort of input in the ordering of its erection. In **RI.11** and **12**, although the divine miracle was hearing the Memnon statue, one needed to be present, to see the statue singing, for it to be counted as experiencing a divine event. In neither **RI.8** nor **RI.9** is there a description of the nymphs, simply the statement that they were seen.<sup>1048</sup> There is a link between sight and living, not only in relation to death (see Chapter 4), but in relation to the seen deity regarded as a living, existing one.<sup>1049</sup> Platt, therefore, discounts the possibility that this may in fact be a *double entendre*, where *nymphas* is a play on its double meaning of 'nymphs' and 'young women of a

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<sup>1043</sup> Adams 1999: 127.

<sup>1044</sup> See, for example, Pikhaus 1981: 641-642, where this inscription is mentioned; Dunbabin 1989: 16, 32 for there being a temple to the Nymphs here. Dunbabin conjectures that there may be a link between this temple, the baths and **RI.8**.

<sup>1045</sup> Dunbabin 1989: 16.

<sup>1046</sup> Platt 2016: 179.

<sup>1047</sup> See *ibid.*: throughout, but especially 171.

<sup>1048</sup> See *ibid.*: 179. Although she is comparing **RI.8** with a different inscription, the same can be said of **RI.8** and **RI.9**: 'each artefact intimates a sense of the inadequacy of language and representation in the face of the divine, whilst conveying a powerful sense of divine presence that stimulates the beholder's own sensory and imaginative faculties'.

<sup>1049</sup> See *ibid.*: throughout, but esp. 171: 'Ancient models of vision attend closely to the relationship between sight and light: as the medium that enables vision, light is also characteristic of divine epiphany, whether gods are perceived in the form of the "heavenly bodies" of the cosmos or in narrative accounts of corporeal manifestation, such as the "beautiful light" (*phaos perikalles*) that Athena projects before Telemachus in the *Odyssey*. As the more esteemed and developed of the so-called "distance senses" (sight and hearing), vision is also less tactile: it is held to be closer to rational thought (*dianoia*), and thus to the knowledge that comes through insight, the "eye of the mind".' Also 172: 'sight is paradigmatic among the senses in its capacity to mediate *between* body and mind. As such, it also mediates between the physical and the *metaphysical*, lending itself to a dualism that chimes closely with the ambiguous, ever-shifting corporeality and perceptivity of divine bodies themselves'.

marriageable age', and instead links it to the importance of vision to epiphany in Roman and Greek religion.<sup>1050</sup>

Alternatively, this could be taken literally, and this *primus pilus* saw statues of the Nymphs;<sup>1051</sup> this, however, seems unlikely, given the level of achievement felt behind seeing these divinities. Platt postulates this could be an epitaph, the final ascent of this anonymous *primus pilus*, as seeing, and sometimes interacting with, the divine was often a metaphor for death.<sup>1052</sup> Yet, the nymphs 'could be said to occupy an interstitial category between the human and divine, being closely tied to the landscape, and thus more immediately accessible – and visible – to mortal eyes'.<sup>1053</sup> As a part of the cultic veneration of the nymphs, people sought them out in their natural habitats, such as caves and woodlands;<sup>1054</sup> 'significantly, the cult of the nymphs was widespread in Roman North Africa, and the thermal springs at Aquae Flavianae, in particular, have yielded numerous dedicatory inscriptions which suggest that nymphs were worshipped as local tutelary deities (and, potentially, goddesses of healing)'.<sup>1055</sup>

As all the other acts, 'his final *optavi* crown[s] a series of desires that are nevertheless required within the conventional institutional structures of the Roman military',<sup>1056</sup> are things he actively did, perhaps this act of seeing the Nymphs was something he actively did as well, i.e. he wanted to see the Nymphs, so he sought them out, and he saw them. If a divinity was seen, especially by accident, then 'accurate identification and an appropriately reverent response are crucial to the successful management of its disruptive presence within the human realm. As literary scenes of epiphany repeatedly attest, those who encounter the gods must acknowledge, recognize and process their experiences in active terms – most often through pious traditions of ritualized response, such as the performance of sacrifices, the foundation of cults and festivals, or the creation of temples, images and inscriptions'.<sup>1057</sup> As can be seen throughout this chapter, especially this section, this is a significant factor in the erection of these inscriptions.

'The usual question mark stands against the authorship of the piece, but if it was not composed by the centurion himself (note however that it is in the first person) it at least gives an indication of the educational standards of those with whom he associated. It is a far cry from here to the centurions of Bu Njem', Adams declares.<sup>1058</sup> It is helpful towards understanding the author of this inscription by indicating how **RI.8** highlights nearly every facet of the life of a Roman soldier as presented in this collection of Latin military verse inscriptions: determined to wage war and relish these victories in triumphs, to rise up the ranks but retire peacefully into civility, to participate in religious ceremonies and be blessed by the gods, and to immortalise their deeds, in the fabric of stone, in the letters of verse. The only missing aspect is the familial, yet these activities were carried out and desired by the soldier as an individual. Also, all of these, it must be noted, took place in the public eye.

Within this collection of verse inscriptions in which the Nymphs are mentioned, we have another inscription from Britain, and, again, it is short, only a couplet long. This phenomenon of short verse inscriptions to the gods are Empire wide, and is featured particularly in religious

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<sup>1050</sup> Platt 2016: throughout.

<sup>1051</sup> See *ibid.*: 175.

<sup>1052</sup> *Ibid.*: 165-166.

<sup>1053</sup> *Ibid.*: 166.

<sup>1054</sup> See *ibid.*: 167-169.

<sup>1055</sup> *Ibid.*: 167.

<sup>1056</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1057</sup> *Ibid.*: 168-169.

<sup>1058</sup> Adams 1999: 127.

military verse inscriptions. **RI.9** is a sandstone altar found in Habitancum, Britannia.<sup>1059</sup> At Risingham are a number of different inscriptions, of varying types, including altars to deities (including Diana, Fortune, Mars Victor, Jupiter Optimus Maximus and the Nymphs), honorific inscriptions to the emperor and his family (all belonging to the Severan dynasty), and some building inscriptions.<sup>1060</sup> **RI.9** dates between the second to the third centuries AD,<sup>1061</sup> placing it within the most common era for inscriptions in general, and for Latin verse inscriptions, although it is considered ‘aus später Zeit zu stammen’,<sup>1062</sup> although exactly how ‘late’ is unspecified (see Appendix 4). It correlates with the pattern, observable here and concerning Latin verse inscriptions of Britain in general, that, in the timespan examined in this study, most Latin verse inscription in Britain are found in the north.<sup>1063</sup>

## RI.9

*Somnio prae|monitus, | miles hanc | ponere ius|sit (vac.) |  
aram quae | Fabio nup|ta est Nym|phis vene|randis.*

The ways in which Fabius identifies himself in this inscription are interesting, for we have three aspects of identity here: his occupation (*miles*), his marital status (*quae | Fabio nup|ta est*) and his name (Fabius). These three aspects of identity are commonly expressed in military verse inscriptions, but they often feature in the prose accompaniment. Fabius believed himself to be married in the Roman legal sense, using the verb *nubo*, which is only applied to married women.<sup>1064</sup> Depending on whether this altar was erected in the second or third century, Fabius could not legally be married, although it is widely recognised in the scholarship, and by the soldiers themselves, as exhibited in their inscriptions, that they did form permanent relationships they recognised as being equitable to a marriage, even if they could not be so in the eyes of the law.<sup>1065</sup>

**RI.9** ‘reports a reponse to a premonition in a dream – a not altogether uncommon theme in Roman votive inscriptions’;<sup>1066</sup> ‘a costly response to a vivid dream, in which the poem may well serve a religious or magical purpose (rather than being a mere expression of artistic ambition)’.<sup>1067</sup> Altars such as **RI.9** ‘generate[s] a visual experience in its own right, transforming the private, ephemeral experience of a dream vision into a visible, material monument’.<sup>1068</sup> Why Fabius’ wife had to commission the altar when he had the dream seems something of a mystery, however; perhaps she was involved in the dream somehow.<sup>1069</sup> This hexameter couplet looks like it may have been carved by one of the actors in the inscription,

<sup>1059</sup> *CIL* VII 998; *CLE* 263; EDCS-07900031; <https://www.mqdg.it/textsce/CE|ce|0263>; HD070430; Heritage Gateway; *AE* 2014.781 adn.; Society of Antiquaries of London 1843: 110; Cugusi 2014: 368; Kruschwitz 2015: 67; Schumacher 2012: 87; Schumacher 2023b. Where, exactly, this was found is not clear, as Heritage Gateway, *CLEO* and Schumacher believe it was found near a spring, whereas *RIB* 1228 implies that it was not, and Kruschwitz does not comment on this either. The note in the *CIL* does not clarify the matter.

<sup>1060</sup> Roman Inscriptions of Britain 2023a.

<sup>1061</sup> Cugusi 2014: 368 and Kruschwitz 2015: 67. EDCS-07900031; <https://www.mqdg.it/textsce/CE|ce|0263> and HD070430 date it between AD 138-367; *RIB* 1228 dates it between AD 43-410. There is therefore a possibility that this inscription ought to be dated outside the date range of this study, and this must be borne in mind when contemplating this inscription and what it adds to the analysis here.

<sup>1062</sup> Schumacher 2012: 87, based partly on the use of *venerandis* (91).

<sup>1063</sup> Cugusi 2014: 399.

<sup>1064</sup> See Kidd 1957: 140. See also Chapter 8 for discussion on the marriage of Roman soldiers.

<sup>1065</sup> See Chapter 8 for more detail on the marriage of Roman soldiers; it is common knowledge that soldiers were not permitted to marry by Augustus, and this ban was rescinded, it is believed, by Septimius Severus.

<sup>1066</sup> Kruschwitz 2015: 67. See also *CLE* 263; Schumacher 2012: 88; Schumacher 2023b.

<sup>1067</sup> Kruschwitz 2015: 67.

<sup>1068</sup> Platt 2016: 174.

<sup>1069</sup> P. Kruschwitz, in conversation. See also Schumacher 2012: 92.



especially the rustic capitals in which it has been written,<sup>1070</sup> as ‘Die erste Zeile und die ersten beiden Buchstaben der zweiten sind gemeißelt („chiselled“, RIB) die restlichen gebohrt’,<sup>1071</sup> and that Fabius uses only his cognomen to identify himself. Schumacher concludes that:<sup>1072</sup>

Abschließend kann man sagen, dass der Urheber der Inschrift über nicht sehr viel Geld verfügte. Es sieht so aus, als wäre der Stein selbst günstig zu erwerben gewesen und die Inschrift in Eigenarbeit angefertigt worden. Das Gedicht war wohl ebenfalls keine Auftragsarbeit, da sie trotz einiger Schmuckelemente wie „*nupta ... Nympha*“ eindeutig den Versuch darstellt, mit den vorhandenen, beschränkten Mitteln und Fähigkeiten einen Altar für die Nymphen zu weihen.

That seems a more logical conclusion to come to when contemplating the commissioning of **RI.9**. So, who wrote the inscription? Based on the contents, and the condition of the writing, there are two, possibly three options: Fabius, the wife of Fabius, or someone else. It seems that the *miles*, Fabius, was the one who wrote the poem, but it would seem odd if he, too, carved the actual inscription, which was clearly not carved by a professional, if he ordered someone else (namely his wife) to put up this altar. So, that leaves three options: the woman in question either commissioned/paid for the monument, which Fabius the *miles* wrote, there was a third party involved in the actual carving of the inscription, or she made it herself. These options are conjecture, however, and it is probable that we will never be able to know the answer. However, ‘the majority of *ex uisu* and *kata opsin* inscriptions come from religious sanctuaries where visitors practiced incubation, a ritual in which they would sleep in the temple precinct overnight in the hope of meeting the deity in the dream-world in order to receive advice or healing. Thermal baths associated with nymphs are prime sites for healing cults’;<sup>1073</sup> could this inscription have come about through a purposeful wish to see the Nymphs, like in **RI.10**, and seek their advice in a dream? For Schumacher and Kruschwitz, the *miles*, Fabius himself, ‘convoluted wording ... tells of the dedicant’s effort to render his words rhythmically’.<sup>1074</sup> Here, too, it is thought that Fabius composed the poem, and perhaps even carved it himself. In many ways, this study demonstrates that levels of Latin comprehension within the Roman military varied on an individual level.

Inscriptional evidence of military units places the *Legio VI Victrix Pia Fidelis* (RIB 1239) and the *cohors I Vangionum* (RIB 1241) at Habitancum. Habitancum was one of the two outpost forts at Risingham,<sup>1075</sup> and it lay on Dere Street, north of Hadrian’s Wall.<sup>1076</sup> Posted at Habitancum were units of *cohortes equitatae milliariae*, which is what the *cohors I Vangionum equitata* was,<sup>1077</sup> and posted here were the *exploratores Habitancenses* and a *vexillatio Raetorum gaesatorum*,<sup>1078</sup> although Habitancum was ‘too small to house the whole of [its] known garrisons at the same time’.<sup>1079</sup> Which unit the issuer of this inscription was in is

<sup>1070</sup> See also *CIL* VII 998; *CLE* 263; Schumacher 2012: 87, 92; Schumacher 2023b’s comments on the writing.

<sup>1071</sup> Schumacher 2012: 87.

<sup>1072</sup> *Ibid.*: 92. See also Schumacher 2023b.

<sup>1073</sup> Platt 2016: 173.

<sup>1074</sup> Kruschwitz 2015: 67. See Schumacher 2012: 89-92, where he evaluates the options.

<sup>1075</sup> Birley 1976: 109; Birley 1981: 13; Speidel 1998: 356. See also Birley 2007: 45.

<sup>1076</sup> Birley 1981: 15; Le Bohec 1991: 316; Waddington & Passmore 2012: 8.

<sup>1077</sup> For which we have epigraphic evidence of them being stationed here, at the very least, between 205-207 (Le Bohec 1991: 316).

<sup>1078</sup> Birley 1981: 15-16. The *exploratores Habitancenses* appear to have been at Habitancum under Caracalla (‘during the third century there seem to be increasing numbers of *cunei* and *numeri* (and similar units, for example *vexillationes*) in the frontier zone of Britannia Inferior, some of them manifestly more ‘barbarian’ in origin than the auxiliaries in *alae* and cohorts’ (2007: 47) (Birley then displays this in the table on page 47).

<sup>1079</sup> *Ibid.*: 16.

impossible to tell. Cugusi conjectures that ‘*miles* indica probabilmente un soldato in qualche modo legato alla *Legio VI Victrix* o, meglio, alla *coh. II Delmatarum*’.<sup>1080</sup> Fabius, like a number of soldiers in this corpus, does not specify in which unit he served, but he does state he was a soldier. For some, evidently, this was enough of an elevation to their identity, beyond their name, and their placement within society.

Another inscription inspired by a dream is **RI.10**.<sup>1081</sup> This statue base was found in Numidia, in Lambaesis,<sup>1082</sup> ‘entre le village et les petites baines, sur un piédestal encore en place entre deux salles pavées d’élégantes mosaïques’,<sup>1083</sup> outside the camp.<sup>1084</sup> It has a later date than the other inscriptions in this dream collection, dated between AD 160-180;<sup>1085</sup> Cugusi dates it between AD 161-169.<sup>1086</sup> Although, it could hail from a later date, from the third century, as we also see dual emperors emerging at this time in the late Principate. This later date is suggested here for this text, due to the language and the nature of the metre. It now exists as a squeeze.<sup>1087</sup> It is apparently by the *praefectus castris*, probably of the *Legio III Augusta*, given the location; the stone itself has been expertly made, although, as indicated throughout this study, this perhaps should not detract from the conjecture that the *praefectus castris* made this himself. Even if he did not make the inscription himself, it is likely he was at least involved with the composition of the poem; it is likely that he wrote it himself. It is a personal poem, both in its inspiration, and in its desires (safety of his family, and that he may join in triumphs; see also **RI.8**).

## RI.10

*Alfeno Fortunato. |*  
*visus dicere somno, |*  
*L{e}iber Pater bima|’t`us,*  
*Iovis e fulmin[e] | natus,*  
*basis hanc no|vationem*  
*genio | domus sacrandam. |*  
*votum deo dicavi*  
*praef(ectus) | ipse castris.*  
*ades ergo | cum Panisco,*  
*memor | hoc munere nostro |*  
*natis sospite matre. |*  
*facias videre Romam |*  
*dominis munere hono|re*  
*mactum corona|(vac.)tumque (vac.).*

<sup>1080</sup> Cugusi 2014: 369.

<sup>1081</sup> See *ibid.* and Cugusi 2007.131-133, where Cugusi compares these two inscriptions, as well as other inscriptions inspired by a dream (but are not military). As Cugusi points out, these types of inscriptions, i.e. inspired by divinities appearing in dreams, are found all over the Empire (Cugusi 2014: 369).

<sup>1082</sup> EDCS-20600083; <https://www.mqdg.it/textsce/CE|ce|1519>; *ILS* 3374; Courtney 1995: 343; Cugusi 2007.130; Cugusi 2014: 369; *AE* 2016.1832 adn.; *AE* 2016.1952 adn.; *CIL* VIII 2632 p. 1739. EDCS-20600083, as with several of the inscriptions in this study, does not list this as military.

<sup>1083</sup> According to *CIL* VIII 2632.

<sup>1084</sup> Schmidt Heidenreich 2013.516.

<sup>1085</sup> In the reign of Marcus Aurelius and Verus. *CLE* 1519; *CIL* VIII 2632; *ILS* 3374; <https://www.mqdg.it/textsce/CE|ce|1519>; Courtney 1995: 344. *ILS* and *CLE* both justify this based on their use of language (*CLE* gives more explicit examples). It is true that there does seem to be an emerging pattern of the more elaborate, literary texts emerge as the Empire progresses into the late Principate, towards the end of the second to the early third centuries. See also *AE* 2016.1952 adn.

<sup>1086</sup> Cugusi 2007.173, 130; Cugusi 2014: 369. As does Schmidt Heidenreich 2013.516.

<sup>1087</sup> See EDCS-20600083; *CIL* website. See also *CIL* VIII 2632.

Sometimes, there was no correlation between the verse and its layout on the stone. **RI.10** is one such example, where there is no initially obvious synchronicity between the poem and how it has been laid out on the stone. It has been suggested that it was written either in Ionic dimeters or hendecasyllables,<sup>1088</sup> which would make it unusual for this corpus. Most military verse inscriptions tend to stick to more well known metrical patterns, such as dactylic hexameter or pentameter. These metres, too, were encountered more often in literature, and used by a wider variety of poets. Metre such as hendecasyllables was used by far fewer poets; the most famous poet who favoured this metre was Catullus, who was also more niche, and perhaps therefore less accessible, in comparison to poets such as Virgil and Ovid.<sup>1089</sup> But, as can be seen throughout this study, this does not mean that Catullus has not been referenced in the poems in this collection.

It is difficult to ascertain the intended metre of this inscription; the wording is convoluted, and difficult to interpret at times because of this.<sup>1090</sup> One can hardly miss that there are sixteen lines on the stone; can we suggest this inscription should be six lines of eight feet, split across sixteen lines? This would suggest more purpose behind the layout of the verse. If understood as being written in a metre, it is iambic/dactylic in nature. However, patterns emerge if we examine the use of stress accent; as identified in the *CIL*'s presentation of this inscription, there is a pattern with the stress accents, either landing on the second and sixth syllable or the third or seventh syllable,<sup>1091</sup> thus suggesting the Latin here exhibits features of Latin poetry that is thought to appear much later: following the stress accent, not the syllabic quantity. North African Latin is known for understanding long and short syllables in Latin differently,<sup>1092</sup> and this understanding of Latin is evident in the portrayal here. This is further evidence that Fortunatus was not a native speaker of Latin and/or he learnt Latin in Africa. Thus, this is the only inscription in this study believed to follow a metre governed by stress accent, not quantitative metre.

This votive inscription was prompted by a dream Fortunatus, likely the *praefectus castris* himself, had, in which he was told by Liber Pater ('originally a god of fertility, later identified with the Greek Dionysos',<sup>1093</sup> see below) to renovate the status of the genius of his home.<sup>1094</sup> Alexandrescu concluded 'the so-called area of responsibility of Liber Pater was the harvest and the essential provisions for the army', but 'as the depiction ... of Dionysius in the principia of

<sup>1088</sup> As *CLE* 1519 proposes. According to Cugusi 2007.130; <https://www.mqdg.it/textsce/CE/ce1519>, it is in ionic metres. There are parts where there are correlations with ionic, but the pattern is not strict enough to make it obvious that it was meant to be written in ionic. According to *CLE* 1519, Courtney 1995.136, *CIL* VIII 2632, and Schmidt Heidenreich 2013.516 it is written in ionic dimeters (according to Schmidt Heidenreich 2013, specifically in fourteen ionic dimeters), which deviate from the standard pattern (Courtney 1995: 343). Bücheler comments on how much it deviates from the norm of ionic dimeters. See also Howatson (ed.) 2011. Vernier 1891: 377-378 seems to imply that this is a hexameter poem.

<sup>1089</sup> Both *ILS* 3374 and Cugusi 2007.173 conjecture that *Leiber pater bimater* was inspired by Ov. Met. 4.10-11.

<sup>1090</sup> See, for example, the clear struggle in Courtney to understand this text (1995: 343, no. 136, 132-134).

<sup>1091</sup> The pattern is: second, sixth on lines 1-3, 7-8, 11 and 14, third and seventh on lines 4-6, 9-10, 12-13 (line 13 is the only line with an elision), as it is laid out in this study and interpreted in *CIL* VII 2632.

<sup>1092</sup> See, for example, Adams 1999.

<sup>1093</sup> Levi Della Vida 1942: 31. There was a difference between Liber, a rustic god, and Liber Pater, who was equated with Dionysius (see Holland 2011: 217). See also Roberts (ed.) 2007; Wiseman 2010a: 352-354; North 2012: 830; Alexandrescu 2021: 15; Badian 2010, where he is described as 'perceived as both man and animal, male and effeminate, young and old, he is the most versatile and elusive of all Greek gods. His myths and cults are often violent and bizarre, a challenge to the established social order. Always on the move, he is the most epiphanic god, riding felines, sailing the sea, and even wearing wing ... He was first and foremost the god of wine and intoxication. His other provinces include ritual madness or ecstasy; the mast, impersonation, and the fictional world of the theatre; and, paradoxically, the mysterious realm of the dead and the expectation of an after-life blessed with the joys of Dionysius. The common factor is his capacity to transcend existential boundaries', and he had close associations with death and the Underworld, 'in many parts of the ancient world, tombs were decorated with Dionysiac figures and emblems like the maenad, the *cantharus*, and the ivy'. See also Heinrichs 2012b: 461-464b.

<sup>1094</sup> According to *AE* 2016.1832 adn., it is about renovating a base of a statue of Liber Pater.

the fortress in Novae seems to follow the common Dionysus iconography, it is probable that the assimilation of the two deities was not complete, and there were particular situations and responsibilities for which the addressee had to be specifically *Liber Pater*,<sup>1095</sup> which indicates that the interpretation of a deity depended on the location. This is not the only military inscription to have been inspired by the appearance of *Liber Pater* in a dream.<sup>1096</sup> This has led to the conclusion that ‘therefore, they were considered a quite private matter and used as argument for the private character of the cult, respectively for the customized and inner communication with the divinities’.<sup>1097</sup> If that is the case, then why would they display this divine occurrence on a very public monument? As in *ISM V 218*, which is a votive (prose) altar to *Liber Pater* by M. Antistius Caecina, *eques* of the *ala I Dardanorum Antoniniana*, dated to AD 212-217 and found in Troesmis (now Turcoaia, Tulcea County, Romania), once the fortress of the *Legio V Macedonica*, had ‘no (declared) connection to an official function or the profession of the dedicant’, Alexandrescu assesses that this altar to *Liber Pater* ‘can be considered a personal dedication’.<sup>1098</sup> As Fortunatus makes a connection between this vision and, although he makes the personal plea to *Liber Pater* to protect his family, his career (i.e., he announces his military rank and his part of the request is that he sees Rome in a triumph), perhaps this inscription has a more public vow behind it.

Once, *Liber* and *Liber Pater* were two separate gods, but ‘the association of *Liber* with Dionysus was so entrenched by the imperial period, however, that later Christian sources might not have understood or even known about the Roman *Liber*’, so, at one point, *Liber* and *Liber Pater* became amalgamated.<sup>1099</sup> There is controversy about when *Liber* became equated with Dionysius,<sup>1100</sup> but it had occurred by the early Republic.<sup>1101</sup> The earliest explicit evidence for *Liber* being the god of wine ‘is in the *ad Herennium* 4.43, where *Liber* is cited as a metonym for wine’.<sup>1102</sup> In the heart of the Republic, ‘*Liber* also presided over a mystery cult, whose initiates could attain freedom from mortality itself’.<sup>1103</sup> Dionysius was an Eastern god.<sup>1104</sup> The reference to him ‘twice mothered’ refers to the myth of Bacchus’ birth, where his ‘first mother was Semele, his second the thigh of Jupiter’.<sup>1105</sup> *Liber Pater* was worshipped by soldiers and civilians alike, and throughout the Empire.<sup>1106</sup> *Liber Pater*, Courtney declares, ‘is clearly the *interpretatio Romana* of a native god’;<sup>1107</sup> ‘this was Shadrappa, also called *Šdrp*’,<sup>1108</sup> a native Punic deity, who was assimilated with *Liber Pater* in the Hellenistic period,<sup>1109</sup> and had

<sup>1095</sup> Alexandrescu 2021: 16.

<sup>1096</sup> In fact, there are several, see *ibid.* throughout.

<sup>1097</sup> *Ibid.*: 15.

<sup>1098</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1099</sup> Holland 2011: 218. See also 219.

<sup>1100</sup> Rousselle 1987: 193-194.

<sup>1101</sup> *Ibid.*: 194; Wiseman 2010a: 352; see above.

<sup>1102</sup> Rousselle 1987: 195.

<sup>1103</sup> Wiseman 2010a: 353.

<sup>1104</sup> Rousselle 1987: 195.

<sup>1105</sup> Courtney 1995: 343; see also Roberts (ed.) 2007; Henrichs 2012b.

<sup>1106</sup> Szabó notes on the cult of the Thracian rider in Apulum (2016: 67); Alexandrescu 2021: 15; Szabó 2022: 203.

<sup>1107</sup> Courtney 1995: 343. See also Alexandrescu 2021: 15 for debate on how *Liber Pater* was interpreted across the Roman world, and with whom, if anyone, he was syncretised, depending on the local religion as well as Roman.

<sup>1108</sup> See Levi Della Vida 1942: 30-31 for more details on this deity; Lipiński 1993: throughout.

<sup>1109</sup> Although they both differ dramatically in appearance, but did share some important similarities. There may have been Egyptian origins to this pairing. See Brogan & Wilson 2012: 1026: 1304. See also R. D. 1957: 201; Caquot 1960: 82; Bricault 2005: 301; Eck 2019: 259. For more information on this god, see R.D. 1957: 199-201; Brouquier-Reddé 1992: 84, 269-270, 285-286; Lipiński 1993: throughout; Cadotte 2002: 333, 341; for more information on this god, and on this cult and its connection, especially, to Leptis Magna. See Cadotte 2002: 333 for information on how the Roman and African gods were assimilated in antiquity.

associations with healing.<sup>1110</sup> The cult of Liber Pater was popular throughout North Africa,<sup>1111</sup> and Liber Pater was one of the patron gods of the city of Leptis Magna.<sup>1112</sup> There was a link between the *dii patrii*, Hercules and Liber Pater, of Leptis Magna and Septimius Severus,<sup>1113</sup> so could we, perhaps, give this a later date, dating to Septimius Severus' reign, or the Severan dynasty in general? This may explain the use of *dominis* in the plural, not only to the reign of Marcus Aurelius and Verus. Although Liber Pater was popular throughout the Roman world, and before this date, given the existing material evidence of Liber Pater in the African provinces, and the increased importance of Leptis Magna during the reign of Septimius Severus, it is likely that we can better conjecture a date of the early third century for this inscription, rather than the late second century.

This is not the only time Liber Pater had inspired the creation of a poem, as Propertius, Horace and Ovid all cited him as a 'source of their poetic inspiration'.<sup>1114</sup> Fortunatus probably appealed to Liber Pater for his wish to see a triumph because, allegedly, the word 'triumph' was believed to have been 'derived from Greek *thriambos* ... which Varro knew as a cult name of Dionysius', according to Roman scholars.<sup>1115</sup> The first known appearance of *triumphus* is in a fertility hymn, the *Carmen Arvale*, to protect the crops, to Liber, 'who, together with the identification with Dionysius, apparently took over the cult name of *thriambos*'.<sup>1116</sup> Badian goes so far as to postulate 'that the original 'triumph' procession was one that carried up offerings to Liber Pater. It would fit in with the society revealed by the *Carmen Arvale* and largely disguised by the late literary sources, with their emphasis on conflict and violence'.<sup>1117</sup> The ancient connotations of the deity Liber were associated with male offspring; these connotations were ancient even for Cicero.<sup>1118</sup> During the Liberalia, Liber's festival, 'Roman boys commonly put on the toga of manhood: Liber was probably seen as the patron of the boy's transition ... into fertility',<sup>1119</sup> when they donned this toga, they became Roman citizens.<sup>1120</sup> Although this is based on old, Italic understandings of Liber, apparent around the late Republic/early Empire, and based on the Roman understanding of their gods,<sup>1121</sup> given the Roman military's influence on the spread of religion and religious practices, could this be why Fortunatus would ask Liber Pater to keep his sons, as well as their mother, safe? Usually, when the triad of Ceres, Liber and Libera were invoked, it was in order of hierarchy in the Roman family: mother, son, daughter. So, does the mentioning of Fortunatus' sons before their mother indicate the hierarchy of his own native familial social structure preferred sons over mothers?<sup>1122</sup>

<sup>1110</sup> R.D. 1957: 200; Lipiński 1993: 47; Markoe 2011.

<sup>1111</sup> Levi Della Vida 1942: 31; Courtney 1995: 343; Eck 2019: 259, as seen in inscriptions. He appears to have been a popular deity in Phoenicia, who later became popular in Africa. But he was also popular around the Roman Empire (see below).

<sup>1112</sup> Levi Della Vida 1942: 31; Concannon 2010: 239. See also Brouquier-Reddé 1992: 84, 269-270, 285-286; Lipiński 1993: 41-42.

<sup>1113</sup> See, for example, Brouquier-Reddé 1992: 84, 269-270, 285-286.

<sup>1114</sup> Wiseman 2010a: 353-354.

<sup>1115</sup> Badian 2012: 121.

<sup>1116</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1117</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1118</sup> See Holland 2011: 217-218.

<sup>1119</sup> Roberts (ed.) 2007; see also North 2012: 830.

<sup>1120</sup> Wiseman 2010a: 353. See Chapter 8.

<sup>1121</sup> See Holland 2011: 226.

<sup>1122</sup> 'When Liber and Libera are invoked without Ceres, Liber, the son, is always invoked ahead of Libera. We see a similar familial hierarchy in invocations of the Capitoline Triad. This suggests that the hierarchical structure of the Roman family exerts some influence on how relationships between deities are conceived' (Holland 2011: 218).

Nymphs and satyrs had ancient associations with Liber Pater/Bacchus,<sup>1123</sup> and ‘Pan is often associated with Dionysus’.<sup>1124</sup> Paniscus, the diminutive of Pan,<sup>1125</sup> was ‘a little Pan, a rural deity’, who also had association with Nymphs and satyrs.<sup>1126</sup> According to Hanson, a Paniscus, rather than simply being a smaller version of Pan, was ‘a type of woodland creature ... associated with Pan and shared some of his goat-like qualities’.<sup>1127</sup> In Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses* (5.24), the Paniscus is seen playing on Pan’s instrument, the *fistula* (reed pipes, now called panpipes, after the deity). Paniscus has been depicted dancing with Marsyas in an ancient mirror,<sup>1128</sup> ‘the symbol of freedom of republican Rome was the bronze statue in the Forum of Liber’s servant Marsyas the satyr, with his arm raised in salute’.<sup>1129</sup> Silvanus ‘too was a companion of Liber’,<sup>1130</sup> thus reinforcing the idea that many of these verse inscriptions were inspired by rustic, ancient Italic/Roman gods. Although these connotations of Liber Pater and Paniscus were ancient, even by Fortunatus’ time, they continued even into second century Africa. Fortunatus’ *dua nomina* indicates he was not a Roman citizen, so perhaps he originated from Africa. This is even more significant, that a non-native Roman soldier was appealing to an ancient Italic/Roman god, and his companion, with a statue depicting both, who had associations with immortality and freedom, to protect his sons and partner and enable him to see Rome in a triumph.

The verse inscriptions that declare they were created through the prompting of a dream act as material proof of the author’s acting in accordance with the orders of the divine, presents an idea of how people felt the divine interacted with them (and vice versa), and perhaps the act of inscribing it in verse allowed it to be elevated further than in prose. It allowed it to be elaborated on in detail; verse inscriptions tend to be more verbose and descriptive than their prose counterparts, which are often abbreviated and abridged. Through this act, Fortunatus asks that Liber Pater, with a little Pan, to look after his wife and sons. For himself, Fortunatus asks not for safety, but that he be rewarded in a triumph, similarly to the *primus pilus* in **RI.9**. Once again, the soldier makes his military identity intertwined with his own; his social identity, however, belongs with his duty to his family.

This section concludes with a mini Memnon collection: **RI.11** and **RI.12**. These inscriptions also express an experience with a divinity. Both of these inscriptions, the only instance of this in this corpus, were found in exactly the same place: on the statue of Memnon, in Thebes, Egypt.<sup>1131</sup> However, **RI.11** can be dated exactly to 14<sup>th</sup> March AD 92, given the contents of the inscription,<sup>1132</sup> **RI.12** between the first-third centuries AD.<sup>1133</sup> Both are short graffiti on the

<sup>1123</sup> Roberts (ed.) 2007; Wiseman 2010a: 353-354; Wiseman 2012: 3-4; Heinrichs 2012b: 461-464b.

<sup>1124</sup> Courtney 1995: 343. See also *CLE* 1519 for the connection to fauns. See also Bastet 1967.

<sup>1125</sup> Priest 1977: 198.

<sup>1126</sup> See Lewis & Short 1945: 1298.

<sup>1127</sup> Arthur Hanson 1996: 293 n. 25. See Martín 2013: 667-668 for reference to this text.

<sup>1128</sup> See *CLE* 1519. See also Lewis & Short: ‘Marsyas/Marsya – a satyr who challenged Apollo to a trial of skill on the flute, and whom the latter vanquished and flayed alive I iv 38, 13, 6, Ov. F 6 705, id M 6 38 3, App Flor 1, 3, p 113, Luc. 3 207, Stat Th 4, 186, near his statue in the Roman forum was the place for the transaction of business, Hor 5 1, 6, 170, Mart 2, 64, 8, Sen de Ben 6 32, 1, cf Juv 9, 2’ (1945: 1116); Wiseman 2012: 7-8.

<sup>1129</sup> Wiseman 2010a: 353. See also Wiseman 2012: 4, 7-8

<sup>1130</sup> Wiseman 2010a: 354.

<sup>1131</sup> EDCS-21200096; EDCS-21200115; <https://www.mqdg.it/texts/CE/ce0272>; Baldwin 1985: 496; Cugusi 2007.101. See discussion on the Memnon statue below.

<sup>1132</sup> See Memnon 13; Rosenmeyer 2018: 81-82. EDCS-21200096; LLDB-68060 date it to AD 95. Memnon 13 ‘corrects’ this error, which sprung from a misreading of the stone, but the 17<sup>th</sup> consulship of Domitian, in AD 95, was when Marcus Junius Rufus was the prefect of Egypt. Memnon 13 therefore provides the correction of XVI for the consulship date, which they prefer.

<sup>1133</sup> See second-third centuries AD (Courtney 1995: 298; *CLE* 272; Cugusi 2007.7: 101; Cugusi 2011.39). Bernard dates it from the first century AD (Memnon 14). See, for example, Baldwin 1985: 496 for the length of time that the statue was visited and written on, as well as the discussion on the Memnon statue below.

right leg of the statue,<sup>1134</sup> so are also unusual for this data set, as most of this corpus is composed of formally made inscriptions and written in monumental script or rustic capitals, rather than the cursive used for graffiti.<sup>1135</sup> Rosenmeyer classifies the writings etched on the Memnon statue as inscriptions because of their ‘skill and formality’.<sup>1136</sup> Although these were scratched onto the remains of the Memnon Colossus, the wording of both, especially **RI.11**, correlate with the (formally made) inscriptions on altars and epitaphs seen throughout this study (**RI.12** does too, but to a less obvious extent). All the inscriptions on the Memnon Colossus are there for religious reasons, prompted by the aural witnessing of a divine event. Sometimes they were commissioned by poets, and/or stonecutters, which may be seen as an equivalent practice to ‘leaving figurines, offerings, or drawings’ at a religious site.<sup>1137</sup> Both are now fragmented, and so some of the restitutions must be understood with a healthy scepticism regarding their correlation with what the inscription actually said.<sup>1138</sup>

The activities of the Roman military in Egypt embodies the civil service aspect of this institution, with a few skirmishes here and there: ‘the role of the army in such a province was to protect its major city, Alexandria, the seat of its governor and its mint, a large and turbulent city which was at the same time its major port: to protect the province from the possibility of incursions from the south, and to police the desert flanks, particularly that on the east. This Eastern Desert ... was rich in mineral resources – gold, emeralds and fine stone for bulding and statuary; ... it was crossed by two major routes which led to the main Red Sea harbours at Qesir el-Qadim and Berenike from which trade was conducted with Africa and the East’.<sup>1139</sup> We, therefore, know what the Roman military was doing in Egypt. The soldiers stationed there acted as border forces, guards, and supervisors of the transportation of goods and people, both military and civilian, protected the *praefectus Aegypti* and the administration, including the mint, protecting and supervising quarries, and acted as overseers of imperial estates.<sup>1140</sup>

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<sup>1134</sup> Memnon 13; *CIG* 4720; **RI.11** was carved into the middle of the right leg (the editors of the *CIL* specify that it was found on the middle of the right foot, and that the top part had been separated from the bottom, *CIL* III 37; Memnon 13 specifies that it was ‘au niveau de la grande cassure triangulaire du côté interne de la jambe’), **RI.12** was found carved into the lowest part of the right foot of the statue, on the front of the instep (*CLE* 272; *CIL* III 55; Memnon 14; Cugusi 2007.101; Cugusi 2011.39).

<sup>1135</sup> See EDCS-21200115.

<sup>1136</sup> Rosenmeyer 2018: 21. She continues by emphasising, however, that it is very difficult to tell who wrote and/or carved these inscriptions.

<sup>1137</sup> See *ibid.*: 22-23.

<sup>1138</sup> See, for example, the restitutions suggested and outlined in Memnon 14. As all (suggested) restitutions must.

<sup>1139</sup> Maxfield 2003: 154. See also Maxfield 2000: 407, 428 for details on what was excavated from these mines in the Eastern Desert. The army acted as supervisors and administrators for them because they were owned by the emperor (428).

<sup>1140</sup> See Maxfield 2000: 407-409, 431; Maxfield 2003: 154, 64-165.



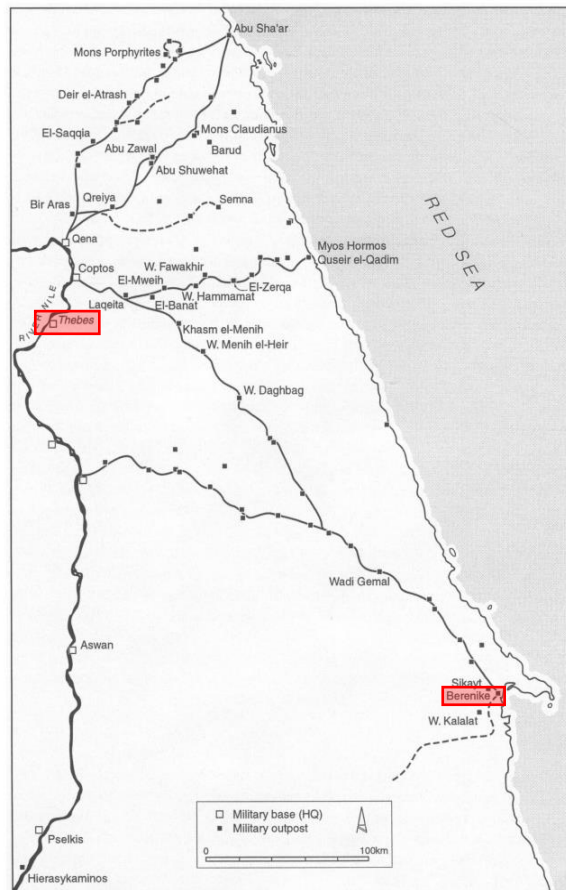


Figure 5.2: A map showing the military bases and outposts in the province of Egypt.<sup>1141</sup> Berenice can be seen in the bottom right, and Thebes, where there was a military base (HQ), is on the left, just above the centre (both are marked in red). Can we conjecture that Petronius Secundus was posted in Thebes, Barmo in Berenice, and Barmo went (perhaps on orders, or perhaps to see this tourist trap himself)<sup>1142</sup> to the military base in Thebes, from the military outpost of Berenice?

The Memnon statue is famous; much has been written on it, both literally and academically.<sup>1143</sup> The statue, still standing today, is sixty five feet of quartzite sandstone and was erected, along with a matching statue, in about 1400 BC in honour of Amenhotep III.<sup>1144</sup> There were two statues, but it is the northern one which is of note.<sup>1145</sup> Why it became equated with Memnon we do not know.<sup>1146</sup> But this is not why the statue was famous. This happened because of a natural event: ‘at some point the upper part toppled to the ground; an earthquake of 26 B.C. is generally held to blame. ... A high-pitched noise started emanating from what remained on the statue base, especially in the early morning’.<sup>1147</sup> Strabo, for example, heard the sound in about 24 BC, ‘in the company of the Prefect of Egypt and a hoarde of officers and soldiers’.<sup>1148</sup> Like Petronius

<sup>1141</sup> From Maxfield 2003: 155, fig. 1.

<sup>1142</sup> Some Roman soldiers saw this statue when they were on holiday (see Rosenmeyer 2018: 6).

<sup>1143</sup> Including a monograph by Rosenmeyer (2018) (see Rosenmeyer’s bibliography; Bowerstock 1984; Baldwin 1985: 496–500; Duffey 2007; Ukaszewicz 2010: 255–264; a collection of translations and commentaries, in French, on these inscriptions by A. and É. Bernand, sometimes referred to simply as ‘Memnon’ [and this is how they are referenced here]). See also Hunt 1984; Brennan 1988: 215.

<sup>1144</sup> Baldwin 1985: 496; Bowerstock 1984: 21; Brennan 1988: 215–216; Ukaszewicz 2010: 255; Rosenmeyer 2018: 4.

<sup>1145</sup> See Rosenmeyer 2018: 5.

<sup>1146</sup> See Brennan 1988: 216; Rosenmeyer 2018: 12–15. Ukaszewicz 2010: 255–264 offers some solutions.

<sup>1146</sup> See Rosenmeyer 2018: 5.

<sup>1147</sup> Brennan 1988: 216. See also Bowerstock 1984: 21–23; Duffey 2007: 51.

<sup>1148</sup> Brennan 1988: 216. See also Bowerstock 1984: 25; Baldwin 1985: 496; Rosenmeyer 2018: 9–11.



Secundus, he heard the sound at the first hour.<sup>1149</sup> Many heard the ‘voice of Memnon’ in the early hours of the morning, predominantly at the first, as Petronius Secundus did, or second hour, sometimes before the first hour:<sup>1150</sup> ‘it was a sign of great honor to hear the cry at the break of dawn, and those lucky enough to experience it made sure to record that detail’.<sup>1151</sup> Therefore, we know why the authors of **RI.11** and **RI.12** came to this spot, and created these inscriptions: ‘comme d’autres pèlerins, le préfet de Bérénice est venu se convaincre sur place que Memnon avait conserve une voix’,<sup>1152</sup> to ‘memorialize the event’,<sup>1153</sup> to, like with any other inscription, immortalise the event and the people who experienced it.

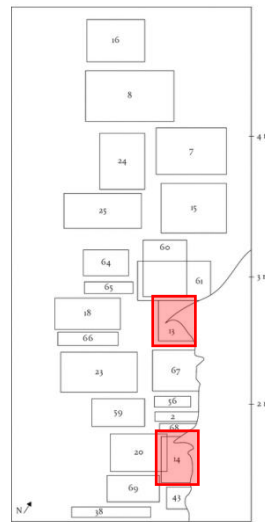


Figure 5.3: Drawing depicting the location of the inscriptions on the right leg.<sup>1154</sup> **RI.11** = 13 and **RI.12** = 14 in Rosenmeyer’s numbering system (both are highlighted in red).

The divinity of Memnon, and of the statue itself, is summarised by Rosenmeyer as: ‘the statue continued to be defined by a set of oppositions: Memnon was both dead and alive, mortal and divine, Egyptian and Greco-Roman, silent and speaking. Similarly, his colossality was both compromised and intensified by his fragmentary state; the marvelous voice emerged from a headless torso’.<sup>1155</sup> It is this juxtaposition in the perception of the statue which Rosenmeyer wrestles with throughout her book. The way in which this statue was revered meant it lost its Egyptian heritage, taken over by a Graeco-Roman interpretation, ‘namely the statue speaks in the voice of a Homeric hero, and that is, in turn, inscribed not with hieroglyphics of demotic script, but with Greek and Latin letters’.<sup>1156</sup> The myth behind Memnon was that he was the ‘son of Tithonus and Aurora, and king of the Ethiopians; he went to the aid of the Trojans, and was slain by Achilles ... the black marble statue of Memnon, near Thebes, when struck by the first beams of the sun, gave forth a sound’,<sup>1157</sup> understood as Memnon ‘mourning his own death and an expression of missing his mother. The cry is understood as epiphanic, a sign of divine favor, equally applicable to any pilgrim’.<sup>1158</sup> The sound was equated to an instrument string breaking,

<sup>1149</sup> Brennan 1988: 216.

<sup>1150</sup> See *CLE* 880; Bernand 1960: 41; Rosenmeyer 2018: 29-30.

<sup>1151</sup> Rosenmeyer 2018: 29-30. See also Memnon 14.

<sup>1152</sup> Memnon 14.

<sup>1153</sup> Rosenmeyer 2018: 21.

<sup>1154</sup> *Ibid.*: 206.

<sup>1155</sup> *Ibid.*: 1.

<sup>1156</sup> *Ibid.*: 5.

<sup>1157</sup> Lewis & Short 1945: 1130. See also Duffey 2007: 51 and Rosenmeyer 2018 for the narrative of this myth.

<sup>1158</sup> Rosenmeyer 2018: 105.

the sound of bronze clanging, a lyre string being plucked, or a voice, but all were considered (Memnon's) voice.<sup>1159</sup>

This has, now, been rationalised as 'the noise probably had something to do with the moisture which had collected overnight in the fissured stone; the base expanded when warmed by the rising sun'<sup>1160</sup> 'and intensified, perhaps, by the presence of the large crack in the pedestal'.<sup>1161</sup> This myth of Memnon is featured in Latin poetry.<sup>1162</sup> One wonders if some decided to commemorate their witnessing of this event in verse because of this link to music and musical instruments that the statue inherently appeared to emit. The sound from the statue personifies it, makes it active, and those who claim to have heard the voice of Memnon hardly ever say that it came from the statue itself.<sup>1163</sup> **RI.12** is one of the few that does. There are a whole series of graffiti inscribed onto the statue, about a hundred,<sup>1164</sup> mostly prose, which say 'I/we heard Memnon [on this day at this time]', in Greek and Latin. The site was a religious one, managed by local priests.<sup>1165</sup> Brennan theorised:<sup>1166</sup>

that they [the local priests] charged handsomely for the privilege of writing on the stone [‘or rather, for masons to do the writing on behalf of visitors’, n. 11]. It can be no accident that the overwhelming majority of signatories are Roman administrators of rank – for instance, prefects of Egypt and governors of Thebes (also their wives) count for fully a fifth of the inscriptions ... about two dozen Roman military officers and soldiers also signed the statue over the years; but they were in a position to bypass the usual procedures and not care how they looked doing so. Whatever the case, the practice of carving graffiti onto the rock came to an end in the early third century. And eventually the statue stopped singing

Among this collection of people wishing to immortalise the fact that they heard this special statue are two military verse inscriptions. One, **RI.11**, is bilingual (Latin and Greek), the other monolingual (**RI.12**, Latin).



*Figure 5.4: the two colossus statues in Thebes (now Luxor), Egypt. The one on the right, the closest one in the photo, is the singing Memnon statue.*<sup>1167</sup>

<sup>1159</sup> Lewis & Short 1945: 1130. See also Bowerstock 1984: 26; Brennan 1988: 216; Rosenmeyer 2018: 4-5, 12. See Rosenmeyer 2018: 18-20 for alternative, contemporary suggestions as to how this noise from the statue sounded.

<sup>1160</sup> Brennan 1988: 216.

<sup>1161</sup> Rosenmeyer 2018: 4. See also Duffey 2007: 51.

<sup>1162</sup> See the examples cited in Lewis & Short 1945: 1130.

<sup>1163</sup> See *CLE* 272.

<sup>1164</sup> Brennan 1988: 215; Baldwin 1985: 496; Hunt 1984. See also discussion below.

<sup>1165</sup> Brennan 1988: 216. See also Adams 2004: 547; Rosenmeyer 2018: 2.

<sup>1166</sup> Brennan 1988: 217.

<sup>1167</sup> From Rosenmeyer 2018: plate 1.

These are the reasons why Petronius Secundus specifies the date and the time he witnessed this event, in Latin. In most contexts, we may assume that this was because more people knew Latin than Greek, so more people would be able to understand the event he had witnessed, the gravity behind it, and, therefore, what that meant for/about Petronius Secundus himself. After all, Latin was the language of the military, and it ‘had from time to time been employed ostentatiously by Romans as a language of power’.<sup>1168</sup> But, Greek did hold the prestige of being ‘the literary language *par excellence* from the beginnings of Latin literature’, including being used as a model for Latin poetry. This is seen here, where ‘at the Colossus it is on stone that Greek is defined as the high literary language’.<sup>1169</sup> Regarding the linguistic and geographic context, in Egypt ‘Greek would ensure a bigger local audience, and was easier for the local masons who seem often to have been hired to carve the more elaborate inscriptions’,<sup>1170</sup> so this explains why the verses, i.e. the part of religious reverence, are in Greek, but the practical aspect, i.e. date, rank and witnessing of this event, are in Latin. The military audience here would have been able to read Greek, as Petronius Secundus and Barma are not the only soldiers to have written verses on the statue of Memnon, but they are the only ones who wrote in Latin on this statue; the others wrote verses wholly in Greek, including two centurions who wrote in verses inspired by Homer, and their Latin inscriptions were in prose.<sup>1171</sup>

**RI.11** is the only example in this corpus where the verses are solely in Greek, and the accompanying prose, which give information about the author, sections are written solely in Latin. This is acknowledged in the inscription itself, where the composer, Petronius Secundus, states he *audit Memnonem hora I pr(idie) Idus Mart(ias) | et honoravit eum versibus Graecis (vac.) | (vac.) infra scriptis, (vac.) |* (‘heard Memnon at the first hour on the day before the fifteenth of March and honoured him with the Greek verses written below’, 2-3). Petronius Secundus was the *praefectus Aegypti*, who ‘had immediate control of the military forces in Egypt. So far as these forces were concerned he was in a position similar to that of a *legatus Augusti pro praetore*’,<sup>1172</sup> and they often used Greek as their language of administration in Egypt.<sup>1173</sup> This meant he was of equestrian rank; Egypt was the exception in that this equestrian governor was the commander of the legions in the province, unlike other provinces, where they were led by a man of senatorial rank.<sup>1174</sup> This was amongst the highest ranks an equestrian could hold in his career (the others being the *praefectura annonae* and the *praefectura praetorio*).<sup>1175</sup> Most equestrians were from the elite, appointed to this post, but some, albeit in the minority, were made equestrians after a military career (centurions who had held the post *primus pilus* were given equestrian status by the emperor).<sup>1176</sup> To be of the equestrian order was an honour in and of itself, as ‘entry into the equestrian order was a personal honor bestowed by the emperor and not hereditary, so also ambitious *equites* who caught the attention of the

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<sup>1168</sup> Adams 2004: 550.

<sup>1169</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1170</sup> Baldwin 1985: 498; see also discussion below. See Adams 2004: 547-549 for discussion on the use of Latin and Greek in Roman Egypt, especially by and to the prefects.

<sup>1171</sup> See Rosenmeyer 2018, for example 106 (101), 119. See also Baldwin 1985: 497 for the frequency of soldiers visiting this statue, and how significant it was for them to visit it. Adams 2004: 551-552, talking about the collection of centurions’ inscriptions on this monument. Between 547-554, Adams discusses the military inscriptions on this monument.

<sup>1172</sup> Last 1954: 71. Despite this, Rosenmeyer describes the role as administrative (2018: 28). See also Appendix 3 for discussion on ranks in the Roman military.

<sup>1173</sup> See Adams 2004: 547, and 549-550, where he discusses this inscription.

<sup>1174</sup> See, for example, Mennen 2011: 137-138; Parker, Watson & Lintott 2012: 1202. It and Mesopotamia were the only provinces governed by a man of equestrian rank with legions in (138).

<sup>1175</sup> Mennen 2011: 136.

<sup>1176</sup> See *ibid.* See also Appendix 3.

emperor or one of his advisers could be promoted, or have their sons promoted, to senatorial rank through *adlectio*'.<sup>1177</sup> This made the *equester ordo* diverse in its membership.<sup>1178</sup>

Petronius Secundus was not the only *praefectus Aegypti* to have his name inscribed on the Memnon colossus.<sup>1179</sup> Petronius Secundus is known from other inscriptions, for example in Alexandria on the Museion's dedicatory stele, which is dated to the 7<sup>th</sup> April AD 93.<sup>1180</sup> He is also found in two papyri, of an unsure date.<sup>1181</sup> He later became the Praetorian Prefect, 'et qu'il participa à la conjuration contre l'Empereur Domitien le 18 septembre 96. Mais après avoir contribué à installer Nerva, il fuit abandonné par celui-ci, qui craignit les manaces de l'autre préfet du prétoire, collègue de Petronius Secundus, nommé Casperius Aelianus. Petronius Secundus mourut donc quatre ans environ après son pèlerinage à Thèbes'.<sup>1182</sup> However, Petronius Secundus was not the one who wrote the inscription, and not the only one of equestrian rank mentioned in this inscription either: it was at least supervised by the prefect of the second Theban cohort, Musa (**RI.11.6**).<sup>1183</sup> Brennan's theory about people being charged to graffiti on the statue, or that they paid professional stonemasons to do it, may be demonstrated in this act: it may be a graffiti, but it is treated with the same language as a paid for altar or epitaph (note the use of *curante* in 6, and that it was written by someone other than Petronius Secundus himself). But it is not the first time that Petronius Secundus had delegated inscription writing to another, as 'sur la stele d'Alexandrie, Petronius Secundus a fait marquer le nom de celui qui rédigea l'inscription'.<sup>1184</sup> This is proof that some inscriptions were carved by someone other than the composer.

But, significantly here, this was sometimes delegated to somebody else in the military. Even if Musa did not write it himself, his military affiliation implies that he could have had someone junior in rank to him in the *cohors II Thebaeorum* carve it into the statue. This cohort 'tenait probablement garnison dans le voisinage et peut-être à Thèbes même'.<sup>1185</sup> As the prefect, he was the commander of this cohort of auxiliary troops, and he would have also been of equestrian rank.<sup>1186</sup> Musa's Roman-esque *tria nomina*, Titus Atticus Musa, as well as his rank, indicates he held Roman citizenship, and perhaps was a native speaker; at the very least, he understood Latin, and perhaps Greek too, considering his likely educational background based on his equestrian social rank. Rosenmeyer theorises that the 'literary epigrams ... [were] written by professional poets hired for the occasion, often focusing on the miraculous aspects of the speaking stones'.<sup>1187</sup> Given the contents of both **RI.11** and **RI.12**, one may be inclined to believe these verses were written by these professionals. However, given the level of education

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<sup>1177</sup> Mennen 2011: 136. See also Appendix 3.

<sup>1178</sup> See *ibid.*: 136-137.

<sup>1179</sup> See Adams 2004: 547-551.

<sup>1180</sup> Memnon 13; Rosenmeyer 2018: 119 n. 23.

<sup>1181</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1182</sup> Memnon 13. See also Rosenmeyer 2018: 81-82.

<sup>1183</sup> Memnon 13 states that he oversaw this process, rather than carving it himself.

<sup>1184</sup> Memnon 13. See also Richmond 1962: 187 for suggestions of other people within the military, i.e. 'the regimental clerks', drafting inscriptions to be carved by a professional stone mason.

<sup>1185</sup> Memnon 13. See Maxfield (2000: 420-421) for discussion on the garrison in Thebes, and for postulation on the cohort mentioned in this inscription: 'Attius Musa, prefect of cohors II Thebaeorum is attested in AD 92 when he was responsible for setting up the record of the visit by Petronius Secundus, prefect of Egypt. The base of II Thebaeorum at this date is not known, though by AD 131 it was at Philadelphia. The two men perhaps travelled south together, thus explaining their association on the inscription. Alternatively one might argue that Musa took responsibility for the carving of the text as the commander of the local unit which was, as its name indicates, originally raised in the Thebaid' (421).

<sup>1186</sup> See Parker et al. 2012. See also Appendix 3.

<sup>1187</sup> Rosenmeyer 2018: 6. We do also see professional poets who appear to have come to this monument of their own volition and add their own verses onto the statue. See also Adams 2004: 551.

and social background of Petronius Secundus, it would be misleading to discount him altogether as the composer of this poem.

In the Greek part of **RI.11**, Petronius Secundus describes the moment of the sound from the Memnon statue, and he identifies the statue by its broken nature (4-5). The Greek verses are distichs, full of dialect and archaic forms, and includes a Homeric expression.<sup>1188</sup> For some reason, in this inscription, ‘in a unique turn of events, Memnon is imagined being struck by the rays of the sun that is identified not with his mother, Eos, but rather with Apollo, son of his own mother, Leto’.<sup>1189</sup> Of the approximately one hundred inscriptions on this statue, only one is bilingual, with an approximate 60-40% split between monolingual Greek and Latin inscriptions, thirty nine of these inscriptions were in verse, most of which were Greek;<sup>1190</sup> ‘of the fifty-three inscriptions on the colossus that give information about the signer’s occupation, forty-five declare an affiliation with the military or government’.<sup>1191</sup> For Adams in **RI.11**, ‘Latin comes across as the official imperial language, suitable for dating and for expressing military ... and imperial titles ..., whereas Greek is the language of high literary culture, used in eulogistic verses containing no such titles. Latin is used here in apparent indifference to local (Greek or Egyptian) readership, symbolising, it would seem, the power of Rome’.<sup>1192</sup>

The Latin is in the third person, the Greek ‘a more emotional and direct second-person address in the poetic section’.<sup>1193</sup> This follows the pattern that is generally seen on the statue itself: ‘none of the Latin inscriptions ... use the second-person address; only the Greek inscriptions turn to apostrophe’.<sup>1194</sup> The reason for this is unknown, but perhaps linked to the pattern that ‘the visitors of higher educational levels choose to write in Greek rather than in Latin at most Egyptian pilgrimage sites, and the attendant turn to poetic convention as predictable under those circumstances’.<sup>1195</sup> It has been suggested that ‘the use of Latin here specifically by a prefect reflects the power of Roman imperial conquest, as well as indifference in the face of local Greek or Egyptian readers’.<sup>1196</sup> With what we know about the Roman military, however, this may not be the case. This was taken care of by a soldier, and Latin was the official language of the military, so perhaps Musa gave instructions on what to say regarding Petronius Secundus’ prose inscription (or, at the very least, his rank; this prose inscription is standardised), and Petronius Secundus wrote the Greek verses. His level of education probably exposed him to Greek, as would have the use of Greek in official documentation in the African provinces, so perhaps he was trying to make the verse more accessible to a wider, non-military audience.

**RI.12** was by the prefect of the *ala Gallorum* and the prefect of the garrison on Mount Beronice. Mount Beronice was ‘on the West coast of the Red Sea at the southern boundary of Egypt’,<sup>1197</sup> between the Red Sea and the Nile;<sup>1198</sup> Barmo was not the only prefect of Beronice who heard the Memnon statue.<sup>1199</sup> The prefect of Berenice was ‘the military official who had overall charge of the whole desert region, roads, way-stations, and quarries, from Berenike

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<sup>1188</sup> See Memnon 13; Rosenmeyer 2018: 82, 119.

<sup>1189</sup> Rosenmeyer 2018: 82. See also 119.

<sup>1190</sup> *Ibid.*: 6. See also Baldwin 1985: 498.

<sup>1191</sup> Rosenmeyer 2018: 27.

<sup>1192</sup> Adams 2004: 550.

<sup>1193</sup> Rosenmeyer 2018: 83.

<sup>1194</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1195</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1196</sup> See *ibid.*

<sup>1197</sup> Courtney 1995: 298. Adams also discusses this inscription (2004: 553-554).

<sup>1198</sup> See Rosenmeyer 2018: 68.

<sup>1199</sup> Courtney 1995: 298.

onwards',<sup>1200</sup> 's'exerçait sur la région désertique qui s'étend entre le Nil et la mer Rouge. Elle comportait l'administration générale des mines d'Égypte, sous le règne d'Auguste au moins; elle était attribuée à des tribuns légionnaires ou à des préfets d'ailes',<sup>1201</sup> which indicates the level of learning and military experience those assigned to this post could have had. There was also a port at Berenice.<sup>1202</sup>

There was an *ala veterana Gallica* encamped near Alexandria in AD 199, but it was also seen around Egypt during the second and third centuries AD.<sup>1203</sup> There was also an *ala veterana Gallica* in the Egyptian garrison, moved there between AD 91-130.<sup>1204</sup> This unit was 'based at Alexandria, with its main attested area of operations in the Delta and Fayum'.<sup>1205</sup> The size of the garrison was probably less than a *turma*.<sup>1206</sup> The garrison at Alexandria was a mix of legionaries and auxiliary soldiers, which 'highlights the importance of the city as provincial capital, seat of the government, mint and point of departure for the grain and other goods being shipped across the Mediterranean'.<sup>1207</sup> The *auxilia* were charged with policing and security roles, and the troops were very mobile around Egypt.<sup>1208</sup> There are, coincidentally, links between this auxiliary cohort and the *cohors II Thracum*, as 'a period of operation in Upper Egypt, by part at least of the unit, may help to explain why an *armorum custos* of the *ala Gallica* was acting on behalf of an *eques* of *cohors II Thracum* (based at Aswan), in a matter concerning the division of the estate of a deceased cavalryman'.<sup>1209</sup> This may perhaps indicate that Barmo was one of the last prefects of the garrison on Mount Berenice, as it has been suggested that Hadrian abolished this office.<sup>1210</sup> Another possible indicator of this having a Hadrianic date is that 'the Memnon Colossus and the pyramids were arguably the two tourist destinations in Egypt during this era'.<sup>1211</sup> It is tempting to see a connection between this inscription and the one by Julia Balbilla, 'who accompanied Hadrian and Sabina to Egypt in AD 130 and whose epigraphs, written in an archaising Aeolic dialect, were carved on the colossal statue of Memnon'.<sup>1212</sup> That, and Hadrian ordered the *via Hadriana*, a new route between Antinoopolis to Berenice to be built by soldiers.<sup>1213</sup>

But, as the time span between **RI.11** and **RI.12** demonstrates, the Memnon statue was consistently scrawled on, over a period of about two hundred years. Although *ala veterana Gallica* is too long for the line, so it may have read *Gallorum alae* or *Gallicarum alae*,<sup>1214</sup> the latter of which was another name used for the *ala veterana Gallica*,<sup>1215</sup> and both work with the metre. Barmo's name offers some difficulties: 'I cannot find any Roman name beginning with Abarabo or anything like it, and to interpret as A. Barabo brings no help',<sup>1216</sup> Courtney

<sup>1200</sup> Maxfield 2003: 167. For information on his rank and unit, see also Appendices 4-5.

<sup>1201</sup> Memnon 14. See also Maxfield 2000: 425-426 for the purpose of the Roman military in the desert regions of Egypt.

<sup>1202</sup> See Maxfield 2000: 425.

<sup>1203</sup> CLE 272; Bernard 1960: 14; Courtney 1995: 298.

<sup>1204</sup> Courtney 1995: 298; Maxfield 2003: 162 for dates of the *ala veterana Gallica* being posted here.

<sup>1205</sup> Maxfield 2003: 162. See also Maxfield's discussion on the garrison here (2000: 409).

<sup>1206</sup> See Maxfield 2003: 163.

<sup>1207</sup> Maxfield 2000: 409.

<sup>1208</sup> See *ibid.*: throughout, esp. 409.

<sup>1209</sup> See Maxfield 2003: 162.

<sup>1210</sup> Based on this, Courtney offers a *terminus ante quem* of AD 130 (1995: 298); Maxfield 2003: 162 for dates of the *ala veterana Gallica* being posted here.

<sup>1211</sup> Brennan 1988: 221.

<sup>1212</sup> Hunter & Rutherford 2009: 19. See also Brennan 1988: throughout.

<sup>1213</sup> See Adams 2001: 140-141. See also Maxfield 2000: 428.

<sup>1214</sup> See Memnon 14; Maxfield 2003: 162.

<sup>1215</sup> See Maxfield 2003: 162.

<sup>1216</sup> Courtney 1995: 299. See Rosenmeyer 2018: 14, who interprets this as 'Barabo'.

frustratedly observed. Bernand wonders if ‘*Barbaro* peut-il être le surnom *Bar(b)ar(i)o*?’.<sup>1217</sup> Regarding the identity of Barmo, it appears he has fully integrated himself into the Roman military way of life, as, although the Greek inscriptions by the Roman elite on this statue, and other Egyptian tourist sites, indicated that the ‘Roman visitors “tended to suppress their Latin-speaking identities”’,<sup>1218</sup> Barmo, who has a distinctly non-Roman *cognomen*, to the extent that it could have been *Barbario*, used only Latin in his verse inscription to Memnon, when higher ranking and/or educated elites used Greek to express their sentiments of and experience with the deity.

The understanding in Latin metre by the author, here likely to have been Barmo himself, is apparent, although this should not detract from his less than likely Roman citizenship status. As can be seen in other inscriptions in this study, it is clear that non-Romans and provincials had an understanding of Latin metre. An allusion is made to the correspondence between the lines of the verse and the layout of **RI.12** by Bernand: ‘la disposition des lignes, comme l’ordre des mots, indique une intention métrique’.<sup>1219</sup> In this inscription, there are eight lines on the stone for four lines of verse. Each line is divided evenly on the stone, the line breaks cutting through the fourth foot of each line of hexameter, including the understanding of caesuras, as there is a caesura in the fourth feet of the first and third lines of verse, thus there is a literal cutting on the stone at the same time as there is a cutting in the verse. Therefore, the verse corresponds with its layout on the statue.

Courtney observes, in the last line of verse, if *Ber(enices)* (**RI.12.4**) ‘is read as it is written, in abbreviated form, it yields a hexameter’,<sup>1220</sup> and it adheres to the same rule of there being a caesura in the fourth foot. Sometimes, as is apparent throughout this study, this is the case, although it is more common that the metre corresponds to what the abbreviation would have been expanded to. Courtney does not see *inanimem* (2) as a tautology of *exanimus*, ‘but is given a new etymology and calqued on ἔμψυχος, ‘that in which there is *anima*’’,<sup>1221</sup> thus making it have the opposite meaning to *inanimus*.<sup>1222</sup> The verse of **RI.12** ‘n’est pas sans rappeler certaines expressions grecques gravées sur le Colosse’, and ‘plusieurs poèmes, en grec, déplorent la mort de Memnon (*exanimi*) et s’étonnent qu’il chante encore. C’est un lieu commun des pèlerins, que le poète souligne par une sorte de jeu de mots: *exanimi inanimem*’.<sup>1223</sup> Although this was written in Latin, ‘this piece expresses in Latin certain ideas and commonplaces found in the Greek poems in honour of Memnon’.<sup>1224</sup> For Adams, this little hexameter poem indicates the soldier-author ‘was creating a special literary persona for himself by imitating in Latin the Greek verses which he had read at the site’.<sup>1225</sup>

All three men in these two inscriptions had links to the military; the only identities they present about themselves are their military connections. There is no mention of a family, of their origins, or any other identifier beyond their military roles. Barmo, although this was probably to fit the metre, introduces his military ranks before his name; Petronius Secundus and Musa do this the more traditional way, by introducing their names before their ranks. That Petronius

<sup>1217</sup> Memnon 14.

<sup>1218</sup> Rosenmeyer 2018: 83, quoting Adams 2004: 550.

<sup>1219</sup> Memnon 14.

<sup>1220</sup> If not, it is in heptameter (Courtney 1995: 298; see also *CLE* 272).

<sup>1221</sup> Courtney 1995: 298.

<sup>1222</sup> This is reflected in the translation of **RI.12** in the Catalogue of Inscriptions.

<sup>1223</sup> Memnon 14. See also Baldwin 1985: 499.

<sup>1224</sup> Adams 2004: 553.

<sup>1225</sup> *Ibid.*: 554.

Secundus' inscription is in Latin and Greek informs us about the audience, and the composer and his level of education, of this poem and accompanying prose. The audience was likely to have been able to read Greek,<sup>1226</sup> but the more learned (hence, perhaps, why he felt it befitting to write it in Greek, instead of Latin), but more people would have known Latin, so they would have been able to read the important information, that Petronius Secundus, prefect of Egypt, heard the statue at the first hour of the day. However, in Egypt, 'the local populace ... were more accustomed to using Greek than Latin in everyday transactions with the imperial administration and army',<sup>1227</sup> so perhaps this was for the opposite reason. Barmo's inscription is wholly in Latin; perhaps he was (more) familiar with it, or, because his verses are in Latin, he felt it unnecessary to use Greek too.

Despite hearing the statue of Memnon himself, Petronius Secundus ordered another to see that this inscription was written on the statue. Barmo, on the other hand, appears to have written it himself, and it was written solely in Latin; 'the Memnon colossus was one of the very few places in Egypt where Latin was employed as an official language among the Roman administrators and military'.<sup>1228</sup> the men showed their affiliation to the military by using Latin: 'Greek is the literary language which presumably demonstrates the literary culture of the writer or referent; in all of these Greek military inscriptions the soldier's membership of the Roman army is incidental, and information about it is not provided. Latin, on the other hand, is the language which a man chooses, even in a Greek-speaking region, when he wishes to assert his military status'.<sup>1229</sup> Here, Adams is specifically discussing the Memnon Colossus, as:<sup>1230</sup>

At other pilgrimage sites ... soldiers regularly record themselves, with full military details, in *Greek*. It is not therefore merely the military nature of the information which determines the choice of language, but also the setting in which that information was conveyed. Latin was available to the military officer as the formal language of military power when the circumstances warranted symbolic display, but in different circumstances, as for instance in a Nubian temple, such display might be inappropriate. The Romans had appropriated the Colossus of Memnon as a place to express symbolically to an élite readership their imperial and military power through the use of the Latin language.

On this statue, and within these two inscriptions, we can see that 'even those Romans who had Greek verses written on their behalf were making a language choice, and paying lip service to an interpretation of the appropriate function of Greek; and on the other hand those who instead used Latin for conveying a type of information were putting a construction on the function of Latin'.<sup>1231</sup> The verses of Petronius Secundus feel more impersonal, more akin to him quoting these lines, rather than having composed them himself. The tone of Barmo's verses, however, are more personal, and the line *sumsique canorum* ('and I subsumed the song', **RI.12.3**) gives this set of hexameters a feeling akin to personal religious veneration and epiphany. The song was something he *sumsit*, he absorbed, carried on, assumed into his being. Is this what this verse inscription is? An expression or depiction of a lifeless object's song? Rosenmeyer, on the other hand, interprets this inscription as exhibiting scepticism as regarding the miraculous event of

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<sup>1226</sup> This is also indicated by the other inscriptions on this statue, which are in Latin and Greek (see Memnon 14; Rosenmeyer 2018: throughout, for example).

<sup>1227</sup> Rosenmeyer 2018: 84.

<sup>1228</sup> *Ibid.*: 5.

<sup>1229</sup> Adams 2004: 553.

<sup>1230</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1231</sup> *Ibid.*: 551.



the singing statue of Memnon, perhaps because of the juxtaposition of *exanimi inanimem* (2): ‘witnesses struggle to accept the miracle and wonder about more rational explanations, as befits an intellectual angle of pursuit. This often goes together with an amazement that Memnon sings in spite of being dead, damaged or petrified’.<sup>1232</sup> Here, it is understood as having a more miraculous, wonderous tone, rather than a sceptical and questioning.

It is the Memnon statue, and the behaviour of those towards it in the Roman period, that exhibits the essential approach towards religion in the Roman world best, for everyone, both in the military and the civilian body: ‘large numbers of Greek and Roman visitors came to the site to admire the marvels of Thebes, enjoying the exotic Egyptian locale as well as its Homeric familiarity, all huddled together under the umbrella of the imperial Roman conquest’.<sup>1233</sup> The transformation of this statue from ‘a funerary monument to an Egyptian pharaoh’ to Memnon either came about because the ‘original context was forgotten or suppressed’, but nevertheless ‘reconfigured as a new memorial object ... celebrating a specifically Greco-Roman cultural context’.<sup>1234</sup> Despite this, it was not an object of Roman heritage and worship, but Greek: ‘the colossus may have stood in Egypt, but through the strength of communal *interpretatio graeca*, it was Greek to the core’.<sup>1235</sup> The identity of the statue, and of the cry itself, was determined by the identity of Memnon as presented in Homer, and subsequently. Those who came to see the statue would have known this perception of the statue, and so this is how they understood it.<sup>1236</sup>

For Rosenmeyer, those who came and visited this statue did so for multiple reasons: as ‘a tourist and a worshipper, both an intellectual curiosity-seeker and someone eager to hear the voice of the divine’,<sup>1237</sup> ‘their desire to engage individually with Memnon in his function as a link to a remote heroic past; a desire for self-promotion, as seen in many of the elaborate biographical details and *cursus honorum* provided in the inscriptions; and an eagerness to participate in the communal event of gathering at the base of the colossus to listen for the miraculous voice at dawn’.<sup>1238</sup> The latter two of these motivations seem to be the reasoning behind the visits of Petronius Secundus and Barmo. It was the cry of Memnon that made him immortal, divine, and proved his divinity: ‘like the funerary epigram, whether on stone or on the page, Memnon’s cry gives voice to the corpse and blurs the boundary between life and death’.<sup>1239</sup> Rosenmeyer wondered whether those who visited this statue regarded it as living, inanimate or both at the same time.<sup>1240</sup> These two inscriptions encapsulate these interpretations, **RI.11** the former, **RI.12** the latter. Both encapsulate the main rhetorical devices used by the authors of the inscriptions on the Memnon statue: ‘apostrophe and *prosopopeia*. The former is a way of addressing the colossus as a person, [as seen in **RI.11**] while the latter allows the inscribers to imagine the colossus, in turn, addressing them [**RI.12**]’.<sup>1241</sup> The statue catered to all interests: religious, literary, historical, mythological and cultural.<sup>1242</sup>

<sup>1232</sup> Rosenmeyer 2018: 68. See also 77.

<sup>1233</sup> *Ibid.*: 15.

<sup>1234</sup> *Ibid.*: 35-36.

<sup>1235</sup> *Ibid.*: 15.

<sup>1236</sup> See *ibid.*: 36.

<sup>1237</sup> *Ibid.*: 75.

<sup>1238</sup> *Ibid.*: 37.

<sup>1239</sup> *Ibid.*: 90. See also 96, 103.

<sup>1240</sup> See throughout Rosenmeyer 2018, although particularly 77, 90. See also above.

<sup>1241</sup> Rosenmeyer 2018: 78. This is discussed throughout Rosenmeyer’s work, see especially 81-82, where **RI.11** is exhibited as ‘a way that foreground the power of apostrophe’.

<sup>1242</sup> See *ibid.*: 39.

Those who left their mark on the statue were from the more learned demographic, exhibited by the quality of their inscription (and/or whether it was versified), and their social/military/political rank, as demonstrated in **RI.11** and **RI.12**: ‘the Colossus was a mecca for the highest classes, who provided a readership for formal inscriptions constructing self-consciously different roles for the two languages’.<sup>1243</sup> The heavily Greek favoured aspect of this statue, from its Homeric identity to the imbalance of Greek to Latin inscriptions, perhaps stems from its location,<sup>1244</sup> and the heavier use of Greek in the African provinces than in the European. Again, we see the balance of the individual vs. the community, the desire for immortality vs. cultural heritage (through which immortality can be expressed and understood). Those who made/had made these inscriptions when they visited the statue of Memnon did so ‘to individualize and commemorate their interactions with Memnon; they seek to insert themselves into a larger narrative of sacred tourism at Thebes, but also to personalize it, to make it meaningful on an individual level’.<sup>1245</sup> Even if it is not explicitly stated, as with all inscriptions, adding in personal information about their own identities indicates their desire to be immortalised along with this statue, amongst the lucky few who heard him, and commemorated this action on the statue itself. As can be seen throughout this chapter, as a part of an underlying theme of this research, is that the verse inscriptions of the Roman military sought to balance the issue of individuality vs. the cultural community to create a continued immortality.

This behaviour exhibits the interaction between the human and the divine, and the perception of the influence of one upon another. In **RI.9**, we saw the gods warning Fabius and his wife in a dream, and, in response to/as thanks for this, he set up an inscription describing this act. In **RI.13**, Tullius Maximus sets up multiple verse inscriptions in thanks to Diana for assisting him in his hunt, which he asked for in an earlier inscription. The favour requested/sought in this case was the cry of Memnon itself, the very thing those visiting this statue sought to hear: ‘the utterance, the aural epiphany, does, however, in turn change the way the pilgrim views the statue: at the moment of his cry, Memnon changes from silent stone to speaking god’.<sup>1246</sup>

**RI.11** and **RI.12** have the tone of ‘the concept of epiphany, where the god makes himself manifest by some sign – usually visual, but in this case aural’,<sup>1247</sup> **RI.11** more impersonally than **RI.12**. The frequency of verse inscriptions in general on this statue highlight the correlation between divine intervention and divine inspiration as a motivation for writing poetry. They, like all the inscriptions in this chapter, seek to converse with the divine, and ‘bear witness to this tension between the communality and the uniqueness of each instance of communication with’ the divine.<sup>1248</sup> In Roman religion, there is a deeply personal aspect between the deity and the human,<sup>1249</sup> demonstrated in each of these inscriptions, an expected relationship of reciprocity, miracles, and security. This reciprocity is expressed through the creation of inscriptions: ‘Memnon speaks out loud, and is honored or thanked by the mortal with a written inscription’.<sup>1250</sup> This is the case for most of the divine interactions expressed in these military verse inscriptions: either the god is being pre-emptively thanked for something the erector

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<sup>1243</sup> Adams 2004: 550.

<sup>1244</sup> ‘the early identification of Egypt as a source for all things Greek’ (Rosenmeyer 2018: 75).

<sup>1245</sup> Rosenmeyer 2018: 80. See throughout, for example 88-90, 105.

<sup>1246</sup> *Ibid.*: 105. See also 77.

<sup>1247</sup> *Ibid.*: 77.

<sup>1248</sup> Quote from *ibid.*, referring to the Memnon statue.

<sup>1249</sup> See, for example, Rosenmeyer’s analysis on the interactions between those who left their mark on the Memnon statue and Memnon himself (*ibid.*: 77, 102-104). See the inscriptions throughout this chapter.

<sup>1250</sup> Rosenmeyer 2018: 79.

wished them to do, or thanked for something they have done. The essence of their military identity is expressed in their use of Latin in a land more accustomed to Greek, thus demonstrating their separation from, and impermanence in, the local community. Some may perhaps see this as an expression of power over the populace, as a way of demonstrating their superiority brought about through their military credentials, but some may see the bilingual aspects as facets of personal attempts at integration into a society which their rank meant they were in a state of social, and perhaps linguistic, separation.

#### 5.4. Nature, Astronomy, and the Divine

We move on from a statue prompted to sing by the rising of the sun, although this was unknown to the ancients and believed to be a divine utterance, to explicit references between the divine, natural and cosmological worlds. Much natural imagery existed in these inscriptions, not only in what they said,<sup>1251</sup> but also in the reliefs that accompanied them. For example, **RI.13**, an altar to Concordia, Apollo Grannus, the Camenae, Mars, Lars Pacis and the divinities from the imperial line, was decorated with reliefs of apples and trees,<sup>1252</sup> yet has no reference to the natural world in the verse itself. It is not an uncommon occurrence to see natural imagery in reliefs on inscriptions.

**RI.13** epitomises the synchronicity between nature and astronomy, and both to religion in the Roman world. One need only read about two of the main schools of philosophical thought in antiquity (Epicureanism or Stocism), or works such as Cicero's *de Natura Deorum*, Pliny's *Naturalis Historia*, Seneca's *Naturales Quaestiones*, the ideas of the Presocratics, or even the inscriptions presented in this chapter, to see the deeply intertwined nature of religion and the astronomical and natural (but particularly astronomical/cosmological) world in the minds of the ancients, both through rationalisation of the machinations of the universe and of denial or proof of its divine nature/elements.<sup>1253</sup> **RI.13** is a votive inscription to the huntress goddess Diana, who had a lot of natural imagery associated with her. Much has been written on this inscription, including in research on the religion of the Roman army in Hispania from the first-third centuries AD, as epigraphy provides us with the main source of evidence, almost exclusively, of the religion of those serving in the Roman army in this province.<sup>1254</sup> Therefore, only the information relevant to the topic of this chapter (i.e. religion) and Tullius Maximus' identity and life shall be discussed here.<sup>1255</sup>

**RI.13**, a *legatus Augusti legionis* of the *Legio VII Gemina Felix* dedicates a series of hunting trophies to Diana, including elephant tusks and stag antlers. The altar of **RI.13** (which consists of a marble altar and tablet) is decorated on the back with a star – a crescent moon – a star, and a moon on the front too.<sup>1256</sup> Stars, suns and crescent moons being chiselled into reliefs on monuments are not unique phenomena. This is seen, for example, in *ILCV* 811,<sup>1257</sup> and Sanders

<sup>1251</sup> For more details on the natural world in these inscriptions, see this section and Chapter 7.

<sup>1252</sup> See Lehner 1918: 149.

<sup>1253</sup> See Chapters 6 and 7. Unfortunately, this cannot be fully discussed here, due to the nature of this study, but this is intended to the subject of further study by the author.

<sup>1254</sup> See Sagredo San Eustaquio & Jiménez de Furundarena 1996: throughout.

<sup>1255</sup> See, for example, *HEp* 2002.317; Montaner 2001; del Hoyo 2002 Cugusi 2007.131-133 for some of the previous scholarship on this inscription, as well as the references here on **RI.13**. del Hoyo and Montaner provide thorough and in-depth descriptions and commentaries on this inscription. In these, details are given on the skill in Latin verse demonstrated in **RI.13**.

<sup>1256</sup> Therefore, this decoration is above **RI.13a** and **b**. See *ILS* 3259-60; *CLE* 1526; *CIL* II 2660 (p. 708, 912, 1040); *HEp* 2002.317; del Hoyo 2002: throughout; Montaner 2001: throughout, esp. 10, 48. See also photos of this inscription at EDCS-34900794 and EDCS-05502038; Del Hoyo 2023 on *CLEO* LE1; Del Hoyo 2023 on *CLEO* LE2; Del Hoyo 2023 on *CLEO* LE3. For photos of the accompanying tablet, see EDCS-05502038; Montaner 2001; Del Hoyo 2023 on *CLEO* LE4.

<sup>1257</sup> See Sanders 1965: 14.

describes this as encapsulating the imagery of life and death, linking an individual's life cycle to the wider natural/cosmic processes of the movements of the sun, moon and stars.<sup>1258</sup> Although he is discussing Christian inscriptions, the idea appears to have continued on from non-Christian ideas. Although these symbols feature on Christian monuments, as with **RI.13**, depictions of celestial bodies in relief do not necessarily mean that they are linked to the contents of the inscription.<sup>1259</sup> If one sees them as generic symbols, and the mentioning, therefore, of Diana and the relief of the moon and the stars as a coincidence of epigraphic relief 'tropes', then this is the case here.

Diana was a popular goddess to invoke,<sup>1260</sup> sometimes as 'protectora de los soldados',<sup>1261</sup> however, rarely in her capacity as the huntress goddess, 'quizá ello se deba a que la caza no estab e entre las atribuciones primigenias de Diana, ligada más bien a la luna y, por ende, a los ciclos naturales, con especial relación al parto, por un lado, y a la vegetación silvestre, por otro', and thus the crescent moon on the altar may be a reference to Diana in her original divine capacity,<sup>1262</sup> which is explained in Cicero's *de Natura Deorum*:

*Iam Apollinis nomen est Graecum, quem solem esse volunt, Dianam autem et lunam eandem esse putant, cum sol dictus sit vel quia solus ex omnibus sideribus est tantus vel quia cum est exortus obscuratis omnibus solus apparet, Luna a lucendo nominata sit; eadem est enim Lucina, itaque, ut apud Graecos Dianam eamque Lucideram, sic apud nostros Iunonem Lucinam in pariendo invocant. Quae eadem Diana Omnivaga dicitur non a venando sed quod in septem numeratur tamquam vagantibus. Diana dicta quia noctu quasi diem efficeret. Adhibetur autem ad partus quod ii maturescunt aut septem non numquam aut ut plerumque novem lunae cursibus, qui quia mensa spatia conficiunt menses nominantur*

Now Apollo's name is Greek, they wanted him to be the sun, but they thought that Diana and the moon were the same, since the sun was called 'sol' either because it alone is the brightest out of all the stars or because when the sun has risen, obscuring all the others, it appears alone; the moon is called 'Luna' from *luceo* ('to shine'); for it is the same Lucina (the goddess of childbirth), likewise, as among the Greeks Diana and Lucina are the same, in this way among our people Juno and Lucina are invoked during childbirth. She is the same Diana who is called Diana Omnivaga ('the Diana who wanders everywhere'), not because of her hunting, but because she is one of the seven who are called 'Wanderers' (*Vagantes*), because it is as if they wander (*vago*). She was called Diana because when it was night-time she made it as if it was day-time (*dies*). But she is summoned during birth because they gestate always either for seven or as many as nine revolutions of the moon, which are called *menses* ('months') because they travel measured (*mensus*) spaces

Cic. Nat. Deor. 2.68-69.

This may explain the presence of the stars on the monument, as Diana was also identified with the moon. The planet Venus was identified as appearing in conjunction with the moon, as the

<sup>1258</sup> Sanders 1965: 15.

<sup>1259</sup> See *ibid.*, and his discussion on *ILCV* 811. More research needs to be conducted to see if this is the case with pagan (verse) inscriptions, however.

<sup>1260</sup> See, for example, Montaner 2001: 43-49 for discussion on Diana and her role in religion in the Roman world.

<sup>1261</sup> Montaner 2001: 46.

<sup>1262</sup> *HEp* 2002. 317. See also Montaner 2001: 44, 46.

first star visible in the evening, and had a dual name, Lucifer and Vesper, perhaps explaining the dual stars on this altar.<sup>1263</sup> But this imagery is seen in inscriptions to other divinities, and thus cannot be said to be Diana's alone when it comes to epigraphy.<sup>1264</sup> Montaner offers two origins of this imagery of the crescent moon and two stars: it had Hispanic origins, and/or it was introduced to the area by the epigraphy of legionary or auxiliary troops.<sup>1265</sup> Diana's epithet *triformis* in **RI.13** comes from her three identities: she was born in Delos, she was a virgin goddess, and strong defender of her chastity, and she was syncretised with Hecate, 'la diosa infernal de triple forma (*Triformis*)',<sup>1266</sup> 'no obstante, la asimilación a Ártemis/Diana de Hécate y de Selene/Luna provocó el desplazamiento del epíteto para calificar a aquélla, tomándose entonces como alusión a su triple naturaleza: astir resplandeciente en el cielo, diosa cazadora en la tierra y sombría maga en el inframundo'.<sup>1267</sup> She, thus, came to embody all the elements of Hecate, Artemis and Selene.<sup>1268</sup> *Iaculator* may be a reference to one of Diana's epithets: *iaculatrix*, found in Latin poetry.<sup>1269</sup> Originally the goddess of light and the wilderness,<sup>1270</sup> or, pertinently when considering the location of the military both to literal and metaphorical civilisation, 'con mayor propiedad, de la diosa que preside el límite entre lo externo y lo interno a la *ciuitas*',<sup>1271</sup> this explains the imagery on the monument, as well as the imagery in the verse on it, with an emphasis on the landscapes within and upon which Tullius Maximus hunted, and the animals he hunted inhabited, dedicated to Diana, in her more recent capacity as the goddess of the hunt.<sup>1272</sup>

**RI.13** was found in Legio, Hispania Tarraconensis, the base of *Legio VII Gemina Felix*.<sup>1273</sup> Created by Galba, *Legio VII* was the only military force in Hispania.<sup>1274</sup> It must be dated between the reign of Vespasian to Septimius Severus, as the legion was given the honorific name *Felix* by Vespasian, and an additional honorific name, *Pia*, was given to the Seventh Legion by Septimius Severus; most now date this inscription to AD 162-166.<sup>1275</sup> With its seven lines of verse in **RI.13b**, this 'compone la más extensa de las inscripciones votivas de la Hispania romana'.<sup>1276</sup> Quintus Tullius Maximus has been identified with the man of the same name who was the *legatus Augusti pro praetore* of Thrace in c. AD 166, which would give this

<sup>1263</sup> See Cic. Nat. Deor. above, Montaner 2001: 48, and discussion on Pliny's universe in Chapter 7. See Figure 7.1.

<sup>1264</sup> See Montaner 2001: 48-49.

<sup>1265</sup> See *ibid.*: 48-49, 74, fig. 10.

<sup>1266</sup> Del Hoyo 2002: 77. See also Montaner 2001: 19.

<sup>1267</sup> Montaner 2001: 19-20.

<sup>1268</sup> See references to Hecate in Cotterell 2003; Leeming 2006; Delahunty & Dignen (eds.) 2010; Howatson (ed.) 2011; Heinrichs 2012a: 649-651.

<sup>1269</sup> Montaner 2001: 35.

<sup>1270</sup> See *ibid.*: 45, as well as above.

<sup>1271</sup> Montaner 2001: 45.

<sup>1272</sup> See *ibid.*: 45-46.

<sup>1273</sup> EDCS-34900794 and EDCS-05502038; Courtney 1995 347; *CLE* 1526; *ILS* 3259-60; *CIL* II 2660 (p. 708, 912, 1040); *AE* 2002.781 adn.; Montaner 2001: 9; del Hoyo 2002: 70; *HEp* 2002.317; Cugusi 2007.131-133; *AE* 2009.598 adn.; Rabanal Alonso 2010: 145; del Hoyo 2023 on *CLEO* LE1; del Hoyo 2023 on *CLEO* LE2; del Hoyo 2023 on *CLEO* LE3; del Hoyo 2023 on *CLEO* LE4 where there is a map of the exact findspot. For some reason, EDCS-34900794 and EDCS-05502038 only labels **RI.13e**, the marble tablet, as military, but not **RI.13a-d**.

<sup>1274</sup> Rabanal Alonso 2010: 145 (discussion of this inscription: 145-146). See this whole paper for an overview and assessment of the Latin epigraphy of the Roman military in León. See also del Hoyo 2002: 77.

<sup>1275</sup> Courtney 1995 347. *CLE* 1526 dates it to the reign of Hadrian. EDCS-34900794 and EDCS-05502038 dates the votive inscription to the second century AD and the accompanying marble tablet to AD 162-166, as does del Hoyo 2023 on *CLEO* LE4; LLDB-74326 dates it from AD 162-167. Del Hoyo 2023 on *CLEO* LE1; del Hoyo 2023 on *CLEO* LE2; del Hoyo 2023 on *CLEO* LE3 dates both between 162-166. See also *CIL* II 2660 (p. 708, 912, 1040) assessment of the date of this inscription. Cugusi dates it to approximately the middle of the second century AD (2007.131-133). See also *HEp* 2002.317; Rabanal Alonso 2010: 145, who presents all the various arguments concerning the date of this inscription, and reaches the conclusion that the years AD 162-166 are the most likely. See also del Hoyo 2002: 93 for concession with the date of 162-169. See also Montaner 2001: 40-41, who dates it between AD 162-163.

<sup>1276</sup> *HEp* 2002.317.

inscription an *ante*-date of 166; he later went on to become *consul designatus* and then *suffectus*.<sup>1277</sup> If he was in Hispania immediately before his posting to Thrace, he must have been there for five years.<sup>1278</sup> **RI.2** and **RI.3** demonstrate a similar career trajectory of those in the senatorial elite, and thus looking for a political career. That, and the archaisms featured in **RI.13** are ‘típico de la época de los Antoninos’.<sup>1279</sup> We may have another example of a member of the senatorial elite who was mentioned in literature, for this Tullius Maximus has been identified with a man of the same *cognomen* mentioned in an episode in Aelius Aristides’ *A Reply to Capito* which happened in AD 145-147, in the temple of Asclepius, Pergamum:<sup>1280</sup>

ἀνὴρ τῶν ἐκ τῆς γερονσίας τῆς Ῥωμαίων, Λίβυς τὰ ἀρχαῖα, Μάξιμος τὸ ὄνομα, ἄξιος ὅτου βούλει, φασὶ δὲ οἱ ταῦτα δεινοὶ καὶ ῥήτορα αὐτὸν ἐν πρώτοις εἶναι Ῥωμαίων, οὗτος τοῖς τε Δημοσθένους λόγοις προσέκειτο ὑπερφυῶς καὶ οὐκ οἶδ’ ὄντινα τρόπον καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐάλω τούτοις· καὶ δὴ οἷα συμφοιτῶν τε εἰς Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ φιλοκαλίας ἐλλείπων οὐδὲν συνῆν ἐμοὶ καθ’ ἡμέραν ἐκάστην κατὰ τοὺς λόγους

There was a Roman senator of Libyan extraction called Maximus, as worthy an individual as you could wish, and the experts in this area say that he is also among the leading lights of Roman oratory. This man was both extraordinarily attached to the speeches of Demosthenes and somehow or other also taken by my own, and since he was a fellow habitué of the shrine of Asclepius and a man of impeccable good taste, he was at my side each day in my oratorical pursuits.

Aristid. 4.2, trans. by Trapp 2021: 569, 571.

A *legatus legionis* was ‘el poder supremo en la legion, lógicamente como delegado del emperador, que es el jefe supremo de todos los ejércitos’, and were of senatorial rank;<sup>1281</sup> so he was in charge of the legion.<sup>1282</sup> Tullius Maximus’ *tria nomina* indicates his status as a Roman citizen. Given his reference and address to Diana in his votive inscription, his Roman sounding name and understanding of Latin verse, one would seem to find it difficult not to identify him as Italian. However, Tullius Maximus specifies he was from Libya (**RI.13b.3**), indicating the prolific nature of Latin as a fluent first or second language around the provinces as the Empire evolved. Inscriptions from North Africa give an indication of the pronunciation of Latin in the North African provinces.<sup>1283</sup> This is indeed seen in the inscriptions in North Africa, but not in the inscriptions of those from North Africa. This is seen, for example, in **AI.7**, which, similarly to **RI.13**, the author had a clear understanding of Latin metre, and wished to display this on the stone; both of these men had high ranks in the Roman military.

He uses some unusual words, not of Latin origin, and no doubt influenced by his time in Hispania. The word *paramus* (**RI.13d.3**) is not a Latin word, but an Iberian one, which exists

<sup>1277</sup> Courtney 1995 141: 347; *ILS* 3259-60; *AE* 2002.781 adn.; del Hoyo 2002: 93; del Hoyo 2023 on *CLEO* LE1; del Hoyo 2023 on *CLEO* LE2; del Hoyo 2023 on *CLEO* LE3. ‘Groag identifies him also with the eloquent African ... senator Maximus known from Aelius Aristides’ (Courtney 1995 141: 347). Montaner (2001: 40-41) gives a breakdown of his chronological career, from *legatus legionis* to *consul suffectus* (c. AD 161-168), as far as we know it.

<sup>1278</sup> See, for example, Courtney 1995: 141; del Hoyo 2002: 93-94.

<sup>1279</sup> *HEp* 2002.317.

<sup>1280</sup> See Montaner 2001: 41-42. See also Aristid. 4.2: 569 n. 2, 571 n. 3.

<sup>1281</sup> Rabanal Alonso 2010: 145. See also Appendix 3.

<sup>1282</sup> See, for example, del Hoyo 2002: 73.

<sup>1283</sup> See Adams 1999; see also Chapter 2 and discussions on **RI.14** and **AI.3**.

in Spanish and Portuguese ('páramo = a barren plateau'),<sup>1284</sup> 'un término que los delataba inequívocamente como provinciales', Montaner said, referring to **RI.13b**.<sup>1285</sup> This perhaps refers to 'El Páramo, a district about 30 kilom. SW of León'.<sup>1286</sup> He also created some new words in his inscription, including for the description of the natural elements of the animals and surrounding countryside, partly this is because this is, as the data stands, the only instance of this topic in epigraphic poetry.<sup>1287</sup>

**RI.13** was accompanied by a marble tablet (**RI.13e**), which is in the same script, and laid out similarly to the main votive inscription. The inscriptions were made with intention regarding the layout and script. The script on the monument (**RI.13a-d**) and the tablet are both written in the same square capital, and every even line of verse is indented. Del Hoyo, however, notices differences that makes him postulate that **RI.13a** and **b** were written by a different hand to **RI.13d**.<sup>1288</sup> The difference between the prose and the verse script is clear, as the prose is written in larger square capitals, although attention has been paid to the display of the prose inscription too.

**RI.13b-e** (the verse parts of **RI.13**):

**b**

(in tergo)

*Aequora conclusit campi | divisque dicavit |  
et templum statuit tibi | Delia virgo triformis |  
Tullius e Libya rector | legionis Hiberæ |  
ut quiret volucris capreas, | ut figere cervos, |  
saetigeros ut apros, ut | equorum silvicolentum |  
progeniem, ut cursu certare, | ut disice ferri, |  
et pedes arma gerens (vac.) | equo iaculator Hiberno. |*

**c**

(in dextro latere)

*Dentes aprorum | quos cecidit |  
Maximus | dicat Dianæ, |  
pulchrum vir|utis decus. |*

**d**

(in sinistro latere)

<sup>1284</sup> Courtney 1995: 347. See also, for example, *ILS* 3259-60; *CLE* 1526; *CIL* II 2660 (p. 708, 912, 1040); del Hoyo 2002: 92 for more unusual/previously unknown words used by Tullius Maximus; *HEp* 2002.317. See also Montaner 2001: 17-29, esp. 21-23 for discussion on *paramus*.

<sup>1285</sup> Montaner 2001: 22.

<sup>1286</sup> Courtney 1995: 347; del Hoyo 2002: 87. Some have argued against this being Iberian, but pre- or proto-Celtic/an unspecified Indo-European language used by the people who lived there before the Celts moved into their territory (Montaner 2001: 21-23; Montaner decides that it is a Hispanic term).

<sup>1287</sup> See, for example, Montaner 2001: 17-29; *HEp* 2002.317; del Hoyo 2002: 76-77.

<sup>1288</sup> Del Hoyo 2002: 86.

*Cervom altifron|tum cornua |  
dicat Dianae | Tullius, |  
quos vicit in pa|rami aequore |  
vectus feroci | sonipede.*

e

(in tabella marmorea)

*Donat hac pelli D[iana] | Tullius te Maxim[us] |  
rector Aeneadum [---], | legio quis est se[ptima], |  
ipse quam detrax[it equo], | laude opima p[raeditus].*

The verses in **RI.13** have been composed of four different types of verse, different for each section.<sup>1289</sup> The format of the verse inscription was laid out with intent, with every even line, on each verse section of the inscription, indented to the left. The lines of the inscription lie exactly halfway through each of the lines of verse, according to their metre, in each section of **RI.13**, regardless of the metre used. The line break on the stone, mostly, either corresponds to the end of a metrical foot or a caesura. **RI.13b** is composed of dactylic hexameter. The observation that ‘en cambio, inusitado en una inscripción votive el empleo de hexámetros, como en el epígrafe dorsal del ara, porque era metro más propio de los epitafios’,<sup>1290</sup> concerning this inscription, is demonstrated in this chapter as false. We see a variety of metres in these inscriptions, although, correlating with the general trend of inscriptions in this study, including epitaphs, most appear to be in some form of iambic verse. However, **RI.13b** does correspond with the idea that ‘los hexámetros, como es habitual en los *carmina epigraphica* hispanos ... se atienen casi por completo a las pautas virgilianas’,<sup>1291</sup> thus the use of Latin metre here appears to also have a Spanish influence, as well as the language itself. In **RI.13b**, the inscription has been laid out to have between 2 ½ - 3 ½ feet per line (there is one line with four) on the stone. It has been laid out so that either the words are not split between lines, or so the first line is longer. **RI.13c** is composed of nine feet of iambic trimetres across three lines on the stone, which is intentional, corresponding roughly to the pattern of 2 ½ - 1 ½ - 1 feet per line on the stone. Word breaks are found on the sides of **RI.13** (c and d), for example *virtutis* and *altifrontum* are split across lines on the stone. **RI.13d** is composed of twelve feet of iambic dimetres, spread evenly across three lines.

**RI.13e** is composed of nineteen feet (as the word after *Aeneadum* is missing, we cannot be completely sure, but one missing foot would fit with the pattern) of trochaic senarii. It manages to have each line break on the stone correlate with the end of a metrical foot or a caesura, as with the other inscriptions. There are no words divided between the lines. On this tablet, when these lines are displayed as three lines, the pattern emerges of: first line about Tullius Maximus, second line about the legion, third line about the dedicatory offering. This is one of the few inscriptions where reference has been made to the verse corresponding with its layout on the

<sup>1289</sup> See *CLE* 1526; Courtney 1995: 348; *AE* 2002.781 adn.; *HEp* 2002.317; Cugusi 2007.131-133; Del Hoyo 2023 on *CLEO* LE1; Del Hoyo 2023 on *CLEO* LE2; Del Hoyo 2023 on *CLEO* LE3; Del Hoyo 2023 on *CLEO* LE4. See also del Hoyo 2002: throughout for assessment of the versification in this inscription; Montaner 2001: throughout, but esp. 12-17, where a thorough analysis of the versification is presented. The only place where the previous consensus is disagreed with here is the verdict on the metre of **RI.13e**, which is observed to be composed of three lines of trochaic senarii; most come to the conclusion that it was in trochaic tetrametres. Opinions sometimes do differ, but it is agreed that **RI.13c** and d are iambic, and **RI.13e** is trochaic.

<sup>1290</sup> *HEp* 2002.317. See also Montaner 2001: 17.

<sup>1291</sup> Montaner 2001: 14.



stone: ‘si la prosodia versal es correcta, también la selección métrica responde, en principio, a las pautas habituales’.<sup>1292</sup>

The verse is skilled, and demonstrates a familiar knowledge with Latin verse; he uses compound epithets, such as is seen in epic style,<sup>1293</sup> and there is alliteration in each of the verse inscriptions in **RI.13**. This clearly intentional alliterative effect demonstrates the skill of the poet, as well as his understanding of Latin poetry. He alludes to the poets of ancient literature, such as Virgil, Horace, Lucretius, Martial, Ovid, Catullus and Homer.<sup>1294</sup> Montaner’s observation that ‘esta exploración del trasfondo literario del ara y la lápida de Diana permite observar una fuerte dependencia de Virgilio y, en menor medida, de Ovidio y Horacio, lo que responde a las pautas habituales en los *carmina epigraphica*, tanto generals como hispánicos’,<sup>1295</sup> does appear to be true when examining this data set.

**RI.13** also has similar language to that seen in the prose, for example of Sallust and Pliny.<sup>1296</sup> Perhaps the language he uses was more the vocabulary of hunting, than being direct references to all these works, as there are multiple works, across multiple genres, between different authors, in which language similar to that presented in **RI.13** can be seen, which may mean that he is using the fundamental language of hunting these specific animals, acts found in both poetry and prose. But perhaps his use of archaic language argues against this,<sup>1297</sup> a feature of language that was popular during the Antonine period.<sup>1298</sup> Overall, this gives an impression of a man familiar with Latin poetry and prose, and who was likely to have had a good education, as the composer of **RI.13**, and this was a carefully crafted set of poems. Given the personal nature of this inscription, the specificity about Tullius Maximus’ role in the Roman military, his hunting exploits, the unusual, unique, new words, such as *altifrons*, especially the locally used *paramus*, one wonders if this was made by Tullius Maximus himself.<sup>1299</sup>

At the very least, it seems sensible to conjecture that he composed the poem himself. Del Hoyo, for example, because of the Hispanicisms and that this is written in the third person, believes that the author was someone else who composed these poems with Tullius Maximus.<sup>1300</sup> He suggests that perhaps three hands were involved in inscribing these verses, or at least two. This may explain the three different metres exhibited in the verses of **RI.13**. Montaner, on the other hand, appears to lean more towards this being composed by Tullius Maximus himself, based on the likely scenario that he is the Maximus in Aelius Aristides, who had knowledge of Greek, and *altifrontum* has been identified as being inspired by Homer, his knowledge of verse in general, and ‘a la par que el uso del tecnicismo armamentístico *disice* se adecuaba a un poeta de formación castrense’.<sup>1301</sup> To this we might add, that further evidence of this being composed by Tullius Maximus resides in his use of local words in his poetry, composed in well-constructed, highly skilled and nuanced Latin. It is significant to note, however, given the

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<sup>1292</sup> Montaner 2001:15.

<sup>1293</sup> *Ibid.*: 19.

<sup>1294</sup> See Courtney 1995: 347-348; *CLE* 1526; Montaner 2001: throughout; *HEp* 2002.317; Cugusi 2007.133; del Hoyo 2023 on *CLEO* LE1; del Hoyo 2023 on *CLEO* LE3; del Hoyo 2002: throughout for more information on the poetic allusions in this inscription.

<sup>1295</sup> Montaner 2001: 37.

<sup>1296</sup> *Ibid.*: 31-32, 38.

<sup>1297</sup> See, for example, *ibid.*: throughout, esp. 15, 28-29; del Hoyo 2002: 76-77, 86, 92-93.

<sup>1298</sup> See, for example, Montaner 2001: 38.

<sup>1299</sup> There is debate about this, however; see, for example, del Hoyo 2002: 92-93.

<sup>1300</sup> Del Hoyo 2002: 92, 94. See also Montaner 2001: 10, 15, 39-43 for detailed discussion of this debate. Montaner, however, believes that the marble tablet was written by the same poet (2001: 15).

<sup>1301</sup> Montaner 2001: 42. See also 43.

querying of the level of education, literacy and literary understanding present in the Roman military that is an undercurrent of investigation in this research, that Montaner states:<sup>1302</sup>

En efecto, au regateándole su autoría, resulta a cambio innegable que tendría en su séquito a alguien capaz de componer esos elegantes versos en tal variedad de metros y con tan notable cultismo, y que en lugar de contentarse con una típica (pero no menos solemno) dedicación en prosa o con algunos yambos al uso, encargó (si no redactó el mismo) tres singulares poemas para el ara y, quizá posteriormente, otro más para la lápida.

Although Tullius Maximus' dedicatory monuments stand out from all other *CLE* from the province of Hispania, because of the language used and clear literary familiarity, he does use words native to the area. *Paramus* is one such example, *disice* is another. It is thought that *disice* is a reference to a Hispanic hunting instrument, a technical Latin word that we do not know, and *ferri* refers to it, a breed of Spanish horse, or some sort of weapon, and this was a specifically military term, but the debate is ongoing.<sup>1303</sup> Montaner questions:<sup>1304</sup>

lo extraño de encontrar en versos tan cultos un voz del *sermo castrensis*, por más que esta <<lengua popular de la soldadesca>> no sea rara en el corpus epigráfico, ni siquiera en el poético... Pero el mero hecho de que se trate de una voz military no le otorga necesariamente connotaciones vulgares, sobre todo tratándose de una designación técnica (quizá incluso arcaizante) de un tipo de arma, más oír sus cualidades que por su forma.

Tullius Maximus is detailed about what he is dedicating to Diana at this shrine he set up for her, as well as his own hunting exploits, in **RI.13**. Although the prose part of this inscription, **RI.13a**, is formulaic, one wonders if Maximus is considered *Dianae* | *sacrum* ('sacred to Diana', 1) because of his hunting exploits. **RI.13b** is in the subjunctive, indicating his intent to go hunting, and **RI.13c-e** were written after the hunt happened:<sup>1305</sup> 'les cinq inscriptions furent effectuées en trois temps: dédicace, construction d'un *templum* et prévision de chasse sur les grands côtés; bilan de la chasse et offrandes, sur les deux petits côtés; don d'une peau d'ours sur la plaque isolée'.<sup>1306</sup> Ostensibly, this is not an inscription outlining his military exploits, but members of the Roman military did hunt. This was specifically the job of the *venatores*, but it is perhaps odd to infer from this that none of the other soldiers did any of their own hunting, especially when considering its link to Roman manhood and martial identity, and the date of this inscription: 'Hadrian reformulated the imperialist *de facto* definition of *virtus* as *virtus militaris* to include the hunt – a typical Greek recreation. From the reign of Hadrian through the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, the hunt became a valid and accepted method of obtaining *virtus*, attested by Hadrian's *Virtus* coin-types that endorse the opportunity to demonstrate the martial *virtus* from a victory in a chase rather than from a victory on the battlefield'.<sup>1307</sup>

This may explain Tullius Maximus' heavily military weighed language, but in a hunting context. This was displayed by the emperor,<sup>1308</sup> so, considering the social trends at the time, it

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<sup>1302</sup> Montaner 2001: 43.

<sup>1303</sup> See, for example, *AE* 2002.781 adn.; *CLE* 1526; *CIL* II 2660 (p. 708, 912, 1040); Montaner 2001: 24-27; *HEp* 2002.317; del Hoyo 2002: 79-81.

<sup>1304</sup> Montaner 2001: 27.

<sup>1305</sup> *AE* 2002.781 adn.

<sup>1306</sup> *Ibid.* See also del Hoyo 2002: 93.

<sup>1307</sup> Tabeling 2020: 349. See also the various discussions on *virtus* below.

<sup>1308</sup> *Ibid.*: 349-352. See also discussion on *virtus* below.

is hardly surprising that a member of the upper social class would wish to display this aspect of his *virtus* too. In a time of peace and/or no martial activity for the individual, there was no other way for the emperor, or anyone else involved in the military, to display their *virtus* other than through hunting; it certainly could not be so in a martial manner.<sup>1309</sup> Like Hadrian's hunting medallions, which he used 'because [he] had neither military victories nor triumphs of his own during his reign, he turned to his love of hunting to demonstrate his *virtus Augusti*'.<sup>1310</sup> This material 'proof' of Hadrian's hunting exploits, of his *virtus*, can be applied here: Tullius Maximus could have set up an altar to Diana and set the offerings by it, and anyone passing by at the time would have seen them, and associated them with the act of the prose dedicatory inscription on the altar. But, by adding a description of his hunting trophies, what he dedicated to Diana, in verse, on a stone inscription, Tullius Maximus immortalised the trophies too, not simply the act of dedicating. It seemed that such an act of *virtus* would need material proof, even for one as high up the hierarchy as the emperor. These decomposable dedicatory items would never fully waste away with time, for they would always be legible on stone. Some may say that the lack of reference to *virtus* in this inscription indicates this was not the focus of Tullius Maximus' monument to Diana, as *virtus* is openly referred to in other inscriptions (such as **RI.14** and **AI.8**), yet it is clear that this is an implicit reasoning behind the erection of this monument, why reference was made to his dedications, including on an additional tablet, when he could have stopped at his wish for Diana to help him on his hunt (implicit meaning behind **RI.13b**), or simply left it at the prose inscription, as many, civilians as well as soldiers, were wont to do.

Here, Tullius Maximus boasts about his hunting, not military, exploits. The latter is rare, but: 'los textos no demuestran esa fanfarronería – tan propia de los cazadores – que tiende a magnificar y exagerar lo cazado, porque él no solo habla de lo capturado, sino que lo dedica (*dicat, donat*) y expone (*hac*) a la vista de todos. Y a su vez omite lo no capturado: *caprieae, equii*'.<sup>1311</sup> Hunting was fashionable in the Antonine period among the upper classes,<sup>1312</sup> thus re-asserting Tullius Maximus' identity with the social elite. It is difficult not to see a comparison between **RI.13** and **NW.10**, where both exhibit pride in themselves and their prowess through evidentiary actions. In **NW.10**, it is about his skill with military manoeuvres and weapons, here it is about Tullius Maximus' skill in hunting, and, like the anonymous soldier in **NW.10**, his versatility in his use of weaponry. Both of these matters are 'proven' by their actions, inscribed in verse, for anyone to see and remember.

In the Roman world, it is clear through their philosophy, literature, and instances such as this that one's personality, skills and attributes, i.e. their individuality, were exhibited through the actions they carried out through their lives. In the Roman world, one's deeds, personality, and value to society, the method upon which others evaluated them was dependent upon their actions, their actions which were then immortalised in words. In inscriptions, we are allowed a unique insight into this as they are either portrayed by themselves, or by those closest to them, and therefore knew them best. In the biographies of Suetonius, the verse of Martial and the histories of Tacitus can only provide us with depictions of people that were, mostly, extremely divorced from the actors in their work. Tullius Maximus emphasises his military career, and the greatness of his legion, as well as his own hunting exploits, all the while using military

<sup>1309</sup> This happened with Hadrian and Commodus (Tabeling 2020: 351-352, 368-370).

<sup>1310</sup> *Ibid.*: 351.

<sup>1311</sup> Del Hoyo 2002: 93; although it is postulated in this chapter here, for the first time, that Tullius Maximus did hunt a horse.

<sup>1312</sup> Montaner 2001: 51.

language.<sup>1313</sup> Tullius Maximus' hunting exploits should not be seen in opposition to his military, but, rather, in conjunction: 'muestran una personalidad aguerrida, que hace del ejercicio venatorio un adecuado complemento de su actividad militar'.<sup>1314</sup> Perhaps, although he is not describing warfare, but a different type of fight, we can suggest that these hunting trophies, and the description of how Tullius Maximus won them, can be linked to his military identity, as well as his identity as a man in the Roman world, from the prestige he sought from this noble pursuit.

Tullius Maximus uses this verse inscription as an opportunity to exhibit his prowess with weapons, and different fighting styles, as he hunted roe deer, stags, boars and horses *et pedes arma gerens* (vac.) | *equo iaculator Hiberno* ('carrying arms on foot and throwing javelins from my Spanish horse', **RI.13b.7**), thus hunting different animals with the appropriate weapons.<sup>1315</sup> This indicates that his horse was likely to have been locally sourced. Rather like **RI.8**, he does seem to be breaking the religious code somewhat, as the *capua* was sacred to Diana.<sup>1316</sup> It then seems odd that Tullius Maximus would openly admit to hunting her sacred animal, and asking Diana for her aid in this task. Diana was associated with both bears and boars, as well as deer and dogs, and horses were forbidden from the temple of Diana Nemorensis.<sup>1317</sup> Montaner explains this by stating that Tullius Maximus is not breaking the forbidden laws of the divine but adheres to the practicalities of hunting, based on the prey available in that place and terrain.<sup>1318</sup> It has been argued that *apro* should not be understood on the final line of the tablet (**RI.13e.3**), but it should be *urso*.<sup>1319</sup> Yet, he only specifies wishing to hunt roe deer, stags, boars and foals, indicating this was the prey he intended to hunt (see **RI.13b**); perhaps these were the only animals available for him to hunt. As Tullius Maximus fulfills the rest of his wish, i.e. he dedicates the tusks of boars and antlers of stags he hunted, perhaps the suggestion here should be *equo*, so he dedicates a pelt of a horse to Diana. This would still fit with the metre, and it is suggested here. As horses have, arguably, nothing else equitable to a boar's tusks or a stag's antlers, perhaps their hides were distinctive enough to distinguish what it was Tullius Maximus had hunted. This hide hung next to the marble inscription, probably in the temple dedicated to Diana.<sup>1320</sup>

Like many approaching military verse inscriptions for the first time suspect an implicit reduction in the level of education of the soldiers, and express surprise when they write skilled verse, it has been observed that the, perhaps invented for this inscription, rare words and literary vocabulary featured in the verses of **RI.13** 'que supone la adopción de una voz más adecuada al registro poético que el título oficial de *legatus Augusti* que figura en la dedicación en prosa'.<sup>1321</sup> Neologisms may be argued as indicators of a lower education, but here they are used with clear poetic effect. The moon and stars imagery are indicative of both aspects of Diana's divine identity and Tullius Maximus' military identity.<sup>1322</sup> But, as he is hoping for a good hunt, and subsequently offers his hunting trophies to the goddess, Tullius Maximus sees Diana in her

<sup>1313</sup> See Montaner's comments on *disice* and *iaculator* (2001.: 24-27, 35).

<sup>1314</sup> *Ibid.*: 43.

<sup>1315</sup> See del Hoyo 2002: 81.

<sup>1316</sup> Montaner 2001: 45.

<sup>1317</sup> *Ibid.*: 52-53.

<sup>1318</sup> See *ibid.*: 53.

<sup>1319</sup> See, for example, *HEp* 2002.317. In Montaner 2001: throughout, where it is clear he thinks this should refer to a bear; del Hoyo 2002: 90-91 for discussion of this debate.

<sup>1320</sup> See del Hoyo 2002: 89.

<sup>1321</sup> *HEp* 2002.317.

<sup>1322</sup> Montaner 2001: 49.

capacity as a hunting goddess. In describing his hunting techniques, Tullius Maximus describes the landscape of the area of Hispania he was stationed in,<sup>1323</sup> terrain he would have been familiar with, having scouted it out,<sup>1324</sup> and, as evidenced here, hunted on. The animals he hunts are linked to the surrounding countryside, as well as to his own role and identity in the Roman world.<sup>1325</sup> He uses aspects of a language native to the land he had been posted in, familiar neither to his homeland nor to Rome, but from his military posting; in this inscription, the composer gives us ‘primeras atestiguaciones de voces preexistentes’, some of which were ancient.<sup>1326</sup> As the verse inscriptions throughout this study demonstrate, the level of learning and understanding of Latin metre was as wide-ranging as the ranks within the Roman military themselves. Indeed, the higher ranks tend to exhibit a better understanding of Latin poetry than the lower ranks, but we still find beautifully crafted and skilled verse throughout the inscriptions across this corpus.

Perhaps because of the (implicit) need, certainly for the upper classes, to prove their *virtus*, again, this inscription is unusual for this data set as he boasts about his exploits. Yet, as we have seen in the inscriptions earlier in this chapter, and as we shall encounter later on, ‘boastful tones’ about their military exploits tend to only be seen in inscriptions by/for those from the upper classes, in imitation of the emperor, who constantly erected monuments, statues, and inscriptions depicting, cataloguing, and immortalising his (mostly military) deeds and achievements for all to see and to assert his standing as the leader of the Roman Empire.<sup>1327</sup> Those promoted into ranks at the level of centurion or above were chosen by the emperor,<sup>1328</sup> and *legati Augusti pro praetore* acted as the Emperor’s representative in the provinces. Therefore, there is little surprise that they would wish to imitate the Emperor and demonstrate their allegiance to him; their career was dependent on him and on their political network. For those lower down the ranks, this political networking was not necessarily so crucial, although it was an important factor. It was more about the individual, and that individual being brought to the attention to the Emperor, rather than elite network requesting the promotion of one of their own from the Emperor. For those lower down the ranks, their inscriptions are far more personal, and not solely focused on the highlights of their military careers, instead discussing other aspects of their individual identities, and intertwining that with their military careers. Those in the upper classes needed to prove their military exploits, immortalise them in stone. Those in the lower ranks proved their military career through their rank, but immortalised themselves in stone.

**RI.13** was a useful introduction to the understanding of the gods, religion, the natural world, and astronomy in the ancient world, but the inscription that provides us with the most insight into these connections, specifically between the divine and the astronomical, is **AI.7**. **AI.7** is by another soldier of African origin. Dated between the second half of the second century to the early third, **AI.7** was found in the north east corner of the Roman fort of Magnis, Britannia. Here, the religious aspects of this inscription shall be discussed, but the most remarkable, arguably, are the astronomical aspects, discussed in more detail in Chapter 6. In many ways, the religious and astronomical are intertwined in this inscription, as seen in other inscriptions featured in this chapter and Chapter 6.

<sup>1323</sup> See also Sagredo San Eustaquio & Jiménez de Furundarena 1996: 294.

<sup>1324</sup> del Hoyo 2002: 94.

<sup>1325</sup> See Montaner 2001: 51.

<sup>1326</sup> *Ibid.*: 27-28.

<sup>1327</sup> See, for example, Tabeling 2020: 352.

<sup>1328</sup> See, for example, **AI.7**, where explicit mention to this type of promotion is made.

This inscription is indicative of the level of education of the more senior officers of a Roman *auxilia*. This inscription is a rare exception for multiple reasons, but primarily for the fact that we are aware of its author and the intended target audience. Presumably this was written, and perhaps carved, due to the diverse range of duties those in the Roman army were expected to carry out, by Marcus Caecilius Donatianus himself, a military tribune serving in the post of a prefect (9-10). The final couplet presents us with all the information we need to know about the author of this inscription: he was of African origin,<sup>1329</sup> and he had been promoted from a tribune to a prefect, by the gift of the emperor. Promotions in the military were given by the emperor, so perhaps this is an unremarkable comment.

However, the declaration of Donatianus' title gives a feeling of temporality about it, or he simply wished to present his (significant) military titles in a way which fitted the metre. It was suggested by Birley, and has now become cemented as the most plausible explanation, that Donatianus was the prefect of the auxiliary *cohors I Hamiorum Sagittiorum Syriaca*,<sup>1330</sup> a quingenary cohort of archers from Hamii in Syria, and this is understood here. Whether recruits to this cohort were still originating from Syria remains to be proven, although, if the nature of Donatianus' prefecture is correct, then we can safely say that they were of at least African origin still and, given the content of Donatianus' inscription, Syrian. We know that the target audience was Donatianus' unit, and perhaps other military units stationed here, if there were any others at the time, because this inscription was located in the Roman fort, thus indicating that this was intended to be read by a military audience.

The lines most relevant to this chapter are 1-5, where Donatianus describes the stars and their religious associations:

*Imminet Leoni Virgo caeles|ti situ (vac.)*  
*spicifera iusti in|ventrix urbium conditrix, |*  
*ex quis muneribus nosse con|tigit deos. (vac.)*  
*ergo eadem mater divum | Pax Virtus Ceres (vac.)*  
*Dea Syria | lance vitam et iura pensitans. |*

The precise interpretation of this inscription is complicated and, at times, confusing. This inscription has been commented upon, referred to and interpreted in a number of different ways over the years, but two prevailing interpretations exist. One is that this is an honorific inscription to Julia Domna, wife of Septimius Severus, proposed by Hodgkin, and perpetuated by the editors of *RIB* description of this monument and Cugusi. However, the editors of the *RIB* outline ways in which connections between this inscription and various depictions of Julia Domna could be made but, in the *addenda* of 1995, this interpretation is disregarded based on further evidence. Cugusi's reasoning for this being the caterasterism of Julia Domna follows the same justification as that followed (and later negated) by the editors of *RIB*.

Although he recognises the religious syncretism of **AI.7**, Cugusi sees it as an inscription designed to flatter the Emperor and his family, perhaps, although this has not yet been suggested, in thanks to the Emperor for his promotion. Yet, we do not know the exact date of this inscription, or even if it was really by the prefect of the *cohors I Hamiorum Sagittiorum Syriaca*; this has been agreed by consensus with Birley. It is this interpretation which Cugusi

<sup>1329</sup> Donatianus is widely recognised as an African name; see, for example, Kruschwitz 2015: 56; Kruschwitz 2018: 19. This is explained by Courtney 1995: 364. This is also hinted at in the inscription; see discussion below.

<sup>1330</sup> This cohort's presence in Britain is described and discussed by Birley (2012: 1-16), as well as other scholars.

states negates the interpretation of this being a dedicatory inscription to Julia Domna, and Virgo being equated with her. As shall become apparent, this research agrees with the latter interpretation proposed by Cugusi, and other scholars,<sup>1331</sup> that is this inscription is related to the *cohors I Hamiorum Sagittiorum Syriaca*. However, this research does not necessarily agree that it was a dedicatory inscription to Atargatis/Tanit,<sup>1332</sup> although, as revealed in more detail below, this is a part of the complete picture; Cugusi disagrees with this interpretation.

Despite this, the dating of this inscription to the time of Septimius Severus is logical. Septimius Severus was from Libya,<sup>1333</sup> and his wife was either Libyan or Syrian. It would make sense for this inscription to be dated to Septimius Severus' reign, based on the factors listed here, and for the importance placed on Pax and Virtus, equated with goddesses where it does not appear to be obvious why they have been. Septimius Severus brought peace to the Empire after he defeated his contenders for the imperial title in AD 194, and Virtus and Pax were celebrated in Septimius Severus' reign. It is believed that the *cohors I Hamiorum Sagittiorum Syriaca* were present in Carvoran during Septimius Severus' reign: 'the fort at Carvoran was rebuilt in stone by parties from the legion II *Augusta* and the *Hamiorum* cohort, both of whom have left inscriptions marking their work. (The original fort, no doubt built by the cohort, had been of earth-and-timber construction.)'.<sup>1334</sup> It was first posted to Carvoran, then to the Antonine Wall in the early 140s, again about halfway along the wall, like Carvoran to Hadrian's Wall, where they probably constructed the fort and part of the Antonine Wall, and then it went back to Carvoran in the late 160s.<sup>1335</sup> This inscription is the last known record of this cohort; it disappears from the record afterwards.<sup>1336</sup>

The alternative interpretations of this inscription, and what appears to be the, now, more widely accepted one, is that it demonstrates the religious syncretism of the Roman Empire. The lack of concrete mythology behind the constellation Virgo, and therefore the true interpretation of the goddess being presented here, makes investigating the meaning of this inscription difficult. Unless one examines the inscription as not having the constellation represent a goddess, and thus this inscription not being honorific for any one particular goddess,<sup>1337</sup> who, in turn, possessed all the qualities of the goddesses and divinities described by Donatianus, but the constellation being their representation. If one examines the primary evidence, i.e. the inscription itself, then it is clear this is the interpretation of **AI.7**: Virgo is identified with *mater divum* | *Pax Virtus Ceres* (vac.) / *Dea Syria* ('the mother of the gods, Peace, Virtus, Ceres, / the Goddess Syria', 4-5). This is explained by *lance vitam et iura pensitans* ('weights out life and laws with her scales', 5), as this ascribes features of the goddesses and divinities with which Virgo is being equated to, e.g. the *vitam* from Ceres, for agriculture, and law from *Dea Syria*. These features are apparent in the visual aspect of the constellation. Virgo the constellation is said to 'hold' an ear of wheat in her left hand, and this is apparent in the name of the star which represents this aspect of the constellation: Spica. This makes Virgo's epithet of *spicifera* both

<sup>1331</sup> Courtney 1995: 364; Kruschwitz 2015: 56; 2018: 19; *RIB* 1791; see also above.

<sup>1332</sup> As many seem to think, for example, Kruschwitz 2015: 56; *RIB* 1791.

<sup>1333</sup> He was from Lepcis Magna; Borgan & Wilson 2005.

<sup>1334</sup> Grainger 2017: 114.

<sup>1335</sup> *Ibid.*: 113.

<sup>1336</sup> *Ibid.*: 'one must wonder if the regiment was destroyed in Severus' Caledonian campaign in 209-211, but evidence is absent; the source material does tend to dry up in the third century' (114).

<sup>1337</sup> As the subject of this inscription, Virgo, and the goddesses/divinities equated with her, are not in the dative, this makes it less likely that this is a votive, religious or honorary inscription (see, for example, Gordon 1983: 36; Cooley 2012: 178).

literal and metaphorical; it features as an epithet of Virgo in Manilius and Germanicus' translation of Aratus.<sup>1338</sup>

That is, however, if the inscription follows the traditions of Virgo, and combines them into one canonical summation of the mythology for the constellation, who appears to have a varied and obscure mythological background. There are mythological foundations for this constellation, for example, in Persephone, Erigone, connections to Tanit, and the other goddesses listed in this inscription. The connections to Tanit are dismissed here, as it seems, rather, that this Carthaginian goddess was connected to Juno, whose epithet in this guise was Caelestis,<sup>1339</sup> who, although she crosses over with some of the aspects attributed to Virgo here, is not referenced in connection to this constellation. If she were, surely she would have been?

The idea of this being the catasterism of Persephone is interesting, especially due to the connections with Ceres and agriculture. However, if Donatianus believed that Virgo had a direct connection to Persephone, would he not have also referenced her directly? The idea of Virgo originating from Erigone is intriguing. The constellation Virgo is referred to as Erigone in both Virgil and Manilius.<sup>1340</sup> Erigone was the daughter of Icarius, who is said to have introduced wine to mortals 'by Father Liber as a reward for his justice and piety'.<sup>1341</sup> One version of this myth states that Icarius gave the wine he made, from the vines he grew, to some shepherds, who became drunk and, thinking they were poisoned, killed Icarius.<sup>1342</sup> Erigone, assisted by her dog Maera, found Icarius dead, and so she hanged herself. Jupiter, in sympathy, made them all into constellations: Icarius Böotes, Maera Canicula, and Erigone Virgo. Perhaps it is significant that these constellations/stars contain such bright stars in them: the Böotes Arcturus, a reddish, first magnitude star,<sup>1343</sup> Canicula is another name for Sirius, the dog-star thought to add its heat to the Sun's in summer in the classical tradition, which is why the summer days were so hot and hence the phrase 'dog days', the brightest star in the sky at -1.4 magnitude, and Spica, a first magnitude star, thus making them easy to spot in the night sky, ideal for navigating and easy to identify.

The relevance of Erigone being identified with Virgo to this inscription is apparent in the rest of her myth. Just before she hanged herself, Erigone beseeched the gods to, so long as her father went unavenged, make the young women in Athens die as she did, and so 'an epidemic of suicides among young Attic women broke out',<sup>1344</sup> which only stopped when the Athenians instituted a ceremony where 'girls swung on ropes suspended from trees in a reenactment of Erigone's hanging'.<sup>1345</sup> Also, according to Hyginus, they created the Attic Aiora, a festival for Dionysius where libations to Icarius and Erigone were made and girls would swing on swings. This festival was 'associated with purification, rebirth, and assuring a bounteous harvest'.<sup>1346</sup> This is how Erigone was associated with both justice and agriculture, the defining attributes of

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<sup>1338</sup> Manil. 2.442; Germ. 4.152.

<sup>1339</sup> Purcell (2012); it has often been believed that this inscription is for Caelestis (Kruschwitz 2015: 56; *RIB* I 1791), but this argument is also dismissed here, upon this basis. See also discussion on *Dea Syria* below.

<sup>1340</sup> Getty 1951: 102; Goold 1997: 385; Whitcomb 2018; Manil., for example, 2.32, 4.542-547, 2.442.

<sup>1341</sup> Whitcomb 2018: 417. Her myth has been understood primarily from Whitcomb 2018: 417-418. See also Getty 1951: 102 and Kearns 2012.

<sup>1342</sup> Kearns 2012; Whitcomb 2018: 417. Some say that the shepherds themselves killed Icarius, others that observers killed him.

<sup>1343</sup> The lower the magnitude, the brighter the star, a magnitude of 6 being the dimmest.

<sup>1344</sup> Whitcomb 2018: 417.

<sup>1345</sup> *Ibid.*: 417-418.

<sup>1346</sup> *Ibid.*: 418.



Virgo given here, and who was sometimes depicted holding ‘the scales of justice’, sometimes the ‘goddess of agriculture’,<sup>1347</sup> and these are attributes of the goddesses associated with her.<sup>1348</sup>

It may be helpful to present a brief overview of the goddesses and divinities Virgo is equated with here. *Eadem* (‘that same one’, 4) makes it clear that these goddesses are one and the same: Virgo is the core, visual prompt for them. First is *Magna Mater*, also known as Cybele. Cybele was a Phrygian goddess in origin, who, mainly, was a goddess of fertility, mountains and wild nature, which her accompanying lions represented; she ‘also cures (and sends) disease, gives oracles, and, as her mural crown indicates, protects her people in war’.<sup>1349</sup> Some say that the constellation Leo was the catasterism of Cybele’s companions. She became associated with Demeter, who later became associated with the Roman Ceres, around the fifth century BC, and she was described as the mother of the gods in the sixth century. In the Roman period, she had a festival associated with spring, and her cult, which included the *taurobolium* ritual, which first appears in AD 134 in the cult of Venus Caelestis in the west. Venus, Juno and Cybele were all linked in the planet Venus, which, according to Pliny, was so bright that it rivalled the sun and the moon, *itaque et in magno nominum ambitu est: alii enim Iunonis, alii Isidis, alii Matris Deum appellavere* (‘and therefore she is in the great circle of names: for some she is Juno, others Isis, others call her the Mother of the Gods’, Plin. Nat. 2.6.37-38), therefore indicating that these three goddesses were considered similar, and perhaps equal, in their significance and power to those in the Roman world.

Cybele was associated with Attis, who was either her son, lover or both, and they both later developed astral connections. In Rome itself, Cybele was (literally) closely connected to Victory. Her cult, due ‘to its official status and early naturalization at Rome and in Ostia,... spread rapidly through the provinces, especially in Gaul and Africa, and was readily accepted as a municipal cult’.<sup>1350</sup> In around the reign of Claudius, ‘worship of Cybele and Attis became part of the state religion’,<sup>1351</sup> and this is when her spring time festival moved from 4<sup>th</sup> April to 23<sup>rd</sup> – 27<sup>th</sup> March, which ‘coincided with a period of significant agricultural activity in Italy’.<sup>1352</sup> Pertinently for the constellations mentioned here, ‘in the Greek world her image occasionally was associated with representations of lions attacking bulls, a motif of Near Eastern origin plausibly connected with an astronomical event in late Winter/early Spring’;<sup>1353</sup> this had then precessed to the 4<sup>th</sup> April by the Roman period. Particularly considering the natural, agricultural and celestial associations, and pictorial depictions of Cybele, it is not difficult to understand how she became associated with the other goddesses listed here, particularly Ceres,<sup>1354</sup> and, then, the constellation Virgo, *Imminet Leoni* (‘near to Leo’, 1) and Libra, as well as not too far from *corona borealis*.<sup>1355</sup>

Next listed is Pax. Defined as ‘the personification of (political) peace... Scarcely heard of before Augustus, she comes (as Pax Augusta) to represent one of the principal factors which made the imperial government both strong and popular, the maintenance of quiet at home and

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<sup>1347</sup> See, for example, Burnham & Tirion 2003: 8; see also 10.

<sup>1348</sup> Lines 4-5 of this inscription incorporate these various myths surrounding Virgo. See discussion of these goddesses below.

<sup>1349</sup> Walton & Scheid 2012: 400; Roberts (ed.) 2007.

<sup>1350</sup> Walton & Scheid 2012: 401: 1541; see also Roberts (ed.) 2007.

<sup>1351</sup> Howaston (ed) 2011.

<sup>1352</sup> Hannah 1986: 872.

<sup>1353</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1354</sup> It is interesting to note that there are similarities between Cybele and Attis’ myth and Ceres and Proserpina’s; see Leeming 2006.

<sup>1355</sup> See Burnham & Tirion 2003: 11, 13; see also Manil. 5.251-255 for connections between *Corona borealis* and Virgo.

abroad'.<sup>1356</sup> This is a distinctly imperial divinity, 'the maintenance' of which was carried out by the imperial Roman military. Augustus originally used it 'as a cult to signify his maintenance of order and security within the Roman empire'.<sup>1357</sup> Intertwined with martial events, Pax signalled the cessation of fighting, and the beginning of stability.<sup>1358</sup> But not in the way a modern mind might interpret it: Pax 'celebrated by the emperors as their gift to the world ... stood also for successful conquest, the establishment of absolute Roman dominance'.<sup>1359</sup> Romans liked to emphasise that Pax was something only they could bring. This idea of Roman peace, her cult established by Augustus, was perpetuated by the other Roman emperors. Yet, what was the link between this female divine personification and goddesses such as Cybele and Ceres, and, more importantly, what links Pax to Virgo? The answer is not immediately apparent, but a clue lies in the poetry of Tibullus, who describes Pax in the following terms in his poem against war: *at nobis, Pax alma, veni spicamque teneto* ('but to us, nourishing Peace, come and hold an ear of wheat', 1.10.67);<sup>1360</sup> Virgo in **AI.7** is identified as holding an ear of wheat (*spicifera*, 2).<sup>1361</sup> This poem advocates a simple farming life, and describes how Pax brings this (Tib. 1.10.39-52); in poetry, Pax expresses feelings of home and tranquillity.<sup>1362</sup> Pax originated from the Greek *Eirene*, also the personification of peace. In Hesiod's *Works and Days*, Eirene is the sister of "Observance of the Laws" and "Justice" ... [who] watch over the field crops of men'.<sup>1363</sup> On the Ara Pacis, Pax was represented 'as a goddess of fertility and abundance, most likely a composite goddess of Pax, Tellus Italiae, and, perhaps, Venus'.<sup>1364</sup> Perhaps she is linked to agriculture, and is depicted as holding an ear of wheat in poetry, because Pax meant that the fighting was over, and they could concentrate on agricultural pursuits, instead of martial.

Anyone who begins researching Roman *virtus* is immediately confronted with the complexity of this concept, perhaps not to the Roman mind, but to the modern mind trying to explain it to other modern minds.<sup>1365</sup> *Virtus*, as a concept and as a divinity, extends beyond the meaning of its modern derivative: *virtue*. *Virtus* has particularly masculine connotations, deriving from *vir* ('man'), whereas *virtue* now has feminine ones. What is relevant here is to try to understand how Donatianus understood *virtus*, and it is clear that he understood this to be the divinity *Virtus*. Like most divine personifications, as with Pax, *Virtus* is feminine. Why this is, is unclear, perhaps being a societal convention from an age-old tradition.

Two important aspects of *virtus* ought to be indicated here. One is that it refers to 'courage', specifically military.<sup>1366</sup> For Agri, who discusses the gender of *Virtus* in Silius Italicus and Statius, there is a 'gender difference in moral orientation, which stems from gender-typed constructs of morality grounded in Roman social structures and expectations of gender-based behaviour'.<sup>1367</sup> Indeed, Agri observes that 'in both narratives, female allegories are used as models/sources of inspiration for male heroic behaviour, however morally justifiable or

<sup>1356</sup> Rose 2012: 1097.

<sup>1357</sup> Howaston (ed) 2011.

<sup>1358</sup> See discussion below, and Maier 1995: 710-712 for the stability and safety that *Pax Romana* offered.

<sup>1359</sup> Morley 2010: 45.

<sup>1360</sup> See Weinstock 1960: 47.

<sup>1361</sup> See the discussion on this in Chapter 6.

<sup>1362</sup> See Tibullus quote above, as well as Weinstock's quote from Mart. epigr. 14.34 (1960: 52).

<sup>1363</sup> Mikalson 2005: 513.

<sup>1364</sup> Tabeling 2020: 198.

<sup>1365</sup> See, for example, McDonnell 2006; Coulston 2013: 14; Schrader 2016; Balmaceda 2017; Tabeling 2020: esp. 1. Balmaceda (2017) offers a very thorough explanation of the etymology and various definitions of *virtus*. See also discussions of this concept in Chapter 8.

<sup>1366</sup> See, particularly, Coulston 2013: 14; Balmaceda 2017: 14; Tabeling 2020 throughout. See also Noreña for *virtus* being a masculine trait displayed in military contexts (2001: 159). See also the discussion on *virtus* in Chapter 8.

<sup>1367</sup> Agri 2020: 142.

successful the underlying intention or response is',<sup>1368</sup> which is important to note when considering this inscription and the focus on goddesses and (female) divine personifications. Despite its multitude of meanings, *virtus* does have a meaning of courage, specifically courage in war; it was 'the chief quality of the soldier and general'.<sup>1369</sup> This leads us to the second significant aspect of *virtus*: it was identified, by the Romans themselves, as a uniquely Roman moral.<sup>1370</sup> According to Balmaceda, when *virtus* is used by a Roman historian, it is 'a specific marker of identity: *virtus* in some way Romanizes the bearer'.<sup>1371</sup> Pax has been connected to the Emperor and the consequences of imperial power, and *Virtus*, as Cicero declares in his *Philippics*, *propria est Romani generis et seminis* ('is the characteristic of Roman birth and breed', Phil. 4.13),<sup>1372</sup> thus making this a distinctly Roman quality, both morally and politically. In all the moral concepts of the Romans 'none was more important to Romans themselves than *virtus*'.<sup>1373</sup> Not only is it a distinctly Roman feature, it is also the reason why the Romans win their military conquests.

Virtus is the least obvious as to why it has been connected to the other divinities discussed in **AI.7**, especially as her visual depictions are different from the others. *Virtus Augusti*, 'the martial spirit of the Emperor',<sup>1374</sup> 'personifies his manly vigor and courage',<sup>1375</sup> through which the emperor protected the Empire, and, in turn, his legitimacy was ensured. This 'military god',<sup>1376</sup> who was 'the personification of manliness',<sup>1377</sup> was represented as an Amazon, as *Dea Virtuti* 'on altars in Africa, Gallia, and Germania',<sup>1378</sup> 'a visual representation of their [the Romans'] individual and collective martial superiority and symbol of their martial glory'.<sup>1379</sup> *Virtus* was deified by Marcus Claudius Marcellus in 222 BC, after he had defeated the Gauls. She was intertwined with the Roman military, especially as she was the one who, traditionally, guided a triumphing emperor, or member of the imperial family, into Rome.

Despite the multitude of definitions for *virtus*, divine *Virtus*' 'image was synonymous with military virtue'.<sup>1380</sup> In Silius Italicus, *Virtus* gives a speech about herself to Scipio Africanus, described as *stans vultus, et ore / incessuque viro propior laetique pudoris* ('a firm expression, with a face and / gait more characteristic of a man, and of cheerful modesty', Sil. 15.29-30).<sup>1381</sup> In this speech, *Virtus* states that *laudes*<sup>1382</sup> is a gift from the gods, and the gods had designed man to look up *ad sidera* ('to the stars', 15.84-89). *Virtus* guarantees that a life dedicated to her will be difficult, but it will be the just route, and one which will guarantee victory (15.103-120). She claims that it is through Triumph that *Virtus* is brought *ad astra* ('to the stars', 15.100), and, therefore, by implication, so are those who follow a life guided by her. Apart from these vague references in one author to *Virtus*' celestial connections, it is difficult to see why she has

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<sup>1368</sup> Agri 2020: 142.

<sup>1369</sup> Balmaceda 2017: 8.

<sup>1370</sup> Cic. Phil. 4.13. See *ibid.*: 1.

<sup>1371</sup> Balmaceda 2017: 8.

<sup>1372</sup> See *ibid.*: 1.

<sup>1373</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1374</sup> Bieber 1945: 27. See also Tabeling 2020: 352.

<sup>1375</sup> Bieber 1945: 33.

<sup>1376</sup> *Ibid.*: 34.

<sup>1377</sup> Tabeling 2020: 2.

<sup>1378</sup> Bieber 1945: 30. See also Tabeling 2020: throughout.

<sup>1379</sup> Tabeling 2020: 438.

<sup>1380</sup> *Ibid.*: 353.

<sup>1381</sup> See *ibid.*: 439.

<sup>1382</sup> Sil. 15.84-89. Translated in the singular as 'glory' by Duff (1934: 331), but, interestingly, this is in the plural, and so literally translates as 'praises' or 'merits' or 'glories'. See also Tabeling 2020: 439-441.

been connected here to goddesses of agriculture and fertility and to a constellation whose myth was founded upon that of Erigone.

Perhaps it is continuing the very nature of Romanhood Donatianus started in his mention of Pax, or perhaps he is developing on from this by emphasising the stability Pax brings. A man with *virtus* is one who has a role ‘in sustaining public order’,<sup>1383</sup> a defender.<sup>1384</sup> Roman Pax could only be brought about through *virtus*, because that is how victory is obtained: *Virtus* was necessary for *Pax*. What is significant about understanding *virtus*, like any moral quality, is trying to understand how the person using this term understood it; for Schrader, *virtus* is defined by its context. This gives us some insight into how Donatianus himself understood this inherently Roman concept; although he is clearly referring to divine *Virtus*, which assists in our understanding of how Donatianus here understood *Virtus*, it is still significant to consider the other interpretations of *virtus* the quality. Schrader believes that to define *virtus* as simply a military value would be a mistake, and this is also conveyed in this inscription. Rather like the flexibility of Roman religion, and the Roman military, Roman *virtus* changed in meaning as politics did.<sup>1385</sup> It makes its first appearances in the second century BC, and, as ‘manliness, militarism, and morality appear inseparable in Roman thought from the beginning, ... a term qualifying any of these had to be related to the others’,<sup>1386</sup> hence why aspects of these qualities are encompassed in the moral *virtus*. Despite the African connections and connotations in this inscription, and the clear African heritage of its author, the Romano-centric aspects of it cannot be ignored, most particularly the appearance of *Virtus*.

It can also hardly be ignored that, despite the African connections and declared origins of Virgo the constellation, all these different divinities converge towards the Latin named constellation: *Virgo*. May we conjecture that although Donatianus is proudly proclaiming his Syrian roots and heritage, and perhaps that of his troops too, he is also proclaiming their collective Roman identity? Although written by a military man, *Virtus* here is not presented in a militaristic way. Given that Latin was likely Donatianus’ second language, and that he may have learnt it in the military, we should understand his understanding of *Virtus* to be the more obvious, conventional one: one of martial courage. Yet, given his evident level of education, he must have understood the Roman concept of *virtus*, and, then, quite possibly he understood that *virtus* brought victory,<sup>1387</sup> victory brought *Pax*, and *Pax* brought agriculture and farming, because it stemmed from a cessation in fighting.

Ceres is simpler to understand in connection to this constellation, whose brightest star is said to be representative of an ear of grain (2). Ceres was the goddess of the seasons and agriculture, ‘of earth, grain, and fertility’,<sup>1388</sup> and was equated with the Greek Demeter; in Ovid, she first gave humanity agriculture, ripe produce, and laws (Met. 5.341-343; see also 8.393-416), who *multas ea possidet urbes* (‘[she] possesses many cities’, Fast. 4.421). Her festival took place in the middle of April, and she had another feast celebrated on the 4<sup>th</sup> October, but only by women. In her cult, Ceres was worshipped with Libera and Liber Pater, further connecting her to Erigone’s myth and justice. For Virgil, this connection extended to astronomy: *vos, o clarissima mundi / lumina, labentem caelo quae ducitis annum; / Liber et alma Ceres, vestro si munere*

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<sup>1383</sup> Balmaceda 2017: 17.

<sup>1384</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1385</sup> *Ibid.*: 10-11. See also above, and Maier 1995: 709-710 and Morley 2010: 69 on the importance of the flexibility of the Roman Empire for how it continued to function.

<sup>1386</sup> Balmaceda 2017: 19.

<sup>1387</sup> See, for example, Sil. 15.98-120. See also Schrader 2016: 101-102 for *virtus* meaning victory, in all senses of the word.

<sup>1388</sup> Leeming 2006; see also Manil. 4.734; Fantham 1992: 52.

*tellus / Chaoniam pingui glandem mutavit arista, / poculaque inventis Acheloia miscuit uvis* ('you, o brightest lights / of the universe, you who lead the passing year across the sky; / Liber and nourishing Ceres, if by your gift the earth / changed a Chaonian nut with a rich ear of corn, / and mixed the Acheloian cups with the discovered grapes', Georg. 1.5-9). According to Ovid, Ceres was a goddess of peace and 'could avert war'.<sup>1389</sup> Like Pax, she also had associations with Tellus (Earth).<sup>1390</sup> Pax and Ceres also share an epithet: *alma*.

In Manilius, Ceres sometimes stands for wheat or grain,<sup>1391</sup> but what is most significant for this inscription is when Manilius decides to teach:

*noscere tutelae adiunctaque numina signis  
et quae cuique deo rerum natura dicavit,  
cum divina dedit magnis virtutibus ora,  
condidit et varias sacro sub nomine vires,  
pondus uti rebus persona imponere posset.*

To understand the guardians, both the divinities who have been added to the constellations and who Nature appointed to which god, when she granted the divine countenances with great, excellent qualities<sup>1392</sup>, and she established various powers under their sacred nature, so that she might be able to impose an importance on such matters with a persona.

Manil. 2.434-438.

In exposition, Manilius declares:

*Iuppiter, et cum matre deum regis ipse Leonem;  
Spicifera est Virgo Cereris fabricataque Libra  
Vulcani*

Jupiter, and with the mother of the gods, you rule Leo yourself;  
ear-bearing Virgo is Ceres' and Libra Vulcan's,  
having been made by him

Manil. 2.441-443.

Manilius is referring to each of the constellations mentioned in this inscription. This is hardly surprising, given their proximity in the sky. Jupiter is mentioned as being paired with Magna Mater because Jupiter, at the highest point in this planet's arc, as visible from Earth, was identified as being in the constellation Virgo.<sup>1393</sup> It is impossible to know whether Donatianus was familiar with Manilius' work, yet the similarities in language between the two are striking: note the use of *nosse*, from *nosco*, in Donatianus' inscription (AI.7.3). Perhaps one can interpret that these 'gifts' to which Donatianus refers are law and civilisation (2), but, if this is an obscure reference to Manilius, can these gifts be references back to the constellations Virgo and Leo,

<sup>1389</sup> Mueller 2010: 80; Ov. Met. 8.407; see also Weinstock 1960: 50.

<sup>1390</sup> Roberts (ed.) 2007; Mueller 2010: 80; Howatson (ed) 2011; Rose & Scheid 2012: 1541: 301; Ov. Fast 1.671-674; see above for Pax's association with Tellus.

<sup>1391</sup> Manil. 2.21, 2.658, 3.629, 3.664, 3.152, 4.251. See Goold 1997: 85, 369.

<sup>1392</sup> Understood here from *virtus*; see discussion of the meanings of *virtus* above.

<sup>1393</sup> Plin. Nat. 2.13.64.

and it is through these that one can understand the nature of the gods? It seems that it was through star-gazing that Donatianus understood the nature of religious syncretism.

Manilius also uses the epithet *spicifera* to describe Virgo. In the section of Manilius quoted above, we see not only the importance of Ceres to Virgo,<sup>1394</sup> i.e. that she primarily belongs to Ceres, presumably because she is *spicifera*, but the significance of Cybele to Leo. Although Goold points out that she ‘is regularly attended by lions’, he makes it clear that ‘she is mentioned only for rhetorical ornament, and the poet does not mean that she shares Jupiter’s guardianship of Leo’.<sup>1395</sup> However, if Donatianus knew this text, who is to say that he understood that this is what Manilius meant, and that he did not take him literally? Or that he did not? Although this may be countered in the argument that here Donatianus is referring to Virgo as Cybele, not Leo, yet this also perpetuates this interpretation: Leo precedes Virgo as the constellations progress across the sky, with Libra following Virgo, and so this perpetuates the imagery of Virgo (Cybele) being attended by lions (Leo).<sup>1396</sup> Although this is after **AI.7** is thought to have been written, Ceres has also been thought to be equated with Luna, Isis, Juno Cybele and Caelestis in a poem by Claudius.<sup>1397</sup> Getty discusses the connection of Virgo and Ceres, and the various references to her and Spica in ancient literature, and how this inscription describes ‘her attributes’.<sup>1398</sup> He describes the background behind ‘the catasterism of Ceres/Virgo [which] was known long before Vergil’s day, for it goes back to Hermippos the Callimachaeon and native of Smyrna in the third century B.C. and is vouched for by Pseudo-Eratosthenes’.<sup>1399</sup> Getty states Ceres is the ‘protector’ and the representation of Virgo,<sup>1400</sup> rather than being Virgo, following the precedent of Manilius, who, like Virgil, followed the Chaldaean system in which the signs of the Zodiac were guarded by one of the twelve Olympians, and not that of this poetic inscription, where the two are assimilated. Virgo is presumably associated with Ceres also because of the story of Ceres and Proserpina;<sup>1401</sup> for French, Virgo is Persephone.

The emphasis on Syria, specifically *Dea Syria*, is apparent, as not only does *Dea Syria* start a new line, it is also written in the largest letters. *Dea Syria*, also called Atargatis, was, according to Courtney, connected to ‘Rhea-Cybele, the *mater deorum*, by her mural crown ... which accounts for *urbium conditrix*, and by the association of both with lions’,<sup>1402</sup> which must also explain the emphasis on Leo in this inscription. This goddess is equated with Virgo in Eratosthenes *Catast.* 9.<sup>1403</sup> Atargatis was specifically ‘the goddess of Hierapolis-Bambyce in Syria’, and her Greek and Roman name was as it is given in this inscription.<sup>1404</sup> Not only did she have connections to being a *mater divum* herself, but she was also ‘a giver of fertility’,<sup>1405</sup> with her throne accompanied by lions.

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<sup>1394</sup> Courtney also discusses the connections between Ceres and Virgo, and laws (1995: 365)

<sup>1395</sup> Goold 1997: 116 n. a. See also Hannah’s discussion of this (1986: esp. 865).

<sup>1396</sup> See the discussion on this inscription in Chapter 6.

<sup>1397</sup> Gwyn Griffiths 1968: 144.

<sup>1398</sup> Getty 1951: 98.

<sup>1399</sup> *Ibid.*: 99.

<sup>1400</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1401</sup> See *Ov. Met.* 5.346-571 and *Fast.* 4.417-618, where Proserpina’s virginal status is emphasised.

<sup>1402</sup> Courtney 1995: 365. See also Grainger 2017: 253.

<sup>1403</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1404</sup> Walton & Spawforth 2012: 191.

<sup>1405</sup> *Ibid.*

The troops of the Roman army brought Dea Syria's 'cult to the Danubian provinces and Britain'.<sup>1406</sup> She is described as the deity of this particular *cohors*, partly based on the evidence of another inscription found either near or in this fort, an altar to Dea Syria by a previous prefect of this *cohors*.<sup>1407</sup> This provides further evidence that Donatianus was in charge of the *cohors I Hamiorum Sagittiorum Syriaca*: 'in contrast to the clear unwillingness of most Syrians to involve themselves in Roman affairs, the country was the source of a very large number of auxiliary units with a wide range of capabilities, particularly specialising in archers. The recruitment of these units would have substantially reduced both the numbers of men who were available for legionary recruitment, but also those who were available for rebellion, should such [sic] occur. And, unlike many of those Syrians who joined the legions, the auxiliaries were almost invariably dispatched at once to other provinces', for tactical, anti-potential-rebellion reasons.<sup>1408</sup> The worship of Dea Syria has been used as evidence of soldiers being allowed to worship deities from where they were originally recruited.<sup>1409</sup> Known in the Greek era long before the Roman period, assimilated with Aphrodite,<sup>1410</sup> 'Syrian cults were carried west especially during the Severan period, usually by soldiers, slaves, and merchants' probably because she had links to slavery,<sup>1411</sup> further corroborating that this inscription was from the Severan era. Both Walton & Spawforth and Nock interpret this inscription as a 'creed' of this goddess,<sup>1412</sup> the former stating that 'astrologers identified her with the constellation Virgo, and a 3<sup>rd</sup>-cent. 'creed' found in England (*RIB* 1791) accepts the *dea* Syria as one of several names or manifestations of the universal goddess'.<sup>1413</sup>

Courtney claims that this goddess was Virgo Caelestis, evidence for which he obtains from the use of *caeles|ti* in line 1.<sup>1414</sup> However, if *caeles|ti* is indeed dative, as it has been understood here, then it agrees with *Leoni* instead of *situ*, thus creating the translation presented in the Catalogue of Inscriptions. *Caeles|ti* has been interpreted as ablative, and therefore agreeing with *situ*, yet would it not be more poetically balanced if both constellations have celestial epithets, Virgo's being *spicifera*, literally 'ear of grain bearing' but could be interpreted as 'Spica [as in the star] bearing', and Leo's *caeles|ti*, making it 'heavenly/celestial Leo', thus making *caeles|ti* dative? Unfortunately, due to the nature of third declension adjectives, this problem may never be resolved. However, if this does agree with Leo, instead of Virgo's *situ*, then this negates the argument that the use of *caeles|ti* is a linguistic reference to this being Virgo Caelestis, and simply that **AI.7** refers to Virgo the constellation.

Courtney equates Dea Syria with Virgo Caelestis and, as a consequence, presents the representation of this goddess as the same: 'wear[ing] a mural crown, ... identified with Cybele... and ... depicted as riding on a lion'.<sup>1415</sup> It is necessary to take this representation into account, due to the similarities with the previously cited goddesses to which Donatianus refers. However, as Courtney does not separate these two goddesses, nor does he cite how we know

<sup>1406</sup> Walton & Spawforth 2012: 192.

<sup>1407</sup> *RIB* 1791; *RIB* 1972. This, then, allows us to either ante- or post-date this inscription from the altar, which was set up between AD 163-166 (*RIB* 1792). See also Grainger 2017: 114 for discussion on these two inscriptions. He is of the opinion that in **AI.7** Julia Domna was equated with Dea Syria.

<sup>1408</sup> Grainger 2017: 77. See also 112-113 for discussion on potential outposts of the *cohors I Hamiorum sagittiorum Syriaca* and their potential participation in the invasion of Britain.

<sup>1409</sup> Birley 1978: 1516.

<sup>1410</sup> Grainger 2017: 249-253.

<sup>1411</sup> Quote from Healey 2012: 1422. See also Grainger 2017: 249-253.

<sup>1412</sup> Walton & Spawforth 2012: 192; Nock 1933: 136.

<sup>1413</sup> Walton & Spawforth 2012: 192.

<sup>1414</sup> Courtney 1995: 365. Other scholars have taken this opinion.

<sup>1415</sup> Courtney 1995: 365.

that Dea Syria was equated with Virgo Caelestis, apart from, it appears, using the linguistic reference of *caeles|ti* to Virgo's position in the sky in this inscription, it is not apparent if this representation is relevant to Dea Syria, Virgo Caelestis or both. Courtney also indicates the significance of Severan and Galatian coinage, and how this goddess is 'literally *imminet leoni*',<sup>1416</sup> thus suggesting that all this imagery was connected by at least the Severan era, and this, again, helps in providing a Severan date for this inscription.

Perhaps the assimilation with the goddess described here as being understood to be Tanit by Donatianus stems from the cult of Juno Caelestis. Juno's epithet in Carthage was Caelestis, and she was the 'successor to, and inheritor of many aspects of, the Carthaginian Tinnit (Tanit)'.<sup>1417</sup> The editors of *RIB* believe Caelestis and Dea Syria are equated in *AE* 1965.30, but, in this inscription, *Caelesti* could be an epithet of *Dea Syria* herself, not an additional goddess.<sup>1418</sup> As Dea Syria is equated with a constellation here, this is not an unlikely interpretation. Here, the confusion could be said to stem from the use of the adjective *caelestis* (1), but, if this refers rather to *Leoni* than *situ*, it makes it irrelevant to the description of Virgo, and therefore of this being an inscription to Virgo or Juno Caelestis or Tanit. However, the cult of Caelestis did have 'points of contact with many other cults including the Magna Mater', it was patronised by Septimius Severus, and 'it became an emblem of the province of Africa'.<sup>1419</sup>

Considering how many Roman and non-Roman religions overlapped, as demonstrated by **AI.7** itself, simply having 'points of contact' with the cult of Magna Mater hardly seems to be definitive proof that Donatianus is implicitly referring to Tanit. As this cult 'was important in Roman Carthage, where it became an emblem of the province of Africa',<sup>1420</sup> surely, then, if Donatianus were referring to this goddess, then he would have referred to this goddess' importance to Carthage, and not to Syria and Libya? Given Donatianus' willingness to name *Dea Syria* as being equated to this goddess who was represented by the constellation Virgo, it is unlikely that Donatianus did not name Tanit directly due to reluctance to name a native African goddess in conjunction with goddesses and divinities with Latin names and qualities.<sup>1421</sup> Additionally, this interpretation of the goddess described in this inscription supports the theory that this was an honorific inscription to Julia Domna, as she 'was sometimes identified with her'.<sup>1422</sup> Given that this theory is dismissed by Kruschwitz, and Cugusi based on the interpretation of this being by a prefect of the *cohors I Hamiorum Sagittiorum Syriaca*, then it seems unlikely that Donatianus is implicitly referring to Tanit.

Having established that this is demonstrative of the religious syncretism that was such a cornerstone of the success of the Roman Empire and how they managed to integrate and unite such a wide collection of peoples, why, then, set up this inscription? Especially as, by then, such religious syncretism was common practice and no one seemed to be perturbed by combinations of like deities from across cultures. Perhaps Donatianus wished to unite his troops to the mentality of the Empire, perhaps they themselves were doubtful. This constellation, identified last with Dea Syria, was, according to Donatianus, born in Syria, and it *Libyae colendum* ('must be worshipped in Libya', **AI.7.7**). The use of the gerundive demonstrates

<sup>1416</sup> Courtney 1995: 365.

<sup>1417</sup> Purcell 2005: 270; Purcell 2012.

<sup>1418</sup> *AE* 1965.30. After all, this is logical, as Jupiter appears with his epithets *Optimus Maximus Dolichenus*, which parallel those given to *Dea Syria: Magna Caelestis*.

<sup>1419</sup> Purcell 2005: 270; Purcell 2012.

<sup>1420</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1421</sup> See Wiseman (2010b: 340) for Cybele being her Latin name.

<sup>1422</sup> Purcell 2005: 270; Purcell 2012.



Donatianus' skill in Latin, as he not only makes it fit the metre, but he also uses the correct construction: gerundive and the dative agent. It demonstrates the dominance of the Syrian connections of the constellation, and, presumably, the religious/mythological connotations behind it over Libya, which, unfortunately, seem to have been lost to time. Yet, despite these connections, these goddesses and divinities converge towards the Roman, the constellation with the Latin name.

This being about Donatianus persuading his troops to conform to Roman religious syncretism does not appear to be the solution, but part of it. This verse inscription is personal, despite being written in the third person, as indicated by the last three lines. Perhaps this is not Donatianus trying to convert his troops to this way of thinking, although this may have been a by-product of it, and hence why it was established in the fort itself, but Donatianus' own conversion. Nock discusses religious conversion, and he describes various ways in which Latin authors were convinced to convert, from non-believing to believing, the most relevant being: 'Lucretius gives a moving picture of the things which shakes a man's unbelief – the starry heaven, sudden disasters, consciousness of weakness before the infinite'.<sup>1423</sup> This answers the questions of: why talk about a constellation? Why associate constellations with the gods? Why introduce these goddesses and the ideas they represent with a constellation? Also, why give indications of where it is in the sky, and its identifying celestial feature (i.e. Spica)?

So, one wonders, why Virgo? Perhaps because Virgo allows for the expression of this religious syncretism better than any other example Donatianus could cite. After all, in this, Virgo is equated to a Phrygian goddess, two distinctly Roman divine ideals, a Roman goddess who has her foundations in Greek mythology, and an African goddess. Indeed, 'the cult of Dea Syria or Astarte at Hierapolis is the most notorious example of syncretism'.<sup>1424</sup> Ceres, when she represents Virgo, is 'invoked at the start of the *Georgics* as [one of] the most illustrious luminaries in the sky', the other being Liber, who is assimilated with Libra.<sup>1425</sup> All these goddesses and divine manifestations, in some way, relate to aspects of civilisation, as did the myth of Erigone, which included the bringing of grapes to mankind from Bacchus (also called Liber). The Syrian gods were closely associated with the stars, and, as such, they held a prominent place in Syrian religion. Given this context, and that Donatianus was probably of African origin, maybe even Syrian, it is clear why a constellation would have such significance to him in a religious context; this may also explain the dominance of African associations in astronomically themed inscriptions (see Chapter 6).

This inscription could be said to be an expression of how Donatianus came to believe in, or understand, the religious syncretism of the Roman Empire, which was significantly used in the Roman military, the melting pot of societies and cultures incorporated into the Roman Empire, as a way of unifying them, of 'Romanisation' and expressing *Romanitas*. It is interesting how something that became so scientific before this inscription was written, as demonstrated by Hipparchus and Spica,<sup>1426</sup> somehow regressed back to its religious and mythological background. Schaefer comments on how 'the sequence in the uses to which societies put constellations tracks the way one aspect of astronomy was transformed into a modern science. The sequence moves from religious to folk to practical to scientific usages, a consistent trend

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<sup>1423</sup> Nock 1933: 11.

<sup>1424</sup> N. Pollard 2010: 416.

<sup>1425</sup> Getty 1951: 100.

<sup>1426</sup> See Chapter 6.

toward decreasing spirituality and increasing quantification’,<sup>1427</sup> yet, here, we see the constellation Virgo being taken back to her religious and mythological roots, and all these amalgamated into one canon, by a man inhabiting a time that bridges the days which sought explanation in myth and in science.

Bringing Roman civilisation with them, the Roman military often created the foundations of what would later become towns and cities from their camps and fortresses, and they themselves also administered justice, acting as a sort of police force and, sometimes judges, and, when they retired, sometimes farmers and workers of the land. Perhaps these links between the purposes of the military and the goddesses cited in this inscription were not lost on a soldier such as Donatianus. What is perhaps most significant about this inscription is it indicates how the Roman Empire and its army functioned, with its renowned efficiency and cohesion, despite being composed of a wide variety of peoples, cultures, religions and, therefore, mindsets. As Nock describes it best, this ‘means ‘this is the significance of your earlier faith, of all men’s faith’: it completes and systematizes what was there, but it does not substitute things new for things old. It is a theology of unity and mutual understanding, and not of conflict’.<sup>1428</sup> However, despite this display of unity and cohesion, this amalgamation of all religions into one and recognition of these other religions as being equal to this one religious figure, through the use of the names of each of these goddesses, distinct qualities, and Latin name of the constellation, there is no doubt where all these religions and myths Donatianus syncretised them to: Rome.

Perhaps the best known way in which the divine and natural worlds appeared in correlation is the connection between divine healing and water.<sup>1429</sup> This connection had been made throughout the ages, across the lands, and bisected religions across the ancient world, so much so that often healing deities were syncretised with other, local healing deities. One of the most well-known instances of this is probably the synchronisation of Minerva-Sulis at Aquae Sulis, the name of the popular Roman bathing site in Britain, and which retained its reputation for its therapeutic waters throughout time, so much so that the town was known as the place to go to for those seeking relief and treatment in Jane Austen’s books. This town, aptly, is now named Bath.

The first of the small collection of inscriptions in this corpus linked to healing waters is, again, linked to Africa. **AI.3** was on a limestone stele,<sup>1430</sup> found in Gholiaia,<sup>1431</sup> in Africa Proconsularis, in the baths in the fort,<sup>1432</sup> dating from the early third century.<sup>1433</sup> Written in iambic senarii,<sup>1434</sup> it is a religious, votive inscription to the deified personification of Health (Salus).<sup>1435</sup> The author of the inscription, the centurion of the *Legio III Augusta* himself, dedicated it with a double purpose: to state who dedicated and established the baths for Salus, and for the use of those, mainly other soldiers, suffering under the heat of the desert, and to immortalise *Votum communem pro|que reditu exercitus* (‘the common vow [made] on behalf of the return of the

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<sup>1427</sup> Schaefer 2006: 101.

<sup>1428</sup> Nock 1933: 137.

<sup>1429</sup> See also the discussion in Chapter 7.

<sup>1430</sup> HD024265; see also IRT 0918. See also Cooley 2012: 282.

<sup>1431</sup> See, for example, <https://www.mqdq.it/texts/CE/appe/0345>; HD024265. See also Cooley 2012: 281-284 for discussion, photos, edition and translation of this inscription.

<sup>1432</sup> IRT 0919; see also HD059759.

<sup>1433</sup> <https://www.mqdq.it/texts/CE/appe/0345>; EDCS-06000943; HD059759; IRT 0919, who more specifically date it to AD 201-238, based on the context. Le Bohec also agrees with this dating (1989a: 178). Adams (1999: 109) and Cooley (2012: 282) suggest AD 202/203.

<sup>1434</sup> Le Bohec 1989: 178 n. 228; Adams 1999: 109.

<sup>1435</sup> HD024265, HD059759; Le Bohec 1989: 178; see also discussion of this inscription in Chapter 6.

army', 3). This vow specifically refers to the land militia (*exercitus*), and thus it is likely to have been the common prayer by the army posted here, not the army in general, although given the nature of the other verse dedicatory monuments by the military, it is not unreasonable to presume that this was a common vow for those in the land militia in general. But what was this 'common vow'? Given the content of **AI.3**, it is for a safe return to the camp, back to peace and tranquillity and relaxation, away from the dangers of the environment in which they lived and fought. That this monument, created partly to immortalise this *Votum communem pro|que reditu exercitus, | / Inter priores et fu|turos reddere* | ('the common vow [made] on behalf of the return of the army, / to impart it among past and future [readers]', 4), is dedicated to Salus is something Quintianus knew they all prayed for when they returned to the camp, and probably believed that those inhabiting this environment would continue praying for: safety and health. This wish is also seen in other votive verse inscriptions of the Roman army, such as **NW.7**. For Cugusi, this inscription 'nel testo è previsto il ringraziamento alla divinità per il felice rientro in sede, a Roma'.<sup>1436</sup> However, this inscription was more akin to **NW.7**, where the soldier gives thanks for a safe return back to their garrison from a (dangerous) mission, rather than celebrating a return to Rome.

Gholaia was a fort where a vexillation of the *Legio III Augusta* was posted.<sup>1437</sup> Construction of the fort began in January AD 201, and it was a part of a military outpost.<sup>1438</sup> The name of the legion was erased from this inscription after the *damnatio memoriae* placed upon it in AD 238 because it supported its legate when he rebelled,<sup>1439</sup> hence the dating of AD 201-238 for the prose inscription,<sup>1440</sup> and gives it a *terminus ante quem* of AD 238. It appears that someone had, at some point, re-carved the name of the legion once more into the stele;<sup>1441</sup> this probably happened after AD 253, when the legion was restored by Valerian.<sup>1442</sup> The verse has been dated between AD 201-259.<sup>1443</sup> It is believed that the separate prose and verse inscriptions go together;<sup>1444</sup> both 'were found in the *frigidarium*'.<sup>1445</sup> The lettering of the two share similarities in form, although they differ in height.<sup>1446</sup> Here, the religious aspects of **AI.3** shall be focused on, as well as some of the military. Discussion of the astronomical and natural aspects of this inscription can be found in Chapters 6 and 7, although often in these inscriptions it is difficult to discuss these features in isolation.

Fortuna, Salus and other deities of health and recovery were associated with places of sanitation, such as bath-houses and public lavatories, and were painted on their walls and invoked in writing in such areas. Salus was 'a deified 'virtue', the safety and welfare of the state',<sup>1447</sup> which is significant, considering the importance of the Roman military to the maintenance of the Empire, they were the face of the Empire, its representatives in the provinces beyond Rome. Salus was identified with Hygieia, the Greek divinity of healthy, from the second century BC

<sup>1436</sup> Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2012: 92.

<sup>1437</sup> Le Bohec 1989: 178; Adams 1999: 109.

<sup>1438</sup> Adams 1999: 109.

<sup>1439</sup> Campbell 2012d: 817; Zarker 1958.21; see discussion in Chapter 6.

<sup>1440</sup> *IRT* 0919.

<sup>1441</sup> *IRT* 0919; see photos of this inscription (see the Catalogue of Inscriptions).

<sup>1442</sup> Campbell 2012d: 817.

<sup>1443</sup> Based upon the context (*IRT* 0918).

<sup>1444</sup> *IRT* 0918; EDCS-06000943.

<sup>1445</sup> Cooley 2012: 284.

<sup>1446</sup> See, for example, Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2012: 91-92; Zarker 1958.21; *IRT* 0918 and b; see also photos of these inscriptions.

<sup>1447</sup> Linderski 2012b: 1312.

onwards.<sup>1448</sup> There was also a *Salus Augusta/Augusti*, the ‘health of the Emperor’,<sup>1449</sup> but this does not appear to be the purpose of this *Salus* here. Here, *Salus* is in her healing guise. Quintianus describes the elements against which his men had to contend, and the soothing waters of the baths that he dedicated to *Salus*, the goddess Health, for the health of his men after battling such elemental forces (**AI.3.9-18**; see Chapters 6 and 7). From the inscription, it appears that Quintianus set it up as a vow to *Salus* in thanks for the return of his men, if not from a battle than from an expedition, although exactly what is not specified. Perhaps he simply means that the army is able to return to their homes, after having been posted in the African desert for so long. Although, by this time recruiting had become more localised, so perhaps this latter idea is not so correct in this instance.

Adams notes how this poem contributes towards understanding ‘the sociolinguistics of the officer classes’.<sup>1450</sup> He implies that Quintianus was bilingual, and that Latin may not necessarily have been his first language.<sup>1451</sup> Yet he was more linguistically competent in Latin ‘than the letters on ostraca from the same site, many of which will have been written by African recruits’.<sup>1452</sup> Adams cites this inscription as ‘provid[ing] remarkable evidence for the cultural and linguistic level of centurions, if one can make the assumption that the text[s] [was] the responsibility of the [...] centurion[s]’ himself.<sup>1453</sup> Adams appears to doubt this was written by Quintianus himself,<sup>1454</sup> despite there being evidence to suggest that it was, such as the first person perspective and the unique, individual experience described within it; if he had not written it himself, Quintianus must have approved it.<sup>1455</sup> Adams’ uses **AI.3** as an example of ‘the sort of Latin the centurions would have approved of, even if they were not themselves the sole authors of the poems’,<sup>1456</sup> and it was not unusual for centurions to have a ‘less than assured command or judgement of the (Latin) literary language’.<sup>1457</sup> The Latin of **AI.3** is described by Adams as ‘a mixture of the literary and the substandard, and as such presents a contrast with’ other known examples of poems by centurions, although it does show literary, poetic skills, such as alliteration, as well as archaic features.<sup>1458</sup> Yet ‘an accumulation of substandard usages also stands out in the text’.<sup>1459</sup> He concludes that ‘the poem of Avidius thus displays traces of literary phraseology grafted on to a living language with a range of features which can be deduced to have been found in later spoken Latin as it foreshadowed Romance’.<sup>1460</sup> Adams carries out an in-depth commentary on the language usage in this poem, including deviations from the norms and how the language demonstrated in it anticipates the developments that bridge the gap from Latin into the Romance languages, and how this reflects the level of Latinity of the writer,<sup>1461</sup> who in this study is believed to be Quintianus himself.

Whether Quintianus would have known about literary tropes found within battle narratives is unknown,<sup>1462</sup> but it is interesting to consider the likelihood. We may consider this imagery

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<sup>1448</sup> Linderski 2012b: 1312.

<sup>1449</sup> See *ibid.*

<sup>1450</sup> Adams 1999: 126.

<sup>1451</sup> *Ibid.*: 130-131.

<sup>1452</sup> *Ibid.*: 133-134.

<sup>1453</sup> *Ibid.*: 109. See also Chapter 2 for Adams’ discussion on this inscription, as well as **RI.14**.

<sup>1454</sup> Adams 1999: 109.

<sup>1455</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1456</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1457</sup> *Ibid.*: 129.

<sup>1458</sup> *Ibid.*: 124.

<sup>1459</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1460</sup> *Ibid.*: 125.

<sup>1461</sup> *Ibid.*: 124-125.

<sup>1462</sup> See the discussion on this inscription in Chapter 6.

present in **AI.3** was generated both by Quintianus' own personal experience, as the poem seems to indicate, as well as from literary works and military manuals and works of prose, the latter two of which, at least, appear to have been expected reading of well-educated leaders in the Roman military, including centurions. Adams indicates poetic literary parallels and potential allusions between **AI.3** and the more well known poets, predominantly archaic ones such as Accius and Plautus,<sup>1463</sup> but not prosaic.

This inscription gives an indication of the role of the centurion, and how a centurion perceived his own role within the hierarchy of the Roman military. According to Cooley, this inscription was written 'whilst the *vexillatio* was absent from camp, and alludes to the vow made for its safe return, discharged on its return by the construction of the temple of Hammon',<sup>1464</sup> although it is not clear how she came to this conclusion. Quintianus describes himself as *Agens prae cunctos in | hac castra milites* ('I, leading all the soldiers in the camp', 2), thus indicating that he felt he was in charge of the men, as if he had no superior.<sup>1465</sup> Perhaps he rose through the ranks, and this is why he views himself in this way: maybe he was truly in charge of his men, truly their comrade, because he rose through the ranks next to them, not an elite man who gained his role from social and political means. Although centurions were expected to be literate, and have some level of education, the education of a grass-roots centurion can hardly be compared to that of an *equites*' son. Also, he would have been in the military for longer, a permanent feature of the ranks, unlike the higher up ranks obtained by the upper classes, which were temporary posts lasting between three and five years.<sup>1466</sup> So not only is a centurion who rose through the ranks more of an equal to his men, a man his men would be more likely to relate to, but he probably also worked alongside them, and was, once, truly their equal, someone who rose through the ranks based on his merit, and that was worthy of respect. That is may be why Quintianus felt he truly earned the ability to be the real commander of all those in his camp. Alternatively, perhaps he was the one who led them on the mission that took them away from the camp.

Quintianus is proud of his role as the leader of his men, as indicated by this personal inscription, written in the first person, indicated in the first word (**AI.3.1**), beginning with the purpose of this (a vow, set up by Quintianus), and then Quintianus' role within the army (2). One wonders if it is solely to do with his prestigious position within the military and being in command of his men. But, due to his emphasis on protecting and looking after his men's health, it makes one wonder about his pride in this aspect of his role too. Perhaps this is also not simply due to his role, but also due to his gender: in Roman society, the man was the provider, the protector of his family. Here, Quintianus is able to fulfil this for his men, who, in a military society where men were not allowed to be legally married, may have acted as a substitute family.<sup>1467</sup> This gives the line *Agens prae cunctos in | hac castra milites* (2) a different slant, allowing Quintianus to not only express the function of his rank, but also the function of his gender, looking after and providing for all those below him in a social, rather than a familial, hierarchy.

Water and religion are often intertwined in these inscriptions; this is not only seen in **AI.3** and **NW.7**, but also **NW.8**.<sup>1468</sup> **NW.8**, like **AI.3**, was found in conjunction with baths. The governor

<sup>1463</sup> Adams 1999: 125.

<sup>1464</sup> Cooley 2012: 284.

<sup>1465</sup> See Appendix 3 and discussion above for an extensive discussion of the rank, role and promotion of the centurion.

<sup>1466</sup> See Appendix 3 on the ranks in the Roman military.

<sup>1467</sup> Additionally, we will never know if Quintianus had a family of his own. If he did not, then this would make this role even more important for him. See discussion in Chapter 8.

<sup>1468</sup> See also the discussion on this inscription in Chapter 7 and above.

mentioned in **NW.8** was Lucius Vespronius Candidus Sallustius Sabianus, the governor of the Dacian provinces between AD 183-185,<sup>1469</sup> hence the date of this inscription. He was later allegedly hated by the soldiers he had commanded.<sup>1470</sup> **NW.8** was written by the centurion of the *Legio V Macedonica*. This legion had been stationed in Dacia since the reign of Marcus Aurelius.<sup>1471</sup> It acquired its name from its service in Macedonia between 30 BC and AD 6.<sup>1472</sup> It was posted around the Empire, including Macedonia to Moesia, Syria, Oescus to Armenia, Judaea, Troesmis, and then to Potassia, Dacia in AD 167 or 168, as a part of the reorganisation of the province which had previously only been defended by the *Legio XIII Gemina*, to strengthen the province's defense whilst in the thick of the first Marcomannic War,<sup>1473</sup> where it remained until 274/275, when it returned to Oescus, fighting in various wars as a part of its service in the Roman military.<sup>1474</sup> When the legion arrived in Potassia, they were thrown into fighting in the first Marcomannic War, before they could build their legionary fort. The fighting ended in AD 180 with Marcus Aurelius' death,<sup>1475</sup> potentially just three years before this inscription was set up. However, this was not a period of peace, and during the time this inscription was set up was a time of unrest, for, even after Commodus made peace with the Quasi and Marcomanni, it is likely that *vexillationes* of the *Legio V Macedonica* were still partaking in battles.<sup>1476</sup> Can we conjecture that this is why this *numerus* had been formed, and/or why a centurion from this legion had been transferred to lead it? The results of this unrest may also be why soldiers as well as civilians sought healing springs.

There was a legionary fortress in Potaissa,<sup>1477</sup> about ninety miles as the crow flies from Germisara, close to where the *numerus peditum singularium Britannicianorum* was garrisoned.<sup>1478</sup> This *numerus* had been in Dacia since AD 106, and 'Die *pedites Britannici* waren aus den *pedites singulares* der Garde des britannischen Statthalters aufgestellt und im Zusammenhang mit den dakischen Kriegen nach Obermoesien gebracht';<sup>1479</sup> they became the *numerus peditum singularium Britannicianorum* in AD 146, *vexillatio peditum singularium Britannicianorum* in 179, and it became a *numerus* under Septimius Severus.<sup>1480</sup> Piso supposes that these troops came from Britain, but did not necessarily originate from there; *Britannicus* means originating from Britain, *Britannicianus* being associated with, although these are sometimes confused, as seen in this inscription.<sup>1481</sup> Southern queried if there was a '*numerus B(rittonum?)*' in Germisara, Dacia: 'an inscription from Germisara dated to A.D. 186 mentions P. Aelius Marcellinus, *signifer et quaestor n(umeri)* (*CIL* XIII 1396). *AE* 1911, 40 from Micia is interpreted as *n(umerus) B(rittonum) et c(ohors) R(aetorum) pro sal(ute) v(eteranorum) Mic(iensium) suorumq(ue)*. Without further proof it cannot be said with any certainty that there was a *numerus Brittonum* in Dacia'.<sup>1482</sup> As **NW.8** was found in Germisara, Dacia, perhaps *CIL* XIII 1396 was also a reference to the *numerus peditus singularis Britanniciarum*; this inscription was published in *AE* 1915, Southern's paper in 1989, so she cannot have known

<sup>1469</sup> Piso 2015: 63; Dana 2015; Bellido & Hernández Pérez 2020: 445.

<sup>1470</sup> See Piso 2015: 63.

<sup>1471</sup> Bellido & Hernández Pérez 2020: 430.

<sup>1472</sup> Hardy 1887: 630-631, 634-636, 643, 645-646, 648-649, 652, 655-656; Campbell 2012d: 817.

<sup>1473</sup> Grec 2011: 181-182.

<sup>1474</sup> Hardy 1887: 633, 635, 647, 649; Campbell 2012d: 817; see also Grec 2011: 181-182.

<sup>1475</sup> Grec 2011: 182.

<sup>1476</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1477</sup> Fodorean & Marincean 2020: 106.

<sup>1478</sup> Piso 2015: 48; Dana 2015. See Appendix 3 for a definition of a *numerus*.

<sup>1479</sup> Piso 2015: 48. See also Bellido & Hernández Pérez 2020: 430.

<sup>1480</sup> Piso 2015: 48.

<sup>1481</sup> *Ibid.*: 48, 56.

<sup>1482</sup> Southern 1989: 132, appendix 2.

about this inscription. This is not proof of a *numerus Brittonum*, but perhaps proof reinforcing the existence of the *numerus peditus singularis Britanniciarum* in Germisara. There was a *numerus singularium Britannicianorum* posted in the *castra* in Cigmau,<sup>1483</sup> which was near Germisara. At this time, this troop of men was commanded by a *tribunus* and numbered around a thousand men; Iustus was not, according to Petolescu, the commander of this *numerus*.<sup>1484</sup>

Speidel discussed this unit in-depth: ‘four military diplomas show this unit belonging successfully to the armies of Upper Moesia (A.D. 103 – 106) and Upper Dacia (A.D. 157) ... the *numerus* came from Britain to the lower Danube most likely as part of the reinforcements needed for Trajan’s Dacian Wars. After participation in the Dacian Wars, probably at the Olt defile, the unit was stationed permanently at Germisara in Dacia (Apulensis). There it is known from a number of inscriptions naming it variously *n(umerus) p(editum) s(ingularium)*, *n(umerus) Brit(annicianorum)*, etc. which led to the mistaken assumption that there existed a *numerus Brittonum*, different from this unit’.<sup>1485</sup> Apparently **NW.8** was not the only time a centurion of the *Legio V Macedonica* was in charge of this unit, as ‘under Gordian the unit was commanded by a certain Ulpus Maximinus, centurion of the *legio V Macedonica*, acting as *praepositus*’.<sup>1486</sup> Legionary centuriones ‘with the title of *praepositus* or *curam agens* commanded the provincial *equites* or *pedites singulares*’,<sup>1487</sup> so this must have been the capacity in which the centurion in **NW.8** commanded this unit.<sup>1488</sup> Speidel notes ‘it is surprising that this unit ... never became a regular cohort, despite the fact that its original members had been recruited from among the cohorts in Britain and that they had retained their privileges as spelled out in the diplomas... Since the *nationes* received no discharge-diplomas the *pedites singulares Britanniciani* clearly ranked as soldiers of a cohort, despite the fact that their unit in traditional fashion continued to be called a *numerus*’.<sup>1489</sup>

Although the paper strength of *numeri* was not as determined as a *cohors* or an *ala*,<sup>1490</sup> if an auxiliary unit contained less than five hundred men, legionary centurions are found as their commanders.<sup>1491</sup> This means that the unit had more than doubled by the time of *Ep. Anh.* 10 had been set up, as it was commanded by a *tribunus* under the Severans, which indicates it contained a thousand men.<sup>1492</sup> In this instance, it was the *numerus peditum singularium Britannicianorum*’s role to supervise the territory of Lucanum, under the command of Justinus.<sup>1493</sup> This is the only reference we have of this territory’s name.<sup>1494</sup> Piso explains that the reason why they are not supervising Germisara is that this was a *colonia* territory, so it did not need military supervision, but the territory of Lucanum could have been between Germisara and Ampelum, which was where gold was found, which would need military supervision.<sup>1495</sup> Soldiers are known to have supervised mining projects, so perhaps there was a gold mine here too. According to Petolescu, *territorium Lucanum* was a new administrative centre, with a

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<sup>1483</sup> Petolescu 2017: 200.

<sup>1484</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1485</sup> Speidel 1978: 65-66.

<sup>1486</sup> *Ibid.*: 66, incl. n. 345.

<sup>1487</sup> *Ibid.*: 26.

<sup>1488</sup> Petolescu disagrees with this interpretation (see 2017: 200).

<sup>1489</sup> Speidel 1978: 66.

<sup>1490</sup> Piso 2015: 57. See Appendix 2.

<sup>1491</sup> Piso 2015: 56.

<sup>1492</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1493</sup> Piso 2015: 57. Petolescu disagrees with this interpretation (see above). See also Appendix 2 and discussion below for information on this unit.

<sup>1494</sup> Piso 2015: 57; Dana 2015.

<sup>1495</sup> Piso 2015: 57.

potentially new Roman name,<sup>1496</sup> and so this may also be why a military presence was required there: it was a newly acquired land, requiring governance and administrative organisation. According to Petolescu, Justinus' role as *agens per terr(itorium) Lucanum* (NW.8.30) was akin the *centurio regionarius*, a centurion who was in charge of a police district, that was larger than that commanded by a *beneficiarius* consularis, and controlled across *stationes*.<sup>1497</sup>

This *numerus* is what *miles Britannicus* refers to (NW.8.3), the singular soldier representing the whole force, in this case, Justinus himself, for it was the commanding officer of the unit who carried out their religious duties.<sup>1498</sup> Here, Justinus describes the soldier (i.e. him) carrying out the act of supplication at this nymph('s/s') spring: *cui cristatus apex procumbit vortice summo* ('to whom the crested peak bends down at the greatest whirlpool', 6). Here, his armour acts as a representative of him, and it is the most distinctive part of the centurion's uniform: his helmet, and the bright red crest upon it.<sup>1499</sup> The language he uses to describe his crest is synonymous with the summit of a mountain, or a crown, or a priest's cap,<sup>1500</sup> thus also emphasising not only his leadership role within his unit, but the religious aspect of his role and rank. For Piso, this is a reference to the *crista transversa* of the centurion,<sup>1501</sup> the famous crest that went longitudinally across the centurion's helmet, either made of horsehair or metal,<sup>1502</sup> specifically silver, according to Vegetius (Mil. 2.16). Durry suggests this was no longer a part of the centurion's uniform by the late first to the second century,<sup>1503</sup> Cowan that it was no longer in use by the end of the first century, because it is rarely depicted on funerary monuments and does not appear on Trajan's Column or 'the metopes of the Tropaeum Traiani at Adamclisi, which were produced by legionary sculptors'.<sup>1504</sup> But, if Piso is correct that this does refer to the *crista transversa*, then this is not the case and this was still used in the second century, unless Justinus wanted to refer to himself in a manner befitting the identity of a centurion. Vegetius states that the reason for the *crista transversa* was for reasons of recognition.<sup>1505</sup> Vegetius' reference to it suggests that his Late Antique readers must have known about this feature of the centurion's uniform and understood its significance.<sup>1506</sup>

There is an element of this inscription not being entirely original; a similar verdict appears that it was composed of 'a été combine à l'aide de morceaux d'œuvres littéraires et religieuses pour la plupart perdues'.<sup>1507</sup> However, what is to say that this is not an original work, albeit more 'literary' than other inscriptions we have encountered before? We have seen the range of literary experience in these inscriptions, NW.8 being another notably 'literary' inscription. There are allusions to Homeric, Virgilian, and Ovidian language, archaic Latin, as well as contemporary linguistic features of both Greek and Latin.<sup>1508</sup> This makes Piso wonder if Justinus would have

<sup>1496</sup> Petolescu 2017: 200.

<sup>1497</sup> *Ibid.*: 201 (he cites places where we see other instances of this).

<sup>1498</sup> Piso 2015: 58; Dana 2015. See also Bellido & Hernández Pérez 2020: 430, 434-435; see also Chapter 5, and discussion on the *trierarchus* in AI.1, Chapter 7, and in Appendix 3.

<sup>1499</sup> See also Piso 2015: 58-59; Veg. mil. 2.13.4-6.

<sup>1500</sup> Kidd 1957: 14; Lewis & Short 1945: 136.

<sup>1501</sup> Piso 2015: 59. As seen on a bronze statuette of a centurion in the Musée des Thermes (see Durry 1928: 303-308, esp. 303-304 for similar depictions of centurions). See also Coulston 2004: 146 for this, and the *vitis*, as being part of the centurion's uniform. See also Cole 2018: 81, below, and discussion on centurions in Appendix 3.

<sup>1502</sup> See Durry 1928: 307-308.

<sup>1503</sup> Durry 1928: 307-308; Cowan 2013: 29-30.

<sup>1504</sup> Cowan 2013.

<sup>1505</sup> Veg. Mil. 2.16, 2.13; Cowan 2013: 30.

<sup>1506</sup> Veg. Mil. 2.13, 2.16. See Coulston 2004: 146; Cowan 2013: 30 for references to this section in Vegetius.

<sup>1507</sup> Piso 2015: 47, see also 65; see also Dana 2015.

<sup>1508</sup> See Piso 2015: 62-64. See also Bellido & Hernández Pérez 2020: 431-433, and their commentary on the text, 434-445.



been able to compose this inscription.<sup>1509</sup> Given the varying degrees of literacy demonstrated in this study, especially concerning centurions,<sup>1510</sup> it seems probable to suggest that this inscription was composed by Justinus. Given that many men in the Roman military, especially at the time of this inscription, may not have been native Latin speakers and they had to learn Latin, then the fact that they might use archaisms in their poetry may be an indication that this was *learnt* language, for sometimes, when learning a language, people learn the rules of the language and a slightly ‘archaic’ version for the purpose of sounding ‘proper/correct’ in their use of the language. Keeping up with the quickly evolving trends of the spoken aspects of language would be difficult to teach, especially considering that spoken language is often individual to the speaker, less structured and rigid than that of written language, and, as seen with the African inscriptions, changed depending on location; even an individual’s written language conforms more to the rules of a language. Given that he may have acquired his Latin skills in the army, this may have made their education more eclectic. That he knew Greek may also be an indication of this, or an indication of his dedication to learning, as well educated Romans and/or upper classes are known to have also learnt Greek.<sup>1511</sup> But the reason for this may also lie in that the second century was ‘einer Zeit der Renaissance der griechischen Kultur und der alten religiösen Traditionen’,<sup>1512</sup> particularly in the eastern provinces.<sup>1513</sup>

Although it is conjectured here, based on the evidence of other similar verse inscriptions featured in this study, that Justinus wrote at least part of this inscription himself, not everyone agrees with this perspective; Piso felt that there was a possibility that Justinus did not write this inscription.<sup>1514</sup> The fact that the Latin and Greek parts were written in two different hands indicates that Justinus, at least, did not carve part of this inscription himself; it seems likely that the act of carving Greek was different to carving Latin. So, there is a possibility that he composed the verse, but he and someone else, or two different people entirely, carved the inscription for him. This may be supported by the fact that there are similarities between this inscription and *Ep. Anh.* 1.<sup>1515</sup> Piso was of the opinion that stonemasons, poets and musicians flocked to healing springs, not seeking to be healed, but seeking business, with collections of works and samples to sell to those wishing to immortalise their experience and healing.<sup>1516</sup> Given the perceived ‘incorrect’ features of the Latin and Greek aspects of this inscription, it is perhaps unlikely that they were composed by a professional. That he used Latin and Greek indicates Justinus wished his inscription to be understood by those who spoke Latin, presumably the members of the military, and those who spoke Greek,<sup>1517</sup> although it is unknown if this Romanised Dacia had a Greek speaking population,<sup>1518</sup> although they had contact with Greek speaking nations.<sup>1519</sup> Synonyms are used for Thracia in the Latin text: *Getici* and *Odrysta* (1, 15) and one wonders how many of those reading this inscription would have understood these references. Perhaps many would have understood the reference to *Geticus*, especially

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<sup>1509</sup> Piso 2015: 64.

<sup>1510</sup> Also demonstrated by Adams 1999; see discussion in Chapter 2.

<sup>1511</sup> See, for example, Bellido & Hernández Pérez 2020: 446.

<sup>1512</sup> Piso 2015: 65. See also Bellido & Hernández Pérez 2020: 446.

<sup>1513</sup> Bellido & Hernández Pérez 2020: 446.

<sup>1514</sup> Piso 2015: 64.

<sup>1515</sup> *Ibid.*: 65.

<sup>1516</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1517</sup> Adams 1999: 128-129. See also Piso 2015: 64.

<sup>1518</sup> Bellido & Hernández Pérez 2020: 445.

<sup>1519</sup> Including Macedonia and the Greek speaking cities of Asia Minor (Bellido & Hernández Pérez 2020: 446).

given Martial's comment about centurions spreading his poetry to Getic hoar frosts (Mart. Epigr. 11.3.3-5); in this instance, it was a centurion creating his own poetry by Getic springs.

There is also a potential pun on *vitis* (NW.8.14), meaning 'vine', but also was the term for the centurion's staff, their symbol in the Roman period.<sup>1520</sup> If so, then the nymph was both crowed by vines, as indicated by the reference to grapes, but also by the centurion himself, i.e. that he revered her through this inscription, indicating again that it was Justinus who wrote this inscription and performed the festival rites to the nymph(s). As he refers to his plumed helmet as a way of identifying himself supplicating to this divinity at her natural shrine (6), it seems highly likely that this is indeed a reference to his *vitis*, his other military symbol, one which was the Roman way of identifying centurions, particularly in the reliefs that accompanied their inscriptions, when referring to him revering the goddess in his manmade inscribed votive offering to her. It is perhaps ironic that now the centurion is identified by his distinctive red plume, rather than by his staff, with which those in antiquity identified the centurion.

This is also another example of religious syncretism in the Roman Empire; as well as being bilingual, it exhibits 'dem dakischen Kult der Thermalquelle und dem neuen römischen Nymphenkult'.<sup>1521</sup> It has been observed that the 'Legio V Macedonica generally manifested an attitude of loyalty towards the ruling emperors, that fact being epigraphically demonstrated by the inscriptions' found in the fortress and surrounding area during its service in Dacia.<sup>1522</sup> This display of religious syncretism is also a subtle way of demonstrating loyalty and adherence to the official Roman military way of approaching religion. It is curious that the verse section is in Latin, the prose Greek; Bellido & Hernández Pérez were of the belief that the Greek was 'for a reason of cultural prestige'.<sup>1523</sup> The concluding two prose sentences, which identify the dedicant, are in Latin.

Due to the fragmentary nature of the inscription, some of the meaning is lost. This is most notable with *virtus*. It could, perhaps, refer to the soldier, or it 'könnte die Heilkraft des Wassers gemeint sein'.<sup>1524</sup> Although, for Bellido & Hernández Pérez, this did not read '*virtus*' at all, but *vir t[---]*.<sup>1525</sup> Artemis' epithet, found in Classical literature,<sup>1526</sup> here (κυναγέτει, 'she who hunts with dogs', NW.8.23) has a masculine ending in the Greek, -ει instead of -η.<sup>1527</sup> Perhaps it was thought to be masculine because of its literal meaning of 'hunting with dogs', which the soldiers themselves were accustomed to do, and is sometimes depicted on their tombstones.<sup>1528</sup> Perhaps he mentions Artemis because Justinus wished for his men to be protected whilst they hunted too.

Justinus calls himself a *miles* when performing these religious acts (2-4),<sup>1529</sup> expressing some humility during a religious act, although this seems more of a modern approach to religion. Thought to be set up by divine inspiration from a dream, specifically that of Asclepius, this

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<sup>1520</sup> Bellido & Hernández Pérez 2020: 438.

<sup>1521</sup> Piso 2015: 51.

<sup>1522</sup> Grec 2011: 181.

<sup>1523</sup> Bellido & Hernández Pérez 2020: 427.

<sup>1524</sup> Piso 2015: 59.

<sup>1525</sup> Bellido & Hernández Pérez 2020: 436-7.

<sup>1526</sup> *Ibid.*: 443.

<sup>1527</sup> *Ibid.*: 433. See also 443.

<sup>1528</sup> Such as **RI.13**. See also Appendix 3 for other activities carried out by soldiers, as well as, for example, **RI.14**. See Liddell & Scott 1843: 859.

<sup>1529</sup> See Piso 2015: 62-63 for explanation on these rites, and the importance of water in them, as it is emphasised in this inscription. See also Bellido & Hernández Pérez 2020: 432-434, 441.

makes the inscription, the statue to Hypnos, as well as the rites conducted for the divinity of this spring:<sup>1530</sup>

las vuelve en actos de piedad y de reverencia hacia la divinidad de cuya benevolencia ha traído beneficios para toda la guarnición. De ello se deduce una doble consecuencia: la asistencia a las termas de la guarnición romana y de las milagrosas curaciones logradas es fruto de la coluntad divina; de otro lado, el santuario obtiene el reconocimiento público del agradecimiento del poder military que asiste regularmente al lugar en busca de tratamientos y curas. La sugerencia de una epifanía del dios al dedicante contribuía, sin duda, a su prestigio personal.

He would have gained prestige for writing an inscription in Latin and Greek, for the degree of learning this indicated.<sup>1531</sup> This inscription not only venerates the healing water of the nymph's spring, but also drinking water (**NW.8.22**), thus emphasising the importance of water for religious rites but also for basic living, and drinking water itself was importance for religious rites.<sup>1532</sup> The importance of nature and the natural world in this inscription is prolific and profound. The offerings presented to the nymph of this naturally warm healing spring entail fruits, drinking water, and pancea; the stone inscription itself will return to the earth. The way in which the centurion identifies himself, and plays with this identity, is through using language associated with nature, with the summits of mountains and grapevines. The soldier supplicated himself before the goddess at the waters of her shrine.

Much emphasis is placed, in the Latin part of **NW.8**, on the natural world, on the way the spring itself appeared, and its surrounding natural environment, its appearance and path towards the sea, and on the part the Roman soldiers played in venerating the nymph of this part of the world. The natural world dominates in the Latin verse part of this inscription. In the Greek poetic-prose part of the inscription, the emphasis is placed on the rites, and on the locals', and all those who travelled to this place to be healed, participation in the rites. That this inscription was dedicated to nymphs in this way may be an almost unique case of us knowing why this inscription was in verse: Piso outlines the importance of music and poetry in these rites to the nymphs.<sup>1533</sup> Justinus recognises the importance of nature to the nymphs in this inscription, both to the location of their shrine and their votive offerings, indicating how deities such as nymphs were so intrinsically bound to the natural world. But he also recognises the importance of those who go there to venerate the healing powers of this divine spring, and the significance of the military in perpetuating the public rites and methods of veneration towards this deity, and his own role within that process. The more 'public' aspects of this inscription, i.e. the rites performed by the soldier, are in the Latin part of this inscription, the language of the military, the public language of the Empire, the personal in the Greek, the language of the upper class, the language of the educated.

Often, the waters that were venerated were warm springs, but, in **AI.3** the venerated water is probably referring to cold water, given that it was found in the *frigidarium* and it emphasises the healing nature of the water in contrast to the burning heat of the sun. **AI.3** and **NW.8** both use *agens* to mean 'leading', as in a military sense of leading, either a centurion leading a body of men (*Agens prae cunctos*, **AI.3.2**) or being in charge of a territory (*agens per terr(itorium)*)

<sup>1530</sup> Bellido & Hernández Pérez 2020: 444.

<sup>1531</sup> See Bellido & Hernández Pérez 2020: 446.

<sup>1532</sup> See also, for example, *ibid.*: 443.

<sup>1533</sup> See, for example, Piso 2015: 65.

*Lucanum*, ‘leading the Lucanian territory’, **NW.8.30**).<sup>1534</sup> Both these inscriptions are primarily about healing, and the healing power of water, which was associated with a divinity. In such inscriptions, religion and the natural world cannot be fully separated, and it highlights the perpetual divine nature, the slightly out of reach understanding of the natural world for those in the Roman world. There is a feeling in **NW.8** that the centurion wished his votive offering would return to nature (13-14). Perhaps he was hoping it would become grown over, or that it might become buried under the soil, so it is with great, ironic, satisfaction that it was the springs themselves that caused this inscription to become illegible until it was restored, preserving the words of this centurion underneath calcified build up for millennia.

But water was unifying in more ways than transcending religions for its fundamental interpretation of healing. Water also united the Roman Empire, the Mediterranean labelled as *Mare Nostrum* by the Romans, and was the centre of their world, another part of the natural world they had conquered and incorporated into their Empire. The sea was recognised for its destructive and unpredictable qualities,<sup>1535</sup> and travel across it separated families, in life and death.<sup>1536</sup> But it also reminded people of home, of safety and security in a time of campaigning and war. **NW.7**, a damaged, and subsequently fragmented,<sup>1537</sup> inscription was written by a *tribunus* in the army, for his soldiers.<sup>1538</sup> It is a votive inscribed *sacellum*,<sup>1539</sup> although it is debated exactly which gods this inscription was dedicated to.<sup>1540</sup>

Written on limestone,<sup>1541</sup> **NW.7** has been dated to the late second to the early third century AD.<sup>1542</sup> It was found in *Castra Regina*, Raetia, Noricum, now Regensburg, Germany,<sup>1543</sup> which, as Raith indicated, was ‘am äußersten Rand des Imperium Romanum’.<sup>1544</sup> It was found inside the legionary fortress, by the *via principalis*,<sup>1545</sup> near to where the tribunes are thought to have been housed.<sup>1546</sup> Although, this is believed to have not been its original findspot, but was here because it was used in repair works on the camp in AD 273, after it had been destroyed for a second time.<sup>1547</sup> Pfaffel wonders if it was originally kept outside, for all to see, or if it was kept

<sup>1534</sup> See also Bellido & Hernández Pérez 2020: 445, who identify it as a military term, meaning “‘*versari, castra stationem habere, vigilare*” (ThLL I, 1402)’ (‘to be occupied, to have a station in a camp, to keep watch’).

<sup>1535</sup> See discussion in Chapters 6 and 7 on weather predictions in the natural world, as well as **ET.23**.

<sup>1536</sup> See **AI.8** and **ET.23**.

<sup>1537</sup> As evident from photos of this inscription, which are available from EDCS-03000719; Lupa 6563; HD050375; Schmidt Heidenreich 2013.325. This fragmentary state has led to various readings of the text (HD050375); see, for example, the differences between the texts presented on Lavagne & Gschaid 1996: 1254 fig. 2; AE 1996.1185; Pfaffel 2004: 195, 197 fig. 1; Lupa 6563, HD050375, and EDCS-03000719. See below for which version of the text is followed here. See also Lavagne & Gschaid 1996: 1253.

<sup>1538</sup> Although EDH believes that he was a civilian *tribunus* of equestrian status (HD050375; Pfaffel 2004: 211; see below).

<sup>1539</sup> See also HD050375; Raith 2005: 99; Lupa 6563. Raith (2005: 101) describes the meaning of a *sacellum*; here it is understood to be a ‘little altar’, which encompasses the variety of meanings presented by Raith. See also Lavagne & Gschaid 1996: 1251; Cugusi 2007.72; Schmidt Heidenreich 2013.325.

<sup>1540</sup> See below on various discussions of this inscription, as well as the two prevailing interpretations of it.

<sup>1541</sup> EDCS-03000719; HD050375; specified as being made from Jurassic limestone by Lavagne & Gschaid 1996: 1251 and AE 1996.1185; Pfaffel 2004: 195, 198; Lupa 6563.

<sup>1542</sup> EDCS-03000719 and HD050375 for AD 201-230. See also Lupa 6563 (AD 200-230). Raith dates it to the end of the second century AD, after the assassination of Commodus and the Garmante War in Septimius Severus’ time (2005: 101 n. 10). Pfaffel 2004: 216, 219 also dates it to the second century AD. Schmidt Heidenreich 2013.248 dates it between the last quarter of the second to the first third of the third centuries. AE 1996.1185 and Cugusi 2007.72 date this to the third century AD, agreeing with the interpretation of Lavagne & Gschaid, that this was from the first third of the third century (see also Lavagne & Gschaid, who date this also upon linguistic and religious features, 1996: 1258, 1267).

<sup>1543</sup> AE 1996.1185; Lavagne & Gschaid 1996: 1251; Pfaffel 2004: 195; Raith 2005: 99; AE 2005.1147-1148; AE 2006.961; AE 2007.1070; Cugusi 2007.72; EDCS-03000719; HD050375; Lupa 6563.

<sup>1544</sup> Raith 2005: 99.

<sup>1545</sup> AE 1996.1185; Lavagne & Gschaid 1996: 1251, who provides a diagram, with the findspot of this inscription on, on 1252, fig. 1; Schmidt Heidenreich 2013.248: 325.

<sup>1546</sup> Pfaffel 2004: 195.

<sup>1547</sup> Lavagne & Gschaid 1996: 1251.

inside, when higher-ranking and, in his opinion, therefore better educated passers-by could only see it.<sup>1548</sup> Aspects of its natural world and military connotations are discussed in Chapter 7, but some military aspects need to be examined here too, to aid in our understanding and interpretation of this inscription, as it is a votive inscription, an altar, set up in thanks for, perhaps as a repayment of a vow to, Lar and Larunda and as a religious act on behalf of the tribune's men for his, and his soldiers', safe return. The tribune, as seen in other religious military verse inscriptions which were set up for a body of men, gives personal information about his identity. Again, however, the theme of religion intersects with another theme featured in this inscription: the natural world, and so some religious aspects shall feature in this inscription's discussion in Chapter 7.

#### NW.7c<sup>1549</sup>

[Deo L]ari et Larundae | [Vind]elicis sac<e>llum |  
 [hos]pitibus dicavit, | [en]s[i]feri tribunus |  
 [m]iliti[s i]n Liburno, | [n]atus [Apo]ni medentis, |  
 [o]lente [m]aria limo, | Marcus Ateste prisco |  
 [Ae]milius rebitens | [tur]rigeras ad arce[s]. |

The metre of this inscription has been described as iambic catalectic quaternaries, alternating (unequally) with catalectic choriambic dimeters (Aristophanians); or catalectic iambic dimeter, Aristophanians.<sup>1550</sup> This, according to Pfaffel, is a part of the purposeful archaic presentation of this inscription.<sup>1551</sup> This latter option is intriguing when considering an underlying idea in this study of the format of the verse being important to those who composed these verse inscriptions, as the lines are, as with other verse inscriptions in this study, probably due to lack of space but still wanting to highlight the significance of the structure of the line in verse, split in half, so there are ten lines on the stone itself, which then, when placed into one line, form five complete lines of metre. Hence, it is understood here that this poem was meant to be interpreted as being written in five lines of mixed metre.

The language is widely recognised as high flown, with suggested allusions to Virgil, Silius Italicus, Ovid and Lucan, unusual in its language, and of great linguistic ability.<sup>1552</sup> This poetic inscription is unique in its vocabulary and verse, and it separates from the norm of using tropes and obvious literary and linguistic allusions.<sup>1553</sup> Some military tribunes were interested in literature, perhaps both reading and writing, for example in one of Pliny's letters he gives a character assessment of one of his friends, Cornelius Minicianus, whom Pliny was asking Pompeius Falco to promote to the rank of a *tribunatus legionis*.<sup>1554</sup> Part of Pliny's commendation of this man was his character and his interests, which, in many ways, can be said to be representative of an ideal Roman man:

<sup>1548</sup> Pfaffel 2004: 219.

<sup>1549</sup> See discussion on alternative versions of this inscription in Chapter 7 to see why this has been labelled NW.7c, and why it has been used here.

<sup>1550</sup> Lavagne & Gschaid 1996: 1253; AE 1996.1185; Cugusi 2007.72 for lines 1, 4, 6, and 7, and AE 2005.1147 for lines 1, 6, 7 to highlight where deities are discussed. See also Raith 2005: 99, who scans the text; Pfaffel 2004: 213-215, who does an in-depth scan of the text; AE 2005.1148; Schmidt Heidenreich 2013.325; HD050375. It has also been suggested that this was written in five lines of Saturnians, but these had not been used since the first century BC, and so must be discounted.

<sup>1551</sup> Pfaffel 2004: 213.

<sup>1552</sup> Lavagne 1996: 1261-1262, 1253. See also Pfaffel 2004: 215-219; Raith 2005: 100-101.

<sup>1553</sup> See Lavagne & Gschaid 1996: 1261.

<sup>1554</sup> Plin. epist. 7.22; see Drijver 1989: 410; Lavagne & Gschaid 1996: 1267.

*ornamentum regionis meae seu dignitate seu moribus. Natus splendide abundat facultatibus, amat studia ut solent pauperes. Idem rectissimus iudex, fortissimus advocatus, amicus fidelissimus. Accepisse te beneficium credes, cum proprius inspexeris hominem omnibus honoribus, omnibus titulis (nihil volo elatius de modestissimo viro dicere) parem.*

the ornament of my region in both merit and morals. Born nobly, he has skills in abundance, he loves his studies as poor men are wont to do. The same man is the most proper judge, the most powerful advocate, the most faithful friend. You will believe that you are accepting a favour, when you have properly observed the man with every honour, I may provide him (I want to say nothing more elevating about the most modest man) with every renown.

Plin. Epist. 7.22.

Once he has heard about his friend and his qualities, Pliny asserts that Pompeius Falco shall not be surprised by Pliny's advocacy of Minicianus' promotion to a tribune, and it is telling that, for those higher up in the military, that it was not necessary to be brave in the face of danger, but to be just and courageous in legal matters, loyal and eager to learn. As this was an equestrian officer,<sup>1555</sup> this is evidence that this role was more administrative than what would be perceived as more typically military: 'le candidat-officier équestre est donc quelqu'un qui participe à la culture juridique et rhétorique de Rome'.<sup>1556</sup>

For Lavagne & Gschaid, there seem to be more poetic allusions and subtle linguistic nods to literary authors in **NW.7**,<sup>1557</sup> but, here, this is not necessarily the case. The language is understood as purposefully archaic and literate,<sup>1558</sup> yet it stands out for its uniqueness of topic and metrical and linguistic style. It begins in the regular manner of a votive inscription, but it soon transforms not into the standard asking for the salvation/safety of the troops of which the dedicating officer was in charge, but it becomes a personal monument, a subtle thanks to the safe return of Aemilius to his garrison. Perhaps there is a play on the motif which is often found in inscriptions, where someone came from contrasted with where they end up (here, not quite so literally as where their body ends up; see the 'birthland/deathland' formula in Chapter 3 and 7), although where he ends, as he himself emphasises, is in a military camp and so he is still immortalised by both his final destination and his military role, and how this defines their everlasting identity.

Despite his linguistic ability, the carving ability of the inscriber was less skilled: 'La graphie du lapicide est médiocre, la mise en page peu soignée, la gravure des lettres très irrégulière, avec des espacements trahissant une main malhabile. On voit nettement des restes de prégravures suivies de repentirs, ce qui donne des lettres d'aspect un peu hybride',<sup>1559</sup> which has been affected by restorations carried out on the inscription in 1979.<sup>1560</sup> For Lavagne & Gschaid, despite this, this inscription was carved by a stonecutter, who was reluctant to carve archaic

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<sup>1555</sup> See, for example, Drijver 1989: 410; AE 1996.1185.

<sup>1556</sup> Drijver 1989: 410.

<sup>1557</sup> Lavagne & Gschaid 1996: 1262.

<sup>1558</sup> See, for example, Lavagne & Gschaid and Raith's commentaries. This was, allegedly, common in the second and third centuries (see, for example, Lavagne & Gschaid 1996: 1265).

<sup>1559</sup> Lavagne & Gschaid 1996: 1253.

<sup>1560</sup> *Ibid.* See also Pfaffel 2004: 196. This makes making a true reading of this inscription, especially from photographs, incredibly difficult.

words,<sup>1561</sup> and struggled with the language.<sup>1562</sup> Pfaffel also believed this was carved by a stonecutter.<sup>1563</sup> We learn details about the author unlike any other inscription.<sup>1564</sup> Raith does not definitively state whether Aemilius wrote this inscription because ‘ist auch nicht auszuschließen, daß e rest in Auftrag gegeben hat’,<sup>1565</sup> although he does acknowledge that there is sufficient evidence to suggest he did compose this poem himself. The rough carving and inconsistency of the letters indicate this was not carved by a professional stonecutter, but that Aemilius wrote and carved **NW.7** himself. Although, according to Pfaffel, the lettering is similar to that of a consul’s grave in Rome from the time of Commodus,<sup>1566</sup> so perhaps this was carved professionally, but it seems more likely that Aemilius made this himself.

There is much debate,<sup>1567</sup> about who, exactly, Aemilius dedicated this *sacellum* to: was it to Mars and Larunda, or Lar and Larunda? According to Raith,<sup>1568</sup> Lar and Larunda are not the Roman, but local ones, ‘„barbarische“ Schutzgötter oder -geister, denen extepretatione Romana die klassischen Namen beigelegt werden’;<sup>1569</sup> for Pfaffel, these were also local Lar and Larunda.<sup>1570</sup> The editors of *AE* also argue that Pfaffel’s restoration of ‘[*deo L*]ari doit être préférée aux autres’.<sup>1571</sup> But, for Lavagne & Gschaid, it is for Mars and Larunda. Lavagne & Gschaid provide much clearer and in-depth reasoning and description for their interpretation of the text by referring directly back to what he could see on the stone. Although Larunda was the mother of the Lares in antiquity,<sup>1572</sup> there are religious reasons why Mars and Larunda would be paired together, where Mars was once a god who protected the border of Rome and protected it,<sup>1573</sup> as well as matching with the purposefully archaic tone of this inscription.<sup>1574</sup> Perhaps this was a part of the drive apparent in the ‘renouveau de la religion italique traditionnelle’ witnessed in the eastern Empire, where cults of ancient Roman divinities were particularly seen in Noricum, which was the neighbouring province to this inscription; Lavagne & Gschaid take the appearance of the Larunda in this inscription as a part of this drive.<sup>1575</sup> This is the only instance of Larunda being mentioned in an inscription.<sup>1576</sup> Yet the Lares would also be a logical set of deities to set up a votive inscription to, especially after a journey, which Aemilius has evidently recently carried out, because the Lares were the offspring of Mercury and Larunda, twins *qui compita servant / et vigilant nostra semper in urbe* (‘who protect the crossroads / and always vigilantly watch over us in the city’, *Ov. Fast.* 2.615-616).<sup>1577</sup> They ‘were the public guardians of the city’, often paired together, and ‘were specially worshipped at cross-roads, or

<sup>1561</sup> He believes this is evident because of the faint lettering of *rebitens* (Lavagne & Gschaid 1996: 1253).

<sup>1562</sup> Lavagne & Gschaid 1996: 1253.

<sup>1563</sup> Pfaffel 2004: 208.

<sup>1564</sup> See also Pfaffel 2004: 206; Raith 2005: 100 for the personal aspects of this inscription.

<sup>1565</sup> Raith 2005: 101 n. 13.

<sup>1566</sup> Pfaffel 2004: 196.

<sup>1567</sup> As can be seen in the alternative versions of this inscription presented in Chapter 7 and in the Catalogue of Inscriptions.

<sup>1568</sup> Reflected in his version of the text in the Catalogue of Inscriptions.

<sup>1569</sup> Raith 2005: 100.

<sup>1570</sup> Pfaffel 2004: 210.

<sup>1571</sup> *AE* 2005.1148.

<sup>1572</sup> *Ibid.*: 1255, 1265. See also *AE* 2007.1070.

<sup>1573</sup> Lavagne & Gschaid 1996: 1255. For more detail, see 1266. See also *AE* 1996.1185.

<sup>1574</sup> Lavagne & Gschaid 1996: 1267.

<sup>1575</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1576</sup> *Ibid.*: 1265.

<sup>1577</sup> See *ibid.*: 1266. See also this page for more reasoning why the Lares would also be a pertinent choice for Aemilius to be worshipping, although Lavagne & Gschaid’s description takes this as more implicit and indirectly stated, within the confines of being the children of Larunda, unlike Raith’s interpretation, in which the Lares are prayed to instead of Mars.

*compita*,<sup>1578</sup> which may suggest that this inscription was found in its original location. Lar was also god of the home.<sup>1579</sup>

Castra Regina was ‘ce camp legionnaire qui défend le *limes* le plus septentrional de l’Empire, ... aux extrémités du monde romain, face au Barbares’.<sup>1580</sup> Lavagne & Gschaid interpret the prefix of *-elicis* as *Vind* because Rhaetia was the province where the Vindelices used to live.<sup>1581</sup> Although they interpret *Vindelicis* differently to how it has been interpreted here; for them, *Vindelicis* qualifies *militibus*, whereas Raith and Dietz interpreted *Vindelis* as qualifying the deities.<sup>1582</sup> According to Lavagne & Gschaid, this would make the soldiers local recruits from the province, although this is perhaps nullified by his comment that Rhaetia was ‘province où habitaient jadis les Vindélices’,<sup>1583</sup> unless they are implying that these Vindelicans no longer ‘existed’ in the eyes of the Empire because they belonged to the Empire, but they still identified themselves as Vindelicians. They seem to continue this idea that, in the eyes of the Empire, such ethnic divisions no longer existed, as:<sup>1584</sup>

On dira peut-être que notre construction n’éclaire pas totalement le mot Vindélices, car pourquoi donnerait-on un sanctuaire pour les soldats Vindélices et pas aux autres? En réalité, le mot Vindélices n’a plus ici sa valeur ethnique, mais une valeur que l’on pourrait qualifier de poétique. Au premier siècle, au moment de la conquête de la Rhétie, le mot est fréquemment employé pour qualifier des populations particulièrement belliqueuses que Rome s’employa à exterminer en 15 av. J.-C.

But who is to say that there were people who lived in this country who did not identify as Vindelician after they had been supposedly ‘exterminated’ in 15 BC? Perhaps they were the descendants of those who were not killed during these ‘exterminations’ and so they still wished to keep this identity. Castra Regina was in the province called *provincia Raetia et Vindelicia*,<sup>1585</sup> which may be why those serving within this province are called Vindelician. Or perhaps it was poetic, as Lavagne & Gschaid conjecture, and it was retained as a Latin poetic word as an identifier for those who lived in the region once inhabited by those peoples, particularly Rhaetia. But it seems peculiar that the Romans would keep an ethnic identifier of a people they had supposedly ‘exterminated’ alive in their poetic language from Augustus to Marcus Aurelius’ reign, when it became uncommon, as Lavagne & Gschaid suggest.<sup>1586</sup> The Vindelicians lived in the area of Rhaetia to the west of Regensburg, with Augusta Vindelicum (now Augsburg) as their capital, although it was called Augusta Vindelicum in around AD 165/180, and it was more commonly called Aelia Augusta before then.<sup>1587</sup>

Lavagne & Gschaid believed Aemilius called his soldiers Vindelicians because they were stationed in this tribes’ homeland, it was an archaic sounding word, fitting with the aesthetic of the poet’s linguistic choices, but that they were Roman soldiers, although they give no more qualification as to how these soldiers were ‘Roman’:<sup>1588</sup> were they Roman in the traditional

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<sup>1578</sup> Frazer 1996: 101 n. d. For other roles the Lares had, see Hackworth Peterson 2012: 328.

<sup>1579</sup> See, for example, Pfaffel 2004: 200.

<sup>1580</sup> Lavagne & Gschaid 1996: 1266.

<sup>1581</sup> *Ibid.*: 1255.

<sup>1582</sup> Which is why the translation of **NW.7a** above has this interpretation, as Raith’s interpretation correlates often with Dietz’s text (see Lavagne & Gschaid’s commentary 1996).

<sup>1583</sup> Lavagne & Gschaid 1996: 1255. Italics supplied by the author for emphasis.

<sup>1584</sup> *Ibid.*: 1256.

<sup>1585</sup> Pfaffel 2004: 202.

<sup>1586</sup> Lavagne & Gschaid 1996: 1256.

<sup>1587</sup> *Ibid.*: 1256-1257.

<sup>1588</sup> *Ibid.*: 1257.



sense in that they, at the very least, came from Italy, which seems unlikely, or were they Roman soldiers in the way in which this study is revealing, that they were provincials belonging to the Roman Empire, and who were recruited into the institution which was known as ‘the Roman military’? Although Lavagne & Gschaid do make a rather contradictory statement of: ‘les soldats de la III<sup>e</sup> légion *Italica* dont nous connaissons l’origine ne paraissent pas avoir été plus spécialement des Vindélices’.<sup>1589</sup> Perhaps Aemilius referred to them as Vindelician because they were posted in the lands of this ancient people, and they were the soldiers to whom he was returning. To Lavagne & Gschaid, the Larundae would have been redundant to the Vindelici,<sup>1590</sup> but, if they had been Romanised and understood the religious syncretism which the Roman army adhered to, and which they study has proven, then this is not not necessarily the case.

If *Vindelici* refers to Lars and Larunda, then the reading *[hos]pitibus* makes sense here,<sup>1591</sup> and it is how it has been interpreted here, as, if one looks very closely at the photograph of **NW.7**, a very faint *P* can be seen at the beginning of line 3 on the stone, under the red paint that was used to trace the letters. The *P* is tall and elongated, which not only correlates with the style of the script in this inscription, but it also may be incorporating both the *P* and the *I*, hence why it has been presented as *[hos]pitibus* in the edition presented here, in contrast to the *[hosp]itibus* of Raith.<sup>1592</sup> In the interpretation also presented in this study, *[Vind]elici* is understood to agree with *[hos]pitibus*, and thus is translated as ‘their [Lar and Larunda] Vindelician garrisoners’ (2),<sup>1593</sup> this could also be interpreted as ‘hosts’, but it reinforces that these gods were the local Lar and Larunda which this tribune from Ateste, Italy was worshipping, and further indicates the ways in which the soldiers became involved in local societies, traditions, religion and religious festivals, as also seen in **NW.8**.

According to Raith, Aemilius was a *tribunus* of the *Legio III Italica* under the reign of Marcus Aurelius.<sup>1594</sup> He surmises that this must be a reference to a legion because of his use of *ensisfer*, meaning ‘sword-bearing’ (2).<sup>1595</sup> It should be noted that *ensisfer* was used to describe the constellation Orion, and *ensis*, a noun typically meaning ‘sword/brand’, also referred to this constellation.<sup>1596</sup> Lavagne & Gschaid attribute this *tribunus* to the *Legio III Italica* because the camp was built to house this legion in AD 179, according to its foundation stone,<sup>1597</sup> so the inscription could date between just before AD 179 and ante 273.<sup>1598</sup> The *legatus legionis* was also posted in Augusta Vindelicium.<sup>1599</sup> Therefore, all the circumstantial evidence points to this being by a tribune of the *Legio III Italica*. This legion was formed in the late second century and its initial posting was in Rhaetia, until the reign of Alexander Severus.<sup>1600</sup> The religious inscription here is addressed for the soldiers of the legion to which the *tribunus* belonged in the typical manner of this type of inscription.<sup>1601</sup>

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<sup>1589</sup> Lavagne & Gschaid 1996: 1256.

<sup>1590</sup> *Ibid.*: 1257.

<sup>1591</sup> See also Pfaffel 2004: 202.

<sup>1592</sup> Raith 2005: 99.

<sup>1593</sup> See Lewis & Short’s definitions of *hospes*, esp. I ‘one upon whom soldiers are quartered’ (1945: 866).

<sup>1594</sup> Raith 2005: 100. See also Pfaffel 2004: 220.

<sup>1595</sup> Raith 2005: 100.

<sup>1596</sup> Lewis & Short 1945: 647.

<sup>1597</sup> Lavagne & Gschaid 1996: 1251, and n. 7. This fortress was built between AD 179-180 (Pfaffel 2004: 206, 219).

<sup>1598</sup> Lavagne & Gschaid 1996: 1251; Pfaffel 2004: 219.

<sup>1599</sup> Pfaffel 2004: 202.

<sup>1600</sup> Hardy 1887: 653, 656. See also Appendix 2.

<sup>1601</sup> See the religious inscriptions chapter above. See also AE 1996.1185 for this monument being for the men of Castra Regina, by Aemilius, their *tribunus*.

Originally, NW.7.2-3 were interpreted as being connected to a military campaign, and this is not the only time where this has occurred, and this is how it continues to be interpreted here. Pfaffel describes how vexillations of the *Legio III Italica* went on expeditions into the Liburnian region,<sup>1602</sup> and this may, in fact, be a reference to the Liburnian region, not the poetic Liburnia, as Lavagne & Gschaid perceived it. There is an inscription (*CIL* III 1980) from the second half of the second century AD which states that the vexillations from the *Legio II Pia* and *III Concordia*, that is, from the II and the III Italic Legions, during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, were sent to the land of the Liburnians: Dalmatia, where they constructed Salona's fortifications in AD 170.<sup>1603</sup> Could this, therefore, be a votive inscription from a tribune of the *Legio III Italica* asking for the safe return home of the vexillation of his men, which he led, in Liburnia?

Yet, for Lavagne & Gschaid, in their interpretation, the phrase *[vic]e tert(iae) tribunus | militi[ae]*, a rare phrase from the end of the second to the beginning of the third century AD, was used when an officer held his post again whilst he waited for a vacancy so he could be promoted to a higher rank; this was 'instead' of the post he ought to have been promoted to. Claudius reformed the equestrian military hierarchy, so that the *tres militiae* consisted of the ranks *praefectura cohortis*, *tribunatus militum legionis*, *praefectura alae*,<sup>1604</sup> and so it was this final position Aemilius was waiting for. This implies that Aemilius was from 'l'élite municipale', as this is from where those who belonged to the *equites*, both civilian and military, originated,<sup>1605</sup> and those in the equestrian militia usually had had a civilian career beforehand, so most were aged between thirty five and forty five,<sup>1606</sup> giving us a rough age estimate for Aemilius.

Usually, men in this hierarchy did not exceed their first post as *tribunatus militum legionis*,<sup>1607</sup> which 'issue d'une tradition républicaine, était considéré comme une magistrature et était, aux yeux des chevaliers, le grade proper à leur ordre', and it was the only post they could have in which they commanded Roman citizens, as the cohorts and *alae* had *peregrini* serving in them.<sup>1608</sup> Therefore, this was considered the best rank in the equestrian military hierarchy, 'la confirmation et le couronnement de leur appurtenance à l'ordre équestre', especially when it was first concocted.<sup>1609</sup> The process of having to wait and, whilst waiting, being given the same position again became more common towards the end of the second century, by which time it had become 'le système des *quattor militiae*',<sup>1610</sup> because it became difficult for officers to be promoted to higher ranks, 'tout spécialement lorsqu'ils devraient passer de la deuxième à la troisième milice'.<sup>1611</sup> The language used for this process was *vice secundae* or *vice tertiae militiae*.<sup>1612</sup> Aemilius, according to Lavagne & Gschaid, was waiting to become a prefect of an *ala*, but he was stuck as a legionary tribune because of this process.<sup>1613</sup> But this was not looked down upon, and, Devijver suggests, those *equites* who moved from a more civilian post to an administrative military one, as Lavagne & Gschaid suggest, preferred the more administrative

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<sup>1602</sup> Pfaffel 2004: 205.

<sup>1603</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1604</sup> Devijver 1992: 50. See also Appendix 3.

<sup>1605</sup> Devijver 1992: 50

<sup>1606</sup> *Ibid.*: 51.

<sup>1607</sup> *Ibid.*: 51.

<sup>1608</sup> *Ibid.* Although this did change over time, with the divisions of the recruiting patterns between the legions and the *auxilia* blurring as time went on.

<sup>1609</sup> Devijver 1992: 51.

<sup>1610</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1611</sup> Lavagne & Gschaid 1996: 1258.

<sup>1612</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1613</sup> *Ibid.*

post of the *tribunus legionis*, rather than being in charge of a cohort or *ala* which demanded more autonomy and independence from their commanding officer.<sup>1614</sup> Although, as this has not been understood here, this interpretation ought to be discounted. But it is important to note when considering the military and this inscription.

The intertwining of religion and the natural world can be seen in the form of this inscription: it is on a *sac<e>llum* (NW.7.1). Raith gives various meanings of what exactly a *sacellum* was: as well as being accompanied by an image of the deity/ies, the *sacellum* was not only the stone but also '[mit] dem Grasfleck, auf dem er stand'.<sup>1615</sup> Twigs, fruit and flowers were the offerings placed on an altar of this kind, and a *sacellum* could also have 'ein Baum, ein paar Büsche oder blühende Stauden und eine Einfriedung', with perhaps a bench next to it if it was on a pathway.<sup>1616</sup> The natural world was vital to religious worship and its connection to the establishment of a sanctuary.<sup>1617</sup> The purpose of such *sacella* was 'Ausdruck der Ehrfurcht und der Dankbarkeit, der Erinnerung und der Bitte um göttlichen Schutz zu sein'.<sup>1618</sup> A *sacellum* is defined by Lewis & Short as 'a little sanctuary, i.e. a small uncovered place consecrated to a divinity'.<sup>1619</sup> This was a small altar, more akin to a shrine, to a divinity which was purposefully placed within nature. In a domestic context, a *sacellum* was a sacred space or shrine where divinities such as the Lares were worshipped,<sup>1620</sup> kept in the home,<sup>1621</sup> thus providing more evidence that this was a shrine to the Lares. A *sacellum* has been found that had links to a Roman healing spa and a spring bubbled up from underneath it when it was excavated,<sup>1622</sup> so this could have been called a *sacellum* to monumentally reinforce the idea of healing spas, springs and natural substances Aemilius emphasises in the inscription itself. A *sacellum* was also the term for the shrine in the headquarters of the Roman fort where the standards, the *signa* and *imagines*, were kept,<sup>1623</sup> meaning it is almost certain that the belief that this was moved for the repairs of the fortress are even more unlikely. This also indicates the importance of this monument to the camp, for it to be identified as a *sacellum*, so it clearly had that designation to those in the camp.

For Lavagne & Gschaid, this inscription was not about religious syncretism and the integration of the soldiers into the local religious landscape, as it is understood here, but about testing Romanisation in the hinterlands of the Roman Empire,<sup>1624</sup> demonstrating the educational input, and subsequent output, and literary knowledge of someone from the upper-middle class circles of the third century.<sup>1625</sup> Yet, this inscription is mainly about home. Many aspects of military life are highlighted in this inscription in Aemilius' linguistic choices, from their weapons to where they lived: *ensifer*, 'sword-bearing' (2), *milites*, 'soldiers' (3), *turriger*, 'turreted' (5), which had particularly military connotations.<sup>1626</sup> Their way of life is noticeable, more so than in other inscriptions, not only through referring to soldiers bore arms, but also how men,

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<sup>1614</sup> Devijver 1992: 51.

<sup>1615</sup> Raith 2005: 101. This idea may have come from, or be intertwined with, the third definition of *sacellum* in *The Oxford Dictionary of Architecture* (Stevens Curl & Wilson 2021). See also Soren & Romer 1999: 47.

<sup>1616</sup> Raith 2005: 101.

<sup>1617</sup> See E. A. Pollard 2010: 206-209.

<sup>1618</sup> Raith 2005: 101-102.

<sup>1619</sup> Lewis & Short 1945: 1610.

<sup>1620</sup> Stevens Curl & Wilson 2021.

<sup>1621</sup> Hackworth Peterson 2012: 327-328, 330 for other types of *sacellum*, but still in a domestic context.

<sup>1622</sup> Soren & Romer 1999.

<sup>1623</sup> Benoist 2016: 46; Erikson-Gini & Moore Bekes 2019; Darvill 2021.

<sup>1624</sup> Lavagne & Gschaid 1996: 1267, see also n. 65.

<sup>1625</sup> *Ibid.*: 1267.

<sup>1626</sup> See, for example, *ibid.*: 1919.

particularly senior officers, were transferred from place to place, as well as highlighting how legions were separated from their main base to help, not only militarily, i.e. on campaign, but also in civil construction projects. Although, here, it seems that perhaps the campaign to the land of the Liburni was a military one, given how Aemilius describes it (NW.7.2-3).

Aemilius describes the home he travelled from, describing it as more than a place, as most of these inscriptions do, but through its unique natural attributes, and this *sacellum* has been set up in relief for his, and his soldiers', safe return to their garrison. This is a votive inscription to gods associated with home, Aemilius emphasises his home roots and defining features, and for his soldiers in the lands of the Liburnians on campaign. But only Aemilius, in the singular (*rebitens*, NW.7.5), was the one who returned. So, perhaps, Aemilius, upon his return to the fortress, discovered that a part of his legion had been reassigned to a campaign and he made this *sacellum* for them, for their safety, their return home. That it is not precisely clear if this inscription is referring to Aemilius' return or his and his soldiers' return is unusual, as often the reason for the establishment of a votive inscription is often clearly stated in the inscription. With such emphasis on home, and on the military aspects of their way of life, one can only suppose that this is a votive inscription asking the Lar and Larunda local to their garrison for the soldiers to return back to the fortress, perhaps perceived as home by those who inhabited it, safely, as Aemilius himself did.

Pfaffel interprets this inscription as evidence of another campaign in Liburnia by a detachment of the *Legio III Italica*, and Marcus Aemilius was the leader of this detachment,<sup>1627</sup> meaning that this inscription was put up in thanks for all their safe returns from Liburnia. Yet, Marcus Aemilius detaches himself from his men, making it initially about them, and then about himself, and *rebitens* is in the singular, thus making the two seem mutually exclusive. Perhaps this is because he was the one setting up the inscription, and he wished to emphasise this: it was by him, and for his soldiers. It was common for returning soldiers to set up such monuments.<sup>1628</sup> The disconnect between the commanding officer and his serving soldiers should not seem remarkable, as we are reminded of AI.3, where a centurion of the *Legio III Augusta* set up a votive inscription to Salus on behalf of all the returning soldiers; he had led them and, implicitly, he is amongst those returning, and he also makes his inscription personal. Therefore, it seems that Pfaffel's interpretation is the most likely, and is understood here. Although his place of origin was far away, the place he was returning to safely was the place the military had posted Aemilius to, and he thanked the local gods for his and his soldiers' safe return, perhaps he had set this up in fulfilment of a vow he had made to these gods local to their garrison whilst on campaign.

### 5.5. For the Emperor

As noted in the introduction of this chapter, the imperial cult was important for both military and civilian worship,<sup>1629</sup> as 'the only worship required by the state',<sup>1630</sup> but particularly the military, indicated by its prominence in the official military religious calendar. That the auxiliaries had to participate in the imperial cult is now no longer viewed as an aspect of

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<sup>1627</sup> Pfaffel 2004: 206.

<sup>1628</sup> Of which Pfaffel gives examples (*ibid.*: 211-212), although these are all prose votive inscriptions.

<sup>1629</sup> See also Helgeland (1978: 1496): 'in many ways the army policy toward the private religious beliefs of the soldiers followed closely the attitude of the Roman government in general. So long as civilians were willing to fulfil the religious obligations to the imperial cult they seem to have been free to practice their own cults – as long as they did not upset the tranquillity of society or promote what the Romans regarded as immoral'.

<sup>1630</sup> Haynes 1993: 143.

Romanisation, but as them fulfilling their duties as members of the Roman military.<sup>1631</sup> The emperor, who was either regarded as divine or a ‘divinity pending’, was worshipped as such in his lifetime, seen in the inscriptions presented in this section. These inscriptions are sometimes combined in reverence with another god (most notably guises of Jupiter Optimus Maximus). Although the ways in which the emperor was worshipped varied across the Empire,<sup>1632</sup> most of the inscriptions that revere the emperor do so *pro salute imperatori*, (‘for the health of the emperor’). It is difficult not to see a link between this and Cicero’s observation that *nullum bellum suscipi a civitate optima nisi aut pro fide aut pro salute* (‘no war is undertaken by the best state unless it is either for its honour or for its safety, Cic. Rep. 3.23.34).

Usually, revering the emperor is linked to military conquest and victory, for keeping the Roman Empire safe through his auspices (aka through the protection the Roman military provided). The importance of the military for the emperor and his power is seen throughout imperial history through the emphasis of imperial imagery on coins, triumphal arches, and statues of the emperor, with military regalia, military virtues, and spoils of war, for example.<sup>1633</sup> The emperor and the Roman military had a symbiotic relationship: the emperor relied on the military for maintaining peace within the Empire, for his ascension to and retention of power, and for carrying out military conquests in his name, whereas he was the commander of the Roman military, those within the military relied on him for career promotion (as they were all said to have been made personally by the emperor, as seen in **AI.7**), their salary and any additional benefits such as donatives, and public displays of their honour and military success in events such as triumphs and rewards such as the *corona civica*. When the emperor was in a battle with them, throughout the annals of history soldiers vied for his attention, to show off their military skill to their emperor. He kept the Empire safe, through them.

**RI.14** is an unusual inscription, and much has been written on it, most notably in Rebuffat’s *Nouvelles recherches dans le Sud de la Tripolitaine*, where he also discusses other finds, including other military religious inscriptions, and Adams’ *The Poets of Bu Njem: Language, Culture and the Centurionate*, so much so that Adams claimed his paper’s co-author was the author of this inscription, Marcus Porcius Iascuthan. As such, only discussions relating to the religious aspect of this inscription and the identity of Iascuthan will be discussed here.

**RI.14** was found in Gholaiia, Africa Proconsularis, and it dates to the first sixth of AD 222.<sup>1634</sup> Gholaiia, founded in AD 201, was a legionary fortress in the middle of the Tripolitanian desert, and **RI.14** was found within the fortress in the thermal baths, which were founded in AD 202, although this is not where it was originally located.<sup>1635</sup> The soldiers posted here were acted ‘as posts from which the active supervision (and manipulation) of the desert tribes might be more effectively pursued’,<sup>1636</sup> it was at the end of one of the main roads to Egypt, and this fortress has provided us with evidence of the military and its activity in papyri from its third century

<sup>1631</sup> See Chappell 2010: 104.

<sup>1632</sup> See Haynes 2013: 208.

<sup>1633</sup> This is seen throughout scholarship on the matter, but, for example, see Speidel 2017: 266 and Tabeling 2020: throughout.

<sup>1634</sup> EDCS-03300884; HD051092; LLDB-82900-5, 110487; AE 1995.1641; Adams 1999: 109; Cugusi 2012: 1; Cugusi 2014a.5; AE 2016.1835 adn.; IRT 1091. For photos of this inscription, see HD051092; EDCS-03300884; Cugusi 2012: 144, fig. 7.

<sup>1635</sup> Rebuffat 1972: throughout, although his commentary on it appears 334-335; AE 1995.1641; Adams 1999: 109; IRT 1091. See also below. See Davies 2013; Crow 2018: 618; for Gholaiia being a legionary fortress. See Rebuffat 1972: 320 fig. 1 for the location of Gholaiia on a map, where it is in the middle of the desert, near the sea. See **RI.14.30**, for example, for evidence form within the inscription.

<sup>1636</sup> Davies 2013.

archive.<sup>1637</sup> The fortress did not exist in isolation, but was ‘s’intègre dans le dispositif d’ensemble du limes romain de Tripolitaine’.<sup>1638</sup> The nature of the verse in this honorific inscription is difficult to determine, partly because of the issues with African inscriptions that can be seen throughout this study, but it appears to be composed of hexameters and other metres.<sup>1639</sup> The emperors referred to in this inscription were Elagabalus (Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus) and his successor Severus Alexander (Marcus Aurelius Alexander Antoninus Augustus), which is why both of their names were erased from this inscription, as both were murdered, Elagabalus because of his conduct during office and Severus Alexander in a military uprising against him.<sup>1640</sup> As seen in **AI.3**, with Quintianus’ inscription found in the same place, the legion mentioned in this inscription, the *Legio III Augusta*, also received *damnatio memoriae*, and its name was chiselled out, but then was subsequently re-engraved in or after AD 253, as in **AI.3**.<sup>1641</sup> As such, this inscription was described by Rebuffat as ‘document précieux sur le moral, la cohésion et le loyalisme de la troupe, vingt ans après qu’elle ait été jetée dans les forteresses sahariennes et seize ans avant les graves événements qui la verront victime de sa propre discipline’.<sup>1642</sup>

**RI.14** was erected in celebration for the completion of a restoration project by the *Legio III Augusta* (7), carried out in the name of the emperor and his heir (1-4). This restoration project was a reconstruction of the south gate of the legionary camp.<sup>1643</sup> The description of the restoration project, that it was restored *lapidi quadrato arco curvato* (‘with a square stone in a curved arch’, 1) ‘confirme un dessin incisé sur un mur de la salle froide des thermes où l’inscription a été retrouvée’.<sup>1644</sup> It was dedicated by *Flavius Sossianus v(ir) e(gregius) vice praesidis Numidia per vexillationem | leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) P(iae) V(indicis) [[Antoninianae]]* (‘Flavius Sossianus, *vir egregius*, *vice praeses* of Numidia through the vexillation of the *Legio III Augusta Pia Vindex Antoniniana*’, 5-6). But we learn who made it, if we carry out the instruction given at the end of the poem: *Capita versorum relegens, adnosce curantem* (‘Rereading the start of the verse again, know who oversaw this’, 34). The acrostic spells out *Porcius Iasucthan cent(urio) leg(ionis) f(ecit) c(urante) mac(istro)*, (‘Porcius Iasucthan, centurion of the legion, made this, when he was the director of the work’), like its predecessor, **AI.3**;<sup>1645</sup> *curante* here can refer to both the building works and the inscription.<sup>1646</sup>

Adams’ comments on how a centurion’s language usage can be a barometer for their levels of education, literacy, level of Latin understanding, bilingual abilities and culture and, as such, for their identity apply here, as well as to **AI.3**; as such, it seems likely that both were authors, or

<sup>1637</sup> Rebuffat 1972: 324; David Thomas 2012: 1079-1080.

<sup>1638</sup> Rebuffat 1972: 321.

<sup>1639</sup> See <https://www.mqdg.it/texts/CE/appe0103>; Rebuffat 1972: 335; Cugusi 2012: 18. Adams (1999: 109, 113-114) gives an in-depth examination of the metre, and declares: ‘on the face of it this must be one of the most incompetent hexameter poems ever written, in that of the twenty-seven lines ... not a single one scans. It is though manifestly intended, first as a poem, and secondly as a hexameter poem. Its claim to poetic status is obvious from the fact that it is an acrostich. Most of the lines have between fourteen and seventeen syllables, and that is virtually the standard variation possible in a hexameter line. There are recognizable snatches of hexameter rhythm’ (113); see also discussion below on the metrical aspects of this inscription.

<sup>1640</sup> See, for example, Rebuffat 1972: 334; *AE* 1995.1641; Birley 2012a: 212-213; Birley 2012b: 212; *IRT* 1091.

<sup>1641</sup> See Rebuffat 1972: 334; *AE* 1995.1641; Cugusi 2012: 18; Cugusi 2014a.5; *IRT* 1091; as well as discussion on **AI.3** above.

<sup>1642</sup> Rebuffat 1972: 335.

<sup>1643</sup> As seen in **RI.14** itself; *AE* 1995.1641. See also Cugusi 2012: 18; Cugusi 2014a.5. See also discussion on this in Chapter 8.

<sup>1644</sup> *AE* 1995.1641. See also Cugusi 2012: 18; Cugusi 2014a.5.

<sup>1645</sup> See HD024265, HD059759; Rebuffat 1972: 334; *AE* 1995.1641; Adams 1999: 109; Cugusi 2012: 18, also 131-133; Cugusi 2014a.5; *IRT* 1091; for discussion on the acrostic.

<sup>1646</sup> See Adams 1999: 109.

at the very least contributors, of these verses.<sup>1647</sup> Iasucthan was African, as denoted by his name, and his understanding of Latin.<sup>1648</sup> His application of Latin in regards to metre suggests ‘he had not received the traditional literary education at the hands of a *grammaticus*’,<sup>1649</sup> and Adams’ perception of his writing style leads him to interpret that Iasucthan was ‘a mediocre writer, uninstructed in the quantitative system, might have been expected from hearing hexameters read aloud only to have been able to form some conception of the pattern of the final two feet of the line, where there is almost invariably a correspondence between the word accent and the first syllable of each foot’.<sup>1650</sup> For Adams, **RI.14** ‘provides not only remarkable early evidence about the loss of distinctions of vowel quantity in African Latin, but also about the emergence of a form of verse, destined to be perfected in the medieval period, which was based on accentuation rather than differences of vowel quantity’.<sup>1651</sup> Iasucthan’s Latinity is not representative of all African Latin verse, where ‘in many other African *carmina*, though errors often occur, it is easy to find verses which successfully adhere to the old system, presumably as a reflection of the influence of *grammatici* on the writers’.<sup>1652</sup>

Iasucthan seems to have had rudimentary training in verse, but not understood how it worked in completeness: ‘an examination of the last two feet of the verses yields interesting results. These are the only two feet of the hexameter line which are fixed, in that they must comprise dactyl + spondee or trochee, and for that reason they might have been seen by those with little understanding of the structure of the whole line as a defining characteristic of the hexameter ... There is evidence that Iasucthan treated them as such’, but there does seem to be evidence that he was working accentually.<sup>1653</sup> He has made the line breaks on the stone correlate with the format of the verse, written in two columns. We know that North African Latin was different to the rest of the Roman world, and this is demonstrated in all the inscriptions here in North Africa, where the metre can, at best, be described as not conforming to the rules of Latin metre: ‘there is strong evidence that quantitative distinctions in the classical sense were perceived as lacking in African speech’,<sup>1654</sup> and we have further contemporary evidence ‘that knowledge of the difference between long and short syllables is something acquired from a teacher’.<sup>1655</sup> This indicates that those soldiers who can competently distinguish between long and short syllables were formally taught, perhaps especially so in North Africa, where this was not reflected in spoken Latin (see **AI.3**, in which this centurion’s understanding of metre is skilled, indicating he had been formally taught).<sup>1656</sup> There is only twenty years between the composition of **AI.3** and **RI.14**; ‘they certainly tell us that there were poets of different abilities in the camp’.<sup>1657</sup>

<sup>1647</sup> His paper *The Poets of Bu Njem* focuses mainly on both of these inscriptions. See Adams 1999: 109, 126. He focuses on Iasucthan’s poem from 113-124, with a close reading and commentary on **RI.14**. See also Chapter 2.

<sup>1648</sup> Adams 1999: 116. See also Cugusi 2012: 18, who states that his name was either of Punic or Libyan origin (see also Rebuffat 1972: 335; Adams 1999: 109).

<sup>1649</sup> Adams 1999: 116.

<sup>1650</sup> *Ibid.* See also AE 1995.1641: ‘mais la syntaxe et la métrique sont un peu malmenées: on relève dans ces hexamètres dactyliques beaucoup de «pieds. africains», aux césures correctes, mais d’une grande indifférence à la quantité’. Cugusi: dactylic hexameter, with numerous mistakes regarding prosody and metre (2012: 95). See also Cugusi 2014a.5. There are also spelling errors in **RI.14**. see also Rebuffat 1972: 335 on the verse of Iasucthan.

<sup>1651</sup> Adams 1999: 113.

<sup>1652</sup> *Ibid.*: 116.

<sup>1653</sup> *Ibid.*: 114.

<sup>1654</sup> *Ibid.*: 114-116. ‘Rebuffat also argues that he [Quintianus] may have been of Italian rather than African origin’ (116).

<sup>1655</sup> *Ibid.*: 115.

<sup>1656</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1657</sup> *Ibid.*: 116. ‘An alternative explanation would be that Avidius *spoke* a form of Latin in which the stress accent had undermines phonemic distinctions of length, but that he could *write* quantitative verse merely because he had been instructed to do so by a *grammaticus*. Versification is not necessarily an index to a writer’s phonology because to many by this period distinctions of vowel quantity would have been learnt rather than rooted in speech. But if Avidius’ awareness of the difference

It is likely that Iascuthan learnt Latin in his native North Africa, perhaps during his military service:<sup>1658</sup> ‘in the poem of Iascuthan in particular it is possible to hear the voice of the writer, and that the voice has the marks of a non-native speaker of Latin’.<sup>1659</sup> This can be seen by evidence of Virgilian allusions slipping into their verse inscriptions, such as here, where they had either made their way into common parlance (rather like *tempus fugit*, which is still used over two thousand years later), or because we see ‘various lines of Virgil ... in military environments ... these cannot be taken as evidence that texts of the poet were readily available in military camps. An alternative explanation is that if rudimentary instruction in literacy was available within the army, stray lines of Virgil might have been used in writing exercises’.<sup>1660</sup>

Martial’s comment about centurions reading his poetry in Britain may contradict and/or add more nuance to that observation. Given the proliferation of examples of Latin verse inscriptions from all ranks of the Roman military, one is tempted to say that they had training in literacy and verse too, a subject which, like now, some grasped better than others. Nevertheless, features of his language indicate that he had a more advanced level of Latin than other soldiers posted here;<sup>1661</sup> perhaps the fact that he attempts to write in verse at all is an indication of this. Iascuthan is known from other inscriptions, for example from one found in Lambesis, and he was in charge of the garrison at Gholiaia between AD 222-225. Sossianus, the *praeses* of Numidia through the vexillation and the *legatus legionis* of the *Legio III Augusta Pia Vindex Antoniniana* is otherwise unknown (RI.14.5-6).<sup>1662</sup> From this inscription, we know that a vexillation of the *Legio III Augusta* was posted in Gholiaia, and not the whole legion, which was still garrisoned at Lambaesis, and both Sossianus and Iascuthan went with them from Lambaesis, and there was a *numerus* stationed at Gholiaia as well (27).

This was not the only building project carried out by the military garrison, the *Legio III Augusta* and a *numerus* (RI.14.26), stationed at Gholiaia: they also built the baths in AD 201 and a temple of Mars in 225.<sup>1663</sup> Technical language is used here, for example a *chamulchus* (12), which ‘est un traîneau pour déplacer les blocs’.<sup>1664</sup> The editors of *AE* find the term *magister* in 10 ‘est difficile à interpreter: c’est soit le commandant du *numerus* affecté à Golas, soit un gradé ou un technicien de la *uexillatio* de la III<sup>e</sup> légion’.<sup>1665</sup> Cugusi sees it as him being the *magister militum* or *magister castr/castrorum*.<sup>1666</sup> Either way, it seems that he was a man involved in this

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between long and short vowels was entirely artificial, with no basis in his speech whatsoever, it is odd, given his relatively low cultural level as marked by the substandard syntax and morphology of the piece ..., that he was able to avoid mistakes almost entirely, particularly since African and other *carmina* in which the poets were only *partially successful* in reproducing the Classical system are easy to find [such as the African inscriptions exhibited in this study]. It is possible that in the early third century A.D. there were regional and social distinctions in the extent to which the quantitative system had been modified; and on this assumption we may tentatively hear in the two poems evidence for the dialectal mixture which must have been typical in many military outposts. And even if a purely cultural (as distinct from linguistic) explanation is adopted for the difference in quality between the versification of Avidius and that of Iascuthan (i.e. Avidius had received metrical instruction but Iascuthan had not), it would remain true that in 222 in the African desert there was at least one Latin speaker, and he an African, who did not perceive the traditional quantitative distinctions between Latin vowels. The two poems would also underline the cultural diversity of the centurionate’ (116-117).

<sup>1658</sup> Adams 1999: 117. See Chapter 2.

<sup>1659</sup> *Ibid.*: 110, thus suggesting that he was bilingual. See also 123.

<sup>1660</sup> *Ibid.*: 120.

<sup>1661</sup> See *ibid.*: 117, 133-134.

<sup>1662</sup> See Rebuffat 1972: 335; *AE* 1995.1641; Cugusi 2012: 18; Cugusi 2014a.5.

<sup>1663</sup> Rebuffat 1972: 338.

<sup>1664</sup> *AE* 1995.1641. See also Rebuffat 1972: 335; Cugusi 2014a.5; Cugusi 2012: 18.

<sup>1665</sup> *AE* 1995.1641.

<sup>1666</sup> See Cugusi 2014a.5: 171 and 172: ‘animadvertas munus *praefecti castr/castrorum* aetate Severorum nusquam apparere multoque tantum post denuo apparuisse ... ideoque eo tempore fortasse munus ‘*magistri castr/castrorum*’ viguisse pro munere ‘*praefecti castr/castrorum*’” (‘you notice that the rank of *praefectus castr/castrorum* is never seen in the Severan age and only



restoration project, and he led it with Iascuthan.<sup>1667</sup> However, ‘dans le poème, les mots abstraits sont plus fréquents que les termes techniques, signe que l’auteur souhaitait exalter l’ouvrage plus que le décrire’.<sup>1668</sup> Yet, this does not appear to be the case. The emphasis of this poem is not the building work itself and celebrating that, but the work of the legion in making it, the *virtus* of the legion this work exhibited, conducted in the name of the emperor and his successor.

In the manner of literary history, and this is also seen in Latin epic verse, specifically in war/battle narratives, there appears to be one who was exemplary, working above all the others, and thus deserved to be made an example of in this proud monument (*Ex numero militum quidam amplius voluntatem suam dederit*, ‘from the *numerus* of the military a certain soldier, furthermore, gave his will’, **RI.14.27**).<sup>1669</sup> It is difficult to decipher if this meant he died during the construction works, or if he worked harder than everyone else and this was noticed. The work here was conducted by a *numerus* and a *vexillatio* from the *Legio III Augusta*, and yet the conduct of this small body of men, detached from their original unit in this outpost, was said to represent the whole legion, and reflected back upon it, which, in turn, reflected upon the identity, especially the *virtus*, of the whole Roman military: this is recognised in the inscription itself, throughout, but perhaps especially in *Iuncta virtus militum paucorum velocitas ingens* (‘the great *virtus* of the military was joined with the swiftness of the few’, 11). The overall tone of the inscription and how the narrative of the military is described is similar to that seen in Roman military history narratives. So the soldiers could work together they had to fortify themselves (*Haec ut fierent, milites omnes sibi zelum tradebant*, ‘so that they would do this, all the soldiers gave themselves zeal’, 22), thus emphasising that, although they were part of a collective, the soldiers were responsible for their own motivation, discipline and morale, and the collective soldiers are also in competition when building this monument (14), presumably for the amount of notoriety that they would have received had they behaved that way in a Roman history. Thus, this inscription exhibits the theme of the individual vs. the collective that one is confronted with when examining the verse inscriptions of the Roman military.

Rebuffat describes **RI.14** with a tone more akin to the triumphant and celebratory one seen in the inscription itself: ‘ce centurion célèbre le travail de ses hommes en des termes et sur un ton qui évoquent une chanson militaire, où revient en leitmotiv la *virtus militum*, ainsi que leur *devotio*, leur *zelus* ou leur *vigor*’.<sup>1670</sup> This restoration work had been needed, but neglected, before now. This neglect would have reflected badly on the legion, and so fixing it would have restored their reputation. Although it was completed under Iascuthan and Paratus overseeing it, Iascuthan praises the strength, perseverance, and *virtus* of the men within the unit who completed this necessary work on their camp. This implicitly raises the reputation of Iascuthan, as he, as the centurion of the *Legio III Augusta*, fulfils his role and ‘protège ainsi le renom de l’unité’.<sup>1671</sup>

We see here what becomes a clear pattern throughout this chapter: the centurion acting on behalf of the legion in honorific and votive inscriptions. What is unusual about this inscription, however, is twofold: a) it celebrates the building work of a legion, and b) it does not emphasise the individual identity of the centurion, but the identity of the legion, as exhibited through their

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does it appear again after a long time ... and therefore perhaps at that time the rank of ‘*magistri castrorum*’ was the title for the rank of ‘*praefecti castrorum*’. This does not seem an unlikely hypothesis.

<sup>1667</sup> He was one of the two *dictatores* (**RI.14.26**); see *AE* 1995.1641. See also Adams 1999: 109, 121; Cugusi 2014a.5.

<sup>1668</sup> *AE* 1995.1641.

<sup>1669</sup> See also Adams 1999: 122.

<sup>1670</sup> Rebuffat 1972: 335.

<sup>1671</sup> *AE* 2016.1835 adn.

conduct. Often, when centurions are making votive and/or honorific inscriptions on behalf of a unit of fighting men, they nevertheless emphasise and describe their own individual identity (see, for example, **RI.18**). Here, however, Iascuthan focuses on the identity of the legion, not himself. In fact, he is only mentioned in the acrostic, not in the body of the verse or the prose, and so his own personal identity takes a back seat, so to speak, in comparison to the overall identity of the legion. This building work adds to the perception of the level of *virtus* this unit had; the *virtus* of a legion, therefore, even for those within the Roman military, was not simply dependent upon their fighting abilities, but upon the success with which they carried out all tasks expected of Roman soldiers, including construction works. Although Cugusi sees it in a rather more cynical way: ‘hoc significare videtur, milites inter se de gloria certantes vinculo virtutis quodammodo religari’ (‘seems to indicate that the soldiers are competing, bound by the chains of *virtus*, in a way’).<sup>1672</sup> But it does not appear to be the case that it was an act done out of obligation or simply because they had to.

The legion is celebrated for its *virtus* throughout, and because they ‘agissent selon les valeurs traditionnelles de cette unité’,<sup>1673</sup> and therefore sustain the good reputation and identity of the *Legio III Augusta*. They exhibit the identity of the Roman military as perceived throughout literary history, of perseverance through severity, strict discipline which allowed them to continue fighting even when it was in adverse conditions, and to erect incredible monuments that amazed all who beheld them, would last for eternity, and they did so swiftly (**RI.14.7-9, 11, 17-18, 31**). But the gate was made and put in place quickly because it was made by the military (18). The reason for their work is referred to by Iascuthan: *Arta virtute sua opera aeternale fecerunt* (‘they make their works exist for eternity with their skill in *virtus*’, 15). The *virtus* of the military (*virtus militum*), the military’s skill in *virtus* (*arta virtute*, 9), was exhibited in the construction work they carried out (explicitly referenced in 13). Throughout **RI.14**, *virtus* is something possessed by the military, and it is exhibited in physical acts of labour; it appears to be strictly military *virtus*. This was standard to the military, as apparent in the phrase *virtus militum*, but also particular to the *Legio III Augusta*: *Torrens virtus [[leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) P(iae) V(indicis)]]* (‘Such rapid *virtus* of the *Legio III Augusta Pia Vindex!*’, 19). According to Vegetius, although *auxilia a sociis vel foederatis gentibus mittebantur; Romana autem virtus praecipue in legionum ordinatione praepollet* (‘the auxiliaries were sent from allies or confederated peoples; however Roman *virtus* exists especially in the ranks of the legions’, Mil. 2.1.8-9). This attitude, that *virtus* was restricted to the legions, is reflected in this inscription; it is the legion which had *virtus*, not the *numerus* that helped them.

This inscription was made by these men, according to the verse itself, and we know what it was designed to celebrate, the legion’s *virtus*: *Nunc et ipsi titulis suis virtutis devotionis ornaverunt* (‘and now they themselves decorated it with an inscription devoted to their *virtus*’, **RI.14.24**), as a way of saying that they could have carried on working, even after they had carried out this strenuous work that no one had bothered to do before (see 25), and they were the ones who wanted to honour their own work and dedication (33-34). They were eager to be seen as the ones who carried out this work, and no one else (28), as this was a part of their honour and duty as soldiers in the Roman military. Iascuthan appears to have at least commissioned the inscription, and very likely wrote it, acting on behalf of his unit and the men he supervised during this building project, to honour them, their work and to permanently exhibit that this restoration work was conducted through, and was a permanent reminder of, the *Legio III*

<sup>1672</sup> Cugusi 2014a.5: 171.

<sup>1673</sup> AE 2016.1835 adn.

*Augusta's* *virtus*. Given their experience in building project, their keenness to emphasise their own *virtus* and building prowess, and that the inscription itself states *Nunc et ipsi titulis suis virtutis devotionis ornaverunt*, this is proof that the *Legio III Augusta* had men within their ranks with the ability to compose and carve their own Latin verse inscriptions, and they did.

**AI.4** is the earliest inscription discussed in this chapter, dating from 2 BC-AD 2.<sup>1674</sup> Written in iambic metres,<sup>1675</sup> by the *primopilaris* of *Legio XVI*, this partially fragmented,<sup>1676</sup> stone<sup>1677</sup> inscription was found in Acerrae, Campania.<sup>1678</sup> It is believed by the editors of the *CIL* that this was *de aedicula Laribus ... Augustis ita dedicata, ut sub eorum imaginibus C. et L. Caesaris colerentur*, ('in a building to the Lares, so that Gaius and Lucius Caesar would be looked after under his [Augustus'] image').<sup>1679</sup> This inscription is also discussed in Chapter 6, due to its use of *caelum*. Once again, we have another centurion writing, or at least commissioning, an inscription. This is by a *primopilaris*, the most senior role of the centurionate,<sup>1680</sup> and it was he who was responsible for the legion's eagle.<sup>1681</sup> Rufus was the *primopilaris* of *Legio XVI*, which may have been founded in 41/40 BC by Octavian, and it was stationed on the Rhine frontier from 30 BC onwards,<sup>1682</sup> which implies that Rufus had returned home and set this inscription up. Therefore, this inscription was set up roughly halfway through the life of *Legio XVI*.<sup>1683</sup> Yet **AI.4** does not make it explicit that it has been set up on behalf of the *Legio XVI* by Rufus, as was customary,<sup>1684</sup> Rufus merely states his role, implying that this was his own personal project, not a community project for his men. Due to the ease of this Latin, and its slightly archaic flavour, we may postulate that Rufus, an Italian himself, wrote this inscription. Not only does his Roman name indicate his origin, but also his tribe.<sup>1685</sup> This was when the bulk of the Roman military was still being recruited from Italy. Therefore, this indicates this was written by a native Latin speaker, and that it is very likely that Rufus wrote this poem himself. Due to centurions often being recruited from the ranks and ordinary citizens, it is probably acceptable to suggest that Rufus' thoughts, ideas and portrayals about society, both cultural and political, were more closely aligned with that, and therefore more representative, of the ordinary Roman population than with that of the Roman elite.

**RI.15** is a short honorific inscription to the emperor Antonius Pius, written in elegiac distichs. It addresses the emperor directly, and informally (in the second person singular). If what we have now recorded of it is how it looked on the stone, then the line breaks on the stone and the verse correlated. It has been dated between AD 150-160, and it was found in Rome, but it is now missing.<sup>1686</sup> It mirrors the sentiment expressed in the *Historia Augusta* when it describes

<sup>1674</sup> EDCS-17700016; *AE* 2002.360: 134.

<sup>1675</sup> Courtney 1995: 244; *AE* 2002.360: 133; *CLE* 18: 12. See also <https://www.mqdg.it/textsce/CEIappe0103>.

<sup>1676</sup> See editions of this inscription, for example Courtney 1995.24; *CIL* X 3537: 363, and apparatus criticus in *CIL*, as well as the edition presented here.

<sup>1677</sup> Courtney 1995: 244; *CIL* X 3537: 363; *CLE* 18.

<sup>1678</sup> Courtney 1995: 243; EDCS-17700016; *ILS* 137: 36; *CLE* 18; *CIL* X 3537: 363. See also *AE* 2002.360: 133-134.

<sup>1679</sup> *CLE* and Dessau both quote this, so it stands to reason that they agreed with this statement.

<sup>1680</sup> Le Bohec 1989b: 24-24; Campbell 1994: 46-47; Keppie 2000: 31; Gilliver 2007: 190; Southern 2007: 101; see also Appendix 3 for more in-depth discussion on the role of the *primipilaris*, and, hence, the significance of his role here. See also the discussion of this inscription in Chapter 6.

<sup>1681</sup> Campbell 1994: 47; Töpfer 2017: 447-451.

<sup>1682</sup> Campbell 2012d: 818. See also Appendix 2.

<sup>1683</sup> See Courtney 1995: 244 for how this legion was disbanded by Vespasian. See also Campbell 2012d: 818.

<sup>1684</sup> See the only other inscription by a centurion in this section.

<sup>1685</sup> See also Galsterer 2006.

<sup>1686</sup> <https://www.mqdg.it/textsce/CEIcel0881>; EDR078375; HD001576; Cugusi 2007.112; *CIL* VI 1208, *CLE* 881: it was found in Rome, in the wall of the temple of Franciscus Porcarius, displayed with two boys, one with a cithara and the other with a tambourine. It is now found in the manuscript tradition (*AE* 1982.45). HD001576 dates it between AD 138-161.

the wars waged and won under Antoninus Pius, and, as such, the process of conquest and warfare by the Romans:<sup>1687</sup>

*per legatos suos plurima bella gessit. nam et Britannos per Lollium Urbicum vicit legatum alio muro caespiticio summotis barbaris ducto, et Mauros ad pacem postulandam coegit, et Germanos et Dacos et multas gentes atque Iudaeos rebellantes contudit per praesides ac legatos. in Achaia etiam atque Aegypto rebelliones repressit. Alanos molientis saepe refrenavit.*

He waged many wars through his *legati*. For he also conquered the British through his *legatus* Lollius Urbicus, when he had commanded another turf wall to be built when he had driven off the barbarians, and he compelled the Africans to sue for peace, and he beat both the Germans and the Dacians and many other races and the rebel Jews through his *praesides* and *legati*. In Achaia he also suppressed the rebels in Egypt. He often kept the Alani in check from their exploits.

Hist. Aug. 5.4-5.

This demonstrates the essence of Roman warfare: they either conquered a nation through violence, or by persuading them to create an alliance with the Romans, all in the name of peace.

It has been conjectured that it was Antoninus Pius' emphasis 'on senators to deify his predecessor Hadrian, which may have earned him his epithet "Pius"'.<sup>1688</sup> Their dislike of Hadrian stemmed from his cessation in expansion, and concentration on controlling the territories they did have, including putting boundaries around the Empire; they disliked him to the extent that they wanted to place *damnatio memoriae* on him, which Antoninus (yet to be called Pius) prevented in a speech.<sup>1689</sup> Yet, according to this inscription, Antoninus Pius received the *cognomen Pius*, meaning 'pious', due to his skill (in war is implied). This continues the idea of Roman wars being *iusta bella*, just wars, ones supported by the gods, which is a running theme throughout Roman literature, both verse and prose, and are wars that bring peace. These wars may have been won under the auspices of Mars, but it was Antoninus Pius' skill in warfare that gave him this accolade. Alternatively, the reference to Mars could simply be in the metaphorical sense, not in his deified sense, but in the interpretation of Mars meaning 'war', which is how his name is often used in verse. Either interpretation works here, but perhaps Mars as the god of war is more appropriate, considering the reference to Antoninus Pius' *cognomen*. Also, Antoninus Pius depicted Mars on his coinage after his victory in Britain.<sup>1690</sup> But in **RI.15**, it was not his favour from the gods that won him his new name *Pius*, but his own skill in warfare. Although, given the correlations between waging war, victory and religion, perhaps the sentiment was intertwined, especially given the reference to Mars in the first line.

This correlates with Antoninus Pius' policy on warfare during his reign, where he was keen to emphasise the idea of the *bellum iustum*.<sup>1691</sup> This was an idea the Romans had long adhered to, 'more than other people of the Ancient World, the Romans espoused the idea of *bellum iustum* ('just war')'.<sup>1692</sup> But these just wars were based on the enemy provoking Rome, even if this was

<sup>1687</sup> See also *CIL* VI 1208; *CLE* 881. This quote from Hist. Aug. is referred to throughout Breeze & Hanson (eds.) (2020).

<sup>1688</sup> Hekster 2010: 124; see also Heller 2016: 363.

<sup>1689</sup> See Heller 2016: 363.

<sup>1690</sup> See *ibid.*: 366-367.

<sup>1691</sup> See *ibid.*

<sup>1692</sup> *Ibid.*: 361.

an excuse for the emperor to wage war.<sup>1693</sup> As this chapter, and other studies on religion in the Roman military, shows that although the former part of Heller's observation has more nuance and is not entirely true, the latter is: 'they [the Romans] saw themselves superior to all other nations regarding piety and religion and firmly believed that everything was governed by the gods'.<sup>1694</sup> They allowed themselves to believe in other gods, and other gods to be synchronised to their own. But the overall impression of the gods controlling and/or representing every facet of life is demonstrated in the wide variety of deities within, and accepted into, the Roman pantheon, both official and broadly speaking. Here, we can see the dual meaning of Mars, both his literal as a deity, and poetic, in his metaphorical sense, standing in for war.

The reference to Antoninus Pius conquering the Britons may refer to the Antonine Wall. Previous excavation on the Antonine Wall demonstrates that it 'was not simply another turf wall. Turf was certainly, in terms of volume, the most significant material employed – enough to justify the Wall's description as a *muris caespitiis* ... – but the entire monument comprising all its architectural elements is better considered as an earthen structure, with a key component of it also built in stone'.<sup>1695</sup> The Wall itself may have been an act of conquest: rather than defeating the locals in battle, as it is presented in Hist. Aug. and **RI.15**, it was a statement to advance Antoninus Pius' military image and prestige, as a new ruler, having a concrete military image was important. This military image, as acknowledged in Hist. Aug., was perpetrated and maintained by the emperor's *legati* and designated governors, chosen by the emperor.<sup>1696</sup> Having a military reputation, and, in turn, favour with the military, was vital for any emperor to stay in power. The people saw these victories as the emperor wished them to be seen: as his victories, not those of his delegated military men. They regarded these victories, whatever the manner they were conducted in (war, extending of provincial boundaries through construction projects, or peace treaties) as acts of war, acts of the military, conducted in the emperor's name. It would be useful to know if this was a graffito,<sup>1697</sup> altar, or something else, as this would give more context behind the understanding of the person who wrote it, but as it is lost we will probably never know.

It may have been prompted by Hadrian's lack of warfare, a way to highlight the difference between the old and the new emperor. Hadrian was known for 'set[ting] a limit to expansion, there were to be no more wars of conquest'.<sup>1698</sup> There must have been some excitement, then, when Antoninus Pius brought back warfare and conquest, across the Roman world, and against a diverse range of people. **RI.15** reinforces the (military) image that Antoninus Pius put forth regarding his conquests: 'appropriate to his unmilitary nature and the fact that he never left Italy during his reign, he established a concept which emphasised the eminent role of the gods for Rome's salvage with the emperor as guarantor that all rites were duly conducted'.<sup>1699</sup> The idea that Antoninus Pius' 'rule brought the Roman World an age of unprecedented peace, which was

<sup>1693</sup> See Chapters 1 and 2, and Heller 2016: 364.

<sup>1694</sup> Heller 2016: 361.

<sup>1695</sup> Romankiewicz, Milek, Beckett, Russell & Riley Snyder 2020: 121. They discuss the structure, and how its upkeep was maintained, of the Wall, opening with this quote from Hist. Aug.

<sup>1696</sup> For discussion on this, see Breeze 2020: 293. See also Speidel 2017: 266-267; Hanson & Breeze 2020: 28-30 for ways in which Antoninus Pius won favour with the military and was popular amongst the soldiery, how his military image was portrayed, and how important that image was to the emperor.

<sup>1697</sup> Speidel believed it to be a graffito: 'Obwohl es Pius am Ende nicht gelang, sämtliche militärischen Bedrohungen des Reiches dauerhaft zu entfernen, war doch das, was er in dieser Hinsicht erreicht hat, offenbar durchaus beeindruckend. So schrieb jemand in Rom ein Graffito an die Wand, in dem er erklärte, Antoninus werde deshalb Pius genannt, weil er durch sein Handeln Germanen, Mauren und Britannier unter des Joch des Mars gezwungen habe' (2017: 266).

<sup>1698</sup> Birley 2020: 322-323.

<sup>1699</sup> Heller 2016: 368-369.

established by the gods whose guidance protected the Empire from enemies' attacks',<sup>1700</sup> which, arguably, was the role of the emperor, through the use of the Roman military, is a sentiment displayed in this inscription.

Despite this, it was widely acknowledged that Antoninus Pius was a bringer of peace.<sup>1701</sup> **RI.15** seems to be celebrating the new name of the emperor, and it was his military conquests that made him *pius*. If we knew the exact date of this inscription, this would add to our knowledge of the history and (public) identity of Antoninus Pius himself. After all, it is epigraphy that has 'unser Verständnis von Pius' Verhältnis zu Krieg und zu militärischen Dingen zu erweitern'.<sup>1702</sup> Perhaps this inscription was written in AD 142, the year that the orders may have been given for the erection of the Antonine Wall and the conclusion to the fighting in Britain,<sup>1703</sup> the year in which he allowed himself to be made *imperator* for the second time because of this victory.<sup>1704</sup> Marcus Cornelius Fronto referred to the war in Britain in a speech, 'vielleicht zum Dank für seinen Konsulat im Jahre 142 n. Chr. heilt',<sup>1705</sup> and all the wars referred to in Hist. Aug. are not referred to in **RI.15**, perhaps because they had not happened yet; reports of more wars occur later in the 140s.<sup>1706</sup> However, the fighting in Germany happened in the 150s, and the *bellum Mauricum* lasted from AD 144-150,<sup>1707</sup> which gives this inscription a more likely date of the AD 150s. As the Antonine Wall was abandoned in about 158 or in the early 160s, it is perhaps unlikely that **RI.15** was written at this time. Pausanias reports 'drei kriegerische Ereignisse, welche die einzigen Ausnahmen während der ansonsten freidlichen Regierungszeit des Pius gewesen seien: der Krieg gegen die Mauren, jener in Britannien und ein weiterer vermutlich in Räten (ausgelöst durch den Überfall der *Brigantii* auf ihre Nachbarn, die *Genauni*)',<sup>1708</sup> i.e. wars against the British, Africans and Germans, so perhaps these were the most well-known campaigns of Antoninus Pius' reign, and/or the longest lasting.

These were the places in which Hadrian had constructed walls to tangibly limit the boundaries of the Empire, which the senate was not pleased about, but Antoninus Pius, when he became emperor, soon started expanding the limits of Britain and Germania Superior again.<sup>1709</sup> Perhaps these three places, and the people within them, were perceived as worthwhile places of conquest, victories to celebrate, by the people of Rome because the emperor was once more working on expanding the edges of their Empire. Heller observed that 'the emphasis of the gods and legends of Rome at first sight confirms the emperor's [Antoninus Pius'] unmilitary attitude but this firmly matched Roman beliefs. Therefore, modern appraisals of Antoninus Pius are negatively governed by hindsight-bias and the lack of sources, ignoring contemporary views, and neglect that he bequeathed a powerful Empire which successfully resisted the heavy pressure'.<sup>1710</sup> Perhaps the observation that 'the gods and legends of Rome at first sight confirms the emperor's unmilitary attitude' is misleading; in many instances, they reaffirm it, rather than distract us from it. But, as **RI.15** demonstrates, this little elegiac distich did in fact 'match[ed]

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<sup>1700</sup> Heller 2016: 372-373.

<sup>1701</sup> See, for example, Speidel 2017: throughout and Heller 2016: throughout for the career, wars and reputation of Antoninus Pius.

<sup>1702</sup> Speidel 2017: 259.

<sup>1703</sup> See Breeze & Hanson (eds.) 2020: throughout; see also Speidel 2017: 259 (this war in northern Britain was waged between AD 138-142). See also Heller 2016: 364-365.

<sup>1704</sup> Speidel 2017: 259; Heller 2016: 365.

<sup>1705</sup> Speidel 2017: 257.

<sup>1706</sup> *Ibid.*: 258.

<sup>1707</sup> See *ibid.*: 260-265; Heller 2016: 368.

<sup>1708</sup> Speidel 2017: 258.

<sup>1709</sup> See Heller 2016: 358-361.

<sup>1710</sup> *Ibid.*: 373.

Roman beliefs’ and highlights the contemporary view ‘that he bequeathed a powerful Empire which successfully resisted the heavy pressure’, enough that Antoninus Pius was believed to be of a pious inclination because of the gods’ favour, specifically Mars in this instance, towards him in his military endeavours by the people. Although we have no idea who wrote this, we can see how impactful military victories were, how important they were to the people, their religious beliefs, and their perception of their emperor.

The next inscription in this section is another graffito, from Egypt, near Krokodilo, found on the road between Coptos and Quseir.<sup>1711</sup> It dates from AD 98-117,<sup>1712</sup> and it was scratched into a sandstone rockface in cursive script but of monumental size, about 200 m northwest of the fort at Krokodilo,<sup>1713</sup> written by the *eques* of the *ala* of Vocontii, *turma* of Maturus (**RI.16.2**). Unusually for this corpus, he specifies his *turma*. Therefore, he was not of the equestrian class, but a member of the auxiliary cavalry. This soldier introduces himself as *Dida Damanai filius nationis Da'c'us* (‘Dida, son of Damanaus, of Dacian nationality’, 1), so he was a Dacian or Thracian by birth. This graffito, despite revealing personal information about Dida (his name, father, nationality, rank, and role), claims to have been written *pro salute[m] imperatoris feliciter* (‘for the health of the emperor, successfully’, 4), so, for the health and safety of the Emperor, a sentiment often expressed in these inscriptions. Bülow-Jacobsen, Cuvigny, Fornet, Gabolde & Robin suggest that Dida inscribed this into the rockface near the fort at Krokodilo to celebrate his departure from this posting: ‘losqu’ils quittaient une statione où ils avaient été detaches pendant six mois ou un an, les *beneficiarii* avaient coutume de célébrer leur depart en offrant au dieu local un autel où on lit parfois la formule *expleto tempore* ou *expleta statione*. C’est peut-être dans des circonstances analogues que Dida a gravé ou fait graver ce graffito géant don’t les dimensions trahissent ou l’euphorie du depart ou on un *ego* vraiment démesuré’.<sup>1714</sup>

**RI.16** has been considered metrical based on the third line, which has been scanned as hexameter.<sup>1715</sup> However, if we scan the whole inscription, we can see that it is composed of four lines of iambic senarii. This may be a coincidence, considering the largely prosaic like information presented in this text (see also the Introduction); the spelling and grammar errors and the unevenness of the cursive script certainly do not instill one with confidence when regarding Dida’s skill in Latin.<sup>1716</sup> It is likely that Latin was his second language, and he learnt it in the military. Yet, perhaps the fact that these four lines of iambic senarii correlate exactly with the line breaks of this graffito lend some weight to it being intentionally written in iambic senarii. Each line expresses a confined, finite sentiment; the topic of one sentence does not run over into another line. One would suppose, for example, that some terms would have been abbreviated if this was meant to be a prose inscription (for example, 3 could probably have been written in a more prosaic way, should that have been the intended medium behind this inscription). The sentiment *pro salute imperatoris feliciter* is, however, often found in prose

<sup>1711</sup> *ILS* 9142; *EDCS*-11700082; *CLE* 1960; Bernand 1972: 19; Bülow-Jacobsen, Cuvigny, Fornet, Gabolde, & Robin 1995: 103; *AE* 1999.1647; Petolescu 1996.420; Maxfield 2000: 427, 429; Cugusi 2011.44. See discussion on this route below. These are the modern names.

<sup>1712</sup> HD028893; *EDCS*-11700082; Bernand 1972: 19. See also *AE* 1911.121; Bülow-Jacobsen et al. 1995: 104.

<sup>1713</sup> *ILS* 9142; *CLE* 1960; Bülow-Jacobsen et al. 1995: 103-104; Petolescu 1996.420; evident from drawings of this inscription (see *EDCS*-11700082; Bülow-Jacobsen et al. 1995: figures 2-3; Petolescu 1996.420). In these, we can see that it was written in cursive script, and the size of the inscription.

<sup>1714</sup> Bülow-Jacobsen et al. 1995: 104.

<sup>1715</sup> As identified by Dessau. See <https://www.mqdg.it/texts/CE/ce/1960>; *CLE* 1960; *ILS* 9142; Bülow-Jacobsen et al. 1995: 103; Petolescu 1996.420. Cugusi classifies this as ‘incerta’ as to the nature of its (intentional) verse (2011.44). See discussion below.

<sup>1716</sup> For a full commentary on his spelling, grammatical and orthographical mistakes, see Bernand 1972: 19.

inscriptions/the prose section of a verse inscription. It is, therefore, highly debateable about whether this inscription should be considered as intentionally verse. But, there were two attempts made at this inscription, this one, and another half complete one, 35 cm below **RI.16**, so this demonstrates an intention behind the writing of this inscription.<sup>1717</sup>

According to Dida, he had *armatum feci stationi me(n)ses quinque* ('I served in the station under arms for five months', **RI.16.3**); 'l'expression ... n'implique pas à proprement parler une campagne; elle s'applique ici à un séjour assez prolongé, car cinq moins dans cette solitude et dans les conditions pénibles de la vie au desert étaient malgré tout une épreuve assez rude'.<sup>1718</sup> This station could have been Krokodilo, a military fortress on the Moyos Hormos road, which the soldiers stationed there also protected; this road branched off at Laqeita to trails that continued to Krokodilo, headed southwest to Luxor or southeast to Berenice.<sup>1719</sup> This road was well travelled, and was also used as an important trade and movement of goods route.<sup>1720</sup> By the early second century AD, Krokodilo was a military outpost,<sup>1721</sup> where Libyan, Latin, Greek, Dacian and Thracian names are found.<sup>1722</sup> One of these Thracian names is Dida, a name which often appears in Egypt, and Damanaus is a name of Thraco-Dacian origin, and is otherwise unknown in Egypt.<sup>1723</sup> There is an ostrakon at El-Mweih which 'refers to an *eques Dida*, who may well be precisely the man who cut the inscription'.<sup>1724</sup> It seems likely that Dida and his *ala* were stationed at Krokodilo for at least five months. The *ala Vocontiorum* was first garrisoned on the Rhine, and was then moved by Trajan to Egypt;<sup>1725</sup> its last known attestation in Egypt dates from the reign of Marcus Aurelius, and it is seen in an inscription in Palmyra in AD 183.<sup>1726</sup> It is known in an inscription on the Colossus of Memnon, and it was stationed at Coptos.<sup>1727</sup>

Although its main base was at Coptos, 'the Eastern Desert sites were garrisoned by troops most of whom can be shown to have been outposted from the bases in Upper Egypt', including the *ala Vocontiorum*, which was posted in Krokodilo at approximately during Hadrian's rule,<sup>1728</sup> thus Dida must have been a part of this detachment sent to outposts along this road from his home base in Coptos. The Vocontii were 'a people in Gallia Narbonensis, between the rivers Isara and Cruentius',<sup>1729</sup> so this must have been the original recruiting ground for this *ala*, but, as we have seen, and see here, the nationality of recruits was no longer restrained by the nationality of their unit as time went by. The number of men stationed at one of these outposts in the desert was not a large one, as 'the nature of the tasks performed by the army in the eastern outposts, did not, broadly speaking, require the presence of large concentrations of soldiers. Supervising quarries, protecting travellers from brigands and guarding the essential water

<sup>1717</sup> Bülow-Jacobsen et al. 1995: 103-104.

<sup>1718</sup> Bernand 1972: 19. See also Bülow-Jacobsen et al. 1995: 107; Maxfield 2000: 431.

<sup>1719</sup> *ILS* 9142; *CLE* 1960; Bülow-Jacobsen et al. 1995: 103-107; Dana 2003: 166, 172-173; Maxfield 2003: 166, 157 fig. 2; Cugusi 2011.44; Hirt 2019: 15; Paprocki 2019: 167, 172.

<sup>1720</sup> Including extracted materials from mines and quarries, and 'it was one of the routes used by caravans carrying to Quft (Coptos) the goods that were imported from Arabia, India and Africa, and unloaded in Red Sea ports, in the present case Quseir'. See Bülow-Jacobsen, Cuvigny & Fornet 1994: 27. See also Cugusi 2011.44.

<sup>1721</sup> Maxfield 2000: 427, 429; Verhoogt 2008: 273-275.

<sup>1722</sup> Dana 2003: 183-185; Verhoogt 2008: 275; Symonds 2017: 27; Hirt 2019: 15-16.

<sup>1723</sup> See *ILS* 9142; *AE* 1911.121; Bernand 1972: 19; Bülow-Jacobsen et al. 1995: 105-106; Petolescu 1996.420; *AE* 1999.1647. See also Maxfield 2003: 164. The Celtic origins of Damanaus' name apparently seems to have been identified on the belief of the first commentator of this inscription (see Bülow-Jacobsen et al. 1995: 106).

<sup>1724</sup> Maxfield 2003: 164.

<sup>1725</sup> *AE* 1911.121.

<sup>1726</sup> See Bülow-Jacobsen et al. 1995: 104; Petolescu 1996.420.

<sup>1727</sup> Bernand 1972: 19; Maxfield 2000: 429.

<sup>1728</sup> Maxfield 2000: 429.

<sup>1729</sup> Lewis & Short 1945: 2003-2004; see also Petolescu 1996.420.



sources will rarely have been the work of more than a century (or its equivalent) and often considerably fewer'.<sup>1730</sup>

This is demonstrated in this inscription, where Dida specifies his *turma*. This is the only time this happens in this corpus, perhaps because this was the detachment of men sent from their main base in Coptos to the outpost in Krokodilo, to act as security on the main road. Therefore, this *turma* was the minimum amount of men stationed here for this five month outposting. The overall 'garrison of Egypt was small, never exceeding by very much the three alae and nine cohorts recorded for the Augustan period', although the numbers of auxiliary units posted there increased in the second century AD, 'an increase which cannot be explained in terms of active campaigning or hostility on the borders. This enlargement of the auxiliary army may be linked to the reduction of the legionary garrison from two to one, but is presumably also related to the increased need for soldiers to police the roads and quarries which were so active at this time'.<sup>1731</sup> This was a common occurrence, to have considerable numbers of soldiers away from their main base, either stationed in an outpost in the province or temporarily absent for another reason, 'a situation which might assume to be the case for much of the time in other provinces, but for which such clear evidence is rarely available'.<sup>1732</sup>

Bülow-Jacobsen et al. believe that *stationi* refers to 'les sens abstrait de mission, de service détaché à des fins de police militaire', because the 'stations' in the desert were called *praesidia*, which indicates the contemporary name for those in these outposts, 'du moins le mot *stationi* nous rappelle-t-il que, comme les soldats cantonnés dans les *praesidia* des routes d'exploitation du Claudianus et du Porphyrites, ceux de la voie caravanière Coptos-Myos Hormos devaient être appelés *stationarii*'.<sup>1733</sup> These *praesidia* are often now translated as 'police stations' or 'watch towers', highlighting their hypothesised function, and function of the soldiers serving within them.<sup>1734</sup> This would explain the brevity of the outposting, and the joy at coming back, celebrating his return to his unit's base by wishing the emperor well, the man in whose name Roman soldiers made their conquests, victories and conducted their military service.

Which emperor this is referring to is unknown, but Bernand conjectures that it could have been Trajan;<sup>1735</sup> 'c'est en effet à partir du règne de Trajan que les Daces entrent en nombre dans l'armée romaine'.<sup>1736</sup> Dida could possibly have been recruited (or forced into military service) as a result of the Dacian Wars: 'a date subsequent to the conquest of Dacia by Trajan would bring the inscription into association with the occupation of the extant fort, which recent excavations have suggested to be in use for the greater part of the second century'.<sup>1737</sup> This is an exciting identification, although it must be borne in mind that 'men who are clearly Thracians are sometimes described on military diplomas as Daci; hence a Dacus need not a priori be dated as late as Trajan'.<sup>1738</sup> This identification happened because Dacians were considered to have

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<sup>1730</sup> Maxfield 2000: 432.

<sup>1731</sup> *Ibid.*: 434.

<sup>1732</sup> *Ibid.*: 436.

<sup>1733</sup> Bülow-Jacobsen et al. 1995: 107.

<sup>1734</sup> See, for example, *ibid.*: 27.

<sup>1735</sup> See Bernand 1972: 19 for reasons why; see also Bülow-Jacobsen et al. 1995: 104 for reasons for and against this potential date.

<sup>1736</sup> Bülow-Jacobsen et al. 1995: 104. The approximate date of the posting of the *ala Vocontiorum* to Krokodilo correlates with this idea; see discussion above and Maxfield 2000: 429, who perhaps was an emperor's reign too late in her conjectured 'c. Hadrian' date for the posting of the *ala Vocontiorum* at this military outpost in the Egyptian desert.

<sup>1737</sup> Maxfield 2000: 427.

<sup>1738</sup> *Ibid.*

‘lived on both sides of the Danube’,<sup>1739</sup> and this is not the only time where an auxiliary soldier of Thraco-Dacian origin has been described as *Dacus*.<sup>1740</sup> Men from Thrace served ‘in all branches of the Imperial Roman army’.<sup>1741</sup> This inscription was written by Dida, so surely he must have known his own nationality? As Latin was his second language, however, one he likely acquired during his military service, he would have been taught the Roman term for his nationality, and he then disseminated this perception of his identity, thus incorrectly calling himself a Dacian when he was a Thracian. Alternatively, he could have been a Dacian with a Thracian name, as this was not uncommon.<sup>1742</sup> It was an identity and origin he was proud of, writing all the indicators of his Thraco-Dacian origins in the first line of his inscription for the health of the Roman emperor.

Inscriptions for the health of the emperor, however, sometimes occur in a dedication to a deity (in the examples below, this deity is primarily Jupiter) for the health of the emperor. Such examples can be seen in **RI.17** and **RI.18**. **RI.17** is an honorific and votive inscription, for the health of the emperor, but is really a votive altar to Jupiter, in thanks for/celebrating the defeat of the Agriophagi in a skirmish, and for the booty this enabled the soldier in question to acquire. Although this soldier’s rank is not given in this inscription, Courtney suggests that Sulpicius Serenus might have been ‘prefect of the garrison [of Berenice] just before Hadrian abolished it’.<sup>1743</sup> Like many of the inscriptions in this chapter, this stone altar was found in Thebes, Egypt, and it is dated to the reign of Hadrian.<sup>1744</sup> As we have seen, one of the key roles of the soldiers posted in Egypt was to act as security and patrols in the desert against the local tribes, with whom they had many skirmishes, and this altar records one such altercation, and how these Roman soldiers felt it appropriate to celebrate victories, even small skirmishes with tribes in a distant part of the Roman Empire.

The Latin is in five lines of iambic senarii.<sup>1745</sup> There is no correlation between the line breaks and the format of the verse, and there is no clear separation on the stone of the difference between the verse and the prose sections. The Greek offers a condensed summary of the Latin,<sup>1746</sup> as often happens in these bilingual inscriptions, the Greek either elaborates on the Latin, or summarises it. The Greek letters are smaller than the Latin,<sup>1747</sup> which perhaps further, as well as the fact that this is the verse section, indicates that Latin was considered more important here. It was common to use both Greek and Latin in Hadrian’s reign, which may explain why Serenus uses both here. As we have also seen, using Greek was a sign of someone

<sup>1739</sup> As seen in D.C. 60.22.6-7 (Maxfield 2000: 427 n. 122).

<sup>1740</sup> See Roxan’s discussion of a diploma from AD 127 ‘found near a Roman settlement in the district of Montana in north-west Bulgaria’: ‘the findspot strongly suggests that he had originated from a Thraco/Dacian people living south of the Danube rather than Dacia itself’ (2000: 310). He, too, was an auxiliary *eques*, from the *cohors III Thracum*.

<sup>1741</sup> Roxan 2000: 313.

<sup>1742</sup> See Bülow-Jacobsen et al. 1995: 105-106, although it is apparent that the identification of the origins of his name are still in doubt.

<sup>1743</sup> Courtney 1995: 247. EDCS-12500245 does not categorise this as a military inscription.

<sup>1744</sup> EDCS-12500245; *ILS* 8908; *CLE* 1861; Cagnat 1906/1927.1207; *AE* 1903.131; Breccia 1911.66; Preisigke 1915.307 nr. 4282; Courtney simply dates it to the second century AD (1995: 247); Cugusi 2011.40. HD030411 dates it between 29/8/AD 122-123; LLDB-120808 and Bernand 1977.87 also date it to this year. See also a photo of it at EDCS-12500245. Bernand has written a full commentary on this inscription (1977.87).

<sup>1745</sup> According to <https://www.mqdg.it/texts/CE/ce1861> the first, third, fourth and fifth lines are in iambic metres, the second in trochaic. The author here made it out to be overall in iambic senarii. Bücheler also believes this to be, overall, five lines of iambic senarii, but he notes the errors in the metre too (see *CLE* 1861). Courtney scans this slightly differently, but overall as iambic senarii too (1995: 247).

<sup>1746</sup> Bücheler sees it as a translation of the Latin (*CLE* 1861). Bernand thinks that the Latin is a translation of the Greek (Bernand 1977.87).

<sup>1747</sup> See Bernand 1977.87.

who was more learned, but also used more frequently in Egypt, especially by the military and administration, so perhaps Serenus was trying to appeal to all potential audiences.

Serenus is perhaps also the Ser. Sulpicius mentioned in *IGRR* I 1200.<sup>1748</sup> He is known from an inscription on the Colossus of Memnon, where we see his full name signed as *Servius Sulpicius Serenus* and, at this time, he was the commander of the *ala Voconces*.<sup>1749</sup> In **RI.17**, he refers to his defeat and pursuit of ‘a marauding band of Agriophagi’, known from Pliny’s *Naturalis Historia* for living in the part of the world the Romans called Ethiopia (6.195).<sup>1750</sup> Where they actually lived was ‘on the southern border of Egypt near to Berenice’,<sup>1751</sup> which leads Courtney to the conjecture that perhaps Severus was the prefect of Berenice, perhaps the very last. But Bernand suggests it was when he was in his role as the commander of the *ala Voconces* that this skirmish with the Agriophagi happened, therefore in AD 122/123, as this is when his inscription on the Colossus of Memnon is dated to.<sup>1752</sup> The Agriophagi had stolen some booty from either the military or the locals, Severus retrieved it, and took the camels that ‘were brought by the Agriophagi to carry off the booty’.<sup>1753</sup> From these three inscriptions mentioning Serenus, a summary has been made of his career, during which he was based solely in Egypt: he was a *praefectus cohortis* of an unknown unit but probably in Egypt, a *tribunus militum* of the *Legio XXII Deiotariana*, and then commander of the *ala Voconces*, who were garrisoned in Coptos, and afterwards he was a *procurator* who recruited cavalymen for the *ala veterana Gallica*.<sup>1754</sup> He also held a priesthood, *sacerdos* of Serapis, and it is thought that he was a native Alexandrian.<sup>1755</sup>

This inscription highlights the fear of violence, whether it came in full-scale battle or in skirmishes. This event was a small skirmish, but it was violent and threatening enough for Serenus to set up this religious inscription, and perhaps compose the verse and carve the altar itself, given the spelling mistakes and the less than professional look of the inscription, for the health of the emperor, to Jupiter, presumably not only to recognise their victorious achievement, their military campaigns made in the name of the emperor and by the divine will of the gods, but also in thanks for his return home, away from his posting in the middle of the desert. Once again, this inscription is just to Jupiter, in his normal guise (see **RI.4**). The altar has a triangular pediment at the top with a solar disk in the centre.<sup>1756</sup> This altar probably accompanied the erection of a religious building; *inst[r]u[x]it* does not just refer to the altar itself.<sup>1757</sup> This information, and treatment of an enemy after a small skirmish, is surprising because it is mentioned in verse (this inscription is unique in that regard in this corpus), and ‘la faiblesse des effectifs que les Romains maintenaient en une region si difficile d’accès, explique que le châtement ait été exemplaire, et qu’on n’ait pas fait de quartier’.<sup>1758</sup> The reason for Serenus’

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<sup>1748</sup> Courtney 1995: 247.

<sup>1749</sup> Bernand 1977.87; *ibid.* 20, p. 59.

<sup>1750</sup> See also Courtney 1995: 247; *CLE* 1861.

<sup>1751</sup> Courtney 1995: 247. According to Cagnat 1906/1927.1207, *degebant in deserto inter Thebas et Berenicen* (‘they lived in the desert between Thebes and Berenice’). See also Bernand 1977.87.

<sup>1752</sup> Bernand 1977.87.

<sup>1753</sup> Courtney 1995: 247.

<sup>1754</sup> See Bernand 1977.87, discussing Pflaum’s analysis of Serenus’ career.

<sup>1755</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1756</sup> See *ibid.*, as well as photos of it (see footnote above).

<sup>1757</sup> See *ibid.*

<sup>1758</sup> *Ibid.*

celebration was because he and/or the men he was commanding were not wounded and because he had killed nearly all the Agriophagi in battle (**RI.17.4-5**).<sup>1759</sup>

The recovery of booty is not celebrated in this corpus of Latin military verse inscriptions, except in **RI.17**, but it was a Ptolemaic tradition, which further cements the theory that Serenus was of Alexandrian origin.<sup>1760</sup> Overall, this inscription, despite Serenus' *tria nomina*, indicates he was not of Italic origin, and he behaved as a military man in Egypt, who appreciated the use of Greek, as it was the language of administration and the military in these lands. He demonstrates the variety of identities that could be expressed in the Roman military, whilst still, overall, adhering to a Roman tradition (i.e. epigraphy, and writing in Latin verse). As is evident throughout this chapter, military conquests were closely linked to religion, or, rather, vice versa, in the Roman mentality, not only demonstrated in their histories, annals, and works of epic verse, but also in small sections of inscribed verse dotted around the Empire, just as much as their soldiers were.

The reason why Jupiter may have been invoked in **RI.17** is indicated in **RI.18**. This inscription's very fragmented state puts it on the cusp of being included in this corpus, but it does provide some information about the career and identity of the commissioner of this inscription, as well as enable us to better understand **RI.17**. **RI.18** is a votive altar to Jupiter, for the health of the emperor, similar to **RI.17**. However, here, Jupiter is invoked by his title *Jupiter Optimus Maximus Depulsor* ('Jupiter, the Best, the Greatest, the Repeller', 1). When Jupiter was invoked with his epithet Depulsor, this was in his guise 'as the averter of evil',<sup>1761</sup> and he was 'le dieu qui défend les frontières et repousse les attaques ennemies', so it has been theorised that **RI.18** was established after 'une menace d'incursion barbare' on the lower Danube.<sup>1762</sup> Cugusi suggests it was set up in thanks 'alla divinità per il felice rientro in sede, a Roma', and for his career.<sup>1763</sup> The cult of Jupiter Depulsor is better known on the Noricum and Pannonian borders, where Ianuarius encountered the cult; we know he was from Celeia, Noricum as he states this in the inscription (3).<sup>1764</sup> Although, the cult did also gain traction under the Severi, and seems to have been popular with the *Legio I Italica*, so this may also explain its appearance here.<sup>1765</sup> This limestone statue base was found in Novae, Moesia Inferior (now near Svištov, Bulgaria) and was dedicated on 5/10/AD 227.<sup>1766</sup> We know exactly where it was placed: in the religious sanctuary of the *Legio I Italica*,<sup>1767</sup> 'le piédestal se trouvait, comme les autres monuments similaires érigés par les *primi pili*, dans la cour intérieure des *principia*. On peut supposer qu'il était placé à côté d'une entrée', which gives us an insight into the role played by the *primi pili*

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<sup>1759</sup> See also Bernand 1977.87.

<sup>1760</sup> See *ibid.*

<sup>1761</sup> Lewis & Short 1945: 553. Much has been written on this inscription, including a full commentary by Piso (2017: 57). Piso does, incorrectly, label this as being for Jupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus at one point, however (2017: 58).

<sup>1762</sup> AE 1972.526. See also Cugusi 2008.36; Božilova, Kolendo, & Mrozweicz 1992.13; Kolendo 1997.25; Kolendo & Božilova 2015.

<sup>1763</sup> Cugusi 2008.36. He compares the former sentiment to **NW.7** and *CLE* 19. This can also be compared to **RI.16** and **RI.17**.

<sup>1764</sup> This is the only known example of an instance of this cult in Moesia Inferior. See Božilova et al. 1992.13; Kolendo 1997.25; AE 1975.526; Cugusi 2008.36; Kolendo & Božilova 2015; Piso 2017:60-61, this is now Celje, Slovenia.

<sup>1765</sup> See Cugusi 2008.36.

<sup>1766</sup> AE 1972.526; Božilova et al. 1992.13; Kolendo 1997.25; Cugusi 2008.36; Schmidt Heidenreich 2013.455; Kolendo & Božilova 2015; Piso 2017: throughout; AE 2017.11 adn.; EDCS-13301371; HD009856. Its precise findspot was 'Novae oust, secteur V, carré XIII 357 et 358. Trouvé en 1965 (parties A et B) et 1966 (parties C qui est constituée de 50 menus fragments qu'on a réussi à coller, D et E). Le piédestal gisait près de la porte occidentale, à l'intérieur des murs de la ville, à environ 0,70m sous le niveau actuel du sol' (Božilova et al. 1992.13; Kolendo 1997.25; Kolendo & Božilova 2015). See also Schmidt Heidenreich 2013.455.

<sup>1767</sup> AE 1972.526.

in the religious life of the Roman army.<sup>1768</sup> The *principium* was not ‘pas seulement un centre administrative, mais aussi celui de la religion militaire’.<sup>1769</sup> The *primus pilus* was also in charge of supervising the *aquila* of the legion,<sup>1770</sup> and thus had an important role concerning the maintenance of the honour and identity of the legion. The emperor here was Severus Alexander, the final emperor in the timeline for this research, and, although his name has been hammered out, it is still legible in the inscription.<sup>1771</sup>

## RI.18

(in fronte)

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | Depulsori (vac.) | [pr]o salute d(omini) n(ostri) | [[M(arci) Aurel(ii) Severi Ale|xandri]] Pii Felicis | Aug(usti). | G(aius) Baienius | G(ai) fil(ius) Clau|dia [I]anuarius Cele|ia p(rimus) [p(ilus)] leg(ionis) I Ital(icae) Seve|rianae ex voto posu|(vac.)it(vac.).*

(in dextro latere)

*Dedic(atum) III Non(as) Oct(obres) | Albino et Maximo c[o(n)s(ulibus)] | per L(ucium) Mantennium Sa|binum leg(atum) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) | et Servaeum Corne|lianum leg(atum) leg(ionis) (vac.). |*

(in sinistro latere)

*[A]diutrix legio prim[a] tirone | probat[o], |  
[--- c]aliga prima, cu[m] compare | cent[urio]ne, |  
[--- dele]cto, Baienium | [-----] |  
[---]AC[---]UMA felice | [---]pot[---]M |  
[---]DOM[---]R[omam] misist[i] | [---] + [---] |  
[---]SA Iovi [--- prim]us pilus tibi | san[cto] |  
[ex v]oto posuit PO[--- Ia]nuarius | a[ram?]. |*

This votive hexameter inscription was set up by a *primus pilus* of the *Legio I Italica Severiana* (Gaius Baienius Ianuarius), and dedicated by the *legatus Augusti pro praetore* (Lucius Mantennius Sabinus) and *legatus legionis* (Quintus Servaeus Fuscus Cornelianus):<sup>1772</sup> ‘es ist anzunehmen, dass die Weihung in der Tat seitens des Legionslegaten unter der Autorität des L. Mantennius Sabinus ausgeführt wurde’.<sup>1773</sup> Sabinus and Cornelianus are known from other inscriptions. Sabinus was the son of the *praefectus Aegypti* (AD 193-194) and shortly after the dedication of this inscription he became the governor of Moesia Inferior (AD 227-229). Cornelianus is found in two inscriptions from Gightis, Tripolitania, which is where he originated from.<sup>1774</sup> From these inscriptions, we know that Cornelianus was: *quaestor urbanus*,

<sup>1768</sup> Kolendo & Božilova 2015. See Božilova et al. 1992.13 for details on examples of more religious monuments (votive altars and then statue bases) set up by the *primi pili* near this temple of the standards at Novae, some of whom were in the *Legio I Italica*, for various gods and emperors. The gods they venerated were not often from the usual Roman pantheon. See also Kolendo 1997.25; Piso 2017: throughout, as well as the discussion below.

<sup>1769</sup> Rebuffat 1972: 337.

<sup>1770</sup> Piso 2017: 65; Veg. mil. 2.8.

<sup>1771</sup> See, for example, Kolendo 1997.25.

<sup>1772</sup> See AE 1972.526; Božilova et al. 1992.13; Kolendo 1997.25; Kolendo & Božilova 2015; AE 2017.1221; Piso 2017: 57, 62-63 for this being a hexameter inscription (although, as Božilova et al. 1992, Kolendo 1997.25, Piso 2017: 64, point out, there are some mistakes in the hexameter). The hexameter nature of the inscription can be seen on the fourth face of the statue base, despite the fact that most of the inscription is now missing.

<sup>1773</sup> Piso 2017: 61.

<sup>1774</sup> See AE 1972.526; Božilova et al. 1992.13; Kolendo 1997.25; Kolendo & Božilova 2015.

*tribunus plebis, praetor hastarius, iuridicus per Calabriam, Lucaniam, Apuliam, Bruttios, curator viae Salariae, praetor ex delegatione de liberalibus causis et supremarium, legatus legionis of the Legio XIII Gemina, in Apulum, Dacia, legatus legionis I Italicae, legatus provinciae Galatiae.*<sup>1775</sup> He could have been posted here, in a time of great tension and hostility, because ‘les cas où un sénateur commandait successivement deux, ou même plusieurs légions, étaient liés en règle générale à une situation spécifique (guerre, tension de relations politiques, attaques des barbares). On confiait alors en effet le commandement de la légion à un homme expérimenté ayant l’habitude de commander de grandes unités militaires’.<sup>1776</sup>

Ianuarius, despite being of Noric origin, was recruited in Baiae, Italy (**RI.18.11**). Perhaps he had Italic ties; after all, the inhabitants of his home town were registered in the Claudia voting tribe, and he had a name of Etruscan/Italic origin.<sup>1777</sup> We do not know which ranks he held before he was promoted to the rank of centurion,<sup>1778</sup> but we do know that he was recommended into the *Legio I Adiutrix* (8):<sup>1779</sup>

Man pflegte zuerst innerhalb der Legionen derselben Provinz zu promovieren, um weiter in Legionen einer anderen Provinz oder einer anderen Armeegruppe die Laufbahn fortzusetzen. Dieses System der Centurionenbeförderung hatte auch den Zweck, das gesamte römische Heer taktisch und als Disziplin zu vereinheitlichen. In seiner Versinschrift erwähnte Ianuarius nur die Legion in welcher er den ersten Centurionat erreichte, eine *legio Adiutrix*, und jene, in der er zum Primipilat befördert wurde, die *legio I Italica*, nicht aber auch die wahrscheinlichen Zwischenstationen. In die *legio I Italica* kam er also als hochrangiger Centurio. Als solcher und nicht als *primus pilus* wurde er auf Befehl des Kaisers mit einer Aufgabe nach Rom geschickt. Auf keinen Fall durfte er als *primus pilus* seine Legion verlassen. Worum es ging, können wir nur vermuten.

One wonders if Ianuarius did go to Rome, probably in a military triumph, as previous soldiers have referred to going to Rome as synonymous with joining a triumph (**RI.8**), or if he is referring to the Roman army instead when he declares *[R]omam misist[i] | [---] + [---] | / [---] SA Iovi [---] primus pilus tibi | san[cto] | / [ex v]oto posuit PO[---] Ia[nuarius] | a[ram?]* (‘you sent me to Rome, [...] / [...] Ianuarius, *primus pilus*, put up this altar[?] / In accordance with a sacred vow, for you, Jupiter’, 15-20). The editors of *AE* conjecture that ‘en cette qualité il fut envoyé en mission à Rome, accompagné des soldats sous ses ordres, probablement lors des troubles dus au meurtre en 233/224 du préfet du prétoire Domitius Ulpianus’.<sup>1780</sup> All three soldiers mentioned in this inscription, regardless of their non-Roman origins, were firmly cemented in Roman religious and military culture. This highlights how it was generally those of a higher rank who set up religious inscriptions, especially officially sanctioned ones.

As we have seen, multiple religious inscriptions of the Roman military were established by centurions, especially when on behalf of their men, and the *primus pilus*, the most senior of them all, had a significant role ‘dans la vie religieuse de la légion’ as a part of the duties of this rank.<sup>1781</sup> It was customary for *primi pili* to erect votive altars and statue bases; if their

<sup>1775</sup> Božilova et al. 1992.13.

<sup>1776</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1777</sup> *AE* 1972.526; Božilova et al. 1992.13; Cugusi 2008.36.

<sup>1778</sup> *AE* 2017.1221. See also Piso 2017: 66 for suggestions about Ianuarius’ career progression.

<sup>1779</sup> Piso 2017: 66.

<sup>1780</sup> *AE* 2017.1221. See also Piso 2017: 57, 65-67 for theories on this too.

<sup>1781</sup> Božilova et al. 1992.13.

predecessor did so, then they had to too, and such an act of the *primus pilus* was as much indicative of his own personal rank and status within the military as it was of his religious obligation. Some wished to show their superiority even over their predecessors through these monuments, and presenting their own personal careers on such inscriptions was common for the *primi pili* at Novae.<sup>1782</sup> This explains why Ianuarius was the one who set up this inscription, and discusses his personal career on this officially sanctioned votive statue base, but why it was dedicated by two officers of a higher rank than him. In this inscription, both aspects of ascent in the Roman military are attested, as Ianuarius, as evident from the verse part of this inscription which details his career, rose through the ranks to become a *primus pilus*. Sabinus and Cornelianus, on the other hand, were both from the senatorial class, and their ranks were of political, more civil servant allegiance, rather than military.

Found in Rome,<sup>1783</sup> **AI.6** is a votive marble *tabula* fragment for the Health and Victory of the Emperor and Thunderer Augustus,<sup>1784</sup> and the Nymphs are mentioned (17), by the *Corpus Piscatorum et Urinatorum*, the fishermen and divers' guild of the Tiber.<sup>1785</sup> It was 'the Victory of the Emperor, under whose auspices the army went to war'.<sup>1786</sup> They were a body of 'workers ... who sailed on the river under administrative permission', the *urinatores*' work 'consisted of collecting goods fallen overboard'.<sup>1787</sup> Tran says that this inscription is part of the evidence of 'how important the celebration of Severan power was' to this *corpus*,<sup>1788</sup> as well as the statues of Caracalla and Julia Domna in the meeting place of this guild,<sup>1789</sup> and Tran suggests that this inscription was in 'the regular meeting place of the *corpus*'.<sup>1790</sup> There is an interesting debate about whether this is addressed to Elagabalus or Caracalla.<sup>1791</sup> For Gag  , 'les r  f  rences surnaturelles et cosmiques du texte, dans leur caract  re ampoule, s'accordent bien avec la personnalit   d'  lagabal'.<sup>1792</sup> B  cheler conjectures that this emperor may have been Elagabalus, and the editors of the *CIL* simply state *Tam quis imperator intellegendus sit in hoc titulo obscuram est, quam multa alia* ('so who the emperor must be understood as in this inscription is unknown, as with many others').<sup>1793</sup> This inscription dates to 4<sup>th</sup> April AD 211,<sup>1794</sup> although in the 1966 edition of *AE* it has been dated to 8<sup>th</sup> June 218,<sup>1795</sup> something which 'l'auteur souligne l'heureuse coincidence qui s'  tait   tablie, en 218 apr. J. -C., entre le jour de la f  te

<sup>1782</sup> Bo  ilova et al. 1992.13.

<sup>1783</sup> HD014990; Center for Epigraphical and Palaeographical Studies CIL 6.1080, <https://kb.osu.edu/items/96bc2d76-5dbf-4725-86b9-fd6c4a21d739>, last accessed 8/4/2024; EDR074497; Musei Vaticani Catalogo Online MV.6898.0.0, <https://catalogo.museivaticani.va/index.php/Detail/objects/MV.6898.0.0>, last accessed 8/4/2024; *CIL* VI 1080; *CLE* 274: 134. There is debate on exactly where (Tran 2020: 228).

<sup>1784</sup> HD014990; EDR074497; Center for Epigraphical and Palaeographical Studies CIL 6.1080, <https://kb.osu.edu/items/96bc2d76-5dbf-4725-86b9-fd6c4a21d739>, last accessed 8/4/2024; Musei Vaticani Catalogo Online MV.6898.0.0, <https://catalogo.museivaticani.va/index.php/Detail/objects/MV.6898.0.0>, last accessed 8/4/2024; *CIL* VI 1080; *AE* 1996.90; *CLE* 274.

<sup>1785</sup> *AE* 1966.15: 6. See also *AE* 1996.90; Baldarotta 1998: 309; Center for Epigraphical and Palaeographical Studies CIL 6.1080, <https://kb.osu.edu/items/96bc2d76-5dbf-4725-86b9-fd6c4a21d739>, last accessed 8/4/2024; *CLE* 274.

<sup>1786</sup> Richmond 1962: 187.

<sup>1787</sup> Tran 2020: 224.

<sup>1788</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1789</sup> *Ibid.*: 224-226. See also Tran 2013.

<sup>1790</sup> *Ibid.*: 228.

<sup>1791</sup> See *AE* 1966.15: 5-6 for a more in-depth discussion of this. HD014990; EDR074497; Musei Vaticani Catalogo Online MV.6898.0.0, <https://catalogo.museivaticani.va/index.php/Detail/objects/MV.6898.0.0>, last accessed 8/4/2024; *CIL* VI 1080; *CLE* 274; Baldarotta 1998: 310; Tran 2013; Center for Epigraphical and Palaeographical Studies CIL 6.1080, <https://kb.osu.edu/items/96bc2d76-5dbf-4725-86b9-fd6c4a21d739>, last accessed 8/4/2024.

<sup>1792</sup> Tran 2013.

<sup>1793</sup> *CIL* VI 1080.

<sup>1794</sup> HD014990; EDR074497; Musei Vaticani Catalogo Online MV.6898.0.0, <https://catalogo.museivaticani.va/index.php/Detail/objects/MV.6898.0.0>, last accessed 8/4/2024.

<sup>1795</sup> *AE* 1966.15: 6.

annuelle de ce college ... et le succès décisif remporté par les partisans d'Élagabal, en Syrie, sur Macrin: ce fut pour le nouveau prince son jour de «victoire»".<sup>1796</sup> The 1966 edition of *AE* dates it to Caracalla's birthday,<sup>1797</sup> and this appears to be the consensus now.<sup>1798</sup>

It was written in hexameters,<sup>1799</sup> not wholly unexpected for a votive inscription exalting the victories and life of the Emperor. For Baldarotta, it is mostly in prose, apart from a few parts that exhibit metrical aspects, and **AI.6.14** (beginning *Nox dea*) may be a pentameter and dactylic hexameter in the final two lines.<sup>1800</sup> This is often interpreted as a primarily prose inscription, except for 14-17, which have been identified as hexameters. However, this inscription appears to be in iambic senarii (4-12) and hexameters (14-17). Verse inscriptions are usually written out with complete words, as **AI.6** is, which gives another argument for it being verse; clearly whoever wrote this inscription understood the more formulaic nature of prose in inscriptions. Although, again, this is countered by the concluding two lines, presented here as prose, and have formulaic language that has not been abbreviated. Once again, this exacerbates the uniqueness of this inscription. It is debatable that this inscription could be counted as military, as the military references are subtle. However, it shall be discussed briefly here because it is indicative of perceptions of ordinary civilians towards exploits and conquests of the emperor via warfare. Celestial aspects of this inscription are discussed in Chapter 6, although there are intersections between the religious/imperial themes in this inscription and the astronomical.

The fishermen and divers' guild 'il y avait certainement des esclaves, et pour qui l'empereur était un dieu'.<sup>1801</sup> This inscription indicates how, at least some of, the ordinary people, citizens and slaves, perceived the emperor, despite being alive, as divine (**AI.6.2-3**):<sup>1802</sup> he came from the stars, and he will, presumably, go back to them (2).<sup>1803</sup> This is because he 'per aver allargato i conini dell'impero e concesso la pace al mondo',<sup>1804</sup> due to Caracalla's *Constitutio Antoniniana* and his military campaigns, making him 'primo un impero universal aperto a tutti gli uomini'.<sup>1805</sup> Therefore, it indicates that it is not simply warfare that earned an Emperor divinity, but the bringing of peace to the Empire, something we also see with Augustus and Vespasian, for example. Although this may be biased, as the *piscatores* and *urinatores* pledged allegiance to the Severans upon the actions and status of their *patronus* and *quinquennalis III*, Tiberius Claudius Severus.<sup>1806</sup>

For Tran, this sort of praise was reserved for this particular guild to address the emperor 'on solemn occasions'.<sup>1807</sup> Bücheler describes the compliments exhibited here as *insanae imperatoris laudis* ('in frantic approval of the emperor'),<sup>1808</sup> the 1990 edition of *AE* simply as hyperbolic praise which is seen as unusual for a contemporary text.<sup>1809</sup> Tran discusses how

<sup>1796</sup> *AE* 1966.15: 6. See also Baldarotta 1998: 310.

<sup>1797</sup> *AE* 1996.90: 41. See also Baldarotta 1998: 310; Faust & Leitmeir 2011: 227; Ibba 2012: 184 n. 150; Tran 2020: 227-228, 241-242. Although exactly which year this was is disputed.

<sup>1798</sup> See the date presented on HD014990; EDR074497; Musei Vaticani Catalogo Online MV.6898.0.0, <https://catalogo.museivaticani.va/index.php/Detail/objects/MV.6898.0.0>, last accessed 8/4/2024, for example.

<sup>1799</sup> <https://www.mqdg.it/texts/CE/ce0274>; *CLE* 274.

<sup>1800</sup> Baldarotta 1998: 309.

<sup>1801</sup> *AE* 1996.90.

<sup>1802</sup> See also Ibba 2012: 183-184; Mastino 2013: 45.

<sup>1803</sup> The phrase *in terram delapso* following *sideribus* (3), is present in the editions of this inscription in *CIL* VI 40638 and *AE* 1996.90.

<sup>1804</sup> Mastino 2013: 45, who refers to lines 4-8 for proof of this. See also Ibba 2012: 184, who cites lines 3-6.

<sup>1805</sup> Mastino 2013: 45.

<sup>1806</sup> Tran 2020: 224-226.

<sup>1807</sup> *Ibid.*: 226.

<sup>1808</sup> *CLE* 274: 134.

<sup>1809</sup> *AE* 1996.90.



‘modern historians have insisted on the oddity of this inscription. Its style is certainly extremely hyperbolic and flattering’,<sup>1810</sup> thus indicating how this type of praise and perception of the emperor and his exploits was perhaps not the interpretation of him by the ordinary populace of the Roman Empire. Given that nothing like this has been seen in the inscriptions in this study, it is remarkable in its unusual nature.<sup>1811</sup> For Tran, ‘the overall tone gives an idea of the atmosphere surrounding association festivities in honour of emperors’,<sup>1812</sup> and one can certainly see how the excitement and anticipation leading up to these events, especially with the involvement of the emperor, a living (yet to be made) divinity, could be overexaggerated by the populace, especially by those who wished to highlight their connection to and appreciation of the emperor. Once again, we have the stars in an inscription that also mentions the earth, the natural world and the significance of flora in symbolic celebration, and water,<sup>1813</sup> in this case, their connection to the Emperor, either how he descended from them (the stars), or how he conquered lands and brought peace to them (**AI.6.4-6**), how these victories ought to be celebrated by the people and the Emperor himself, or to the careers of those dedicating this inscription. In this way **AI.6** demonstrates how power and identity are intrinsically connected to the world around them, either through their conquest of it, or how they are directly descended from it.

## 5.6. Conclusion

The Latin verse inscriptions in this chapter are truly of the Roman army; as shown in Table 5 and Figures 5.6 and 5.8, there are no soldiers from the Roman navy represented in these religious verse inscriptions, despite the fact that they, too, participated in Roman state religion and had a similar approach to religion in the Roman world as the army did.<sup>1814</sup> The inscriptions in this chapter were by soldiers in the Roman military; unlike the other chapters, none were done on their behalf by, for example, family members (see Table 5). Some are by an individual for their own personal reason, sometimes to express their divine favour and familiarity with the gods,<sup>1815</sup> sometimes on behalf of a larger body of soldiers, often as their senior acting as a collective representative. Thus, in that moment, immortalised in stone, that particular soldier becomes the voice, the identity of the legion. In the religious verse inscriptions of the Roman army, the individual becomes the collective.

All the inscriptions in this chapter were written by those on active service, or described active service; there are no *veterani* here (see Figure 5.6). Only **RI.5** was not by a soldier, but by a soldier’s son. There are some senators who experienced military action, but this was as a part of their political career, and not as career soldiers. So, especially from those written within the heart of the imperial era, they express the desires and wishes of those who were on active service. They exacerbate the need for safety and protection, thanking a god when they return safely to base (**AI.3, NW.7**), leave a dangerous area (**RI.16, RI.17**) or for protecting their soldiers or their family (**AI.3, NW.7, RI.10**) (see Figure 5.10). The most common reason for erecting a religious military verse inscription was for religious veneration, and the next most common were celebrating achievements, either personal, political or military, military victories (see, for example, **RI.1, RI.17, RI.15**) and the health of the emperor (see Table 5 and Figures

<sup>1810</sup> Tran 2020: 227. See also Baldarotta 1998: 309-310.

<sup>1811</sup> See also Baldarotta 1998: 312, who states that this makes it difficult to interpret this inscription correctly.

<sup>1812</sup> Tran 2020: 228.

<sup>1813</sup> See also Baldarotta 1998: 309, 311.

<sup>1814</sup> See, for example, Starr 1993: 35-36, 86-87.

<sup>1815</sup> See *ibid.*: 18-19; Rosenmeyer 2018: 25, 34.

5.10). Many of these reasons intersected (see Table 5), for example healing and safety were often connected, and veneration of the emperor and military victories often appeared in tandem. Given the Roman military's relationship with the emperor, and the emperor's reliance on them, it is not surprising that the emperor-cult existed and was adhered to.

Most of the inscriptions in this chapter can be dated between the second to the mid-third centuries (see Table 5 and Appendix 4), still within the majority of dates that the inscriptions in this study can be dated to, as well as Roman epigraphic tradition in general. A number of these inscriptions contain slightly more military language as seen in other chapters, most likely because they were found in military locations, such as fortresses and/or were constructed for/on behalf of a military audience. *Primi pili* and centurions had great pride in the expected religious duties of their role, as expressed in their religious verse inscriptions. The inscriptions throughout this chapter celebrate their military identity, either through their career progression, or through the reputation of the legion itself (**RI.14**), all the while using military language, and are found in identifiably exclusively military settings. These inscriptions exhibit all facets of a military life, from their military exploits and combat (such as **RI.17**), hunting (**RI.13**), security work at a military outpost (**RI.16**), to construction projects (**RI.14**) (see also Figure 5.10). Through placing such emphasis on their military identity, whether it is expressing their rank, their career progression, the language and terminology they use, or combat they had fought in and won, they express a pride in their role in the Roman world. But these inscriptions go further, and express pride in the various roles and activities that those in the Roman military carried out. Sometimes, there is relief that this role is over, and they have returned to their main base (see **AI.3**, **NW.7**, **RI.17**). More so than any other chapter in this study, the inscriptions under the category 'religious' are exclusively by the military, for the military (see also Figure 5.12).

Their provincial findspots demonstrate the breadth of the locations of the Roman army (Figure 5.11), and they were primarily found in locations with the greatest military garrisons, the African province of Numidia was the most frequent findspot, followed by the provinces along the Rhine-Danube frontier, and then Britain, Aegyptus and Italia all feature four religious military verse inscriptions. The concentration of these inscriptions being found in Africa, the Rhine-Danube frontier and Britain reflect the harsher environment and/or the remoteness of these frontier regions, including the greater military threats these areas furthest away from Italy also faced. The majority of these inscriptions have been erected in places of persistent aggravation from exterior forces, for example African tribes. They were created when the dedicant had returned from a tempestuous mission, in thanks for their safe return; sometimes they would include their men in their thanks (such as **RI.17**, **RI.16**, **NW.7** and **AI.3**). The Italian findspots depict higher ranks and reflect celebrations of military conquests abroad. The tone of these inscriptions is different to others presented in this study, as they more often mention military activity than not (see Figure 5.7),<sup>1816</sup> and they have a triumphant tone about their career.<sup>1817</sup> In an inscription where they are giving thanks to a god, for example, for their own achievements and/or military success, it is hardly surprising that they become more ostensibly boastful and proud of this. Perhaps this form of public veneration gave them license to boast about their conquests, victories, etc.; after all, a random stranger thought he could praise the

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<sup>1816</sup> This is unusual; usually, as seen in the other thematic chapters, any reference to the military is usually through the soldier mentioning his military rank, and the inscription discusses something else. For more information on depictions of a military life, see Chapter 8, sections 8.8-8.10.

<sup>1817</sup> This is rare in military verse inscriptions outside religious ones; see discussion in Chapter 8, especially sections 8.8-8.10.

military achievements of the emperor, for which the author believed he earned his *cognomen* Pius (**RI.15**).

The most common metres used in these inscriptions were, equally, iambic senarii and hexameter (see Table 5 and Figure 5.5). Nearly all these inscriptions were ‘by’ (whether that meant composed, inscribed, or simply ordered by someone is not always obvious, but their contribution is often clear; some inscriptions involved multiple soldiers) soliders (Table 5 and Figure 5.12), and featured men of a higher rank, mainly prefects in various guises, centurions, and *legati* (see Figure 5.6). More often than not, the *legati* acted as authorities, making the erection of the inscription official, whilst it was the soldier of centurional rank who commissioned it, due to the religious aspect of their role, and who acted as the representative of their unit; both centurions who had come up through the ranks and who had entered the army as centurions can be seen here.<sup>1818</sup> Most of these inscriptions involve a legion, although there are some auxiliary units (see Table 5 and Figure 5.8). As observed earlier, these two do not mix; only legions and *numeri* are mentioned in the same inscription on two separate occasions (**RI.14** and **NW.8**). All the ranks who had an input in creating these inscriptions, except for a *miles* for whom it may not have been necessary, would have been expected to be literate as a part of their role within the army (see Appendix 3). Those who were from the senatorial class are expected to have had a better education than the rest of the population, and there are a few inscriptions here by members of that class, describing the military service expected of their political career. The inscriptions featured in this chapter all highlight the importance, and the intertwined system, of politics, religion and the military in the Roman world.

There is an interesting skew towards an African influence, either in religion, origin of the soldier and/or location of the garrison (see Table 5, and Figures 5.9 and 5.11). The most frequent known legionary unit erecting these religious inscriptions was the *Legio III Augusta* (see Table 5 and Figure 5.8). One need only read Grainger’s book on *Syrian Influences in the Roman Empire to AD 300* to see the extent of the influence of Syrians, especially Syrian recruits into the army, on the Roman world. What he says about Syrian religions is true of all religions in the Roman Empire, and is exhibited by the inscriptions in this chapter: ‘both military participation and the extension of Syrian religions throughout the Empire operated largely at the level of individuals. To be sure, the military units had no option but to be stationed where the Roman government placed them, but when in post, any influence they exercised was through the actions of individual soldiers, and by their contacts with the local people’.<sup>1819</sup> It is evident from other military religious inscriptions found at Gholaiia that ‘ces œuvres de l’armée dépendaient tout autant de la forteresse que de la ville, de même que les divinités étaient aussi solidement enracinées dans le terroir qu’elles pouvaient être chères au cœur des soldats’.<sup>1820</sup> The same can be said of the inscriptions in this chapter. For the *Legio III Augusta*, the upkeep of their fortress correlated with their own reputation and identity. The proliferation of the gods worshipped, venerated and thanked in this chapter (see Table 5) highlights the extent to which the gods were perceived to have influenced the world around them.

To always have a home, one needed their gods. Inscriptions such as **RI.1**, **RI.2** and **AI.7** include references to the Roman pantheon, often syncretising their local deity to the Roman equivalent(s), yet the local deity is the one they emphasise and make the focus of their

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<sup>1818</sup> See also Adams 1999: throughout, esp. 126-128 for the levels of education within the centurionate.

<sup>1819</sup> Grainger 2017: 250.

<sup>1820</sup> Rebuffat 1972: 329.

inscription. The author of **RI.2** must have known the *Aeneid* to be able to allude to it, and he was of a higher social class, therefore likely to be of higher educational status. Like Aeneas bringing the Lares (in statue form) to his promised land of Rome, the dedicant of **RI.2** brought his Medaurus, his Dalmatian town's Lar, to Lambaesis, possibly as a statue, dedicated a verse inscription to him and exalted his own military conduct and feats, which replicated those of Medaurus himself; the connection could hardly be lost on the dedicant. What is also significant about this data is the lack of gods venerated here (see Table 5). There is no Mithras, no Hercules, no Jupiter Dolichenus, all famous for being worshipped and transmitted around the Roman world by the soldiers of the Roman military. The range of gods is wide and varied, with few inscriptions repeating the same god twice. Jupiter is invoked in different guises, and the nymphs, who ostensibly seem to be the most mentioned, were not the same nymphs, but the local nymphs of each place, and thus should be understood as different variations of the same principle of deities (see Table 5).

Those in the Roman military absorbed, and as a consequence understood, the cultures they were exposed to, either through respect or osmosis, the choice was probably a personal one and thus was different on an individual basis, as much as they disseminated and spread Roman religion to the lands they played a part in conquering. They probably also assimilated local gods to the Roman pantheon as they were more familiar with it, given their service in the Roman military, seeking comfort and understanding in familiarity. Thus, they may have synchronised familiar gods to their equivalent in a new province, for example, for no other reason than they realised the similarity, and so understood the unfamiliar deity. In this way, Roman religion functioned much like the Roman military itself. Somehow, the Romans had to create unity, across cultures, across religions, across the Empire in the military that was designed to protect this myriad of lands and peoples, and for those within the Roman military environment, this was their unifying familiarity.<sup>1821</sup>

The routines of the military, exhibited in their rigorous training, frequent religious festivals and shared language was about unity, discipline and a shared understanding that would save the life of their fellow soldiers, and lead them to create great construction projects such as the one the centurion Iascuthan lauded his unit, the *Legio III Augusta*, for, which exhibited the accumulation of all this: *virtus militum* (**RI.14**).<sup>1822</sup> These men were posted to provinces unknown to them, garrisons in the middle of the desert, and to the edges of the Roman world. It is little wonder that they sought the gods for support, either the local ones, ones from home, or ones they had brought with them across the Empire during their itinerant lives as members of the Roman army. Even in their religion there is the sense of duality in identity of those inhabiting the Roman world, and recruited into the Roman military: Roman consuls adopted gods they had encountered in their career and thanked them for their progression in the Roman political *cursus honorum*. The attitude to religion demonstrated here highlights their desire to make the unfamiliar familiar, the unknown chaos of a new culture known and logical, and thus bringing security and peace to the mind of the soldier in an unknown society, culture and way of life.

Religious syncretism and *interpretatio Romana* are highlighted in what Newell regards as 'the most fascinating' phenomenon of all regarding Celtic deities: 'the Romanization of Celtic religion motivated the material embodiment of Celtic deities; introduced inscribed dedications;

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<sup>1821</sup> See, for example, Haynes 2013: throughout.

<sup>1822</sup> See also the discussion in Chapter 8.

and assimilated Celtic to Roman gods [in name and then appearance]. But certain Celtic deities *could not* be assimilated; their counterparts were not to be found in the Graeco-Roman Pantheon. And these – the most fascinating of all – preserved intact the pristine purity of their barbaric identity, unaffected by Graeco-Roman naturalism and realism’.<sup>1823</sup> What Newell regarded as the ‘Romanization of Celtic religion’ was this process: soldiers identifying and calling unfamiliar by name but familiar by nature deities by the one they were more familiar with. The more accurate interpretation is that of Saddington, who states ‘Roman readiness to equate deities of other peoples with their own gods, and the willingness of provincials to give Latin names to their gods, with the resultant formation of composite deities, sometimes with Roman, sometimes with Celtic or Germanic, sometimes with joint names, is well-known under the Tacitean phrase of *interpretatio Romana*.’<sup>[1824]</sup> The most influential body of Roman immigrants into the Rhineland were soldiers ... It becomes clear that neither the Roman military nor the local provincials were aiming at cultural hegemony: the concerns throughout were those of religion’.<sup>1825</sup> Caesar, for example, mentions the gods worshipped by the Gauls, and how universal they were:

*Deum maxime Mercurium colunt. Huius sunt plurima simulacra: hunc omnium inventorum artium ferunt, hunc viarum atque itinerum ducem, hunc ad quaestus pecuniae mercaturasque habere vim maximam arbitrantur. Post hunc Apollinem et Martem et Iovem et Minervam. De his eandem fere, quam reliquae gentes, habent opinionem: Apollinem morbos depellere, Minervan operum atque artificum initia tradere, Iovem imperium caelestium tenere, Martem bella regere.*

They especially worship the god Mercury. There are many images of him: they celebrate him as the inventor of trickery, he is in charge of the roads and ways, they think that he is the greatest power for money makers and commerce. After him are Apollo and Mars and Jupiter and Minerva. They have the same opinions about these deities as other races: Apollo drives off diseases, Minerva hands over the first knowledge of workmanship and craftsmen, Jupiter is the master of the heavenly empire, Mars rules over wars.

Caes. Gall. 6.17.

Religious inscriptions were made for immortality, in many ways just as much as epitaphs were, if not more so, as they were attached to the reverence and worship of a divine being.<sup>1826</sup> Those with accompanying, explicit identity markers (such as name and rank) were expressing the wish for the creator of this inscription to be remembered for as long as the divinity would be. These inscriptions, especially ones which express people’s direct experience with a deity (for example **RI.8**, **RI.9**, **RI.10**, **RI.11**, **RI.12**) confirm the existence, influence and significance of the gods on people’s lives;<sup>1827</sup> they are not simply beings to be thanked or invoked for luck before a hunting expedition (see **RI.13**) or invoked when times were bad (see, for example, **AI.3**, **RI.17**).

<sup>1823</sup> Newell 1934: 76. This is thought to happen to more than just Celtic deities, but Newell was specifically discussing Celtic deities, so this argument can be said to be the perception of some for any non-Roman gods they encountered.

<sup>1824</sup> Which he applies to how the Romans interpret, and therefore understand, a foreign deity (Tac. Germ. 43): *apud Naharvalos antiquae religionis lucus ostenditur. praesidet sacerdos muliebri ornatu, sed deos interpretatione Romana Castorem Pollucemque memorant. ea vis numina, nomen Alcis. nulla simulacra, nullum peregrinae superstitionis vestigium; ut fratres tamen, ut iuvenes venerantur* (‘Among the Naharvali an ancient sacred grove is revealed. The priest presides over it in a woman’s dress, but they say that the gods are Castor and Pollux, according to the Roman interpretation. That is the meaning of the deities, who is called Alci. There are no images, no vestiges of foreign superstition; however they are venerated as brothers, as young men’).

<sup>1825</sup> Saddington 1999: 155.

<sup>1826</sup> See, for example, Rosenmeyer 2018: 25-26, 34 as well as the inscriptions throughout this chapter.

<sup>1827</sup> See also Platt 2016: 162-163; Rosenmeyer 2018: 105 for comments on this.

In many ways, it was the Romans who gave substance, likeness, appearance to these immaterial, intangible deities of foreign lands. They often did not have statues, or any material interpretation of what they looked like until they were syncretised with the Roman appearance.<sup>1828</sup> As *interpretatio Romana* spread, and the culture, and religion, of those in the Roman military spread with them around the Roman world, more and more people would have become accustomed to seeing their gods in this way, would have grown up with it, even if they understood their qualities with the nuance/the original interpretation of these synchronised gods.

The Roman military were not stamping a Roman identity on a conquered place, but creating a religious landscape of recognition that everyone could understand, respect and interact with. As Latin became the universal language, so Roman religion did too, especially in the Roman military. As Roman religion was the more prolific, and probably more generally well known, and the Romans were the ones setting up these shrines, statues and inscriptions, it is hardly surprising that the appearance of these gods took on those of their Roman counterpart, again, not just because of motivations of conquest and wishing to ‘erase’ the local culture through standard Romanisation. Rather like those inhabiting the Roman world, as demonstrated by the soldiers in the Roman military, they had multiple identities, one of which was ‘Roman’.<sup>1829</sup> This can be explained by the circumstances themselves, and were perhaps exacerbated by the military circumstances, not only because of their role as fighters and defenders, but also as the initial inhabitants of newly acquired territory: ‘in a newly conquered, unfamiliar territory, in what must have been perceived as a backwater area on the northern frontier, almost constantly menaced by the threat of invasion from outside tribes, the creation and perpetuation of a sense of community was a necessity. In Roman Dacia, as elsewhere throughout the empire, individuals consistently defined themselves in respect to, and were defined by, the communities or groups they occupied’.<sup>1830</sup> This is still true now, where allegiance to a group is interpreted by an external witness as a part of someone’s identity. Perhaps this was also a psychological tactic by the Romans, who understood the wider implications of their conduct. They not only had great skill in war that meant they could obtain victory, but they knew the importance of maintaining it. Perhaps this acceptance of the worship of religions outside their own was a way of applying that attitude to everyday life, and to keep the people they had conquered on their side. Wars may have been won with weapons and men, but their victories were maintained through hearts and minds.

Roman soldiers were famously superstitious, with plenty of stories of them needing to be calmed down by a rational explanation of an eclipse by their general, for example. Was it superstition that led ‘the soldiers of the Roman army ... not to neglect to pay homage to any deity, Celtic or classical, whose power might be called upon to their advantage. They thought it wise, in particular, not to neglect any local deity, ‘the god of the place’?<sup>1831</sup> Or was it something else, such as cultural adoption or respect for the place they had recently resided in, because that is where their garrison was? This respect of local deities is seen in several of these inscriptions, for example **RI.7**, which was dedicated *Deo qui vias | et semitas com|mentus est* (‘to the god who devised the roads and paths’, 1-3), in **RI.2**, a consul brings Medaurus, a Dalmatian god, with him to African shores, and **RI.3**, where Apollo is addressed as the Celtic

<sup>1828</sup> See, for example, Newell 1934: 74-84.

<sup>1829</sup> See, for example, Byros 2011: 19, as well as Chapter 2.

<sup>1830</sup> Byros 2011: 19. Byros was discussing Dacia, but this can apply to any new province.

<sup>1831</sup> Charlton & Mitcheson 1983: 152.

Grannus, adopted from the consul's time with the Celts and/or his consulship in Germania. Newell believed that 'perhaps the most important result of the conquest on the religion of the Gauls was the assimilation of Celtic to Graeco-Roman deities both in name and in form. In name, this was achieved by appending the Celtic name of the god to that of a corresponding Roman deity, so that the Celtic became an epithet, as it were, of the Roman god, e.g. *Mercurius Dumias*; *Apollo Grannus*; *Mars Leherennus*, &c'.<sup>1832</sup> This interpretation of the interactions and synchronisation of gods in the Roman world with those beyond, and subsequently assimilated into, it is too simplistic. Assimilated is perhaps the wrong term, as they were not introduced into the Roman pantheon as Roman gods, yet Roman soldiers worshipped these 'foreign' gods with no apparent qualms about worshipping a god outside the pantheon of the Roman Empire and/or their own cultural heritage. What must be remembered is that many of these soldiers were not Italic Romans by birth, but were Roman through recruitment into the Roman military, citizenship, their adoption of the culture, etc., a running undercurrent that is apparent throughout this study. In **RI.3**, for example, Apollo is not addressed as Apollo Grannus, but simply as Grannus in a list of otherwise Roman deities (Concordia, the Camenae, Mars and the Lar Pacis).

The effects, and understanding, of religious synchronism in the Roman world are demonstrated in **AI.7**, where a soldier uses the constellation Virgo to express the various identities of the deity associated with this constellation (*Mater divum*, Pax, Virtus, Ceres and Dea Syria, 3-4), and Donatianus recognises this process of cross-cultural and -religious synchronism (see 7-10). In **AI.7**, and to a subtler extent inscriptions such as **RI.3**, they understood that this process happened, and it was not regarded as an act of conquest or domination by the Romans over another race, but of a way of creating a universal understanding between the divergent cultures, religions and origins in this multicultural empire, the crucible of which was its military. Religion united the soldiers of the Roman military to the wider world, and united the wider world to the Roman Empire.

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<sup>1832</sup> Newell 1934: 76.

Table 5: A summary of the data presented in Chapter 5

| No.  | Military rank                       | Unit                                   | Origin of Writer / Dedicatee / Soldier | For / By | Type of Monument | Date                          | Location                                         | Metre            | Bilingual | Deity mentioned / venerated         | Deity mentioned / dedicated to | Reason for inscription | Refers to military combat / activity |
|------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|----------|------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|------------------|-----------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| RI.1 | Unknown                             | Unknown                                | Italian                                | By       | Statue base      | Early first century AD        | Mount Erice, Sicily                              | Hexameter        | N         | Venus Erucina                       | Dedicated to                   | Military victory       | Y                                    |
|      |                                     |                                        |                                        |          |                  |                               |                                                  | Elegiac couplets |           |                                     |                                | Religious achievements |                                      |
|      |                                     |                                        |                                        |          |                  |                               |                                                  |                  |           |                                     |                                | Veneration             |                                      |
| RI.2 | <i>legatus legionis</i>             | <i>Legio III Augusta</i>               | Dalmatian?                             | By?      | Statue base      | Late second century AD        | Lambaesis, Numidia                               | Elegiac couplets | N         | Mars                                | Mentioned                      | Veneration             | Y                                    |
|      |                                     |                                        |                                        |          |                  |                               |                                                  | Iambic trimetres |           | Medaurus                            | Dedicated to                   |                        |                                      |
| RI.3 | <i>legatus Augusti pro praetore</i> |                                        | Italian                                | By       | Altar            | Early third century AD        | Bonna / Bonn, Germania Inferior                  | Iambic senarius  | N         | Concordia                           | Dedicated to                   | Political achievements | Y                                    |
|      |                                     |                                        |                                        |          |                  |                               |                                                  |                  |           | Grannus Apollo                      |                                |                        |                                      |
|      |                                     |                                        |                                        |          |                  |                               |                                                  |                  |           | Camenae                             |                                |                        |                                      |
|      |                                     |                                        |                                        |          |                  |                               |                                                  |                  |           | Mars                                |                                |                        |                                      |
|      |                                     |                                        |                                        |          |                  |                               |                                                  |                  |           | Lar Pacis                           |                                |                        |                                      |
|      |                                     |                                        |                                        |          |                  |                               |                                                  |                  |           | <i>deorum stirpe genito Caesari</i> |                                |                        |                                      |
| RI.4 | <i>praefectus cohortis</i>          | <i>cohors I Chalcidenorum equitata</i> | Syrian?                                | By       | Tablet           | AD 160s                       | Bir Umm Ali / Bir Oum Ali, Numidia               | Elegiac couplet  | N         | Jupiter                             | Dedicated to                   | Veneration             | N                                    |
| RI.5 | son of an <i>optio</i>              | Unknown                                | Italian?                               | By       | Altar            | First century AD              | Novaria / Novara, Transpadana / Regio XI, Italia | Hexameter        | N         | Mercury                             | Dedicated to                   | Veneration             | N                                    |
| RI.6 | <i>cornicularius</i>                | <i>legio IX Hispana</i>                | Unknown                                | By       | Altar            | Mid first to the early second | Eboracum / York, Britannia                       | Iambic senarius  | N         | Silvanus                            | Dedicated to                   | Veneration             | N                                    |



|       |                                 |                               |                                  |        |                      |                                    |                                      |                           |   |                                           |              |                                                  |   |
|-------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------|----------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------|---|-------------------------------------------|--------------|--------------------------------------------------|---|
|       |                                 |                               |                                  |        |                      | century AD                         |                                      |                           |   |                                           |              |                                                  |   |
| RI.7  | <i>singularis consularis</i>    | Unknown auxiliary unit        | Germanic / Pannonian / Danubian? | By     | Altar                | Second century AD                  | Cataractonium / Catterick, Britannia | Iambic senarius           | N | <i>Deus qui vias et semitas commentus</i> | Dedicated to | Veneration                                       | N |
|       | <i>beneficiarius consularis</i> | Unknown                       | Unknown                          |        |                      |                                    |                                      |                           |   |                                           |              |                                                  |   |
| RI.8  | <i>primus pilus</i>             | Unknown                       | Unknown                          | By     | Unknown              | Beginning of the second century AD | Aquae Flaviae / El-Hamma, Numidia    | Iambic senarius           | N | Nymphs                                    | Mentioned    | Achievements (military, political and religious) | Y |
| RI.9  | <i>miles</i>                    | Unknown                       | Unknown                          | By     | Altar                | Second to third centuries AD       | Habitancum / Risingham, Britannia    | Hexameter couplet         | N | Nymphs                                    | Dedicated to | Instructed in a dream                            | N |
| RI.10 | <i>praefectus castris</i>       | <i>Legio III Augusta</i>      | Unknown                          | By     | Statue base          | Third century AD                   | Lambaesis, Numidia                   | Stress accent (not metre) | N | Liber Pater                               | Dedicated to | Instructed in a dream                            | Y |
|       |                                 |                               |                                  |        |                      |                                    |                                      |                           |   |                                           |              | Safety of family                                 |   |
|       |                                 |                               |                                  |        |                      |                                    |                                      |                           |   | Jupiter                                   | Mentioned    | Self-achievement                                 |   |
|       |                                 |                               |                                  |        |                      |                                    |                                      |                           |   | Pan                                       | Mentioned    |                                                  |   |
| RI.11 | <i>praefectus Aegypti</i>       |                               | Unknown                          | For/by | Graffito             | AD 92                              | Thebes / Luxor, Aegyptus             | Latin prose               | Y | Memnon                                    | Dedicated to | Veneration                                       | N |
|       | <i>praefectus cohortis</i>      | <i>cohors II Thebaeorum</i>   | Unknown                          | For/by |                      |                                    |                                      | Greek distichs            |   |                                           |              | Witness                                          |   |
| RI.12 | <i>praefectus alae</i>          | <i>ala veterana Gallica</i>   | Unknown                          | By     | Graffito             | AD 117-138                         | Thebes / Luxor, Aegyptus             | Hexameter                 | N | Memnon                                    | Dedicated to | Veneration                                       | N |
|       | <i>praefectus Berenice</i>      |                               |                                  |        |                      |                                    |                                      |                           |   |                                           |              | Witness                                          |   |
| RI.13 | <i>legatus legionis</i>         | <i>Legio VII Gemina Felix</i> | Libyan                           | By     | Altar                | AD 162-166                         | Legio / Leon, Hispania Tarraconensis | Hexameter                 | N | Diana                                     | Dedicated to | Veneration                                       | N |
|       |                                 |                               |                                  |        |                      |                                    |                                      | Iambic trimetres          |   |                                           |              | Thanks                                           |   |
|       |                                 |                               |                                  |        |                      |                                    |                                      | Iambic dimetres           |   |                                           |              |                                                  |   |
|       |                                 |                               |                                  |        | Tablet               |                                    |                                      | Trochaic senarius         |   |                                           |              |                                                  |   |
| RI.14 | <i>centurio</i>                 | <i>Legio III Augusta</i>      | African                          | By     | Construction project | AD 222                             |                                      | Hexameter                 | N |                                           | Dedicated to | To honour the legion                             | Y |

|           |                                             |                                                   |              |            |             |                |                                                                    |                             |   |                                           |                                    |                                                                                        |   |
|-----------|---------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|--------------|------------|-------------|----------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|---|-------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|
|           |                                             | Unknown<br><i>numerus</i>                         |              |            |             |                | Gholaia / Bu<br>Njem,<br>Numidia                                   |                             |   | (for the<br>legion<br>itself)             |                                    | Military<br>construction<br>achievement                                                |   |
| RI.1<br>5 | N/A                                         | N/A                                               | Unknown      | For        | Graffito    | AD 150-<br>160 | Rome, Italia                                                       | Elegiac<br>distichs         | N | Emperor                                   | Mentione<br>d /<br>celebratin<br>g | Military<br>victory                                                                    | Y |
|           |                                             |                                                   |              |            |             |                |                                                                    |                             |   |                                           |                                    | Celebrating<br>Antontinus<br>Pius'<br>acquisition<br>of his<br><i>cognomen</i><br>Pius |   |
| RI.1<br>6 | <i>eques</i>                                | <i>ala<br/>Vocontiorum,<br/>turma<br/>Maturus</i> | Thracian     | By         | Graffito    | AD 98-<br>117  | Krokodilo /<br>Al-Muwayh,<br>Aegyptus                              | Iambic<br>senarius          | N | Emperor                                   | Dedicated<br>to                    | For the<br>health of the<br>emperor                                                    | Y |
| RI.1<br>7 | <i>praefectus<br/>Berenice?</i>             | Unknown                                           | Alexandrian  | By         | Altar       | AD 117-<br>138 | Thebes /<br>Luxor,<br>Aegyptus                                     | Greek<br>prose              | Y | Jupiter                                   | Dedicated<br>to                    | For the<br>health of the<br>emperor                                                    | Y |
|           |                                             |                                                   |              |            |             |                |                                                                    | Latin<br>iambic<br>senarius |   | Emperor                                   |                                    | Military<br>victory                                                                    |   |
| RI.1<br>8 | <i>legatus<br/>Augusti pro<br/>praetore</i> |                                                   | Unknown      | For/b<br>y | Statue base | AD 227         | Novae /<br>Swischtow,<br>Moesia<br>Inferior                        | Hexameter                   | N | Jupiter<br>Optimus<br>Maximus<br>Depulsor | Dedicated<br>to                    | For the<br>health of the<br>emperor                                                    | Y |
|           | <i>legatus<br/>legionis</i>                 | <i>Legio I Italica<br/>Severiana</i>              | Tripolitania | For/b<br>y |             |                |                                                                    |                             |   | Emperor                                   |                                    | Military<br>victory                                                                    |   |
|           | <i>primus pilus</i>                         | <i>Legio I Italica<br/>Severiana</i>              | Noricum      | By         |             |                |                                                                    |                             |   |                                           |                                    | Military<br>achievements                                                               |   |
|           | <i>tiro</i>                                 | <i>Legio I<br/>Adiutrix</i>                       |              |            |             |                |                                                                    |                             |   |                                           |                                    |                                                                                        |   |
| AI.3      | <i>centurio</i>                             | <i>Legio III<br/>Augusta</i>                      | African?     | By         | Stele       | AD 201-<br>238 | Gholaia / Bu<br>Njem,<br>Numidia                                   | Iambic<br>senarius          | N | Salus                                     | Dedicated<br>to                    | Healing                                                                                | Y |
|           |                                             |                                                   |              |            |             |                |                                                                    |                             |   |                                           |                                    | Thanks for<br>safe return                                                              |   |
| AI.4      | <i>primus pilus</i>                         | <i>Legio XVI</i>                                  | Italian      | By         | Unknown     | 2 BC-AD<br>2   | Acerrae /<br>Acerra,<br>Latium et<br>Campania /<br>Regio I, Italia | Iambic                      | N | Heirs of<br>Augustus                      | Dedicated<br>to                    | For the<br>family of<br>Augustus                                                       | Y |
|           |                                             |                                                   |              |            |             |                |                                                                    |                             |   | Augustus                                  | Dedicated<br>to                    | Future<br>divinity of<br>Augustus                                                      |   |

|       |                       |                                           |                   |    |          |                                                                 |                                 |                 |   |                    |              |                                           |   |  |
|-------|-----------------------|-------------------------------------------|-------------------|----|----------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------|---|--------------------|--------------|-------------------------------------------|---|--|
| AI.6  | N/A                   | N/A                                       | Italian/servile ? | By | Tablet   | AD 211                                                          | Rome, Italia                    | Iambic senarius | N | Salus              | Dedicated to | For the health and victory of the emperor | Y |  |
|       |                       |                                           |                   |    |          |                                                                 |                                 | Hexameters      |   | Victoria Emperor   |              | Military achievements                     |   |  |
|       |                       |                                           |                   |    |          |                                                                 |                                 |                 |   | Thunderer Augustus |              | Veneration                                |   |  |
|       |                       |                                           |                   |    |          |                                                                 |                                 |                 |   |                    |              |                                           |   |  |
| AI.7  | tribunus in praefecto | cohors I Hamiorum Sagittiorum Syriaca     | African           | By | Altar    | Second half of the second century to the early third century AD | Magnis / Carvoran, Britannia    | Iambic senarius | N | Mater divum        | Dedicated to | Veneration                                | N |  |
|       |                       |                                           |                   |    |          |                                                                 |                                 |                 |   | Pax                |              |                                           |   |  |
|       |                       |                                           |                   |    |          |                                                                 |                                 |                 |   | Virtus             |              |                                           |   |  |
|       |                       |                                           |                   |    |          |                                                                 |                                 |                 |   | Ceres              |              |                                           |   |  |
|       |                       |                                           |                   |    |          |                                                                 |                                 |                 |   | Dea Syria          |              |                                           |   |  |
| NW. 7 | tribunus              | Legio III Italica?                        | Italian           | By | Sacellum | Late second to early third century AD                           | Castra Regina / Raetia, Noricum | Mixed metres    | N | Lar                | Dedicated to | Veneration                                | Y |  |
|       |                       |                                           |                   |    |          |                                                                 |                                 |                 |   | Larunda            |              | For his soldiers                          |   |  |
|       |                       |                                           |                   |    |          |                                                                 |                                 |                 |   |                    |              | For safe return                           |   |  |
| NW. 8 | centurio              | Legio V Macedonica                        | Unknown           | By | Stele    | AD 183-185                                                      | Germisara / Cigmau, Dacia       | Latin hexameter | Y | Nymphs             | Dedicated to | Healing                                   | Y |  |
|       |                       | Numerus peditus singularis Britanniciarum |                   |    |          |                                                                 |                                 | Artemis         |   | Mentioned          |              |                                           |   |  |
|       |                       |                                           |                   |    |          |                                                                 |                                 | Asclepius       |   | Mentioned          | Veneration   |                                           |   |  |
|       |                       |                                           |                   |    |          |                                                                 |                                 | Hypnos          |   | Dedicated          |              |                                           |   |  |

Figure 5.5: A graph to show the metres featured in religious military Latin verse inscriptions

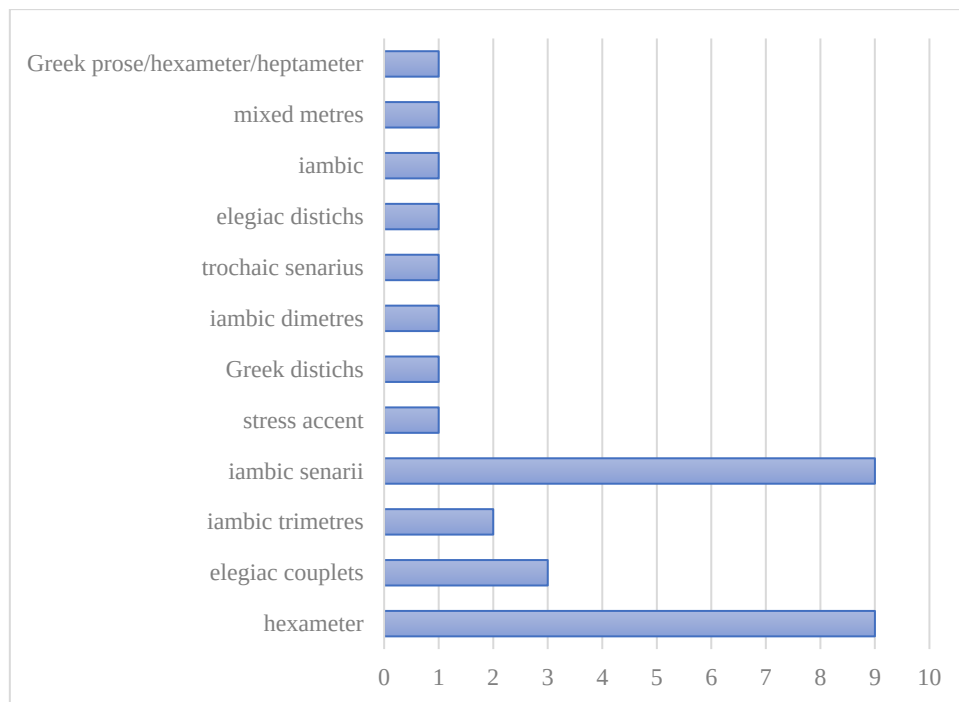


Figure 5.6: A graph to show the military ranks encountered in Chapter 5

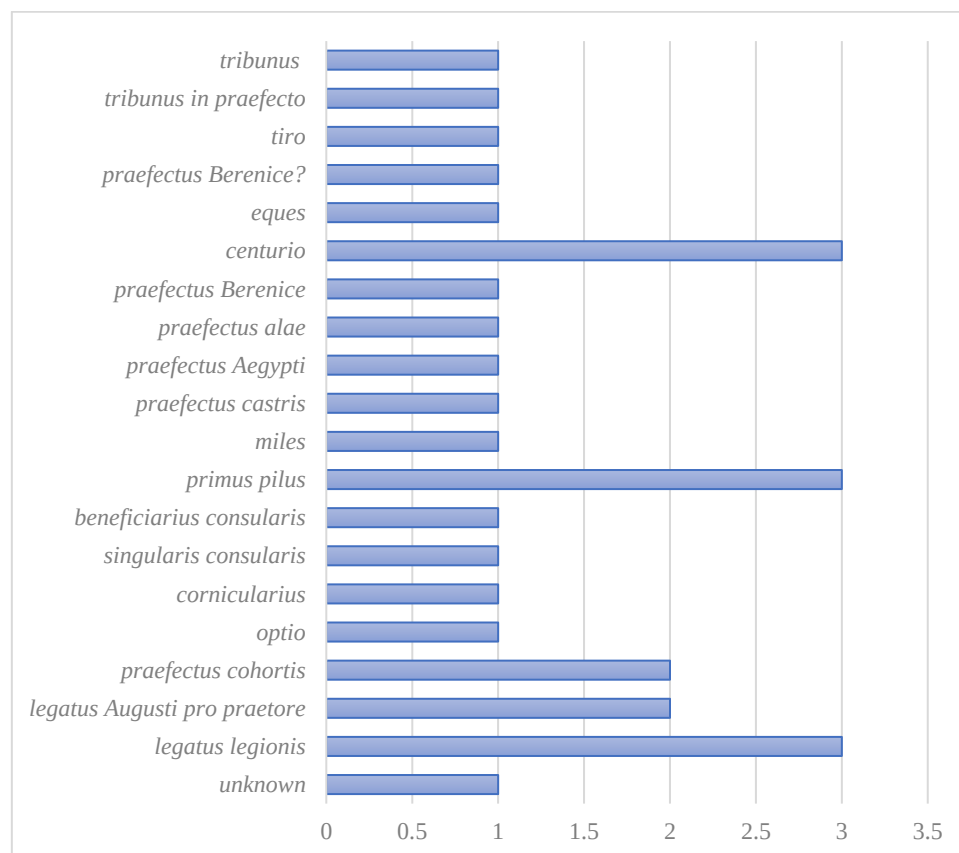


Figure 5.7: A graph to show the proportion of military religious verse inscriptions that refer to military combat/activity

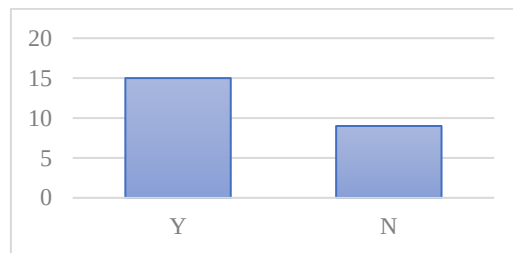


Figure 5.8: A graph to show the various military units mentioned in the inscriptions discussed in Chapter 5

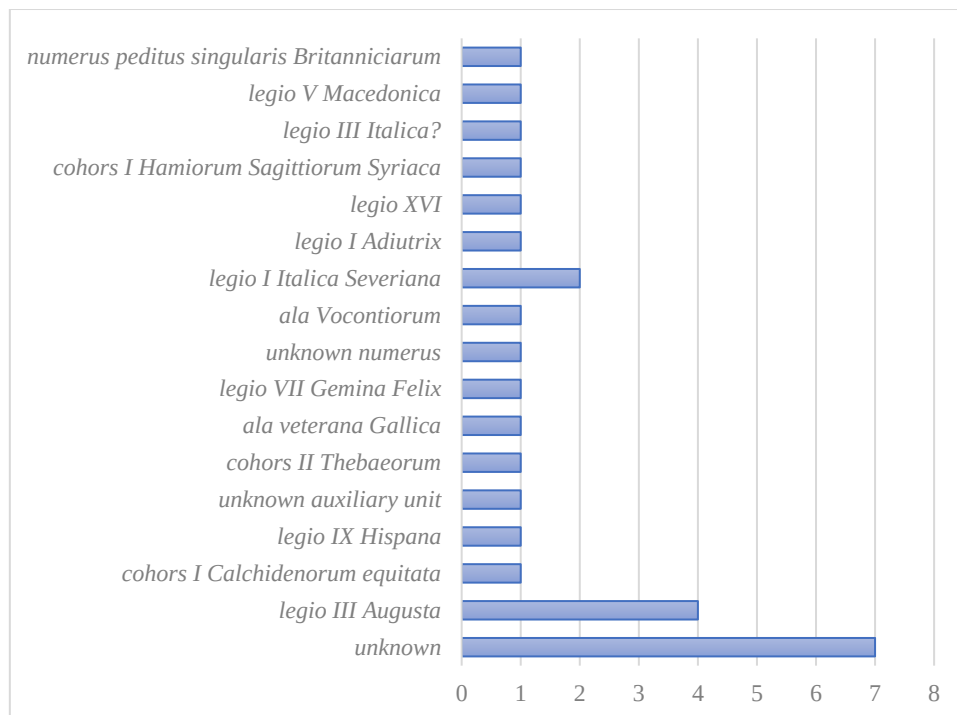


Figure 5.9: A graph to show the origins of the writer/dedicatee/soldiers in Chapter 5

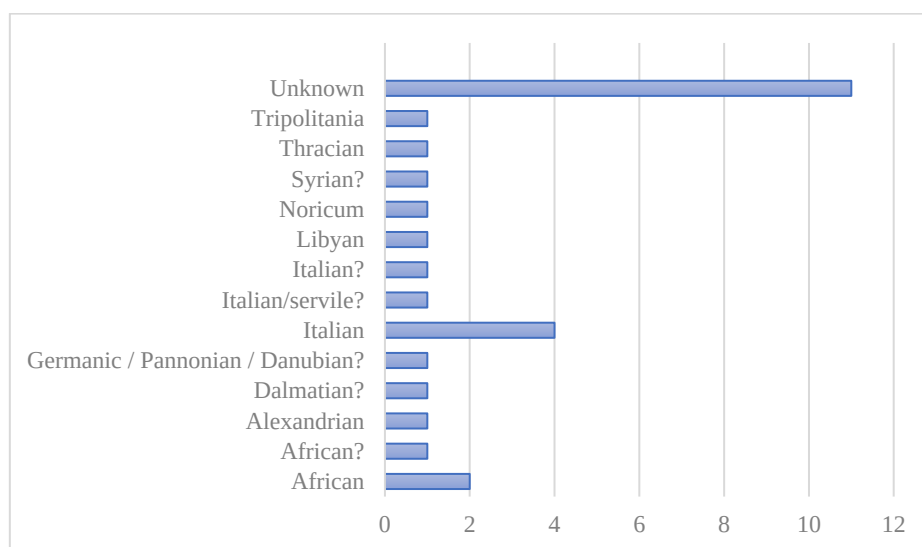


*Figure 5.10: A graph to show the general reasons for the erection of religious military verse inscriptions*

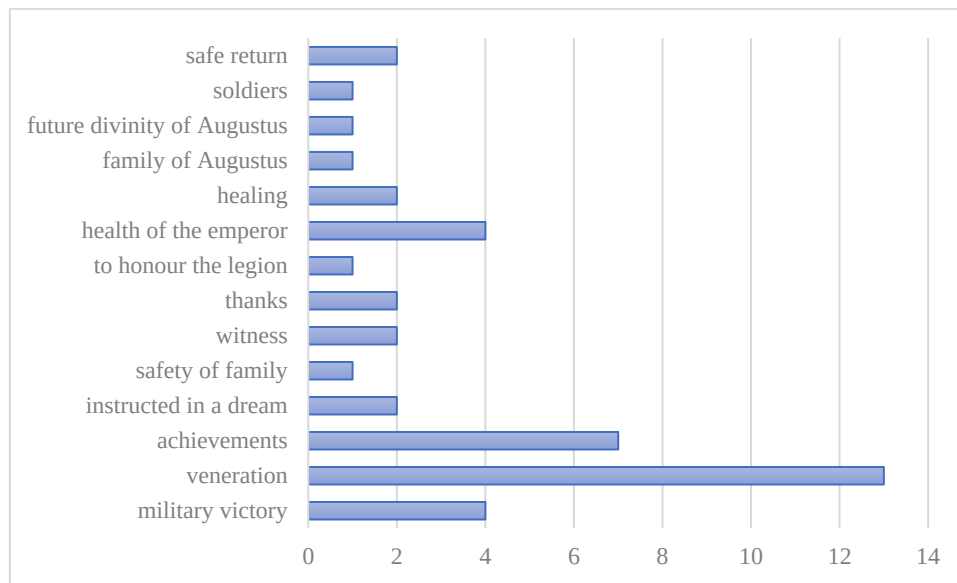


*Figure 5.11: A graph to show the provincial findspots of the religious verse inscriptions of the Roman military*

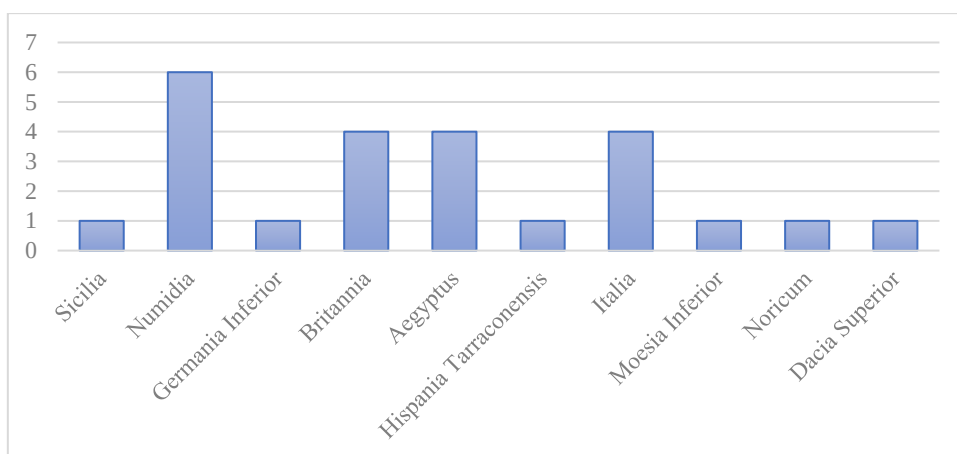
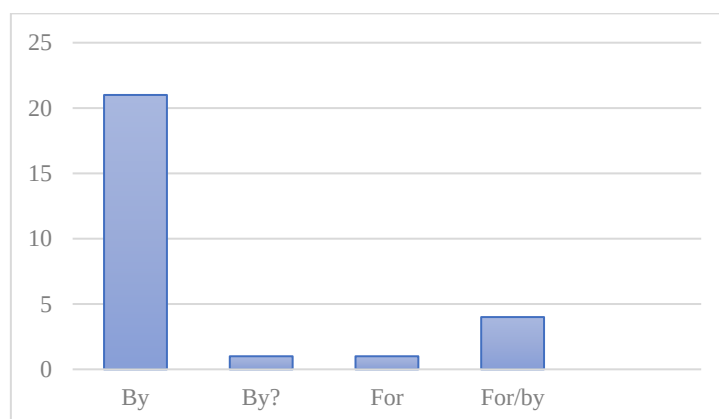


*Figure 5.12: A graph to show whether the religious verse inscriptions of the Roman military were for or by a soldier*



## Chapter 6

### *Beyond the World: The Soldier and the Stars*

Hieroglyphics old  
Which sages and keen-ey'd astrologers  
Then living on the earth, with labouring thought  
Won from the gaze of many centuries:  
Now lost, save what we find on remnants huge  
Of stone, or marble swart; their import gone,  
Their wisdom long since fled.

Keats, *Hyperion*.

#### 6.1. Introduction

This chapter explores the Roman military and the use of astronomical language in their inscriptions. A list of the astronomical language found in these inscriptions is in Table 6, the words defined as astronomical in this study are: *sol*, *caelum*, *sidus*, *caelestis*, *spicifera*, and *Iuppiter* (in a planetary context) for reasons detailed below.<sup>1833</sup> In order to understand these inscriptions further, it is important to discuss how the ancients understood the stars above them, and the astronomical knowledge of those in the Roman military.

Knowledge of the stars was an ancient skill, far older than the Classical world, passed down from generation to generation. This was a general, universal skill, one that transcended cultures,<sup>1834</sup> because it was such a basic, necessary understanding for matters such as agriculture and sailing, the weather, and the passing of time, key aspects of the functioning of the (ancient) world. Having a working knowledge of the stars in the way they did was another survival skill. The ancients understood lunar and solar eclipses well enough to be able to accurately predict them, and they had identified five of the planets: Mercury, Venus, Mars, Saturn and Jupiter.<sup>1835</sup> They had myths behind constellations, and theories about how the weather was affected by the stars (astrometeorology).<sup>1836</sup> In the ancient world, stars were not only linked to navigation,<sup>1837</sup> but also to the weather and the change in seasons.<sup>1838</sup> They were used to predict weather patterns, for example Sirius predicting the harsh 'dog days' of

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<sup>1833</sup> Some may be intrigued as to why *aether* and *aer* have not been included in this list. This is because although they can have celestial connotations, more often than not they have an 'airy, heavenly, but still within our atmosphere' meaning when used in inscriptions (see also Figure 7.1); however, *aether*, for example, does have a celestial meaning in Manil. 2.199.

<sup>1834</sup> As revealed in the discussion below.

<sup>1835</sup> See, for example, O'Fink 1971 47: 187; Lindberg 1992: 17, 41; Lehoux 2007: 16, 36, 40; see also discussion on Pliny and Seneca in the following chapter.

<sup>1836</sup> See, for example, Lehoux 2007: 5; Green 2014: 129-150. This is most apparent in one of the earliest examples of literature: Hesiod's *Works and Days* (Lehoux 2007: 5, 7).

<sup>1837</sup> See discussion above. Schaefer 2006: 101. See also Ptolemy, who states that astronomy is key in map making (Geus 2016: 150).

<sup>1838</sup> See, for example, Gurshtein 1997: 265; Schaefer 2006: 100-101.

summer,<sup>1839</sup> and Praesepe, a star cluster in Cancer, which they believed ‘when it was invisible on a clear moonless night, this foretold the arrival of rain a day later’.<sup>1840</sup> The stars and the machinations of the universe, as the ancients understood it, appear time and again, either didactically, in both prose and verse, in, for example, Ammianus Marcellinus and Lucretius, or literarily, again in prose and verse, for example in Pliny’s *Naturalis Historia* and Virgil. Notably, two of those authors had served in the military, Ammianus Marcellinus and Pliny the Elder. Astronomy, and what it meant to the ancients, appeared in these works either to dispute the superstitions surrounding them, such as Ammianus Marcellinus’ exposition on eclipses (20.3.1), or the entirety of Lucretius’ *De Rerum Natura*, or to play upon these for foreshadowing purposes in the narrative, for example throughout the *Aeneid* and the first book of the *Pharsalia*, or Ammianus Marcellinus at the beginning of Book 31 where the omens are intended to foreshadow the disaster at Adrianople (31.1.3).<sup>1841</sup>

Astronomical knowledge is apparent in inscriptions, in *paraepgmata*.<sup>1842</sup> These were found in both epigraphical and literary contexts, and they were ways in which correlations between the stars and social necessities were understood, such as the weather or certain market days: ‘farmers, doctors, sailors, and others needed to know when the heavens were conducive to various activities, and they developed a set of fairly sophisticated tools and texts for tracking temporal, astronomical, and weather cycles’.<sup>1843</sup> Astronomy was more efficient than calendars in antiquity at marking the passage of time, and so it was used for basic knowledge, such as agricultural and nautical activities, because they used the stars to try to predict changes in the weather (astrometeorology), and ‘the *phases of the fixed stars* are very closely tied to the agricultural seasons, and so are good indicators of when those seasons begin and end’.<sup>1844</sup> As seen in these inscriptions, they were used to mark the passing of the years. They could identify their known planets and the constellations, and they understood the correlation between the stars and the seasons, using the constellations and celestial bodies as identifiers of the seasons and passing of time, as their calendars, for a long time, failed them in this respect.

Military men were expected to know about the stars and the astronomical bodies, and military leaders had a clear understanding of the movement of the heavens above them, both mythological and historical military figures.<sup>1845</sup> Julius Caesar adjusted the calendar to suit the solar year, as the manmade calendar had become wildly out of sync with the natural calendar, their ‘calendars are in fact an ideal ‘cultural model’.<sup>1846, 1847</sup>

The correction of the calendar to match the stars made the Julio-Claudian house the necessary link between a pre-existing Roman ordering of time and natural order; the inscription of the names of Julius, Augustus, and their heirs and intimates throughout the calendar reinforced that link. The cultural ‘work’ done by the Roman calendar in

<sup>1839</sup> See, for example, Knowles 2005b; Green 2014: 130-148.

<sup>1840</sup> Burnham & Tirion 2003: 8.

<sup>1841</sup> See, for example, den Boeft, Drijvers, den Hengst, & Teitler 2018: ix.

<sup>1842</sup> See Lehoux 2007 for an extensive discussion on *paraepgmata* and how they indicate the link between the stars and necessities of daily life, such as understanding the weather or the seasons. He gives an extensive discussion especially on inscriptional *paraepgmata*, with examples. His discussion makes it clear that understanding of the constellations and their appearance, although not necessarily understanding of why they behave as they do, was common knowledge.

<sup>1843</sup> Lehoux 2007: i.

<sup>1844</sup> *Ibid.*: 8.

<sup>1845</sup> Some of the ancient kings, such as Numa, were said to have had an impact on the Roman calendar (see below). See also the discussion on Sulpicius Gallus in Chapter 7.

<sup>1846</sup> Pasco-Pranger 2006: 4.

<sup>1847</sup> *Ibid.*: 3.



the early empire was thus not reinvention: rather, it participated in the gradual but thorough reorientation of cultural institutions under the pull of a new node of power embodied in Augustus and his heirs.

There is a translation of Aratus said to be by Germanicus,<sup>1848</sup> although Gain states that he is not sure if it was by Germanicus or Tiberius, and he presents reasons for why it could be either.<sup>1849</sup> As both had experience in the military, and Germanicus was particularly celebrated for his military exploits, then it is noteworthy that such a military man as Tiberius or Germanicus translated Aratus, and that this celestial work has so many references and warnings to sailors in relation to the constellations and the sun's position in relation to them. All this evidence indicates the importance of the stars to the leading imperial elite of the Roman Empire, and these inscriptions indicate the importance of the stars and the heavenly bodies to the lives of the more ordinary man, the soldier who served for the Emperor and the Empire.

So what does this mean for the ordinary ancient man, for those not part of the (elite) social group who wrote these works and dispersed these scientific theories? These inscriptions are indicative of the knowledge of the ordinary man; it is difficult to describe a poem constructed such as these verse inscriptions as anything other than 'literary'. The military should be regarded as an exception to the rule of society in many cases, but in others they were like everyone else. Knowledge of the stars and the movements of celestial bodies were not unknown to the general populace of the ancient world; it seems to have been crucial to their understanding of, and thus their survival in, the world around them. It was not simply the higher, imperial military elites who were expected to have knowledge of the impact of the astronomical on the earthly, as military men were expected to understand, for example, the impact of the heat of the sun on the soldiers on the battlefield, and how this could be both disastrous for the Roman military, if ignored, or part of a highly effective victory, if incorporated into their battle tactics.

The skill and use of the Roman military in Roman industrialisation, civilisation and conquest, for example, in building bridges,<sup>1850</sup> canals and mining and quarrying, implicitly acknowledge the understanding they had of the natural world (see also Chapter 7). The nature of the land in which recruits were selected affected how their usefulness for the Roman military was understood.<sup>1851</sup> Vegetius has a whole section in his *de Rei Militari* in which he advises the best astronomical events to observe cutting timber for ship building (Mil. 4.35-36). Astronomical knowledge was needed for understanding and determining the weather, and how that would affect sailing conditions (Veg. Mil. 4.35-42). Knowledge of the winds was necessary for navigation, and for determining the occurrence of storms and the danger the various winds posed to sailors: *in qua parte naturalis philosophiae tota est adhibenda sollertia, quia ventorum tempestatumque caelesti ratione natura colligitur* ('in which part of natural history every skill must be applied, since the nature of the winds and tempests is kept in check by knowledge of the heavens', Veg. Mil. 4.38.2-3; see this section as a whole), and Vegetius then

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<sup>1848</sup> Although, as Gain points out, this is not a direct translation of Aratus' work (1976: 13-14).

<sup>1849</sup> *Ibid.*: 16-17, 20.

<sup>1850</sup> Including bridges of boats; 'the legionaries carried log-canoes with them for making such bridges, according to Vegetius and Hesychius' (Richmond 1935: 8). Veg. Mil. 2.25.5, 3.7.7. Soldiers of the *Legio II Augusta* were involved in constructing the Antonine Wall, for example, which is demonstrated on an inscription (see J. B. Wilkes 2012: 32). Construction features in many military narratives throughout Latin literature, for example in Caes. Gall. 2.1, 2.4, 4.2.16-18, 19; Caesar wanted to investigate the topography of Britain (Caes. Gall. 5.1.1). See also scenes 15-20 on Trajan's Column.

<sup>1851</sup> See Haynes 2013: 106-107.



their natural environment in order to exploit it.<sup>1856</sup> Bridge building was a part of the military's tactics, being able to navigate fords and rivers and make them accessible to the infantry to cross were all important functions in the military. They carried bridge building materials with them, highlighting the importance of this form of engineering for the military.<sup>1857</sup> Soldiers also were used as engineers in the Republic,<sup>1858</sup> indicating this was a long-standing tradition in the Roman military. Their involvement in the agriculture of the Empire demonstrates their understanding of the natural world around them; soldiers were capable of harvesting and foraging, and this recurs in military narratives, as a necessity for their survival.<sup>1859</sup> As far as the author is aware, a soldier's knowledge of the natural and cosmological world, as evidenced through their verse inscriptions, has not been explored before; it is explored here, in Chapters 6 and 7.

Anyone who studies ancient cosmology will realise the extent to which there are common shared ideas and principles between peoples concerning the creation of the universe, the world and people.<sup>1860</sup> The soldiers who used celestial imagery in their inscriptions recognised these fundamental principles of creation, which serve to unite us all in a fundamental, human sense. We are all beings with the same origins, formed on a world that was created in the same way, no matter what country, society or culture one stemmed from, or how different this might seem to be from other societies and cultures, and the similarities in creation myths between societies must have been recognised, perhaps more so by artificial societies such as the Roman military, a melting pot of different peoples, religions and origins, who perhaps shared stories from their homelands and recognised that they were not so different after all.<sup>1861</sup>

## 6.2. The Soldier and the Sun

**AI.1** was discovered in Salerno, Stabiae, Naples, in the necropolis.<sup>1862</sup> It was probably found near where it was originally placed because this epitaph states its location (11). This hexameter epitaph,<sup>1863</sup> dated to the second century AD,<sup>1864</sup> is a memorial for a boy, Proculus, and it mentions another, Antonus. Sblendorio Cugusi dates it from the first half of the second century AD, most likely Hadrianic.<sup>1865</sup> It must post date AD 71, 'when the emperor Vespasian conferred the honorary title "Praetorian" ... on the fleets of Ravenna and Misenum', because of their support towards him in his fight to become Emperor.<sup>1866</sup> Also, Latin rights to sailors in these fleets are conjectured to have been given under Vespasian.<sup>1867</sup> It was commissioned, perhaps written, by Proculus' father and mother, Gaius Longinus Priscus, a *trierarchus* of the praetorian fleet of Misenum, and Licinia Procilla,<sup>1868</sup> also Antonus' aunt (8).<sup>1869</sup> This epitaph

<sup>1856</sup> See Chapter 7. See also Veg. Mil. 3.7.4-8.

<sup>1857</sup> See Webster 1985: 234-235, discussing Vegetius' discourse on this matter.

<sup>1858</sup> See, for example, Webster 1985: 20, 24.

<sup>1859</sup> See, for example, scene 110 on Trajan's Column; Caes. Gall. 6.2.32.

<sup>1860</sup> See, for example, Wright 1996: 75-77. Indeed, Wright's book *Cosmology in Antiquity* is an excellent introduction to this aspect of ancient thinking. See also Chapter 7.

<sup>1861</sup> Is this something we see, for example, in **AI.7**?

<sup>1862</sup> EDR122237. See also *CIL* X 8131 p. 966; *CLE* 428.

<sup>1863</sup> <https://www.mqdg.it/texts/CE/ce0428>; *CLE* 428.

<sup>1864</sup> EDR122237; specifically to Hadrian's reign in *CLE* 428. See also Chiave 2008; Clefs 2008.

<sup>1865</sup> Sblendorio Cugusi 2008: 329.

<sup>1866</sup> Gemignani & de Souza 2007. See also Starr 1993: 71.

<sup>1867</sup> Starr 1993: 71.

<sup>1868</sup> As she is simply specified as *mater* then we cannot say confidently if they were married or simply co-habiting; as this is dated to pre-Severan allowance of soldiers being able to marry, then the latter is more likely, but other inscriptions of this date refer to military men and their female partners as *coniunx*, so this is not evidential proof that they were not married, or at least did not consider themselves as such.

<sup>1869</sup> *CIL* X 8131 (1) p. 966; Sblendorio Cugusi 2008.

demonstrates the extent of the skill of the Latinity of the general populace; we may not know exactly who wrote this poem (was it the stone mason, the trierarch, or someone else?), but we know it was at least commissioned by a trierarch and his partner for his son and his partner's nephew, who also was his son's close friend. For Sblendorio Cugusi, this was written by someone else, a professional, because of the skill of the text;<sup>1870</sup> but the personal information, and the personal touches, presented in the text suggest this was also written by someone close to Proculus, who knew him well, and who wished to demonstrate their love and affection for him through verse.

The inscription has been written on a marble tablet, which may have once sat in a wall or some other structure; the text itself refers to this structure as a *sepulchrum* (AI.1.7). It is likely that this was a family tomb, with inscriptions for other members of the family on it,<sup>1871</sup> perhaps also displayed to the public, but as this inscription was found outside its original context, this is impossible to ascertain. It may have been on the outside of this structure, both from the condition of the stone itself, and it was written with a general audience in mind, as indicated by *felix quicumque viator* ('fortunate passer-by, whoever you are', 13). Up to *molliter ossa cubent* ('may their bones lie gently', 15), the writing is considerably smaller than the concluding prose inscription (16-19), which is large, set out more like monumental prose, and, to the eye, looks nearly double the size of the verse section of the inscription, which concludes at *molliter ossa cubent*. The verse part of this inscription is displayed as a poem, and is displayed in the correct layout of the poem. Perhaps the prose inscription at the end was intended to be seen first, attract attention, and was at eye level, as the larger prose draws the reader closer to the smaller verse. Each name in this inscription, including in the verse itself (15) when Antonus and Proculus are named, is separated by a diagonal dash engraved into the slab. The focus of the concluding prose inscription is on the dedicators, the parents: Gaius Longinius Priscus, the trierarch of the praetorian fleet of Misenum, and his partner, the mother of Proculus and aunt of Antonus, Licinia Procilla.

In a military context,<sup>1872</sup> this poem is curious because it appears to have been, at least, commissioned by the trierarch and his partner for their son. This trierarch had *tria nomina*, which indicates he was a Roman citizen.<sup>1873</sup> Trierarchs, by the time of Claudius, were no longer freedmen, but 'were peregrines who received citizenship only as a reward on discharge',<sup>1874</sup> and their 'peregrine status [continued] as late as the third century'.<sup>1875</sup> However, 'inscriptions show that soldiers of auxiliary units..., who normally became Roman citizens only on discharge, could bear their prospective praenomen and nomen even before enfranchisement'.<sup>1876</sup> The status of trierarch had progressed from freedmen under the Julio-Claudians, and then 'later almost all higher officials were sufficiently Romanized to have Latin names, and in the late second century they were at times Roman citizens by birth'.<sup>1877</sup>

<sup>1870</sup> Sblendorio Cugusi 2008: 329.

<sup>1871</sup> See discussion about *contra* and Antonus below.

<sup>1872</sup> As Sblendorio Cugusi (2008) has written a detailed commentary, with extensive linguistic parallels, on this inscription, this discussion shall focus primarily on the celestial and military context of this inscription, although, as shall become apparent, there are some philological and metrical features that have not been discussed before, but are discussed here.

<sup>1873</sup> See, for example, Taylor 1961: 129-130; Le Bohec 1989b: 11; Turpin 2010: 48-49; Solin 2012: 996-998; Grußl 2018: 139; see also Herb 2006; Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft (WBG) 2012.

<sup>1874</sup> Starr 1993: 44. See also Gemignani & de Souza 2007.

<sup>1875</sup> Saddington 2007: 210.

<sup>1876</sup> Solin 2012: 998.

<sup>1877</sup> Starr 1993: 108.

A trierarch, often translated as ‘captain’,<sup>1878</sup> was a senior post below a prefect<sup>1879</sup> and a navarch, thus he was in a position of responsibility, of protection. It was the role ‘of a skilled sailor’,<sup>1880</sup> and they ‘were normally entitled to honorable discharge after twenty-six years of service’, although ‘many served longer’.<sup>1881</sup> They commanded a single ship,<sup>1882</sup> sometimes ‘small detachments’,<sup>1883</sup> and they had an important role for the men on their ship, often acting as their heirs or executors of their wills,<sup>1884</sup> and they presented the sacrificial offerings ‘on behalf of the entire crew’,<sup>1885</sup> thus indicating the important relationship between the trierarch and his men, and the protection of not only their lives, but also their interests. Although the imperial Roman navy was part of the imperial Roman military, ‘military matters were left almost entirely to the centurion, for the trierarch normally did not even carry a sword’.<sup>1886</sup> Although, for Starr, this meant ‘that the centurion, while at sea, should command only the small group of marines and have no other authority’,<sup>1887</sup> implying that the trierarch should have command over all other matters on the ship. The role of the navy was to protect the Mediterranean, to assist the army, and to act as transport.<sup>1888</sup>

Not only is the inscription indicative of the wealth of Proculus’ parents, who, it is likely, at least commissioned this monument, but also their status.<sup>1889</sup> Misenum was one of the main naval bases under the Empire, founded by Augustus and used until the fifth century AD.<sup>1890</sup> It was controlled directly by the emperor and protected the western Mediterranean waters.<sup>1891</sup> Trierarchs were paid well, and their ‘inscriptions... reflect a status much better than that of the ordinary soldier’.<sup>1892</sup> They spent vast sums of money on *columbaria*,<sup>1893</sup> which may indicate that this inscription was originally attached to a *columbaria*. ‘Stone dedications by trierarchs are more common than for the sailors generally’, and Starr cites this inscription as an examples of this.<sup>1894</sup> He also references a Torquatus, the son of a trierarch, and who became a *decurio* at Misenum, subsequently a *duumvir*, before he was twenty five, which Starr believes to be ‘a striking indication of the reputable standing of his trierarch father’,<sup>1895</sup> thus indicating the high social standing, and wealth, that trierarchs had in the community within which they lived.<sup>1896</sup>

As naval officers often lived near their families when they were away from their base of operations,<sup>1897</sup> and ‘the ships and sailors of the Misene fleet were not all stationed at Misenum

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<sup>1878</sup> Starr 1993: 39, 43; Saddington 2007: 201-202; see also Appendix 3.

<sup>1879</sup> Starr 1993: 39; Saddington 2007: 210.

<sup>1880</sup> Starr 1993: 45.

<sup>1881</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1882</sup> *Ibid.*: 39-40; Saddington 2007: 210.

<sup>1883</sup> Starr 1993: 39, 43.

<sup>1884</sup> *Ibid.*: 39; see also 60, 64 n. 44.

<sup>1885</sup> *Ibid.*: 57, see also 86. Onasander also emphasises the importance of the sacrifice by the general for soldiers, as this will help with morale, and how important it is for the general to understand the stars and their movements, which are demonstrated through extispicy, and how they impact upon the outcome of events (10.10).

<sup>1886</sup> Starr 1993: 59.

<sup>1887</sup> *Ibid.*: 61.

<sup>1888</sup> Gemignani & de Souza 2007; Meijer, Bill, Jan & Brown 2007.

<sup>1889</sup> See Starr 1993; Sblendorio Cugusi 2008.

<sup>1890</sup> Starr 1993; Gemignani & de Souza 2007; Gemignani, Glete & Delis 2007; Salmon & Purcell 2012: 962-963; De Souza 2012: 1002-1003; see also Appendix 2.

<sup>1891</sup> Gemignani & de Souza 2007; Gemignani, Glete & Delis 2007.

<sup>1892</sup> Starr 1993: 45.

<sup>1893</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1894</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1895</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1896</sup> See also Gemignani & de Souza 2007.

<sup>1897</sup> Starr 1993: 17.

... local exigencies in other ports of the west Italian coast and the general responsibility of guarding the Italian littoral necessitated the stationing of a few ships at select points',<sup>1898</sup> it is likely that Salerno is where Priscus and his family lived, despite Misenum being about sixty miles away from Salerno by land. Starr also suggests that 'some of the stations on the seacoast must have been merely bases for the refitting of ships operating in the vicinity. Along a quay would lie arsenals and the small camp, controlled by a trierarch.'<sup>1899</sup> The use of the phrase *Stabiano litore* (**AI.1.11**) to describe where this tomb was situated is interesting: given the size of this slab, it is unlikely that it was transported, at least in antiquity, from Stabiae to Salerno, which was nineteen miles away by land. Perhaps he was stationed here from the main fleet at Misenum with his ship, as it is just fourteen miles from the Gulf of Salerno, at the mouth of the Irno River.<sup>1900</sup> Starr, however, warns against using the existence of inscriptions as evidence of a station or *vexillatio*,<sup>1901</sup> so this may not have been the case. But, given the distance from Misenum, it seems likely that this is where the trierarch lived with his family, and, therefore, was posted.

This inscription highlights the importance of family, both to those who dedicated the monument and to those the monument is dedicated. Although it may be for one boy, it mentions and celebrates the lives of two. Priscus' status as a trierarch is emphasised, thus demonstrating how it was an intrinsic part of his identity,<sup>1902</sup> along with *pater*, whereas the role of Procilla is simply *mater*, thereby reckoning her status by her children alone, not even by her marital status, although this can be explained by the marriage ban on soldiers at the time. The boy this epitaph is celebrating, Proculus, has his *cognomen* from his mother, his *praenomen* and *nomen* from his father. Having one's *cognomen* from one's mother occurred more in the first century AD,<sup>1903</sup> and appears to have occurred more with last born sons,<sup>1904</sup> so may we infer from this that Proculus was the youngest son of Priscus and Procilla?

Naval officers probably had a more special relationship with the stars.<sup>1905</sup> This is recognised in the *Aeneid* with Palinurus the helmsman,<sup>1906</sup> thus indicating that a knowledge of the stars was a necessarily requirement of sailors, and known by the general populace. Sailors in antiquity were familiar 'with wind roses and steering across the open sea by use of the stars and an azimuth', according to Whittaker;<sup>1907</sup> the latter was an instrument which used an astronomical body for navigation.<sup>1908</sup> Thus, we can say that the sailors of the Roman navy would have been familiar with complex ways of navigating, which used compass directions and were based on celestial objects. The importance of the stars for sailors is apparent, not only in navigation, but also in determining the weather, an important skill to have when at sea, when a sudden change

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<sup>1898</sup> Starr 1993: 17.

<sup>1899</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1900</sup> Britannica, T. Eds. of Encyclopaedia 2020.

<sup>1901</sup> Starr 1993: 27, n. 21. He describes how 'large numbers of naval tombstones come from Baiae, six miles from Misenum, not because it was a station but because sailors established their families at this ancient watering place and were buried there'; this could be argued to be the case here, but sixty miles is a long way in the days where the fastest form of transport was with a horse.

<sup>1902</sup> Speidel 2015: 326. See also Coulston 2013: 12.

<sup>1903</sup> Morris 1963: 39-40; Salway 1994: 130; Cooley 2012: 412.

<sup>1904</sup> Most notably seen with Vespasian's family (Morris 1963: 39-40; Salway 1994: 130). See also Turpin 2010: 49 for discussion of mother's names being used in *cognomina*.

<sup>1905</sup> See below.

<sup>1906</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 5.833-853, especially 852-3. This whole section highlights the link between stars, sailing, navigation and the changeability of the sea and the weather.

<sup>1907</sup> Whittaker 2002: 93.

<sup>1908</sup> Kemp, D., & P. (eds.) (2007); see also Allaby (ed.) 2008; Ridpath (ed.) 2018. See also Darvill 2021.

in the weather can lead to disaster. The importance of the constellations, and where the sun is situated amongst them at certain times of the year, and how this impacts upon the weather for sailors, is apparent throughout the translation of Aratus by Germanicus, where frequent warnings are presented about how the positioning of the sun in the heavens adversely affects the weather, and the positions of the celestial bodies within the Zodiac.<sup>1909</sup> Indeed, this poem states: *multa dedit natura homini rata signa salutis / uenturamque notis cladem depellere suasit* ('nature gave many sure signs of safety to man / and urged those who understood them to avert the coming disaster', Germ. 399-400),<sup>1910</sup> indicating how these celestial objects were not only regarded as a part of nature, but a part of a foretelling system not only for bad omens, but also bad weather (Germ. 399-413). Therefore, they provided a way for those observing the stars to understand the world around them better, and to make informed decisions based upon these observations. It is important to consider the language used for Castor and Pollux in this translation of Aratus in relation to this verse inscription:<sup>1911</sup>

*sunt Gemini, quos nulla dies sub Tartara misit,  
sed caelo, semper nautis laetissima signa,  
Ledaeos statuit iuuenis pater ipse deorum.*

They are the Twins, no day sent them down to Tartarus,  
but, always, for sailors, the most welcome constellations, the father  
of the gods himself established the young sons of Leda in heaven.

Germ. 540-542.

Proculus' age is determined by the path of the sun across the sky: *bis septem minus ante dies quam quinque per orbis | / solis eoigenae complerem parvolus annos* ('I, a small boy, completed twice seven years, minus five days / before, during the rotations of the eastern rising sun', 3-4). Reckoning the year by the movements of the sun was not alien to the Romans, and nor was it simply a poetic device for reckoning the passing of the years. Using the stars to reckon the time was, for Onasander, a necessary skill for generals to have so they could calculate the correct time, to the hour, for capturing a city at night.<sup>1912</sup> Using the sun as a device for calculating the course of a year features in Germanicus' translation of Aratus,<sup>1913</sup> and Caesar used the orbit of the sun to correct the calendar,<sup>1914</sup> which had become woefully inaccurate. Caesar was a man with an outstanding military reputation, as was Augustus, who also made changes to Caesar's calendar:<sup>1915</sup> his 'thorough overhaul of the calendar ... [kept] the calendar in close alignment with the solar year'.<sup>1916</sup> This became the Julian Calendar, which still functions as the basis of the calendar today. Caesar was a man with an outstanding military reputation, as was Augustus. Not only were real, historical men experienced with the movement of the sun and the passing of time, but also mythological military and political figures were deemed to have such talents. According to Ovid's *Fasti*, Numa made changes to

<sup>1909</sup> For example, usefulness for navigation: 45-47; passage of the sun through the constellations and the danger (to sailors): 288-314, 476-484; constellations and danger, and advice to sailors: 399-413; constellations and wind: 399-425, 482; path of the sun through the constellations (summary): 531; celestial objects and weather: frgs. iii and iv. Indeed, given the beginning of this poem, this appears to be the purpose of the work (5-16).

<sup>1910</sup> Note the use of *salus* here, which can mean either 'health' or 'safety' (Kidd 1957: 191).

<sup>1911</sup> See also Germ. frg. 4.120-121.

<sup>1912</sup> Onasander 39.1; Whittaker 2002: 109, also n. 149 on this page. See also Chapter 4.

<sup>1913</sup> Germ. frg. 2.10-12; Gain 1976: 44, 73.

<sup>1914</sup> Pasco-Pranger 2006: throughout, esp. 31-32, 65.

<sup>1915</sup> *Ibid.*: 32, 65

<sup>1916</sup> *Ibid.*: 31; see also 65.

the calendar, and added two months, thus making the calendar have twelve, instead of ten, months, which meant that Numa's.<sup>1917</sup>

calendar is supposed to coincide with something exterior to the city and its society, with an ideal year, the solar year. Numa perceives ... that the Roman year is lacking two months because its cycle fails to mimic the sun's own. We now have a calendar that not only mirrors Roman society, but also coordinates its rhythms with those of the natural world.

Changes to the calendar have been linked by some scholars to the tightening of control and power over the populace,<sup>1918</sup> and over nature;<sup>1919</sup> this can be seen, but does that apply here? Is this use of the solar year evidence of imperial control over the people? Perhaps we will never know the answer to that question, but, to a pragmatic man who would have been used to the stars and celestial bodies ruling the way he operated in his job, and perhaps his day to day life, it seems unlikely that this is a product of propaganda and power, but it may be indicative of changing overall societal and cultural attitudes towards the sun and the stars,<sup>1920</sup> due to the changes to the calendar. But, equally, it could simply be that the use of the sun in the way it is used here is a method of expressing a more logical, factual, and a more poetic, passing of time.<sup>1921</sup>

Some might say that the, possible, invention of the word *eoigenae* is indicative of a lower level of Latinity,<sup>1922</sup> but it can also be argued that this demonstrates a high level of linguistic ability, as inventing new, appropriate words requires a certain amount of linguistic skill. Literally meaning, 'eastern born', this adjective refers to the sun; Plumpe is certain that this is an 'attributive for the sun'.<sup>1923</sup> This is changed, according to Plumpe, to *equigenae* by Doer, and he suggests that he is following the example of Rispoli.<sup>1924</sup> However, it appears to be *EOIGENAE* in the inscription, and the editions in *CIL*, *CLE*, *EDR* and *EDCS* all have *eoigenae*, so *eoigenae* remains here. Sblendorio Cugusi believes that *sol* here is a reference to the god Sol based on other adjectives ending in *-gena* that are epithets of gods: *Iovigena* for Bacchus, *Dionigena* for Love, *fontigenus* for nymphs.<sup>1925</sup> The root of this word comes partly from *Eos*, which not only means 'east, eastern',<sup>1926</sup> 'the East, the Orient',<sup>1927</sup> but also has connotations with the sun, celestial objects and celestial processes itself. It also means 'belonging to the morning, morning' or, as a noun, rather than an adjective, 'the morning star... An inhabitant of the East, an Oriental... The name of one of the horses of the sun'.<sup>1928</sup> For Sblendorio Cugusi, *Eoigenae* should be translated as "della stirpe dei popoli d'Oriente", cioè "di stirpe/nascita orientale", in perfetta congruità con il fatto che il sole sorgo, appunto, a Oriente'.<sup>1929</sup> Here, this

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<sup>1917</sup> Pasco-Pranger 2006: 66.

<sup>1918</sup> *Ibid.*: 32-33; 67-70, 73. See also *ibid.*: 66. See also above.

<sup>1919</sup> *Ibid.*: 67. See also *ibid.*: 66.

<sup>1920</sup> See, for example, *ibid.*: 3.

<sup>1921</sup> See also the discussion below on Aulus Gellus' *Attic Nights* and sundials.

<sup>1922</sup> See *CLE* 200 for identification of this word as new. See also Sblendorio Cugusi's extensive discussion of this neologism (2008: 342-345).

<sup>1923</sup> Plumpe 1939: 177.

<sup>1924</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1925</sup> Sblendorio Cugusi 2008: 343. See discussion below for why this is not believed to be the case here.

<sup>1926</sup> Lewis & Short 1945: 649. See also Sblendorio Cugusi 2008 for how this adjective was formed; Sblendorio Cugusi discusses the *OLD* translation.

<sup>1927</sup> Lewis & Short 1945: 649.

<sup>1928</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1929</sup> Sblendorio Cugusi 2008: 345. See also Chiave 2008: 350; Clefs 2008: 350.



new adjective has been translated as ‘eastern rising’ as this encompasses the meaning of *gigno*, from which this neologism surely had also partly been formed. The word itself denotes the navigational aspect of this celestial object, and one of the simplest and most basic principles of navigation: even now everybody learns ‘the sun rises in the east, and sets in the west’, so surely this information would have been taught to those in an ancient society, which was far more reliant on natural methods of navigation than we are today? So, this neologism does not alienate the general audience, towards whom it was targeted, but is inclusive, with new, descriptive language concerning an age-old fact concerning the basic principles of celestial bodies and how humans have adapted them for their own purposes, to assist them in life.

This hexameter poem is fifteen lines in total.<sup>1930</sup> The concluding three lines are for both the deceased boys, Proculus and Antonus, and they conclude with a modification of the *STTL* formula. It also includes the conventional address to the *viator*, but, yet, even this is unconventional, as the *viator* is asked to pray for the boys, in a polite, roundabout way (*nunc tibi ne grave sit felix quicumque viator | / dicere*, ‘now lest this be painful for you, fortunate passer-by, whoever you are, say’, 13-14). This leaves twelve lines for the rest of the poem. The parts dedicated to each boy individually are almost exactly half of the remaining lines of the poem: six and a half for Proculus (1-7), and five and a half for Antonus (7-12). This poem is written in hexameter, and the first, and only, caesura in this verse inscription is in line 7:<sup>1931</sup> *subter humum positus. // mortis tegor ecce sepulchro* (‘[he] has not been placed under the earth. Look, I am buried in a tomb of death’). This cleverly constructed line, and literal cutting in the verse, demonstrates the change in subject matter both linguistically, as it divides the change between the third to the first person, and in the verse itself: *subter humum positus* refers to Proculus, ‘I’ in *mortis tegor ecce sepulchro* to Antonus.

This caesura allows us to see the pattern of how **AI.1** has been constructed for the boys.<sup>1932</sup>

- The pattern of the poem is designed as a mirror: the topic of the beginning two lines for Proculus is the topic of the concluding two lines for Antonus, for example. This places the two lines that name Proculus in full (5-6) in the centre part of the poem which is specifically about the boys individually (1-12), thus the mirroring pattern of the subjects of the boys’ part of the poem converge towards the centre: Proculus’ full name. This explains why this monument, although it mentions Antonus, is for Proculus, who is named fully, whereas Antonus is only named by his *cognomen*.
- Proculus’ section refers to being underground and under the earth, whereas Antonus’ uses water imagery: even where he is buried is nautical (*Stabiano litore*, ‘on the Stabian shore’, 11).<sup>1933</sup>
- The first two lines of each boys’ section (1-2, 7-8) are in the first person. For Proculus, his first two lines are about him being dead, and they have mythological references: this is his ‘mythological death couplet’ (Antonus’ is between lines 11-12). For Antonus, his first two lines are about the materiality of him being dead (7-8, his, here, so called ‘act of being dead couplet’), as it describes how he has been buried *mortis ... sepulchro* and

<sup>1930</sup> Sblendorio Cugusi (2008: 329) believes that this is fourteen hexameter lines long ending with an elegiac, but, as is demonstrated in Figure 6.2, the conclusion of this poem is in the final three lines, and these are hexameters.

<sup>1931</sup> Sblendorio Cugusi mentions this caesura (2008: 340), but she does not discuss its relevance to the structure of the poem, as it is here, where it is discussed, for the first time, about how this caesura affects the structure of the whole poem, and the change in subject which occurs after it.

<sup>1932</sup> Antonus’ part of the poem is more condensed, but it still follows this pattern.

<sup>1933</sup> As pointed out by P. Kruschwitz, in conversation.

the physicality of where he has been buried within this *sepulchrum: contra*. In Antonus' act of being dead couplet, *meus* refers to Proculus, thus emphasising that, although this monument mentions Antonus, it is for Proculus. This is also demonstrated in the prose dedication of the inscription at the end (19). The use of *contra* (8) refers to the materiality of the monument: i.e. another inscription, or statue, dedicated to Antonus existed, and it was *contra*, 'opposite' as it has been translated here,<sup>1934</sup> this monument to Proculus. This offers an explanation as to why, although Antonus is mentioned, this monument is not dedicated to him. Antonus was close to Proculus, especially as he is described as *ut frater* ('like a brother'), despite being his cousin, which is why he is mentioned in Proculus' epitaph, and why Proculus is named fully in the text, but not Antonus.

- The next two lines (3-4, 9-10) refer to the boys' age. Here, the subject continues to be in the first person (*complerem*, and *creatus* and *maior* agree with the 'I' in *tegor*, and why *genetricis* refers to Proculus' mother and not Antonus').<sup>1935</sup> In what has been termed here as 'the age couplet' is where the celestial imagery is introduced. The celestial imagery is most apparent for Proculus, whose age is reckoned by the orbits of the sun around the earth; most believed the sun orbited the earth.<sup>1936</sup> As demonstrated in Table 6, when celestial references are made in military verse inscriptions, the most common is *sol*. Perhaps this is because the sun was the most well known celestial object, and even the ancients understood the importance of the life-giving attributes of the sun,<sup>1937</sup> so this may be why this is often used in connection to life. *Sol* is also used in a variety of ways in epitaphs; here it is used to mark the passing of the years, and *sol* is often used in such a practical sense.<sup>1938</sup> *Sol* was also a god, or, more accurately, a variety of gods,<sup>1939</sup> so this signifies the importance of everyday religion and deities on ordinary people. For Sblendorio Cugusi, *sol* here is a reference to the god, thus creating an implied divide between the mythical being and the celestial object in the mind of ancient man. Perhaps, for some, there was this divide, but for others not; perhaps some felt that the sun was a divinity. This inscription highlights the flexibility, and diametrical opposition, of the imagery presented in military celestial verse inscriptions: the practical and the emotional, the real and the mythological, the religious and the every day. But, here, the sun is a reference to the celestial object, and not the god, as the object by which the astronomers, and authors of cosmologies, reckoned the years.<sup>1940</sup>

The light imagery continues in the age couplet for Antonus. Although Antonus' life is not reckoned in such a practical manner as the years of the orbits of the sun as Proculus', the description of his life uses the conventional imagery for life found in epitaphs:<sup>1941</sup> *lumen* (10), hence it has been translated as 'light of life' here. *Lux* and *lumen*, when used in inscriptions, most commonly mean 'life' (see Chapter 4).

<sup>1934</sup> Inspired by Fernández Martínez 1998: 242. See also Sblendorio Cugusi 2008: 336.

<sup>1935</sup> See above, discussing the use of 'his' in the English translation.

<sup>1936</sup> As is apparent in Wright (1996: 28-29, 31, 36, 156). Although the correct idea of heliocentrism had been postulated by Aristarchus (Wright 1996: 10, 28-29, 31, 36, 153-156), this was dismissed in antiquity (Wright 1996: 29, 31, 36, 156).

<sup>1937</sup> See, for example, Plin. Nat. 11.22, 12.11, 17.31; Ov. Met. 1.434-437; Amm. 28.4.14.

<sup>1938</sup> Such as to mark the passing of time, namely for denoting age, as here and in *CIL* IX 4756. Also, one epitaph works as a sundial (*CIL* VIII 212-3; see, for example, Michaud 1993: 200; Sawyer 2010: 41).

<sup>1939</sup> Sol Invictus, Phoebus Apollo.

<sup>1940</sup> See, for example, Germ. 2.10-11. See also Chapter 4.

<sup>1941</sup> For example, *CIL* II 4427, *CIL* VI 3608, *CIL* VI 32808, *CIL* IX 6604.

However, it is used in a metaphorical and practical way here, like how Proculus' life is reckoned by the orbits of the sun. Antonus' life is indirectly calculated in the same way as Proculus', i.e. as using the years of the sun to count the years, because he is described as *quattuor hic annis ex{s} quadraginta diebus, | / maior* ('this one lived for four years and forty days / older', 9-10), with 'than Proculus' implied. In both instances, when the light imagery is used to refer to their lives, it appears on the second line of the age couplets.

The language of this epitaph is difficult, partly because we do not have its original context,<sup>1942</sup> and partly because the language is convoluted due to the difficulty of putting certain concepts into poetic metre. Here, the ages of these boys are difficult to work out: are Proculus, and therefore Antonus, just shy of five and nine respectively, as Sblendorio Cugusi suggests,<sup>1943</sup> or are they, approximately, fourteen and eighteen, as suggested here? Here, it is suggested that Proculus was five days shy of fourteen when he died because of the structure of his age couplet, as well as the structure of Antonus' age couplet. Given the uniformity of the structure of the poem for each boy, it is logical that the expression of their ages in their age couplets would be structured the same way. Antonus' age couplet follows this format: number, year, number, days, 'older', with the number of the years that he is older than Proculus by (*quattuor ... | maior*) enclosing his age; the number of days he lived for are next to each other at the end of the first line of his age couplet (*quadraginta diebus*). Proculus' line, while convoluted and confusing linguistically to work out, can be understood to follow this pattern, and thus his age worked out: number, days, number, orbit of sun, ... years, and thus the idea of years is repeated twice (rotations of the sun, and the use of *annos*), which both begin the second line of his age couplet (*solis eoigenae*, 'during the rotations of the eastern rising sun') and complete it (*annos* is the final word). Therefore, following this pattern, Proculus' age is: fourteen years minus five days, so he was thirteen, thus making Antonus almost eighteen. These ages would have been particularly poignant and tragic to any contemporary *viator*. Proculus was almost old enough to don the *toga virilis*, and, we may conjecture, that Antonus may have been involved in the military preparation, the *tirocinium*, which Ross Taylor categorises as part of the Roman's 'system of developing, by organized training, the physical prowess and manly courage which they valued so highly'.<sup>1944</sup> In cases such as these, sometimes pathos need only be generated by the information provided. Although the language used to describe Proculus' age is far more poetic than most epitaphs, it does follow the same pattern of other epitaphs where the deceased's age is given, rather more matter of factly, in the format of year, month, day, or year, and the time they served (in a military context).<sup>1945</sup> Sblendorio Cugusi provides an extensive list of other instances where age is expressed in a similar way in other inscriptions.<sup>1946</sup>

- In the concluding two lines of their section (Proculus' extend over two and a half lines, Antonus' two: 5-7, 11-12), the subject turns to the third person. These lines are Proculus' 'act of being dead couplet', as, although they also give more information

<sup>1942</sup> As highlighted by the use of *contra*, which is explained by Fernandez-Martinez 1998: 242, and is also explained below.

<sup>1943</sup> Sblendorio Cugusi 2008: 329, 331, 336-337.

<sup>1944</sup> Ross Taylor 1924: 171. See also the discussion in Chapter 8.

<sup>1945</sup> See, for example *CIL* VI 3191; *CIL* VI 3308; *CIL* III 14529; *AE* 1990.797; *CIL* III 11036.

<sup>1946</sup> Sblendorio Cugusi 2008: 332. She also provides examples of other times where the sun has been used to reckon the years in *carmina Latina epigraphica* (2008: 333).

about him, such as his full name, they physically describe his state of being dead: *nunc umbra, nec umbra* | / *subter humum positus* ('now a shade, but he, as a shade, / has not been placed under the earth', 6-7). As such, this imagery implies a reference to the *topos* of the materiality of death. In lines 5-7, *nec* negates *positus*, not *umbra*,<sup>1947</sup> and it affirms the state of Proculus' shade as being in the Underworld, as stated in 2, but his body has not been buried, and is not under the earth, but, by implication, is in the tomb on which this inscription is written.<sup>1948</sup> This is further clarified after the caesura, in Antonus' act of being dead couplet (7-8), as Antonus himself is *mortis tegor ecce sepulchro* (7), the same *sepulchrum* as Proculus, as indicated by *contra* in the next line.

Antonius' concluding couplet, in the mirroring pattern **AI.1** uses, is between 11-12: *hic meus ut frater Stabiano litore mecum* | / *conditur in tenebris, Acheronti labitur undis* ('this one, as my brother, is buried / with me in death on the Stabian shore, he sinks into the waves of Acheron'). This is his mythological death couplet because, although it does refer to the materiality of his death (*Stabiano litore mecum* | *conditur in tenebris*), his death meant that he *Acheronti labitur undis*, rather like Proculus who, although his body has been buried in a tomb, and not in the earth, as clarified in his act of being dead couplet, his shade itself inhabits the Underworld, and not the place where he has been buried (2, 6-7).<sup>1949</sup>

- Arguably, this verse inscription could be a dialogue, like **ET.14**. This dialogue is between three people: the two boys, and a 'narrator', with both boys describing themselves in the first person and the 'narrator' describing them. Proculus is the main speaker of the two boys, with the first four lines 'spoken' by him, and Antonus only 'speaking' in one and a half lines (7-8). In this interpretation of the inscription, the boys 'interact' with the narrator, and the passer-by 'interacts' with the boys, with the final piece of dialogue completed by the passer-by. The layout of the poem is thus:

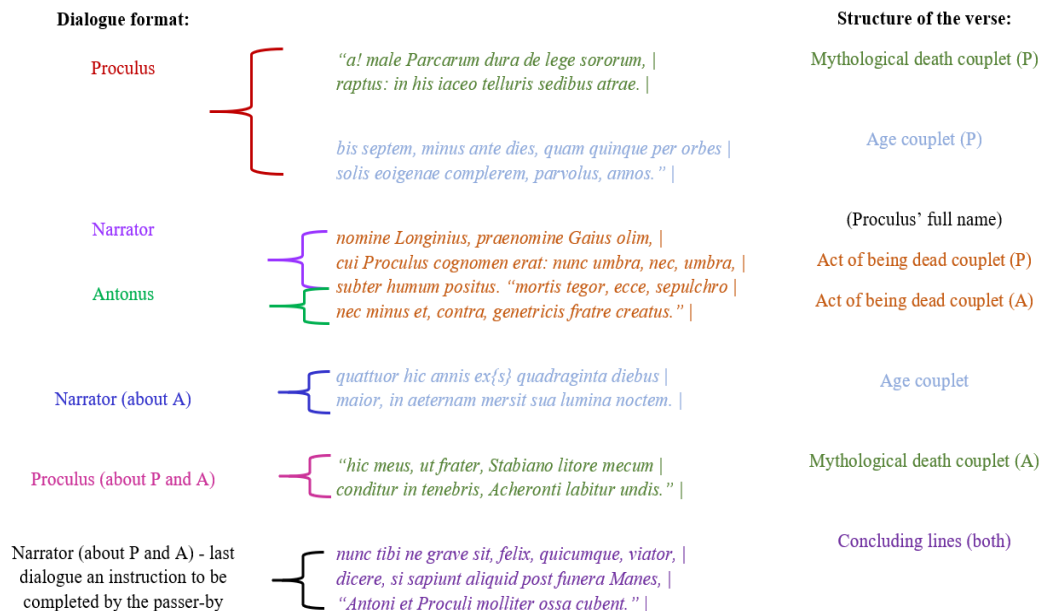


Figure 6.2: The format of **AI.1**.

<sup>1947</sup> See also Lewis and Short (1945: 697) for clarification on it being more common for *nec* to negate 'the principal verb of the clause' rather than 'some other word' in the phrase. Hence the translation here.

<sup>1948</sup> See also Sblendorio Cugusi (2008: 335), who agrees with this reading.

<sup>1949</sup> *Ibid.*

For the Roman military, this inscription offers an insight into the knowledge and skills of a trierarch of the praetorian fleet. We do not know if he wrote this himself, or if he commissioned it, but, either way, a poem dedicated to his son, and mentioning his partner's nephew, full of high-flown Latin, literary allusions, neologisms,<sup>1950</sup> in an extremely cleverly, subtly constructed verse inscription written in hexameters. There is something Virgilian about the use of language here, in the tone, and the expression of the concepts of death. The play with language and construction indicates a high level of Latinity and understanding of Latin and Latin literature, thus signifying a high level of learning for whoever wrote this poem. Does this indicate that the higher ranks in the military had a higher level of learning? A man with such a role on a ship, in charge of the lives of those on it, would have needed to be able to make informed decisions about the next steps, and was trusted to make the correct ones, based upon his knowledge, and this included his understanding of the world around and beyond him,<sup>1951</sup> i.e. an understanding of the elements, the stars and other celestial bodies. So perhaps we can postulate that the more highly educated, learned men obtained higher ranks in the Roman navy as well as the army. Perhaps using the sun as a way to track the years was felt to be an appropriately poetic description of Proculus' life, and a way of tracking this in a phrase which fits the metre, but in convoluted language; it would have been easier to write his age in prose, and the rest in verse, which happens so often in inscriptions, especially as subjects such as age and names are so notoriously difficult to fit into verse.<sup>1952</sup> But both are done here, which also exhibits the level of Latinity of the author of this inscription.

The author was aware of conventions of verse epitaphs, as they use and play with them, making them their own: Proculus being seized by the Fates, the use of *lumen* to mean life, and the play on the *STTL* formula, making it specific to these boys. Perhaps surprisingly for a modern Western audience, such emotions could be expressed by a Roman man, grave emotions of loss and mourning, and these were expected to be shared, respected and expressed by anonymous passers-by. It is the personal touches, the information presented in this poem, and the obvious direction towards Proculus' full name that indicates this was written by someone who knew the boys well, the trierarch, Gaius Longinius Priscus, or Licinia Procilla, or both. This cleverly constructed epitaph, full of personal information, which does not focus on or celebrate the lives of the boys but on their deaths, with its beautiful, pathos-filled language, makes the reader believe that it could only have been written by someone who knew these boys well, and did nothing but mourn their deaths.

Written in hexameters,<sup>1953</sup> **AI.2** was dedicated to Lucius Licinius Severus by his parents, Lucius Licinius Priscus and Fabia Euplia. Severus was a *miles* of an unspecified legion and of unspecified rank, unless *miles* was the highest rank this young man obtained before he died. This was found in Interamna Nahars, Italy, where it was exactly found here is unknown, its current location is unknown, and what type of object it was is unknown.<sup>1954</sup> If this was found *in situ*, then this is important as Interamna Nahars was near the Nar river,<sup>1955</sup> which is

<sup>1950</sup> Some would argue this is indicative of a low level of Latinity, but it can also be argued that such an inventive use of language demonstrates a high language ability.

<sup>1951</sup> Again, highlighted by Palinurus' role in the *Aeneid*.

<sup>1952</sup> See also, for example, Sblendorio Cugusi 2008.

<sup>1953</sup> See, for example, <https://www.mqdg.it/textsce/CE/ce/0409>.

<sup>1954</sup> EDR130570. EDCS is more specific about its precise location, claiming it was found in Stroncone, Samnium/Regio IV, just outside Terni (EDCS-14805824), following CIL IX, which specifies it was found in Stroncone, near St George's church (CIL IX 4756: 451. See also CLE 409).

<sup>1955</sup> Bradley 2000: 3; Salmon & Potter 2012b: 738.

mentioned in this inscription (2). Its name means “between the rivers”,<sup>1956</sup> apt for a *municipium* ‘near the confluence of the Velinus and the Nar’.<sup>1957</sup> As with **AI.1**, this may assist with identifying the location of the inscription; just as **AI.1** was found near *Stabiano litore*, so may this one have been found near the Nar, in Umbria.<sup>1958</sup> So far, no date has been found for this inscription, although we may perhaps conjecture it is from the first century AD, due to its linguistic features. Perhaps this inscription lay on the via Flaminia, as Roman roads are known locations for burials, and the via Flaminia went through Interamna Nahars,<sup>1959</sup> having ‘an alternative... longer route through Interamna Nahars, Spoletium, and Fulginium’ in AD 69,<sup>1960</sup> thus supporting the theory that this was from the late first century AD. Once more, we also have natural imagery in a celestial inscription. This occurs in all but one of the military celestial inscriptions presented here, and the natural imagery in this inscription is discussed in Chapter 7 (see also Table 6).

This epitaph begins with a short prose inscription that gives some information to understand the poem: who commissioned it, and perhaps wrote it,<sup>1961</sup> and who this epitaph is for. It uses the familiar superlative for describing deceased loved ones: *pientissimo*, often used for sons.<sup>1962</sup> The poem was displayed in the layout presented here, therefore meaning the verse inscription was displayed as a piece of verse, like **AI.1** above.

#### **AI.2**<sup>1963</sup>

*L(ucius) Licinius Priscus et Fabia Euplia | L(ucio) Licinio Severo filio pientissimo | (vac.) parentes. (vac.) |*

*De genitore mihi domus Umbria de genetrice |  
Ostia, Tybris ibi vitreus Nar hic fluit albus. |  
ille ego qui vixi bis deno circi ‘n’ e solis. |  
flore genas tenero vernans et robore pollens, |  
miles eram. sum deinde cinis de milite factus. |  
nec solum hoc quia me rapuit Fatum male fecit, |  
quod pater et mater plangunt, hoc plus male fecit. |  
actu(m)st, excessi. Spes et Fortuna valete. |  
nil iam plus in me vobis per s(a)ecula licebit. |  
quod fuerat vestrum, amisi, quod erat meum, hic est. |*

When this epitaph is scanned, it is clear that the person who wrote this inscription had a great level of Latinity and understanding of Latin metre. The poetic devices used by the author of this verse epitaph is not the only similarity between **AI.2** and **AI.1**. The most significant is the

<sup>1956</sup> Everett-Heath 2020.

<sup>1957</sup> Salmon & Potter 2012b: 738.

<sup>1958</sup> Everett-Heath 2020.

<sup>1959</sup> Salmon & Potter 2012b: 738.

<sup>1960</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1961</sup> Although, ultimately, this is impossible to know (see above); as with the Proculus inscription, it was possible to give an educated suggestion that it was perhaps written by his father, and, at least, by a relative, so perhaps we can conjecture that this was written by one of Severus’ parents.

<sup>1962</sup> See Chapter 8.

<sup>1963</sup> Neither EDCS-14805824 nor EDR130570 categorise this as a military inscription. It is categorised as ‘carmina’ on EDCS-14805824, and as ‘sepulchralis, carmen’, ‘Type of persons mentioned: cet.’ on EDR130570. Courtney provides an edition (1995: 162), translation (163) and philological commentary (371) on this text, as such, this discussion shall focus on military and celestial aspects of this text although, as before, there will be philological aspects commented upon in this discussion. Lattimore also mentions this epitaph (1942: 176-177, 198); see below also. See also *AE* 1999.577.

use of the sun to chart the years in a military verse inscription. This time, however, it is not the dedicator who is in the military, but the dedicatee. However, the use of the sun to reckon the years of someone's life is a device used by parents towards their son in both inscriptions. Perhaps there was a reason for this, or perhaps this is simply coincidence. It may be that using the sun to reckon the length of a young man's life was part of the *mors immatura* trope, a way of generating pathos and sympathy both by and towards the parents. Fate has seized these boys, with *Fatum rapere* used in both inscriptions, and perhaps the sun was used as a way of demonstrating the shortness of someone's lifespan: after all, describing someone as having lived for *bis septem* or *bis deno* rotations of the sun is far more evocative and poignant than simply writing down their age, or saying that they had lived, for example, for *bis triginti* rotations of the sun. This may also be why *bis* and a smaller number is used: linguistically, 'twice seven' or 'twice ten' sounds much less than fourteen or twenty. Perhaps using the sun to calculate the number of years someone has lived is a poetic idea that was used in inscriptions; alternatively, inscriptions are known for approximating ages, so perhaps this was a more accurate way of telling the time.

This inscription demonstrates the various ways in which the same idea, i.e. the rotations of the sun, can be expressed in Latin. In **AI.1**, this was expressed by the phrase *per orbis | / solis eoigenae complerem* ('I completed [twice seven years minus five days / before,] during the rotations of the eastern rising sun', 3-4). *Orbis* can mean 'world' and it has mostly celestial connotations,<sup>1964</sup> whereas, here, the same idea is expressed as *ille ego qui vixi bis deno circi'n'e solis* ('I, I am that man who lived for twenty rotations of the sun', **AI.2.4**). Both are on the third line of their inscriptions, and both are in the first person. Here, Severus' inscription is more obvious about him having lived, and the fact that he is dead is evident in the verb: there is a change from the present tense in the first two lines, which refer to things that are still existing, namely his parents and the places, and the rivers in them, where they are from (1-2), whereas Severus' first proper, personal, individual introduction is in the perfect (*vixi*), i.e. the former items still exist, whereas he does not. There is much debate about whether this is *circine*, *circile*, or *circite*,<sup>1965</sup> and it is *circite* in the editions presented in *CLE*, *EDCS* and *EDR*; in *CIL* it is *circile*. According to Lewis & Short, when *circen* is used with *solis*, it means 'a year',<sup>1966</sup> although the example they cite as evidence of this meaning is this inscription.<sup>1967</sup> This is how they understood the meaning of this phrase, and it is clear that this was the intention of its meaning. This is the only instance of this phrase they cite, which Courtney reiterates in his commentary: 'the word *circen* (another source reports *circile*) is not found elsewhere, but seems to be postulated by Italian *cercine*, Spanish *cercen*'.<sup>1968</sup> It has been translated here as 'twenty rotations of the sun' because it highlights the celestial connection and it captures the literal meaning of the line.

Severus is described, right in the centre of this poem, and thus, arguably, in pride of place, by his rank: *miles eram. sum deinde cinis de milite factus* ('I was a soldier. Then I, from a soldier, have been made into ashes', **AI.2.5**). Here, although Severus appears not to have risen above the rank of *miles*, most likely due to his age, this obviously had enough weight, pride and significance to it for his parents to dedicate an entire line of his inscribed epitaph to his life on

<sup>1964</sup> Kidd 1957: 147.

<sup>1965</sup> See *CIL* IX 4756 and *CLE* 409. See also Courtney 1995: 371.

<sup>1966</sup> Lewis & Short 1945: 334.

<sup>1967</sup> *Ibid.*; *CIL* IX 4756.

<sup>1968</sup> Courtney 1995: 371.

active service, and how this active service brought his life to an end. This status was worthy enough to be made immortal,<sup>1969</sup> and a part of the immortal identity his parents have constructed for him is *miles eram*; this is the same with all the soldiers in these military verse inscriptions. There is a contrast between the past *eram* and the present of *sum*; although it is part of the perfect passive with *factus*, the reader could not fail to see the contrast here, especially since what still exists, i.e. Umbria, Ostia, the Tiber and the Nar, are in the present tense, and yet Severus himself is described consistently in the past. *Sum ... factus* encloses the phrase describing Severus' current state, and the materiality of this, and, although the subject is *I*, implicit in *sum ... factus*, *cinis* is also the nominative, thus linguistically literally transforming Severus into ashes. Thus, Severus is now also defined by the fact that he is dead. Men turning into dust in death was also a common topos in Latin epitaphs, as Lattimore discusses.<sup>1970</sup> *Sum deinde cinis de milite factus* suggests Severus died in action; some might go so far as to suggest that this action involved fire, and thus rendering him literally into ashes whilst he was fighting, although the more likely scenario is that he was killed on active service, cremated, and sent to his 'home town where a memorial could be erected',<sup>1971</sup> offering further evidence that Severus was from the area of Interamna Nahars. Perhaps this is why it was felt unnecessary to state his own origins: because he was from the community, and those reading this inscription may have known him.

There is a great finality in this inscription towards death; here, we once more see the 'materiality of death' theme. Severus, now ash, *actu(m)st, excessi* (AI.2.8), and its heavy, completely spondaic nature makes this line more sombre. The impersonal of *actu(m)st* is curious: what is the 'it'? The 'it' must be his time, his life, which has now passed, thus meaning that he *excessi[t]*. This inscription is definite and final about death: Severus is now ash, and Fate, Hope and Fortune can no longer control his life. In this final, definite attitude towards death, Severus seems to have gained some sense of autonomy: in life he had no control, for Hope and Fortune controlled him and Fate took him away from life.<sup>1972</sup> But, in death, they shall leave him alone, and now Severus, who had no control in his life, has control and possession of himself in death: *quod fuerat vestrum, amisi, quod erat meum, hic est* ('what was yours, I have lost; what was mine, is here', 10).<sup>1973</sup> Lines 8-9, *Spes et Fortuna valete. | / nil iam plus in me vobis per s(a)ecla licebit* ('Hope and Fortune, farewell! / Now you will not be allowed to do any more to me through the ages') suggest Severus had had a lot of suffering in his life, perhaps from his military service or by other means. Yet, as well as this sense of this finality of death, there is this sense of a lack of control in life, certainly for Severus, and perhaps for everyone else.

Despite the sense of the lack of control Severus had in life, he did have his own identity: *miles eram* (AI.2.7). His age is defined by celestial and masculine features: his age is reckoned by the orbits of the sun, and by the growth of his beard, and that it had not yet been cut. In this couplet, he is presented as the best of the soldiers, defined as such by his physical features, such as strength and power. Although there are generic epigraphic motifs present here, such as Fate seizing someone as a metaphor for death and the influence of Hope and Fortune on

<sup>1969</sup> As many inscriptions emphasise the immortality that an inscription brings, this indicates that this was a common belief, or at least social understanding, that these words brought about an infinite memory from a finite life. See Chapter 3.

<sup>1970</sup> Lattimore 1942: 176-177. See Chapter 3.

<sup>1971</sup> Rogan 2006: 58. See also Chapter 3 for remains being sent home.

<sup>1972</sup> See discussion on these themes in epitaphs in Chapter 3.

<sup>1973</sup> See also Lattimore 1942: 153-157; Courtney 1995: 371.



someone's life, there are also deeply personal touches in this inscription, such as the pride expressed in Severus' role, his physical attributes, and how his parents' grief has affected them, can lead us to the conclusion that Severus' parents commissioned this. They define themselves as the parents of a soldier; although their origins are revealed, it is their relation to Severus, and how his loss affected them, that is emphasised. Their Italian origins reflect onto Severus, as a product of Italy, a soldier who fought to protect his homeland, the homeland of the Empire, and died during this duty. Severus' identification as a soldier was his, as his identity now is that he is *cinis*. This inscription, although it immortalises Severus the man, dehumanises him: in death, he is no longer a *miles*, with down on his cheeks and a strong body, no longer the play-thing of Hope and Fortune, both of which, as well as Fate, are often the source of man's woes in Latin poetry and in these inscriptions, but he is nothing more than ashes now, and these ashes are all he has. But they are not all that define him; by this inscription, Severus' parents have ensured that their son's human identity lived on.

Much has been written about **AI.3**,<sup>1974</sup> including here in Chapter 5, where the religious aspects of this verse inscription have been focused on. So, the focus here shall be on its celestial and some military aspects. The natural imagery in this inscription is discussed in Chapter 7.

### AI.3

*Quaesii multum quot | memoriae tradere |  
 Agens prae cunctos in | hac castra milites |  
 Votum communem pro|que reditu exercitus, |  
 Inter priores et fu|tueros reddere. |  
 Dum quaero mecum dig|na div'u`m nomina, |  
 Inveni tandem nomen | et numen deae, |  
 Votis perennem qu'a`m | dicare in hoc loco. |  
 Salutis igitur quan|dium cultores sient, |  
 Qua potui, sanxi nomen, | et cunctis dedi |  
 Veras Salutis lymphas, | tantis ignibus |  
 In istis semper ha|renacis collibus, |  
 Nutantis Austri solis | flammis fervidas, |  
 Tranquille ut nando | delenirent corpora. |  
 Ita tu, qui sentis mag|nam facti gratiam, |  
 Aestuantis animae | fucilari spiritum. |  
 Noli pigere laudem | voce reddere |  
 Veram qui voluit | esse te sanum tib[i], |  
 Set protestare vel | Salutis gratia. |*

(in altera tabula)

*centurio | ¶leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae)¶ | faciendum | curavit. |*

A note must be made of the apparent acrostic in this poem, the beginning letters of which spell out the centurion's name: Q. Avidius Quintianus.<sup>1975</sup> This is appears when one writes the poem

<sup>1974</sup> See, for example, Bartoccini 1928-9; Lavagnini 1928: 416, 1930: 216; Kroll 1931: 151; Vetter 1931: 43; Rebuffat 1987: 93; Courtney 1995: 263-265; Adams 1999: 109-134; Cooley 2012: 281-284; Cugusi 2012: 90-94, 116, 64-65; HD024265, HD059759; IRT 0918. Lists of others who have discussed this inscription also appear in many of the references cited here. These have also included a full edition and translation of **AI.3**.

<sup>1975</sup> HD024265; Le Bohec 1989: 178, also n. 228; Adams 1999: 109; Cooley 2012: 282; IRT 0918.

with respect to the lines of the iambic senarii.<sup>1976</sup> Other aspects of the writer's, presumably Quintianus, skill in Latin are apparent: 'archaizing poetic vocabulary (*cuncti, lymphas*), and alliteration (*nomen et numen..., flammis fervidas...*)',<sup>1977</sup> which leads Cooley to conclude that Quintianus was comfortable with using Latin, and was perhaps a native Latin speaker, with a good education,<sup>1978</sup> in contrast to Adams' analysis of this inscription.<sup>1979</sup>

The astronomical aspects of this inscription reside in 9-13:

... et cunctis dedi |  
 Veras Salutis lymphas, | tantis ignibus |  
 In istis semper ha|renacis collibus, |  
 Nutantis Austri solis | flammis fervidas, |  
 Tranquille ut nando | delenirent corpora.

As discussed above, in the discussions of **AI.1** and **AI.2**,<sup>1980</sup> the sun is sometimes used to represent the passage of time in inscriptions, rather than as a material object that can impact the material world. However, here, the sun is a physical object, with physical attributes that affect the world itself. The sun is not a neutral object, or a positive life force, but a negative force, damaging to the soldiers' health. In Latin literature, the sun is often described as a life giving force, with the life-giving connotations light, the sun and fire often have;<sup>1981</sup> it is recognised explicitly in examples such as Ammianus Marcellinus' *radiosque solis, suapte natura vitales* ('and the rays of the sun, which by their very nature are vital for existence' 27.4.14). But it is presented closer to the way in which it is represented in military writing: as a dangerous object, which tires out soldiers and, in those narratives, lead to a disaster for the fighting soldiers due to the heat of the sun draining them before, or during, or both, the battle.<sup>1982</sup> The perceived impact and danger of the sun in **AI.3** are analysed in more detail in Chapter 7.

Given the significance of **ET.40**, as the longest surviving verse inscription,<sup>1983</sup> much has been said about it already.<sup>1984</sup> It is one of the only verse inscriptions to be described as 'literary'.<sup>1985</sup> This inscription is also briefly discussed in Chapters 3 and 7 for the allusions and connections it has to other themes found in inscriptions in general and military verse inscriptions, and its links to nature. Therefore, here, only the astronomical and military significance of this inscription shall be discussed.

**ET.40** belongs to the mausoleum of the Flavii in Colonia Flavia Cillium, Africa Proconsularis, specifically 'on the road leading in a north-westerly direction out of the city'.<sup>1986</sup> This family 'were the descendants of an African who had served in the Roman army, and their monument might be seen as reflecting an advanced stage in the social and educational aspirations of the

<sup>1976</sup> HD024265; Le Bohec 1989: 178, also n. 228; Cooley 2012: 284; IRT 0918.

<sup>1977</sup> Cooley 2012: 284.

<sup>1978</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1979</sup> See above.

<sup>1980</sup> Also briefly in Chapter 4.

<sup>1981</sup> See, for example, Plin. Nat. 11.22, 12.11, 12.31; Ov. Met. 1.434-437.

<sup>1982</sup> Amm. 31.12-13.

<sup>1983</sup> Courtney 1995: 400.

<sup>1984</sup> A not extensive list is presented here: Froehner 1875: 53-65; Lassère 1990: 49-61; Courtney 1995: 399-406, Pillinger 2013: 171-211, including being the subject of a MA dissertation (Sawyer 2010) and an entire volume (Slim et al. 1993). These also discuss the other themes also included in this verse inscription.

<sup>1985</sup> Pillinger 2013: 175.

<sup>1986</sup> *Ibid.*:171-172.

military classes in a provincial region'.<sup>1987</sup> Colonia Flavia Cillium was once 'an ancient town thriving as a result of Roman settlement and trade from the second century C.E.', and it contained many of the amenities we associate with the Romans.<sup>1988</sup> According to Lassère, it is Flavian,<sup>1989</sup> but the consensus now seems to date it to the second century AD.<sup>1990</sup> The accompanying prose inscription reveals the person to whom this is dedicated, the father of the dedicatee, served in the military for thirty three years.<sup>1991</sup> Another of the inscriptions in this mausoleum reveals that his other son, Titus Flavius Martialis, died when he was thirty five and he had been in the military for twelve years.<sup>1992</sup> What exactly Titus Flavius Secundus *maior* served as is unknown, as his rank is not specified, although, given his age at death, we can presume he was at least a *veteranus*.<sup>1993</sup> He was also, according to Courtney, the first in his family to be a Roman citizen, 'a discharged soldier who had been settled in Cillium',<sup>1994</sup> thus indicating he achieved his citizenship through his military service, although his origins are unknown. The importance of African, as well as Roman, language, imagery and allusions in this are not necessarily indicative of him having African origins, but of the family connecting to the *colonia* they inhabited. This inscription has been praised for the quality of its verse, which was skilfully written,<sup>1995</sup> although this 'often makes it difficult to tie down the exact sense with precision',<sup>1996</sup> thus making interpreting the exact meaning of 79 perhaps problematic. In the inscription itself, although the verses were by Secundus Minor, he says he is aping his father's style of writing poetry (**ET.40a.12**). **ET.40a** was written in hexameters, **ET.40b** elegiac couplets.<sup>1997</sup> It was displayed on the outside of the mausoleum,<sup>1998</sup> so it was designed to be read by a public audience.

This monument highlights the practical mentality towards the sun which has been demonstrated in inscriptions that use the sun to mark the years of someone's age above. With the approximation of how old people were on inscriptions sometimes, perhaps the best, most accurate way of depicting someone's age was through a way of telling the passing of the years everyone understood: by the movement of the sun. This monument takes this idea further: it is a literal sundial, as we are told in the verse inscription *solis metitur iter* ('it measures out the journey of the sun', **ET.40a.79**). Thus, the passing of someone's daily life can be tracked by the shadow of the monument of the dead. The five lines within which this line can be found contain airy and earth(l)y references (78 and 79-81 respectively).

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<sup>1987</sup> Adams 1999: 128.

<sup>1988</sup> Pillinger 2013: 171.

<sup>1989</sup> Lassère 1990: 57.

<sup>1990</sup> Froehner 1875: 56; *AE* 1993.1714; Courtney 1995: 2004; Pillinger 2013: 171. Bücheler says it is contemporary with Juvenal and Apuleius (*CLE* 1552). It is specifically dated between the third quarter of the second century by *AE* 1993.1714 and 151-170 by EDCS-14900166; HD064997.

<sup>1991</sup> Courtney 1995: 400. See also Froehner 1875: 55; *CIL* VIII 211.

<sup>1992</sup> Froehner 1875: 55. See also Pillinger 2013: 172 for discussion of other epitaphs of this family in the mausoleum. See also HD064997 for other epitaphs of the family.

<sup>1993</sup> EDCS-14900166 counts neither of these as military.

<sup>1994</sup> Courtney 1995: 400.

<sup>1995</sup> See, for example, *ibid.*: 399-400; Pillinger 1993: 171.

<sup>1996</sup> Courtney 1995: 399.

<sup>1997</sup> Courtney 1995: 401; Pillinger 2013: 176. See also Lassère 1990: 57. Froehner also agrees that **ET.40a** is in hexameters, but that **ET.40b** is in some unspecified metrical form (1875: 64). Bücheler categorises this under 'polymetrica' (1552, see esp. 747). <https://www.mqdgq.it/textsce/CE/appe1152a>; <https://www.mqdgq.it/textsce/CE/appe1152b> for **ET.40a** and **ET.40b**.

<sup>1998</sup> Pillinger 2013: 172.

Sundials had existed for over a thousand years by this time,<sup>1999</sup> and they were used expertly by the Greeks and the Romans.<sup>2000</sup> Perhaps the most famous sundial in antiquity was on the Campus Martius. Hannah and Magli argue that the Parthenon, the Domus Aurea, Ara Pacis, Horologium Augusti and the Mausoleum of Augustus were built with ‘an understanding of the role of the sun in the building, and of the apotheosized emperor in Roman thought’,<sup>2001</sup> proposing ‘that the sun and time were linked architecturally into cosmological signposts for those Romans who could read such things’,<sup>2002</sup> and this was as true for Augustus as it was for his successors.<sup>2003</sup> They suggest that the Parthenon, as it is in its current Hadrianic construction, was modelled off a *hemicyclium*, a special type of sundial in the shape of a hemisphere, but for symbolic solar rather than technical time marking reasons.<sup>2004</sup> It is this practical use of this monument which, in Michaud’s opinion, causes it to forget its sacred, abstract function as an epitaph, but become a material imposition on men, dictating the passage of time to them,<sup>2005</sup> so much so that **ET.40a.79** should be interpreted thusly: ‘i bien qu’il faut comprendre *solis metitur iter* non pas tellement comme signifiant : «il rivalise avec le soleil» mais «il donne l’heure aux hommes»’.<sup>2006</sup> It is the sun that creates a feeling of sanctity,<sup>2007</sup> yet ‘au moment même où il touche à la dimension cosmique et sacrée du monument, il s’en détourne pour assimiler le monument aux merveilles du monde’.<sup>2008</sup>

There was once a cockerel incorporated into this mausoleum,<sup>2009</sup> and it is referred to in the inscription.<sup>2010</sup> Peyras also indicates the connection made between the cockerel, the sun, immortality and the divine in Phoenician and Libyan religion.<sup>2011</sup> ‘Au terme de cette analyse, nous admettons que le coq était, dans l’Afrique Mineure, un symbole astral, probablement solaire, en tous cas lié au Soleil et à d’autres astres subordonnés à lui. Il figurait l’âme humaine transfigurée après la mort, devenue un astre parmi les astres grâce à l’action des divinités célestes’.<sup>2012</sup> Yet, due to its reference in **ET.40b**, instead of in **a**, presumably due to the solar imagery there, the astronomical associations the cockerel had are not implied in **ET.40a**.<sup>2013</sup> Universally, ‘Il n’en reste pas moins que la vie outre-tombe se déroule non seulement dans le tombeau, mais auprès du soleil’,<sup>2014</sup> and that, after the Libyans and Phoenicians, the souls of the dead were believed to join the divine, including Tanit, the Caelestes, Venus, Mercury and the moon, which were all subordinate to the sun, amongst the stars in African, and Roman, thinking,<sup>2015</sup> the sun playing a significant role in African religion.<sup>2016</sup>

However, some disagree that this monument also acted as a sundial, notably Courtney. He believes that *solis metitur iter* ‘probably means that because of its proximity it can more closely

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<sup>1999</sup> See Daniel 2006: 28.

<sup>2000</sup> See, for example, Wright 2000: 177-187. See also Vitruvius’ understanding and description of sundials (7-8).

<sup>2001</sup> Hannah & Magli 2011: 486.

<sup>2002</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2003</sup> *Ibid.*: 508.

<sup>2004</sup> *Ibid.*: 490-492.

<sup>2005</sup> Michaud 1993: 200.

<sup>2006</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2007</sup> Peyras 1993: 248-249

<sup>2008</sup> Michaud 1993: 200.

<sup>2009</sup> Froehner 1875: 55, 64.

<sup>2010</sup> *Ibid.*: 64; Pillinger 2013: 172.

<sup>2011</sup> Peyras 1993: 241-245, 249.

<sup>2012</sup> Peyras 1993: 246.

<sup>2013</sup> *Ibid.*: 249.

<sup>2014</sup> *Ibid.*: 241.

<sup>2015</sup> *Ibid.*: 241, 243.

<sup>2016</sup> *Ibid.*: 241 n. 27.

observe the sun's progress, rather than that its shadow tells the time'.<sup>2017</sup> However, most seem to believe that this is a reference to this monument also acting as a sundial.<sup>2018</sup> Lassère questions what, exactly, this line means, whether it is '« il rivalise avec le soleil » dans sa splendeur, mais aussi son éternité; ou bien plus prosaïquement : «il indique les heures» dans leur renouvellement, à la manière du gnomon d'un gigantesque cadran solaire?'.<sup>2019</sup> *Metor* means 'to measure off, lay out',<sup>2020</sup> also 'mark out' and, in verse, 'to traverse, pass through'.<sup>2021</sup> Given the literal ways in which this verse inscription describes the adornments of this monument,<sup>2022</sup> it seems more likely that the practical, rather than poetic, meaning of *metor* was intended here, so it literally 'measures out the journey of the sun', thereby making it a sundial. It is probably for this reason that most scholars appear to interpret this line in a similar manner: that this monument also served as a sundial. Given its other practical uses, such as a weathervane and a beehive, this also makes this the more likely interpretation. This use of this monument as a sundial perpetuates the subtle contrast that has been demonstrated in **AI.1** and **AI.2**, that there is an opposition between light and dark, the sun and shade, usually the former is associated with the living, and the latter the dead.

It has been suggested that *signis* (**ET.40a.46**) can be used here in reference to the constellations.<sup>2023</sup> If this were true, then 'ce serait la marche du soleil autour du monument qui donnerait à la sculpture le mouvement perpétuellement renouvelé de la vie'.<sup>2024</sup> Given that this would then create a parallel with 79,<sup>2025</sup> Lassère's comment also incorporates the meaning of the movement of the sun being used to express the passing of time, specifically the passing of the years in relation to someone's age, as above. However, some believe that *signis* here should be translated as 'statues' or 'effigy' or 'markings'.<sup>2026</sup> Courtney believes that this line refers to the cockerel, which acted as a weathervane.<sup>2027</sup>

This expresses religious and social syncretism within this inscription, which has African religious implications as well as some Roman, although these appear to be universal, and a social syncretism not only by the very act of inscribing a funerary monument in this way, but also by using technology used by the Romans that conquered nature and dictated the daily activities of men,<sup>2028</sup> something that the Romans themselves lamented. In a fragment of the *Boetia*, quoted by Aulus Gellius and attributed to Plautus,<sup>2029</sup> time is no longer decided by the natural body clock of man, but by external, astronomical devices, specifically the time kept by a sundial, which makes the individual feel resentful and powerless. Schechner comments that 'the introduction of sundials not only reinforced time consciousness, but also encouraged time discipline. This was a new urban experience',<sup>2030</sup> thus linking sundials and this manner of measuring time to urban development and civilisation, something that the military founded and civilians developed in the Roman Empire. Secundus wished to express this syncretism in this

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<sup>2017</sup> Courtney 1995: 404.

<sup>2018</sup> See, for example, Sawyer 2010: 41.

<sup>2019</sup> Lassère 1990: 57.

<sup>2020</sup> Kidd 1957: 131.

<sup>2021</sup> Lewis & Short 1945: 1141.

<sup>2022</sup> See, for example, Courtney 1995: 401-406; Pillinger 2013.

<sup>2023</sup> Lassère 1993: 80; indeed, this is one of its meanings (Kidd 1957: 198).

<sup>2024</sup> Lassère 1993: 80.

<sup>2025</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2026</sup> Lassère 1993: 80; Courtney 1995: 403; Pillinger 2013: 180 respectively. See also Pillinger 2013: 196 n. 37.

<sup>2027</sup> Courtney 1995: 403.

<sup>2028</sup> See also Pillinger 2013: 193.

<sup>2029</sup> Aulus Gellius, *N.A.* 3.3.3-5 (see Gratwick 1979: 308).

<sup>2030</sup> Schechner 2001: 192.

monument to his father, wanting to express his adherence to Roman society and ideas,<sup>2031</sup> as well as adhering to local ideas and thinking. Pillinger describes this as ‘a monumental expression of Libyco-Punic cultural tradition engaging with the forces of Roman influence’.<sup>2032</sup> This was an expression of how the Roman world worked at its best, also expressed by the military itself, which incorporated a medley of societies and cultures, weapons and uniforms, as well as fundamental duties of the military, yet all conformed to a degree and expressed their allegiance towards protecting and adhering to the wishes of Rome, in Latin, on stone.

### 6.3. *Caelum* and Perceptions of Celestial Heaven

**AI.4** has mainly been discussed in Chapter 5. However, due to its use of *caelum* and *mundus*, it shall also be discussed here. This time, the centurion is not making this inscription for the protection of his and future men, but for the future of the Emperor’s heirs. The stars and celestial bodies are linked to the future, specifically the future of Augustus. Although the inscription is dedicated to Gaius and Lucius Caesar, and the hope that they represent for the future of Augustus’ line, the specifically astronomical imagery is in reference to Augustus and his future: *nam quom te Caesar tem[pus] | exposcet deum / caeloque, repetes sed[em, ---] | mundum reges* (‘For when you, Caesar, pray to the gods and heaven / for time, you will return to your seat, [...] you will rule the universe’, 4-5). Most, including the editors of *CIL* and Dessau, believe that *her[edibus]* (1) ought to be read *heroibus*, which would make this line translate to ‘this temple has been dedicated to your heroes’. Although this raises questions about the emperor’s cult and the celebration of living members of the imperial family as deities,<sup>2033</sup> *heroibus* does not make much sense in this poem, whereas *heredibus*, i.e. Gaius and Lucius Caesar, whom it is agreed this poem is about,<sup>2034</sup> does, especially when considering 2-3. Even Dessau recognises that this reading by Mommsen and Bücheler, for example, ‘supplementum nec hoc loco certum’ (‘the supplement here is neither certain’).<sup>2035</sup> Courtney’s interpretation of *heredibus*, with the benefit of decades of research between his own and Mommsen’s postulation, therefore seems more likely as the intended reading.

The feeling of fear over celebrating the living emperor and his family as deities within their lifetimes should be discounted by **AI.4.4-5**, as Augustus, in this verse inscription at least, is understood by Rufus to be a living god, and that the people, as this is Rufus’ interpretation, felt that Augustus himself hoped to be treated as such. Divinity is sought by Augustus, according to Rufus, from both the gods and heaven (4-5); it is perhaps pertinent that *deum* ends the line and *caelo* begins the next. When an emperor died, and sometimes a member of his family, he was deified. Although Augustus prays for a temple, it appears that he shall receive it in death, which is perhaps how Rufus avoids the issue of celebrating the man who liked to publicly portray himself as one of the people as a living divinity, because when he receives it, it is only then that *repetes sed[em, ---] | mundum reges* (‘you will return to your seat, [...] you will rule the universe’, 5). The use of *sedes* reiterates the idea of Augustus’ divinity, as it is often only used in a religious or divine mythological context.<sup>2036</sup>

<sup>2031</sup> Martin 1993: 264.

<sup>2032</sup> Pillinger 2013: 172.

<sup>2033</sup> Courtney 1995: 243.

<sup>2034</sup> *Ibid.*: 243-244; see also the *CIL*.

<sup>2035</sup> *ILS* 137: 36.

<sup>2036</sup> Also often in conjunction with death, for example Cic. Tusc. 19.43-44. See also Chapter 3.

Some literary parallels of this line have already been noted by previous scholars.<sup>2037</sup> *Caelum* not only has an abstract, often divine, meaning, often understood to mean ‘heaven’,<sup>2038</sup> but also a practical function, often understood to mean ‘sky’.<sup>2039</sup> The positioning of *caelo* and *mundum* are important; at the initial and penultimate place of **AI.4.5**, it emphasises the divine, celestial home destined for Augustus, yet, once again, bringing about the, contradictory, idea of Augustus’ current state of humility, because he will rule the world only once he has achieved his divinity. Yet, once again, we also have this idea of loftiness, because *mundus* not only means ‘world’, but also ‘universe, heavens’,<sup>2040</sup> and so Rufus’ meaning may be ‘you will return to your seat from which you will rule the world’. For some, the meaning of ‘world’ here may be preferable. Varro contrasted it with *caelum*, with the divine.<sup>2041</sup> Yet despite the more grounded meanings of *mundus*, it does not have the earthly, grounded subtext of *terra*, for example, but lofty, astronomical undertones.<sup>2042</sup> Also, due to *mundus*’s alternative meanings of ‘toilet ornaments, decorations, dress’,<sup>2043</sup> and its similarity in meaning of the Greek *κοσμος*,<sup>2044</sup> of ‘the universe, the world, esp the heavens and the heavenly bodies’,<sup>2045</sup> it has been translated here as ‘universe’. Yet, the two are contrasted here, and thus their meanings as understood by the population are depicted here: the *caelum* was divine, where the gods reside,

<sup>2037</sup> Courtney 1995: 244, who cites parallels with Horace, Vellius Paterculus, Manilius, and Germanicus, the latter two of whom, it ought to be indicated, were astronomical poets. See also Büecheler.

<sup>2038</sup> In both verse and prose. For example, Ov. Trist. 4.1.60; Cic. Har. Resp. 19; Prop. 4.101, 3.17.8; Caes. Civ. 2.3; Tib. 3.3.1; Vit. 8.preface.4; Cic. Tusc. 5.8; Lucr. 5.1183-1193, for example; see also Varro for the divine meaning of *caelum* (for example, FRL I: Enn. 93 Varro Ling. 7.7: 554). Often *caelum*, when used with a divine meaning, is translated as ‘heaven’ (see, for example, Rudd 2004: 300-301, trans. Hor. Epod. 13.1; De Melo 2011: 122-123, trans. Plaut. Amph. 5.1055, 1065; De Melo 2011: 520-521, trans. Plaut. Persa 582; Goold 1999: 280-281, trans. Prop. 3.17.8; Wheeler 1996: 410-411, trans. Ov. Pont. 3.6.55; Yardley 2021: 408-409, trans. Liv. 30.8; Damon 2016: 130-131, trans. Caes. Civ. 2.3; Mackail 2017: 290-291, trans. Tib. 3.3.1; Granger 1934: 134-135, trans. Vit. 8.preface.4; Ferguson Smith 1992: 2-3, trans. Lucr., for example, 1.1-9), but this is probably due to Western Christianised views of Heaven. If the ancients perceived *caelum* with a similar distinction, or whether it simply sometimes had a divine and sometimes a practical meaning, perhaps both existed at the same time, it will probably be impossible to know. It is also often translated as ‘heaven’ when in association with the starry sky (for example, Rushton Fairclough 2000: 250-251, trans. Verg. Aen. 10.202; Mozley 1979: 16-17, trans. Ov. Ars 1.59; Goold 1997: 18-19, trans. Manil. 1.176-194; Ferguson Smith 1992: 82-83, trans. Lucr., for example, 1.984-992, although it ought to be noted that with the final two examples, *caelum* is being used in the practical sense, but is translated as ‘heaven’), and ‘sky’ when referring to the day (see the footnote below). There are, of course, exceptions to this rule, especially as translation choices are personal decisions of the translator, an interpretation of the text; such as Mozley 1979: 50-51, trans. Ov. Ars 1.557, Ferguson Smith 1992: 310-311, trans. Lucr., for example, 4.443.

<sup>2039</sup> In both verse and prose. See, for example, Aulus Gellius AN XII.xiii.20; Ov. Trist. 2.79, 3.8.23, 3.3.7, 4.3.43, Ars 3.469, Pont. 2.10.23; Tib. 1.4.43-72; Manil. 1.529-549, for example; FRL 1: Enn. 96: 558: 408-409; Liv. 31.5, Lucr. 1.820, V.446, Verg. Aen. 5.9, 18. *caelum* is sometimes also translated as ‘sky’ (see, for example, Rushton Fairclough 2000: 250-251, trans. Verg. Aen. 11.210; Rudd 2004: 286-287, trans. Hor. Epod. 5. 79; Wheeler 1996: 174-175, trans. Ov. Trist. 4.3; Yardley 2017: 38-39, trans. Liv. 31.5; Ferguson Smith 1992: 178-179, trans. Lucr., for example, 2.1084), thus indicating that perhaps the translation of *caelum* is context dependent, rather than genre/literature dependent. After all, ‘sky’, in a modern context, can be used in a ‘divine’ sense. The best example of a translator making these two distinctions between the meanings of *caelum* is by Ferguson Smith (1992), translator of Lucr. In this translation, *caelum* is translated, in Book 5, as ‘sky’ in a practical sense (68, 91) and as ‘heaven’ when talking about celestial/astronomical features (the sun and moon) and divinities (whether the sun and moon traverse the heavens of their own accord, or if the gods command them) (78). In Verg. Aen. 9.1-21, *caelum* is used both in association with the divine and in its practical sense, which highlights how, for the Roman mentality, religion was both immaterial and practical, something beyond their reach, but something they could comprehend slightly, because the gods are manmade concepts of how people comprehended the world around them. In this footnote, and the one above, neither of these should be considered extensive lists of the uses of *caelum*. There are multiple examples, and a lengthy, in-depth discussion could be written about all of them.

<sup>2040</sup> See Lewis & Short 1945 2a: 1175; Kidd 1957: 135 for definitions of *mundus*; see also Manilius’ use of *mundus* (1.532-536). See also Vitruvius’ description of the universe, which he describes as *mundus*, and *caelum* is used to describe the starry sky (9.2). In Lucr., *mundus* is used to describe the starry sky, and *caelum* the sky (5.432-435). See also Figure 7.1, and Chapter 7.

<sup>2041</sup> See Nonius discussing the meaning of *caelum* (FRL I: Enn. 97 559: 408-409).

<sup>2042</sup> This contrast features in poetry, for example in Lucr., such as, 5.446, 68, 78, 91; Verg. Aen. 4.269. See also Chapter 7 and Figure 7.1.

<sup>2043</sup> Lewis & Short 1945 2I: 1175.

<sup>2044</sup> *Ibid.* 2IIa: 1175.

<sup>2045</sup> *Ibid.*: 1175; see also Kidd 1957: 135 definitions given above.

and the *mundus* is what can be ruled and inhabited by a man. Here, Augustus is not described in entirely divine ways, and so the difficulties with describing Augustus as a living god are also circumvented in this use of language.

Augustus, here, is depicted semi- or almost-divinely; not yet a god, but more than a man, as Augustus will rule over the *mundus*, which is greater than the *terra* that is ruled by men through Augustus' favour (6). Those men who are said *tua ... sorte ter[rae] | huic imperent*, ('they shall be the rulers of this land by your lot', **AI.4.6**) are stated as being in charge of the land: *terra*, further emphasising the 'world' Augustus will rule will be a cosmological, heavenly one. Again, *sors*, although often used in the context of Fate, is used in association with man, something which man is affected by, often by a divinity/Fate. One wonders if Rufus considered himself one of these men; after all, military positions were the gift of the emperor, and the military was perceived as having a protective function over the Empire and her inhabitants. Rufus had a senior position within his legion, and he is setting up a statue, accompanied by a verse inscription, which could be perceived as a vow, to this (semi-)divine man, who is able to distribute power, and his family. Augustus and cosmological language and concepts after his death is not an alien idea, as Virgil proposed a position for Augustus' star in the heavens after he died,<sup>2046</sup> thus furthering the idea that Augustus was perceived as a living divinity, or a man who was yet to be made divine, by Roman society whilst he lived.

For Courtney, who also discusses this idea briefly, 'the wide-spread idea that the soul belongs to the sky ... is well-suited to ruler-cult'.<sup>2047</sup> Cicero, in *Tusc.* 1.19.43-44, refers to the sky to which the soul returns as *caelum*, and that the soul, when it returns there, *aletur et sustentabitur iisdem rebus, quibus astra sustentantur et aluntur* ('will be nourished and sustained by the same substances that the stars are sustained and nourished by', 1.19.44), meaning that the soul was regarded, at least by some, as akin to a star, a concept which is not alien to modern thinking. Additionally, 'in Roman funerary commemorations of the early Empire there is often a 'divinization' or 'apotheosis' of the deceased, especially children',<sup>2048</sup> further indicating how people felt, at least in death, people became divine. Courtney indicates instances where Augustus was perceived as a living divinity by contemporary, and near contemporary, poets, and by society in general: Ovid,<sup>2049</sup> Horace, Manilius and Martial.<sup>2050</sup> In literature, we see men extolled to the heavens due to their good deeds.<sup>2051</sup> Manilius refers to how man creates divinities out of other men (4.933-934), these manmade divinities *mittitque ad sidera* ('[were] also sent to the stars', *Manil.* 4.934.), and *maius et Augusto crescet sub principe caelum* ('heaven will become greater under the leadership of Augustus', 4.935). In the opinion of this *primus pilaris*, then, as a man, Augustus rules the world, as a divinity, he will rule the universe, the *mundus* but not the *caelum*,<sup>2052</sup> due to his deeds on earth and, perhaps, too, men who serve in his name, chosen by imperial favour, should expect a place amongst the celestials, looking down on all those buried under the earth.

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<sup>2046</sup> See, for example, Whitcomb 2018: 414.

<sup>2047</sup> Courtney 1995: 244.

<sup>2048</sup> Grubbs 2002: 242.

<sup>2049</sup> Who, in 'Epist. 1.19.43 and ... *Fasti* 1.650 show that colloquially Augustus was referred to as 'Jupiter'' (1996: 244).

<sup>2050</sup> Courtney 1995: 244.

<sup>2051</sup> See, for example, *Cic. Tusc.* 1.111, 3.39; *Sall. Catil.* 47.1.

<sup>2052</sup> See also Courtney: '*mundum reges* He will be a κοσμοκράτωρ' (1995: 244).



#### 6.4. The Soldier and Heavenly Bodies

The stars, or a star, were often symbolic of the living's life in these verse inscriptions, and something in which the living's lives were defined and destined; this imagery continues today, especially in phrases such as 'it was written in the stars' meaning 'it was meant to be' or 'it was destined to be'. In **LL.4**, Marcellina's death was said to have been too early, but predestined, as we can see through the way in which her death is described. This verse inscription by her husband and father describe her as in the bloom of youth when she died, envied by the Fates, as people who die young are often described, but it is this envy, her *genesis*, which took her away from her husband too soon (5). *Genesis* is often defined as someone's birth, or something's creation, but it can also mean someone's horoscope, or 'the star that is rising at one's birth'.<sup>2053</sup> Marcellina then, according to her husband, was destined to die early, taken by *invida Fatorum genesis* ('the jealous horoscope of the Fates, 5). As demonstrated in Chapter 4 and this chapter, *lux*, *lumen* and *sidus* were interconnected, light and stars an important aspect of the imagery of life. The use of *genesis* has the sense of 'beginning', i.e. Marcellina's destiny from the start, which is probably why it also has the meaning of 'horoscope';<sup>2054</sup> it is this translation that gives these lines further cosmological/astrological meaning, which should be noted, in light of the use of *lux* in this inscription. We know that the Romans, if not believed, certainly knew of astrology, and this makes it seem as if her death was pre-destined. Perhaps this was the only explanation they could think of to justify her early death, and the nature of it (10-11); as in **AI.9**, the early, perhaps sudden, death of a young, noble woman who appears to have some sort of prolonged ailment that meant she could not move or communicate, could only be explained by those in her life as something either pre-determined and/or supernatural, and her husband sought vengeance from the *Di Caelestes* or the Manes for the one who had bewitched his wife *carminibus* ('with verses', 9) (10, 12-13).

Is the implication of someone becoming a star or a constellation, which the Romans did believe in as we also continue to have as imagery for life after death, also potentially seen in **ET.14**? In **ET.14**, a soldier's cenotaph is described as the way in which the unburied soldier could act as a gateway to the gods above: *in superos it, si qua viast aditusque sepulcro | / instituto, casus pareat usque meus* ('he went up to the land of the gods above, if there is a road and entrance to there / when a tomb has been built: let my death be visible for all time', 19-20). 'Letting his death be visible for all time' may be a reference to the tomb and the perceived immortality of a tomb (see Chapter 3), but could it also be a reference to someone becoming a star or a constellation when they die? After all, the *cenotaph* is referred to as being a way for the deceased to gain an entrance *in superos*; the cenotaph, therefore, already has an assigned purpose, to act as the gateway between the terrestrial and the celestial, so Verecundus' death 'being visible for all time' may be a reference to the depiction of his death once he had joined the gods above, i.e. in a star or constellation.

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<sup>2053</sup> See Lewis & Short 1945: 807.

<sup>2054</sup> Kidd 1957: 97; Lewis & Short 1945: 807. See also AE 1999.422; Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.48: 106; see also Kuntiċ-Makvić 1976: 48, nr. 6; Adamik 1997: 162-163 for an in-depth discussion on the meaning of *genesis*, which he concludes is the colloquial version of the more technical and literary *genitura*, also for a discussion on the widespread understanding of people's knowledge of astrology throughout the social strata in the Roman world; see also the discussion in the chapters below for further evidence on this matter.

**AI.5**, a fragmented buff sandstone epitaph, was found in Viroconium, now Worxeter, England.<sup>2055</sup> Traces of sandaled feet and what is believed to be the base of a standard were discovered engraved as a relief on the top of the stone,<sup>2056</sup> although they have now disappeared. It was found near Watling Street, ‘on the line of a supposed Roman street’.<sup>2057</sup> The letters on the inscription have worn away, as it was discovered in the Roman cemetery to the east of Worxeter, lying on its face.<sup>2058</sup> Scarth conjectures this inscription was part of a tomb, which is what the remains of the building it was found near to once were.<sup>2059</sup> It is dated to the early first century, between AD 43 and 61-62,<sup>2060</sup> between when the *Legio XIV Gemina* was posted to England for the invasion of Britain and when they received their honorary title *Martia Victrix*,<sup>2061</sup> and it is universally recognised that Flaminus was a *miles* of this legion.<sup>2062</sup> Its fragmentary nature makes interpreting the true meaning of the original inscription difficult, although many attempts have been made to reconstruct it,<sup>2063</sup> and multiple versions proposed. There seems to be almost a general consensus now, with only minor deviations between the most recent versions of this inscription.<sup>2064</sup> Titus Flaminus’s name indicates he was a Roman citizen, including his voting tribe (Pollia).<sup>2065</sup> We do not know who wrote this poem, although we may conjecture Flaminus himself, due to its personal nature and lack of any one else claiming to have either set this up or written it for him.

Flaminus was from Faventia (now Faenza), northern Italy.<sup>2066</sup> Also, his membership of the Pollia voting tribe indicates he was a north-western Italian in origin.<sup>2067</sup> In the early first century AD, ‘Italy still provided the majority of legionary recruits’,<sup>2068</sup> and voting tribes were also ‘the

<sup>2055</sup> British Archaeological Association 1845: 329; Scarth 1864: 133; Watkin 1879: 336; Roman Britain in 1957 1958: 151; *AE* 1995.997: 290; Frere & Millett 2012: 1560.; Kruschwitz 2015: 55; *RIB* 292; *EE* ix: 534. See also British Archaeological Association 1845: 329; Scarth 1864: 131, 134; Watkin 1879: 336; Hassall & Tomlin 1995: 388; HD019333; Schumacher 2012: 54-55, 61; Cugusi 2014: 358; Kruschwitz 2015: 55; SMCCSFCR for SHYMS: A/1994/001/005; *RIB* 292.

<sup>2056</sup> Scarth 1864: 132; Hassall & Tomlin 1995: 389; Schumacher 2012: 54; Kruschwitz 2015: 55; *RIB* 292; *RIB* merely describes this as the soldier is ‘holding a staff’. See also Watkin 1879: 336; HD019333; SMCCSFCR for SHYMS: A/1994/001/005.

<sup>2057</sup> British Archaeological Association 1845: 329; *RIB* 292; SMCCSFCR for SHYMS: A/1994/001/005; see also Scarth 1864: 133.

<sup>2058</sup> British Archaeological Association 1845: 329; Scarth 1864: 131, 134; Kruschwitz 2015: 55; SMCCSFCR for SHYMS: A/1994/001/005; *RIB* 292. See also Watkin 1879: 336; Schumacher 2012: 54-55.

<sup>2059</sup> Scarth 1864: 133-134; *RIB* 292. See also SMCCSFCR for SHYMS: A/1994/001/005.

<sup>2060</sup> Henderson 1903: 17; Kruschwitz 2015: 55-56; SMCCSFCR for SHYMS: A/1994/001/005. See also discussion below; Schumacher 2012: 55, 60-61.

<sup>2061</sup> Hardy 1887: 632, 634; Henderson 1903: 2; Campbell 2012d: 818; Kruschwitz 2015: 55-56. See also Cugusi 2014: 358 for information and references on *Legio XIV Gemina*, as well as the discussion below.

<sup>2062</sup> It has long been thought that the beginning of the lines of this inscription are missing (Watkin 1879: 333; Roman Britain in 1957 1958: 151; Cugusi 2014: 357; HD019333; SMCCSFCR for SHYMS: A/1994/001/005; *RIB* 292. See also Schumacher 2012: 54, 58, 62). II is apparent before GEM (Scarth 1864: 132) although there is no obvious space for there to be XI before the II on the stone, if the lines are to correlate with one another, but there was not another *Gemina* legion (Hardy 1887: 625-656; Schumacher 2012: 60; Appendix 2), so it must be a mistake of either XIII or XIV *Gemina*, so all the author can conjecture is that this was a mistake by the stonecutter, and it was meant to say either XIII GEM or XIV GEM. See Hassall & Tomlin 1995: 388. See the discussion on *aquilifer* below.

<sup>2063</sup> See Scarth 1864: 133; Watkin 1879: 336; *AE* 1959.158: 41; Schumacher 2012: 58; Kruschwitz 2015: 12-13; SMCCSFCR for SHYMS: A/1994/001/005; *RIB* 292. See also *EE* ix: 534; Schumacher 2012: 55. Kruschwitz 2015: 13; SMCCSFCR for SHYMS: A/1994/001/005; *RIB* 292 also provide a translation for this inscription.

<sup>2064</sup> HD019333; Schumacher 2012: 58-59; Kruschwitz 2015: 12-13; SMCCSFCR for SHYMS: A/1994/001/005. See also discussion below; the interpretation used to be rather different, for example Scarth 1864: 133; Watkin 1879: 336; Schumacher 2012: 59; SMCCSFCR for SHYMS: A/1994/001/005.

<sup>2065</sup> Keppie 1991: 19, Appendix 1 140; Solin 2012: 996-998; Momigliano & Cornell 2012; Gargola 2010: 117. See also HD019333; Watkin 1879: 336; Häussler 2013: 297, 299.

<sup>2066</sup> Schumacher 2012: 55, 60, 62; Kruschwitz 2015: 13, 55; Everett-Heath 2020; SMCCSFCR for SHYMS: A/1994/001/005.

<sup>2067</sup> Philips 1975: 102-103; Sauer 2005: 108-109; Häussler 2013: 189-190. See also Cugusi 2014: 358.

<sup>2068</sup> Sauer 2005: 109.

basis of army recruitment',<sup>2069</sup> 'a fundamental unit of Roman civic order'.<sup>2070</sup> Flaminus is not the only Roman soldier to have been affiliated with this voting tribe in Britain; Marcus Favonius Facilis, a centurion in *Legio XX*, was also in the Pollia voting tribe.<sup>2071</sup> His epitaph also depicts him fully in relief in uniform,<sup>2072</sup> as Flaminus was, as the *caligae* and remains of the standard above **AI.5** indicate. It is perhaps significant for this inscription as Facilis', dated between AD 43-49 and found in Colchester's Roman cemetery, 'is one of the earliest sculptures known in the province'.<sup>2073</sup> Unfortunately for this inscription, we cannot describe the styles used for the sculpture as we can Facilis', as we have his inscription and accompanying sculpture in its entirety.<sup>2074</sup> Lucius Valerius Geminus from *Legio II Augusta* also belonged to this voting tribe; his tombstone was in Alchester,<sup>2075</sup> and is similarly dated to between AD 43-44-c. 60.<sup>2076</sup> However, what is also intriguing about this inscription is that there is a *hedera* separating *[Fl]aminus* and *T*, between the *S* and *T*,<sup>2077</sup> and, Schumacher claims, this type of word separator was not in vogue in Faventia until the second century AD.<sup>2078</sup> He, therefore, conjectures that the one who carved this inscription had employed a custom observed from the provinces, probably from active service abroad, thus making the one who carved/issued this inscription more likely to be Flaminus himself.<sup>2079</sup>

The interpretation of *AQ* is significant. It is transcribed as *atque* some scholars.<sup>2080</sup> However, others interpret it as an abbreviation for *aquilifer*, which it is a common abbreviation for;<sup>2081</sup> Hassall & Tomlin, and Schumacher go so far as to say that the interpretation of *atque* is wrong.<sup>2082</sup> If interpreted as *a(t)q(ue)*, some may think this would negate the comments that it is part of the rare collection of *aquilifers* in Britain,<sup>2083</sup> and that this is the oldest instance of an *aquilifer* in Britain.<sup>2084</sup> However, despite transcribing it *a(t)q(ue)*, the editors of the *RIB* still believe that this was the epitaph of an *aquilifer*;<sup>2085</sup> the person appears to be holding a staff or, as some believe, a standard.<sup>2086</sup> Here, *AQ* has been expanded to *aq(ulifer)*; the relief above the metrical epitaph depicted Flaminus holding a standard, thus depicting him as an *aquilifer* in the relief and in the verse. It is not only Flaminus' status as an *aquilifer* which makes this inscription special for Roman Britain, but also 'it is very unusual if not unique to find verse on a legionary tombstone in Britain'.<sup>2087</sup>

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<sup>2069</sup> Momigliano & Cornell 2012.

<sup>2070</sup> Gargola 2010: 117.

<sup>2071</sup> Philips 1975: 102.

<sup>2072</sup> Philips 1975: 103.

<sup>2073</sup> *Ibid.*: 102.

<sup>2074</sup> *Ibid.*: 102-105.

<sup>2075</sup> Sauer 2005: 102-112.

<sup>2076</sup> *Ibid.*: 109-110.

<sup>2077</sup> See drawing on *RIB* 292.

<sup>2078</sup> Schumacher 2012: 55.

<sup>2079</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2080</sup> HD019333; SMCCSFCR for SHYMS: A/1994/001/005, which also offers an explanation as to why *atque* is more logical: it connects two verbs.

<sup>2081</sup> Scarth 1864: 132-133; Hassall & Tomlin 1995: 389 n. 54; Schumacher 2012: 58, 61; Kruschwitz 2015: 12; *RIB* 292. See also Watkin 1879: 336; Cugusi 2014: 357; SMCCSFCR for SHYMS: A/1994/001/005.

<sup>2082</sup> Hassall & Tomlin 1995: 388, which they explain in n. 54. Schumacher 2012: 62.

<sup>2083</sup> SMCCSFCR for SHYMS: A/1994/001/005; *RIB* 292.

<sup>2084</sup> Cugusi 2014: 358.

<sup>2085</sup> *RIB* 292; see above. It is also not unusual for them to be depicted in this way; another *aquilifer* of the *Legio XIV Gemina* is portrayed as holding his standard; see, for example, SMCCSFCR for SHYMS: A/1994/001/005.

<sup>2086</sup> Hassall & Tomlin 1995: 389; Schumacher 2012: 54; Kruschwitz 2015: 55; SMCCSFCR for SHYMS: A/1994/001/005.

<sup>2087</sup> SMCCSFCR for SHYMS: A/1994/001/005;

Flaminius served as a soldier (**AI.5.2**) for twenty two years; his death at forty five indicates he joined up when he was twenty three,<sup>2088</sup> slightly older than the average age of recruitment observed from these inscriptions, usually somewhere between seventeen to twenty. This also indicates he died whilst on active service,<sup>2089</sup> yet he may not have spent the entirety of it in the *Legio XIV Gemina*.<sup>2090</sup> This inscription has been dated to around the mid first century AD because the *Legio XIV Gemina* came to Britain with the Claudian invasion in AD 43 AD, and remained there until AD 66/67.<sup>2091</sup> It has been narrowed down to AD 43-61/62 because, after the major role the legion contributed towards victory over the Boudican rebellion, it was renamed *Legio XIV Gemina Martia Victrix*;<sup>2092</sup> if the legion had borne this name when this inscription was made, then it is likely that this would have been written on the stone too.<sup>2093</sup> They were also called *Domitores Bertianniae*,<sup>2094</sup> earning a reputation as ‘the best of the four British legions’,<sup>2095</sup> thus they were a significant legion in the history of Roman Britain. The origins of the *XIV Gemina* are uncertain, postulated either to be from Caesar’s fourteenth legion, which was raised in 53 BC, or created by Octavian in 41/40 BC.<sup>2096</sup> *Gemina* means it was a legion formed from two legions, ‘twin’,<sup>2097</sup> and it has been suggested that this legion was combined with another after Actium.<sup>2098</sup>

Previously posted in Germania Superior, along with the *Legio II Augusta*,<sup>2099</sup> when they moved to England, Viroconium became *Legio XIV Gemina*’s base,<sup>2100</sup> from where the route to Wales via the Severn valley was controlled.<sup>2101</sup> The fort was built in approximately AD 55, and the legion remained there until AD 66,<sup>2102</sup> thus providing a more precise dating for this inscription to between AD 55-61/62. However, Henderson believes they were posted to Wroxeter in AD 48, having previously been located at Cirencester or on the Fosse Way, and moved to Deva between AD 55-60,<sup>2103</sup> which would date this inscription to between AD 48-60. For Schumacher, this inscription should be dated between AD 50-61.<sup>2104</sup> In the late first century AD, Viroconium became ‘the civitas capital of the Cornovii’.<sup>2105</sup> The legion was recalled by Nero in AD 67, and then back to Britain by Vitellius,<sup>2106</sup> only to be recalled again in AD 69 by Vespasian,<sup>2107</sup> to then be shortly posted to the Rhine, stationing at Mainz, in AD 70.<sup>2108</sup> The

<sup>2088</sup> See also Scarth 1864: 132; Schumacher 2012: 62; Cugusi 2014: 358; SMCCSFCR for SHYMS: A/1994/001/005 for his age and length of service. Watkin 1879: 336 incorrectly interprets his age of death as thirty five. See also Kruschwitz 2015: 55.

<sup>2089</sup> See also SMCCSFCR for SHYMS: A/1994/001/005.

<sup>2090</sup> Schumacher 2012: 62.

<sup>2091</sup> Henderson 1903: 2; Irby-Massie 1999: 345; Frere & Millett 2012: 1560.; Campbell 2012d: 818; Cugusi 2014: 358; Kruschwitz 2015: 55; *RIB* 292. See also Scarth 1864: 133; Schumacher 2012: 60-61. HD019333 dates this to between AD 51-66.

<sup>2092</sup> Hardy 1887: 635; Henderson 1903: 17; Campbell 2012d: 818; Schumacher 2012: 61-62; Cugusi 2014: 358; Kruschwitz 2015: 55-56; *RIB* 292. See also SMCCSFCR for SHYMS: A/1994/001/005.

<sup>2093</sup> See above; Kruschwitz 2015: 55-56; see also SMCCSFCR for SHYMS: A/1994/001/005; *RIB* 292.

<sup>2094</sup> Scarth 1864: 133; Henderson 1903: 17.

<sup>2095</sup> Henderson 1903: 18.

<sup>2096</sup> Campbell 2012d: 818; see also Schumacher 2012: 60.

<sup>2097</sup> Campbell 2012d: 818.

<sup>2098</sup> *Ibid.* See also Appendix 2.

<sup>2099</sup> Hardy 1887: 630-632, 634.

<sup>2100</sup> *Ibid.*: 634; Henderson 1903: 3, 18-20; Campbell 2012d: 818; Schumacher 2012: 61-62.

<sup>2101</sup> Frere & Millett 2012: 1560.

<sup>2102</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2103</sup> Henderson 1903: 20.

<sup>2104</sup> Schumacher 2012: 61-62.

<sup>2105</sup> Frere & Millett 2012: 1560.

<sup>2106</sup> Hardy 1887: 636, 643; Henderson 1903: 18; Irby-Massie 1999: 346; Campbell 2012d: 818. See also Henderson 1903: 20.

<sup>2107</sup> Irby-Massie 1999: 346. See also Hardy 1887: 643-646, 648; Henderson 1903: 18, 20-21.

<sup>2108</sup> Campbell 2012d: 818. See also Hardy 1887: 643-646, 648; Henderson 1903: 18.

legion continued to move around the Empire, mainly in the Danubian, Moesian and Pannonian provinces, until, in AD 114, they were based in Carnuntum.<sup>2109</sup>

What is frustrating about this inscription is what makes this classified as an ‘astronomical’ inscription is based on conjecture: the place where *si[dus]* is thought to have been written is now almost completely worn away, and, as such, it has been deduced from the *si* and *vitae* (AI.5.5). *si[dus]* is a reasonable conjecture, as it does seem to be an appropriate fit for the end of line 6.<sup>2110</sup> The interpretation of *si[dus]* is, according to ‘the source of life’s portion’;<sup>2111</sup> the second meaning of *sidus* in Lewis & Short is poetic.<sup>2112</sup> For Schumacher, the phrase *sidus vitae* is indicative of someone’s fate, their destiny, predetermined, and that it is responsible for the length of someone’s lifespan; it is something that can change, dependent upon fortune.<sup>2113</sup> However, what if this is not what *si[dus]* | *vitae* means? Instead, it seems to mean the duration of someone’s life, not that the *si[dus]* | *vitae* dictates it, but that it is life. This poem congregates around this sentiment.<sup>2114</sup> *Sidus* has its origins in ‘\*sueid (h) – ‘shine’’,<sup>2115</sup> thus, in essence, making it like *lux* and *lumen*, in that they are all words that connote something which radiates light, something that shines.<sup>2116</sup> *Sidus* more specifically came to mean ‘star’, more specifically than that ‘constellation’, whereas *lux* and *lumen* were used more flexibly, with meanings ranging from ‘light’ in general to the sunlight to someone’s eyes to the light of someone’s life (see Chapter 4), as *sidus* is used here.

As stated above, *lux* and *lumen* have been discounted for this astronomical analysis of military verse inscriptions because when they have been used in the inscriptions investigated in this study, they very commonly meant ‘the light of life’, so, arguably, *sidus* should not be included in this discussion either. However, due to *sidus*’ more specific meaning of a celestial light, and that *vitae* has been specified here, which is usually implied when *lux* or *lumen* are used with this meaning,<sup>2117</sup> it has been included as being a part of purposefully astronomical imagery used by those writing these inscriptions. As with AI.1, celestial imagery in AI.5 is not only contrasted with that of the Underworld, but also with the dead, i.e. applied solely to the living. Here, it could be said that *sidus* is used in opposition to the Underworld, not as an alternative afterlife where one is transported to the stars upon death, but as living. *Sidus* can also mean ‘season, weather, climate’ and other meteorological phenomena,<sup>2118</sup> presumably linked to the astrometeorological connotations of the stars and constellations in antiquity. Whether or not these connotations are meant to be attributed here is unknown, but probably unlikely, although ‘season of life’ could be a proposed translation of *sidus vitae*, and the implicit future predicting abilities of stars can hardly be ignored in a poem about those from the future reading about the positives of life from a dead man’s epitaph.<sup>2119</sup>

<sup>2109</sup> Hardy 1887: 643-646, 648-649, 652, 656; Campbell 2012d: 818.

<sup>2110</sup> Although, again, actual inspection of the stone and lettering itself is needed to be more assertive about this statement.

<sup>2111</sup> See SMCCSFCR for SHYMS: A/1994/001/005; *RIB* 292. See also Kruschwitz 2015: 55.

<sup>2112</sup> Lewis & Short 1945: 1699.

<sup>2113</sup> Schumacher 2012: 68. See also Chapter 4.

<sup>2114</sup> See also Schumacher 2012: 68-69, although he concentrates on this simply being *vita*, life itself, not *sidus vitae*, which, here, it is argued that this is the crux of the poem.

<sup>2115</sup> Hamp 1975: 65; Hamp discusses how this developed into *sidus* (64-66).

<sup>2116</sup> See also Lewis & Short 1945: 1699 for definitions of *sidus*. See the discussion in Chapter 4.

<sup>2117</sup> See Chapter 4. See also *CIL* X 8131.

<sup>2118</sup> Lewis & Short 1945: 1699; Kidd 1957: 198.

<sup>2119</sup> See also Lewis & Short 1945: 1699.

This sentiment, to live whilst one has life, an encouragement here expressed through imperatives, is a common trope in Latin epitaphs,<sup>2120</sup> particularly in those that directly address the reader.<sup>2121</sup> Despite this, there is something about the first person aspect of this poem, followed by imperatives, which makes this appear to be personal advice from Flaminus. *Sidus*, however, can also mean ‘glory, honour’,<sup>2122</sup> or the ‘summit, height’ of success,<sup>2123</sup> and, given the reference to living (AI.5.3-4), perhaps it is appropriate to bear the following translation of 5 in mind: ‘live, whilst the glory of life gives time, honestly’. Living honestly was a core Roman ideal, and linked to a happy life;<sup>2124</sup> although not following along with the perfectionism of Cicero,<sup>2125</sup> as such a sentiment is dampened by *plus minus* (‘more or less’, 4), this is still a recognised moral to follow to have fortune and success in life.<sup>2126</sup> As Kruschwitz describes this poem, it ‘appears to advocate a life on the middle grounds between the pleasurable ... and the honourable, a life that is sometimes more, sometimes less happy’.<sup>2127</sup> *Sidus* in the conclusion of the poem summarises this sentiment flowing throughout AI.5: to live a fortunate life, more or less, but also to enjoy it, but to do so with glory and honour, which one should do, indicated by the imperatives. What more apt sentiment for a high ranking soldier to convey in their epitaph? Perhaps this is transferring too many modern sentiments towards the military that have developed over the centuries onto the past, yet Western sentimentalities were founded in the classical world, and there was pride in the military, the glory it brought, which would eventually turn from not in serving one’s country, but in serving the Empire, but not so here, with a native Italian posted in a cold, far away province across the sea.

The inclusion of *militavi aq(uilifer) nunc hic s[u]m* (AI.5.3) gives the sentiments Flaminus conveys in his epitaph, as it is likely that he at least composed it, an air of authority to the deceased *aquilifer*, who encourages his readers to live a fulfilling, honest, noble, joyful life. As Schumacher asserts, the repeated *v* sounds throughout the poem encompass the essence of, and the important sentiments in, this verse inscription,<sup>2128</sup> and, as such, *militavi* can be added to this core message. Perhaps he also has the authority to speak this way as he is already dead, and thus, to his readers, has the experience. It emphasises the pull between the living and the dead contrasted throughout this poem. When Flaminus died, his legion did not yet have the *gravitas* attached to it which it would soon, although surely being a part of the conquering forces of Britain would have added status and prestige to this legion. He was of Italian origin, and the fact that two aspects of this, his voting tribe and *origo*, was included in his name, in the largest letters at the top of this inscription, speaks of Flaminus’ pride; it makes one wonder how relevant this would have been to those reading this inscription at the time.

The intended target audience cannot be postulated to be as specific as that of Donatianus’ (AI.7), yet we can conjecture that they were random passers-by on the streets, the usual audience of those tombs lining the streets and roads of the Roman Empire. Perhaps, due to the proximity to Viroconium and the newly-conquered status of Britain, more of these passers-by would have been Flaminus’ fellow soldiers, and future soldiers, and they would have been

<sup>2120</sup> Schumacher 2012: 68; Cugusi 2014: 358. See Chapter 3, especially the discussion on Lattimore.

<sup>2121</sup> Schumacher 2012: 62. See also Schumacher’s interpretation of this poem (2012: 62-70).

<sup>2122</sup> Lewis & Short 1945: 1699; Kidd 1957: 198.

<sup>2123</sup> Lewis & Short 1945: 1699.

<sup>2124</sup> Schumacher 2012: 69.

<sup>2125</sup> *Ibid.*: 69-70.

<sup>2126</sup> *Ibid.*: 70.

<sup>2127</sup> Kruschwitz 2015: 55. See also Schumacher 2012: 62, 65.

<sup>2128</sup> Schumacher 2012: 65, 67, 71.

more likely to have understood and appreciated the importance of the aspects of Flaminius' name, as well as the classical mythological and philosophical sentiments expressed in his epitaph. Due to the relative 'newness' of Britain's location in the Empire when this inscription was established, it is unlikely that local Britons would have been able to read and understand the Latin epitaph, let alone the message expressed in it. But there could be no doubt about who he was: he had been depicted pictorially above his epitaph, so even those who could not read it would have known he was an *aquilifer*, even if they could not name the rank, of a Roman legion; maybe his legion's name had been carved into the standard, leaving no doubt about his affiliation.

Due to the personal nature of the inscription, its location, as well as the other reasons discussed above about the plausibility of this, may we conjecture that Flaminius at least composed the poem on this epitaph, and requested its accompanying relief? If so, then this is how Flaminius chose to be depicted in death, how he chose to be immortalised: as an *aquilifer* of the *Legio XIV Gemina*. Yet, he may have wished to be depicted as a soldier, but he wished to also show himself as a wise man, a man of feeling and sentiment, expressing a common trope in Latin epitaphs, of enjoying life whilst one is living, but in his own words. With his use of celestial imagery, he contrasts light with dark, life with death, continuing with finality and the importance of seizing that existence whilst it still... continues. As with other inscriptions,<sup>2129</sup> the Underworld is regarded as the only option after death; it is another existence, albeit the final one, with no joy, which ceases once life is over.<sup>2130</sup> As with all epitaphs with a direct address to the passer-by, either by explicitly naming them (*viator*) or, as here, encouraging and commanding them to read and listen to the message through imperatives,<sup>2131</sup> Flaminius' audience are people from the future, people the person buried under the epitaph will never meet. Flaminius addresses this fact by encouraging all those reading this inscription, the future living, to live their life to the fullest, from one who perhaps knew more about the dangers and brevity of life, a man in the Roman military, upon the advice of the past dead.

Again, many have commented on and translated **AI.6**, so the main focus here shall be on the astronomical and military aspects of it.<sup>2132</sup> Religious aspects of this inscription, notably that it is dedicated to the emperor, have been discussed in Chapter 5, although there are cross overs between the astronomical and religious themes in this inscription. Elagabalus, one of the candidates for the emperor mentioned in this inscription, was from Syria,<sup>2133</sup> a priest of the sun god in Emesa, Syria, Elagabalus, hence his name;<sup>2134</sup> he promoted the cult in Rome and remained the priest of this Syrian sun god, and persisted with this image of himself.<sup>2135</sup> It is said that he "married" Elagabalus to Athena and then Dea Caelestis, a Carthaginian goddess.<sup>2136</sup> He came to power through rebellion and assistance from the army.<sup>2137</sup>

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<sup>2129</sup> Such as *CIL* X 8131.

<sup>2130</sup> See also Schumacher 2012: 65-66.

<sup>2131</sup> See also *ibid.*: 62, as well as above.

<sup>2132</sup> Including, but not limited to, *AE* 1996.90; Baldarotta 1998: 309-312; Tran 2013; Tran 2020: 227-228, 241-242 as well as the other references cited for this inscription (see the Catalogue of Inscriptions).

<sup>2133</sup> *AE* 1966.15: 6; Noreña 2010: 34.

<sup>2134</sup> See Noreña 2010: 34. See also Tran 2013.

<sup>2135</sup> Noreña 2010: 34.

<sup>2136</sup> *Ibid.*; see also discussion below on *Caelestis*. See also the discussion on **AI.7** in Chapter 5.

<sup>2137</sup> For more details, see Noreña 2010: 34-35.

Caracalla, the other contender for the emperor referred to in **AI.6**, was the son of the African emperor Septimius Severus, and he went with him to Britain on his campaign there,<sup>2138</sup> later, in his own reign, he became involved in military campaigning himself.<sup>2139</sup> He was interested in, amongst others, African religions,<sup>2140</sup> including an interest in the cult of the Moon goddess, something which, the 1996 edition of *AE* believes, is expressed in this inscription.<sup>2141</sup> He even went so far as to falsify his horoscope, as Septimius Severus had, partly to distance his age further from Geta,<sup>2142</sup> and partly ‘voulant se placer sous la protection particulière de la déesse Lune’.<sup>2143</sup> It was ‘a visit to the temple of the moon near Carrhae [which] occasioned the emperor’s assassination on 8<sup>th</sup> April 217’,<sup>2144</sup> although, despite this, he was deified.<sup>2145</sup> *Nox dea* (14) was the lunar deity sometimes equated with Diana.<sup>2146</sup>

The opening prose section of this inscription expresses a similar sentiment to **AI.3**, concerning the effect of the Emperor on the heavens and Earth. This inscription was [*Pro Salute et V[i]cto[ri]a(?), deo Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) Aurel(io) | [divi Septimi Severi f(ilio) o]ptimo Antonino Pio sideribu[s] | [--- T]onitratori Aug(usto) orbis terrarum [---] | [--- domino] maximo*] (‘For Health and Victory; the god Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius, best son of the deified Septimius Severus, [...] from the stars [...]; Thunderer Augustus, [...] of the lands of the earth, to the greatest lord’, 1-3). It can hardly be ignored that the two emperors this inscription has been disputed to be dedicated to promoted celestial imagery in their image and their religious worship, one the day, the other the night. Perhaps, then, we can say that there is more evidence for this being dedicated to Caracalla based on this alone: he came down from the stars, to which he would presumably ascend when he died, and the stars were the companion of the moon.

Mercury and the other planets were used as passwords in the army, and we know that this was a reference to the planet and not the god because this is specifically stated,<sup>2147</sup> and, as this research shows, soldiers in the Roman military understood the stars above them, or, at least, could identify them for what they were. This is cross-cultural, highlighted most significantly by **AI.7**. They may have received this training in the military, but it is more likely that knowledge of the stars, at least the constellations, was common. This is likely due to practical reasons, for navigation and understanding the seasons for farming; such references occur frequently when celestial matters are discussed in ancient literature.<sup>2148</sup> The stars were said to affect the weather, were indicative of the passing of the time and the seasons, specifically the signs of the Zodiac, through which the Sun, Moon and planets travel in their passage across the heavens. **AI.7** exhibits the astronomical knowledge of the ordinary man best, across cultures.

<sup>2138</sup> Meckler 2010: 51; Howaston (ed.) 2011; Birley 2014.

<sup>2139</sup> Meckler 2010: 52; Birley 2014.

<sup>2140</sup> Meckler 2010: 52.

<sup>2141</sup> *AE* 1996.90.

<sup>2142</sup> He backdated his birthday to 4<sup>th</sup> April 186, from 4<sup>th</sup> April 188, both to make himself three years older than Geta and 4<sup>th</sup> April 186 was on a Monday, whereas 4<sup>th</sup> April 188 was on a Thursday (*AE* 1996.90).

<sup>2143</sup> *Ibid.* See also Ibba 2012: 184.

<sup>2144</sup> Meckler 2010: 52. See also Howaston (ed.) 2011; Birley 2014.

<sup>2145</sup> Birley 2014.

<sup>2146</sup> Baldarotta 1998: 311.

<sup>2147</sup> See *RMR* 47.

<sup>2148</sup> See, for example, throughout *Germ.*, particularly usefulness for navigation: 45-47; passage of the sun through the constellations and the danger (to sailors): 288-314, 476-484; constellations and danger, and advice to sailors: 399-413; constellations and wind: 399-425, 482; path of the sun through the constellations (summary): 531; celestial objects and weather: frgs. iii and iv. Given the beginning of this poem, this appears to be the purpose of the work (5-16). See also alternative translations of *sidus* in Lewis & Short 1945: 1699 and Kidd 1957: 198. See, for example, Gurshtein 1997: 265; Schaefer 2006: 100-101. See also Chapter 7.



Commentaries have been written about this inscription before, although they are brief and have provided minimal information about this inscription.<sup>2149</sup> They have not concentrated on its astronomical aspects, and interpreted what they mean for the knowledge and identity of the soldier in this inscription, as they are here.

When one examines this inscription, what becomes immediately apparent are the spaces in it, too wide not to be of significance. When one sets out the inscription using each space as a new line, the following format appears:

## AI.7

*Imminet Leoni Virgo caeles|ti situ (vac.)*  
*spicifera iusti in|ventrix urbium conditrix, |*  
*ex quis muneribus nosse con|tigit deos. (vac.)*  
*ergo eadem mater divum | Pax Virtus Ceres (vac.)*  
*Dea Syria | lance vitam et iura pensitans. |*  
*in caelo visum, Syria sidus edi|dit, (vac.)*  
*Libyae colendum, inde | (vac.) cuncti didicimus. (vac.) |*  
*ita intellexit numine inductus | tuo (vac.)*  
*Marcus Caecilius Do|natianus militans (vac.)*  
*tribunus | in praefecto dono principis. |*

This is how the inscription is displayed in secondary scholarship,<sup>2150</sup> the editors of *CIL* and Bücheler, as this is how it is displayed according to its metre. This poem was written in ten lines of iambic senarii. Therefore, although the stone itself does not allow for this poem to be displayed according to the format of its metre, otherwise, it is clear, the author would have, the author was aware of the importance of the format of a poem in relation to its metre enough to depict this on the stone. This is significant because it demonstrates an awareness in the Roman mind, and the minds of those who could use Latin to this fluency, that although prose was often written as continuous text, and some verse, that verse was technically, conventionally, ‘properly’ written with each new metrical line starting a new line, and the author, who we can be quite certain was Donatianus himself, was keen to demonstrate this technicality of verse. Not only that, but the Latin itself has been consciously constructed, for example: Leo and Virgo in this inscription are literally close to each other in **AI.7.1**, the use of *spicifera* is purposeful, the words have clearly been written so that they fit the metre, and Donatianus has an understanding of Latin grammar, as demonstrated in *Libyae colendum*.<sup>2151</sup>

This inscription provides an answer to many of the questions asked in Chapter 5 concerning the relevance of the stars and divinities, especially as these two themes are intertwined in this inscription: there is a unity in the stars. Donatianus declares: *inde | (vac.) cuncti didicimus. (vac.)* (‘we all were taught from that’, **AI.7.7**), i.e. the constellation Virgo. Significantly, ‘constellations are ubiquitous throughout the world’s cultures’,<sup>2152</sup> founded upon something we all share, and something we all see. They ‘show[s] us how knowledge is transferred across time and space as changing parts of culture. Constellations provide a unique way of gaining

<sup>2149</sup> See, for example, Courtney 1995: 364-366, 156-157; Birley 2012: 1, 10-15; Cugusi 2014: 370-374; Kruschwitz 2015: 14-15, 56-57; Kruschwitz 2018: 18-19. Including in Chapter 5 above, where the religious aspects of this inscription are focused on. No one has approached this inscription as it is analysed throughout this study.

<sup>2150</sup> See, for example, Courtney 1995: 156.

<sup>2151</sup> See also the discussion on this inscription in Chapter 5.

<sup>2152</sup> Schaefer 2006: 96.

insight into a culture ... because they consider an intellectual aspect of prehistoric society’,<sup>2153</sup> exhibited wonderfully here for the cultures of the Roman world. Donatianus and his troops are far from home and, yet, we still witness how the stories attested to the stars ‘continue to link generations and cultures’,<sup>2154</sup> something which Donatianus highlights here. The earliest evidence for the constellations has been found on ‘inscribed stones and clay writing tablets ... [from] Mesopotamia’.<sup>2155</sup> Schaefer believes that these were invented between 1300 and 1000 BC by the Assyrians, but it has been suggested that some of the constellations are far older, some dating to the prehistoric era. Schaefer suggests that the Greeks received these constellations sometime after 500 BC, although some are clearly Greek in origin. Donatianus not only creates this unity linguistically in the first person plural, i.e. making this a fact we all know and presenting it as something his men would understand, he also does this visually: *inde* | (vac.) *cuncti didicimus*. (vac.) is positioned in the centre of the tenth line on the stone (7 of the poem), and is clearly written and eye-catching.

Libra, Virgo and Leo are all visible at the same time in the sky, for Donatianus in the late winter/early spring sky. They are part of the Zodiac, a collection of constellations that lie on the ecliptic, the path the sun, the moon and the planets take across the sky. Donatianus expresses these constellations in the order in which they appear in the sky: Leo, Virgo and then Libra. In the late second century, they were most apparent in the night sky between approximately February and April, although they could be also seen until June, and appeared to be at their highest in March and April (see Figures 6.3-6.5).<sup>2156</sup> Libra is not identified as a separate constellation here, but almost as being a part of Virgo, who *lance vitam et iura pensitans* (‘weighs out life and laws with her scales’, **AI.7.5**); why this is, is explored in more detail below.

First, to Virgo and her attributes in this inscription, as this inscription is about her. Virgo’s description here explains her celestial position, and she has two defining aspects: she is near to Leo, and she is *spicifera*, ‘ear of grain bearing’, or, perhaps, literally ‘Spica-bearing’ (**AI.7.1-2**).<sup>2157</sup> The carefully constructed language of this inscription is indicated in these two lines, right from the start; the sibilance used here to refer to the stars is striking, and Leo and Virgo are literally close to each other in the Latin. *Spicifera* is not a unique use of this epithet for this constellation: it appears in Manilius and Germanicus,<sup>2158</sup> both of which predate this inscription. As well as the suggestion that Virgo was the catasterism of Erigone, there is also another story in which Virgo was ‘identified ... as Astraea (or Justitia), daughter of Jupiter (or Astraeus), who at the advent of the Bronze Age fled to heaven’.<sup>2159</sup> Virgo is a large constellation, the ‘second largest constellation, covering 3.1 percent of the sky’,<sup>2160</sup> and ‘the largest constellation of the zodiac’,<sup>2161</sup> thus making Virgo a useful and easy constellation to identify. Virgo may have been identified with fertility and agriculture because it was in the summer solstice in the epoch of the Gemini Quartet (roughly c. 6500-4400 BC). Gurshtein suggests Virgo ‘may be a

<sup>2153</sup> *Ibid.*: 101.

<sup>2154</sup> *Ibid.* See also Gurshtein 1997: 272.

<sup>2155</sup> Schaefer 2006: 98.

<sup>2156</sup> The observations made about these constellations here are based on the observation of the stars on Stellarium (see Figures 6.3-6.5).

<sup>2157</sup> See, for example, Lewis & Short 1945: 1741; Kidd 1957: 202; Burnham & Tirion 2003: 8 for this definition of *spica*. See also Cugusi 2014: 373 for discussion of this epithet.

<sup>2158</sup> Manil. 2.440-443; Germ. 4.152; Getty 1951: 98; Cugusi 2014: 373. See the discussion in Chapter 5 above as well.

<sup>2159</sup> Goold 1997: xxv. See also discussion below.

<sup>2160</sup> Bakich 2020.

<sup>2161</sup> Ridpath (ed.) 2018.

symbol of summertime fertility’, and that she ‘may be a direct descendant of the mother-goddess image that can be found throughout the Near East and Europe’.<sup>2162</sup> Given her connotations here, this may in fact be plausible. Also, that ‘the earliest portrayals of the constellation show Virgo holding a spike of grain (hence the name Spica of its most prominent star)’ further suggests that the connotations of this star are very ancient.<sup>2163</sup>

Spica, with a magnitude of approximately 1, is a very bright star in Virgo, situated 260 light years away from Earth. Regulus is in Leo, and it, too, is a bright star, with a magnitude of 1.4. As can be seen in Figures 6.3-6.5, Spica lies close to the ecliptic and Regulus lies on it, therefore meaning that the planets, sun and moon pass close to them. The brightness of these stars would have made them both an easily visible sky-mark, and easy to identify navigational tools. Virgo holds Spica in her left hand, thus making the epithet of Virgo both literal and metaphorical: Virgo, the constellation, is literally ‘holding’ the star Spica, as well as the mythological connotation of Virgo holding an ear of grain. Germanicus describes this constellation as *cui plena sinistra / fulget Spica manu maturisque ardet aristis* (‘in whose left hand a ripe / ear of grain shines and burns with mature awns’ or ‘in whose left hand Spica, / whole, shines and burns with mature awns of grain’, 96-97). Either interpretation is possible here, as Spica the star had been identified in antiquity.<sup>2164</sup>

Spica was used by Hipparchus to assist him in his discovery and observations of the precession of the equinoxes in c.128 BC. This is how the equinoxes move along the ecliptic due to the precessional motion of the earth and takes approximately 26,000 years to complete. The ecliptic is the line the sun, moon and planets follow as they traverse across the sky in a year, and they are where the signs of the Zodiac lie; the equinoxes the two points at which the ecliptic passes across the celestial equator, and they are when the spring and autumnal equinoxes occur. Precessional motion is how the stars move across the sky, due to the tilting of the Earth’s axis, and the fact that this and the Earth’s rotation are not aligned (they are at about 23°), the Earth’s pole seems to ‘wobble’ like a spinning top because of the moon’s tidal forces, so the stars move along the ecliptic at about one degree every seventy two years. Therefore, the position of the equinox changes, changing the positions of the Zodiac about every two thousand years. Manilius seems to refer to this in eerily similar language, even describing the rotation of the heavens (rather than that of the Earth), as *turbinis in morem* (‘in the manner of a spinning top’, 3.361). Hipparchus calculated this with great accuracy: ‘he calculated the rate of precession as about 45 seconds of arc a year – a value close to the 50.27 seconds now accepted’.<sup>2165</sup>

This precessional movement, and perhaps also due to parallax, means that the stars as Donatianus would have seen them have shifted to a different position now: in Donatianus’ day Virgo, for example, was a late winter/early spring constellation (see Figures 6.3-6.8), but is now a late spring/early summer constellation. It was Hipparchus who classified stars on the magnitude system that is still applied today: those of first magnitude are the brightest, the dimmest (in terms of visibility to the naked eye), sixth.<sup>2166</sup> Spica’s Greek name was Στάχυς, which also means ‘ear of corn’.<sup>2167</sup> Thus, Spica has a long and important history in the development of astronomy, although how likely it is that Donatianus would have known this

<sup>2162</sup> Gurshtein 1997: 269.

<sup>2163</sup> Gurshtein 1997: 269.

<sup>2164</sup> Manilius also discusses this specific star: 5.270-292.

<sup>2165</sup> Daintith & Gjertsen 1999.

<sup>2166</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2167</sup> Liddell & Scott 1889; Liddell & Scott 1996: 1635.

background of Spica is unknown. It is more likely that he simply knew how to identify this star because it was the defining feature of Virgo, and Spica's brightness meant that it would have been an easily identifiable star in the sky to spot and use for practical purposes, such as navigation and charting the date.

Leo 'is one of the oldest constellations known',<sup>2168</sup> and its connections to Virgo and the goddesses described in **AI.7** have already been made apparent. Leo, too, had an extremely identifiable star, a magnitude 1.4 star called Regulus (Figures 6.3-6.8). Although the goddesses listed in this inscription had their own connections to lions, the constellation Leo is said to be the Nemean Lion. According to Hannah, Cybele's original festival date, 4<sup>th</sup> April, coincided with 'the evening culmination of Leo (both constellation and sign), i.e. when the Lion in the stars reached its peak on its apparent journey from east to west',<sup>2169</sup> and thus hypothesises 'that the Mother of Gods is given the sign of Leo by Manilius because the sign culminated at the time of her festival'.<sup>2170</sup> Although Hannah concedes that this may just be coincidence; either that, or her 'arrival in Rome was made to coincide with a period that had special significance for her cult, when her attendant creature in the sky was in triumph'.<sup>2171</sup> Hannah postulates that Manilius' association of Cybele with the lion was, possibly, an unintentional piece of evidence 'of a tradition which was older than that of the Hellenistic tutelary system, and in which the fertility goddess's festival was celebrated at a time crucial to the year's agricultural fertility, a time symbolised by the culmination of her Lion in the sky and the concomitant demise of the Bull'.<sup>2172</sup>

It is pertinent, but perhaps neither an irrelevant and/or an imaginative step too far, that this poem discusses the constellation of Virgo with what is a clear, but unnamed,<sup>2173</sup> reference to Libra. The allusion, but not overtly stating, of the imagery of Libra as a constellation is likely due to its history as a constellation at the time. Libra was originally a part of Scorpio, but, in the first century BC, it became its own constellation: Libra. Perhaps Donatianus was aware that this now was separated from Scorpio and had connotations with scales, or perhaps he understood that these stars were now scales that were attributed to Virgo.<sup>2174</sup> Or perhaps he felt it was so obvious that he was referring to Libra that directly naming it was irrelevant.

The later amendment of Libra becoming scales in the Roman imperial period perhaps expresses more about the Romans and how they perceived the world. Libra was believed to be 'the natal [astrological] sign of Rome, inasmuch as L. Tarutius Firmanus had declared that it contained the moon when the city was founded',<sup>2175</sup> thus adding a further Roman connection to this African themed inscription. There was dispute for a while about whether Augustus' horoscope was Virgo or Libra, hence Virgil, Getty suggests, 'assigned to them jointly and by implication the primacy of the Zodiac',<sup>2176</sup> and the doubt about Libra as a constellation in its own right led partly to Virgil suggesting that it become Augustus' catasterism after his death. Although 'Libra was the appropriate sign for the horoscope of a just ruler, ... one of the previous

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<sup>2168</sup> Burnham & Tirion 2003: 8.

<sup>2169</sup> Hannah 1986: 869.

<sup>2170</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2171</sup> *Ibid.*: 871.

<sup>2172</sup> *Ibid.*: 872.

<sup>2173</sup> Unlike their clear, but named, references to Leo and Virgo.

<sup>2174</sup> See, for example, Cugusi 2014: 372, where Libra is said to be held by Virgo.

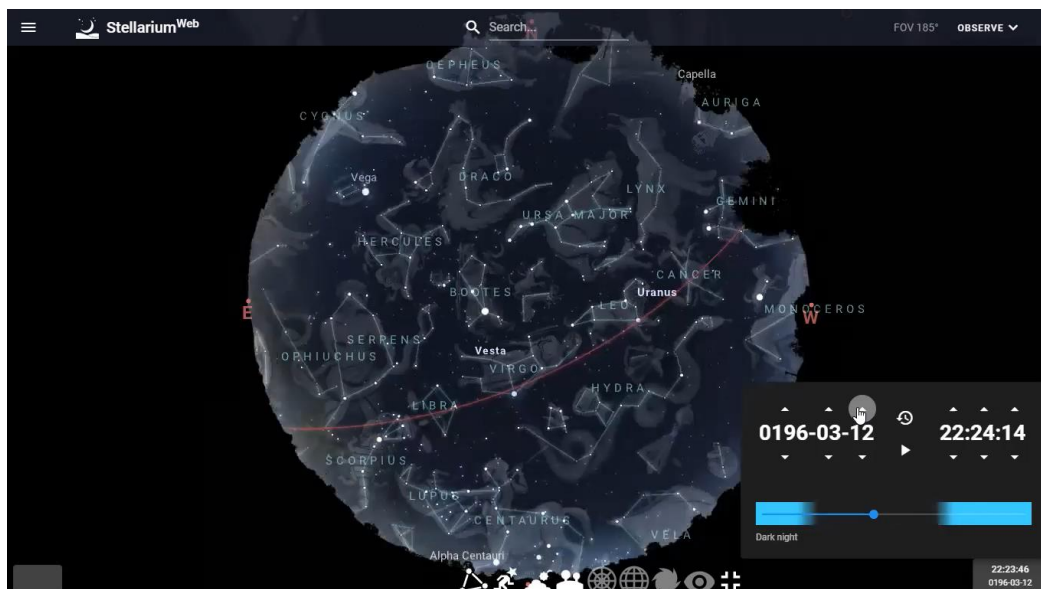
<sup>2175</sup> Getty 1951: 101-102. See also Manil. 4.773-775.

<sup>2176</sup> Getty 1951: 101.

manifestations of Virgo had been Iustitia',<sup>2177</sup> which surely Donatianus must have known, because he places too much emphasis on Virgo's connection to justice for it to be simply an aspect of the goddesses Donatianus refers to, but not an aspect of Virgo herself. This is due to the connection with Erigone's myth, which 'confirms the association of Liber/Libra with Ceres/Virgo', hence Virgil's opinion that 'the stellar counterparts of Liber and Ceres [were] the new leaders of the zodiac at the autumnal equinox'.<sup>2178</sup> Indeed, Libra's season is when wine is produced and grain planted, according to Manilius (3.658-665).



Figure 6.3: Virgo, Leo and Libra in the sky above Carvoran in April AD 196.<sup>2179</sup>



<sup>2177</sup> *Ibid.*: 102. See also Manil. 4.542-546 and Goold 1997: 264-265, and above; Ridpath (ed.) 2018.

<sup>2178</sup> Getty 1951: 102.

<sup>2179</sup> The star maps for figures 6.3-6.5 are from Zotti, Hoffmann, Wolf, & F., & G. Chéreau 2021. The author tried to make the location as close as possible to that recorded on the map on *RIB* (*RIB* 1791) for this inscription. The locations of Syria and Libya are random, and are 34.64019 39.04941 for Syria and 26.82345 18.12367. The author observed the movements of the stars from AD 190-halfway through 218, in order to encompass the timescale given for this inscription. The author chose to present AD 196 as representative of the locations of Leo, Virgo and Libra here as this satisfies the approximate dates given by various scholars. The red line in these diagrams is the ecliptic.

Figure 6.4: Virgo, Leo and Libra across the sky above Syria in March AD 196.



Figure 6.5: Virgo, Leo and Libra across the sky above Libya in April AD 196.

So, it is from laws and cities that one can understand the gods. It is interesting how these attributes are given to goddesses who also had such connections to nature; it is as if it is from our manmade concepts (laws and cities) that we can understand what is also a manmade concept (the gods) as guidance for our understanding of the natural world, for this inscription is about understanding the gods, something beyond known comprehension. Donatianus is celebrating this knowledge, and displaying it for all his soldiers to see. This is one of those rare occasions when we know exactly who the intended target audience was: Donatianus' fellow soldiers. This informs us about the basic knowledge of the Roman military: Latin, and astronomy, at least in being able to identify basic constellations. Virgo, with the bright magnitude one star Spica, identified here as the defining feature, and Leo's magnitude 1.4 star Regulus, have extremely identifiable stellar features that would have been noticeable to someone with basic astronomical knowledge. Donatianus' use of Latin indicates he had a significant understanding of the Latin language and how it worked, and, therefore, perhaps so did his troops, given that they were the intended readership.

We may perhaps conjecture that Donatianus, an African, was looking up at the heavens one night, perhaps on watch, and saw the constellation Virgo, and it suddenly struck him about the similarities in deities represented by this constellation, or other goddesses and divine attributes that were a part of what this constellation meant to him. This is what he proudly *intellexit* ('understood', **AI.7.8**). This is indicated by his direct address at the end: *ita intellexit numine inductus | tuo* ('in this way, introduced by your divine will, [Marcus Caecilius Donatianus] understood', 8). Who is *tuo*? Clearly Virgo, and Donatianus *numine inductus | tuo*; he understood all this from Virgo, by looking at the constellation, and contemplating it. He understood religious syncretism, and how, what to one man was Virgo was Dea Syria to another. The constellation is the visual representation of these goddesses, these divine ideals, and it is something that all men can see, and, therefore, gain an understanding of, just like the Romans did. So, like with religious and votive inscriptions that have been set up to the divine through the fulfilment of prophecies or dreams or vows, which, in essence, lead to some sort

of understanding,<sup>2180</sup> so did Donatianus set up this religious inscription, to recognise and immortalise the understanding of the similarities and conjunctions between the divine that he realised when looking at the stars.

**AI.10** is a fragmented epitaph found in Thugga, Africa Proconsularis. Its date is unknown, so it may not have been created within the timeline of this study. However, as no concrete date is yet known for it, it remains in this collection. Thugga was ‘an unusual double community of native *civitas* (governed by *suffetes*) and Roman *pagus* (at first dependent on Carthage) existed until they were united by Septimius Severus (205), when Thugga became a *municipium*’, before becoming a *colonia* between AD 253-260.<sup>2181</sup> There was a temple of Caelestis dating from AD 222/35 in Thugga.<sup>2182</sup> The verse part of this inscription appears to have been written in iambic senarii; if this is the case, following the pattern of the remains of verse, two lines of verse are missing. The link to the military is vague: Fortunatus is described as *vir armis | ingenio et animo | maximo et qui cum [Lati]nis et Graecis | (vac.) [op]timis* (‘a man of great fortitude in arms, character and mind, who [was learned] in the greatest Latin and Greek [works]’, 1-2). This is a condensed description of the ideal Roman soldier, and we know no more about his military career apart from this connection. No other soldier in this data set is described in this way, and one wonders if his career was elaborated on in the now missing parts of the verse.

#### AI.10

*T[e]r[e]n[t]ius Fortu|natus vir armis | ingenio et animo | maximo qui cum | [Lati]nis et  
Graecis | (vac.) [op]timis h(oc) l(oco) t(itulum) p(osuit). |*

*[-----] | [-----] |*

*[-----] | [-----] |*

*vixitque laetos duos | zozimos Iovis.*

*P(ius) v(ixit) XXIII. | h(ic) s(itus) e(st). |*

Once more, we have connections between the stars, the celestial and Africa. Of the verse, we have the final concluding lines: *vixitque laetos duos | zozimos Iovis* (‘and he lived for two prosperous revolutions of Jupiter’, 5). This appears to be referring to the planet Jupiter, and its passage across the eliptic. Here, *zozimos* has been translated as ‘revolutions’ because of this. *zozimos* is a Latinised spelling of ζώσιμος, which means ‘capable of life’, the equivalent of *vitalis* in Latin, τὸ ζώσιμον ‘one’s portion of life’,<sup>2183</sup> demonstrating Fortunatus’ ability with both Latin and Greek. Therefore, this line literally translates to ‘and he lived for two prosperous living [spans/eras] of Jupiter’. Describing his life as existing ‘for two prosperous revolutions of Jupiter’, using *zozimos* to describe the motion of the planet and its impact on Fortunatus’ life, presents the image that Jupiter was the planet that gave him life, i.e. under which he had been born in relation to the Zodiac, and it dictated the span of, and the events in, his life. It is tempting to try to determine his Zodiac sign, and therefore the possible month of his birth. In the signs of the Zodiac, Jupiter rules Pices and Sagittarius,<sup>2184</sup> and so he could have been born

<sup>2180</sup> Such as *CIL* VII 998.

<sup>2181</sup> Warmington & Wilson 2012: 1477.

<sup>2182</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2183</sup> Liddell & Scott 1843: 639.

<sup>2184</sup> See, for example, Barton 1994: 200.

between late February-late March, or late November-late December. Thus, astronomy and astrology are combined in **AI.10**.

At least since the Babylonians, the planet Jupiter has been associated with prosperity, success and longevity in life. There is ‘a corpus of thirty two Babylonian horoscopes’, in which ‘it is possible to see both continuity with Babylonian tradition, and anticipation of developments of astrology previously assigned to the Hellenistic world’.<sup>2185</sup> One of these horoscopes for 3<sup>rd</sup> June 235 BC, a man who was born with ‘Jupiter ... in 18 degrees Sagittarius. The place of Jupiter [means]: [his life? will be] regular, well; he will become rich, he will grow old, [his] days will be numerous [literally, long]’.<sup>2186</sup> Another Babylonian astrological text determines the fate of those who were born under certain planets, and the interpretation of one born under Jupiter is almost identical: ‘if a child is born when Jupiter has come forth, [then his life? will be] regular, well; he will become rich, he will grow old, [his] day[s] will be long’.<sup>2187</sup> This perception of the impact of Jupiter on one’s life continued into the Roman period. In the c. third century AD *Fragmentum Censorini*,<sup>2188</sup> Jupiter is described thusly: *salutaris et temperata et universis eventibus prospera* (‘it is beneficial and temperate and favourable for every fortune’, frag. 3.3).<sup>2189</sup> This is what *laetus* seems to suggest here; within *laetus* is more than just happiness, it is also indicative of prosperity and fortune. According to Servius, one received the virtue ‘desire for honours’ and the vice ‘desire to rule from Jupiter’,<sup>2190</sup> and Jupiter was linked to fertility, ‘perhaps reflecting the number of children he was described as fathering in myth’.<sup>2191</sup> Given the wishes presented on the epitaphs in these inscriptions (see Chapters 3 and 8), then these are facets of *laetus* for those inhabiting the Roman world too: to live to an old age, in a peaceful life, to have children, and to have honours. Riches are not often overtly wished for, but they accompanied honours, so perhaps this wish was implied. Jupiter was also perceived as masculine by Ptolemy,<sup>2192</sup> perhaps indicating that Fortunatus’ life was fortunate, in a masculine way.<sup>2193</sup>

Fortunatus was thirty four when he died, according to Ximenez’s initial edition of this inscription. However, Jupiter takes 11.86 years to orbit the sun, approximately twelve years. If Fortunatus is described as living for *laetos duos | zozimos Iovis*, this offers us three options, either: Fortunatus had ten unhappy years in his life, those in the ancient world did not know how long it took for Jupiter to orbit the sun, or Fortunatus’ age is wrong, either in the inscription or in the edition presented by Ximenez in the *CIL*. Poinssot postulates that this was wrong, and changed the inscription to read *XXIII* accordingly.<sup>2194</sup> For him, this interpretation of using the planet Jupiter to mark the passage of time followed the *Fragmentum Censorini* in which Jupiter is known to have taken twelve years to cross the elliptic:<sup>2195</sup> *Iovis stella in singulis signis anno manet, signiferum duodecim annis evadit* (‘the star of Jupiter stays in each constellation for a year, it traverses through the Zodiac in twelve years’, frag. 3.3). Yet, this knowledge had been known before then. Ptolemy in the *Almagest* knew the exact, and correct, amount of time it

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<sup>2185</sup> Barton 1994: 16. Babylonian horoscopes and astrology influenced Greek (17).

<sup>2186</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2187</sup> *Ibid.*: 17.

<sup>2188</sup> See, for example, Sallmann 2006.

<sup>2189</sup> See also Barton 1994: 96 for perceptions of the beneficial influence of Jupiter on one’s life.

<sup>2190</sup> Barton 1996: 111.

<sup>2191</sup> *Ibid.*: 112.

<sup>2192</sup> *Ibid.*: 107.

<sup>2193</sup> See the discussion in Chapter 8 especially.

<sup>2194</sup> See the commentary on this inscription in *CLE* 1880; Poinssot 1911: 268, 928; Maurin 2016.

<sup>2195</sup> Lommatzsch 1926: 11 (*CLE* 1880), referring to Ps. Cens. frag. 3.3.



took for Jupiter to traverse the ecliptic (11.86 tropical years), using a heliocentric model (i.e. the planets orbiting the sun).<sup>2196</sup> Research into Jupiter's passage along the ecliptic had been conducted for a long time; Ossendrijver demonstrated that Babylonian astronomers had calculated 'Jupiter's displacement along the ecliptic' from four cuneiform tablets dated between 350-50 BC.<sup>2197</sup> It is clear that those in the ancient world knew the accurate duration of the passage of the planets, at the very least Jupiter, across the night sky, and some used it as an accurate way of telling the passage of time.

Therefore, it seems that Fortunatus' postulated age of *XXXIII* as presented by Ximenez was incorrect, and Fortunatus died at the age of twenty four, as is presented in the edition here.<sup>2198</sup> Fortunatus himself determined his age thusly in life, as he appears to have set up this inscription for himself whilst he was still alive (**AI.10.1-2**), like several soldiers and those with military connections in this corpus did. His knowledge of Latin and Greek extended beyond the languages into knowing of and understanding the information conveyed in highly scientific and academic Latin and Greek texts, as indicated by the way in which he determined his own age, and in the inscription itself: *qui cum | [Lati]nis et Graecis | (vac.) [op]timis* ('who [was learned] in the greatest Latin and Greek [works]', 1-2), which exhibits the knowledge and abilities of those within the ranks of the Roman military. This appears to have been both an astronomical and astrological themed inscription, for Jupiter's passage across the ecliptic here is used literally to determine the duration of Fortunatus' life, and it perhaps also indicates that he believed in astrology and the impact of the stellar bodies on the events in one's life, and he thought that others believed or at least had knowledge of this, i.e. that Jupiter's influence in his life had made it prosperous, happy, successful, and filled with honours, which was also potentially demonstrated by his military career itself (see Chapter 8).

## 6.5 *Caelestis*: The Soldier and the Heavenly Gods

**AI.8** is dated from AD 117-161,<sup>2199</sup> and it was found in Ostia-Portus, (now Fiumicino), Italy.<sup>2200</sup> It is a marble stele,<sup>2201</sup> with the guidelines still visible.<sup>2202</sup> This inscription is damaged and, as a consequence, fragmentary.<sup>2203</sup> This verse inscription is part of an epitaph for a

<sup>2196</sup> Pedersen & Jones 2011: 261. See Pedersen & Jones 2011: throughout for calculations based on Ptolemy's of Jupiter, especially 428, where Pedersen & Jones calculate that Jupiter, according to Ptolemy's calculations, took 11.86 tropical years to pass across the ecliptic. See Ptol. \*Alm. XI 1-4 for descriptions and calculations on Jupiter, which were based on observations in Alexandria (11.2). See also Barton 1994: 86 for Jupiter taking twelve years to cross the ecliptic, as also observed in ancient times, and from a geocentric model. A 'tropical year' is dependent on the Sun, 'the interval of time between successive passages of the Sun through the mean equinox. This differs slightly from the period of the Earth's revolution around the Sun, since the equinox itself moves continually due to precession. The length of the tropical year is 365.24219 days. This is the exact period over which the seasons recur, so it is the length of the year that must be matched by the solar calendar' (Ridpath [ed.] 2018).

<sup>2197</sup> Ossendrijver 2016: 482. See 482-484 for detailed discussion and calculations on the aspects of Jupiter's passage across the ecliptic these tablets describe. 'They also show that Babylonian astronomers did, at least occasionally, use geometrical methods for computing planetary positions. Ancient Greek astronomers such as Aristarchus of Samos, Hipparchus, and Claudius Ptolemy also used geometrical methods ..., while arithmetical methods are attested in the Antikythera mechanism ... and in Greco-Roman astronomical papyri from Egypt... However, the Babylonian trapezoid procedures are geometrical in a different sense than the methods of the mentioned Greek astronomers, since the geometrical figures describe configurations not in physical space but in an abstract mathematical space defined by time and velocity' (*ibid.*: 484).

<sup>2198</sup> See Poinssot (1911: 268, 928) and Maurin (2016).

<sup>2199</sup> EDR073120. See also <https://www.mqdg.it/texts/CE/lappe0346> for the date; Helttula 2007: 41.

<sup>2200</sup> EDR073120; EDCS-11900203. See also HD024505.

<sup>2201</sup> EDR073120; Helttula 2007: 39. See also Forneau 2017: 23.

<sup>2202</sup> See also Helttula 2007: 40.

<sup>2203</sup> As well as on online databases which present an edition of this inscription, such as EDR073120, HD024505 and EDCS-11900203. See also Helttula 2007: 39.

*miles*.<sup>2204</sup> Who it is by is unknown, especially now the bottom of the inscription is missing, although, given the age of the soldier, and the pattern of verse epitaphs by other soldiers presented in this study, we can assume that it was his parents who wrote and/or commissioned this.

## AI.8

*D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum). |*

*Q(uintus) Gargilius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Iu[li][a]nus qui et Semeliu[s] | miles vixit ann(os) XXIII[I?] | mens(es) III d(ies) XIII. |*

*[?H]unc Karthago lubens pue[rum] | et suo nomine Parcae |  
[c]aelestei monstrante dea pe[r] | caerula ponti |  
Tyrrhenum per iter placid[a] | labante karina |  
[I]taliam misere. huic suo | n'o mine laeto, |  
castrorum decus ac virtu|tum nobile munus |  
[R]oma aeterna potens | tribuit. post talia dona |  
[---] ++ [---] + [---]*

There was a meaning behind the way in which this inscription was presented. The largest letters were *DMS*, the second largest those of the prose section, detailing the name, rank and age of the deceased, and then, ever so slightly smaller than the prose lettering, is the verse, which has been laid out in a purposeful pattern. Written in hexameters, Helttula argues that this inscription: ‘inizia il carne funebre, parte indipendente dell’iscrizione, parobabilmente non scritto per l’occasione ma compost da element scelti da una raccolta di testi offerti dall’officina lapidaria’,<sup>2205</sup> although she does not offer any reasons as to why she thinks this might be the case.

What is interesting about this poem is that each line begins with a place, almost always as the first word: *Karthago*, *[c]aelestei*,<sup>2206</sup> *Tyrrhenum*,<sup>2207</sup> *[I]taliam*, *castrorum*, *[R]oma*. They follow a pattern: real place and a city, a place used adjectivally and in a less than literal sense, the name of a sea,<sup>2208</sup> real place and a country, a place but in a general, hypothetical sense, and a real place and city. To further the mirroring of this language, both words beginning with a *c*, *caelestei* and *castrorum*, begin the second and second to last lines. The Tyrrhenian Sea is literally between Carthage and Rome,<sup>2209</sup> thus the language in **AI.8** mirrors reality. Out of these places, only the final two mentioned are active participants in this poem: Carthage and Rome, Carthage is depicted as an active agent in sending Semelius off to the military, along with Fate, and Rome, who gave him the honour of military service, i.e. he came from Carthage, and he signed up in Rome,<sup>2210</sup> whom Semelius subsequently served. These two ancient rivals, their rivalry, according to the poet of Roman imperial identity (Virgil), established in the

<sup>2204</sup> Despite this, this inscription has not been classified as ‘military’ by either EDCS or EDR (EDCS-11900203, where it is simply classified as ‘tituli sepulcrales’; EDR073120, where it is categorised as ‘cet.’).

<sup>2205</sup> Helttula 2007: 40.

<sup>2206</sup> Although this is in an adjectival sense.

<sup>2207</sup> Again, this is adjectival.

<sup>2208</sup> Lewis & Short 1945: 1922; Kidd 1957: 222; Jennings Rose 2012: 1097: 1523.

<sup>2209</sup> See, for example, Jennings Rose 2012: 1097: 1523; Everett-Heath 2020.

<sup>2210</sup> See, for example, the discussion on the letter of Apollinarius below. See also Helttula 2007: 40 for Semelius’ origins.

mythological past of the founding of the Roman people, cemented in the military history in the greatest wars of the Roman Republic, are now united in this humble verse epitaph of this *miles*.

As Ostia was a port town, it is perhaps not a surprise that there was water imagery in this inscription. Once more, we have a link between the stars and nautical imagery. Perhaps this is due to the importance of the stars for sailors, as they used them both for navigation and for determining the weather and, therefore, were key for understanding the sea, and their survival. What can be understood from this epitaph about the nature of Semelius' death? It appears that he drowned in a shipwreck, as demonstrated by the juxtaposition in *placid[a] | labante karina* ('in a calm, teetering boat', **AI.8.7**), which might be why there is no reference to his body. Was he sailing from his home in Carthage to Rome,<sup>2211</sup> and, on this voyage, died? It certainly seems as if this would be a worthy conjecture (6-7), and the Fates which, as seen in Chapter 3, were synonymous with death, were also the ones behind his journey from Carthage to Rome (4). Was this, perhaps, his first journey to Rome after he had volunteered to join the military? Had he volunteered in Carthage and been sent to Rome for his post? Another soldier had a similar experience: he was joined the military in North Africa, but was sent to Rome to receive his orders for his post.<sup>2212</sup> Perhaps this is why Semelius' epitaph is in Ostia, because it is where he was supposed to land. The use of the term *miles* does not detract from him potentially being recruited as a member of the fleet,<sup>2213</sup> so he could have been in the navy.

Forneau believes that the age of Semelius' death indicates he had served in the military for five years, based on the average age of recruitment to the Roman military.<sup>2214</sup> However, as can be seen in the inscriptions presented in this study, this is not necessarily the case, and it seems that men could be commonly recruited into the military anywhere between ages of 17-30, less so in the latter end of this approximation, but it is seen. Therefore, although it is probably likely that he served for five years, he could have served for seven, or even less than a year; if he did die on his voyage to Rome after his recruitment, then this would be the case. However, it seems unlikely that he died on his way to Rome to receive the orders of his post, as he does seem to already have an established career (*post talia dona*, 'after such gifts', probably was the beginning of introducing his military career, 9), thus indicating he had already arrived in Rome and received his orders when he died. Why we find his epitaph in the port of Ostia, then, can be deduced on a series of educated guesses: perhaps he was sailing to/from Rome to go home on leave, perhaps he was being posted out to somewhere else, or perhaps, as Forneau implies, he was posted in Ostia. For the editors of the *CIL*, there is no link between Semelius leaving Carthage and becoming a soldier, it is almost as if he left home and just decided to become a soldier when he reached Rome: 'apparet Gargilium puerum Carthagine in Italiam venisse, ibi militem factum esse' ('it appears that the boy Gargilius came to Italy from Carthage, and he was made a soldier there').<sup>2215</sup>

Forneau calls Semelius 'le jeune vigile',<sup>2216</sup> even though this post is not indicated on his epitaph. Surely if he was recruited into the Vigiles in Ostia, this would have been written in this inscription? Labelled, like a legion, and he would have been described as something like

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<sup>2211</sup> One could conjecture the opposite but, given the layout and wording of the poem, Carthage to Rome seems more likely.

<sup>2212</sup> As seen in the letter of Apollinarius, a recruit into the Roman navy, to his mother. See, for example, de la Bédoyère 2020: 58.

<sup>2213</sup> See Starr 1993: 58.

<sup>2214</sup> Forneau 2017: 20. See also Chapter 8.

<sup>2215</sup> *CIL* XIV p. 645 n. 8

<sup>2216</sup> Forneau 2017: 23.

*miles Vigilius* in the prose introduction to this epitaph, as men in the legions were described not only by their rank but also by their legion? Sometimes the legions were not specified, but it seems odd that anything beyond being a *miles*, i.e. his role in the ranks of the Vigiles, would not have been specified, especially by (an) author(s) who was(were) proud of Semelius' achievement of having obtained a rank and honours (by being) in the Roman military. Some may argue that it was specified but in the now missing portion of the inscription, but, as it is missing, we cannot be sure of this; if such a posting were to be specified, it would be more likely to have been stated in the prose section of the inscription where it declares Semelius to be a *miles*.

In this inscription, there are several aspects to Semelius' identity: his name, partially defined by his patronage, his nickname, his career, his age at death, city of origin, he was guided, and therefore presumably favoured, by the divine, how he died, the honour his career brought him and the fact it was given to him by Rome. Like most inscriptions that mention how someone died, however, how he died is described more by assumption than by direct specification: we are to take from this inscription that he was killed in a shipwreck, but, for all we know, he was in a shipwreck, mortally wounded but made it to shore and died in Ostia, where he was subsequently buried. However, considering that no reference is made to his physical body, this seems unlikely.

In **AI.8.5**, we see further evidence for the careful linguistic construction of this poem. There is the alliteration between *[c]aelesti* and *caerula*, the heavens and the sea, the two opposites, and the reflection of one in another giving the other their colouration,<sup>2217</sup> and the synonyms *caerula* and *ponti* are next to each other. Here, *[c]aelesti* agrees with *dea*: *[c]aelesti monstrante dea* ('while the heavenly goddess showed him', 5), and thus the gods were perceived as having a more guiding rather than a direct influence on life events. For Forneau and Helttula, *[c]aelesti ... dea* refers to Tanit, the goddess of Carthage.<sup>2218</sup> Whether or not this is the case is up for debate, as demonstrated by the various interpretations behind the meaning of *caelestis dea* given above, again, in other inscriptions with African links (**AI.7**). The editors of the *CIL* also state this is a reference to the goddess of Carthage and, given the context, it does seem likely.<sup>2219</sup> However, it reiterates the use of *caelestis* as not only an adjective used to mean 'heavenly' or 'of the sky',<sup>2220</sup> but also 'heavenly' in a more modern sense, i.e. the divine. In the instances where *caelestis* has been used, it has been used in association with a divinity and the divine. Perhaps it is more of a grey area in this instance than with **AI.7** about whether this use of *caelestis* should count it as an astronomical inscription, yet it is someone with a connection to a soldier using astronomical imagery that also has connotations with the divine. Seeming as the stars are in the heavens, it is hardly surprising that such a word exists with both connotations, especially as their divinities were seen depicted in the stars, and their deified emperors were believed to have a place amongst the constellations.

<sup>2217</sup> Indeed, from which the attribute of the adjective-turned-noun here *caerula* for the sea must surely come, although whether the Romans knew that the one reflecting the other is what gave both their blue colouration is unknown.

<sup>2218</sup> Helttula 2007: 40; Forneau 2017: 24. See above for further, in-depth discussion, on various understandings of the phrase *caelestis dea*.

<sup>2219</sup> *CIL* XIV p. 645 n. 8.

<sup>2220</sup> Kidd 1957: 26.

**AI.9** was found in Lambaesis, Numidia,<sup>2221</sup> and dates to the third century AD,<sup>2222</sup> specifically from Hadrian's reign to AD 238.<sup>2223</sup> Categorised as a *commatica* by Bücheler,<sup>2224</sup> and recognised as a verse inscription,<sup>2225</sup> this inscription is recognised here as consisting of thirteen lines of iambic senarii,<sup>2226</sup> with one line of concluding prose. The layout of the inscription in the Catalogue of Inscriptions attempts to replicate this division; there is no correlation between the separation of the lines in the Latin presented. Once more, we have a link between inscriptions and perpetuating someone's eternal memory (4), and, moreover, that verse inscriptions are the final means by which someone's life can be expressed (1-2).

Some may say that it is ironic that this inscription is written in, admittedly poor, verse, as Proculus' wife, according to Proculus, died as a result of *carminibus / defixa* (**AI.9.9-10**), i.e. he believed that someone had cursed his wife, wishing her dead.<sup>2227</sup> It is particularly telling that he uses the verb form of *defixio*, the word for a curse tablet. These curse tablets were made of lead and were placed in water, the sanctuaries of deities related to the Underworld, or graves themselves, although some were on funerary monuments,<sup>2228</sup> although these are rarer.<sup>2229</sup> As she had died relatively young, at twenty eight, and, by the language used in this poem, suddenly and unexpectedly (8-13), and perhaps childless, given that neither children nor her status as a mother are mentioned, it is not implausible for us to imagine that this is the conclusion Proculus would have made. Her illness before her death is also described strangely: *iacuit per tempora multa, ut eius / spiritus extorqueretur, quam | naturae / redderetur* ('she lay silent for a long time, so that her / spirit was wrenched out by force rather than be returned / to nature, 10-12). Perhaps Proculus' emphasis on his wife's goodness and ideal, matronly behaviour (4-9) is not to emphasise her own behaviour, but give a reason for such a perfect wife died early, and therefore why she must have been cursed: she did no wrong (8), but perhaps her perfection incited jealousy in another, who cursed her out of spite and envy,<sup>2230</sup> either because she was so perfect as a wife, or, in a similar manner to Lucretia, her ideal behaviour attracted another. Perhaps this is what Proculus felt; after all, why would such a wife die so early, and was afflicted by an ailment such as a coma before she died (10), if not from the wrath of another human?

It is the Manes or the *Di Caelestes* who will avenge her death (**AI.9.12-13**).<sup>2231</sup> One implies that the curse overrode her goodness and sent her to the Underworld (the Manes), the other that her goodness overrode it, and she was sent up to the heavens for her goodness (*Di Caelestes*). Also, the undertone is that Proculus could not protect his wife whilst she was alive, but he could avenge her, by asking the gods to carry it out for him. After all, some curse tablets were written in verse themselves, and they were believed to have worked, otherwise people would not have resorted to them for requests for justice from the gods against a wrongdoer, for example. So, in such a world where this mentality existed, of course people would not only

<sup>2221</sup> EDCS-20800620; *CLE*: 772; Le Bohec 1989a: 141; *AE* 1998: 1585; Grubbs 2002: 238-239, Graf 2007: 141 also discuss this inscription briefly.

<sup>2222</sup> Wypustek 1997: 283.

<sup>2223</sup> Le Bohec 1989a: 141.

<sup>2224</sup> *CLE* 772.

<sup>2225</sup> EDCS-20800620; Le Bohec 1989a: 141; *AE* 1998: 1585; Graf 2007: 141.

<sup>2226</sup> See also Le Bohec 1989a: 141, who comments that 'la versification n'est pas toujours très heureuse'.

<sup>2227</sup> See also Grubbs 2002: 238-239, 239 n. 39; Graf 2007: 139-141.

<sup>2228</sup> Grubbs 2002: 236-237, 241.

<sup>2229</sup> *Ibid.*: 240; Graf 2007: 139.

<sup>2230</sup> See Grubbs' discussion for reasons for curse tablets (2002: 237).

<sup>2231</sup> Grubbs 2002: 239. See also Graf 2007: 139, 150.

believe them to be effective, but believe in their effect.<sup>2232</sup> It seems odd, however, that Proculus would advertise this fact. Maybe he expresses this as a deterrent because ‘those who had died young or by violence were thought to be particularly efficacious in carrying out curses, since their spirits would be restless and angry for having left the world of the living before their time’,<sup>2233</sup> and so curse tablets were often buried in their graves, which ‘would mean disturbing the already buried body – a desecration strongly opposed by law and society’ and it was particularly distressing for relatives ‘to learn that the spirit of their loved one had been used as a means of delivering a curse’.<sup>2234</sup> Perhaps the fact that Fructuosa herself had been killed, in her husband’s opinion, by a curse negated her spirit’s ability to act as a curse deliverer; perhaps this was his way of protecting her spirit, which *vi | extorqueretur* (‘was wrenched out by force’, 11), from being further disturbed.

The astronomical connection of this inscription is Proculus’ use of the phrase *di caelestes* (‘the heavenly gods’, **AI.9.13**). It is noteworthy that the inscriptions in this section that use the word *caelestes*, especially in a divine context, have African origins and connections. *Caelestes* not only means ‘heavenly’, but it also can mean the ‘gods’ themselves,<sup>2235</sup> i.e. those who are heavenly/divine. This either refers to the *Di Caelestes* or, due to the connection of *caelestes* with a specific African goddess, perhaps this is a reference to an African pantheon of gods. In a fresco in Kef el-Blida, Tanit and the Caelestes feature separately, the Caelestes ‘comme déesses lunaires’,<sup>2236</sup> further indicating that *caelestes*, in an African context, is not an immediate reference to Tanit, which many scholars seem to believe.<sup>2237</sup> However, Bücheler’s edition does not capitalise *caelestes*, indicating he felt this was simply an adjective describing *di*. Equally, for Granger Harkness, who also does not capitalise *caelestes*,<sup>2238</sup> this is a ‘general reference[s] to the gods of the upper world’.<sup>2239</sup>

This inscription was written by the tribune of the *Legio III Augusta* himself, about his wife.<sup>2240</sup> This is the third inscription in this study so far by a member of the *Legio III Augusta*. This legion was probably founded in the early 40s BC, gained ‘its title from some victory won under Augustus’, and was ‘stationed in Africa probably from 30 BC onwards’, its final post in Africa being Lambaesis,<sup>2241</sup> and it was, predominantly, the only legion in Africa.<sup>2242</sup> Proculus calls the *Legio III Augusta* *legio tanta III Augusta* (‘the great *legio III Augusta*’, **AI.9.14**), which is indicative of perceptions of this legion. Did it, perhaps, have a particularly good reputation, or was it simply that Proculus was proud of his legion and therefore wished to praise it? Alternatively, was he asserting the authority of the legion in the region? At the time, there were worries about Christians and magic,<sup>2243</sup> and ‘it seems that such accusations proliferated in both

<sup>2232</sup> See also Grubbs 2002: 236-237.

<sup>2233</sup> Grubbs 2002: 241.

<sup>2234</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2235</sup> Moorwood 2005.

<sup>2236</sup> Peyras 1993: 241.

<sup>2237</sup> See the multiple discussions above on the associations scholars have made between Tanit and the use of the word *caelestis* in any African context.

<sup>2238</sup> Granger Harkness 1899: 61.

<sup>2239</sup> *Ibid.*: 60.

<sup>2240</sup> Despite this, it has not been categorised as ‘military’ by the EDCS-20800620.

<sup>2241</sup> Campbell 2012d: 817. See also Hardy 1887: 630-631, 634, 636, 643, 646, 649, 652, 656. See also Appendix 2.

<sup>2242</sup> Although reinforced once by the *Legio IX Hispana* from AD 20-24 (Hardy 1887: 631; see also Tac. Ann. 4.5), *Legio III Augusta* was the only legion in Africa. It was the only legion in Numidia from c. AD 120-170 (652). See Hardy 1887: 630-631, 634, 636, 643, 646, 649, 652, 656.

<sup>2243</sup> Wypustek 1997: throughout.

Roman Egypt and North Africa (that is in provinces in which Severan persecution was most severe)'.<sup>2244</sup> This had an:<sup>2245</sup>

impact ... on the minds of inhabitants of Roman Africa and the real anxiety caused by these notions is recognizable in epigraphic sources: an inscription dating back to the beginning of the 3rd century by an officer of the third legion (therefore possibly one of the persecutors of Christians) mourns over his young wife's death caused by magical incantations.

This gives an interesting insight into the role of the Roman military at this time, and how, despite it carrying out the orders of the Emperor, it was not untouchable. Or, perhaps, that it was, or felt that it was, but those closely connected to them were not, hence the soldier felt his wife had been cursed, but not himself. It is telling about Proculins' perception of his own masculinity that, in the concluding prose line, he describes himself as a husband first, and then the legion he is in, and then by his military role in said legion (AI.9.14). This continues the pattern that has been emerging in this study that, when stated in the inscription, a man will indicate his familial status first, and then his military status.<sup>2246</sup> This may be indicative of the true way in which men perceived their loyalties: to their family first, and then to their emperor.<sup>2247</sup> A cynic would perhaps state that this is because the family is probably where they were able to exercise the most personal power, and on a daily basis, as the husband/father of the family was the *pater familias*, in charge of everyone in his nuclear family unit, whereas the soldier, by his very rank, was constantly reminded of his level of power, and that the emperor was, ultimately, in charge of all, on a social level.

## 6.6. Conclusion

These astronomically themed military verse inscriptions reveal insights into the general understanding of astronomy in the Roman Empire and the knowledge of the military. Those in the military had an understanding of astronomical phenomena, both as literal planetary/stellar bodies and in terms of how those in the more educated spheres of the Roman world understood the planets, stars and celestial bodies. Mercury was used as a password in the army, and we know that this was a reference to the planet and not the god because this is specifically stated,<sup>2248</sup> and, as this research here shows, soldiers in the Roman military understood the stars above them, or, at least, could identify them for what they were. They knew of the planets' orbits, the location of constellations, and the impact of celestial bodies on the Earth, i.e. through ideas of astrometeorology. Astronomy and astrology were intertwined, as the stars and planets were also believed to have an impact on the events in one's life. But, yet, soldiers also understood them as divine. How much this can be interpreted as a metaphorical understanding is disputable; it depends on whether the soldier in question perceived divinities as literal entities or as metaphorical descriptions of abstract concepts and/or phenomena they did not understand. Just over half of the soldiers mentioned in or creating these inscriptions were of a high rank in the military (see Table 6), with an expected level of education behind them (see Appendix 3). Their level of knowledge of Latin metre is evident (see also Figure 6.8). There was little

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<sup>2244</sup> Wypustek 1997: 281.

<sup>2245</sup> *Ibid.*: 283.

<sup>2246</sup> See Chapter 8.

<sup>2247</sup> See Haynes: 'on a personal level, soldiers would surely have felt stronger ties to their families, friends and colleagues than to the State' (1999: 165). See also Chapter 8.

<sup>2248</sup> See RMR 47 (O'Fink 1971: 187).

variation in the metres used in these astronomically themed inscriptions: the most commonly used was hexameter, the next iambic senarii (Table 6 and Figure 6.8). Their linguistic ability is evident, creating skilled pieces of linguistic art to rival the greats such as Virgil and Manilius. Some do not display quite the same level of linguistic skill, but it is evident that in many of these inscriptions the language had been carefully chosen and used. The majority of these astronomically themed military verse inscriptions were written by soldiers (see Table 6 and Figure 6.10).

This astronomical knowledge was cross-cultural, as highlighted by these inscriptions. This indicates that although they may have received this training in the Roman military, it is more likely that knowledge of the stars, at least the constellations, was common knowledge, a universal understanding of how the world around them functioned. This astronomical knowledge was likely to have been so widely disseminated and understood for practical reasons, for navigation and understanding the seasons for farming, for example; such references occur frequently when celestial matters are discussed in ancient literature. The stars were said to affect the weather, were indicative of the passing of time and the seasons, specifically the signs of the Zodiac, through which the sun, moon and planets travel in their passage across the heavens. Only one of these astronomical inscriptions did not include additional references to nature and/or natural imagery (**AI.10**; see Table 6; see also Chapter 7). The most significant cross-cultural and religious aspects are the African connections. As shown in Table 6 (see also Figure 6.7, and throughout this chapter), many of these inscriptions have African connections and/or were found in Africa, and the use of celestial imagery, often the use of the adjective *caelestis*, is used in connection to African gods and religion, which had sometimes been syncretised and/or expressed alongside Roman ideals and religion. Astronomical and astrological knowledge appears to have been more important to those in Africa; why would be an interesting avenue to explore in future research.

The sun was the most frequently used celestial imagery in all these inscriptions, closely followed by *caelestis* (see Table 6 and Figure 6.6). This is probably because these are the most basic, universally understood of the celestial language used in these inscriptions. One was the most obvious astronomical body, visible during the daytime, which was used both practically and metaphorically to depict the passing of time, the other the most evident and general description of how the starry, *ergo* night, sky was described. What is apparent from these inscriptions is that the stars were something to learn from, and were ways to learn about and understand the world around them both literally and through making the intangible tangible, whether it be pieces of life wisdom, how to interpret the wider world and the passing of time with the stars and planets, or understanding how religious syncretism worked in the Roman world, and how cultures were, if not shared, at least understood and united by the Roman military who created and enforced this unity, and by the stars, which indicated how this unity between people existed on a basic human level and how it was perpetuated.



Table 6: A table summarising the information in Chapter 6

| No.   | Rank                            | Unit / station                               | Origin of writer / dedicatee | For / by | Type of monument | Date                                | Location                                                                | Metre            | Celestial language used | Nature imagery used |
|-------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|------------------------------|----------|------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|
| ET.40 | <i>veteranus?</i>               | Unknown                                      | African?                     | For      | Epitaph          | Second century AD                   | Colonia Flavia Cillium / Tunisia, Africa Proconsularis                  | Hexameter        | <i>sol</i>              | Y                   |
|       |                                 |                                              |                              |          |                  |                                     |                                                                         | Elegiac couplets |                         |                     |
| LL.4  | <i>beneficiarius consularis</i> | <i>Ala I Thracum</i>                         | Pannonian                    | By       | Epitaph          | Second half of the third century AD | Campona / Nagyteteny, Pannonia Inferior                                 | Hexameter        | <i>genesis</i>          | Y                   |
|       |                                 |                                              | Thracian                     |          |                  |                                     |                                                                         |                  |                         |                     |
| AI.1  | <i>trierarchus</i>              | <i>Classis praetoriae Misenatium</i>         | Roman citizen, Italian?      | By       | Epitaph          | Post AD 71                          | Stabiae / Castellammare di Stabia, Latium et Campania / Regio I, Italia | Hexameter        | <i>sol</i>              | Y                   |
| AI.2  | <i>miles</i>                    | Unknown                                      | Italian                      | For      | Epitaph          | Late first century AD?              | Interamna Nahars / Stroncone, Umbria / Regio VI, Italia                 | Hexameter        | <i>sol</i>              | Y                   |
| AI.3  | <i>centurio</i>                 | <i>Legio III Augusta</i>                     | Italian?                     | By       | Votive           | AD 202/203                          | Gholaia / Bu Njem, Numidia                                              | Iambic senarii   | <i>sol</i>              | Y                   |
| AI.4  | <i>primopilaris</i>             | <i>Legio XVI</i>                             | Italian                      | By       | Honorific        | 2 BC-AD 2                           | Acerrae / Acerra, Latium et Campania / Regio I, Italia                  | Iambic           | <i>caelum</i>           | Y                   |
| AI.5  | <i>aquilifer</i>                | <i>Legio XIII Gemina</i>                     | Italian                      | By?      | Epitaph          | AD 43 - 61/62                       | Viroconium / Wroxeter, Britannia                                        | Hexameter        | <i>sidus</i>            | Y                   |
| AI.6  | N/A                             | N/A                                          | Italian/servile?             | For      | Honorific        | AD 211                              | Rome, Italy                                                             | Iambic senarii   | <i>sidus</i>            | Y                   |
|       |                                 |                                              |                              |          |                  |                                     |                                                                         | Hexameter        |                         |                     |
| AI.7  | <i>tribunus in praefecto</i>    | <i>cohors I Hamiorum Sagittiorum Syriaca</i> | African                      | By       | Votive           | Severan                             | Magnis / Carvoran, Britannia                                            | Iambic senarii   | <i>sidus</i>            | Y                   |
|       |                                 |                                              |                              |          |                  |                                     |                                                                         |                  | <i>caelestis</i>        |                     |

|              |                 |                          |          |     |         |                     |                                                                   |                |                  |   |
|--------------|-----------------|--------------------------|----------|-----|---------|---------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|------------------|---|
|              |                 |                          |          |     |         |                     |                                                                   |                | <i>spicifera</i> |   |
|              |                 |                          |          |     |         |                     |                                                                   |                | <i>caelum</i>    |   |
| <b>AI.8</b>  | <i>miles</i>    | <i>Unknown</i>           | African  | For | Epitaph | AD 117-161          | Portus / Fiumicino,<br>Latium et<br>Campania / Regio I,<br>Italia | Hexameter      | <i>caelestis</i> | Y |
| <b>AI.9</b>  | <i>tribunus</i> | <i>Legio III Augusta</i> | African? | By  | Epitaph | Third century<br>AD | Lambaesis,<br>Numidia                                             | Iambic senarii | <i>caelestis</i> | Y |
| <b>AI.10</b> | Unknown         | Unknown                  | Unknown  | By  | Epitaph | Unknown             | Thugga / Dougga,<br>Africa<br>Proconsularis                       | Iambic senarii | <i>Iuppiter</i>  | N |

Figure 6.6: A graph to show astronomical language used in military verse inscriptions

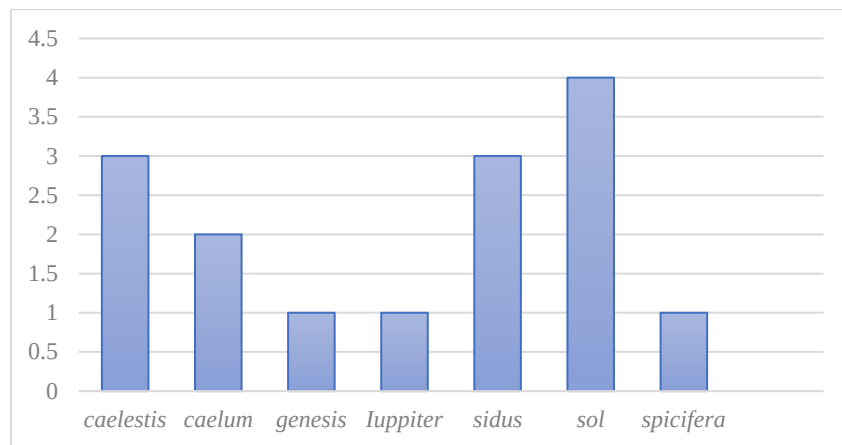


Figure 6.7: A graph to show the origins of the writer or the dedicatee of the inscriptions in Chapter 6

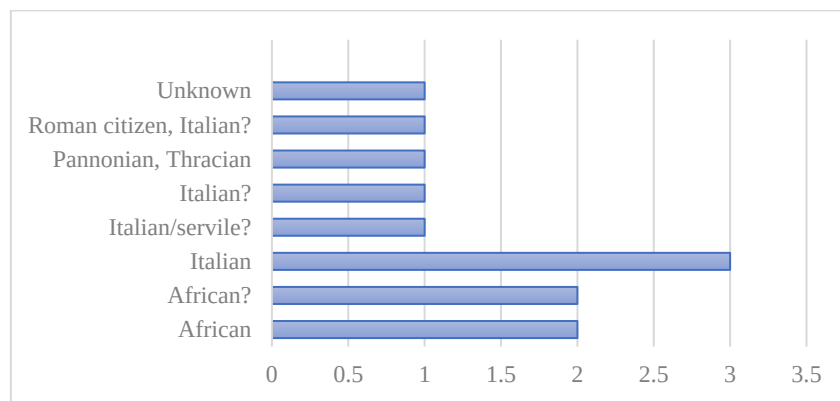


Figure 6.8: A graph to show the types of metre used the military verse inscriptions that feature astronomical imagery

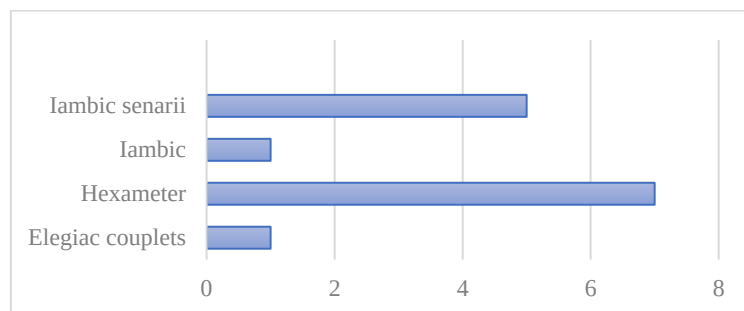


*Figure 6.9:* A graph to show the provincial findspots of the military verse inscriptions featuring astronomical language

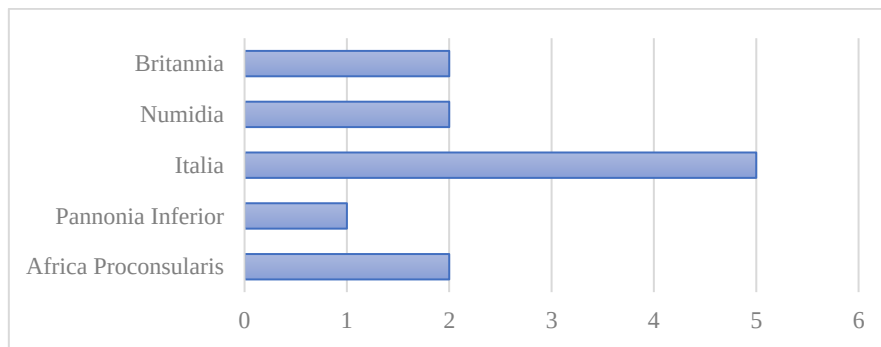
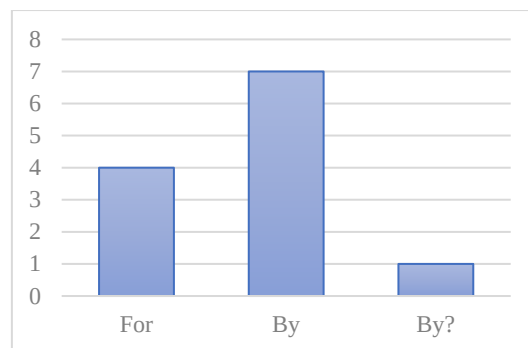


*Figure 6.10:* A graph to show whether the astronomical inscriptions featured in Chapter 6 were for or by a soldier



## Chapter 7

### *The Fragrance of the Land to the Wilds of the Waves:* **The Soldier and the Natural World**

*cum medio voluntur sidera lapsi,  
cum tacet omnis ager*

when the stars are revolving in the middle of their flight,  
when all the land is silent

Verg. Aen. 6.524-525.

#### 7.1. Introduction

The topic of nature and the Roman military is touched upon as a by thought by those who commentate on the Roman military. Researching the Roman military and reading ancient texts about it makes the extent of the military's knowledge of the natural world clear, and that it was probably more profound than the average inhabitant of the Roman world. The Roman military was able to divert rivers, 'cut off [a city's] water supply by digging underground to divert the springs',<sup>2249</sup> forage for food in the surrounding environment, track, scout out a location, ford rivers, swim, they sought 'the source of the Nile, circumnavigat[ed] northern Britain',<sup>2250</sup> worked with mines and ores, 'drain[ed] marshes so that they could be used as farmland',<sup>2251</sup> and understood omens from the natural environment. They lived and fought in conditions dependent upon the natural world, and generals could use natural phenomena to their advantage, or their enemy could and use them to bring them down. Aspects of the natural world appear frequently in the Latin verse inscriptions of the Roman military. Is this because their lives were so dominated by the natural world? Is this due to their affiliation in the Roman military, or because they were inhabitants of a world that was still governed by nature, despite the Roman (military's) efforts to conquer it as well as the people who inhabited it?

Gaius Sulpicius Gallus was the *primus Romani generis* ('the first of the Roman people', Plin. Nat. 2.9.53) who published an explanation of lunar and solar eclipses when he was a military tribune.<sup>2252</sup> Gallus was able to predict and rationalise eclipses to his superstitious men (Frontin. Strat. 1.12.8; Plin. Nat. 2.9.53). When the Romans were fighting Perseus in 168 BC, the day before the Battle of Pynda, he was taken to Paulus, the *imperator*,<sup>2253</sup> to predict a lunar eclipse, so they would not see it as an ill omen, according to Frontinus. After this, Gallus wrote about eclipses, why they occur and what causes them. It was his knowledge of eclipses that *sollicitudine exercitu liberato* ('[when he had] freed the army from anxiety', Nat. 2.9.53),

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<sup>2249</sup> De la Bédoyère 2020: 213.

<sup>2250</sup> *Ibid.*: 269.

<sup>2251</sup> *Ibid.*: 270

<sup>2252</sup> See Plin. Nat. 2.9.53, where he outlines this story. See also Frontin. Strat. 1.12.8, where he also outlines this story.

<sup>2253</sup> Translated as 'commander-in-chief' by Rackham (1958: 203), translation of Plin. Nat. 2.9.53.

according to Pliny. Sulpicius Gallus is mentioned in Pliny again, when discussing those who tried to determine the distances between the Earth, moon, sun and the Zodiac. Sulpicius Gallus, according to Pliny, agreed with the distances Pythagoras postulated (Nat. 2.19.83). Events such as these happened in both Greek and Roman military history, and terrestrial events such as earthquakes were considered omens: ‘Roman soldiers were notoriously superstitious, and hypersensitive to the interpretation of omens or auspices. They could refuse to fight as a result of the slightest upset, whereas a good omen could inspire them to achieve extraordinary military feats. They looked on in awe at natural phenomena and wondered whether they portended good or ill’.<sup>2254</sup> Time and time again in Roman military historical narratives we see soldiers being spooked by natural events, interpreting them as omens, and their leaders rationalising it to them and/or making the soldiers believe they had fortune on their side.<sup>2255</sup>

Perhaps, this is why Roman generals had a grasp on the natural world and its workings. As well as the higher ranks being from the more educated parts of Roman society, it would also be necessary for them to have this knowledge so they could rationalise these events to their men, and persuade them to fight when the superstitious were afraid to. Interpretations of astronomical events are described in military manuals such as in Frontinus’ *Stratagems*. Frontinus served in the higher ranks of the Roman army in the late first century AD, and was from the upper echelons of Roman society; he was consul three times and he was the governor of Britain, leading military altercations in this notoriously tricky province.<sup>2256</sup> He was also involved in civil engineering projects, building the Via Julia, which was named after him, and can still be seen, in Britain, and we see evidence of him in inscriptions.<sup>2257</sup> Frontinus’ works alone demonstrate the link between those with military and civil engineering projects. He wrote technical works on the *Art of War*, the *Art of Surveying*, *Stratagems*, and the *Aqueducts of Rome*. The writing of one of his works was interrupted by military service,<sup>2258</sup> and he wrote an essay on farming,<sup>2259</sup> highlighting the civil, military and agricultural/bucolic knowledge and skills of those in the Roman military. This is also indicated by their, albeit necessitous, knowledge of gathering and foraging for food.<sup>2260</sup> Frontinus’ *Stratagems* was written as a handbook for those who wanted to serve as a leader in the Roman military,<sup>2261</sup> and was a collection of anecdotes and vignettes of successful military stratagems, of *exempla*, of not only those in the Roman, predominantly Republican, military, but from successful leaders’ actions of various nationalities in the past; he also included naval stratagems. In the examples exhibited throughout his work, knowledge of the terrain and natural events is crucial for successful leaders in the military, as nature can be either lead to their downfall or be an asset, and sometimes simply how a leader managed those natural obstacles could lead to shock and awe in the soldiers fighting either with or against him.<sup>2262</sup>

<sup>2254</sup> De la Bédoyère 2020: 371. See also Plin. Nat. and Sen. Nat. for the link between natural phenomena, including celestial, and omens. See also Corcoran, in his introduction to Sen. Nat., where he states that ‘a knowledge of earthquakes, Seneca says, will remove the irrational fear of them’ (1971: xxii).

<sup>2255</sup> There are many examples, but see, for example, throughout Frontinus’ *Stratagems*.

<sup>2256</sup> See Bennett 1925: xiii-xiv.

<sup>2257</sup> See *ibid.*: xvi.

<sup>2258</sup> See *ibid.*

<sup>2259</sup> See *ibid.*

<sup>2260</sup> Seen throughout Roman military history anecdotes, especially in Frontinus’ *Stratagems*, as to how foraging parties can be ambushed by both the Romans and their enemies (see, for example, Frontin. Strat. 2.5.31).

<sup>2261</sup> See Bennett 1925: xviii, Front. Strat. 2.prologue.

<sup>2262</sup> Throughout the *Stratagems*, but see, for example, Frontin. Strat. 1.5.28, 10.2-3, 2.3.23, 2.5.7, 3.13.1. See also other military events in Roman history, for example Phillipii; think also the Boudican defeat. See, for example, de la Bédoyère 2020:

Frontinus' *Stratagems* highlight how ingenious generals of the past, of various nationalities and armies, outsmarted these natural obstacles to attack the enemy, surprise them, and win. How they turn a natural hindrance into an assistance is vital to victory,<sup>2263</sup> and the frequency with which armies of all nationalities built constructions to overcome natural obstacles, such as the sea, rivers, streams and mountains, is apparent throughout his work.<sup>2264</sup> This, therefore, exhibited not only the ingenuity of the commanders who came up with these plans, but the ingenuity of the men themselves.<sup>2265</sup> It also demonstrates not only how, at the very least, commanders in the armies of the ancient world knew how to shape the natural world to help them or hinder their enemies, but also the knowledge their men had, in order to be able to understand these aspects of the natural world well enough to build these constructions devised by their leaders. The speed with which, for example, bridges could be built across rivers was often understood as an indicator of the level of discipline of the force building said bridge.<sup>2266</sup>

But, how did the ancients understand the natural world, and what are the aspects of the 'natural world' in these inscriptions? The cosmological was not separated from the terrestrial, as is apparent not only through studying these verse inscriptions, but also through studying the natural world as it was understood by the Romans.<sup>2267</sup> Those polymaths of the ancient world who studied astronomy, philosophy, zoology and mathematics often also studied the natural world and geography.<sup>2268</sup> Thus, for those in the ancient world it is anachronistic to divide these subjects up as we do, now generally separated under 'biology' and 'physics',<sup>2269</sup> and, instead, when considering the ancient mind we must group the study of them together under the same umbrella term, the one the ancients themselves used: *physis*, but under the idea of *natura*. The astronomical world was thought to impact the natural, as evident through astrometeorology, where the stars were thought to have an impact on/predict the weather, mainly the wind.<sup>2270</sup> This connection between nature and astronomy in the ancient world is not only evident in the

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throughout, especially 123-139; Caesar's attempts to conquer England are more examples of how the environment could bring about a defeat for the Romans.

<sup>2263</sup> See, for example, Frontin. Strat. 1.4, 2.3.14, 2.5.6, 2.5.43 for Roman and other nationalities, such as Egyptian and Liburnian, ingenuity in battle, using the elements and the natural world to their advantage. See Frontin. Strat. 3.9.3 for how understanding the landscape could deceive and help, i.e. give a false hope of protection and, therefore, be used for victory.

<sup>2264</sup> See, for example, Frontin. Strat. 1.5. See also 2.2 for the obvious impact of having the higher/lower ground in battle, and the impact of the strategic use of the landscape for battle, especially for those with smaller forces, or outmatched forces in certain areas, such as cavalry versus infantry.

<sup>2265</sup> See, for example, Frontin. Strat. 3.15.4.

<sup>2266</sup> See Frontin. Strat. 4.2.1.

<sup>2267</sup> See Lehoux 2007: throughout for clear connections between nature and astronomy, and how they were not divisible in the ancient mind, as well as discussion below. See Sen. Nat. 1.3.10, 2.1.4,

<sup>2268</sup> See, for example, Aristotle, Posidonius (Corcoran 1971: 50-51 n. 1), Seneca. Virgil also exhibits clear knowledge of both astronomy and natural/agricultural matters in his works. In Sen. Nat., there is a link between morality, philosophy and the natural world (see also Corcoran 1971: x-xi, xiv-xv, xvii); this is apparent in Plin. Nat., but to a lesser extent. Other philosophers who studied philosophy, *physis* and the natural world include Aristotle, Anaxagoras, Hipparchus, Anaximander, Anaximenes of Miletus, Eudoxus, Thales, Pythagoras, Epigenes, Euthymenes, Democritus; many of these are Presocratics, who theorised about the heavens, the planets and the stars. Some of the theories Pliny and Seneca present in their works are that of other philosophers stated here, and/or widely known theories, but others are their own (see also Corcoran 1971: xxii) and/or refutations of theories. Both discuss omens and predicting the future from natural events, such as Sen. Nat. 2.33.1, 2.34.2-4, 2.31.2, 7.1.1, and 2.39.40, where he intertwines scientific explanation with the divine interpretations of others in relation to, for example, lightning. Pliny discusses comets and what they portend (Nat. 2.22-23). Due to their perceived influence on the weather, and sometimes vice versa, the celestial phenomena were often categorised and compared with meteorological phenomena (for example, Sen. Nat. 7.12.6, 7.28.1-3). Pliny, however, also recognises the influence of the environment on the climate/weather (Nat. 2.44), as well as identifying weather and meteorological phenomena in Book 2, which was also about astronomical phenomena, in Plin. Nat. 2.47-62. In Book 2, Pliny also mentions Mother Earth and what earth produces (Nat. 2.63).

<sup>2269</sup> As is apparent from the discussions of Lindberg 1992 and Lehoux 2007.

<sup>2270</sup> See above; see Chapter 7; see Sen. Nat. 1.8.8 for a discussion on how the positioning of rainbows were used to predict the weather, and 1.1.12 for sailors' interpretation of how the stars affected the wind.

inscriptions presented here in Chapters 6 and 7, and some of the military verse inscriptions in Chapter 5, but also from another inscriptional source: *paraepgmata*. These were both found as inscriptions and as literary sources, and they charted the connection between, for example, the position of the stars and the predicted weather for said situation.<sup>2271</sup>

Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis Historia* begins with a study of cosmology, astronomy, meteorology, geography and geology, and this includes natural phenomena such as earthquakes and how to predict them.<sup>2272</sup> Seneca's *Naturales Quaestiones* similarly contains theories on meteors, comets, atmospheric illusions, lightning, thunder, soothsayers' interpretations, discusses the Presocratics and their theories, bodies of water, the Nile, precipitation, wind, earthquakes, and he debates common and/or academic theories about these natural phenomena.<sup>2273</sup> The rest of Seneca's work contains research on zoology, flora such as arboriculture as well as wild plants, medical remedies from flora and fauna, mineralogy, mining and the history of art. These two works highlight the link in the Roman mentality between the astronomical and the meteorological, how the stars were considered to have an impact on the machinations of the Earth, and the link between the natural and cosmological worlds, i.e. that they were not separate. Pliny the Elder, one of these major writers of natural history in the Roman world, was a military/naval commander, and both Pliny and Seneca were amongst the elite sections of Roman society. Both Pliny and Seneca criticise man's domination, subjugation and disruption of nature, both by land and sea, via warfare, which is partially a disruption of the natural cause of events because it causes men to go to an earlier grave, to not see old age.

It is through studying these works that one can understand the remarkable grasp and understanding the ancients had on the celestial and the natural, and how they felt the two were intertwined.<sup>2274</sup> Pliny and Seneca discussed the machinations of the *mundus*,<sup>2275</sup> often translated as 'universe', which, for the ancients, incorporated all the planets, stars, sun and moon (all called *sidus*),<sup>2276</sup> thus indicating that they categorised the planets, the sun and the moon as stars. Stars were also sometimes called *stella*.<sup>2277</sup> The *mundus* included these stellar bodies and the *terra*, i.e. Earth (see Figure 7.1).<sup>2278</sup> According to Pliny, the Babylonians believed that earthquakes were caused by Saturn, Jupiter and Mars, the planets (Nat. 2.81-86). Thus, demonstrating which aspects of life were thought to be encompassed into the study of nature and the natural world in the Roman era, and studies and theories recognised as handed

<sup>2271</sup> See Lehoux 2007.

<sup>2272</sup> In Book 2; before it precedes the *praefatio* and Book 1, which is a table of contents.

<sup>2273</sup> See Sen. Nat. throughout, for example 4A.2.2-12, 17-25 for geography of the Nile, and theories on why it floods, and, among his sources, he cites Anaxagoras, Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides. 4B which is on hail and snow, Book 5 is on the winds, 6 earthquakes, 7 comets, which contains theories on stars and comets, including Epigenes' theories on comets and the influence of the planets on the other celestial bodies and the weather (see also Corcoran 1971: xiv-xxv). There was a clear link between the stars and the Earth, especially as the heat of the stars was thought to contribute to that of the Earth; see discussion on Sirius in this study and Sen. Nat. 3.29.8, for example. In Seneca, there is a link between Sirius, the winds and the sun (Nat. 5.10.4). The most blatant connection between the stars, planets, Sun, moon and the weather in N. at. is at 2.11.2, and 7.7.2-3. Seneca also comments on the influence of the stars on people, which he believed in (2.32.7-8); Pliny did not (Nat. 2.5.28), although Pliny does comment on how climate was thought to affect the appearance of the inhabitants of various lands, and their mentality (2.80). Pliny does acknowledge the perceived influence of the stars on Earth (2.6.30-31).

<sup>2274</sup> See, for example, Plin. Nat. 2.6.31, where he says it was the recognition and study of the Zodiac that began the path of understanding nature.

<sup>2275</sup> See Sen. Nat. 3.preface.1, where he states that the *mundus* is what he is writing about and relaying this knowledge to others; Plin. Nat. 2, where all the understandings of the machinations of the universe are evident. See Figure 7.1.

<sup>2276</sup> Throughout Seneca and Pliny, for example Sen. Nat. 2.11.2, see this also for reference to the sun's influence on the seasons and the year, 7.18.1; Plin. Nat. 2.4.10-15.

<sup>2277</sup> See Sen. Nat. 2.11.2; Plin. Nat. 2, e.g. 2.13.63. But they are most often referred to as *sidera*.

<sup>2278</sup> Both Pliny and Seneca refer to the planets, the Sun and the moon as *sidus* (see, for example, Sen. Nat. 7.17.1 and Plin. Nat. 2.6.31-32; see also Pliny's model of the *mundus* below).



down from previous generations,<sup>2279</sup> but were presented, and sometimes questioned, by Roman authors such as Pliny and Seneca.

These natural phenomena were explained as being consisted of one of the four elements: earth, air, fire and water, references to all of which feature in the inscriptions in this chapter. The ancients believed these were the ‘building blocks’ of the *mundus*,<sup>2280</sup> as devised initially by Empedocles of Acragas, Agrigentum (c. 494-434 BC) ‘who developed the concept of the four elements, earth, air, fire, and water, whose combination and dissociation produce the objects of the world we know’.<sup>2281</sup> Not only were there links made and similarities identified between these elements, but they were also believed to generate one another, for example in Sen. Nat. 7.6.1-3, where he discusses how air generated fire, from the influence of the earth on his discussion on comets, beams and torches (8.6.1-3).<sup>2282</sup> *Terra* was used for Earth in the same way it is used in English: as the planet and as the soil/ground of said planet. It is described in Seneca with its dual meaning of planet and element, and this also perhaps provides an implied reason as to why they thought the Earth was the centre of the universe, not simply because this where they observed the universe from (Nat. 1.1.5.1).

Within these elements, it is often difficult to distinguish between the precise meanings of *aer* and *aether*. Sometimes they are used interchangeably,<sup>2283</sup> which is explained by Seneca:

*Necesse est enim ut et imus aether habeat aliquid aeri simile et summus aer non sit dissimilis imo aetheri, quia non fit statim in diversum ex diverso transitus; paulatim ista in confinio vim suam miscent ita ut dubitare possis aer an hoc iam aether sit.*

For it is necessary that the lower *aer* has something similar to *aer*, and that the highest *aer* is not dissimilar to the lower *aer*, because something cannot not immediately pass from a different substance into a different substance; little by little, on the borderland between them, these mix their energy together in this way, so that you cannot definitively identify whether that one is *aer* or already *aether*.

Sen. Nat. 2.14.2

In Pliny’s description of the universe, the *aether* was above the Earth only, between the Earth and the moon, and that *aer* was a part of the wider universe, both within the *aether* and beyond, into each shell of the universe. It was the anticlockwise movement of the shells in contrast to the clockwise movement of the outer shell of the universe that was thought to influence the movements of the wind (Plin. Nat. 2.38, 2.45, 2.7.47).<sup>2284</sup> For Seneca, *aer* acts as the bridge

<sup>2279</sup> See above and Sen. Nat. 7.3.2 when he comments on Eudoxus being the one who introduced knowledge about the planets to Greece from Egypt, and 2.32.7-8. Seneca observes that the stars have been observed, and these observations noted down throughout history (Nat. 7.15.1), and it was the Greeks who identified them (Nat. 7.25.3, and he uses a quote from Verg. Georg. 1.137 as evidence of this). Pliny recognises the deities and the similarities of deities between cultures (Nat. 2.5.14-15).

<sup>2280</sup> See, for example, Sen. Nat. 3.11.12.3, 5.5-6.1, where he discusses how wind, water and fire are similar; Figure 7.1. See also Corcoran 1971: xviii, xxii. See Plin. Nat. 2.4.10-15 for discussion on the elements: fire, air (*aer*), earth and water, the planets, and the sun. See Plin. Nat. 2.11 for fire as an element and how it was in the stars, the sun, how it could be manmade, and generated in nature by rubbing stones or wood together, or when clouds rubbed together to create thunderbolts.

<sup>2281</sup> Corcoran 1971: 255 n. 2.

<sup>2282</sup> See below on Seneca’s link between water, wind and fire.

<sup>2283</sup> See, for example, throughout Sen. Nat. where he clearly, by Pliny’s model, confuses *aether* with *aer*. See also the discussion on Sanders in Chapter 4.

<sup>2284</sup> See Figure 7.1. See also Plin. Nat. 2.6.33. See also Seneca’s various discussions on *aer*, such as Nat. 2.1.3-4.1, 2.1.6.1, 2.8.1, 2.1.4.1. In Nat. 2.1.4.2, Seneca’s definition of *aer* is identical to that of Pliny; at Nat. 2.1.10.1 it is similar. In Nat. 3.10.1 and 2.15.1, *aer* is the element, *aether* is the atmosphere. Although, confusingly, he also uses these terms interchangeably throughout his work; this confusion can also depend on the translator, as, for example, in Corcoran’s translation of Sen. Nat.

between the *terra* and the *caelum*, acting as the conveyor of influence from one to the other, from the *terra* to the *sidera* and vice versa (Nat. 2.1.4.1.). *Caelum* was used to mean the ‘starry/celestial heavens’, and it is evident that this was its general understood meaning, as in Chapter 6 it was shown that *caelum* has this meaning in Latin military verse inscriptions.

For Seneca, the terms *universus* and *mundus* are interchangeable for the universe: *Omnis de universo quaestio in caelestia, sublima, terrena dividitur. Prima pars naturam siderum scrutatur et magnitudinem et formam ignium quibus mundus includitur* (‘every question about the universe is divided into the heavenly, those objects above the heavens, and the terrestrial. The first part examines the nature of the stars and their size and the form of the fires which are enclosed by the universe’, Nat. 2.1.1), which explains why the stars and other such phenomena are discussed at the beginning of Pliny and Seneca’s works. Seneca then goes on to define *caelestia*, *sublima* and *terrena*, i.e. the definition of *caelestia* given above, meteorology and earthquakes, and *de aquis, terries, arbustis, satis quaerit et ... de omnibus quae solo continentur* (‘investigating about water, earthly beings, trees, crops and ... about all the things which are examined in isolation’, Nat. 2.1.2) respectively. Seneca also provides an explanation for why flora and fauna are classified as *quasi partem* of the whole, of the *mundus*, because everything is connected, even the animals and the trees (Nat. 2.4.2).

Although, in Seneca, there does seem to be a slight divide between *natura* and *mundus*. *Mundus* keeps an eye on *natura*, keeping it in check, as it was an uncontrollable force, waiting to destroy all life on earth (Nat. 3.30.1, 30.5-6), which is made with such difficulty but taken away so easily by *natura* (Nat. 3.27.2). Although the *mundus* gave *natura* a form (Sen. Nat. 3.30.1), it was Jupiter who was *rectorem custodemque universi, animum ac spiritum mundi, operis huius dominum et artificem* (‘author and guardian of the universe, the mind and spirit of the universe, by this work he is the master and artificer’, Nat. 45.1-2). He continues to describe Jupiter similarly to the idea of Christian God; in the beginning all things were created, *sic origo mundi non minus solem et lunam et vices siderum et animalium ortus quam quibus mutarentur terrena continuit* (‘in this way the origin of the universe contains no less the sun and the moon and the conditions of the stars, but also the source of the animals, from which the earth was turned into’, Sen. Nat. 3.29.3).

So, for Seneca, *natura* is incorporated into the *mundus*, whereas for Pliny it appears that the *mundus* was a part of *natura*. According to Pliny, the reason why Hipparchus was able to predict the movements of the sun and the moon for six hundred years was: *aevo teste haut alio modo quam consiliorum naturae particeps* (‘with former testimony, nothing else other than the sharing of the plans of nature’, Nat. 2.9.53). However, Seneca’s overall discussion of the *mundus* is similar to that of Pliny’s,<sup>2285</sup> thus indicating how these ideas and theories were persistent, and disseminated, throughout the ages. For Seneca, nothing occurs in isolation, and this correlates with the attitudes of those in the past. Just as in Seneca nature buries us and

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(throughout, but see, for example, 5.18.1). Pliny is more direct about his distinction between the two. See also Seneca’s distinction between *aer* and *aether* at Nat. 2.1.10.1, and how it compares to earth and water; it is clear that Seneca has a similar, if not the same, interpretation of *aer* as Pliny did. Although there is sometimes some confusion apparent in Pliny between *aer* and *aether*, see, for example, Nat. 2.21.85.

<sup>2285</sup> See, for example, Sen. Nat. 7.12.7, 1.2.4, 1.15.5, 2.1.5.1, where he clearly has the same understanding of *caelum* as Pliny does, as well as above.

death returns us to nature (Nat. 2.59.6), so was the cycle of life and death for the Egyptians, which were:<sup>2286</sup>

inextricably parts of an over-all natural order, *maat*, in which biological, social and celestial concepts were inherently and multiply fused. Therefore, to the ancient Egyptians – as to pre-Socratic Greeks – we observe no ‘one and only one’ correct explanation for any observed phenomenon or event... Because of this fusion of realms that appear totally distinct to us today, they frequently advanced multiple explanations, which to them complemented and reinforced other than contradicted one another. All were reflections of the *maat* or natural order.

This is not only reflected in the order of life and death as presented by Seneca, but in every part of nature and the universe: E/earth was just as much a part of the universe as the stars and the planets, and the soul, and all belonged to nature.<sup>2287</sup> These understandings of nature in all aspects of the seen world are represented in these inscriptions here, including their link to the idea of the human spirit, mind and soul. People returning to nature is particularly noticeable in the birthland/deathland formula (section 7.2; see also **AI.9**). Those in the Roman world did not consider the universe, the stars, planets, sun, moon, Earth and sky as separate as we do, or even the soul; to them, they were all one, as Figure 7.1 demonstrates.

The sizes and the qualities of the planets are only vaguely given in Pliny, so the sizes and colours are based roughly on the ones presented in his *Naturalis Historia* (see esp. 2.16.79). Venus and Mercury have alternating routes as specified by Pliny, and Venus’ left travelling route has been determined to be what Pliny states was termed ‘Lucifer’, Venus’ right ‘Vesper’, and each had their own colour; the overall colour of Venus as presented here has been made to reflect this. Jupiter was thought to be transparent.

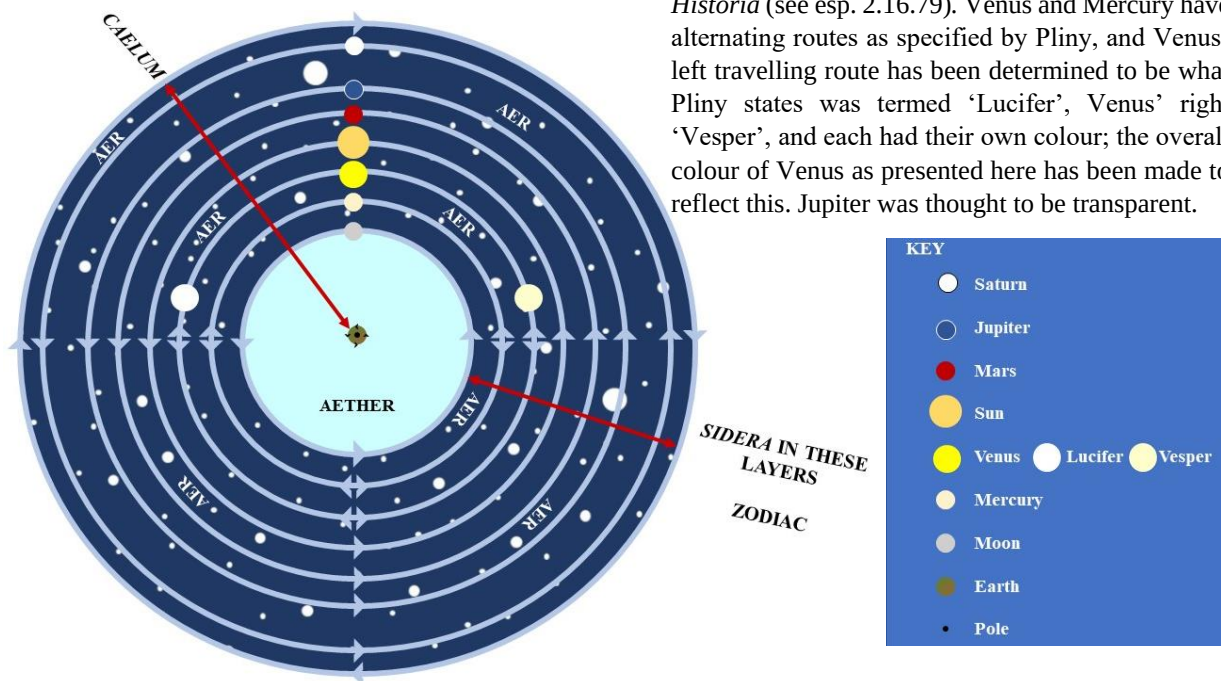


Figure 7.1: Model of the *mundus*, as described by Pliny (Nat. 2.6.31-16).<sup>2288</sup>

Pliny’s subsequent in-depth description of the *mundus*, which he equates to the Greek *kosmos*,<sup>2289</sup> demonstrates the separation between *aer* and *aether*. This diagram is the *mundus*, the universe, which they did not see in isolation from the world as we do today, and all were a

<sup>2286</sup> Gordon & Schwabe 2004: 30.

<sup>2287</sup> See Manolaraki 2018: 216.

<sup>2288</sup> See also Pliny’s definition of the *mundus* at the beginning of Book 2 of his *Naturalis Historia* (2.1.1-2).

<sup>2289</sup> See Plin. Nat. 2.3.8.

part of nature.<sup>2290</sup> For Pliny, the *aether* was between the moon and the earth (Nat. 2.7.48). *Caelum* was the designation of the part of the heavens between the Earth and the *mundus*, and the stars (including the planets, sun and moon, all under the term *sidus*) resided between the *caelum* and *terra*;<sup>2291</sup> it was not the *mundus*, but the part of the sky we now would designate as ‘the heavens’, as it is usually translated.

Pliny discusses many of the same topics as Seneca does, for example the link between meteorology and the influence of the stars upon the seasons, weather and climate, as well as people’s health and the condition of flora and fauna (Plin. Nat. 2.28, 2.26, 38, 39-40, 60, 12); but the stars were also thought to be influenced by the Earth (Plin. Nat. 2.6.46). Pliny acknowledges the interchangeability of the terms *caelum* and *aer* in the past, as their ancestors also called *aer caelum*. He, too, uses the terms *aer* and *aether* interchangeably, but not as much as Seneca, as in 2.38 of his *Naturalis Historia*, Pliny calls what he earlier designated as *aether* as *aer*, i.e. the area below the moon.<sup>2292</sup> *Terra* and *caelum* were linked: *ita terrae tres partes abstulit caelum* (‘in this way the third part of Earth is taken away by the heavens’, Plin. Nat. 2.48). Terms such as ‘the heavens’, ‘the sky’, ‘the universe’ and ‘E/earth’, therefore, were used with much the same interpretation and meaning as they are used in English now, both with specific and vague meanings.

But nature, contradictorily for the modern mind after reading about their rationalisation of natural events, was divine.<sup>2293</sup> In Book 7, Seneca discusses the constellations and their influence on the weather and the seasons, and in comparison to the elements, stemming their creation to *Natura*.<sup>2294</sup> As has been demonstrated with **AI.7**, the gods were associated with the stars and heavenly bodies, not the other way around. But Nature itself was a divinity, and the defining sole divinity of Stoicism.<sup>2295</sup> There were myths surrounding why the sun moved across the heavens (think chariots), but not how – this was explained by Greek philosophers of *physis*. There is no mention of how the stars came to be in the early creation myths, but there is of how the oceans and earth came to be, and the sky and the ‘heavens’, and the wind, all of which were associated with gods. The natural world, then, for some, and mainly in popular, not academic, although this is still seen in Seneca, circles had an explanation: in the gods. Some cosmological theories gained no traction because they disobeyed the established religious reasoning, for example the (correct) heliocentric theory as proposed by Aristarchus.<sup>2296</sup> The natural world and its processes were more obviously, and more extensively, explained away by the machinations of the gods.

Given the appearance of nature in nearly all the astronomical military verse inscriptions, it would appear that the cosmological and natural worlds were intertwined in the general psyche as well as the academic. Knowledge of the stars and the constellations appears to have been general, a farmer and a sailor dependent upon such information for their livelihoods. This understanding was apparent across cultures and across societies, probably passed down through the generations. This mentality was apparent, and inherent, in the most ancient of creation

<sup>2290</sup> See Plin. Nat. 2 throughout, for example 2.15.77.

<sup>2291</sup> See Pliny’s description of the universe as used for Figure 7.1, as well as Nat. 2.6.32; 2.3.8-9.

<sup>2292</sup> Plin. Nat. 2.38. See Figure 7.1.

<sup>2293</sup> See, for example, Sen. Nat. 2.59.2. See also Chapter 5.

<sup>2294</sup> Sen. Nat. 7.27.3-5. See also Nat. 4A.1.1 for Seneca’s connection and connotation between the Nile and Danube rivers, the seasons and the stars.

<sup>2295</sup> Apparent throughout Sen. Nat. and Plin. Nat. See also Cook 1994: 195-196.

<sup>2296</sup> See, for example, Lindberg 1992: 97. As also seen later with Galileo.

myths, where, in general, the earth and sea begat the sky and heavens. Given this, it should be no surprise that nearly every single astronomical inscription presented in this study had connections to the natural world. For the ancients, the starry heavens were a part of the natural world, and this is how they are considered in this study.

The understandings of the universe and nature as presented in Pliny and Seneca appear to be how soldiers, and those associated with them, also understood the natural world. Yet, Seneca despairs at the general ignorance, and belief in the randomness, of what we would now define as more earthly matters: lightning, storms, and other natural phenomena discussed in his *Naturales Quaestiones*.<sup>2297</sup> Seneca saw the belief that these natural phenomena bode some sort of ill portent from the gods as also a part of this ignorance,<sup>2298</sup> so not all the soldiers had the same understanding of the universe as Pliny and Seneca did, for example. But those who use natural imagery in their verse inscriptions appear to or, at the very least, understood the aspects of nature they present in their Latin verse inscriptions as part of *natura* and the *mundus*. Here, the discussion of the natural world is continued on from the discussion of the astronomical in Chapter 6, analysed as anything involving environmental natural history. In these inscriptions, we see references to earth, water, fire, air and natural features such as groves, found in both religious and non-religious contexts.

As well as concluding the ideas presented in Chapters 5 and 6, this chapter is the final link between the discussions on *lux* and *lumen*, their meanings of ‘the eye’ and ‘light’ rather than the ‘light as life’ capacity in which they were discussed in Chapter 4, and astronomy and cosmology, for light/optics, astronomy/astrology and natural philosophy were considered part of the same umbrella term *physis* in the ancient world,<sup>2299</sup> matters of cosmology discussed alongside matters of nature, investigated by the same people.<sup>2300</sup> This is not only apparent in the academic scholarship, where these matters are included in one topic, but in the inscriptions presented here, especially the connection between the stars and nature. Their exploration in the ancient world was considered, by those who inhabited it, part of the same overall picture, one we would place under the umbrella term of “science” now and then was called *physis*.<sup>2301</sup> This is logical, as, for example, not only were the stars thought to be able to predict the weather, and thus have a bearing on earthly matters, but those who explored these ideas were essentially creating theories in answer to, as yet, unanswered questions, including: the nature of reality, how the cosmos, functioned, and the soul.<sup>2302</sup> Yet these questions did not include why the natural world functioned the way it did – unless we understand that this was the purpose behind their investigations of ‘the role of the gods’.<sup>2303</sup>

Natural imagery in Roman military verse inscriptions has already been apparent throughout this research, and, within them, the knowledge the soldiers in the Roman military had of the natural world. Knowledge of the natural world was vital for the soldier, not only watching the stars for understanding the weather, crucial knowledge, as indicated in Germanicus’ translation

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<sup>2297</sup> Sen. Nat. 1.preface.14.

<sup>2298</sup> Sen. Nat. 1.1.4.

<sup>2299</sup> As apparent in Lehoux 2007 and Lindberg 1992. Seneca would probably call this *philosophia*: *Illa primum et quaesivit causas rerum et observavit effectus et, quod in fulminis inspectione longe melius est, initiis rerum exitus contulit* (‘Also that [philosophy] first both sought the cause of nature and observed its effects and, which is by far better than the inspection of lightning, it evaluated the end of nature with its beginning’, Nat. 2.53.3).

<sup>2300</sup> Lindberg 1992: 27.

<sup>2301</sup> See, for example, *ibid.*

<sup>2302</sup> See *ibid.*: 139 for a more extensive list.

<sup>2303</sup> *Ibid.*

of Aratus, for sailors, but also for understanding the terrain they were fighting on. Soldiers had what was probably common natural knowledge when they foraged from the landscape, either from farms or simply from what they could find. But their knowledge of the land was perhaps more advanced than the average individual in certain ways because they needed to understand how the terrain could be used to help them and hinder their enemies. Some of the most ingenious Roman tactics involved using the natural world and elements to their advantage, both in battle and in their constructions. As a part of their training, Roman soldiers built bridges, and they forded rivers and were able to swim, in case the river was un-bridgeable or they needed to make a quick retreat. The natural world could bring about their victory or their defeat if not understood wisely; one need only think of the loss of Varus' legions or Caesar's attempted conquests of England to understand how the environment could be used by others, or simply by its existence, to bring about the Romans' defeat, primarily through unawareness. They memorised landmarks when they scouted the land ahead,<sup>2304</sup> their commanders, at least, were able to use the natural world to their advantage and to the disadvantage of their enemies, and they inhabited the natural world in a way in which those who had become more urbanised had forgotten: when on campaign, they lived off the land, they sometimes lived in tents, and so the elements that controlled their basic living conditions affected them and their morale greatly.<sup>2305</sup>

The life of the Roman soldier was both temporary, roaming and affected by the dangers of nature, and static, stationary and the foundation of civilisation and urbanisation when garrisoned in a fortress or a city, both of which affected the soldiers of the empire covered in this study. Those in the Roman military inhabited, and therefore had to adapt to, a range of environments, from the arid deserts of Africa to the river side forested forts of the Danubian provinces to the cold mountainous landscapes in the mists of Scotland. Sometimes, they did not manage to adapt, and it cost them their life in the process;<sup>2306</sup> this may have been the cause of the deaths of some of the soldiers in this research. The Roman soldier had a unique place in society when in relation to their place in the natural world: they were both deeply influenced by the natural world, their lives depended on it, yet they also destroyed it, by building their fortresses, armaments and artillery with wood and stone, and by bringing civilisation and urbanisation to previously untouched, or hardly touched, areas.

## 7.2. Earth

The first of the themes presented in this chapter links closely with the 'materiality of death' as discussed in Chapter 3, so much so that this should be considered an aspect of the materiality of death trope. However, it is discussed in detail here and not in Chapter 3 because it highlights the inherent link between land and someone's identity that is demonstrated throughout these inscriptions.

This is the 'birthland/deathland' theme. The most common format in which being born in one land and being buried in another is expressed, usually, with very similar language, one could almost say formulaic, even in these verse inscriptions. Although dying away from one's homeland is a common theme in Latin verse inscriptions generally,<sup>2307</sup> this is, arguably, more pertinent when examining its meaning in the verse inscriptions of the Roman military, where

<sup>2304</sup> See de la Bédoyère 2020: 176.

<sup>2305</sup> *Ibid.*: 123-139 (see this chapter of de la Bédoyère's book for how the Roman military physically affected their environment). See throughout Frontin. Strat.

<sup>2306</sup> See de la Bédoyère 2020: throughout, esp. examples such as 166.

<sup>2307</sup> See Redaelli 2018: 225. See also Hamdoune 2013.14; Gregori 2001.385.

this idea is expressed again and again, often in the same language. As these men were serving in the Roman military, there is also the implication that these lands were now owned by the Roman Empire,<sup>2308</sup> and these men served within their Empire, because they were now within the confines of the Empire. They may have been born in Dardania and died in Germany, for example, but both these lands were now part of the Roman Empire so, in a way, this made someone born in Dardania or Egypt Roman, and this distinction in origins between birth and death make little difference to whether this man should be considered a Dardanian or a Roman: Dardania was in the Empire, making anyone born there both a Dardanian and a Roman. That he died in Germany is also of no consequence: he still died, and was buried in, the Roman Empire. They were also soldiers, serving in the Roman military; it demonstrates the breadth of people recruited into the Roman military and where they originated from. The possession of a fraction of the soil of a country was symbolic to all nations as a sign of conquest and possession by another (military) power of lands through conquest (see Plin. Nat. 22.4.8). Of those soldiers who use the birthland/deathland formula, few came from Italy, therefore this is highly (linguistically) symbolic of the variety of lands that were conquered and engulfed by the Roman Empire through their military victories, as it is recognised that these soldiers of the Roman military were born elsewhere, and died elsewhere, all whilst remaining within the confines of the Roman Empire.

This discussion begins with a series of inscriptions that display similar language to express this idea. Cugusi also deems this a theme in verse inscriptions, and he lists the different variants of this theme: a) which is where place of birth and place of death/burial are directly stated, and juxtaposed, b) an expansion of a), the same idea but more detailed, including travels/displacements of the deceased that led the deceased to go from their place of birth to their place of death, c) elaborates on type b) about the trips taken and is primarily about these, rather than about the birthland/deathland, and d) which is where vague information is given only about the origin of the deceased, where their deathland is only implied through the presence, and location, of their epitaph, or vice versa, in which the place of birth is not mentioned and is, therefore, unknown.<sup>2309</sup> All these types can be seen in the verse inscriptions of the Roman military. Cugusi believed this formula is a part of the theme of the glorification of life also found in epitaphs,<sup>2310</sup> but, as shall be revealed below, this is not necessarily the case. He states this is a non-literary theme because it is based on indisputable facts: you cannot make up where someone was born and died, and all the stages in between.<sup>2311</sup> Out of the sixty two verse inscriptions he lists as examples of his categorisations of this theme, citing examples from the early Empire to Late Antiquity, fourteen are linked to the military,<sup>2312</sup> although his inclusion of some into this category is disputed.<sup>2313</sup> All these types are applicable to both military and civilian verse inscriptions, which is why this sub-theme of nature also correlates with the data and evidence in Chapter 3, and this ought to be borne in mind when considering this analysis.

The birthland/deathland formula seems Virgilian, for it often is used in the formula *land-reference to deceased-genuit*; ‘il riecheggiamento dell’epigramma sepolcrale attribuito a

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<sup>2308</sup> See Plin. Nat. 22.4.8.

<sup>2309</sup> Cugusi 1996: 200-217. See 200-214 for examples and analysis of this theme. See also discussion below.

<sup>2310</sup> *Ibid.*: 211.

<sup>2311</sup> *Ibid.*: 214.

<sup>2312</sup> Cugusi 2007: 201-211.

<sup>2313</sup> For example, **RI.13**, which is discussed in Chapter 5 above.

Virgilio (*Mantua me genuit ... tenet nunc / Parthenope* [Mantua bore me ... now Naples holds / me'])'.<sup>2314</sup> Although it is poetic, we see the formula of *place me genit, tenuit place*, here called the 'birthland/deathland formula', time and time again, and the inscriptions from this data set that present this formula are examined below. Some shall be examined in detail for their contribution to our understanding of the military, others mentioned, either because they are discussed in detail elsewhere or because they simply add to this sub-theme of the soldier and the natural world, and the materiality of death. This verse formula, one of the few phrases repeated so many times in epigraphic verse that it can be denoted as such, has a poetic balance, personalisation and individualisation in this poetically formulaic phrase, which may have become a verse epigraphic trope after it was set in stone by Virgil in his epitaph, the father of Roman epic and identity.

In these earth/land defining inscriptions, *tellus* is used to describe the land over *terra*, perhaps to create a distinction between this formula, which is a poetic one, and the more prosaic, although it has been used poetically, *STTL* formula, in which *terra* is used. This is seen in **ET.51**, although not in reference to the deceased's homeland, which contains so many epigraphic tropes that it has been primarily discussed in Chapter 3. This is an epitaph of a veteran's son, which is how he is identified before his place of origin: name, son of a veteran, *hic situs est. | Baetica me genuit tel<l>us, cupidus | Libuae cognoscere. (vac.) | / (vac.) cognoscere fines Caesar<e>ae | veni cupidus* ('[he] lies here. Baetican land bore me, [I went], keen to get to know [the borders] of Libya. / I went, keen to get to know the borders of Caesarea', **ET.51.2-3**), and it was found in Mauretania Caesariensis, therefore, *fines Caesar<e>ae* became the deathland of this veteran's son. It contains both this sentiment of birthplace vs. deathplace, and concludes with *sit t(ibi) t(erra) levis* (8). Cugusi categorises this as a type (b) of this type of inscription.<sup>2315</sup>

Epitaphs of soldiers highlight their mobility, caused by their military lifestyle, as seen, for example, in **ET.14** and **ET.42**. Niger, the soldier of the *Legio II Adiutrix*, was buried in Mogontiacum, Germania Superior, but we learn in his inscription that he was from Carcaso, Gallia Narbonensis. Gallia Narbonensis is an active agent of his trials (**ET.42.15**), and this is contrasted with, through implication as the first and last parts of this line are missing, given how the birthland-deathland formula works in these inscriptions, the land of Germania Superior buries his *artus ter|ra cinisqu(e)* ('my limbs to earth and ashes', 16). The *[f]un[us]* he faced in Gallia Narbonensis is contrasted, contradictorily, with the peace he seems to have obtained in death, under the earth of Germania Superior (16), as his limbs are now *cultos* ('protected'). Although this type of language is used to refer to a tomb, is also provides a contrast of protection against the danger he faced before he left Gallia Narbonensis. This inscription describes how *Hospes ades paucis et perlege ver|sibus acta. / aetern'u`m patriae hic | erit, ipsa domus, / hic erit inclusus tumu|lo, hic Iulius ipse, / hic{s} cinis ex caro cor|pore factus erit* ('here he will be in his homeland forever, in this house, / here he will be enclosed in a tomb, here will Julius himself be, / here also his ashes will have been made from his dear body', 4-6). In this way, by being buried in Mogontiacum, Niger has reclaimed this part of the land of Germania Superior as his homeland, away from his birthplace in Gallia Narbonensis. In contrast to other birthland-deathland inscriptions, where one's homeland is often contrasted

<sup>2314</sup> Cugusi 1996: 200, 213-217; Lettich 2003.100; Masaro 2017: 13; Redaelli 2018: 225, although this was observed independently of Lettich, Masaro, Redaelli and Cugusi.

<sup>2315</sup> Cugusi 1996: 206.



with the place they died, by being his cremation and burial site, his eternal resting place, Mogontiacum has become Niger's homeland. One cannot help but think of Robert Brooke's *The Soldier*, as quoted at the end of Chapter 3, in which a soldier reclaims a piece of French soil as a part of England because he has been buried there. By contrast, Niger, a soldier from Gallia Narbonensis, claims a piece of German soil as his own, under his re-founded identity of a soldier of Mogontiacum, and thus belongs in its land. It was over and under this land that his body was reformed into its eternal state after all: ashes and earth (16). Despite this, he never forgot his origins, no matter how much he wished to deny them and their painful memories (13-15).<sup>2316</sup>

In **RD.2**, Virginia is described as *matri e lon|ginquo adportatae et hic conditae* ('[for] a mother brought from a remote land, and buried here', 3). This inscription does not state what her birth land was; perhaps her husband did not know the name of it or she originated from outside the Empire. But we do know that she was buried in Germania Superior, as her place of burial is known and stated as *hic*, so it is contrasted with her far off, unknown, place of origin. This reveals information about the far less frequently discussed matter in these inscriptions of the movements of the people involved in the soldiers' families, for example the women they married and formed relationships with. It was not just the soldiers who moved great distances as a part of their military career and lifestyle, but also the women who joined them and lived with them in their military lives. How and why Virginia moved is now not known, but the two most plausible reasons could be that she was a prisoner of war and/or a slave, as she appears to have a slave name, bought by Marius Vitalis, probably to have a relationship with her, or she had known Vitalis beforehand, in the land where they both originated from, and she went with him when he joined the military.<sup>2317</sup> Regardless of the reason, however, of why she decided to move away from her own homeland, this itinerant way of life, therefore, appears to have been more likely for all those inhabiting the military sphere in the Roman world, and deeply affected all their lives.

**NW.1** deserves a more in-depth examination, as it has many points of interest to this overall study, not only its relevance to nature and the military. A considerable part of the military aspects of this inscription have already been discussed by Redaelli.<sup>2318</sup> This inscription is on an Aurisinian limestone funerary altar in Aquileia,<sup>2319</sup> dated to the second century AD, specifically AD 168-193,<sup>2320</sup> placing it between Marcus Aurelius' Marcomannic Wars and the beginning of the Severan dynasty.<sup>2321</sup> It was written in elegiacs,<sup>2322</sup> for Gaius Manlius Valerianus, a centurion in the Praetorian Guard (3-4),<sup>2323</sup> by one of his comrades, Sentilius. Sentilius describes himself as Valerianus' *frater*, which sometimes meant biological brother,

<sup>2316</sup> See also Cenati's comments on this inscription (2021), on <https://mappola.eu/index.php/2021/05/17/nobody-puts-the-mainzer-steinhalle-in-a-corner/>, last accessed 8/5/2024.

<sup>2317</sup> For more information on this inscription, and on the dynamics of soldiers' relationships in general, see Chapter 8.

<sup>2318</sup> Redaelli 2018: 223-245.

<sup>2319</sup> *CIL* V 923; *CLE* 1320; *ILS* 2671; LLDB-11816; Lupa 13588; EDCS-01600201; EDR144860; Keppie 2000: 60, who briefly mentions this epitaph; Lettich 2003.100. See also Chłodniak 1904.639; Masaro 2017: 13; Redaelli 2018: 223-224.

<sup>2320</sup> EDCS-01600201; Lupa 13588; EDR144860. See also LLDB-11816; see also Keppie 2000: 60; Lettich 2003.100; Redaelli 2018: 223. Masaro 2017: 13 presents the various options which have been suggested for the dating of this inscription. *CLE* dates it to the third to the fourth century AD, based on Mommsen, although it is unknown where this information came from, as Mommsen does not provide a date for it.

<sup>2321</sup> Masaro 2017: 13; Redaelli 2018: 223. See discussion below.

<sup>2322</sup> *CLE* 1320; <https://www.mqdg.it/texts/CE/ce1320>; EDR144860; Lettich 2003.100; Masaro 2017: 13. For some, it is specifically elegiac distichs.

<sup>2323</sup> See also Redaelli 2018: 223; Lupa 13588.

other times comrade.<sup>2324</sup> Here, it is interpreted that Sentilius was his comrade, given the language he uses in the poem; it is not the language of a family member,<sup>2325</sup> but that of a comrade, where his military career is emphasised and a little about his character, but nothing else. However, given the lack of other *nomina* presented for Sentilius, he could have been Valerianus' colleague and biological brother.<sup>2326</sup>

The lines of verse in **NW.1** were carefully laid out in accordance with the epigraphic field, breaking the line either exactly in the middle of the line (this is seen in the hexameter and pentameter lines) or where some linguistic/metrical aspect of the line demands (this is seen in the caesura on 2, a pentameter line, which literally creates a break in the metre). This further highlights that the layout of verse was as important to the ancients as it is now, that it was laid out in the way modern interpreters lay out their verse, and that verse inscriptions were often laid out specifically with the metre in mind, no matter the size and format of the actual epigraphic field; this was used to incorporate the layout of the metre. This appears to differ from the scansion of, for example, Masaro, who sees irregularities in the pentameter, and does not consider this, overall, elegiac pentameter.<sup>2327</sup> Redaelli also comments on the 'imperfection' of the metre in this inscription.<sup>2328</sup> However, verse inscriptions, more often than not, are modelled after the 'ideal' of metre now taught in schools, but, rather like modern poetry, epigraphic verse tends to break the 'set in stone' rules either considerably or inconsiderably. This creates a more fluid, realistic perception of poetry, how it was understood and used by the general populace; it was often experimented with for their own poetic device, rather than simply being faulty. Here, the set, recognised pattern of elegiac pentameter is broken, but this is partially to incorporate the structure of the text on the epigraphic field, as well as demonstrating the flexibility and individuality of verse, whilst still remaining within the constraints and recognisable patterns of Latin metre. This, however, does not make it incorrect or irregular.

If Valerianus had a family, we can suppose that they probably would have set up this monument for him, which is perhaps why we have no indication of his family in this inscription, nor any other personal relationships other than his *frater*, who was presumably also his friend, or maybe his biological brother, although this is less clear, who set this up for him (see also Chapter 8). This inscription begins with a description of his character and we are once again drawn towards Pliny's description of the attributes of a man that make him an ideal candidate for the post of a tribune, thus making Valerianus also an ideal military man. He is described as *iusti iu[dex] | laudator et aeq[ui]* ('the judge of the just, and praiser of the fair', **NW.1.1**), i.e. he was so good that he could pass judgement upon the just, as well as recognise the goodness in others, 'quindi rientra perfettamente nell'*humanitas romana*'.<sup>2329</sup> This has been constructed to balance out two pairs of synonyms, *iustus* and *aequus*, *iudex* and *laudator*,<sup>2330</sup> *iudex* and *laudator* in the centre, and *iustus* and *aequus* encompassing them. Redaelli suggests that *iudex* refers 'to judicial

<sup>2324</sup> See Chapter 8. See also Redaelli 2018: 228, who identifies a M. Sentilius Iasus, who could have been a relative of this Sentilius, who was seen as a witness in multiple military diplomas in the middle of the second century. However, this is impossible to prove.

<sup>2325</sup> As can be seen in Chapter 8 and various other familial inscriptions in this research.

<sup>2326</sup> See also Cholodniak 1904.639; Masaro 2017: 13.

<sup>2327</sup> Masaro 2017: 13, who gives details on how he deems the metrical presentation to be mistaken. See also Cholodniak 1904.639 and *CLE* 1320.

<sup>2328</sup> Redaelli 2018: 225.

<sup>2329</sup> *Ibid.*: 239. See also Chapter 8.

<sup>2330</sup> See alternative definitions of *laudator* in Lewis & Short 1945: 1042, particularly II.A. See also the definitions of *laudator* in *ThLL*: 1041.

functions that the centurion exercised during the military service'.<sup>2331</sup> Redaelli also identifies that this line was inspired by Horace.<sup>2332</sup> We are left wondering who wrote this inscription, but, given its personal nature, and understanding of Valerianus as both a person and as a soldier, it seems that someone close to him must have written it, or at least commissioned it, thus making it likely that Sentilius wrote it himself.

This is the only inscription in this data set that contains othering between barbarians and, therefore by implication, the Romans: Valerianus is described as *praetoriae fidus non | barbaricae legion[is]* ('he was loyal to the Praetorian Guard, not a barbarian legion', 4). What, exactly did this refer to? Redaelli gives a long discussion on the meaning and use of *barbaricus*, which meant anyone not Greek or Roman, those who brought civilisation.<sup>2333</sup> But, for the Romans, it also meant being insufficiently 'human' in a moral and philosophical sense, the opposite of civilised,<sup>2334</sup> i.e. making 'Romanness' the definition not only of civilisation, but also of humanity. With these qualities and definitions being incorporated into 'barbarism', a civilised Roman man could become a barbarian, a barbarian a civilised Roman man.<sup>2335</sup> Therefore, this would make this an inappropriate adjective for any aspect of the Roman military, regardless of their posting, particularly as the Roman military was the spreader of Roman poetic culture to those they considered 'barbarians'. In Marcus Aurelius' reign, the number of recruits of provincial origin increased in the Praetorian Guard, and *peregrini* were used at this time to fill the required number of men in the Praetorian Guard.<sup>2336</sup> According to Dio Cassius, under Marcus Aurelius, there were some legionaries who did not understand Latin, and Bassea Rufus, who was a Praetorian prefect, did not understand Latin either.<sup>2337</sup> Those who were recruited into the military from other provinces were still labelled as 'barbarians' in the literature, both contemporary and academic, and those Roman soldiers who adopted the dress and customs of the provinces into which they had been posted were regarded as carrying out barbaric practices.<sup>2338</sup> We only encounter this perception in this inscription, and none of the other ones in this data set, the closest we have to the military's own use of language and identity. As seen throughout this study, there are a wide variety of ethnicities in the Roman military expressed in these inscriptions, and not once are they referred to as 'barbarian' or regarded in any other way, either by themselves, their families or comrades, as anything other than Roman soldiers. So, what is the alternative for this reference to 'barbarian legions'?

Could this be a continuation of the perception Keppie understood from Tacitus, that the Praetorian Guards 'viewed themselves as the true Roman army'?<sup>2339</sup> That they were the true civilised soldier, one never tempted by the vices of barbarism, to which the legionary soldiers often succumbed, as the educated, literate elite disseminated?<sup>2340</sup> This seems to be the case. Valerianus and his comrade, Sentilius, were proud of not being in command in a far off legion, stuck in the provinces, and they both, for Sentilius as his *frater* also benefitted from this portrayal of the Praetorian Guard, were boasting of the prestige bestowed upon them by being

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<sup>2331</sup> Redaelli 2018: 223.

<sup>2332</sup> *Ibid.*: 225, also n. 5, Hor. Sat. 1.3.98.

<sup>2333</sup> Redaelli 2018: 230-238.

<sup>2334</sup> See *ibid.*: 235.

<sup>2335</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2336</sup> *Ibid.*: 234.

<sup>2337</sup> *Ibid.*; D.C 72.5.2.

<sup>2338</sup> See, for example, Redaelli 2018: 231-233.

<sup>2339</sup> Keppie 2000: 60, referring to Tac. hist. 2.21. See also Redaelli 2018: 237-239.

<sup>2340</sup> See Redaelli 2018: 237.

posted in this prestigious military unit, even more so for being in command in this elite force of the Empire. They were also boasting that they were native Italians, serving in the prestigious Praetorian Guard, wearing the armour that Caesar's famed legions wore.<sup>2341</sup> The use of *fidus* indicates that Valerianus had served in the Praetorian Guard for the entirety of his military career, and he had not been posted to the Praetorian Guard from the legions, as has been seen in many of these verse inscriptions as a promotion in a soldier's career. In the second century the Praetorian Guard wished to portray themselves as cultured and civilised, one of the civilians, not one of the far off legions, a perception, Redaelli informs us, is demonstrated in the epigraphic tradition;<sup>2342</sup> this inscription would certainly be amongst this collection.

At this time, those in the Praetorian Guard were either Italians or from Romanised provinces, from the elite parts of society.<sup>2343</sup> Perhaps such a division did not exist among the provincial recruits, who proudly proclaimed their provincial background and that they had been born in a foreign land, far from Italian soils, but, here, it seems that those who were still Italian in the Roman military, and in such a prestigious unit as the Praetorian Guard, were proud of their background and that there still remained native Italians serving in the Roman military.<sup>2344</sup> It seems as if, therefore, that this was an insult towards the legions in general, for being stuck in the provinces, in the 'barbarian' lands. Perhaps this is because they were away from the centre of civilisation, the heart of the Roman Empire, Rome, where the Praetorian Guard were stationed, or because they were stationed in the provinces, where they either became more provincial or were recruited from them. Given the lack of prejudice against those who were not from Italy but regarded themselves as part of the Roman military, and how they presented themselves as a part of it, but simply with a different origin, the former explanation seems the most likely. In contemporary literature, there are background rumblings of rivalries between units in the military, but this is backed up by little evidence and mostly glossed over. This is the only Latin military verse inscription to hint at any form of rivalry between units of the Roman military.

**NW.1** specifies that Valerianus was not in charge of a barbarian legion, which Lettich takes as ironic, for, at this time, the Praetorian Guard 'ormai costituite in prevalenza da elementi provinciali, romanizzati sempre più superficialmente'.<sup>2345</sup> Bücheler dates this to the third or fourth century because 'legionem XI Claudiam Mommsenus suspicatur in eaque Sarmatas militantes apud Aquileiam saeculo III aut IV' ('Mommsen suspected that this was the *Legio XI Claudia*, in which Samartians served at Aquileia in the third or fourth century'),<sup>2346</sup> because this is when they were waging war in Aquileia and were conscripted into this legion.<sup>2347</sup> This was impossible, for two reasons: the more widely accepted date of this inscription,<sup>2348</sup> and the fact that Septimius Severus, in AD 193, 'sciolsse le coorti pretorie e le ricostituì con uomini

<sup>2341</sup> Keppie 2000: 60, referring to Tac. Hist. 2.21.

<sup>2342</sup> Redaelli 2018: 237.

<sup>2343</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2344</sup> As seen in Chapter 2, this waned over the years.

<sup>2345</sup> Lettich 2003.100.

<sup>2346</sup> *CLE* 1320. See also Masaro 2017: 13, who highlights this when discussing the contentious date of this text, as does Redaelli (2018: 226, 240-241). See also Cugusi 1996: 202.

<sup>2347</sup> *CIL* V 923.

<sup>2348</sup> See also Masaro 2017: 13, who presents the various scholarly debates behind the dating of this text, as does Redaelli (2018: 226-227).

tratti dalle proprie legioni, l'origine etnica dei legionary e dei pretoriani era la medesima'.<sup>2349</sup> For Passerini, this inscription:<sup>2350</sup>

si colloca prima del III sec. d.C.; secondo quest'ultimo, esso deve ritenersi anteriore all'età severiana, perché, se così non fosse, non si spiegherebbe la contrapposizione tra le coorti pretorie e le legion barbare, giacché per entrambe nel III sec. d.C. si reclutavano uomini provenienti da tutto l'impero; precedentemente invece per il pretorio si preferivano truppe italiche, solo raramente provinciali, purché si trattasse di zone romanizzate e permeate di cultura rego-romana, di conseguenza i Romani percepivano la superiorità delle truppe così formate rispetto alle altre, ausiliarie e legionarie.

NW.1 has been dated to between Septimius Severus' reign and the Marcomannic Wars partly for the reasons presented above, and partly because, in the wars against the Quadi and the Marcomanni, there was such a crisis in numbers of fighting men that men from all aspects of society were recruited in a fit of desperation.<sup>2351</sup> This, Redaelli believed, explained 'questa espressione [*barbarica legio*] [,] pone il problema del rapporto tra le elitarie truppe della guarnigione di Roma e i legionari',<sup>2352</sup> and it offers an explanation as to why 'ha il merito di spiegare la presenza di un centurione pretoriano originario dell'Italia centrale ad Aquileia, cardine del sistema difensivo antibarbarico approntato da Marco Aurelio, e città nella quale sono state ritrovate molte iscrizioni di pretoriani e legionary deceduti in questa stessa epoca'.<sup>2353</sup>

If this could also not be a disdainful comment towards the composition of the legions, 'barbarian'/provincial recruits into the legions, could it be a disdainful remark towards the legions in general,<sup>2354</sup> therefore making it not specifically datable to the time between the Marcomannic Wars and Septimius Severus' reign? From Hadrian onwards, 'Italians were to be found only in the city-based military units, the Praetorian and Urban cohorts. Italy's contribution to the manpower of the Roman army was thus maintained at some 15,000 soldiers, equivalent to three legions'.<sup>2355</sup> Redaelli questions 'whether the message of the inscriptions, that is the superiority of the Praetorians over the Legionaries, could be shared with Aquileia's citizens',<sup>2356</sup> as those from his homeland may have also had this understanding. Sassina, in the north of Umbria,<sup>2357</sup> was known as 'un ottimo centro di reclutamento per le truppe di stanza nell'Urbe', and those who were recruited into the legions from Sarsina did not serve in the ranks, but as officers, so 'pochissimi di loro ebbero contatti con l'esercito legionario'.<sup>2358</sup>

Thus, by also stating his origins, Sentilius perpetuates this idea of Valerianus' home, and, we can only assume, the pride that came along with this military recruitment background, and the associations that people reading this inscription, if they knew it, would have had with it. Yet, this may be a redundant question, the rivalry only existing in the military. Today, there are

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<sup>2349</sup> Redaelli 2018: 226.

<sup>2350</sup> Masaro 2017: 13: 79-80. See also Redaelli 2018: 226-227. For more information on the Praetorian Guard, see Appendix 2.

<sup>2351</sup> Redaelli 2018: 227. See also Chapter 2.

<sup>2352</sup> Redaelli 2018: 224. See also 226.

<sup>2353</sup> *Ibid.*: 227-228.

<sup>2354</sup> See also *ibid.*: 229. This was observed independently of Redaelli.

<sup>2355</sup> Keppie 2000: 60.

<sup>2356</sup> Redaelli 2018: 223, 242.

<sup>2357</sup> Dalby 2017.

<sup>2358</sup> Redaelli 2018: 242.

specialised rivalries within every discipline, from military to academic; some are friendly teasing, some slightly harsher. It is recognised that the Praetorian Guard were sneered upon by the legions for living luxurious and comfortable lifestyles, with their higher pay and predominantly Rome based lifestyle, and yet not much is acknowledged about this distain going the other way, towards the legions from the Praetorians. Although, they were still dressed in what had probably come to be regarded as more archaic armour, with their oval shields and mail shirts, but this made the Praetorian Guard perceive ‘themselves as the true Roman army’.<sup>2359</sup> This indicates that, for some in antiquity, perhaps those only from Italy, the land where Rome itself resided, the term ‘Roman’ could only be applied to those at least born in Italy. Although, in practice, this understanding was not shared by others, including those provincial recruits who, it can be seen in the inscriptions presented here, considered themselves Roman, or at the very least members of the Roman military, and those in the legions were Roman citizens in the first and early second centuries AD.<sup>2360</sup>

After a description of Valerianus’ characteristics, where he was born and where he was buried are given, in the same way as Virgil’s supposed epitaph was written:<sup>2361</sup> *Sassina quem genuit | nunc Aquileia tenet* (‘Sassina begat him, now Aquileia holds him’, **NW.1.2**). For Cugusi, this is classified as a type (a) of this birthland/deathland formula.<sup>2362</sup> Aquileia was different to Valerianus’ birth place, described as ‘fu base arretrata degli eserciti romani nelle loro azioni nell’Illirico e sul Danubio, sprattutto in età augustea e di nuovo a partire dall’età antonina’.<sup>2363</sup> Redaelli recognises the public nature of these monuments, and how they must have had an impact on their reader, both visually and linguistically, sometimes favourably, sometimes not.<sup>2364</sup> He expresses that the description of Valerianus, and his colleague, being superior over the legions because they were in the Praetorian Guard, as opposed to the ‘barbaric legions’ who served their community and composed a part of their community’s elite, and who were Roman citizens, would probably not have been seen favourably by the inhabitants of Aquileia.<sup>2365</sup>

The seventh Praetorian cohort fought in the Danubian wars in Marcus Aurelius’ reign,<sup>2366</sup> which may be why Valerianus was buried in Aquileia. For Keppie, Valerianus was ‘an ex-soldier’,<sup>2367</sup> although his epitaph gives no indication that he was a *veteranus* when he died. Perhaps this is taking Keppie too literally, but it does appear that Valerianus was still on active service when he died. Although, as Redaelli indicates, centurions did not often indicate when they were veterans in their inscriptions,<sup>2368</sup> presumably because of the prestige of the role of *centurio*; as can be seen in the inscriptions presented in the data set of this study, those who are *veteranus* seldom indicate what their rank(s) was(were) in the military, if indeed they succeeded beyond that of *miles*. Redaelli identifies how the qualities for which Valerianus are praised correlate with those of an ideal Roman soldier, and centurion: he was *fidus* and a judge.<sup>2369</sup> Was he *fidus* because he was loyal in his service to the Praetorian Guard, or was he

<sup>2359</sup> Keppie 2000: 60, referring to Tac. Hist. 2.21. Redaelli 2018: 229 also refers to the mockery between the Praetorian Guard and the legionaries in this episode.

<sup>2360</sup> Redaelli 2018: 229.

<sup>2361</sup> See Lettich 2003.100. See also above; see also Choldniak 1904.639; Masaro 2017: 13; Redaelli 2018: 225.

<sup>2362</sup> Cugusi 1996: 202.

<sup>2363</sup> Redaelli 2018: 242.

<sup>2364</sup> *Ibid.*: 245-246.

<sup>2365</sup> *Ibid.*: 246.

<sup>2366</sup> *Ibid.*: 241.

<sup>2367</sup> Keppie 2000: 60.

<sup>2368</sup> Redaelli 2018: 228.

<sup>2369</sup> *Ibid.*: 225.

*fidus* because the Praetorian Guard were especially loyal to the Emperor, and the Emperor was reliant, and loyal, to them, especially if he wished to retain his position as Emperor? Centurions had the dual role in the Roman provinces of having not only a military role, but also acting as judges and enforcers of the law for both the military and civilians like,<sup>2370</sup> and it appears that Valerianus carried out this aspect of the centurion's role during his service in the military.<sup>2371</sup> Perhaps he was *fidus* because of his consistent service in the Praetorian Guard: *praetoriae fidus non | barbaricae legion[is]* ('he was loyal to the Praetorian Guard, not a barbarian legion', 4) implies he had spent the entirety of his service in the Praetorian Guard, and that he had not been selected from the legions, as seen in other inscriptions in this study.

**NW.2** is a part of this series, in which the career of a soldier is described before his place of birth and burial. Cugusi classifies this as a type (a) in this theme.<sup>2372</sup> This hexameter inscription was found in a mountain, placed in front of the temple of the divine Albanus in Mogontiacum, Germania Superior (now Mainz),<sup>2373</sup> where there are many other epitaphs, according to the editors of the *CIL*,<sup>2374</sup> although this inscription itself no longer exists.<sup>2375</sup> It was decorated at the top with the soldier dressed in a tunic and *sagatus*, a soldier's cloak,<sup>2376</sup> holding a centurion's *vitis* in his left hand and a *virga* in his right hand,<sup>2377</sup> which the inscription may have once referred to but its fragmentary state means that this cannot be confirmed (5). The *vitis* and the *virga* were both symbols of the centurion in the Roman military.<sup>2378</sup> The *vitis* was a staff made from vines, the *virga* a rod,<sup>2379</sup> and they were intricately interwoven into the pictorial representations of (authoritative, often with military connotations/associations) power: the *vitis* was associated with the power the centurion had, and in 'the *fascēs* ... was an axe bound with *virgae/rods*'.<sup>2380</sup> They were used for punishing those they commanded, Fink describing the *vitis* as 'the vine-staff which was the centurion's badge of office and which, as the symbol of his own power to inflict corporal punishment, must also have belonged to a decurion, whose rank was the equivalent of the centurion's',<sup>2381</sup> yet it was used to dignify a centurion's status, both visually and linguistically, when referred to in the body of Latin verse inscriptions.

The *beneficiarii* carried a similar instrument, 'the *fustis* "nightstick" [which was] sometimes depicted on gravestones (including in Greece) being held in the right hand of Roman officers (*beneficiarii*) on detached service with the left hand holding a bundle of wax tablets'.<sup>2382</sup> This *fustis* has a similar description to that of the *virga*,<sup>2383</sup> and perhaps this was depicted on **NW.2**,

<sup>2370</sup> Redaelli 2018: 225-226.

<sup>2371</sup> *Ibid.*: 226, who develops the idea of Valerianus being a *iudex* further concerning possible postings, but his conjecture cannot be proven based on the information presented in this inscription alone.

<sup>2372</sup> Cugusi 1996: 201.

<sup>2373</sup> Lupa 15771; EDCS-11000872.

<sup>2374</sup> *CIL* XIII 6823. See also Lupa 15771; EDCS-11000872; *CLE* 407.

<sup>2375</sup> *CLE* 407. See also Lupa 15771.

<sup>2376</sup> Kidd 1957: 190.

<sup>2377</sup> *CIL* XIII 6823; Lupa 15771; *CLE* 407; see also drawing on EDCS-11000872. See discussion on **NW.6** for the *vitis* being an identifier of the centurion, as well as discussion on **NW.4**.

<sup>2378</sup> See discussion below. See also Grayflow 2020: 72, and n. 393. Until Late Antiquity, when Vegetius states that the centurion was identified by his crest, although this was in battle, which would have been easier to spot than a *vitis*, so this may have been the case, that the centurion was recognisable by his *transvestus crestis* in battle, his *vitis* in peacetime/off-duty (Veg. Mil. 2.13.4-6, 2.16.3).

<sup>2379</sup> Logan 2019: 159; Huttunen 2020: 223.

<sup>2380</sup> Logan 2019: 159.

<sup>2381</sup> Fink 1942: 66.

<sup>2382</sup> Silver 2016: 219.

<sup>2383</sup> *Ibid.*

rather than a *virga*, as conjectured by the editors of the *CIL*. By law, the *virga* was not supposed to be used on a citizen,<sup>2384</sup> although this did present a problem: the *vitis* and the *virga* were used to exact punishments on those within the Roman legions, who were manned by Roman citizens, therefore, to be punished in such a manner, ‘would, in theory, be the height of insult and *iniuria*’, as only slaves could be punished by being beaten.<sup>2385</sup> But Logan offers a solution to this problem, and, at the same time, creating another facet in the portrayal of the individual vs. the collective in the Roman military.<sup>2386</sup>

The *virga*/rod and *vitis*/vine were not used indiscriminately in the legions. When a unit was deemed to have displayed cowardice and/or insubordination it was not normally the most craven or rebellious who were sought out for punishment/decimation..., the recipients of the beatings or death were chosen by lots. On the one hand, the collective nature of the discipline points to the legions as being understood as a faceless mass, which undermined the individual *dignitas* of each soldier. On the other hand, it also suggests that because the punishment was not personal it could have been deemed as less humiliating, as no one soldier was purposely singled out for the *opprobrium*. The *dignitas* of the entire cohort stood in for the *dignitas* of each individual soldier. Rather than gathering *opprobrium* for being beaten with the *vitis*, the ritual discipline – meted out only by the Centurion and only with the *vitis* – the beating of one body symbolically expiated the fault/*culpa* or *contumelia* of the entire unit. It was intended to remove insult, not to offer it. The “who, whom, where, how, and with what implement” changed the meaning of physical discipline.

This meant that ‘the free soldier’s body was subject to discipline under enlistment that would in any other situation be *delict*’.<sup>2387</sup> Beating with a *virga* was a part of Roman schooling as a discipline tactic.<sup>2388</sup> That such a punishment could be given by a centurion and a schoolmaster is indicative of both of their roles: they were not only teachers, trainers, but disciplinarians too, with ultimate power over the situation they were in command of, as can be seen in the attitude of the centurion of the *Legio III Augusta* in the early third century (see **AI.3.2**). The *vitis* especially was seen as the symbol of the centurion, and was often used in Latin verse inscriptions to indicate that someone held the rank of *centurio*, without explicitly stating their rank (see **NW.3**). But it is also indicative of the perception of those under them, be they a soldier or a school pupil: they were lesser, and, in the case of the Roman legionary, part of a wider group, where their actions had consequences on not only themselves but everyone else in their legion. Surely this would have had an effect on managing and creating a sense of unity and cohesion amongst the ranks, when everyone was not only responsible for keeping everyone else safe and alive in battle, but also when they were off the battlefield.

**NW.2** is an epitaph of a soldier who served in the *Legio VII Claudia*,<sup>2389</sup> who was especially selected (*lectus*, 11) for the Praetorian Guard. His career progression is listed in an odd order, but we can reconstruct it as: he first served in the *Legio VII Claudia* and was selected to serve

<sup>2384</sup> Logan 2019: 159; Greyflow 2020: 72.

<sup>2385</sup> Logan 2019: 159. See also Chapter 8.

<sup>2386</sup> Logan 2019: 159. See also Frontin. Strat. 4.1.20 for association between using the *vitis* as punishment in the army, and slavery. See also Frontin. Strat. 4.1.30-31 for a *vitis* being used as punishment in the army; it is clear in these instances that being punished by the *vitis* was a form a degradation. This was under the heading ‘Discipline’ in Frontinus (Frontin. Strat. 4.1).

<sup>2387</sup> Logan 2019: 160.

<sup>2388</sup> See *ibid*.

<sup>2389</sup> See Appendix 2 for information on this legion.



in the Praetorian Guard because he had *prob'atus hic in leg(ione) VII Cl[audia]* ('having proven himself in the *Legio VII Claudia*', 3-4). Then the order of events appears to reverse: he served as a *beneficiarius praefectorum* in the *Legio VII Claudia* and then as a centurion in the Praetorian Guard, after which he was promoted to equestrian status (*factus eq(ues) promot[us (centurio)] | ex b(ene)f(iciario) praefectoru[m]*, 4-5). Domaszewski stated he had been promoted to a centurion and was subsequently made an *eques*, according to one interpretation of lines 11-15 by the editors of the *CIL*,<sup>2390</sup> although the fragmentary nature of the now no longer existing inscription makes ascertaining this difficult,<sup>2391</sup> it is not impossible, for he was depicted with the *vitis* and achieved equestrian status: the former was the visual signifier of the centurion and the latter indicates that he served as a *primus pilus*.<sup>2392</sup> That he had achieved equestrian status suggests that he had finished his term of service as a centurion, although the language in this inscription implies that he died whilst on active service when in the Praetorian Guard, so perhaps he was just about to be promoted.

The soldier in **NW.2** was from Scupi/Skopje in Moesia Superior, so this would make his recruitment into the Praetorian Guard, despite not being of Italian origin, surprising, and emphasises the extraordinary nature of his conduct and service in the *Legio VII Claudia*. The rank this soldier held when he was in the *Legio VII Claudia* was either not given or has been lost. If it is the latter option, this is perhaps why he is described in such proud language by his cousin and heir, Valens: because he started off with a humble rank, a *miles* in the *Legio VII Claudia*, and was of provincial birth, and yet, he was especially selected to serve in the Praetorian Guard and prospered further when he was given equestrian status after his promotion from a centurion. It was rare that a legionary should be transferred to the Praetorian Guard, especially, at this time, one who was not of Italian origin,<sup>2393</sup> thus making this statement impressive, and the author of this poem was aware of this.

Bücheler dates **NW.2** to the late first century AD,<sup>2394</sup> and there are multiple pieces of evidence to support this. The *Legio VII Claudia* served in Moesia in the Flavians' reign and in Moesia Superior after the Dacian Wars until at least the end of the time period examined in this study.<sup>2395</sup> So this soldier could have been locally recruited into this legion in the second to third centuries AD. But why was he buried in Mogontiacum, in Germania Superior? Mogontiacum itself was a military base, but the *Legio VII Claudia* had not served here. With this, we can conjecture that he had retired from the Praetorian Guard and, for some reason, had moved to a *colonus* in Germania Superior. This epitaph was found in a mountain in Mogontiacum. Of the legions mentioned in these inscriptions, the *Legio I Adiutrix* (Flavian period), the *Legio IV Macedonica* (AD 43-69), the *Legio XIV Gemina* (AD 9-43 and AD 70-92), and the *Legio XXII Primigenia Pia Fidelis* (c. AD 43 and AD 92/93) were stationed in Mogontiacum.<sup>2396</sup> Perhaps, then, this now unnamed soldier decided to move to Germania Superior when he retired and live near his cousin, who served in one of the legions that composed the garrison in Mogontiacum. However, this is conjecture, and cannot be proven. But **NW.2** does demonstrate the transitory nature of those in the ranks of the Roman military, both during and after their service, for this soldier originated from Moesia Superior, served in a legion that was garrisoned in the Balkans,

<sup>2390</sup> See *CIL* XIII 6823. See also Lupa 15771.

<sup>2391</sup> See *CLE* 407.

<sup>2392</sup> See Appendix 4.

<sup>2393</sup> See discussion on **NW.3** above.

<sup>2394</sup> *CLE* 407.

<sup>2395</sup> See Appendix 3.

<sup>2396</sup> See Appendix 3.

Dalmatia, and Moesia Superior, with a temporary posting in Italy in AD 69, served in the Praetorian Guard which was stationed in Rome, and who died and was buried in Germania Superior. It is tempting to see something in the connection to Italy in his service: the *Legio VII Claudia*, when it was posted to Moesia Superior, was temporarily posted to Italy in the Year of the Four Emperors, and the Praetorian Guard was garrisoned in Rome. Did this soldier prove himself in the civil wars of AD 69, and thus earn his place in the Praetorian Guard through his conduct and loyalty to Vespasian, the victorious emperor at the end of this year of civil strife? It is certainly tempting, but impossible to prove.

Given Valens' relationship to this soldier, it is likely that he knew this personal information about him, and that, as his relative, he wished to express not only his pride in his career, but also his pride in his native origins. Two important facts now exist about this unknown soldier, as deemed necessary to state on his epitaph by his cousin: his military career, which is more embellished with proud language and language obviously meant to impress the reader than the prose section of other military verse inscriptions in which someone's military career is described (*lectus, promotus*, etc.), and his native origins, which are depicted in verse, and stated twice. Once again, we see someone's birth and death defined poetically by the land, not by the people around them at the time: *Natus provincia M[oe]|sia Superiore, reg[io]|ne Scupi n'at'(ione). / Da(r)dan[ia] | me genuit, tenuit G[erma]|nia colonum* ('I was born in the province of Moesia Superior, originating from the region of Scupi. / Dardania begat me, a German *colonus* held me', **NW.2.6-7**). This epitaph uses the same formula seen in this sub-theme of both the soldier and the natural world and the materiality of death, but also develops on it, as it gives more specific details about his place of birth than his place of death. That this epitaph was set up in a mountain in a temple for a deity is also telling, giving these epitaphs a religious connotation. Perhaps it was placed here with other inscriptions because they were inspired by the Albanus mons, just outside Rome, where there was a sanctuary to Jupiter Latiaris, where 'at least five Roman generals celebrated ovations after being refused regular triumphs in Rome', such as Marcus Claudius Marcellus in 211 BC.<sup>2397</sup> Perhaps, therefore, mountains seen as the land of the god Albanus had connotations of military victory and triumph, which can be seen here, albeit on a smaller, personal scale.

**ET.3** contains this theme; it is discussed more in Chapter 3, but it is worth mentioning here, as it highlights the connection between this sub-theme of nature and materiality of death (6), both of which are considered epigraphic tropes in this study. As an epitaph of a *miles* from *Legio VIII* by his *frater* dated to the early first century AD,<sup>2398</sup> presumably his comrade in this context, **ET.3** contains many other epigraphic tropes, such as contemplating the deceased's tomb and learning from it, and learning about the personality of the deceased (4-5). This reiterates the pattern seen in the verse inscriptions in this research: that multiple epigraphic tropes appear in one epitaph. Its birthland/deathland theme has been identified as type (a) by Cugusi.<sup>2399</sup> Here, it appears in the familiar motif, but with a slight modification: *natus | sum C'o'n'a'nis, conditu(s) [i]n Illurico* ('I was born in Conona, I was buried in Illyricum', 7). Conaneon was a *civitas* in Pisidia, Asia Minor.<sup>2400</sup> He specifies the town he was born in, but vaguely denotes the province in which he died, presumably in which he served, as *Legio VIII* was posted at

<sup>2397</sup> See, for example, Salmon & Ridgway 2012.

<sup>2398</sup> See discussion in Chapter 3.

<sup>2399</sup> Cugusi 1996: 203.

<sup>2400</sup> *CLE* 77; Cugusi 1996: 203; Mitchell 2012: 1151.

various points around Illyricum during its career in the Early Principate, until the Flavians;<sup>2401</sup> this inscription was found in Tilurium, Dalmatia. His references to his body and bones indicate he was buried, not cremated, and his epitaph guarded these remains, which was the more common practice at the time, far away from his home, but remembered by his living comrade.

A similar, but slightly differently phrased, nuanced aspect of this theme is someone being ‘created’ by the land, and then subsequently buried in another one.<sup>2402</sup> This is seen in **LL.7**, where the *equus singularis* Ulpian Quintianus is described as *Pannonia terra | creat, tumulat Italia tellus* (‘The land of Pannonia created him, the earth of Italy buries him’, 3-4) by his comrades, fellow *equites singulares*. In all variations of this theme, both the act of giving birth and the act of burying were stated by the land, and it was the land that affected these states. This is how the deceased was chosen to be identified for all those passing by and reading these inscriptions, and they followed the same pattern as the inscriptions above: land of origin first, said to have ‘created’ the person, followed by the land where they were buried, and presumably died in, thus giving them two identities by land: origin and death. This presents us with vital information about the movements of military men and their families, even if it does not present us with every location to which they travelled, we at least have a start and end point for their lives and careers. In this theme, the land is the active agent, the one who does the creating and burying, not the person, who was born and died. In this theme, the individual is a passive agent, governed by fate and the land, both of which were governed by nature and time.

With almost identical wording to the conclusion of **LL.6**,<sup>2403</sup> **RD.9** uses a similar phrase to the formula seen above. This inscription was also found in Rome, as **LL.6** was, although exactly where is unknown.<sup>2404</sup> It is an epitaph to the wife of a veteran of the *equites singulares Augusti* (14), written on a marble tablet.<sup>2405</sup> **LL.6** was also by a member of the *equites singulares Augusti*, and contains the birthland/deathland theme. Adams explores the reasons for the similarities between **RD.9**, **LL.6** and **LL.7**:<sup>2406</sup>

A superficial explanation of these similarities might be that various composers had drawn on epigraphic poems which had been seen about Rome. But with the publication of Speidel’s book ... it has now become apparent that all three poems bear the names of men linked with the *equites singulares Augusti*... They are more the *poems* in the large corpus of inscriptions of the *equites*. It is highly likely that all were the work of an incompetent poet who had some sort of connection with the unit. It is possible in places to observe an attempt to reuse lines in a different context.

Perhaps the ‘incompetent poet’ was one of the *equites singulares Augusti* themselves or it could have been a stone cutter based near them:<sup>2407</sup>

Those associated with the three poems are in a number of cases outsiders to Rome and not necessarily first-language speakers of Latin (Pannonian and German dedicatees, and a Thracian dedicatory; it is of course also likely that the families of the Pannonian

<sup>2401</sup> Hardy 1887: 629-631, 634-636; Campbell 2012d: 817. See also Appendix 2 for more information on this legion.

<sup>2402</sup> This is categorised as a type (a) of the birthland/deathland formula by Cugusi (1996: 202).

<sup>2403</sup> The similarities between the two have also been noted, for example Cholodniak 1904.60; *CLE* 476; *CIL* VI 3452; Adams 1999: 129-130. See also Chapter 4.

<sup>2404</sup> EDR165001. See also Cholodniak 1904.60.

<sup>2405</sup> *CIL* VI 3452; EDR165001.

<sup>2406</sup> Adams 1999: 130.

<sup>2407</sup> *Ibid.*

and German were outsiders). It seems a fair guess that the commissioners of the texts went to the same composer. Their acceptance of the epitaphs betrays a low cultural level on their part, but, despite that, at least an aspiration to have their relatives commemorated in Latin verse. There was presumably a connection between their places of origin and the quality of the poems they accepted. What these various poems (and others...) seem to reveal is a certain influence of the Roman army in inspiring cultural aspirations in its officers.

Alternatively, one could have been the inspiration for the others, one of the composers of the other poems deciding that they liked the initial poem and wanted to recreate it for their own inscription. However, given the similar dates given for these inscriptions, it seems likely that they were composed by the same person/people. According to Adams, **LL.6**, the inscription of Valens, is a 'notable case[s]' of 'the culture of some seem[ing] to have inspired aspirations in other, more marginal figures, outsiders to the centres of culture who lacked the full literary education',<sup>2408</sup> but he provides no further insight into which inscription inspired the others, or how they were inspired in the first place, primarily because this is an impossible conjecture to formulate. These ideas are also discussed in Chapter 4, where **LL.6** and **LL.7** are mainly discussed.

## RD.9

*D(is) M(anibus).* |

*H'i`c sita est (vac.) Paterna post annos VIII et XX |  
sanctae casta fide (vac.) post pignora certa. (vac.) |  
gnatum memoriae statuit haec prima | cubil`e`.  
coniugis (vac.) obsequio, (vac.) meruit (vac.) | in munere functae (vac.) sep{h}ulc(h)rum  
(vac.) | dignum pro meritis a coniuge amante{m}, |  
perciperet titulum suo nomine testans. |  
me Germana creat tellus (vac.) m`i`seram, |  
qu`a`m nunc hic (vac.) Fabia terra (vac.) tegit. (vac.) |  
nunc rogo, si colitis Manes, cuncti | meo nomini tantum  
terra(m) leve(m) optetis. | vobis nunc dii fortuna beata{m} (vac.) |  
et semper ho<no>rata{m} (vac.) praestent (vac.) | suo numine (vac.) sancto libentes (vac.) |  
ex qua possitis obiti bene linquere natos.*

*M(arcus) Aurel(ius) Diascentus vet(eranus) Aug(usti) n(ostri) | cum M(arco) Aur(elio)  
Antiochiano fil(io) coniu|gi inco`m`parabili b(ene) m(erenti) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt). |*

## LL.6

*D(is) M(anibus).* |

*Perlege cuncta, precor, cultor, pietate parentis | (vac.) |  
cum simul et matre, quod nobis inane sepulch[rum] |  
fecerunt, quanto in munere positum vide(s). |  
quod, si fata mihi dedissent luce(m) videre, |  
ista prius ipsis facerem, non ut poscerem vi[tam], |*

<sup>2408</sup> Adams 1999: 134.

*munus inane quidem. terra nunc dividit ist[a] |  
 corpora nostra, nimis graviter parva advers[us] | vota parentum.  
 quod peto, si colitis Mane[s], | cuncti meo nomini semper  
 hac mihi terr[a]| leve optetis. vobis dii Fortuna beata |  
 et semper honorata{m} pr(a)estent, suo numin[e]| sancto,  
 ex qua possitis obiti bene linquere n[atos]. |*

*Iul(ius) Valens (centurio) leg(ionis) cum Vital(ia) Servanda | coniug(e) parentes fil(io)  
 dulc(issimo) b(ene) m(erenti) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt). |*

## LL.7

*Respice, praeteriens viator consobrini | pietate parata.  
 cum lacrimis statui, quan|to in munere posto videtis.  
 Pannonia terra | creat, tumulat Italia tellus  
 ann(is) XXVI. ut sibi | castris honorem a`d`quireret ipse,  
 dolori ma[g]|no sustentavit tempore longo.  
 postea, cum | sperans dolorem effugisse nefandam,  
 ante | diem meritum hunc demersit at Styga Pluton. |  
 quotsi Fata eo sinuissent luce(m) videre, (vac.) |  
 ista prius triste munus posui dolori, repletus |  
 munus inane quidem. terra nunc dividit ista |  
 oss{u}a sub titulo potius. tu opta viator  
 cum pie|tate tua ipso terra leve nobis Fortuna beata, |  
 ex qua tu possis obitus bene linquere natos. |*

*Val(erius) Antoninus et Aur(elius) Victorinus hered(es) | Ulpio Quintiano eq(uiti) sing(ulari)  
 ben(e) mer(enti) posuer(unt). |*

**RD.9** was composed of twelve lines of dactylic hexameter.<sup>2409</sup> As can be seen by the line divisions, this verse inscription also demonstrates the varying levels and skills that these soldiers, and/or those who composed these poems for them and their families, and the importance, or in this case not, of the format of verse poem when considering the layout of the poem in the epigraphic field. Here, there is no obvious, purposeful correlation between the metre and the format of the verse on the stone.

This inscription was dedicated not only by the husband of Paterna, who was the *veteranus* of the *equites singulares*, but also by their son. Diascentus, or one of his ancestors, but, judging by his *cognomen* it was most likely Diascentus himself, was became a Roman citizen under Marcus Aurelius, hence his *praenomen* and *nomen*, which his son, who also has a Greek name, inherited. Diascentus' non-Latin origins, or at least those of whoever carved this inscription, which is almost impossible to ascertain, are evident through the spelling mistakes in this inscription, as well as the metrical errors. It is interesting that this inscription bares such similarities to **LL.6**, by another *equites singulares*, but he was a *centurio*, not a *veteranus*. As centurions did not often indicate their status as veterans on their epitaphs, we can perhaps conjecture that centurions were seen as superior to veterans in rank, and that those who were reading their inscriptions, i.e. the general public as well as other military men, would have

<sup>2409</sup> See also EDR165001; <http://www.mqdg.it/texts/CE/ce0476>; CIL VI 3452 discusses the irregularity and inconsistency of the verse in more detail. Irregularity of metre touched briefly upon by Cholodniak 1904.60.

understood this. This may be why no higher rank than *veteranus* tends to be highlighted on a veteran's tombstone: because, during their time in the military, this was the highest rank they attained, whereas those with higher ranks tended to state those ranks, rather than the position of whether they were *veterani* or not. So, we can perhaps conjecture that Diascentus reached a rank no higher than *centurio* in his time in the *equites singulares*. Speidel calls Valens an outlier because he 'ist einer der wenigen Reiter mit Familie',<sup>2410</sup> as did Diascentus.

Yet, as **RD.9** has been dated to the second century AD,<sup>2411</sup> **LL.6** to the third, we can conjecture that the author of **LL.6**, thought to be by Julius Valens the centurion himself, was inspired by this inscription for its conclusion. Julius Valens had close connections with veterans and serving members of the *equites singulares Augusti* in the late second to early third centuries, for a while before he joined them, so perhaps he had seen Diascentus' inscription before he composed/commissioned his own. Diascentus, at the very least, commissioned this inscription. Given the almost repeated verbatim concluding lines of verse in this inscription and **LL.6** (*nunc rogo to linquere natos*, 8-12; *quod peto to linquere n[atos]*, 9-13), one of the following conclusions may be correct, although, other solutions that are no longer clear could be the answer: Valens saw Diascentus' inscription and liked the concluding lines and, whilst he composed the prior, more personalised lines for his son, he decided to use the same concluding lines as this inscription for the verse epitaph he commissioned for his son; they both went to the same workshop/stonecutter or someone who worked under the original stonecutter and, although they commissioned deeply personal epitaphs for their loved ones, they decided to have this set conclusion on their relative's epitaph; or they both 'ordered' partially pre-written epitaphs, but with an empty space on top to allow for a more personalised inscription to be written above the general concluding message, which contains three of the main epigraphic tropes found in prose and verse inscriptions (asking for the earth to lie light on the deceased, fortune, and being able to leave one's children willingly, i.e. outliving one's children).<sup>2412</sup> Yet, the personal information regarding the deceased in each of these inscriptions indicates that those who commissioned these inscriptions, i.e. the soldiers, at least contributed to their contents.

This is not the only sentiment, however, that these inscriptions share, and, although expressed differently, one cannot help but think that **RD.9** inspired the messages conveyed in **LL.6**. A key piece of imagery both share is the tomb within which their loved one is buried is a gift, a *munus*, for the deceased. Another key sentiment is earth imagery. In **RD.9**, this sentiment is expressed in similar terms to the above inscriptions: *me Germana creat tellus* (vac.) *m'i'seram*, | / *qu'a'm nunc hic* (vac.) *Fabia terra* (vac.) *tegit* ('German land created me, she whom, / wretched, Fabian land now buries here', 7-8). In **LL.6**, *terra nunc dividit ist[a]* | / *corpora nostra*, *nimis graviter parva advers[us]* ('Now the land separates our / bodies, more gravely against the insignificant prayers of my father', 7-8). Cugusi categorises **RD.9** as a type (a); **LL.6** does not feature in his examples of this theme.<sup>2413</sup> In **RD.9**, the sentiment of being buried away from one's birthplace is common, not only amongst soldiers, but also amongst civilians, for, although this was an inscription by a soldier for his wife, his wife died away from home. It further personifies the land which *creat* Paterna, for it is described as *m'i'seram*, presumably just as wretched, in mourning, as her husband and son were at losing their wife and mother. It

<sup>2410</sup> Speidel 1994b: 424 nr. 760. See also Chapter 8 for discussion on the families of Roman soldiers.

<sup>2411</sup> See, for example, EDR165001.

<sup>2412</sup> See the discussion in Chapter 3.

<sup>2413</sup> Cugusi 1996: 202.

was theorised by Mommsen that *Fabia terra* refers to the city of Rome itself,<sup>2414</sup> or it referred to the Quirinal hill, as Bücheler thought,<sup>2415</sup> where this inscription is now kept.<sup>2416</sup> In **LL.6**, again, the land is personified, carrying out the actions: the land creates and the land buries. These are not actions of humanity but of nature, thus perpetuating that imagery of birth and death as being inevitable finalities (see Chapter 3). Their bodies are returned to the earth that birthed them, to support the following generations of people.

These inscriptions demonstrate that the idea of being born in one place, and dying, and therefore having their body preserved, far away from their home was important not only to soldiers but also to civilians. It indicates the itinerant nature of civilian life, in a world where economic migration was common, but especially in a world where military men married whilst on active service and took their families with them when they were posted elsewhere, where travelling around was a key component of the military way of life, as the establishment of permanent forts and local recruiting occurred later. Paterna's name indicates she was not from a Roman citizen family, not just her Germanic origins; perhaps she was once a slave, maybe even a spoil of war. Valens' wife's name, Vitalia Servanda, indicates she was of servile origin. This theme indicates how someone's origins was important to them, no matter who they were, and no matter where they went, they were thinking of home, celebrating their origins, and hoping that home was thinking of them. Due to the nature of the Roman world and how it operated, be it either through slavery or the military or trade, these people lived itinerant lives and inscriptions such as these indicate the impact this had on their lives and how they were still thinking of home, even when they were buried hundreds of miles away.

**NW.3** exhibits a twist on this formula, where the birthland and the deathland are different, but the birthland and the 'burialland' are the same. It is a short epitaph to a soldier of African origin called Julius Ingenuus, who held the ranks of *speculator*, *cornicularius* and centurion respectively, presumably by his wife, given the personal information and touches within the inscription. Cugusi categorises this as a type (d) of this formula, which it partially fulfils,<sup>2417</sup> but it is rather unique for this theme. It is a hexameter inscription,<sup>2418</sup> and it was found in Chusira, Africa Proconsularis.<sup>2419</sup> It is unusual in many respects, but most notably for its lack of prose explanation of this soldier's military career and information about the dedicator, which is instead contained within the verse.<sup>2420</sup>

### NW.3

*Iulius Ingenu(u)s obiit in Gallia morte. |*  
*coniunx patriae gremio mandat Virula corpus. |*  
*Germaniae meruit specula[t]or et cornicul[ar]ius |*  
*legionis. initium vitis vitae fuit finis. |*

<sup>2414</sup> *CIL* VI 3452; Cholodniak 1904.60; *CLE* 476.

<sup>2415</sup> Cholodniak 1904.60; *CLE* 476.

<sup>2416</sup> See also *CIL* VI 3452, where the idea of it being on the Quirinal is also accepted; in the temple of Quirinal Barberinus, where it is now kept; see also EDR165001; *CLE* 476.

<sup>2417</sup> Cugusi 1996: 210. See discussion on his criteria for each type above.

<sup>2418</sup> EDCS-15400826; <https://www.mqdg.it/textsce/CE|ce|0522>; LLDB-53129-33, 53796, 134540; *CIL* VIII 12128; Laubry 2007: 186.

<sup>2419</sup> EDCS-15400826; *ILS* 2380; *CIL* VIII 702, 12128; Merlin 1944.582; <https://www.mqdg.it/textsce/CE|ce|0522>; Laubry 2007: 186. See also Cugusi 1996: 210.

<sup>2420</sup> See also *CIL* VIII 702.

Looking at the squeeze of this inscription, it appears that the lines of verse do correspond to the line breaks apparent on the stone.<sup>2421</sup> These lines of verse correspond to the metre, which does not entirely align with the rules of hexameter.<sup>2422</sup> The elisions, of which there is one in every line except **NW.3.4**, and the deviations from the metrical norm perhaps indicate the author was not familiar and/or comfortable enough with Latin to be able to use it to the metrical skill as seen by native speakers. Yet, the florid, intelligently constructed language indicates the composer of this poem had a high level of competency and literacy in Latin, in vocabulary, generation and manipulation of language and, given the language expressed in the poem here, a high familiarity and literacy with epigraphic verse conventions and Latin poetry in general.

The language of this inscription has been cleverly manufactured poetically and metrically. The composer of this inscription understood the significance of certain aspects of metre, for example the heavy spondaic nature of ending on *corpus*, and the final four feet of the final verse being completely spondaic, the slow nature of this metrical pattern bringing about the final conclusion of the poem audibly as well as linguistically. Also, every third foot in this poem is spondaic. Each line has a distinctive linguistic feature, playing with the language. *Obiit ... morte* (**NW.3.1**) could be seen as either how the LLDB viewed it, a mistake in *morte*, ablative for accusative,<sup>2423</sup> others may view it as a tautology, but, instead, it is more likely, considering the skill of the composer in their understanding of and ability to play with Latin, they are playing with the dual meanings of *obeo*, ‘to meet’ or ‘to die’, thus the interpretation offered in the translation here of ‘to meet with death’, where the use of the ablative is considered intentional. This play with the duality of meaning of words is also seen in 3, where the meaning of *mereo* of ‘to deserve’ and, in a military sense, ‘to serve’ are both exhibited here, for he not only served in the posts of *speculator* and *cornicularius*, and promoted to *centurio* just before he died,<sup>2424</sup> but he deserved them, for they were posts earned through merit as well as service, especially the post of centurion.

Continuing with the theme of birthland/deathland, as well as how it corresponds with the epigraphic theme of the materiality of death in Latin military verse inscriptions, **NW.3** describes that Ingenuus was buried in his homeland, and he died away from his homeland. As this was found in Chusira, Africa Proconsularis, and not in Gaul, where he died, presumably Chusira was his homeland, so it appears that it is one of those rare occasions where we know of a soldier’s body being sent home, rarer still that his body and not his remains (i.e. his ashes) was sent home. In Laubry’s opinion, it was Virula herself who brought Ingenuus’ body home.<sup>2425</sup> Most of those, Laubry observed, whose bodies were sent home from abroad are those ‘qui ont été conduits par leurs fonctions ou leurs activités à séjourner loin de leur patrie ou de leurs attaches’, who, primarily, obviously, are soldiers; he cites four other inscriptions which refer to this practice, which indicates that, although this was not an exceptional instance of a body being repatriated, it was unusual.<sup>2426</sup>

Exact reasons why someone’s remains were sent home are not known, Laubry indicates, but that this is probably due to relatives wanting their loved one to come home and/or *pietas*, and perhaps the deceased had requested their body be repatriated when they were alive, which could

<sup>2421</sup> Photo of squeeze available at *CIL* website; EDCS-154000826.

<sup>2422</sup> See also Laubry 2007: 186.

<sup>2423</sup> LLDB-134540.

<sup>2424</sup> See discussion above, but especially below, on **NW.6** for the *vitis* being the Roman identifier of the centurion.

<sup>2425</sup> Laubry 2007: 150.

<sup>2426</sup> *Ibid.*: 153, and he lists this inscription as an example of one of these soldiers.



be requested in a will.<sup>2427</sup> He expresses how the epitaph itself has a different performative function, that of demonstrating the carrying out of legal requests: ‘la mention de ces précisions sur un texte funéraire lui donne une dimension qui n’est pas seulement commémorative: elle certifie à la communauté que l’auteur du transfert a agi dans la légalité la plus complète, face au droit et face aux dieux’, which creates a divide between other Latin, as well as modern, epitaphs, ‘qui avaient pour seule fonction de marquer la tombe ou conservaient une mémoire élogieuse du défunt’.<sup>2428</sup> There is the continuation of the birthland, and in this case also the deathland, being described in nurturing, motherly tones, perpetuating the idea of Mother Nature, an idea which seems as old as the idea of nature itself: *patriae gremio* (‘to the bosom of his homeland’, **NW.3.2**). This imagery much brings out the feminine aspects of one’s homeland, not the ‘fatherland’ alternative translation, and connotations, which reside within the feminine word with masculine, paternal undertones, *patria*.

Identified as a locative,<sup>2429</sup> it appears to have not been postulated before that *Germaniae* (3) was an adjectival description of the legion to which Ingenuus belonged, which may perhaps explain the third century date some have attributed to **NW.3**.<sup>2430</sup> But, based upon the analysis above, and understanding *Germaniae* as not a locative but as a descriptor of the the legion, a genitive agreeing with *legionis*, the conventional dating of this inscription from the third century AD is amended here to the first century AD, more specifically between AD 9-69. The importance of his legion to him, his wife, and therefore his identity, is evident in **NW.4.3-4**, in which the defining traits of the military unit he served in begin these lines: *Germaniae ... legionis*. The legion in which Ingenuus served is defined by a land, named after it not for its people/original recruits but for its location of service, as sometimes happened.<sup>2431</sup> The *Legio I Germanica* was the only legion with this name, and so it did not need to be defined by its numerical aspect in this inscription, for those reading it would have known to which legion Virula was referring.

The *Legio I Germanica* served on the Rhine between c. 16 BC-AD 69, and it is from this service on the Rhine that it acquired the title *Germanica* in the early first century AD.<sup>2432</sup> This inscription must pre-date AD 70, because this legion was disbanded for conspiring with Gaius Julius Civilis and joining in his Batavian Revolt,<sup>2433</sup> assisting in his siege of Vetera, and fighting against their own.<sup>2434</sup> Soldiers from this legion were later used to comprise the *Legio VII Gemina*.<sup>2435</sup> So, not only would someone not have served in it after AD 70, but also those who had relatives serving within it presumably would not have displayed the pride expressed here towards those in a legion that had been dishonourably disbanded and participated in civil war, perceived as that most disgraceful of act in the Roman world. It also makes it less likely that he died in the unrest in Germany and Gaul, because it seems unlikely that he would have been celebrated in an inscription, his service in such a tempestuous legion immortalised for the ages, if he had been killed fighting in a civil war, in the faction of the Roman military that was

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<sup>2427</sup> Laubry 2007: 153.

<sup>2428</sup> *Ibid.*: 176.

<sup>2429</sup> Merlin 1944:582.

<sup>2430</sup> See EDCS-15400826; Cugusi 1996: 210; Laubry 2007: 186, although he clearly queries this date; LLDB-53129-33, 53796, 134540.

<sup>2431</sup> See Appendix 2.

<sup>2432</sup> Hardy 1887: 630; Campbell 2012d: 816.

<sup>2433</sup> Hardy 1887: 641-642, 645; Campbell 2012d: 816.

<sup>2434</sup> Hardy 1887: 642.

<sup>2435</sup> *Ibid.*: 638; Campbell 2012d: 816.

defeated, especially given the almost taboo-like approach to civil war in the Roman mentality. Despite not being Roman themselves, for presumably Virula was not of Roman origin either, given her name, they adhere to a Roman mindset by immortalising Ingenuus in a Latin inscription, and praising his service in the Roman legions.

This legion has a history of rebelling, for example, they refused to renew their *sacramentum* to Galba, instead stoning his statues.<sup>2436</sup> As this legion served on the Rhine, how did Ingenuus meet his death in Gallia? The province of Gaul was bordered by the Rhine and there were close connections between Germania and Gaul, in terms of geography, economy and population, the economy greatly fuelled by the army on the Rhine itself.<sup>2437</sup> Did he die in conflict or in a different, more domestic event? We will never be able to answer this question, but, there was a lot of unrest in this area at this time, with local revolts in AD 21 and 69-70 in Gaul,<sup>2438</sup> the unrest after Nero's death began in Gaul, where the governor of Lugdunensis encouraged the Sequani to revolt and the governors of Spain and Germany to join him.<sup>2439</sup> In AD 69, the legions in Germany, including the *Legio I Germanica*, swore to the 'Gallic Empire' that formed in the chaos,<sup>2440</sup> and the *Legio I Germanica* was posted in Gaul, as part of the garrison of the Treviri's city.<sup>2441</sup> Vindex, the governor of Lugdunensis, and his revolt were suppressed by Verginius, the governor of Upper Germany who led the legions from his province to Lugdunum, who then tried to proclaim him *imperator*, but Vindex respected the senate's choice of Galba.<sup>2442</sup> Perhaps we can conjecture that he served in the suppression of these revolts and that is how he died. In Augustus' reign, those legions posted on the Rhine 'had the double duty of keeping down the German tribes on the right bank of the Rhine, and at the same time of being ready at a moment's notice to check any rising among the Gallic cantons'.<sup>2443</sup>

Although it was the *Legio I Germanica*, not *Germania*, this can be explained by the use of the locative: the composer of this poem wanting to keep the theme, and the contrast, of the two provinces, Gallia where he died, Germania where he served, and, by implication, Africa Proconsularis where he was buried. Although, if this was indeed a locative and not a genitive, then it could refer to any of the legions posted in this province. However, given the specificity of his ranks, crafted so that they correlated with the conventions of metre, it seems unlikely that the legion within which he served would not also be specified and, given that the *Legio I Germanica* was the only one with such a name, and the arguments presented above, it seems that this is a likely candidate for the unit of Ingenuus' service. Alternatively, it could be that this was locative in reference to *Legio I*, before it received its honorary title *Germanica* for its service on the Rhine, thus meaning that it could be dated to between c. 16 BC, when it began its service on the Rhine, to AD 9, which was around about when it received its honorary title *Germanica*.<sup>2444</sup> However, it is conjectured here that this inscription has a connection to this legion.

The most linguistic ability and understanding of the author is demonstrated best in the second half of the final line: *initium vitis vitae fuit finis* ('the beginning of his centurionate was the end

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<sup>2436</sup> Hardy 1887: 637.

<sup>2437</sup> Drinkwater 2012: 604-605, 612.

<sup>2438</sup> *Ibid.*: 604-605; see also Hardy 1887: 637.

<sup>2439</sup> Hardy 1887: 637.

<sup>2440</sup> Described in detail in Hardy (*ibid.*: 642-643).

<sup>2441</sup> *Ibid.*: 643.

<sup>2442</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2443</sup> *Ibid.*: 629.

<sup>2444</sup> Campbell 2012d: 816.

of his life', **NW.3.4**). The balance, and literalisation, of *initium* beginning the line and *finis* ending it, the fricative alliteration of *vitis vitae* and *fuit finis*, creating a contrast between what he had whilst he lived (*vitis*, the centurionate), and what he lost when that came to an end, the harsh, repeated fricatives creating an almost bitter sounding line, having to spit the words out in grief and anger and loss at the idea that he lost his life, the grief of it exacerbated by him losing it just as he had been promoted, just as his service had been recognised once again. Mommsen took this literally, stating that 'centurio factus statim diem obiit' ('he died immediately on the day he had been made a centurion'),<sup>2445</sup> yet this seems unlikely, just that he died at the beginning of his career as a centurion. The only caesura in this poem is in the final line, between the final -m of *initium* and the beginning of *vitis*, literally creating a divide, a *finis* between the beginning (*initium*) of his post as a centurion (*vitis*), a cut between his life in service and that he lost that in death. Despite the focus on his service, surprising considering that he was married and his wife, who presumably had a say in what was said in this inscription given its specificity, personal touches and information, and information about her actions after his death, it is in this concluding phrase that what is important is emphasised: his life, *vitae*, is in the centre of this phrase, the focus of it, and what is important is not only his glorious service, which his wife also clearly took pride in, but the fact that his life was lost, just as his career was only starting to begin.

The birthland/deathland theme in **NW.4** is slightly different to the poetic formula above. **NW.4** was a funerary inscription to a *tribunus angusticlavius* of the *Legio II Adiutrix*.<sup>2446</sup> It is unknown if he only served in this legion, but Fehér conjectures that he served in this post for many years before he died.<sup>2447</sup> His sons set up this inscription for him, and they were *equites*, but, if they had military positions, they do not state it in the inscription here. This is one of the few bilingual inscriptions in this study, but it seems that bilingual inscriptions were not uncommon in this area or unusual at all.<sup>2448</sup> Cugusi conjectures that this bilingualism may have been a part of emphasising Papirianus' origins;<sup>2449</sup> this is demonstrated in the Greek part of the inscription, where Papirianus' Latinised cognomen originated from (10). The Greek slightly develops the Latin, but does not differ too drastically. It is dated to the Severan dynasty,<sup>2450</sup> and was found in Aquincum, Pannonia Inferior,<sup>2451</sup> in the *canabae* to the south of the legionary camp.<sup>2452</sup>

It was inscribed on a fragmented limestone sarcophagus,<sup>2453</sup> and the Latin is in dactylic hexameter, the Greek spondees, according to Cugusi,<sup>2454</sup> but, according to Fehér, the Latin is in hexameters, the Greek heptameters.<sup>2455</sup> The 2001 edition of *AE* seems sceptical about its

<sup>2445</sup> *CIL* VIII 702. See also *CIL* VIII 12128.

<sup>2446</sup> See Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.81 for the specification of the type of *tribunus* in this inscription. See also Appendices 2 and 3.

<sup>2447</sup> Fehér 2010: 180-183.

<sup>2448</sup> *SEG* 48.1315; see also Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.81.

<sup>2449</sup> Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.81

<sup>2450</sup> EDCS-24500526; *AE* 2001.1691; HD035869; PHI 91; Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.80-81. See also Fehér 2010: 180-183; Kovács 2007: 91.

<sup>2451</sup> EDCS-24500526; *AE* 2001.1691; Lupa 294; HD035869; PHI 91. See also Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.78; Kovács 2007: 91.

<sup>2452</sup> *AE* 2001.1691; *SEG* 48.1315; Lupa 294. See also Kovács 2007: 91.

<sup>2453</sup> HD035869; Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.80; *SEG* 48.1315; Fehér 2010: 180-183; *AE* 2001.1691; Kovács 2007: 91; Lupa 294.

<sup>2454</sup> Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.81

<sup>2455</sup> Fehér 2010: 180-183.

metrical nature, as **NW.4** ‘se laisse clairement scander uniquement aux 1. 1-2’.<sup>2456</sup> They also believe that this was composed with the assistance of a manual, because of the linguistic choices made in this inscription, for example ἀρχηγὸς for *tribunus*.<sup>2457</sup> This may explain why the birthland/deathland formula has been modified slightly; this formula often describes the place of someone’s birth and burial in reference land, but also the place itself, such as here where Palestine is specified as a city. Cugusi goes as far as to indicate ‘a notare l’insistenza con cui il ‘poeta’ epigrafico sottolinea il tema della morte in luogo straniero’,<sup>2458</sup> which is also seen in Pannonia,<sup>2459</sup> as demonstrated below.

This inscription is one of many that highlight the itinerant life of the soldier.<sup>2460</sup> Papirianus’ origins are stated (*Urbe Pal<a>estina gentium*, ‘I was born in the city of Palestine’, **NW.4.3**), i.e. he was from Jerusalem,<sup>2461</sup> and he was brought to Aquincum because of his military service (*[m]e | (vac.) militiae res (vac.) | / transtulit huc*, ‘Military matters brought / me here’, 3-4), presumably in his post as tribune, the post he was serving in when he died (5, 10). His previous posts are not stated, perhaps because a *tribunus* was considered the top of the ladder for an equestrian military role, and neither are his previous postings, further highlighting the importance of one’s beginnings and one’s ends to the deceased, their family and to those passing by; if these were not important to those who would pass by these public inscriptions, it seems unlikely that they would have bothered immortalising them in stone at all. Cugusi conjectures that he moved to Aquincum hoping to have a promotion,<sup>2462</sup> similar to **AI.8**,<sup>2463</sup> presumably because of his interpretation of *SPER[---]* as *sperantem* (‘hoping’, 4), not that this was a pivotal part of the Roman military system. For Cugusi, this makes Papirianus appear an active agent in his posting to Aquincum, whereas *[m]e | (vac.) militiae res (vac.) | / transtulit huc* implies his involvement was passive, moving because he was ordered to, not because he was seeking promotion.

Continuing the theme of members of the *equites singulares Augusti* having natural imagery in their verse inscriptions, but with a slight twist on the birthland/deathland formula, **NW.5** ought to be mentioned. Even in its fragmentary state, this inscription highlights how natural imagery was used in these verse inscriptions, and not in a way in which would perhaps be expected in poetry, i.e. practically, not metaphorically.

## NW.5

*[D(is)] M(anibus). |*

*[--- nat(ione) P]ontico ab [--- | --- puer]o. Aurelius San[ctinus] | dec(urio) de se bene merit[o]. |*

*[--- du]o sunt iuvenes positi, C[---] |*  
*[---]RE in illo, diversisque lo[cis ---]. |*  
*[---] ibi, qui prior est posit[us, ---] |*  
*[---] Oceanique Marsa[ciorum ---]. |*

<sup>2456</sup> AE 2001.1691.

<sup>2457</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2458</sup> Cugusi 2007.77.

<sup>2459</sup> Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.81.

<sup>2460</sup> See, for example, **NW.6** below.

<sup>2461</sup> Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.81.

<sup>2462</sup> Cugusi 2007.78; Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.81.

<sup>2463</sup> Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.81.

[--- P]ontus Achillea ge[nuit ---]. |  
 [---] ac si fraterna sti[rpe, ---] |  
 [aeq]uali Tiburti ponde[re ---]. |

This marble stele is now in two pieces, and it was found in the catacomb of Saints Peter and Marcellinus in Rome, where it still resides.<sup>2464</sup> This has been identified as written in a dactylic metre,<sup>2465</sup> although Speidel states it was ‘vermutlich daktylischen’.<sup>2466</sup> **NW.5** has been dated to the second century AD,<sup>2467</sup> and the verse section for the two boys is by the *decurio* himself, Aurelius Sanctinus. **NW.5** and **RD.13** are inscriptions by the same man: Aurelius Sanctinus. As we see Sanctinus in other inscriptions, we are able to obtain more information about him, such as that he was a *decurio* of the *equites singulares Augusti*, which is useful, especially as there are two different roles that go by the title *decurio*, one a civil post, the other military. **RD.13** was made first,<sup>2468</sup> as Sanctinus is described as a *duplicarius* of the *equites singulares*, and he had been promoted to the rank of *decurio* in **NW.5**. In **NW.5**, he celebrates two of his boy slaves, and, in **RD.13**, he celebrates a boy slave called *Miles*,<sup>2469</sup> and thus he was named ‘Soldier’. Sanctinus clearly had an input, perhaps composed them himself, in the creation of these inscriptions.<sup>2470</sup> The 1989 edition of *AE* appears to believe that this slave, Miles, was the youth from the North Sea mentioned in **NW.5**, buried alongside his other young slave in this tomb.<sup>2471</sup> But, perhaps they were different boys, and Sanctinus had at least three youths of servile status under his care. However, if Miles was the youth from the North Sea, then this will help us with the now unknown exact findspot of **RD.13**: it would have been with/near **NW.5**.

This epitaph was for two boys who died separately, and it is similar to a later inscription, *CLEMOes* 40,<sup>2472</sup> in which two boys of different origins were immortalised in a stone verse epitaph by a *praefectus classis* and they were his *alumni*. In *CLEMOes* 40, the two *alumni*, who also died separately, were from different lands and are described in similar terms to the boys in **NW.5**. However, the two boys in **NW.5** appear to have had a different relationship dynamic with Sanctinus. Speidel distinguishes Miles’ relationship with Sanctinus as different from the unknown youth mentioned in **NW.5**, although he is mentioned in this inscription.<sup>2473</sup> It has been postulated that **NW.5** and **RD.13** were for *alumni* of Sanctinus;<sup>2474</sup> Miles is described as Sanctinus’ *delicium* in **RD.13**, and his official relationship, e.g. if he was his *alumnus* or not, is not known, although he does appear to have been of servile status. The term *alumnus* appears to have had different connotations, and was context dependent; in some instances, as seen in

<sup>2464</sup> *AE* 1989.91; EDR081242; See also Speidel & Panciera 1989: 119-120; Speidel 1992: 353-354 where he also provides photos; Speidel 1994b 682: 378-379.

<sup>2465</sup> *AE* 1989.91; Speidel & Panciera 1989: 120; Speidel & Panciera 2006: 1416.

<sup>2466</sup> Speidel 1994b.682: 378.

<sup>2467</sup> *AE* 1989.91; Speidel 1994b.692: 379, who dates it after AD 138, because of Sanctinus’ *praenomen* Aurelius; EDR081242 dates it to the third century AD.

<sup>2468</sup> See also the discussion on **RD.13** in Chapter 8.

<sup>2469</sup> See *CIL* VI 3221 = 32784 and *AE* 1973.67 = *AE* 1989.30 = *AE* 1991.233.

<sup>2470</sup> HD014349; *AE* 1989.30; EDR081242.

<sup>2471</sup> Even though its findspot is unknown, and it is now in the Lapidario Forense, inv. 5038; *AE* 1989.91. See also *AE* 1989.30; HD014349; EDR081242; Speidel & Panciera 2006: 415-1416. See also Speidel & Panciera 1989: 121; Speidel 1992: 355; Speidel 1994.692: 378 for references to these other inscriptions in which Sanctinus can be identified, and his shift in rank from *duplicarius* to *decurio* between *CIL* VI 3221 = *AE* 1989.30 and **NW.10**.

<sup>2472</sup> *IScM* V 281 = *CLEMOes* 40 = *ZPE* 77 (1989) p. 43 = *CLENuovo* 77 = *CERom* IX 518 = *Epigraphica* 1995.282 = *Alumnus* 57 = *AnalEpi* p. 123 = *AnalEpi* p. 251 = *AE* 1977.762 = *AE* 1980.841 = *AE* 1984.793 = *AE* 1987.897 = *AE* 1989.639 = *AE* 2005.161 adn. = *IK* 55.2.121 = EDCS-11300812. It has been dated to outside the timespan of this study.

<sup>2473</sup> Speidel 1994b 682: 378.

<sup>2474</sup> Speidel & Panciera 1989: 119; Speidel 1992: 353; Speidel 1994b 682: 378; Speidel & Panciera 2006: 1415.

Chapter 8, this refers to a foster child, in others an *alumnus* had more of a role in the soldier's household, rather than being regarded as another member of the family, for they have also been suggested to be soldiers' grooms.<sup>2475</sup> The origins of these grooms 'have been known from Lower Germany, Raetia, Noricum, Phrygia and Syria', and the Black Sea;<sup>2476</sup> this was, perhaps, the role of the now anonymous *alumnus* in this inscription.

They are also described in similar terms to the two boys in **AI.1**, where the cousins are described as being 'like brothers' (11). **NW.5** refers to two youths, but, like **AI.1**, only one is the focus of this inscription.<sup>2477</sup> There, it was because Proculus regarded Antonus as his brother, and probably also because they were related. Here, it is because, according to **NW.5**, they were buried together;<sup>2478</sup> given that there is evidence that Proculus and Antonus were buried in the same tomb, perhaps that is also why Antonus is described as *ut frater* to Proculus. Perhaps those who were close, either through familial or friendly relationships, were buried together to demonstrate this close relationship.<sup>2479</sup> Also like **AI.1**, although it refers to two boys, **NW.5** appears to be about one specifically, even though both boys have their own sections, and the concluding lines are about both boys together, yet **NW.5** 'has a relief with the youthful dead shown banqueting',<sup>2480</sup> indicating how this was for the *alumnus* of Sanctinus. In **AI.1**, the boys are defined by where they were buried, which included both terrestrial and nautical imagery, as seen here, although in **AI.1** this imagery portrayed where the boys were buried, here it identified where the boys were from. Like Proculus and Antonus, therefore, these two boys had their own separate epitaphs, with at least one of these epitaphs mentioning both of the boys within it. Once again, we see references to the materiality of death, and to the birthland/deathland trope, albeit differently to how it is usually presented. This inscription highlights the functional way in which natural imagery was used in military Latin verse inscriptions, for locations and practical, tangible references, such as referring to the ground under which they were buried. It highlights the sentiment that, although they were divided by their nationalities, they were united by the soldier, and united, equalised, in death. For Panciera and Speidel, 'the poem could serve as a motto for the whole graveyard of the horsemen and their grooms, three miles outside Rome: they came from far-away frontier provinces and were buried here next to each other'.<sup>2481</sup>

In **NW.5**, one of the boys was from the Marsaci, a Germanic tribe on the Atlantic (*Oceanus*),<sup>2482</sup> which 'spielt auf das fernste Ende der Welt an',<sup>2483</sup> the other from the region of Pontus, which was on the south bank of the Black Sea,<sup>2484</sup> *Achillea* ('in that Achillean [land]', 8) as Sanctinus poetically proclaims. Ovid discussed this was 'either the island of Leuke across from the mouths of the Danube, or the Tendrovskaya Spit in the northwestern Crimea, or else the place called Achilleion on the East side of the Cimmerian Bosphorus where it joins the Maeotis', all of which 'are on the northern shore of the Black sea, and from there the Pontic boy is likely to

<sup>2475</sup> See, for example, Phang 2001: 274.

<sup>2476</sup> Speidel & Panciera 1989: 121; Speidel 1992: 355; Speidel & Panciera 2006: 1416.

<sup>2477</sup> *AE* 1989.91; Speidel & Panciera 1989: 119; Speidel 1992: 354; Speidel 1994b.682: 378. See also Chapter 8.

<sup>2478</sup> See also *AE* 1989.91.

<sup>2479</sup> See also the discussion on this inscription in Chapter 8.

<sup>2480</sup> Speidel & Panciera 2006: 1415. He gives a description of the monument itself (1415-1416). See also Speidel & Panciera 1989: 120; Speidel 1992: 354; Speidel 1994b.682: 378.

<sup>2481</sup> Speidel & Panciera 1989: 121; Speidel 1992: 355; Speidel & Panciera 2006: 1416.

<sup>2482</sup> *Oceanus* was thought of as a river (see, for example, Braund 1996: 44-45), despite being the Atlantic sea.

<sup>2483</sup> Speidel 1994b.692: 379.

<sup>2484</sup> See **NW.10**; *AE* 1999.4.91. See also Speidel & Panciera 1989: 119; Speidel 1992: 353.

have come'.<sup>2485</sup> In NW.5, we learn that Miles was from the Marsaci, the people who inhabited the island of Walcheren, Zéland, from which other *equites singulares* originated, and he died when he was nineteen.<sup>2486</sup> The two boys in this inscription are defined by the land and the sea: they originated from different lands, bordered by distant seas (7-8). Perhaps they were both mentioned in this inscription for one of them to create this simultaneously poetic expression of reflection and distance in their origins. They were not buried by the land, but by stone. Although they were born apart, they were united by the soldier who owned them, and *[aeq]uali Tiburti ponde[re]* ('under the same weight of Tiburtine [stone]', 10) that buried them. As 'Tiburtan stone is travertino, and since the gravestone itself is marble, there was, it seems, some travertino structure over or around the grave'.<sup>2487</sup>

These references to the birthland/deathland exhibit the idea of being Roman as it was understood in practicality, similar to how national identity works today. The provinces were understood as individual places, with their own identities, cultures and traditions, simply incorporated into the conglomerate that was the Roman Empire, where people could be the beholders of two identities at once, e.g. Egyptian/Roman, with perhaps closer ties to their personal homeland than to that of the Empire. The inhabitants of those lands themselves tend to be more specific in expressing their identity. In the inscriptions discussed throughout this study, but particularly above, they express their "Roman Empire" identity through the epigraphic habit, and that they wrote it in Latin (Greek sometimes as well to more closely affiliate themselves with the local culture), but they express their more specific, individual identity by declaring where exactly they were born, and perhaps where they died too. Both these facets of identity were bridged by their Roman military one. Perhaps some people had lived in the land in which they had been buried for so long that they identified themselves as being from there as well (see, for example, ET.42).

This collection of inscriptions emphasises how, no matter how they longed for home, enough to state where they originated from on their epitaphs, immortalising it in stone, most of these men never returned home, not even in death, and they would, in perpetuity, be immortalised and remembered far from home. This also included their family members, specifically their nuclear family members. Did they still even consider these places home, or simply where they originated from? They do not describe them as 'home', but they are integral to their expressions of self-identity. In these inscriptions, we can safely assume that where they were buried was where they died, unless it is otherwise specified. Within this birthland/deathland formula, places and identities become defined geographically, not socially, by the land they were born in, and by the land they died in, not by the land(s) they may have inhabited during their lifetime. This motif reveals the true diverse nature of the origins of those serving in the Roman military, and those who accompanied them, and that, despite the diversity of origins, they all wished to commemorate others, or to be commemorated, using a Roman cultural trait, within the confines of their language, and/or the either more literary or *lingua franca* Greek, depending on the location and the user of the language, and using the conventions of that Roman cultural trait, with varying degrees of success and understanding of the Roman verse literary process and manipulation for one's needs.

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<sup>2485</sup> Speidel & Panciera 2006: 1416. See also Speidel & Panciera 1989: 121-122; Speidel 1992: 356-357; Speidel 1994b.682: 379.

<sup>2486</sup> HD014349; AE 1989.30. See also EDR081242.

<sup>2487</sup> Speidel & Panciera 2006: 1416. See also Speidel & Panciera 1989: 121; Speidel 1992: 355; Speidel 1994b.682: 379.

What this collection of inscriptions emphasises is, despite the transitory nature of the military, how important their homelands remained to them. They indicate how the men identified their homes, and their places of death, often not by the cities within which they were born, but by the lands that were said to have created them, and, in turn, into which they will be interred, with eventually only the stone above them to remind the immortal generations of time that they once existed on the earth, just as they do. This theme, contained not only within specifically military verse inscriptions but also in civilian inscriptions emphasises not only the itinerant nature of military life in isolation, but also its affect on those who followed them, whose lives and families depended upon the military way of life. The fighting aspect of the military life was also a burden upon the family beyond just the soldier, as shall be revealed in Chapter 8.

### 7.3. Water

Water imagery in military verse inscriptions is profound and extensive, more poetic than that of earth. Water imagery is more personalised than that of earth. Water and earth imagery often blend together, either as compliments or contrasts, already encountered in **AI.8** and **NW.5**. According to Cugusi, **AI.8** is of type (c) in terms of the birthland/deathland formula, yet it is the water imagery that prevails in this inscription, as the soldier seems to have met his fate at sea. The water imagery in **AI.8** is used in a practical denotation sense, i.e. to obviously, yet implicitly, refer to the manner of Semelius' death. It is neither metaphorical nor used poetically, although the event of his death is described euphemistically, perhaps for poetic reasons. Alternatively, this could have been to disguise the fact that his body had not been retrieved and buried but had been lost with the ship, as being 'buried' at sea was a great fear for those in the ancient world, for they would have no tomb, or a tomb with no body. In this inscription, the cities are more important, and representative, of those who inhabit the lands in which they reside, i.e. Rome and Carthage, rather than the lands themselves. Italy was only referenced, again, in a practical sense, i.e. as his final destination, which he never met, because he died on the sea-bound journey. As in **AI.2**, bodies of water are associated with colours, unlike any other natural imagery in these inscriptions.

**NW.6**, like **NW.5**, blends the themes of land and water. **NW.6** is a verse epitaph, on a marble stele,<sup>2488</sup> to a member of the *Vigilias*, Lucius Popilius Securus. When he died, he was a part of a vexillation of the *Cohors III Vigiles*. Unfortunately, this epitaph is very fragmented, presumably because '*in opus coniectum erat*' ('it had been thrown in the siege work') on the via Ferruccio.<sup>2489</sup> Written on a large block of stone, the top and the bottom of which are missing, broken into two pieces, the verse is written in a narrow epigraphic field that appears to have once been bordered with a frame of little oration. It was composed in elegiac distichs,<sup>2490</sup> and is dated to the second century AD.<sup>2491</sup> It was found on the via Ferruccio, on the Esquiline in Rome.<sup>2492</sup> Here, even in this small fragment of verse, there is a correlation between the metre and the line breaks.

### NW.6

<sup>2488</sup> EDR033548; Gregori 2001.385. See also *CIL* VI 32755.

<sup>2489</sup> *CIL* VI 32755; *CLE* 1264. See also Gregori 2001.385 for a brief description of this epitaph.

<sup>2490</sup> EDR033548; see also <http://www.mqdg.it/texts/CE/ce1264>; *CIL* VI 32755; *CLE* 1264 for this being classified as either 'elegiac' or 'pentameter'. Gregori 2001.385 classifies it as elegiac dactyls.

<sup>2491</sup> Gregori 2001.385; EDCS-22500770; EDR033548; Bücheler wondered if it was from the first century (*CLE* 1264).

<sup>2492</sup> *CIL* VI 32755; *CLE* 1264; EDR033548; see also EDCS-22500770; *ILS* 2167.



[-----] |  
*quī quondam situs | est*  
*prata | per I l l y r i c i l i t o r a | Danuvii.*

*patrono et | L(ucio) Popilio | Securo (vac.) vex<i>llario | coh(ortis) III Vig(ilis) | fratri |*  
*L(ucius) Popilius | Eutychnus fecit.*

Bücheler states, based upon the remaining information in this inscription, that ‘patronus igitur decesserat in expeditione Illyricum’ (‘his patron, therefore, died on an expedition in Illyricum’).<sup>2493</sup> This is not necessarily true. All the information we are now provided with from the remnants of this epitaph is that Securus was in Illyricum at some point and was accustomed to sitting on the banks of the Danube. This personal information, as well as the slightly odd metrical composition, indicates it was Eutychnus who made, as in wrote and carved, this monument, especially as Latin was probably not his first language given his Greek *cognomen*. The letters are carved clearly, and again, there is evidence of those in the military having the ability to carve, as well as compose, inscriptions. Although, if Securus did die abroad, as his epitaph is in Rome, it is likely that his remains were sent back, or this was a cenotaph, and this may have been indicated in the inscription,<sup>2494</sup> but this is all conjecture. It is likely that **NW.6** once described where he died. Illyricum could have been the place of his death; given the commonness of the ‘birthland/deathland’ theme, it seems a likely conjecture.<sup>2495</sup> However, Securus could easily have been posted back, with his vexillation, to Rome, and he died there.

The fact that his *vexillatio* is specified may indicate Securus was away on campaign when he died,<sup>2496</sup> and that Eutychnus, his friend and freedman, set up a cenotaph for him, either because he had been left behind in Rome, on duty as a member of the Vigiles in the city, or he set it up once he returned but Securus did not. It is likely, however, that he was posted to Illyricum. There was a close connection between the Vigiles and the navy,<sup>2497</sup> particularly the Misene fleet, which may have been under the command of the *praefectus vigilum*;<sup>2498</sup> also like ‘the vigiles fleet troops were in the later decades of the first century AD stationed in well-populated areas close to the soldiers’ place of work’.<sup>2499</sup> So, his vexillation could have been posted to assist the fleet on the Danube. This, along with **NW.6**, indicates that despite being posted away to help another body of fighting men, and despite being based in Rome, this vexillation of the *Cohors III Vigiles* may have been sent to Illyricum for their specific (firefighting) skills, recruited for their expert knowledge and experience in this area.

What was once called Illyricum, the Balkans region,<sup>2500</sup> had been divided into Pannonia and Dalmatia by the Flavian period,<sup>2501</sup> and it has been found in reference to Pannonia in a military *diploma* from AD 60,<sup>2502</sup> ‘under the empire the Danubian provinces (Noricum, Pannonia, Dalmatia, Moesia superior, and Dacia) were grouped in a single customs-area, *portorium Illyricum*’.<sup>2503</sup> This could either suggest that this inscription dates to the pre-Flavian era, between

<sup>2493</sup> CLE 1264. Gregori 2001.385 agrees with Bücheler’s interpretation.

<sup>2494</sup> See discussion on **AI.2** here and in Chapter 6.

<sup>2495</sup> See also, for example, Gregori 2001.385.

<sup>2496</sup> See Appendix 2.

<sup>2497</sup> Starr 1997: 58. See also the discussion on this inscription in Chapter 8.

<sup>2498</sup> Starr 1997: 20-21.

<sup>2499</sup> Busch 2007: 323.

<sup>2500</sup> Starr 1997: 129.

<sup>2501</sup> Wilkes 2012a: 726. See also Starr 1997: 129.

<sup>2502</sup> Wilkes 2012a: 726.

<sup>2503</sup> *Ibid.*

Augustus' reign and the Flavian dynasty, or Eutychus was purposefully using archaic language to refer to this area of the Roman world. This latter idea is just as, if not more, likely, as, seen in other inscriptions in this study as well as wider Roman literature, archaisms, especially when it came to the names of places, were often used in verse for poetic effect.

Conflict occurred in Pannonia multiple times over the centuries, so Securus could have been involved in any (number) of these; the most notable campaigns happened on the Danube at the end of the first, in the beginning and end of the second, and in the third and fourth centuries.<sup>2504</sup> *Vexillationes* were found in Domitian's Danubian wars, where one officer, Velius Rufus, was in charge of eight *vexillationes* from the British and Rhineland legions.<sup>2505</sup> Given the date of this inscription, one wonders if they were involved in the Danubian Wars of Trajan or Marcus Aurelius,<sup>2506</sup> perhaps the Dacian Wars of Trajan, in which the Danubian fleets, the *Classis Pannonica* and *Classis Moesica* were involved. The fleets 'patrolled the river and the coasts while the army operated inland'.<sup>2507</sup> The fleet would camp with the land soldiers;<sup>2508</sup> 'on the Danube Roman power was for some time maintained by a Roman fleet which linked the riverbank *castela* of the auxiliaries in a forward line of defense, while the legions lay behind in the interior',<sup>2509</sup> and the Danube was used to transport war supplies.<sup>2510</sup> When 'the Illyrian roads were built,... direct maritime communication between the west Italian coast and the eastern provinces became more common'.<sup>2511</sup> Perhaps members of the *Vigiles* were posted to the provinces to assist with the one of the results of war, of sieges and battles: fire. Or perhaps they were used to guard the war supplies travelling up and down the Danube, especially as, during the Dacian wars, 'the legions and auxiliaries ... built and manned their own supply ships, and in the event of great expeditions the burden of supply must have fallen almost entirely on the army quartermaster service. The river fleets possibly helped, and particularly in linking the river forts in time of peace, but any such assistance was auxiliary to their military mission'.<sup>2512</sup> Perhaps, then, short on manpower, the legions required recruits from the Roman cohorts to help them guard their supplies. This, of course, is all conjecture, and Securus could have found himself on the Danube for an entirely different reason, which has been lost to time.

In **NW.6**, the countries/provinces, categorisations of the Romans, are defined by natural features: meadows and banks. Even the Danubian provinces were defined by their sole geographical, natural linking factor: the Danube. For Cugusi, this inscription was a part of the birthland/deathland formula, a type (d).<sup>2513</sup> There is a pun on the *hic situs est* formula in 1: *quondam situs est* ('he who once lay'). In these last two surviving final lines of the verse, the reader is able to understand something personal about Securus: what he liked to do in his own time. By playing with the formula to denote the dead, Eutychus is expressing what Securus liked to do in life. The gentle language used to express this makes the reader feel as if they are sitting on the banks of the Danube with Securus, the peaceful pattern of the poem mimicking the flowing of the Danube. One can imagine that Eutychus sometimes joined his patron, former

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<sup>2504</sup> Southern 2007: 29.

<sup>2505</sup> Hoyos 2013: xl.

<sup>2506</sup> See, for example, Southern 2007: 29; Hoyos 2013: 67, 71.

<sup>2507</sup> Southern 2007: 207.

<sup>2508</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2509</sup> Starr 1997: 124-125.

<sup>2510</sup> *Ibid.*: 130.

<sup>2511</sup> *Ibid.*: 23.

<sup>2512</sup> *Ibid.*: 134.

<sup>2513</sup> Cugusi 1996: 211.

master, comrade, and, given that he knew this information about Securus and made this inscription for him, his friend.

This inscription gives the metre used here back to its original roots of war, lament, loss, death, and conveying the author's own memories. As Eutychus' *cognomen* demonstrates, he was of Greek origin, and so perhaps he understood the previous connotations of this type of verse more fully. This demonstrates the multi-layered dynamics of the Roman social world in all its aspects: one could be friends with one's slave, and vice versa, one could be friends with one's comrade, those who served others were willing to sacrifice their life for them, for the people they protected and for the Empire they defended. There appears to have been a closeness in their relationship, beyond just that of a client and a patron, an ex-master and his freedman, a freedman and his slave;<sup>2514</sup> they appear to have been friends, who stayed together when they no longer had to (i.e. after Eutychus' emancipation), which was relatively common. As with all things, slaves in the Roman world were sometimes treated badly, but they were also sometimes treated well and became friends, almost like another member of the family with those they served. Upon being freed, freedmen remained the clients of their ex-masters, as seen here, and had their own prosperity. Eutychus, as Securus' comrade in arms as well as his freedman, may well have been billeted with Securus, and knew this information because he was there with him. There is something reminiscent about these surviving lines of this inscription, a visceral memory conjured up in the reader's mind that makes them feel as though they, too, could remember Securus lying in the grass on the banks of the Danube, passing the time in peace when they were not actively at war.

NW.7 is a religious verse inscription that has been much discussed,<sup>2515</sup> and so the military, and natural aspects of this inscription shall be discussed in detail here. The religious aspects of this inscription, as well as various interpretations of it, have been presented in Chapter 5.<sup>2516</sup>

## NW.7

[Deo L]ari et Larundae | [Vind]elicis sac<e>llum |  
[hos]pitibus dicavit, | [en]s[i]feri tribunus |  
[m]iliti[s i]n Liburno, | [n]atus [Apo]ni medentis, |  
[o]lente [m]aria limo, | Marcus Ateste prisco |  
[Ae]milius rebitens | [tur]rigeras ad arce[s]. |

There are two main readings of this text, Raith's (NW.7a) and Lavagne & Gschaid's (NW.7b).<sup>2517</sup> Although a new reading is proposed here, this does not necessarily make it the

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<sup>2514</sup> The Vigiles were composed of freedmen (see Appendix 2 and the discussion on this inscription in Chapter 8).

<sup>2515</sup> It has already been discussed here, in Chapter 5, and it is also commented on by Lavagne & Gschaid 1996: 1251-1267; Raith 2005: 99-102; Cugusi 2007.74-75. See also Pfaffel 2004: 195-222; Schmidt Heidenreich 2013.326.

<sup>2516</sup> This is why version NW.7c is presented here.

<sup>2517</sup> Lavagne & Gschaid 1996: 1261; Raith 2005: 99. See also Pfaffel 2004: 195, 200; AE 2005.1147-1148. Pfaffel offers a reading too (2004: 210); his most significant deviation from Raith's text are *prosperi* instead of *ensiferi*, but the rest is mostly the same. AE 1996.1185 follows Lavagne & Gschaid's reading; here, the reading by Dietz & Fischer is discussed and gives the differences between this text and Lavagne & Gschaid's: most notably that it is to *Pio Lari* not *Deo Marti*, *hospitibus* instead of *militibus*, *posteri tribunus/militis* instead of *tertia tribunus/militiae*, and *satus* instead of *natus*, which is similar to Raith's interpretation (NW.7a). There are other readings, for example the one found in Schmidt Heidenreich 2013.325, which is slightly different, but mostly similar, to Raith's reading, but these appear to be the two prevailing interpretations. Lavagne & Gschaid disagree with Dietz's interpretation that this, as in Raith's, was to the *Lari et Larundae* (1996: 1255). This is not the only reading upon which Lavagne & Gschaid disagree with Dietz (see their commentary [1996]). Kruschwitz, who made an autopsy of this text in 2016, interprets the reading of this inscription almost identically to Raith's, apart from he read *prisc[o]*, rather than *prisc[i]*, which makes more sense (2005: 29-30, and n. 49).

correct one given the fragmentary nature of the inscription and the fact that this has been made more difficult by ‘restorations’ in the seventies;<sup>2518</sup> all previous interpretations have assisted in the new one proposed here. Most of Lavagne & Gschaid’s interpretation has been considered redundant by other scholars,<sup>2519</sup> but it has assisted with the interpretation offered here. Therefore, it is important to consider the interpretations of previous scholars, and the implications of their interpretations on understanding this inscription in a military and natural context.

The author liked to bounce around in terms of language and what agrees with what, which makes determining the meaning difficult,<sup>2520</sup> as encountered in Chapter 5. Yet the idea that the mud belongs to/comes from the sea, and it is fragrant by it, makes sense with the construction of *[o]lente [m]aria limo* (‘by the mud that smells like the sea’, 4), as Latin seems to have adopted the Greek construction of having the possessing item between the adjective of and the item it is possessing: in this case, the fragrant mud (*olente ... limo*) is from the sea (*maria*). Lavagne & Gschaid’s interpretation is closer to that presented in the translation of **NW.7a**.<sup>2521</sup> Here, we have someone defining themselves not by land, but by water. Aemilius defines his home town, and therefore himself, by the natural wonders there that were famous for healing. He defines his home by its unique aspects, for those not only he would probably remember it best for from a public perspective as Aponus was famous for its healing mud, but also how others passing by this monument may have known Aponus for, perhaps the only reason how they had heard of it. Marcus Aemilius’ name is common and does not, in and of itself, give us much indication of his origins, although it is probably Italic,<sup>2522</sup> but, from this inscription, we know that he came from Ateste in Italy.<sup>2523</sup>

Raith describes where the Liburnians lived, between Scardona and Istria and on the island off on the east coast of the Adriatic Sea, and the Roman myth of how their name came to be used for the Vindelici.<sup>2524</sup> There was a Liburnia that existed in poetry which included Padua and Rhaetia. Aemilius’ use of *Vindelici* for his soldiers and his use of *in Liburno* is probably a reflection of this myth,<sup>2525</sup> as in reality the land of the Liburni was on the north east section of the Adriatic, between the river Arsia and the Titius.<sup>2526</sup> They were famous for their seafaring,<sup>2527</sup> and their knowledge of the coastline was evident in their battle tactics: *Liburni, cum vadose loca obsedissent, capitibus tantum eminentibus fidem fecerunt hosti alti maris ac triremem, quae eos persequeretur, implicatam vado ceperunt* (‘the Liburni, when they had blockaded some shallow places, with only their heads visible, created the assurance that the sea water was deep, and they captured the enemy trireme, having trapped it, which followed after them’, Frontin. Strat. 2.5.43). In this way, Aemilius created a connection between his men and his own homeland, between himself and his men. This is why *[Apo]ni medentis* (‘healing

<sup>2518</sup> Pfaffel 2004: 196. See also the discussion on **NW.7** in Chapter 5.

<sup>2519</sup> *Ibid.*: 200.

<sup>2520</sup> See the text, and see also Lavagne & Gschaid’s translation, where they almost completely invert the text (*ibid.*: 1261).

<sup>2521</sup> Lavagne & Gschaid 1996: 1259.

<sup>2522</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2523</sup> See Lewis & Short 1945: 188. See also HD050375; Pfaffel 2004: 207.

<sup>2524</sup> Raith 2005: 100, who cites Liv. 1.1.3 and Verg. Aen. 1.242-249, Virgil Servius *ad Aen.* 1.243. See also Lavagne & Gschaid 1996: 1262.

<sup>2525</sup> Lavagne & Gschaid 1996: 1265.

<sup>2526</sup> Wilkes 2012b: 831.

<sup>2527</sup> *Ibid.*

Aponus') has been added to this poem: to clarify which *Liburnum* is meant.<sup>2528</sup> For Lavagne & Gschaid, however, this knowledge seems beyond even a learned *tribunus*' remit,<sup>2529</sup> yet his knowledge of metre and linguistic style provides evidence to the contrary. Aponus was where the Euganean Hills are, to the south west of Patavium (now Padua),<sup>2530</sup> in Umbria,<sup>2531</sup> where the thermal baths of Abano were,<sup>2532</sup> which was, and still is, famous for the medicinal properties of and cures made from its mud, and it had a much frequented spa in the imperial period, called *Fons/Fontes Aponi*.<sup>2533</sup>

The name *Aponus* comes from the Greek ἄπονος meaning "pain-relieving" or "soothing".<sup>2534</sup> Raith describes how 'Den Ort und die dort verehrte Gottheit mit demselben Namen zu bezeichnen, ist keltischer Brauch', so he thought that Aponus was also a deity.<sup>2535</sup> Aponus itself is a warm spring,<sup>2536</sup> and so Aemilius may simply be referring to the spring, in that he came from the countryside, and the mud he is referring to came from this spring. Maybe the remarkable fact about this mud was that it smelt of the sea, despite being from a river. Patavium was in a particularly fertile part of Cisalpine Gaul, where there were famous springs, and it had connections to the sea.<sup>2537</sup> This would make Aemilius of Italic origin, in a time when Italian recruits were becoming less frequent; this may explain his skills with Latin, what linguistically Latin can achieve, i.e. connections across lines, and archaic Latin, and perhaps he acquired rudimentary inscribing skills in his time in the military. *Aponus* was also used more frequently as a poetic style phrase for Patavium, probably because 'Aponus gehörte zum Territorium von Patavium'.<sup>2538</sup> Aponus' famous baths and healing mud from the sea must be why Aemilius identifies his origins as from the sea and water: as his city was defined, so was he.

We know not only the origins of Aemilius, but his entire recent itinerary. The *[tur]rigeras ... arce[s]* ('arched turrets', NW.7.5) to which Aemilius is *rebitens* is Castra Regina itself. It had a rampart built around it, 'by' Marcus Aurelius and Commodus in AD 179, and traces have been found of eighteen, although this is not the final amount, of the towers that surrounded it.<sup>2539</sup> For Kruschwitz, Aemilius set up this *sacellum* after a dangerous mission in Liburnia, in thanks for his safe return.<sup>2540</sup> For Lavagne & Gschaid, this was an administrative move, one less fraught with danger. It was obligatory for someone between two *militiae*, who was awaiting a promotion, to be assigned a civil post.<sup>2541</sup> Lavagne & Gschaid sees this as Aemilius previously being in Ateste and returning to the legionary fortress, having had a civil office in Ateste, in his homeland, to fulfil his third *militiae* as a military tribune.<sup>2542</sup> They conjecture that Aemilius was making his background more poetic by describing himself as *[n]atus [Apo]ni*.<sup>2543</sup> Aponus was approximately fourteen miles from Ateste, Ateste approximately twenty from

<sup>2528</sup> Raith 2005: 100. See Lavagne & Gschaid 1996: 1263-1265 for more details on Liburnia at the time of the creation of this inscription.

<sup>2529</sup> Lavagne & Gschaid 1996: 1265.

<sup>2530</sup> Salmon & Potter 2012c: 1089.

<sup>2531</sup> Linderski 2012a: 469-470.

<sup>2532</sup> Raith 2005: 100.

<sup>2533</sup> Lavagne & Gschaid 1996: 1258-1259; *ibid.* See also Pfaffel 2004: 207.

<sup>2534</sup> Raith 2005: 100 n. 7.

<sup>2535</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2536</sup> Davidson & Jaine 2014.

<sup>2537</sup> Salmon & Potter 2012c: 1089.

<sup>2538</sup> Raith 2005: 100 n. 8.

<sup>2539</sup> Lavagne & Gschaid 1996: 1260.

<sup>2540</sup> P. Kruschwitz, in conversation.

<sup>2541</sup> Lavagne & Gschaid 1996: 1260. See the discussion on this inscription in Chapter 5.

<sup>2542</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2543</sup> *Ibid.*

Patavium,<sup>2544</sup> and others who were born near to Aponus, but not necessary in Aponus, were poetically described as being born there.<sup>2545</sup>

The 1996 edition of *AE* interprets this slightly differently, where they conjecture that Aemilius is either from Ateste originally, or he was from Aponus coming back from Ateste to Castra Regina.<sup>2546</sup> Pfaffel gives a variety of interpretations as to what *Ateste prisco* could mean.<sup>2547</sup> He concludes that, in order to avoid Aemilius being born in both Aponus and Ateste, he either was the son of Aponus who was from old Ateste, or he was the son of Aponus who returned from old Ateste,<sup>2548</sup> although he finally deduces that, due to linguistic parallels with other inscriptions, despite only citing prose ones, that *Ateste prisco* refers to Aemilius' origins, but its interpretation, Pfaffel ultimately states, is 'often'.<sup>2549</sup> Given the closeness of Ateste and Aponus, could Aemilius not be using the placenames to reinforce where he was from? Or, alternatively, is he saying that Aponus was once called Ateste, but now Aponus is no longer restricted simply to the *Fons Aponus*, but now is the name of Aponus and Ateste? Here, Aemilius is understood as originating from Ateste.

This inscription highlights the impermanence of military life, and the desire for a permanent place,<sup>2550</sup> not only through the unique description of Aemilius' recent itinerary, but also in the dedication itself: to the Lars and Larunda, deities typically associated with home, particularly in the *Aeneid*, where their representation of home is a key theme running throughout Aeneas' travels to his descendants' homeland, Rome. This impermanent life may also be why soldiers identify themselves by the lands within which they were born and died: they were/would become their only true places of permanent existence, a place by which they could define themselves. In this style, Aemilius defines himself by the place he was born, and the place he would end up, in the near future as his military role demanded his move. Yet, he gives thanks, offers a votive inscription for his return to his garrison, to the local Lar and Larunda, indicating how soldiers also came to reclaim the land, religion and culture of their garrisons as their homes.<sup>2551</sup>

This highlights the continual itinerant life of the Roman soldier who, even as local recruitment and remaining attached to a fortress for most of one's military career became more common, the reality, as always, was different. Men were moved around as part of vexillations, sections of legions away from their legion and its post, and men, singly, were transferred from place to place, from role to role, from civilian to military role as the lines between the two became blurred, especially in the more senior ranks in an itinerant life of far reaching and diverse posts and roles that must have made the idea of settling down both impossible and desirable for many.<sup>2552</sup> Even though Aemilius defines his homeland more through water than land connotations, he presents a hybrid earth-water definition, in that the healing substance which his home was famous for was mud that smelt of, and therefore presumably came from, the sea. The importance of the impact of nature on his home, and his sense of his definition of home,

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<sup>2544</sup> Pfaffel 2004: 206.

<sup>2545</sup> Lavagne & Gschaid 1996: 1260, discussing Martial's attribution of Livy's Paduan origins. See also Salmon & Potter 2012c: 1089.

<sup>2546</sup> *AE* 1996.1185. See also Pfaffel 2004: 209.

<sup>2547</sup> Pfaffel 2004: 209.

<sup>2548</sup> *Ibid.*: 210.

<sup>2549</sup> *Ibid.*: 212.

<sup>2550</sup> P. Kruschwitz, in conversation.

<sup>2551</sup> See the discussion on **ET.42**.

<sup>2552</sup> See Chapter 8.

is highlighted by how his new posting, his final stop, is defined by the man-made, military feature of *turrigeras arces*; here, the natural and military worlds are juxtaposed subtly and carefully, beginning and ending the final couplet. Aemilius, like the readers of his poem, is transported from a world where nature dominates and defines to an environment where the military and man-made constructions are the defining feature of that landscape. This inscription demonstrates how nature can be a grounding guidance and attributive of home, something that those who had such an itinerant life must, at some point, have craved.

Water imagery, rather unsurprisingly, is found in the verse inscriptions of those belonging, or related to, the Roman navy. There is a Latin verse inscription for a commercial sailor containing water and astronomical imagery.<sup>2553</sup> As this can be applied to those both directly within the Roman navy and those indirectly affected by it, by affiliation with a member of the Roman navy, this indicates the overall impact and importance this way of life and the unpredictability of sailing had on all those concerned.

Another water theme we encounter is someone being buried on the shore, as seen in **AI.1**, a verse epitaph commissioned by a trierarch and his partner: “*hic meus ut frater Stabiano litore mecum | / conditur in tenebris, Acheronti labitur undis.*” (“This one, as my brother, is buried with me in death / on the Stabian shore, he sinks into the waves of Acheron.”, 11-12).<sup>2554</sup> One imagines why they would want to be buried on the shoreline, when those in the ancient world were so terrified of death by drowning because of the lack of grave. Perhaps this is further evidence of man conquering nature, for they could be buried on a shoreline, which may sometimes be under the sea; they could be buried by the waves, and yet still have an earthy grave. Or, maybe, they wished to state where the young man was buried, as many inscriptions, as demonstrated throughout this study, concerning civilians and the military alike. This also demonstrates the deep connection between death and water, i.e. in the imagery of death being equated to the river Acheron or Styx, as seen in **LL.7**: *postea, cum | sperans dolorem effugisse nefandam, / ante | diem meritum hunc demersit at Styga Pluton* (‘Afterwards, when he hoped that he had escaped the abominable pain, / at last Pluto plunged that man into the Stygian waters before his deserved day’, 8-10). This is not unique to military verse inscriptions, and is found in civilian verse inscriptions, for example that of a *nauclerus*, a ship’s captain,<sup>2555</sup> in *CIL IX 3337*.

It is a curious feature of water imagery in Roman military verse inscriptions that it is incredibly individual and changes from inscription to inscription, so therefore cannot be grouped together in the same way as land imagery above. Another water inscription is **NW.8**, a votive inscription by the centurion of the *Legio V Macedonica*. As a votive inscription, it has already been discussed in Chapter 5, yet the majority of the discussion on this inscription shall be here, as it contains much water imagery, as well as other natural environment imagery, which is also why it has been labelled as **NW** and not **RI**.

In **NW.8**, a bilingual inscription found approximately three miles north of the Roman fort at Germisara, Upper Dacia, now Cigmau,<sup>2556</sup> nature had interfered with the inscription upon its discovery, as it was found with a layer of lime silt encrusted on it from precipitation of the thermal springs to which this inscription is dedicated, which made it illegible until it was

<sup>2553</sup> *CIL IX 60 = CLE 1533 = AE 2005.161 adn.*

<sup>2554</sup> See also discussion on this inscription in Chapter 6.

<sup>2555</sup> See, for example, Lewis & Short 1945: 1190; Kidd 1957: 137.

<sup>2556</sup> EDCS-71200587; Dana 2015; Bellido & Hernández Pérez 2020: 428.

restored.<sup>2557</sup> This inscription is longer than most of the other inscriptions examined in this study. The Latin part of **NW.8** has been identified as verse, specifically hexameter,<sup>2558</sup> and the Greek as versaic prose.<sup>2559</sup> The Greek shows aspects of heptameter (19, 22, 27-28) but wanted it to be hexameter, according to Piso;<sup>2560</sup> if it follows this pattern, then the line breaks do not correlate with the layout of the metre when concerning the Greek part of this inscription. However, Bellido & Hernández Pérez have identified that there is a correlation between the line breaks and the format of the metre in the Latin inscription.<sup>2561</sup> This, they say, creates ‘ciertas peculiaridades e imperfecciones no ajenas a la poesía Latina epigráfica y menos aún a la de la época imperial’.<sup>2562</sup> Piso believes that the inconsistencies in the verse were due to the ‘fault’ of the author, and ‘dass in der Umgangssprache die Quantität schon weitgehend verschwunden war’.<sup>2563</sup> However, as has been discovered in this research, the correspondence between line breaks on the epigraphic field and metre indicate that the format of verse was of importance to those in the Roman world, specifically to those, to soldiers, who were more well educated, for which there is evidence that Justinus belonged to this body of men, and that these ‘peculiarities’ and ‘imperfections’ in the language reflect this desire to correspond with the format of verse. Inscriptions demonstrate the development of language, of spoken language, despite being a written medium, both in subtle and more pronounced ways, and so this, as well as the literary experience of the author, who was most likely to be Justinus himself, can no more be an error or fault than a demonstration of the natural development and fluidity of language itself.

Nymphs were the deities of not only the springs, but also of the natural environment surrounding it, hence the use of *ager* (‘countryside’, **NW.8.2**),<sup>2564</sup> and gardens, with gates, one for mortals and one for the divine, are often known to have accompanied the caves of nymphs in literature (22).<sup>2565</sup> *Vortex* (‘the whirlpool’, 6) is said to refer to where the spring originated, ‘und damit der Ort der Epiphanie der Gottheit’,<sup>2566</sup> presumably because it bubbled up out of the ground, thus merging the deity with the feature of the natural world it was said to represent, personify, safeguard.<sup>2567</sup> For Piso, 6-8 refer to the water emerging into the open, presumably from the cave in which this spring resided;<sup>2568</sup> yet, what if this was a reference, as it is translated here, to the journey of the spring as a whole, from spring to river to ocean, a passage the Romans, with all their knowledge of the natural world, surely understood as the natural order of rivers? Water that came from underneath the earth was generally considered to be healing,<sup>2569</sup> which is also probably why Justinus emphasises the fact that this spring bubbled

<sup>2557</sup> Piso 2015: 47-68; esp. 55.

<sup>2558</sup> Piso identifies it as ‘imperfect’ hexameter (2015: 47, 57). See also Dana 2015; Bellido & Hernández Pérez 2020: 427, 431, 445.

<sup>2559</sup> Bellido & Hernández Pérez (2020: 427, 433, 439, 445), where they assert that it is not possible to recognise a distinctive metrical pattern in the Greek section; Piso (2015: 57), in which he remarks that the strict rules of scansion are not seen in either the Latin or the Greek texts.

<sup>2560</sup> Piso 2015: 57.

<sup>2561</sup> Bellido & Hernández Pérez 2020: 431.

<sup>2562</sup> *Ibid.*, which they then proceed to list on 431-433 for the Latin and Greek texts. Although they later recognise that such peculiarities in metrical form and language are common in Latin verse inscriptions (445).

<sup>2563</sup> Piso 2015: 57.

<sup>2564</sup> *Ibid.*: 58. See also Bellido & Hernández Pérez 2020: 434.

<sup>2565</sup> For example, in Homer (Piso 2015: 62). Perhaps this is why Aeneas is given the choice of two gates from which to leave the Underworld, and perhaps this assists in explaining the much debated meaning behind these two gates. See also Bellido & Hernández Pérez 2020: 437.

<sup>2566</sup> Piso 2015: 59.

<sup>2567</sup> See *ibid.*

<sup>2568</sup> *Ibid.* See also, for example, 63 for references to the cave of the nymphs.

<sup>2569</sup> *Ibid.*: 61.



up from the ground (6). Water was important for the rituals performed in these shrines,<sup>2570</sup> and this is partially why water is emphasised in this inscription, also because this is about venerating a spring of a divine nymph. These nymphs were not only venerated with a shrine of Hypnos by Justinus, but by the general populace and soldiers alike with flora in public festivals and as personal tokens of thanks (14-15, 21).

**NW.9** is a fragmented inscription found in Rome,<sup>2571</sup> although its precise location is unknown.<sup>2572</sup> It has now disappeared, and so the material it was once written on is unknown,<sup>2573</sup> although it is believed that it was written in stone in large, monumental letters.<sup>2574</sup> Seeming to be an honorific inscription for a member of the imperial family, written in elegiac couplets,<sup>2575</sup> it is of an unknown date: there is a debate about whether it is from a triumphal arch for Drusus, Germanicus or Domitian,<sup>2576</sup> or from the time of Valentinian and Valens,<sup>2577</sup> the latter option of which would discount this inscription from the data set of this study. However, as the date surrounding this inscription is debateable,<sup>2578</sup> it has been included here, although this should be born in mind when contemplating this inscription.

[---] *ad divortia Rheni*  
*pervasi. hostiles depopulator agro[s]. |*  
*dum tibi bella foris aeterna(e)q(ue) sudo troph[a]ea,*  
*Hister | pacatis lenior ibit aquis. |*

Although **NW.9** is not the same as the other military inscriptions so far cited in this study, it is important to discuss it briefly here.<sup>2579</sup> It demonstrates how important landmarks were to those in the military, to all ranks, from the lowest to the highest. Here, nature, both natural and that manufactured by man, i.e. rivers and farmland, are dominated by the military, one used as a landmark and as a mode of transport, the other as something to conquer and destroy for the Empire and its people. Bücheler questions where, exactly, the *divortia Rheni* is referring to: ‘intelligendus locus ille quo Vahalis a Rheno exit an qui Danuuianas regiones a Rhenanis diuidit saltus?’ (‘Must that be understood as the place which left the Wall from the Rhine or which was between the Danubian regions from the Rhine, divided by a ravine?’). Baldarotta believes this inscription ‘allude all’invasione di campi nemici e alla conquista di trofie nelle regioni renane e danubiane’.<sup>2580</sup>

In many ways, to describe the Rhine and Danube in this way gives this inscription the feeling of not only military but also religious triumph, for rivers were understood and respected as gods, and so to cross and pacify the Rhine and Danube was not only a travelling across and pacification of nature, but of two deities too.<sup>2581</sup> But rivers are often portrayed as deities to appease, especially if one wished to gain military victory, for example, the Danube’s ‘support

<sup>2570</sup> Bellido & Hernández Pérez 2020: 442.

<sup>2571</sup> EDCS-17700496; EDR112718; *CLE* 895; *CIL* VI 1207; *AE* 1998.145 adn.; Baldarotta 1998: 316.

<sup>2572</sup> EDR112718.

<sup>2573</sup> *Ibid.* See also Baldarotta 1998: 316.

<sup>2574</sup> *CLE* 895; *CIL* VI 1207. See also Baldarotta 1998: 316.

<sup>2575</sup> *CLE* 895; Baldarotta 1998: 316; <http://www.mqdg.it/texts/CE/ce0895>; EDR112718.

<sup>2576</sup> The latter of which Mommsen believed (see *CLE* 895 commentary), and which he explains; *CIL* VI.1207. Baldarotta 1998: 316 also discusses the possible identity of the person this inscription is speaking about.

<sup>2577</sup> As Bücheler believed (*CLE* 895). See also Baldarotta 1998: 316, who seems to find this identification the most convincing.

<sup>2578</sup> See also Baldarotta 1998: 316.

<sup>2579</sup> It has not been classified as military on EDR, but it is classified as imperial/honorific (EDR112718).

<sup>2580</sup> Baldarotta 1998: 316.

<sup>2581</sup> See also Braund’s paper *River frontiers in the environmental psychology of the Roman world* (1996: 43-47, esp. 45-46).

and assistance (particularly where resistance might have been expected) were used to illustrate the propriety of Roman imperialism, imagined as bringing benefit to a tamed Dacia'.<sup>2582</sup> Here, the Rhine is crossed and the Danube pacified; perhaps a ritual had been conducted before the Rhine was sailed down,<sup>2583</sup> and this military victory has brought about the pacification of a deity, so not only was it beneficial for the Romans, but for the gods too. As seen in examples beyond this inscription, such as in historical narratives, marble monuments and epic poetry, 'rivers might be parades in triumph among the lands and peoples subdued by the *triumphator*'.<sup>2584</sup> It demonstrates the Roman mentality with the natural world, including that of the Roman military, united in the balance of the dichotomy that lies in their interaction with it: 'as far as possible, rivers were to be won over and made allies of the empire: otherwise, they must be fought, conquered and made to support Roman imperialism'.<sup>2585</sup>

The use of *tibi* is personal and makes these wars seem as operations carried out for the people, for each individual within the Roman Empire. The toil of the men fighting in the Roman military, and, therefore, presumably the lives they lost, was conducted for the people of Rome, in the name of the Emperor. Again, it gives the military that feeling of protection for the Empire, protection carried out in the Emperor's name, and this makes it feel personal. There is an assumption that those walking past this monument and reading it in Rome would recognise those place names, and at least be able to identify them as far away, but not far away enough not to have a personal impact on their lives. The transition from the violent imagery of the first two lines to the calmer language of the second couplet is jarring, from the violence (particularly *depopulator*) of conquest to the peace of a river which has been pacified by this military combat (*Hister | pacatis lenior ibit aquis*, 'the Danube shall flow more calmly with pacified waters', **NW.9.5**). As seen in instances such as these, where rivers are so integral to triumphal poetry, even in the Roman military's interaction with nature as a wider concept, it is evident how 'the natural world was at one with Roman imperialism'.<sup>2586</sup> 'Rivers were a standard feature of writing on military success',<sup>2587</sup> and this triumphal poem indicates that nothing was safe from Roman pacification, not people, not land, not great rivers.

Triumphing over rivers is probably seen, and known, best from **NW.10**, a pure expression of Roman military boasting and bravado, and conquest over nature, wrapped up, counter-intuitively, in an inscription describing the deeds of an unnamed auxiliary soldier. It is probably for this reason that much has been written about this inscription,<sup>2588</sup> and so only a brief account of it shall be presented here, especially focusing on its relevance to the theme of the military and nature.

This epitaph now only exists in three manuscripts, one from the ninth, one the twelfth and the other the thirteenth century,<sup>2589</sup> and, as such, its original location and appearance are now unknown.<sup>2590</sup> It has been belived to be from somewhere in Pannonia Inferior, specifically what

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<sup>2582</sup> Braund 1996: 46.

<sup>2583</sup> See *ibid.*

<sup>2584</sup> *Ibid.*: 47.

<sup>2585</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2586</sup> *Ibid.*: 46.

<sup>2587</sup> *Ibid.*: 47.

<sup>2588</sup> A full account of all the literature concerning it is listed in Kovács article (2018: 313-314). Lists are also found in Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.59: 121; Cugusi 2007.104-105. See also discussion on this inscription in Chapter 2.

<sup>2589</sup> D 2558; *CLE* 427; Kuntić-Makvić 1976.9: 51; Courtney 1995: 334; Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.59; Kovács 2018: 313, 317

<sup>2590</sup> See *ILS* 2558, for example.

is now Hungary,<sup>2591</sup> because it refers to Pannonia Inferior in the text, but it has also been conjectured to have been from Sora.<sup>2592</sup> Despite the events in this inscription being described by de la Bédoyère as: ‘the emperor Hadrian was lucky enough to witness an outstanding example of military training and prowess when he watched a display by an anonymous member of a milliaria auxiliary unit. The soldier concerned was so pleased with his performance that he appears to have dictated his own triumphantly smug epitaph before his death’,<sup>2593</sup> yet ‘unfortunately omitting his name and where he came from’,<sup>2594</sup> given the previous examples of inscriptions seen in this study thus far, it is unlikely that the soldier omitted his name from this inscription, especially as he has no qualms about describing himself without humility and with pride, perhaps best encapsulated in the final line: *exemplo mihi sum, primus qui talia gessi* (‘I am an example for myself: I was the first man who carried out such skills’, **NW.10.11**).

The description of ‘*epitaphium Sorani militis*’ accompanied this text in the twelfth century Montispessulanus codex and ‘*versus eiusdem* [meaning Hadrian] *de quodam militia Sorano*’ in the thirteenth century Parisiensis codex,<sup>2595</sup> has led to some believing that this soldier was called ‘Soranus’,<sup>2596</sup> in the absence of the copier of this text including the prose part of this inscription which would have outlined information such as we see in the majority of inscriptions, such as his name, who set this up for him, if he did not set it up himself, and what his unit was.<sup>2597</sup> Yet, Kovács has convincingly argued that *Soranus* was the adjectival form of Sora, not the soldier’s name, which was in Italy, just outside Rome.<sup>2598</sup> In Kovács’ opinion, this inscription was never in Pannonia, and it should be thought to have been in, or in the vicinity of, Rome.<sup>2599</sup> He offers the perspective that this may have been where the soldier was born,<sup>2600</sup> as we have seen especially with soldiers whose birthplace was Rome and the surrounding area, it is not out of the realm of possibility that this was both the birthplace, and the final (epigraphic) resting place of this particular soldier, his remains perhaps sent home from the frontlines and an epitaph put up in his hometown to celebrate his life and feats. The closest conjecture we have, therefore, of where this inscription came from is a logical one, but nevertheless an educated guess: Sora, Italy.

This, therefore, means that this **NW.10** came from the veteran colony in Sora,<sup>2601</sup> and not from some unknown place in Pannonia Inferior.<sup>2602</sup> This was ‘where Hadrian settled veterans and where more *equites singulares Augusti* retired’.<sup>2603</sup> Speidel believed this was an epitaph recalling the feats of an *equites singularis Augusti*,<sup>2604</sup> because they were called the ‘Batavi’ in the second and third centuries, similarly to the *Germani corporis custodes*, the Batavian

<sup>2591</sup> Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.119, from an unknown location in Pannonia; EDCS-26600590; Kuntić-Makvić 1976.9: 51; Courtney 1995: 334. See also Cugusi 2007.104.

<sup>2592</sup> Courtney 1995: 334.

<sup>2593</sup> De la Bédoyère 2020: 402-403.

<sup>2594</sup> *Ibid.*: 403.

<sup>2595</sup> *CLE* 427; Kuntić-Makvić 1976.9: 51. See also *ILS* 2558; Speidel 1991: 279; Kovács 2018: 316.

<sup>2596</sup> Speidel 1991: 277. See also 279; Davies 1989: 111; *AE* 2005.14 adn.; Cugusi 2007.104-105; Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.59: 121.

<sup>2597</sup> See *D* 2558; Kovács 2018: 311, 315-316.

<sup>2598</sup> Kovács 2018: 311, 316-317, where he goes into great depth about *Soranus* and Sora; Dessau is also not convinced that this soldier was called *Soranus* (*ILS* 2258). See also Speidel 1991: 279, who mentions this town.

<sup>2599</sup> Kovács 2018: 311; see also 315, 317.

<sup>2600</sup> *Ibid.*: 316.

<sup>2601</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2602</sup> Courtney 1995: 334.

<sup>2603</sup> Speidel 1991: 279. See also Courtney 1995: 334.

<sup>2604</sup> Speidel 1991 throughout; *AE* 2005.14 adn.; Kovács 2018: 315; See also *AE* 2005.14 adn.; Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.59: 121.

mounted bodyguard of the emperor in the first century.<sup>2605</sup> They also, ‘as the imperial horse guard ... went wherever Hadrian went. Some of them were bowmen and they accompanied Trajan to the Parthian war, where they shot it out with Parthian archers, and from there they returned with Hadrian to the Danube’,<sup>2606</sup> and they came from the Danube- and Rhinelands, the bowmen predominantly from Syria and Arabia.<sup>2607</sup> Alongside the 1993 version of *AE*, **NW.10** has been categorised as one of these ‘veritables biographies, dans la mesure où ils décrivent des événements importants de la vie de ces hommes’ by Speidel.<sup>2608</sup> This interpretation, that this unknown soldier belonged to the *equites singulares* is now accepted as ‘the most plausible one. On the other hand, Speidel’s efforts to exclude all other possible Pannonian military units are not obviously correct’.<sup>2609</sup>

Some have conjectured that he served in ‘a *cohors Batauorum miliaria*’ or he was in ‘the thousand-strong *equites singulares*, popularly called *Bataui*’,<sup>2610</sup> because they were the best riders.<sup>2611</sup> It is agreed, however, that *Batavos* (‘Batavian’) in **NW.10.2** does not mean this was the soldier’s ethnic origin, but referred to his military unit.<sup>2612</sup> It is clear that he was a native Latin speaker, as we have seen that those soldiers who used Latin to this degree of fluency, versatility and skill were predominantly native Latin speaking in origin. Kovács offers possibilities for if Soranus were the name of this soldier, and the implications of these upon the soldier himself. Soranus was a rare Latin nickname, which ‘hardly occurs outside Rome and Latium, especially rare in the provinces, totally unattested among the Batavians’.<sup>2613</sup> Although, two instances of varieties of Soranus as a name had been found in Pannonian inscriptions.<sup>2614</sup> Fehér conjectures that they were variants of Syranus, and so ‘if Soranus is a personal name it must be supposed that he was an *eques singularis* of Syrian origin under Hadrian’s reign’.<sup>2615</sup> Also, if they were going to put his name in the manuscript, surely they would have copied the prose inscription that would have accompanied it, rather than simply state, for example, *Sorani militis*, like **AI.2**, where the prose inscription giving the name of the soldier and his parents were stated? However, although the prose description with the basic facts about the soldier in was omitted, ‘this part was naturally not cited in the anthology [,] but the lemma could use it’.<sup>2616</sup> It seems more likely, however, that Soranus, as Kovács concluded, was a reference to

<sup>2605</sup> Speidel 1991: 278, which is known from epigraphic evidence. See also Kovács 2018: 311.

<sup>2606</sup> Speidel 1991: 279.

<sup>2607</sup> *Ibid.*; see also Kovács’ suggestions on the possibility of this soldier being Syrian in origin, which are also posited below.

<sup>2608</sup> *AE* 2005.14 adn. *AE* 1993.1547 is wholly Greek, and so has not been included in this study. See also Lattimore who discusses *EG* 549, an inscription from Trajan’s reign, which is described as a ‘short biographical sketch[es] touched up to show off the points of the dead’, with ‘the first and third person providing [no] certain clue to the authorship’ (1942: 288), although, as the inscriptions in this study have shown, often first person inscriptions were by the subject of the inscription, and those in the third person were often by other parties. Sometimes, the inscription is in the third person, but it is specified in the prose part of the inscription that the subject of the inscription had it made.

<sup>2609</sup> Kovács 2018: 315-316.

<sup>2610</sup> Courtney 1995: 334. See also Speidel 1991: 278. See *ILS* 2558; *CLE* 427; Davies 1989: 111 for the former, Speidel 1991; Kovács 2018: 316-317 for the latter. Although Kovács concedes that ‘if his name was Soranus he served in the *equites singulares*. On the other hand, his unit can also be identified with the *ala I Batavorum* because the unit must have participated in the wars of 118-119, too. In this case the rider could have been transferred from the *ala* to Rome as well. The question of the rider’s name und [sic] his unit must remain unsolved too’ (2018: 317). Speidel disagrees with this possibly being the *ala I milliaria Batavorum* (1991: 278). Davies calls the cohort *cohors III Batavorum milliaria equitata* (1989: 111).

<sup>2611</sup> Speidel 1991: 279, quoting D.C. 55 24.7, see also n. 10.

<sup>2612</sup> Speidel 1991: 279; de la Bédoyère 2020: 466 n. 28. Only Lattimore appears to believe that he was Batavian, as the boasting attitude was more of a Batavian trait in his opinion (1942: 288).

<sup>2613</sup> Kovács 2018: 316. See also Speidel 1991: 279, and n. 13, who briefly mentions the name.

<sup>2614</sup> *TRHR* 115 and *RIU* 585; Kovács 2018: 316.

<sup>2615</sup> Kovács 2018: 316.

<sup>2616</sup> *Ibid.*

the findspot of the original inscription. Kovács offers the following three options for the origins of this soldier:<sup>2617</sup>

If his name was Soranus he served in the equites singulares. On the other hand, his unit can also be identified with the *ala I Batavorum* because the unit must have participated in the wars of 118-119, too. In this case the rider could have been transferred from the ala to Rome as well. The question of the rider's name and his unit must remain unsolved too. It seems to be highly likely that Emperor Hadrian was not the composer of the funerary epigraph but it was attributed to him latest from the Late Antiquity [sic]. The only fact is sure that [sic] that the eques' tombstone never stood '*super ripam Danuvii*' in Aquincum.

Kovács describes this epitaph as describing 'one of the best-known events in the history of Pannonia under Hadrian's reign was that a Batavian rider in full armor with his unit of 1000 men swam across the river Danube in front of the emperor and the barbarians'.<sup>2618</sup> Speidel specifies that he swam across the river whilst on his horse,<sup>2619</sup> but there is no evidence in this inscription that he did this, just that Hadrian thought he could. It seems that only Courtney did not take it literally that Hadrian witnessed this feat (NW.10.3): 'It must not be assumed that 'Soranus' actually performed the feat under the eyes of Hadrian, as if *iudice* meant *teste*; surely the Latin can only mean 'I who, in Hadrian's judgement, could have swum across the Danube', a report of a compliment paid by Hadrian to the soldier at some time'.<sup>2620</sup> All others appear to take it literally that Hadrian witnessed this event,<sup>2621</sup> and that this was an event that happened, recorded in the history books.<sup>2622</sup> In Dio Cassius Book 69, the following event is described:

οὕτω γὰρ καλῶς ἤσκητο τὸ στρατιωτικὸν αὐτῷ ὥστε καὶ τὸ ἵππικὸν τῶν ὀπλων διενήξαντο. ἃ ὁρῶντες οἱ βάρβαροι τοὺς μὲν Ῥωμαίους κατεπλήττοντο, τρεπόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐχρῶντο αὐτῷ διαιτητῇ τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφορῶν.

So excellently, indeed, had his soldiery been trained that the cavalry of the Batavians, as they were called, swam the Ister with their arms. Seeing all this, the barbarians stood in terror of the Romans, and turning their attention to their own affairs, they employed Hadrian as an arbitrator of their differences.

D. C. 69.9.6, trans. by E. Cary, 1914: 443.

Hadrian carried out this training.<sup>2623</sup> This inscription, then, is felt to be a record of someone performing this very event in history.<sup>2624</sup> 'a personal assessment of manoeuvres conducted along the Danube is given by the epitaph in verse of Soranus who gave a display, *Hadriano iudice*, of his skills'.<sup>2625</sup> Kuntić-Makvić remarks that Tacitus' recording of the Batavians' knowledge of how to swim across the Rhine and Dio Cassius' account of Hadrian's soldiers are both anecdotal evidence that what we see in the inscription did indeed happen in the Roman

<sup>2617</sup> Kovács 2018: 317.

<sup>2618</sup> *Ibid.*: 311. See also Speidel 1991: 277.

<sup>2619</sup> Speidel 1991: 277.

<sup>2620</sup> Courtney 1995: 335;

<sup>2621</sup> Cugusi 2007.105; de la Bédoyère 2020: 402-403.

<sup>2622</sup> Davies 1989: 112; Speidel 1991: 281; Courtney 1995: 334; Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.59; Kovács 2018: 311; *CLE* 427. See also Lattimore 1942: 288, the only one not to make a direct correlation between this inscription and this event.

<sup>2623</sup> Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.59.

<sup>2624</sup> Davies 1989: 111-112; Kovács 2018: 311. See also Speidel 1991: 277-278. See also above.

<sup>2625</sup> Davies 1989: 111, although most of what Davies says about this inscription has been disputed here, this quote makes the point succinctly.

Empire.<sup>2626</sup> For Kovács, this disproves the theory that this soldier belonged to the *cohors III Batavorum* because it was not an equestrian unit,<sup>2627</sup> although it was posted in Pannonia.<sup>2628</sup> But he does postulate the possibility of *ala I Batavorum milliaria c. R.* because, although it was posted to Dacia Superior in AD 118-119, ‘wherever the ala garrisoned in 118-119 (in Dacia or in Pannonia) it must have participated in the Sarmatian war as Pannonia inferior and Dacia were governed by the same person, Q. Marcius Turbo therefore the ala could also execute the famous maneuver before the emperor’.<sup>2629</sup>

The assumption that this inscription refers to this specific event means that units such as the *cohors III Batavorum* and the *ala I Batavorum milliaria* have been discounted because, in Dio’s account, those crossing the river were riders.<sup>2630</sup> Cavalry being trained to swim in full gear is ‘a feat for which the Batavians were famous’;<sup>2631</sup> swimming with one’s horse is an example of a vital skill acquired by the Romans from non-Romans: ‘though swimming rivers with their weapons and their horses was a special skill of the Germanic tribesmen, all the other troopers of the horse guard, Pannonians, Thracians, and even Syrian bowmen, had to learn it as well, for the emperors needed a horse guard able to swim rivers’,<sup>2632</sup> and ‘Germans in the Roman Army swimming a wide river under arms and thereby frightening the foes into making peace even became a literary *topos* not to be scorned’.<sup>2633</sup> The episode he cites is during the Parthian War in Ammianus Marcellinus,<sup>2634</sup> and it is similar to that presented in Dio Cassius, which exhibits how this skill was performed more than once by the Roman army, and, therefore, that the episode described in this inscription may not be the one described by Dio Cassius; crossing rivers is also depicted on Trajan’s Column, and this was carried out by the Romans and their enemies.<sup>2635</sup> Archers swam across the river first, because they prevented the cavalry from crossing and ‘they could shoot back as soon as they came out of the deep, fast-flowing part of the river and could mount their horses again’.<sup>2636</sup>

As swimming in armour was a skill taught to the foot soldiers as well,<sup>2637</sup> it seems presumptuous to assume that this soldier, who does not mention swimming across the river on his horse, but in full armour, was involved in this episode in Dio Cassius’ history. Soldiers performing feats of swimming are seen in Frontinus’ *Stratagems*, most notably at 3.13.6, where a *miles*, who was skilled in sailing and swimming, which indicates that soldiers were taught both, was chosen by Lucius Lucullus to deliver the letters informing the besieged Cyzicenes that they were coming to help them; to do so, he had to swim seven miles from the mainland to the besieged island (Frontin. Strat. 3.13.6). A similar incident happened when Hirtius, in 43 BC, sent letters to Decimus Brutus when he was being besieged; these were sent via *milites* who had the letters, which were written on lead, secured to their arms before they swam across

<sup>2626</sup> Kuntić-Makvić 1976.9: 51. See also Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.59: 121. See above for the Tacitus reference.

<sup>2627</sup> Kovács 2018: 316.

<sup>2628</sup> Speidel 1991: 278.

<sup>2629</sup> Kovács 2018: 316. See also Speidel 1991: 278 for discussion on these two suggested units.

<sup>2630</sup> Speidel 1991: 278.

<sup>2631</sup> Davies 1989: 111-112.

<sup>2632</sup> Speidel 1991: 279, who then cites famous examples when this was used effectively, and ineffectively.

<sup>2633</sup> *Ibid.*: 281, refers to an episode during the Parthian War in Amm. 25.6.13-15, 7.3, 8.1, see n. 19.

<sup>2634</sup> *Ibid.*, referring to Amm. 25.6.13-15, 7.3, 8.1, see n. 19.

<sup>2635</sup> *Ibid.*: 281 n. 19, referring to scene 31 of Trajan’s Column. See Frontin. Strat., especially 2.5.20, and 1.5.23, where crossing rivers could be disadvantageous for the Romans as well as a benefit. Crossing streams had been a part of discipline exercises even in the Roman Republic (see Frontin. Strat. 3.14.2-4).

<sup>2636</sup> Speidel 1991: 279.

<sup>2637</sup> Veg. Mil. 2.23 (see also 1.10). See Speidel 1991: 278, n. 4, who cites examples of men swimming with their horses also in Tacitus (Ann. 14.29, Hist. 4.12, Agr. 18). See also CLE 427; Lattimore 1942: 288; Courtney 1995: 335.

the Scultenna river (Frontin. Strat. 3.13.7). If he had crossed on his horse and emerged first, prepared to fire, it seems likely that he would have mentioned it, given the depth he goes into about all his other military skills and prowess. Also, *milliaria* cohorts were, as Spiedel describes them, ‘no more than two hundred and forty third-rate horsemen – hardly enough to frighten the Transdanubians into submission’, which is also why he discounts the *cohors III Batavorum*, and he discounts the *ala I milliariai Batavorum* because there is no material evidence for it being posted in Pannonia, there is no evidence for there being archers in this *ala*, nor for it serving in the Parthian war.<sup>2638</sup>

**NW.10** has been dated between AD 117-138,<sup>2639</sup> but it has been pinpointed to an event that happened in AD 118.<sup>2640</sup> In that year, Hadrian visited Pannonia,<sup>2641</sup> and it has been said that Hadrian witnessed this soldier’s feats during this visit: ‘Emperor Hadrian visited Pannonia only once in the spring of 118 when Pannonia and Dacia under the joint governorship of the equestrian Q. Marcius Turbo had to face with the invasion of the Samartians’, before he had to return to Rome in July of the same year.<sup>2642</sup> Spiedel observes that this must have happened in ‘April or later, else the water would be too cold to swim’.<sup>2643</sup> Some believed, following the Late Antique and manuscript tradition,<sup>2644</sup> that Hadrian himself had written this poem,<sup>2645</sup> but this is refuted by scholars now.<sup>2646</sup>

It was once queried by Spiedel whether it was either a poem from Hadrian’s collection or an inscribed epitaph,<sup>2647</sup> and only Kuntić-Makvić casts minor doubt on the authenticity of the Hadrianic date of this inscription, and that is mainly because of the regularity in the verse,<sup>2648</sup> as we have seen, the rules of metre seem to be flexible when it comes to Latin verse inscriptions, and some minor linguistic features that appear later.<sup>2649</sup> But, we have seen ‘later’ linguistic features appear earlier than expected in these inscriptions due to the nature of inscriptions and their ability to convey changing conventions in spoken language in written inscriptions. ‘The first three lines are all leonine’,<sup>2650</sup> Courtney remarks; Cugusi and Bücheler both categorise it as dactylic hexameter overall.<sup>2651</sup> It has been noted for being extraordinarily regular metrically by Kuntić-Makvić, who scans the verse.<sup>2652</sup>

The language of this inscription is skilled, and carefully considered. It is literary in its nature, more so than other military verse inscriptions. In order to capture the essence of *vasta ... aequora* (**NW.10.3-4**), for example, it is translated here as ‘the, so vast they are sea like, waters’. *Sacravi* has also been carefully selected: *sacrare* means ‘to consecrate, to devote, to

<sup>2638</sup> Spiedel 1991: 278, and n. 5.

<sup>2639</sup> HD075034; EDCS-26600590. See also Kuntić-Makvić 1976.9: 51; Cugusi 2007.104.

<sup>2640</sup> Davies 1989: 111; Courtney 1995: 335; Kovács 2018: 311.

<sup>2641</sup> Kovács 2018: 311.

<sup>2642</sup> *Ibid.* See also Spiedel 1991: 277, n. 1.

<sup>2643</sup> Spiedel 1991: 277, n. 1.

<sup>2644</sup> Kovács 2018: 311, 317

<sup>2645</sup> As indicated by the comment in the Parisiensis codex (*CLE* 427). Lattimore 1942: 288; Spiedel 1991: 277; Cugusi 2007.105; Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.59: 121.

<sup>2646</sup> Lattimore 1942: 288; Cugusi 2007.105; Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.59: 121-122. See also Kuntić-Makvić 1976.9: 51. This refutation is partly based on the style of the poem itself and its Virgilian and Ovidian allusions, which are not Hadrian’s style.

<sup>2647</sup> Spiedel 1991: 279.

<sup>2648</sup> Kuntić-Makvić 1976.9: 51.

<sup>2649</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2650</sup> Courtney 1995: 334.

<sup>2651</sup> Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.59: 121; *CLE* 427. See also Kuntić-Makvić 1976.9: 51.

<sup>2652</sup> Kuntić-Makvić 1976.9: 51.

dedicate, to make inviolable, to doom, to curse', and, in the most pertinent way, in a poetic context, it means 'to immortalise'.<sup>2653</sup> The the repeated *as* in 5 almost recreate the arching path of the arrow into the sky, the onomatopoeic short, sharp sound of the fricatives *fixi fregi* (6) recreating the image and sound of the arrow breaking, the balance of *Romanus* and *barbarus* (7), both evenly spaced with two words, one of which creates the contrast between them (*neque ... nec*). Courtney also indicates how '*Romanus* is explained by *miles*, *barbarus* by *Parthus* (which implies service in Trajan's Parthian War)'.<sup>2654</sup> This author was self aware of what they were writing. Also, *viderit* has a specific grammatical function:<sup>2655</sup>

it is future perfect indicative, not perfect subjunctive. Seven times in Ovid, as here, it appears without expressed subject in the sense '(the relative person) will have to see to it'; this goes back to an old speech-habit (HS 412, Fraenkel on Aesch. Ag. 71). It is a formula used for postponing judgement and putting responsibility on someone else; here its force could be conveyed by 'it is up to others to see'.

This sense of *viderit* is attempted to be conveyed in the translation given here. There are allusions to other authors in this text, such as *inter mille viros* appearing also in Ov. Met. 11.528 and Sil. 10.173, and Courtney assumes that *fortisque Batavos* describes this phrase.<sup>2656</sup> Cugusi observes how the simile in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* is similar to the one found here.<sup>2657</sup> There are recognised Virgilian as well as Ovidian allusions in this poem.<sup>2658</sup> Breaking an arrow with another arrow is also found in Ennius.<sup>2659</sup> This idea has pervaded throughout mythology, as one need only think of Robin Hood to understand how this manoeuvre signifies a useful balance of skill and defiance, roughish warrior with fighter of justice, discipline and rebellion, the 'right' balance of defiant warrior and disciplined soldier which the Batavians were said to embody: 'Guards could be the decisive force in ancient wars, and their state of readiness was calculated to cow potential enemies. The Batavi of the poem, the *equites singulares Augusti* in Rome, were thus an elite strategic strike force, and its horsemen, blending German boldness and skill with Roman discipline, were the cutting edge of the imperial army'.<sup>2660</sup> Cugusi discusses how the soldier's bravado in this epitaph makes it seem almost as if he had invented these manoeuvres, and that a similar attitude can be seen in *CLE* 29, *CLE* 500, Zarker 21 and 89,<sup>2661</sup> and *CLE* 1526a.<sup>2662</sup>

There are no direct connotations with the military episode seen in Dio Cassius that it has been linked to being a direct description of that same episode in the scholarship, and yet there is no direct connection to say that this epitaph, if it was originally an inscribed epitaph, had any links to this episode. This could have been written by a later scholar to correlate with the story in Dio Cassius, which a learned scholar may have been aware of, as well as the story in Tacitus. It seems too contrived to be a genuine military verse inscription. If these military verse

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<sup>2653</sup> Kidd 1957: 190.

<sup>2654</sup> Courtney 1995: 335.

<sup>2655</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2656</sup> *Ibid.*: 334. See also Cugusi 2007.105. See also Courtney 1995: 335 for other allusions to other poets, such as Horace and Silus Italicus. Cugusi (2007.105) reiterates Lissberger's observation that 10 can be compared with Cic. Lael. 80. See also Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.59: 122.

<sup>2657</sup> Cugusi 2007.105; Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.59: 122.

<sup>2658</sup> Cugusi 2007.105; Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.59: 122; Kovács 2018: 317.

<sup>2659</sup> Enn. ann. 570; Cugusi 2007. 105; Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.59: 121.

<sup>2660</sup> Speidel 1991: 281.

<sup>2661</sup> Cugusi 2007.105. See also Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.59: 122.

<sup>2662</sup> Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.59: 121 in reference to line 8; see Chapter 5.



inscriptions have shown us anything, it is that they are incredibly creative, show varying degrees of literary ability, and awareness, and skill with, metre. They show aspects of the linguistic skills on display in this inscription here, but not in the way in which they are expressed here. They never speak of their military deeds with the grandiosity as it is shown here; when pride in their service is expressed, it is often by their family members towards the soldier, not the soldier himself, especially in his epitaph (see Chapter 8). **AI.2**, for example, is only known now from the manuscript tradition, and yet it fits in with the conventions of military verse epigraphy as seen in this study, and thus it does not look out of place with the inscriptions presented here, and yet **NW.10** does.

Roman soldiers can have an air of pride, but never boastfulness, and there is an individuality and a unity in their works. They make them individualised towards themselves and/or their families, and they fit in with the general epigraphic tropes they would have seen on the inscriptions around them. Very rarely do we see a genuinely boastful remark, and then it is linked to the generality of their service, rather than to their own deeds within it (for example, **NW.1**). They have a pride in their service, but they do not speak with the triumphant, ‘smug’ boastfulness expressed in **NW.10**. If this was an inscription, then it ought to be noted that it is one of the most skilled in terms of literary and metrical aspects, looking more like a ‘model’ of verse, rather than the versatile, natural, more organic verse inscriptions seen until now. This verse ‘inscription’ is far more literary than epigraphic, and perhaps questions ought to be answered about the very nature of this verse inscription itself before we inquire about any other aspects of it.

It is important to note that the only other time in this study when such blatant boasting and pride in one’s military identity has so defined one’s identity, and portrayed identity upon the world, was in **NW.1**, which featured a soldier of another highly regarded, closely connected to the emperor, military unit: the Praetorian Guard. This may also add to the argument that this was by a soldier who belonged to the *equites singulares Augusti*. However, these are both very individual, more so than usual, inscriptions, and perhaps it would be better to regard them as case studies rather than *exempla*. Despite this, this inscription is paired up by de la Bédoyère with **AI.5** in his concluding remarks of *Gladius: Living, Fighting and Dying in the Roman Army*:<sup>2663</sup>

No single soldier, no single event and no single campaign could ever possibly sum up the Roman army and do it justice. Perhaps the last words should be left to a pair of soldiers, one of them anonymous. Both were immensely proud of their time in the mighty Roman army. Their epitaphs – which seem to have been composed by the men themselves – stand for those of countless comrades who lie today in unmarked, unnamed and unknown graves from the outpost forts beyond the Euphrates to the windswept hills of northern Britain across which the shattered remains of Hadrian’s Wall still stand.

One wonders if it is beyond sheer coincidence that these inscriptions contain natural (and astronomical but, as explained above, this was included in natural imagery for those in the ancient world) imagery.

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<sup>2663</sup> De la Bédoyère 2020: 402.

How, then, does this inscription say enough about aspects of living, fighting and dying in the Roman army to be included in the concluding remarks in a book on this subject, to be representative of all those who lived, served and died in the Roman army? Emphasising masculinity and bravery (NW.10.1-2, 7-8, 10: *ille ego...*, *viros ... fortis...*, *Romanus...barbarus, miles...Parthus, primus*; all adjectives are in the masculine, so only superseding, and impressing, the male parts of the Roman, barbarian and Parthian population), this inscription highlights the importance to some soldiers of showing off their military skill. This was not often linked to the portrayal of their masculinity; in fact, this is seldom discussed in Latin military verse inscriptions. None are so explicit about masculinity in this way (see Chapter 8). This emphasis on his masculinity, therefore, should alert us to query the genuineness of this inscription. This anonymous soldier is the man who is most well known, as *ille ego ... notissimus*, all masculine, all within the first line, inform us. Then, in the next line, he emphasises how those he was the bravest of were *viros ... Batavos* (2), who may not have been Batavian by birth, but by military naming and connotation, in recognition of their skills, especially with horses; but he demotes them to mere men, not soldiers, against his military skill. He identifies soldiers by their weapons: the *miles* by the javelin, curiously not the *gladius*, and the Parthians by the bow (7). The world, for him, is split between Romans and barbarians, soldiers belong to the Romans, other, unnamed, untitled, unranked fighters belong to other ethnicities (8). He was unconquerable because of his skills (7-8, emphasised by the use of *non ... vincere*, 8). Bravery and strength are associated with not only discipline, because this was a part of military training, but superseding this military skill, honing it and making it one's own, again demonstrating the individual and collective approach presented in these inscriptions. He is individual because he goes along with the collective and then overcomes it.

The anonymous soldier of NW.10's military prowess and fighting skills enable him to overcome nature: his reputation has flown around the Pannonian shores, he can swim across a river that is so wide, so deep, so raging it can be equated to the sea, his arrows meet, and are shattered by his other arrows in the air, a stone enables him to memorialise his deeds, the ones only he could perform, so he says. Yet, it is feat across the river he wishes to emphasise, indicated by his almost synonymous language used to describe the depths of the Danube: *vasta profundi aequora Danuvii* ('so vast they are sea-like, waters of the deep Danube', 3-4), and he carried this out *sub armis* ('in full armour', 4), i.e. in his capacity as a soldier. This is similar to when Horatius Cocles held the enemy off single handedly, as soon as the bridge he was defending was destroyed, to prevent Lars Porsenna from attacking his retreating army further, *deiecit se in alveum eumque in armis et vulneribus oneratus tranavit* ('he threw himself into the hold and he swam across in armour and bearing wounds', Frontin. Strat. 2.13.5). This unknown soldier progressed beyond his military training, enough to have his potential realised by Hadrian, not by the emperor witnessing it, but by the emperor observing that he could do these things, his inscription proving that perception of the leader of the entire Roman military, again, the general to the individual, in both aspects of that phrase. He could do these, because he had been trained to, for example, swim across rivers in full gear, and yet he proclaims himself *exemplo mihi sum, primus qui talia gessi* (10). By immortalising his military prowess in stone, which ironically only exists in the manuscript tradition that omitted his name from history, which the soldier himself recognised, he is not only creating a lasting *exemplum* for himself, but he is creating one for all passers-by; in this literary inscription, if it is indeed a genuine inscription, this unknown soldier was making himself an historial *exemplum* for the ages to witness for eternity.

Sometimes, rivers are not landmarks of foreign conquest, but of home and ancestral identity: ‘indeed, so old are rivers that they are commonly associated ... with the foundation of lands and the peoples who drink their waters’.<sup>2664</sup> They were respected and venerated as part of river-cults, and, although we have evidence of soldiers participating in and respecting these religious cults,<sup>2665</sup> there is no direct religious veneration of rivers in this data set here. But indirect connotations of the divine nature of rivers are hinted at in inscriptions such as **NW.9**. Braund argues that rivers were regarded with the same divine nature by those who inhabited the Roman world as the Greeks:<sup>2666</sup>

especially at the frontiers of the Roman Empire. From a Roman perspective, rivers were indeed natural boundaries in a sense that includes their religiosity, their natural power and their tendency to divide and to bound. When modern strategists leap to the criticism that rivers are inadequate (even non-functional) boundaries and dividers, they miss much of the point which lies embedded in the environmental psychology of the Roman world.

The attitudes towards rivers in Roman military verse inscriptions reinforces the idea that ‘Roman boundaries had been associated with and orientated upon rivers ... for Romans, boundaries were redolent of rivers and rivers of boundaries at centre and periphery alike’,<sup>2667</sup> as seen in **AI.2**. In **AI.2**, the deceased is defined by the homelands of his parents, and these homelands are defined by their rivers: the Tiber and the Nar. The order of these rivers is inverted when compared to the order of the places: Umbria comes first, and yet the river Nar is cited second, and the Tiber is in Ostia,<sup>2668</sup> this is where the Tiber meets the sea.<sup>2669</sup> Perhaps Umbria is cited first because this was the homeland of Severus’ father, and then his mother’s homeland comes second, although still significant enough to be the first word of the second line. According to Warner, *pater* ‘carries, besides the idea of time-honored affectionate regard, the thought of power’;<sup>2670</sup> for the Romans, being a father meant having power (see Chapter 8). This idea applies simply to the word *pater*, as well as to the epithet *pater*, which is used for the river Tiber;<sup>2671</sup> another epithet for the Tiber is *genitor*,<sup>2672</sup> used here to refer to Severus’ father.

As the Tiber was important for the Romans, perhaps this is why it takes precedence over the Nar, a tributary of the Tiber,<sup>2673</sup> despite inverting the precedence of Umbria and Ostia for Severus and his parents. To the Romans, the Tiber formed a part of their national identity: ‘it symbolized Rome and all that was Roman’,<sup>2674</sup> and, in Roman poetry, it became used ‘as an effective symbol of Roman power and pride’.<sup>2675</sup> In Virgil, ‘the Tiber speaks for Italy’,<sup>2676</sup> and, in **AI.2**, it speaks as a part of the Italian identity of Fabia Euplia and, as such, of Severus, who has an Italian lineage. The evidence of awareness of Latin poetry by the author of this inscription is evident in their use of the poetic form of *Tiber*: *Tybris*. Although *Thybris* was the

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<sup>2664</sup> Braund 1996: 45.

<sup>2665</sup> *Ibid.*: 44-46.

<sup>2666</sup> *Ibid.*: 47.

<sup>2667</sup> *Ibid.*: 46.

<sup>2668</sup> Rowell 1948: 36; Purcell 2012a: 1052.

<sup>2669</sup> Rowell 1948: 38; Roberts (ed.) 2007; Purcell 2012a: 1052-1053.

<sup>2670</sup> Warner 1917: 52.

<sup>2671</sup> *Ibid.* See also Braund (1996: 44) for the religious portrayal of rivers and their paternal epithets in conjunction with this.

<sup>2672</sup> Warner 1917: 52.

<sup>2673</sup> Roberts (ed.) 2007.

<sup>2674</sup> Warner 1917: 52.

<sup>2675</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2676</sup> *Ibid.*

poetic form,<sup>2677</sup> the changing of *Tibris/Tiberis* to *Tybris* shows an awareness of this poetic form. Warner discusses the range of epithets used for the Tiber in Roman poetry,<sup>2678</sup> which range from personification/deification of the river to sacred/religious to natural descriptions, and, according to him, the epithet used for the Tiber here (*vitreus*, ‘glassy’, 3) is unique.<sup>2679</sup> For him, the Tiber can be described in this manner, and not as *flavus* (‘yellow’ or ‘golden’), the most commonly used descriptive epithet of the Tiber,<sup>2680</sup> because it is ‘in the early part of its course, the Umbrian region, before erosion could work much change in the nature of its water’.<sup>2681</sup> Not only is the Tiber a symbol of Roman power and identity, but, here, it is in its purest, clearest form, before it becomes *flavus* for those in Rome.

The Tiber also ran through Umbria,<sup>2682</sup> so perhaps this order is not inverted at all. Yet the Nar flowed through Umbria,<sup>2683</sup> this inscription was found in Umbria,<sup>2684</sup> and the *ibi* and *hic* used to refer to these rivers are indicative of this. This inscription was found in Interamna Nahars, near the Nar, thereby making it *hic*, so, therefore, *ibi* must be Umbria. Ostia was an important port city, with easy access to Rome.<sup>2685</sup> Virgil also uses the epithet *albus* (‘white’) to describe the Nar.<sup>2686</sup> It could not be lost on the parents, nor on the son, nor of those reading this inscription, that the Tiber and the Nar do meet, at Narnia,<sup>2687</sup> which is not far from where this inscription was found. So, not only are these two rivers joined geographically, they were also joined through their natives, Lucius Licinius Priscus and Fabia Euplia, through their son, Lucius Licinius Severus.

How people are defined in this inscription is telling about identity and the aspects of a person thought to shape their identity. Although this inscription is for Severus, like with other epitaphs, there is also a focus on the dedicators, who, here, are his parents. Their names come before his in the prose section of this epitaph, which precedes the verse, and, most significantly, Severus is introduced to the reader by the identity of his parents: *De genitore mihi domus Umbria de genetrice | / Ostia, Tybris ibi vitreus Nar hic fluit albus* (‘From my father home, for me, was Umbria, from my mother / Ostia; there is glassy Tiber, here flows the white Nar’, 1-2). Thus, we have the identity of the homeland of Severus’ father and mother, but not of Severus himself: where was he born, we might ask? Considering where this was found, and this is where is father was from, we can probably conjecture that Severus was from Umbria.

Nevertheless, given that Severus was a man, with his own career, it is perhaps telling that he was defined by the origins of his parents and not his own. Umbria and Ostia are both significant places for the Romans,<sup>2688</sup> and so this would have meant the reader made assumptions about Severus’ parents’ identities, which, surely, the author of this inscription, probably Severus’ parents, intended, identities that would have been conferred onto Severus himself. It is clearly a social norm for epitaphs about someone to include information about those closest to them,

<sup>2677</sup> Witczak 2014: 4-5.

<sup>2678</sup> Warner 1917: 52-54; to him, Roman poetry constitutes the works of Ennius to Maximianus (52).

<sup>2679</sup> *Ibid.*: 53.

<sup>2680</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2681</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2682</sup> *Ibid.*; Ferriss-Hill 2011: 267.

<sup>2683</sup> Ferriss-Hill 2011: 267.

<sup>2684</sup> Interamna Nahars was in south Umbria (Bradley 2000: 3).

<sup>2685</sup> Rowell 1948: 34, 38. See also Purcell 2012a: 1052-1053.

<sup>2686</sup> Ferriss-Hill 2011: 267.

<sup>2687</sup> Roberts (ed.) 2007. See also Bradley 2000: 3; Ferriss-Hill 2011: 267.

<sup>2688</sup> Ostia’s significance is briefly discussed above, and see Robertson Ridgway (2012) for Umbria’s.

as in Proculus with his cousin Antonus, or here, with Severus' parents, and how his death has affected them: not only was the act of him being taken by Fate dreadful, but his parents' lamentation made this worse (AI.2.6-7). This almost expresses a disdain for a social norm, and something that is not usually shied away from in Latin epitaphs: public mourning. The Romans publicly mourned their dead, and this was represented visually in their clothes and style.<sup>2689</sup> Yet, here, for Severus' parents, their mourning, whether they are referring to the act of public mourning or simply their own grief at the loss of their son or both, has made his death worse.

However, not only is Severus defined through his parents, but they are also defined through him. They express the identity of their origins through his epitaph, and their status is simply *parentes* of Severus. Unlike Proculus' epitaph, where his father not only expressed himself as the father of Proculus but also as a trierarch of the praetorian fleet of Misene (see AI.1), Severus' father does not express his public status on his son's epitaph. Severus' career status is not expressed until halfway through this epitaph: in the prose beginning, he is simply introduced to the reader as *filius* of Lucius Licinius Priscus and Fabia Euplia. Equally, their names are indicative of their status: not only are they of Italian origin, but they are Roman citizens. Through their names, and their descriptions of their rivers, this family is Italian. Thus, for the Romans, man or woman, they are defined by their families, their families' origins and their social status, whether that is their own, generated through their career, or through their familial status, or both.

Severus is defined in multiple ways in his epitaph, and his identity is expressed in a particular order: parents, age, career and rank, death/the fact he is dead. He is defined by his parents and their origins: their origins are his origins, he does not have a homeland of his own, where he was born. He is defined by his age, both by the years in which he lived, and in a poetic manner, of still having the down of youth on his cheeks: *flore genas tenero vernans et robore pollens* ('blooming with the tender down of youth on my cheeks and strong in my vigour', 4).<sup>2690</sup> This indicates he had not yet gone through the *depositio barbae*,<sup>2691</sup> first shave ritual,<sup>2692</sup> 'a semi-religious rite marking the entrance of the young man into manhood',<sup>2693</sup> thus making this a poignant line.

Beards were significant for the identity, social understanding and perception of a man within his culture in antiquity.<sup>2694</sup> One's facial hair was not only a signifier of one's social status,<sup>2695</sup> but also of one's status as a man.<sup>2696</sup> It was linked closely with the military: 'By 500 BC, Alexander the Great insisted that his troops shave to avoid dangerous beard-grabbing in combat, and because he believed it looked tidier. His logic persisted for almost two centuries',<sup>2697</sup> and Scipio Africanus was allegedly the first Roman to shave daily.<sup>2698</sup> Facial

<sup>2689</sup> Peterkin 2001: 22; Lorber & Iossif 2009: 89-90; Croom 2010: 25, 83.

<sup>2690</sup> See Chapter 8.

<sup>2691</sup> Moller 1987: 750; Lorber & Iossif 2009: 88.

<sup>2692</sup> Indeed, he probably had not, as this usually occurred around twenty one (Moller 1987: 750; Peterkin 2001: 63; Lorber & Iossif 2009: 88). See also Moller 1987: 750; Maxwell-Stuart 1997: 825; Lorber & Iossif 2009: 88; Howaston (ed.) 2011 for the first shave being linked to age, and the importance of this in a young Roman man's life. See also Chapter 8.

<sup>2693</sup> Lorber & Iossif 2009: 88.

<sup>2694</sup> *Ibid.*: 87-90; Croom 2010: 25, 83. See also discussion below. See also Moller 1987: 748-753 for this point, and the following points on this discussion.

<sup>2695</sup> Peterkin 2001: 63.

<sup>2696</sup> *Ibid.*; Moller 1987. See also Chapter 8.

<sup>2697</sup> Peterkin 2001: 63

<sup>2698</sup> *Ibid.*: 63, 22; Howaston (ed.) 2011. See also Lorber & Iossif (2009: 89) for potential links of beard wearing to the military.

hair came back into fashion with Hadrian,<sup>2699</sup> and it became popular once more with the men of the general population, as well as following emperors, until the fourth century.<sup>2700</sup> *Robor* not only meant strength, often with the subtext of the strength of an oak,<sup>2701</sup> but it also meant ‘*the strongest, most effective, or best part, the pith, kernel, strength* of any thing; of soldiers, the *flower* of the troops, *choice troops*, etc. (freq. and class.)’.<sup>2702</sup> *Flos* begins the line, and *robor* completes it; the best of the troops, the best of the young men, are often called ‘the flower of manhood’ in Roman literary poetry. These ideas are often paired together in this context: ‘the first beard is the mark of strength and vigor’.<sup>2703</sup> Here, then, not only are Severus’ parents describing him as having a strong body, but as the best of (the young) soldiers, especially poignant as *miles* begins the next line.

The final water themed inscription in this collection, **NW.11**, is a dedicatory inscription to the wife of the man, who was the *dominus* ... *et auctor* (‘master and author’, 7) of the bath-house that he dedicated to veterans of the resident legion in the name of his wife.<sup>2704</sup> It is dated to the late second to the mid third century AD,<sup>2705</sup> although it may date more specifically to the reign of Severus Alexander,<sup>2706</sup> and it was a marble inscription found in Singidunum, Moesia Superior, now Belgrade, although it is now lost.<sup>2707</sup>

### NW.11

*Alma lavacrorum de sa[xis deci]do lymphā |*  
*Et sunt ex lapide perfec[tae ---]e pulchrae, |*  
*Laetis inque locis natus la[us. ---] tamen ipsis |*  
*Tunc cum sospes erat coniux s[acravi]t in usum |*  
*Emeritis, quondam Alexand[re]o nomine dignae. |*  
*Raucisoni lapidoso cadunt [---]te liquores. |*  
*Tam laudati operis dominus ve[---] et auctor |*  
*In suae memoriam voluit consec[rare] maritae. |*  
*Ut tamen et lector nomen [cognosce]re possis, |*  
*Singulae declarant exordia [lit]t[er]ae primae. |*  
*Aelia cum Tertia subole de coniuge [ca]sta. |*

The lines, as displayed here and in the literature, correlate with those on the stone, although this is less for metrical reasons and more for the acrostic, which spells out *Ael(ius) Tertius*, the man who set up this inscription, which is stated in the text itself (**NW.11.9-10**).<sup>2708</sup> Although

<sup>2699</sup> Peterkin 2001: 64; Croom 2010: 76; Howaston (ed.) 2011. See also Croom 2010: 76-79 for changes in hair and beard styles of the Roman emperors. See also Lorber & Iossif 2009: 88.

<sup>2700</sup> Peterkin 2001: 23; Croom 2010: 76; Howaston (ed.) 2011.

<sup>2701</sup> See, for example, Verg. Aen. 11.174, 6.181-182, 2.230.

<sup>2702</sup> Lewis & Short 1945: 927.

<sup>2703</sup> Lattimore 1942: 198, and he cites this epitaph as an example of this.

<sup>2704</sup> See the commentary on this inscription by Courtney (1995: 262-263), and by Marcovich (1984: 231-236). See also *CLE* 273. Although there is dispute about whether the wife ran it, or her husband did (see, for example, Mirković, Dušanić & Papazoglu 1976.48; Courtney 1995: 262).

<sup>2705</sup> EDCS-27800788; Cugusi 2007.172; <https://www.mqdg.it/texts/CE/ce0273>; HD011462. It is not listed as a military inscription on EDCS-27800788.

<sup>2706</sup> Cugusi 2007.172. *AE* 1973.470 makes it clear that this date is preferable to that of the second century AD. See also Mirković et al. 1976.48, although they question this more precise dating.

<sup>2707</sup> EDCS-27800788; <https://www.mqdg.it/texts/CE/ce0273>; *CLE* 273; HD011462; *CIL* III 8153, 6306; Mirković et al. 1976.48; Cugusi 2007.102; Marcovich 1984: 231; Courtney 1995: 262-263. See also *AE* 1987.852; *AE* 2003.1535 adn.

<sup>2708</sup> See photos of this inscription (EDCS-27800788; *CIL* III 8153, 6306; Mirković et al. 1976.48). See HD011462; Mirković et al. 1976.48; Marcovich 1984: 231-233; *AE* 1987.852; Courtney 1995: 262; Cugusi 2008.20: 51 for references to this acrostic.

this text has been identified as dactylic hexameter,<sup>2709</sup> ‘by classical standards the versification is deplorable’.<sup>2710</sup> For Marcovich, the reason for the deviations from the norm in the metre are due to ‘the prevalent influence of the rules of spoken, vulgar, contemporary Latin’,<sup>2711</sup> the metre here leaning more towards accent than syllable length, and its deviations are not as drastic as others may make it seem.<sup>2712</sup> Yet, consideration was made between the lines of verse and how it would be presented on the stone for the acrostic to work, and, although the metre is flawed, there are some poetic features that indicate the language of the poem was carefully considered,<sup>2713</sup> not simply that it spelled out Ael(ius) Tertius’ name. The inconsistencies in letter size make one wonder how much of a priority technicalities such as metre and inscriptional techniques/presentation were to Tertius,<sup>2714</sup> although it ‘was incised in beautiful lettering without a single scribal error, witnessing the generosity of the donor’.<sup>2715</sup> It does make one wonder about whether it was a professional stonemason who carved these letters, or Tertius himself. Tertius’ wife is sometimes thought to be called ‘Fausta’, instead of the emendation of *[ca]sta* on the final line.<sup>2716</sup> This may seem more logical, as it seems unlikely that Tertius would name himself and his daughter, and not his wife, to whom, Tertius specifies, this inscription is dedicated, as she dedicated the baths to the veterans.

This bath house was designated by Aelius Tertius to be used by the veterans of the local legion, here called *emeriti*. There is a debate about which legion this was for, but it appears to have been for the *Legio IV Flavia Pia Felix Severiana Alexandriana*,<sup>2717</sup> as indicated by the description of the legion’s name on **NW.11.5**.<sup>2718</sup> This would date it to the reign of Severus Alexander, right at the end of the timeline of this study; debates about which legion this inscription refers to places it on the cusp of the timeline for this study. Renier felt that the designated name of this legion meant that the inscription had been completed after the death of Severus Alexander, Bücheler after c. AD 238.<sup>2719</sup> Bücheler, therefore, suggests that these veterans were from the *Legio VII Claudia Severiana Alexandriana*, which was posted to Moesia Superior, and held the title *Severiana* in Severus Alexander’s reign.<sup>2720</sup> Cugusi argues that it could refer to either legion.<sup>2721</sup>

*Legio IV Flavia Felix* was founded by Vespasian after the Jewish War, posted to Moesia Superior, perhaps in Singidunum in the late first century to the early second century AD, and they were permanently posted in Singidunum from Hadrian’s reign onwards,<sup>2722</sup> whereas *Legio*

<sup>2709</sup> CLE 273; <https://www.mqdg.it/texts/CE/ce0273>; Mirković et al. 1976.48; Cugusi 2008.20: 51.

<sup>2710</sup> Courtney 1995: 262. See also Marcovich 1984: 231, 233-234; Mirković et al. 1976.48; Cugusi 2008.20: 51. It is described as ‘*incredibilem ... infantiam*’ (‘incredibly childish’) in CIL III 6306.

<sup>2711</sup> Marcovich 1984: 233.

<sup>2712</sup> Marcovich 1984: 234.

<sup>2713</sup> See, for example, CLE 273, where allusions to Lucretius, Virgil and Catullus have been identified; Cugusi 2007.172, where Ovidian allusions are indicated. Marcovich 1984: 231, 235 also identifies allusions and inspiration from Virgil, Ovid and Lucretius. Cugusi makes similar observations (2008.20: 53). Cugusi (2008.20: 52) also compares the language in this inscription to other Latin verse inscriptions. See also Mirković et al. 1976.48 for literary allusions to these authors.

<sup>2714</sup> See HD011462; Mirković et al. 1976.48 for letter heights.

<sup>2715</sup> Marcovich 1984: 231.

<sup>2716</sup> HD011462; Marcovich 1984: 231-232. See also AE 1987.852; Courtney 1995: 262.

<sup>2717</sup> Mirković et al. 1976. 48; Marcovich 1984: 231, 235; Courtney 1995: 262; Cugusi 2008.20: 52. See also CIL III 8153, 6306. See also Appendix 2.

<sup>2718</sup> Although this reading is disputed. See, for example, Marcovich 1984: 234-235; Courtney 1995: 262-263.

<sup>2719</sup> See CLE 273; Marcovich 1984: 233. See also Mirković et al. 1976.48.

<sup>2720</sup> CLE 273; Petković & Ilijić 2013: 55. See also Cugusi 2008.20: 53. See Mirković et al. 1976.48 for the disputes about which legion this is referring to, *Legio IV* or *Legio VI*. See also Appendix 2.

<sup>2721</sup> Cugusi 2008.20: 52.

<sup>2722</sup> Campbell 2012d: 817; Eck 2020: 3. See also Hardy 1887: 644-646, 648-649, 652-653, 656; Marcovich 1984: 233, 235; Courtney 1995: 262; Cugusi 2008.20: 52, 50. There is inscriptional evidence from this legion in this area from active as well

*VII Claudia*, so called after AD 42, was posted to Viminacium, Moesia Superior, from Vespasian's reign onwards.<sup>2723</sup> Both legions composed the main garrison in Moesia Superior from Vespasian onwards, being the only two legions garrisoning this province by the end of the Dacian Wars.<sup>2724</sup> *Legio IV Flavia Pia Fidelis* was posted to Viminacium under Trajan, before being permanently posted to Singidunum, as well as being the permanent garrison of *Legio VII Claudia* from the mid first century,<sup>2725</sup> which may also be why there is some confusion about which legion this inscription is referring to, but *Legio VII Claudia* had been stationed in Viminacium, *Legio IV Flavia Felix* Singidunum by the time of the dating of **NW.11**. This would discount the *Legio VII Claudia* theory, although Cugusi seems to believe that it adds support to it.<sup>2726</sup> *Legio VII Claudia* were involved with mining in Moesia Superior, and 'it is suggested that the Roman army was involved in the exploitation of mines in the mining regions of' this province, 'the military ... involved in the transport of ore from the imperial mine regions to the metallurgical centres and the distribution of precious metals, gold and silver, as well as copper and lead ingots to the imperial workshop and mints'.<sup>2727</sup> *Cohors III Aurelia Dardanorum* were involved in these works in Moesia Superior, as 'a number of squads from legion VII Claudia could be expected, as well as officers deployed on special organisational, administrative and financial tasks'.<sup>2728</sup> Can we conjecture that *Legio IV Flavia Pia Felix Severiana Alexandriana* was also involved in these mining exploits?

Tertius dedicated this bath-house to the veterans of this legion upon his recovery from an illness **NW.11.3-5**. **AI.3**, and **NW.8** also demonstrate the connection between water and safety, bath-houses and health, and the military. Cugusi lists other epigraphic poems which are 'dedicati a costruzioni termali e ai benefici effetti delle terme (e delle acque in generale)', for this was not an uncommon occurrence; these inscriptions, Cugusi notes, 'si tratta di epigrammi provenienti dalle zone più disparate dell'Impero, scaglionati nel corso dei secoli fino al period tardo-antico, che testimoniano (unitamente a numerose fonti letterarie, naturalmente) la continuità della tradizione relativa all'importanza di terma e bagni', and, particularly in the reign of Severus Alexander, the construction of baths around the Empire were commemorated in Latin verse inscriptions.<sup>2729</sup> The inscription is not clear about whether Tertius had already decided to dedicate the baths for the sole use of the veterans before he fell ill, and the formal dedication was postponed because of his illness, or he decided to dedicate it for the use of the veterans after his illness and this, perhaps, was a way of acknowledging how they kept the country safe. Nevertheless, there is a link between his illness and dedication of this bath-house to the sole use of the veterans, although whether this was simply for practical or more abstract reasons, we shall never know.

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as veteran soldiers, see, for example, Pilipović Sanja's paper on a prose epitaph of a soldier of the *Legio IV Flavia Felix* found in Singidunum (2021: 9-19), which references the soldier (*miles*) in question, and it was made by his heir, the *custos armorum* of the same legion, who made the inscription for the *miles* ('*titulu(m) fecit*') (see epitaph: 10). He believed that this stele was made in a local workshop in Singidunum (9); what if this 'local workshop' was in fact in the military camp itself?

<sup>2723</sup> Hardy 1887: 646, 648-649, 652-653, 656; Marcovich 1984: 233; Campbell 2012d: 817. Cugusi (2008.20: 52; 27, 50) gives slightly different dates for the posting of the *Legio VII Claudia*, to the Neronian period, in Viminacium. Inscriptional evidence of this legion here survives, see, for example, Petković & Ilijić 2013: 53-72.

<sup>2724</sup> Hardy 1887: throughout.

<sup>2725</sup> Cugusi 2008.27; Wilkes 2012d: 1552-1553.

<sup>2726</sup> Cugusi 2008.20: 52-53.

<sup>2727</sup> Petković & Ilijić 2013: 58.

<sup>2728</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2729</sup> See Cugusi 2008.20: 52 for the list of ten inscriptions he provides as examples of this.



Although, Marcovich conjectures ‘if *tamen* is not a poetic phrase, it may well imply that the bath was destined for the use of the fellow-veterans *in the first place*, though not exclusively: the rest of the citizenry of Singidunum could use it too. (Otherwise one would expect *id tamen unis*, instead of the present *id tamen ipsis*).’<sup>2730</sup> However, it has been postulated that Tertius was a veteran himself,<sup>2731</sup> building these baths ‘and consecrat[ing] it for the use of his fellow-veterans, in gratitude for his recovery’,<sup>2732</sup> which probably accounts for the restoration of *veteranus* for the missing letters in *ve[---]* (‘veteran’, **NW.11.7**), which has been disputed.<sup>2733</sup> This is a likely possibility, especially as veterans often did not move far from their place of posting when they had been on active service, and they often had civilian roles and jobs upon their retirement. Evidence of a soldier on active service being involved in, at the very least, the dedication of bath-houses is apparent in **AI.3**. This implies that Tertius wrote this inscription himself, as he had built the baths and the pond himself too.<sup>2734</sup>

Tertius uses ‘almost technical terms in architecture, with the implication that Aelius’ bath was a respectable construction’,<sup>2735</sup> the terms *opus*, *dominus* and *auctor*, and this also implies that he knew the technical terms used in the construction of a bath-house. This, accompanied with the evidence of the inscription itself, taking into consideration the meta-linguistic aspects of the poem itself, such as creating an acrostic, which probably took precedent over displaying the format of the metre but should still be taken into account, places **NW.11** amongst the evidence of members of the Roman military not only being able to conduct civil engineering projects, but also understand the terminology within that discipline, and have the ability to carve their own inscriptions. Perhaps he learnt how to carry out such construction works through his military time helping with the mines, and perhaps his service was how he could have enough money to set up his own bath-house, although this is cannot be proven.<sup>2736</sup>

Rather ironically, or poetically, like **NW.8**, this inscription has been ‘damaged by the same water of which the poet speaks: a furrow runs through all eleven lines of the inscription affecting its reading and interpretation’,<sup>2737</sup> hence the restorations in the edition presented in most works that discuss this inscription, including this one. Once more, we have a sensory experience in connection to water. The author of this poem may not have been skilled with metre, but, as we have seen throughout this study, a lack of application and skill in metre does not detract from a lack of skill and understanding of the malleability and image-evoking qualities of language. There was a clear intention to evoke the imagery of the movement of the water, something those looking at this inscription would have been witnessing as they read it, and to make the language of these linguistic descriptors of the water literary, for the poetic allusions to other authors that have been identified by multiple scholars are only in reference to the water imagery in this poem. There is a visceral, sensual nature to the language used here to replicate the movement of the water, whether it linguistically, phonetically mirrors the flowing of the water, or, as seen at the end of **NW.11.2**, *perfect[ae ---]e pulchrae*, the repeated

<sup>2730</sup> Marcovich 1984: 234.

<sup>2731</sup> *Ibid.*; *AE* 1987.852.

<sup>2732</sup> Marcovich 1984: 234. See also *AE* 1987.852.

<sup>2733</sup> See, for example, Marcovich 1984: 235, who suggests that *famosus* is more suitable than *veteranus*.

<sup>2734</sup> See Marcovich 1984: 231, 234.

<sup>2735</sup> *Ibid.*: 235.

<sup>2736</sup> See also Petković & Ilijić, who, when discussing a Lucius Petronius Timachus, a veteran of *Legio VII Claudia* and dedicated a prose votive altar to Jupiter Paternus, postulate that he ‘could have settled in *Timacum Minus* [a fortification in Moesia Superior] as a veteran, where, during the service [sic], he would have been involved in the exploitation of imperial *metalla* in the Upper Timok region, and then became a leaseholder of the mine’ (2013: 63).

<sup>2737</sup> Marcovich 1984: 231. See also Mirković et al. 1976.48; *CIL* III 6306.

plosive *ps* beginning and the repetition of the long syllabled diphthong *ae* ending each word evoking the way the water falls and fills the ponds as a part of its manmade final destination. The missing word on 2 has been conjectured as either *balneae* or *piscinae*, and both are contextually plausible, as it was probably a term for a body of water, referring to the baths themselves, so either of these amendments work, and thus have been retained in the translation as presented in the Catalogue of Inscriptions. However, it is believed here that *piscinae* is more suitable here, given the use of alliteration for effect, not only seen in this line, but throughout this verse inscription.

The sibilance throughout **NW.8.3** has a similar effect, *Laetis inque locis natus la[cus. ---] tamen ipsi* ('as the cistern is also born in this joyous place. However, [...] then herself') As Marcovich observes, 'the resounding water of line 6 ... interrupts the monologue of *Lympha* and divides the epigram into two halves',<sup>2738</sup> and 'the first half of the inscription is dominated by the idea of *water*'.<sup>2739</sup> The alliteration in 6,<sup>2740</sup> as well as the long, rounded vowels throughout this line, mimics the rhythms, sounds and the movement of water, as it moves in this way, through a spring, avoiding obstacles and following the passage it carved out into the landscape long ago. This idea of linguistically replicating the movement of the water is a feature of every aspect of the poem that refers to the water: 'the vivid parechesis (1 *al- la- Ly-*; 2 *la-*; 3 *lae- lo- la-*) conveys a solemn *allegretto* of the falling water, striking the reader with its freshness, solemnity and delight. So does the voice of the speaking person: *decido Lympha*'.<sup>2741</sup> Marcoich suggests 'that *Lympha* serves here as a kind of local divinity, as a *genius loci*';<sup>2742</sup> given the connections between this inscription and **NW.8**, this does not seem to be a far fetched assumption, especially as both the *nympha* of **NW.8** and the *lympa* of **NW.11** have healing associations. For Cugusi, this is an expression of the 'culto delle acque'.<sup>2743</sup> Perhaps it was this water that had healed him, and he had decided to honour this also, as well as honour the memory of his wife, in the permanence of not only an inscription, but also a building.

Although not metrically skilled, the author of **NW.11**, likely Tertius himself, cared about its presentation and was linguistically skilled and aware enough to be able to evoke the water that was so important for healing and bath-houses, both of which are of great significance in this poem. As a (potential) veteran of a legion, we are unaware of the rank(s) he held within his time in the military. His focus on accent at the time in the evolution of Latin when accent was starting to emerge over syllable length, and on metrical/syllabic features that are closer to spoken language than literary verse, indicates the lateness of the date of this inscription, as well as a significant contribution to the understanding of the development of Latin and how this impacted upon metrical understanding and interpretation. Tertius' origins may have been local, due to this being from the time when local recruitment had become more widespread, indicating that Latin would not necessarily have been his first language, although his origins, without further description from the inscription itself, are difficult to accurately pinpoint. His name indicates he had non-citizen origins.

The deviation from the norms in the metre do not detract from Tertius' literary skill, in which the only literary allusions appearing when he discusses the water, as well as the linguistic

<sup>2738</sup> Marcovich 1984: 233.

<sup>2739</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2740</sup> *Ibid.*: 235.

<sup>2741</sup> *Ibid.*: 234.

<sup>2742</sup> *Ibid.*: 233.

<sup>2743</sup> Cugusi 2008.20: 52.

techniques he employed to mimic the sound and movement of the water. This indicates he was aware of Latin literature and could use the language to the extent that he could craft it in this manner, as he likely crafted the inscription himself, and perhaps had a hand in building the bath-house and pools. Here, it is exhibited how veterans of the Roman military, although proudly bearing this title, were able to integrate themselves, and become a key part of, the civilian community into which they retired, or perhaps semi-civilian would be a better designation, as they inhabited communities of other veterans as well as their families. It demonstrates the way in which those in the military closely protected and cared for those who served with them, seen in other military verse inscriptions, probably because of the strong sense of community that would have been formed between those who worked in such an environment of high-stress, danger and, sometimes, boredom, and where they relied upon each other to stay alive in the heat of battle. **NW.11** highlights the recurring importance of thermal baths and springs, across the Empire, and how they were consistently regarded as places of safety and healing, including by those within the military, perhaps an idea perpetuated by those in the military.

These water themed military verse inscriptions highlight the practical ways in which water and land are used by the authors of these inscriptions. Perhaps we are more accustomed to water being used as a part of imagery, in a metaphorical sense, in poetry, but, for those within the pragmatic Roman military, water was used in their verse inscriptions in a practical way. They used the patterns and sounds of the language to conjure up the imagery of the water, to reflect linguistically the natural element believed by ancient physicists to be one of the four constituent building blocks of the world around them. This is seen with earth too, another of these constituent elements of the world. The stars, also considered a part of nature by the Romans, they were also used practically. The natural world was used in a practical way: for location, as landmarks, as signifiers of home, as materialisations of minor deities, as signifiers of conquest. These ways in which water and earth were used reveal the diverse assortment of cultural identities within the Roman military, and they were used as practical, grounding reminders of what these soldiers had left behind in their travels away from home as a part of the Roman military. These memories are sometimes of the soldier's conquest over the natural world, something that must have inspired awe in a world that was still partially so controlled and influenced by the processes of the natural world.

But, more often, water, more so than earth/land identification, is used to evoke memories of the dead, and/or visual depictions at religious shrines. Why this is, is interesting to consider, although not perhaps deducible from these inscriptions alone. Perhaps it is because water is reflective, just as poetry is used to reflect upon events in life. Perhaps it is because of the healing nature of water, an idea so cherished and revered in a world with no modern medicines and steeped in half-mythological, half-scientific understanding. Water is used to identify gods and men, soldiers who revere them and those who loved the soldiers in life. These inscriptions highlight the importance of water to those in the ancient world, whether it is how they influenced, shaped and conquered it, after all natives of those lands use the Latin names for their rivers and lands, or, mostly, how the natural world influenced them, whether it was how the water cured them, or how it invoked almost tangibly expressed memories of home and far off travel.

## 7.4. Air and Sky

As explained in Chapter 6, *aer* and *aether* were not included under the definition of ‘astronomical’ terminology, despite the discussion in the introduction here on the meanings of *aer* and *aether*. In the inscriptions in this study, they were used with underlying meanings of ‘sky’, as in ‘the air below the stratosphere’.

A brief note can be said about **NW.10**. One of the military feats of this boastful soldier was that he could *emissumq(ue) arcu dum pendet in aere telum / ac redit ex alia fixi fregique sagitta*. (‘and I hit and broke an arrow, fired from a bow, / whilst it hung in the air and came back down, with another arrow’, 5-6). His skill enabled him to carry out this feat, more impressive than the standard indication of proficiency in archery, because he did not split the *telum* when it was static, when it had hit the target, but when it was still suspended in mid-air, moving towards its target. Although, his use of the rather vague term *telus* to refer to it, and in the following couplet he states that *quem neque Romanus potuit nec barbarus umquam / non iaculo miles non arcu vincere Parthus* (‘I was the man whom neither a Roman nor barbarian was ever able / to conquer, not a soldier with a javelin, not a Parthian with a bow’, 7-8), indicates that he does not mean he could only break an arrow in the air, that he fired, but he could break and hit any projectile, be it javelin or arrow, for example, thrown from another person, with an arrow he had fired. The implication is that this *telus* was an arrow because it *emissum[que] arcu*, but, if he is using *telus* to refer to it, perhaps *arcus* is also being used vaguely. Does he mean a bow, or any device that shot out projectiles, such as ballista bolts as well as a bow, perhaps even the soldiers themselves, who were able to firing spears and javelins? The implication is that he fired it himself (5-6), that he could fire in such rapid succession and with such accuracy that he could fire one arrow and hit it whilst it was still reaching its target, not only touching it, but with such force that it broke. This feat makes it seem as if he was able to conquer the air itself, disregard the forces of nature as he was so fast, so accurate in his aim, that he could destroy such a missile when it was flying through the air.

As demonstrated in **NW.10**, the use of air in inscriptions usually appears alongside another natural feature, which is the central focus of the natural imagery, rather than the air. This is further demonstrated in the following section, in which air appears alongside other natural imagery, and is not the predominant natural feature of the inscription, but natural imagery is overall.

*Aura* is often used to refer to the air, as in ‘the air of a land’, or ‘a sky’. This is seen, for example, in **ET.14**, where Verecundus’ body is described as being unburied, presumably thought of as remaining where it fell, perhaps in battle: *inritus infelix peregrinas possidet auras* (‘my empty, unlucky [body] occupies [the land] under foreign skies’, 21). The skies are *peregrinas* because he died abroad, presumably in Syria where his legion was serving, although that is unknown. **ET.14** is a cenotaph to Verecundus, set up in a land known to him, his homeland, his body empty of humanity (like in **NW.4**) because he has died, unlucky because he is dead (as seen in the contrast between those who are called *felices* because they are alive, as seen in Chapter 3), and he was not able to be buried. The harsh feelings of grief towards his *inritus* and *infelix* body are contrasted with the flowing rhythms of the *peregrinas possidet auras*, the gentle repeated *ps*, *as* and *ss* recreating the sound of gentle breezes, which is also what *auras* can mean. Here, the land is implied, his body, in the Latin, literally occupying the space under foreign skies. It creates a stark contrast with the way in which he should be buried, as often

seen in these inscriptions where the deceased is described as being shut in or enclosed in a tomb, with how he was left, exposed to the elements, and unburied.

In **LL.4**, a reference is made to Elysium in the Underworld, but in a unique way: *sic at et | Elysias senior descendis ad auras* ('But, in this way, at least you descend to the Elysian breezes when you are older', 10). Usually, the Elysian fields are referred to; in no other inscription in this data set is Elysium referred to by its breezes. This makes it seem as if Elysium was a separate world, separate to our own, with its own sky, breezes, air. Again, air imagery is not present in isolation, for the other natural world imagery in this inscription is astronomical (*genesis*; see Chapter 6), as well as the reference to light as life; as has been seen throughout this study, these three themes are interconnected. Air and fire imagery are the only natural elemental imagery (earth, air, fire, water) that do not exist in isolation; they always appear with another natural world theme.

**RI.2** is the only inscription in which air is the only natural imagery to appear in an inscription, in which it features. It describes a statue of Medaurus, who is depicted as *parva magnus in effigia | / successus, laeva sonipes 'c'ui surgit in auras, | / altera dum 'tel'um librat ab aure manus* ('It is a great likeness, in a small statue, / whose steed surges into the sky under his left hand, / while the other hand hurls a spear from his ear', 4-6). Once more, natural imagery is used literally, as the sky is what the statue is reaching for (5-6). There is also a pun made between the similarities of *aura*, meaning 'breeze/air/sky', and *auris*, meaning 'ear', as *in auras* and *ab aure* lie at the conclusion of 5 and 6. This inscription highlights how natural imagery in these Latin verse inscriptions of the Roman military was used in a practical, tangible sense; it is not used metaphorically, but to indicate identifying features, about oneself, such as one's origins, even a god's, and about visual identifiers, such as gestures and monumental features. This is an underlying aspect of all the themes in these Latin verse inscriptions: the imagery is used practically, even the most metaphorical, that of 'light as life' is used to indicate a practical, tangible, real aspect of reality: a life that existed, in contrast with the darkness of the 'land' of the dead.

## 7.5. Nature

As seen in Chapter 6, nearly every astronomical inscription contained references to nature, and some have already been discussed here. This is because the stars were considered as a part of the natural world by those in the Roman world, and researched and understood as such by those who not only studied physics but also what we would now call 'natural history'. Features of the natural world sometimes appear in isolation or in a combination of two 'elements' of nature, such as earth/land and water imagery together. Air is most often seen not in isolation, but in conjunction with other aspects of the natural world and elements.

Earth/land imagery is also seen often with other natural world imagery. One such example is **ET.29**, in which verse inscriptions are described as *flores viae* ('these flowers of the road', 1). This is an important instance of natural imagery in this data set because it is the only time it is used metaphorically. All other instances of natural imagery in these military verse inscriptions are used literally, to describe an actual natural phenomenon and/or effect of the natural world on those who inhabit it. This also includes the astronomical imagery for, although some could argue that *genesis* is used metaphorically in **LL.4**, one's horoscope was determined by one's astrological sign, the literal collection of stars seen to form a shape that was labelled as a constellation. It is also used in the way to describe the 'predestiny' of the Fates (5), which was

both a metaphor for death and may have been believed by some as that was how death worked: people were stolen by the Fates. In **ET.29**, however, it is the only instance of natural world imagery, of terrestrial imagery, which was used metaphorically to refer to something literal, i.e. verse inscriptions.

Fire is only mentioned once in its elemental role, and that is in connection to the stars, as seen in **AI.3** (9-18):

*Qua potui, sanxi nomen, | et cunctis dedi |  
 Veras Salutis lymphas, | tantis ignibus |  
 In istis semper ha|renacis collibus, |  
 Nutantis Austri solis | flammis fervidas, |  
 Tranquilla ut nando | delenirent corpora. |  
 Ita tu, qui sentis mag|nam facti gratiam, |  
 Aestuantis animae | fuculari spiritum. |  
 Noli pigere laudem | voce reddere |  
 Veram qui voluit | esse te sanum tib[i], |  
 Set protestare vel | Salutis gratia. |*

Despite the life-giving aspect of the sun's light, its heat is considered deadly, damaging, and exhausting.<sup>2744</sup> But the idea that the heat of the sun is life-giving appears to be a Greek one,<sup>2745</sup> whereas for the Romans it was as described here: dangerous and life-threatening. Suffering from dust and under the heat of the sun was a soldier's lot.<sup>2746</sup> Despite the work having been written nearly two centuries after the proposed date of this inscription, it is relevant to examine the use of sun and heat in Ammianus Marcellinus' description of the Battle of Adrianople. Fire, sun and heat were crucial to the Roman devastation in the battle. The Goths purposefully delayed before the battle because they hoped the Roman soldiers would be so exhausted by the heat of the sun, and the fires they had lit to exacerbate this, that they would not be able to fight efficiently.<sup>2747</sup> This is precisely what happened, and it contributed towards the Roman army being so devastatingly defeated. The other factor was the Roman army had already been exhausted by marching in the sun all day upon the orders of Valens and his burning desire (Valens was *virtutibus urebatur*, '[he was] burning for *virtus*', Amm. 31.12.1) to reach the battle before his nephew Gratian. Ammianus uses synonyms of burning throughout his narrative of the Battle of Adrianople: *uro*,<sup>2748</sup> *flammas*,<sup>2749</sup> *caleo*,<sup>2750</sup> and *exuro*.<sup>2751</sup> The burning sun causes the army to weaken and contributes towards their disastrous defeat at Adrianople.<sup>2752</sup> It impacts on the whole battle, as the Romans are affected by their weakened

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<sup>2744</sup> This contrast is highlighted best in Plin. Nat. 17.31. See also Plin. Nat. 6.34; Colum. 8.17, 2.5, 11.2; Sen. Benef. 5.24; Cic. Rep. 6.20; Manil. 5.206-208. Exceptions to this include Lucr. 5.498 and Vitruv. 8.preface.3. See also McCartney 1942: 66. See above for the various interpretations on the qualities of the heat of the sun.

<sup>2745</sup> Jordan & Perlin 1979: 585.

<sup>2746</sup> See discussion below and especially Plin. epist. 9.2.4-5.

<sup>2747</sup> Amm. 31.12.13. See also Crump 1975: 94, 96; Lenski 1997: 153; Lee 2009: 201-202; den Boeft et al. 2018: 214.

<sup>2748</sup> See Amm. 31.12.15. See Kidd 1957: 227.

<sup>2749</sup> Amm. 31.12.7. See Kidd 1957: 89.

<sup>2750</sup> *Calenti* (Amm. 31.12.16). See Kidd 1957: 28.

<sup>2751</sup> Amm. 31.13.7. See Kidd 1957: 85. See also den Boeft et al. 2018: 221.

<sup>2752</sup> See also Burns 1973: 342.

state from the sun during and after the battle.<sup>2753</sup> Ammianus implies it is this that kills some of the men, not the fighting.<sup>2754</sup>

Ammianus described the battle itself as being *flammarum ritu* ('in the manner of flames', 31.13.1),<sup>2755</sup> suggested to have been inspired by Il. 17.736-737 and 11.596,<sup>2756</sup> although 11.596 is a more likely candidate.<sup>2757</sup> Heat was a problem at Pharsalus,<sup>2758</sup> and, unintentionally or not, the sun also having an effect on the Romans contributed to the result of Cannae.<sup>2759</sup> Rather like Adrianople, at Cannae 'the most obvious precedent for the use of the sun as a battle tactic, as described by the sources on Vercellae, would thus be a non-Roman, who used the tactic to win a decisive victory over the Romans, in a battle which lived on in Roman consciousness as one of the darkest moments in the history of the city'.<sup>2760</sup> Not only did they strategically use the sun, but also other natural phenomenon, such as:

*Ab oriente hiberno eurus exit, quem nostri vocavere vulturnum – T. Livius hoc illum nomine appellat in illa pugna Romanis parum prospera in qua Hannibal et contra solem orientem exercitum nostrum et contra ventum constitutum venti adiutorio ac fulgoris praestringentis oculos hostium vicit*

Eurus leaves from the wintry east, which we call Vulturnus – Titus Livius calls it by that name in that battle of little prosperity for the Romans, in which Hannibal, with both our army against the rising sun and organised against the wind, and with the help of the wind and the brightness dazzling the eyes of his enemy, conquered our army.

Sen. Nat. 5.16.4.

But this is not to say that using the elements was a non-Roman tactic; we see Roman generals also using the elements, including the sun, to their advantage.<sup>2761</sup> Such tactics were common between all military commanders.<sup>2762</sup> The sun was a problem at the Battle of Vercellae and had an important effect on the outcome.<sup>2763</sup> Thus, the sun, as well as a life giving force was, to those who knew their battle narratives in both historical prose and verse, dangerous and life-taking for soldiers. Quintianus uses alliteration to mimic the sound of the flames, as well as his use of vocabulary to mimic their intensity: the repeated sibilance in **AI.3.10-12**, and the fricatives of *flammas fervidas* ('the raging flames', 12) reflect the flickering and hissing of fire.

The flames, here, are the natural result of two natural phenomena: the south wind, Auster,<sup>2764</sup> called *ventorum calidissimus* ('the hottest of the winds', Nat. 4A.2.18), by Seneca, he thought it originated in Ethiopia, and that it brought rain to Italy (Nat. 5.18.2), and the sun. The link

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<sup>2753</sup> Amm. 31.13.7. See also Burns 1973: 342; den Boeft et al. 2018: 230.

<sup>2754</sup> Amm. 31.13.10-11.

<sup>2755</sup> See also den Boeft et al. 2018: 222.

<sup>2756</sup> By Wagner, see den Boeft et al. 2018: 222; *Iliad* trans. Lattimore 1976: 374, 250.

<sup>2757</sup> See *Iliad* trans. by Lattimore 1976: 250.

<sup>2758</sup> Lee 2009: 201-202.

<sup>2759</sup> McCartney 1942: 66, discussing Liv. 22.46.8. See also McCartney 1942: 66; Noble 2017: 176.

<sup>2760</sup> Noble 2017: 176. See Frontinus' description of Hannibal's tactics at Cannae, where he uses his acquired knowledge of the river, his previous knowledge of streams, and the effect of the Voltumnus river on the environment around it, and how he used the elements to assist him in his victory at Cannae against the Romans (Frontin. Strat. 2.2.7).

<sup>2761</sup> McCartney 1942: 66. This is apparent throughout Frontin. Strat., for example in 2.1.15, where the Romans take advantage of exposure to the elements. This seems to have been a universal tactic, used by armies throughout the ages and across the lands.

<sup>2762</sup> See McCartney 1942: 65-66.

<sup>2763</sup> Noble 2017: 174, 176-178.

<sup>2764</sup> See, for example, Sen. Nat. 5.16.4.

between wind, sand and the south wind in this inscription, most pertinently **AI.3.11-12**, appears to originate from not a Roman idea, but a Cyrenaician one: *in Cyrenaica provincia rupes quaedam austro traditur sacra, quam profanum sit attrectari hominis manu confestim austro volvente harenas* ('in the province of Cyrene there is a certain cliff which is said to be sacred to Auster, that, if it is touched by the human hand, this impious act makes Auster churn up the sands', Plin. Nat. 2.44). There is a sense that this type of fire cannot be defeated, something eternal and unnatural about it; even though Auster is described as *nutantis* ('swaying', 12), the fires remain on sand, and they are described as *tantis* ('great', 10). They reinforce the heat from the sun, they are not produced because of it. The fires in the desert must be referring to the heat, hyperbolically referring to the desert's heat to exacerbate the feeling of this extreme climate; this imagery is reinforced by the heat of the sun being referred to as 'flames'. It was probably for these reasons, then, that Quintianus prayed for his men, and all future men reading this inscription to be able to return, to outlive the blistering rays of the sun, to defeat that ball of fire that led to defeat in so many Roman battles, before and after this inscription was written.

Due to the impact of the sun, and the weather, on the outcome of a battle, it would be important for a commander to have 'knowledge of how to deal with bright sunlight, clouds of dust, and the wind, [so much so that]... we may suppose that it would thus form part of military education',<sup>2765</sup> such as is found in Vegetius' *De rei militari*.<sup>2766</sup> Not only that, but a successful commander 'ought to be able to use the climate to serve his purposes, even to the extent of winning battles though careful planning',<sup>2767</sup> something seen in most of the battles cited above. Due to the expected education level of centurions, and it seems not an unreasonable conjecture to suggest that they also were expected to read military manuals, not just the members of the elite who were in the Roman military, and, therefore, for centurions to have known about these *exempla*, effective battle tactics, and what affected the strength and morale of the men before, during and after battle.

It may be considered odd that Quintianus would include aspects of poor commanding in historical narrative in his own, triumphant sounding, vow.<sup>2768</sup> Often key battles in Roman history, as well as throughout classical history, were lost to poor planning, and the commander letting the heat from the sun and the dust from the battlefield overwhelm his men. Battles were won when the commander used the weather, dust on the battlefield, and the elements to his benefit, using them to overwhelm the opposing side.<sup>2769</sup> Unless, of course, he was not the one leading his men across the desert, but someone higher up was; but, then again, this would make it even stranger that he would include a veiled criticism of his commander in an inscription. However, Quintianus is not portraying himself, or anyone else, as a poor leader, taking his men recklessly into the heat; he is mollifying it, and providing them with a place to rest and reset themselves, restore the burning minds, which lead to destruction, back to rationality. He is protecting them, and future soldiers, from an aggravation of the soldier's life. Here, Quintianus

<sup>2765</sup> Noble 2017: 175. See also McCartney 1942: 66.

<sup>2766</sup> Noble 2017: 175 cites Veg. Mil. 3.14. See also McCartney 1942: 66, who also cites Vegetius.

<sup>2767</sup> Noble 2017: 175-176.

<sup>2768</sup> *Ibid.*: 176.

<sup>2769</sup> For example, Marius at Vercellae (*ibid.*: 177-178), and all the enemy commanders of the Romans in the battles cited above, where the Romans were defeated by the elements. See also McCartney 1942: 65-66. Frontinus describes in his *Stratagems* how Marius used the sun, wind and dust to assist in his defeat of the Cimbrians and Teutones (Frontin. Strat. 2.2.8). Hannibal also used the elements, nature and meteorological phenomena to help him at Trasimene (Frontin. Strat. 2.5.24). See also Frontin. Strat. 4.7.20 for armies generating dust to make their army look bigger.



prays that not only will his men, but all men, before and after, this inscription was made will benefit from this vow.

In this prayer, the balance of one's mind and body are necessary for one's overall good health (AI.3.14-18), and, in many ways, it furthers the idea we find in military narratives of a 'burning', out of control mind being damaging to the military. But this is linked to the balance within oneself and how an imbalance can cause damage to one's mind and soul, as seen in philosophical thinking at the time.<sup>2770</sup> Quintianus plays with the ideas of *anima* and *spiritus* (16), the differences and interconnectivity between which, and, to make the triumvirate complete, *animus*, any Latin scholar is familiar with the difficulty in conveying, but are generically understood as 'spirit/soul', 'breath', and 'mind' respectively, yet all three have the connotations of 'some form of consciousness [that] departs from that body after death and resides somewhere above or below the familiar surface of this earth'.<sup>2771</sup> They are active components of living beings which, to varying degrees, constitute them as 'alive', with *animus* at the higher end of this spectrum.<sup>2772</sup> Scott Smith translates *anima* as "'breath" as "principle of life"... as the feature differentiating animate from inanimate objects' in Seneca.<sup>2773</sup> *Anima* and *spiritus* have general connotations of 'the breath of life', seen here when an *Aestuantis animae* ('burning life-giving soul', 15) is cooled, the *spiritus* within it is balanced once more (15), and the imagery of one's spirit and breath is still understood today.

Pliny also presents the debated theories behind what creates the *venti* ('winds'), one of which is *spiritus* being the breath that made the *rerum natura*, another that they were generated by *aer* being beaten by the movements and light of the stars (Plin. Nat. 2.45). Similar ideas of *animus* and *anima* existed in Epicurean and Stoic philosophies at the time, although we might question how much of Epicurean and Stoic philosophy this centurion would have known. He only mentions the *anima* and the *spiritus*, and not the *animus* in conjunction with either, which may indicate that Quintianus was familiar with the philosophical concepts of *anima* and *spiritus*.<sup>2774</sup> *Anima*, in short, was present in all living things, whereas *animus* was not. *Animus* was rational thought and conscious movement, whereas 'the *pneuma* that held the body together ... the coherence of human bodies is due to *spiritus*'.<sup>2775</sup> It is the departing of parts of *anima* and *animus* from someone's *spiritus*, essentially, that means they are dead.<sup>2776</sup> For Seneca, the *animus*, 'the ruling part of the soul, [functions] as the carrier of our identity and the locus of moral responsibility',<sup>2777</sup> whereas '*spiritus* and *anima* have nothing to do with decision making, they are hardly significant in ethical matters'.<sup>2778</sup>

Yet, it was not someone's mind Quintianus hoped would be refreshed here, but their life force. His description of *spiritus* and *anima*, and how he links the two together, indicates Quintianus' familiarity with philosophy and these philosophical concepts: *Aestuantis animae | fucilari spiritum* (15); *spiritus*, therefore, sustains the *anima*, and this is why this line has been translated here as 'the breath of your burning life-giving soul is refreshed'. In a variety of his

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<sup>2770</sup> See, for example, Lucr. 3.307-322, and the discussion on Lucretius' interpretation of the composition of the soul below.

<sup>2771</sup> Welsh 2016: 1011.

<sup>2772</sup> See also Scott Smith 2014: 346.

<sup>2773</sup> Scott Smith 2014: 347. See also 361.

<sup>2774</sup> See *ibid.*: 347-348 for definitions of *animus*, *spiritus* and *anima* in Lucretius.

<sup>2775</sup> *Ibid.*: 348.

<sup>2776</sup> *Ibid.* 'Death occurs at the moment when the soul and body separate'; according to Seneca, that was when the *anima* left the body (Dial. 1.6.9; Scott Smith 2014: 357). See also 349.

<sup>2777</sup> Scott Smith 2014: 349.

<sup>2778</sup> *Ibid.*

works, including *Naturales Quaestiones*, ‘according to Seneca the human soul is itself heavenly and divine in origin and it occupies in the human microcosm the place of God in the macrocosm. It is actually a particle of God hidden within the human body, made of the same fiery breath (πνεῦμα, *spiritus*) as God, and therefore, like him, it is material, though made of the finest and thinnest matter there is’.<sup>2779</sup> πνεῦμα was made of fire and air, according to Chrysippus, and it was ‘the animating principle. This spirit permeates all bodies and gives them their inner tension and unity. ... Seneca follows Chryrippus, rendering πνεῦμα as *spiritus* (“spirit”). ... The πνεῦμα, however, acts not only in every single body of the world, but also gives unity to the cosmos altogether’.<sup>2780</sup> Although, Seneca does also define *spiritus* in *Naturales Quaestiones* as *spiritum a vento modus separat; vehementior enim spiritus ventus est, invicem spiritus leniter fluens aer* (‘this is the way in which *spiritus* is separated from *ventus*; for more violent *spiritus* is *ventus*, alternately, more smoothly flowing *spiritus* is *aer*’, Nat. 5.13.4). Therefore, he uses *spiritus* in both senses, in the sense of its connection to air, and in its more spiritual sense (see, for example, Sen. Nat. 5.15.3).<sup>2781</sup> In his treaty *On the Soul*, ‘according to Aristotle, the study of the soul is a task for science or natural philosophy. Souls are essentially inseparable from bodies; their function has to do with guiding actual movement, or anticipation, imagination, practical thinking, endurance, and the like’.<sup>2782</sup> Lucretius describes the composition of the soul, *anima*, as made of four constituent parts ‘heat, wind, air and the fourth unnamed element, the *quarta natura*’ (3.231-322).<sup>2783</sup> Is it coincidence, then, that three out of these four elements are described in **AI.3**, within *Auster*, the heat of the sun and the desert, and *spiritus* when in conjunction to the *anima*, either affecting it or being affected by it? It seems unlikely that it was a coincidence, unless these ideas were widely disseminated into popular thinking; the link between wind, water and fire and the soul, and how they are similar and interconnected, that can be found in ancient philosophy, cannot be ignored when contemplating this inscription.<sup>2784</sup> This also highlights the interconnectedness of the natural world, both terrestrial and astronomical, and the ancients’ sense of mankind’s place within it, i.e. they were a part of it, made from it, and existed in it.

Quintianus praises himself with giving men in such a predicament the ability to return to a state of balance within themselves by his act of immortalising *Salus* and *cunctis dedi* | / *Veras Salutis lymphas* (‘to everyone I gave / the true waters of *Salus*, **AI.3.10-11**). Was Quintianus trying to indicate in 14-15 that these baths so relieving not only because they were cool against the hot desert, but they saved those who had been suffering at the hands of the desert so much that they almost died, only to be brought back to life by the refreshing waters of these baths, and, although it was Quintianus who set this inscription up, it was the divinity *Salus* who saved them? This appears to be the implication. This is the only inscription in which nature and the environment are described as actively destructive, as detrimental to those who inhabited and

<sup>2779</sup> Setaioli 2014: 391.

<sup>2780</sup> Gauly 2014: 369.

<sup>2781</sup> He also exhibits the various discussions and interpretations of *animus*, which he seems to interpret as the consciousness, including the debate of if it is *spiritus* or *anima* or something else entirely; in his discussion, one of his interpretations is similar to that of the understanding of *ruah*, i.e. that it has divine origins and is sometimes understood to have connections to the blood and/or be blood (Staples 1928: 165, 175); see discussion below (Sen. Nat. 7.25.1-2).

<sup>2782</sup> Welsh 2016: 1016.

<sup>2783</sup> West 1965: 496-497; see also Cook 1994: 214; Jacobson 2004: 635-636. Air, here, is *aer* (see, for example, 3.236, 248, 269). Lucretius refers to mind and spirit as *mens* and *anima* (see, for example, 3.228). He describes how these four constituent parts influence the body, and how these can be upset by pain and violence and, pertinently for this inscription, how such an imbalance can upset the *anima* and, as such, bring someone close to death, but how people are strong enough to stay alive (3.237-258).

<sup>2784</sup> See Sen. Nat. 5.5-6.1.

explored it. This is surely due to the specific situation of the legion: posted in Africa, just north of the desert, those serving in the *Legio III Augusta* would have been used to such forces of nature opposing them on a frequent basis, especially if they went on scouting missions into the desert and returned to the relief of the baths within their fort, as this inscription by their centurion implies. This indicates the impact the environment had on their daily lives and survival, how, in temperate climates, it could be regarded as something to reminisce about, something that supported their daily lives, or was perceived as a danger in and of itself in extreme climates, such as that of the African desert, which had to be mitigated, rather than revered and worshipped, by man-made baths.

In **AI.9**, *spiritus* and nature are directly linked, the former returning to the latter in death, thus further emphasising the connection between the essence that was *spiritus* and being alive/dead. In this inscription, Proculus states his wife, who he believed had been cursed as she had had an unnatural death, *ut eius / spiritus vi | extorqueretur, quam | naturae / redderetur* ('so that her / spirit was wrenched out by force rather than be returned / to nature', 10-12). This indicates that some believed that part of the essence of a person, their *spiritus*, stemmed from and returned to nature upon death, perhaps in a similar way to how some believed that the soul went to the stars after death. It also emphasises how some people in the ancient world believed that they were connected to nature, that they, too, were a part of the natural world and the machinations of the *cosmos*. Pliny even goes to the extent that the *anima* was a part of the *caelum* (Nat. 2.24), which explains the understanding that, as a part of the *mundus*, *anima* returned to *natura* upon death. This may have stemmed from the ideas of the links between the *cosmos*, the universe, and *πνεῦμα/spiritus*, as briefly discussed above. Perhaps the author of **AI.9**, most likely to have been Proculus himself, was confused between the concepts of *anima* and *spiritus*. Proculus believed that his wife Fructuosa had been *carminibus defixa* ('bewitched / in verses', 9-10), the ailment she seemed to be afflicted by meant she was *iacuit per tempora multa* ('she lay silent for a long time', 10) before she died, so her death was not natural, her *spiritus*' natural passage out of the body had been interrupted, and could not be returned to nature. The implication is that her soul was restless, too, and this verse inscription may have also served as a warning to passers-by either not to interfere with her remains further or to stay away entirely; a restless spirit was something to be feared. Nevertheless, there is an underlying link between the essence of a person, of living beings, the *cosmos* and nature that were intertwined in philosophical scholarship from the Greeks to the Romans, and which at least some people seemed to have had an understanding of, as these references in **AI.3** and **AI.9** demonstrate, and believed in, an underlying link that remains in Western thinking today.

In **ET.40**, there are many references to various aspects of the natural world, mainly used in a practical sense, like the references to water and land above. As has already been noted, this monument, as one of its practical functions, acted as a sundial. Yet it also had other practical functions relating to the natural world, as well as the natural world being compared to aspects of this monument within the inscription to explain certain features of the monument overall, such as describing its location and the natural phenomena around it, both manufactured as a part of a monument of this nature and the surrounding landscape.

The first natural world reference is to the air. This is the triumph of man over nature (**ET.40a.13-16**):

*quis non iam pronis animi virtutibus adsit, |  
quis non hoc miretur opus fusasq(ue) videndo |  
divitias stupeat, tantos se cernere census, |  
per quos aetherias surgunt monimenta per auras? |*

It is not only triumph over nature, but also emphasises the benefits of wealth, and how that can help one achieve immortality, because it enables people to erect monuments such as this.<sup>2785</sup> This inscription highlights the importance of the reception of inscriptions by the public: ‘ce monument recueille non seulement son [Secundus maior’s] approbation (41-45), mais, ce qui est au moins aussi important, celle du public: à quoi servirait donc un memorial que personne ne regarderait?’.<sup>2786</sup> In these lines of verse, the author is expecting anyone who looks at this inscription to be overawed by it, to be impressed more by the money that had to be spent on it, rather than its magnificence, or that it was so high that it rose *aetherias ... per auras* (‘the airy aether’, 16); ‘elle est caractérisée par deux notions: d’une part celle de *monimenta*, dont le sens, lié à la racine du verbe *monere*, désigne <<tout ce qui rappelle un souvenir>> (Ernout – Meillet, *D.E.L.L.*, s.v.) et donne donc de ce monument une définition qui dépasse celle de la simple construction; ensuite, sa grande hauteur, sa verticalité, (*aetherias surgunt ... per auras*), deux aspects de l’édifice sur lesquels les poèmes reviendront’.<sup>2787</sup> The phrase *aetherias ... per auras*, in the same format, i.e. in third and last place in a line of seven words, is found in Ov. Am. 2.14.41 and ars 2.59.<sup>2788</sup>

The alliteration of the *as* and the sibilance of the repeated *s* at the end of *aetherias* and *auras*, when spoken aloud, mimic the sound of the breeze. It is as if this monument has become a mountain, a dwelling place for a god, constructed through familial wealth, for the *virtus* of his father, so high it penetrates into the sky. Throughout this inscription, Secundus’ father is described in semi-divine ways, most notably in **ET.40a.59**, when Secundus is stating that his father, now immortal, would leave the Underworld because he would prefer to exist for eternity through the monument, both in location and the words within the inscription, *solitis insistere lucis* (‘to pause in the groves he was accustomed to’), and his immortality, and how it progresses through the monument to the world above, ‘est tout entire terrestre’.<sup>2789</sup> This grove may have existed at the time, perhaps this is why this inscription was set up here, a place Secundus maior had enjoyed in life. Yet, nymphs are generally associated with having their own groves in Latin literature, thus here, Secundus iunior is bestowing onto Secundus maior a (albeit lesser) divine status upon him in death, presumably now that he is immortal. It is also not his shade that is considered immortal and/or divine here, but Secundus maior himself (54-61). After all:<sup>2790</sup>

Secundus I se réjouit dans les Enfers de savour quel memorial rapelle son souvenir; puis il prend plaisir..., à contempler les agréments (*gaudia*) qu’il a jadis offerts au site; mais ces dons sont désormais couronnés par celui due son fils a fait aux dieux: c’est ainsi qu’il faut interpreter la reprise au vers 51 (*dedit*) du *dederis* du vers precedent. Secundus I apparaît alors comme une sorte de *genius loci*

<sup>2785</sup> See Devallet 1993: 173.

<sup>2786</sup> *Ibid.*: 176.

<sup>2787</sup> *Ibid.*: 173.

<sup>2788</sup> See Soubiran 1993: 118.

<sup>2789</sup> Devallet 1993: 177.

<sup>2790</sup> *Ibid.*: 176.

This inscription gives an indication of what soldiers might have done in their retirement, using nature in a more practical sense, as was more common in military verse inscriptions, rather than the more literary and metaphorical way in which it is found above (ET.40a.49-53):

*quit cum militiae titulus, ipsumque parentem |  
numinibus dederis? haec gaudia saepe videntem |  
quae quondam dedit ipse loco, dum munera Bacchi |  
multa creat, primasque cupit componere vite |  
et nemus exornat revocatis saepius undis. |*

This gives further weight that the grove around this monument, a common accompaniment to inscribed epitaphs, was one that existed in Secundus *maior*'s lifetime, and one his son made his in his death through marking his life in this enormous monument there. This contributed to his immortality and made a home for him in death in the world of the living, not the world of the dead, thus further emphasising the semi-divine status Secundus *iunior* gives to his father through this inscription and its immediate surrounding area (see ET.40a.54-61; see also discussion in Chapter 8). This is all a part of Secundus *maior*'s achievement of immortality and divinity in death: 'la fonction principale du monument est de permettre ce que l'on pourrait appeler <<l'asension>> du père, thème auquel cette deuxième partie est entièrement consacrée'.<sup>2791</sup> That Secundus *maior*'s military career has been immortalised in stone by his son is emphasised, and perhaps it was regarded as a duty, something that could be offered to the divine as a sort of sacrifice, and perhaps in and of itself made him acquire this divine status in death (49-50). Secundus *maior*, presumably in his retirement, grew vines and produced wine, and he tended to this grove he liked so much himself; 'celui-ci est d'abord présenté comme un bienfaiteur de son environnement (50-54), et tout le passage joue sur les deux notios de *gaudium* de *de donum*'.<sup>2792</sup> He had enough technical skills with landscaping that he was able to redirect a stream to make the grove nicer. Presumably these skills were acquired in a less innocent, gardening way, but from his days in the military, when soldiers were able to ford streams, construct bridges over them, and understood the topography of the landscape around them so it could be used to their advantage, as well as for scouting.<sup>2793</sup> Can it be a stretch of the imagination that amongst the skills those in the Roman military were taught, this also involved redirecting streams? Although Lassère seems to believe that 53 refers to an irrigation network, rather than there being a stream near the monument, which other scholars have thought before.<sup>2794</sup>

This monument also has several functions that relate directly to nature, referenced throughout the Latin verse inscription on it. We have already seen that this monument worked as a sundial, but we also discover that it worked as a beehive and it had a weathervane on it:

*sed revocat me cura operis celsique decores. |  
stat sublimis honor vincinaque nubila pulsant |  
et solis metitur iter. si iungere montes |  
forte velint oculi, vincuntur in ordine colles. |*

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<sup>2791</sup> Devallet 1993: 176.

<sup>2792</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2793</sup> We see evidence of this knowledge in Frontin. *Strat.*, including a whole section (3.7) called *De Fulminum Derivatione et Vitiacione Aquarum* 'About the diverting of lightening bolts and the disruption of waters'. In Frontinus' *Stratagems*, the flow of rivers was also understood well enough that armies could send supplies down rivers to help their allies.

<sup>2794</sup> Lassère 1990: 81.

*si videas campos, infra iacet abdita tellus. |  
 non sic Romuleas exire Colossos in arces |  
 dicitur, aut circi medias obeliscus in auras, |  
 nec sit sistrigeri demonstrat pervia Nili |  
 dum sua perspicuis aperit Pharos aequora flam(m)is. |*

**ET.40a.77-85.**

*... lapis ecce foratus |  
 luminibus multis hortatur currere blandas |  
 intus apes et cerineos componere nidos, |  
 ut semper domus haec thymbraeo nectare dulcis |  
 sudet florisapos, dum dant nova mella, liquores. ||*

**ET.40a.86-90.**

*nempe fuit nobis operis descriptio magni |  
 diximus et iunctis saxa polita locis, |  
 circuitus nemorum, currentes dulciter undas, |  
 atque reportantes m[ell]a frequenter apes? |*

**ET.40b.7-10.**

*in summo tremulas galli non diximus alas, |  
 altior extrema qui puto nube volat. |  
 cuius si membris vocem natura dedisset, |  
 cogeret hic omnes surgere mane deos. |*

**ET.40b.13-16.**

This marvelling at, showing off the technical wonders of the monument demonstrates the technological advances of the Roman world, as well as the creativity of those within it, and how they incorporated nature into their everyday lives. It is this deicticism towards what was incorporated into the monument that makes this particularly remarkable:<sup>2795</sup>

We may read the poems on the Flavii mausoleum as literary artifacts operating in the same mode as epigrammatic or occasional poems that are physically, if not semantically, detached from the events or objects they praise. Such literary poems use written language to highlight the spatial and temporal dynamics surrounding a specific object, and to guide the visualization processes that connect communities with that object. Identifying some of these pointedly scribal features in the Flavii poems allows us to appreciate the actual inscription of these poems on the monument they celebrate as an act of remarkable creativity.

Although Secundus *iunior* states that he did not mention the cockerel in **ET.40b**, he perhaps alludes to it in **ET.40a**, where he describes the impressive height of the monument, ‘marked as important from the start’, i.e. here,<sup>2796</sup> and he describes it as *vincinaq(ue) nubila pulsat* (‘and beats against the nearby clouds’, 78), indicating that it was a weathervane, although this could simply be an extension of him saying that the monument is so high that it touches the breeze

<sup>2795</sup> Pillinger 2013: 175.

<sup>2796</sup> *Ibid.*: 193.

(16). The focus on the height of this monument ‘may be responding to Punic spiritual beliefs ... but it also relates to viewers’ experience of the monument in virtual terms’,<sup>2797</sup> as ‘the poet and other viewers may be bodily rooted to the ground at the foot of the monument, but their upward gaze transcends the monument and takes them into the realms of the imaginary’.<sup>2798</sup> The height of this monument is compared to natural phenomena that it outflanks, and this is compared to other man-made buildings which, conversely, are outflanked by natural phenomena. This is something the passer-by’s ‘desire to measure the man-made object immediately in front of them against the natural setting that frames it’.<sup>2799</sup> This monument outshines the mountains in the surrounding countryside and it hides the plains (**ET.40a.80-81**), in the same way that the hills of Rome rose above the Colossus, the wind soared above the obelisk in the Circus, and entrance to the Nile is still not revealed, despite the light from the lighthouse at Pharos exposing it. This monument exceeds those famous man-made landmarks, for it was able to exceed the natural phenomena surrounding it, and, furthermore, it was able to convert them into something useful: a sundial, a beehive, and a weathervane.

The monument was designed to be a beehive; Secundus *iunior* points out that the stone of the monument had been purposefully bored with holes to encourage bees (**ET.40a.86-90**). In **ET.40b**, Secundus *iunior* creates an addendum to **ET.40a**, which is meant to humourously sound like an afterthought, but, like the rest of the monument, was clearly carefully designed.<sup>2800</sup> In this, he summarises the most magnificent parts of the monument, and it is not the words upon it, but these technological conversions of the natural world that this monument has incorporated into it which he marvels about: the groves around it, the streams in the groves, and the beehive (**ET.40b.7-10**). It is in **b** when he mentions the cockerel at the top which,<sup>2801</sup> although a statue, he claims is so lifelike that *cuius si membris vocem natura dedisset, | / cogeret hic omnes surgere mane deos* (‘if nature had given voice to its limbs, / it would compel all the gods to rise in the morning’, 15-16), thus perpetuating the idea that this monument, which was so tall that it ascended into the clouds like Olympus, where the gods dwelt, the part of it which ascended above *extrema ... nube* (‘the last cloud’, 14), was able to have an impact on the divine in its magnificence and inventiveness.

It has perhaps been hypothesised to have been a weathervane because we are more used to animal weathervanes nowadays, the most popular a cockerel.<sup>2802</sup> Yet weathervanes in antiquity were of humanoid deities, their staffs or rods, etc. used as the pointer for the weathervane,<sup>2803</sup> although Lowe does suggest that medieval weathervanes ‘which spanned Europe in the form of weathercocks on church spires, while also adorning Arabian palace domes – had classical forerunners’.<sup>2804</sup> Other great monuments of the ancient world had weathervanes on top of them, the Tower of the Winds, there was one in Rome, and the Anemodoulion of Constantinople, and Lowe conjectures that the Pharos itself had a weathervane on the top,<sup>2805</sup> that the weathervanes themselves may have ‘numbered among the largest mechanised statues in the ancient world,

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<sup>2797</sup> Pillinger 2013: 194.

<sup>2798</sup> *Ibid.*: 195.

<sup>2799</sup> *Ibid.*: 193.

<sup>2800</sup> See Courtney 1995: 400-401. See also Pillinger 2013: 199-200.

<sup>2801</sup> See Courtney 1995: 400 for references to this being a weathervane.

<sup>2802</sup> See Lowe 2016: 163.

<sup>2803</sup> So Lowe conjectures, see *ibid.*: throughout.

<sup>2804</sup> *Ibid.*: 148.

<sup>2805</sup> *Ibid.*: 147, 149, 166, 156, 158.

and that their semiology related closely to their function’.<sup>2806</sup> The Mausoleum of the Flavii belongs with this group of impressive monuments, standing between the heights of the Tower of the Winds and the Anemodoulion at 14m tall:<sup>2807</sup> ‘the Pharos was over 100 m high, the Tower of the Winds 12 m and the Anemodoulion nearly as high as the tallest columns... therefore at least 25 m’.<sup>2808</sup> Lowe suggests that the Tower of the Winds was modelled on the Pharos, and they were both similar in shape and had similar architectural technological features adapted into them.<sup>2809</sup> Looking at coin depictions of the Pharos, although it had twelve sides, it looks like this monument (see Figures 7.2-7.4), with its ‘three tiers: a square base, an octagonal middle and a cylindrical top accommodating a watchfire, crowned with a statue’;<sup>2810</sup> this mausoleum was adorned with a statue of *Secundus maior*.

Was this mausoleum modelled upon these depictions of the Pharos, which is referred to in this inscription? It clearly had links to monuments that were feats of scientific engineering and technology, with other technological features such as the Tower of the Winds also had ‘sheer sides, sundials, clepsydra and marble reliefs’,<sup>2811</sup> which, given the emphasis within the inscription of this monument, as well as its comparison to other large monuments in the Roman world, including the Pharos itself, to all the technological wonders incorporated in it, it seems likely that it may have had a weathervane on the top. After all, this would have been another example of the wealth and culture surrounding this monument, which its author wished to convey, and, ‘as a fusion of scientific engineering and ‘living’ art, the monumental weathervane is a characteristic product of the Hellenistic *Zeitgeist*’, ‘the sculptural weathervane – both a spectacular novelty and a meteorological instrument – recalls the intellectual and artistic experimentation of the Hellenistic era’.<sup>2812</sup> There was no specific terminology to identify weathervanes in antiquity,<sup>2813</sup> so may explain why such emphasis was placed on the winds and air in this inscription, why the cockerel is described as having *tremulas ... alas* (‘trembling wings’, **ET.40b.13**), as well as the other technical functions this monument had, such as acting as a sundial, which we see on other monuments that had weathervanes in the ancient world, and it correlates with the belief of the predictive nature of the stars and the natural world on the weather, for ‘the direction of the wind was believed to foretell the weather’.<sup>2814</sup>



Figure 7.2: A hemidracm depicting Pharos.<sup>2815</sup>

<sup>2806</sup> Lowe 2016: 166.

<sup>2807</sup> Pillinger 2013: 172.

<sup>2808</sup> Lowe 2016: 166.

<sup>2809</sup> *Ibid.*: 153-158.

<sup>2810</sup> *Ibid.*: 154.

<sup>2811</sup> *Ibid.*: 158. See also 163, 149-152; there was ‘a sundial on each side; above is a relief carving of a personified wind, forming a frieze around the top’ (150).

<sup>2812</sup> *Ibid.*: 165, 153 respectively.

<sup>2813</sup> *Ibid.*: 148.

<sup>2814</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2815</sup> *Ibid.*: 154, figure 3.





Figure 7.3: A drachma depicting Pharos and Isis Pharia.<sup>2816</sup>



Figure 7.4: A hemidracm depicting Pharos.<sup>2817</sup>



Figure 7.5: The Mausoleum of the Flavii.<sup>2818</sup>

According to Pillinger, the cockerel is part of ‘the dissonance between the Greco-Roman imagery of the poem and the Punic architecture of the monument’.<sup>2819</sup> Pillinger disagrees with those who understand this to have been ‘the single example of a weathercock in ancient Roman culture’ because those ‘working on North-African Punic culture, however, have convincingly argued that it represents a Punic symbol of life after death, and that the poet’s irreverent attitude toward the rooster’s role on the monument demonstrates a conflict between the cultural beliefs of the commissioners of the monument and those of the poet’.<sup>2820</sup> Considering the discussion on *spiritus* above, this is significant because ‘Peyras and Bessi, in particular, adduce several other iconographic images of the rooster in North African funerary monuments, all of which appear to represent the passage of the astral soul (*ruah*) to the fortified city in the sky, while the vegetative soul (*nephesh*) stays in its mausoleum’.<sup>2821</sup> This might answer why there is such a focus on the height of the monument, ‘the vertical plane of the monument in the poems, for

<sup>2816</sup> Lowe 2016: 154, figure 4.

<sup>2817</sup> *Ibid.*: 155, figure 5.

<sup>2818</sup> EDCS-14900167.

<sup>2819</sup> Pillinger 2013: 201.

<sup>2820</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2821</sup> *Ibid.*: 201 n. 48. See this footnote for more detail on this discussion. See Staples (1928: 175), where the Palmyrenes ‘believed that the *nephesh* stayed near the grave containing its body, and for some reason they began to call the tombstone a *nephesh*’. It was probably for this reason, and because a tombstone kept the person’s memory alive into perpetuity.

the Punic viewer is encouraged to celebrate the movement of the *ruah* up into the sky'.<sup>2822</sup> Given Secundus *iunior*'s comment on his father now residing in the monument and the surrounding grove, not in the Underworld, this may be an implicit reference to the *nephesh*, and the emphasis on the monument exceeding the breezes, the final cloud, like the *ruah*.

There is a similarity between the debate about the meanings of *animus*, *anima* and *spiritus* and the meanings of *nephesh*, *ruah* and *neshamah* in the Old Testament. They are not exactly transferrable from one onto another, but the most similarity in meaning exists between *ruah* and *spiritus*, which have a nearly identical interpretation, and the almost interchangeable ideas and meanings that exist between *animus* and *anima* also seem to appear in the meanings of *nephesh* and *neshamah*, although *anima* seems more closely relatable to *nephesh*, although *nephesh* does also have a meaning of movement. *Neshamah* and *animus* have the most dissimilar meanings behind them out of these three terms, and both *ruah* and *nephesh* have associations of 'the breath of life' with them.<sup>2823</sup> As in most languages, the nuance and meaning of these terms changed over time; in the New Testament, *psyche* 'is the ... equivalent of *nephesh*, carries meanings ranging from life and desire (in St Paul's letters) to the whole personality'.<sup>2824</sup> These ideas existed across several cultures, for example, in Egypt, the *ka*, 'the animating force' of life, was associated with bovines, and was another name for a bull.<sup>2825</sup> The *natura* of bovine animals are, in Luretius, said to lean more towards the airy nature of the *animus/mens*; he, rather unhelpfully, uses these terms interchangeably.<sup>2826</sup>

This indicates the Flavii were retaining their dual identities as part of the Punic and Roman cultures: Roman, for this inscription is written in Latin and is an example of the epigraphic habit and they were involved in Roman social institutions, such as Flavius Secundus *maior* being in the military. Yet they perpetuate Punic culture and ideas within this inscription, and, rather like they have in themselves, they have amalgamated them practically into the monument, where 'the bilingualism consists of Libyco-Punic iconography matched with exceptionally fluent Latin (even interlarded with the Greek learning fashionable in Flavian poetry). **ET.40**, therefore, shows that inscriptions were not isolated in their surroundings. There was more to an inscription, especially epitaphs, than the stone itself, and even what was written on this stone. **ET.40** is an extreme example of this, with beehives and sundials incorporated into its construction, but it is not unusual in its inclusion of a grove surrounding it. Its architecture is another 'language', another way in which a different cultural attitude and background can be expressed, with 'a veneer of descriptive Latin language'.<sup>2827</sup> It demonstrates the eternity of nature, for Secundus *iunior* expected bees to use the monument *semper*

<sup>2822</sup> Pillinger 2013: 201 n. 48.

<sup>2823</sup> For discussion on these ideas, see Stables 1928: throughout, particularly 169 for the similarities between *ruah* and *spiritus*, with its origins from, connotations with, and influence of the divine, the wind and breath, as well as the discussion on Seneca and the meaning of *spiritus* above (see also Kielkiewicz & Dalzell 2014: 45-46, 51-53 for *pneuma*'s connotations with the divine in the New Testament as well); Clarke 2010: 139-140; Kielkiewicz & Dalzell 2014: 43-53; Pleijel 2019: throughout. See also Kielkiewicz & Dalzell 2014: 1 for *psyche* = *nephesh* and *pneuma* = *ruah*, that *nephesh* 'does not have a supernatural connotation but expresses a natural character of existence in people and animals. In relation to people it reflects also the higher level of humans' life functions' (45). Kielkiewicz & Dalzell recognise that *psyche* in the New Testament was used in a similar way to *nephesh* in the Old Testament, in an explanation which can be applied here: 'the differences correlate with cultural background, but the connotation is much the same; the differences are caused by the language and background of the cultures where those words originated. Even if the terms were used in different contexts, their meanings are very much comparable' (50). Likewise, the meaning of *pneuma*, in the New Testament, 'is a continuation of the Hebrew word רוּחַ (*ruah*)' (50), although *pneuma* itself did have its own nuanced meanings (51).

<sup>2824</sup> Clarke 2010: 140.

<sup>2825</sup> Gordon & Schwabe 2004: 30.

<sup>2826</sup> Lucr. 3.288-306; Cook 1994: 214-215. See Pillinger 2013: 201, n. 49.

<sup>2827</sup> Pillinger 2013: 202.

(‘always’, **ET.40a.89**), and his father gained immortality not in the Underworld, but through his residence in his favourite grove that surrounded the monument his son established for his eternal memory.

This repetition in the use of the mausoleum by bees is part of another layer of the imagery it portrays, for as he wishes that bees shall always use it, so shall the continuance of anyone reading this poem perpetuate his family’s memory into eternity, for ‘in continuing to appreciate the monumental *imago*, concrete or textual, real or virtual, viewers and readers are granting immortality to the relationships that lie behind its original commissioning. *Memoratio* is not a finite act of *pietas* limited to the original commissioning members of the Flavii family or to the poet’s repetition of his assignment, but an endlessly renewable act of visual reconstruction, collaboratively performed by the monument’s artist(s) and audience(s)’.<sup>2828</sup> Perhaps this duality is best encapsulated by the cockerel adorning the top of this monument. Its function was as a weathervane, emphasising the monumentality, the significance, of this mausoleum, the wealth poured into it, and the technological marvels it presented, like other great monuments of the ancient world. Yet it also was in the shape of a cockerel, emphasising the Punic origins and cultural and religious affiliations, as well as their Roman affiliations, of this family, demonstrating the blending between religion, culture and expression of identity and affiliation that was expressed in the Roman world in an effortless way, in which neither is secretly trying to outdo the other, but is expressed in unique ways, the Roman through the words, technology and very monumentality of this set of inscriptions, the Punic through the religion and architecture of the monument upon which this set of inscriptions stood.

In **AI.6**, divinity is linked closely to nature, which, despite it being by the *Corpus piscatorum et urinatorum*, it is filled with earth natural imagery, although the Nymphs are also mentioned in this inscription (18), which, as has been seen, are often understood in relation to water and the natural world. As seen in Chapter 6, the divinity of the emperors is emphasised through their place in relation to the stars and the earth: they originated from the heavens, and to the heavens they shall return (1-3). It reinforces the connection between the stars and the earth, how they were seen in tandem. The emperor celebrated in this inscription is described as being destined for greatness from birth, for he *sideribu[s] | [in terram delapso]* (‘had fallen down from the stars to the ground’, 2), as the missing part of this inscription is conjectured to say, whereas the now deified version of Augustus, who bares a similar epithet to the one associated with Jupiter, and with the same meaning, is described as *orbis terrarum [propagatori]*; again, this is the word that is conjectured to be missing here] (‘offspring of the lands of the earth’, 3), thus acknowledging his mortal birth, and divine ascendancy. Augustus became divine through his own efforts whilst he was on earth, whereas the emperor celebrated here was destined to be sent to earth to be an emperor.

The ways in which the emperor, as the leader of the military, conquered and obtained more lands for the Roman Empire is described mirror agriculture and deities of agriculture, fertility and the natural world:<sup>2829</sup> *Providens imperi sui mai[estat(-)] / [---] ampliavit, largam gloriam pac[e ---], | / [--- la]urea dextra manu signum Victor[iae ---]* (‘He, in his foresight, extended the majesty / [...] of his empire, [...] the bountiful glory [...] with peace, / of laurel [...] with his right hand, [...] the statue of Victory’, **AI.6.4-7**). The lands of the Empire are seen as the

<sup>2828</sup> Pillinger 2013: 176. See also the discussion on *pietas* in Chapter 8.

<sup>2829</sup> See, for example, discussion on fertility, the natural world, agriculture and divinities above, concerning **AI.7**.

Emperor's possession, and it was he who contributed to their expansion and prosperity. How this was achieved is not directly named, but becomes apparent when this expansion of the Empire led him to honour a statue of Victory (6-7), and it was through this expansion that peace was brought to the lands, presumably given the context and the language used to describe this peace, this was *Pax Augusta*, intertwined with the military, the Emperor and the defence of the Empire, something that was uniquely Roman.<sup>2830</sup>

The uniqueness of **AI.6**, and the profusiveness of its language, has led to its authenticity being questioned, but it now seems to have been accepted as genuine, or at least analysed without questioning beyond Baldarotta's comments on the opinions of Le Gall and Martin.<sup>2831</sup> In this inscription, the natural world is a part of veneration, whether it is in how the Emperor, through the military, it is implied, conquered the lands of the world and brought more into the Empire, and how this feat was celebrated by the people, or how deities themselves were venerated. *Victoria* was crowned with laurel by the Emperor in celebration of this achievement, of this bringing of peace, and, in the celebrations, described here (12-13), in which *[l]anugin<e>i flores digna sunt vota* ('flowers of *lanugo* are worthy votive offerings', 13). *Lanugo* can be interpreted in two ways here, although there is one interpretation that is more logical than the other: *lanugo* meant 'down/wooly substance' from either beards, as in the 'down of youth', or such a substance from plants,<sup>2832</sup> although it now has specifically animal and human related connotations of 'down'.<sup>2833</sup> *Lanugo* is found in Latin literature in relation to the down of youth in poetry,<sup>2834</sup> in Pliny's *Naturalis Historia* it is found mainly in relation to plants.<sup>2835</sup> Given that this inscription mentions a floral gift to *Victoria*, it seems likely that *lanugo* here refers to the downy substance from plants. Yet, the shavings from the *depositio barbae* were given as votive offerings, thus this could be referring to this type of offering, especially when it is in relation to a particularly masculine undertaking in the Roman world: conquest, war, victory, and peace.

**ET.73**, **ET.74** and *RIU* III 910 have been examined in detail in Chapter 3, yet nature features heavily within them, and so it is key to examine them briefly here. Two of the three inscriptions within this small collection have known military connections within the text (**ET.73** and **ET.74**).<sup>2836</sup> These three inscriptions share identical wording in their verse; a vast majority of this overlap is visible in the lines discussing nature.

### ET.73

*Vivito mortalis dum{dum} dant tibi tempora Parc(a)e, |*  
*Seu te rura tenent urbes seu castra vel (a)equor (vac.). |*  
*Flores ama Veneris, Cereris bona munera carpe |*  
*Et Nysyi larga et pingua dona Minervae. (vac.) |*

<sup>2830</sup> See discussion on *Pax Augusta* above, concerning **AI.7**.

<sup>2831</sup> Baldarotta 1998: 309-310.

<sup>2832</sup> Lewis & Short 1945: 1034.

<sup>2833</sup> See, for example, Colman 2015; Stevenson (ed.) 2015; Allaby 2020.

<sup>2834</sup> For example, Stat. Silv. 3.4.65, Theb. 6.586; Mart. Epigr. 10. 42.1, 9.36.5; Iv. 13.59; Ov. Fast. 5.173; also in Plin. Nat. 30.41, Apul. Met. 7.5. See also Parkes 2009: 27.

<sup>2835</sup> See, for example, Plin. Nat. 24.87, 23.101, 19.9, 19.14, 19.21, 25.169, 14.22, 18.360, 24.45, 16.86,

<sup>2836</sup> Hence, *RIU* III 910 does not have its own catalogue number within the numbering system of this data; we may perhaps conjecture that the third did too, although there is no evidence within the inscription for this; there is evidence that *RIU* III 910 had military connections, although they fall outside the criteria for the data for this study. See Chapter 3.

*Candida(m) vita(m) cole iustissima mente serenus. |*  
*Iam puer et iuvenis iam vir et fessus ab annis. (vac.) |*

#### ET.74

*V[ivito mortal]is dum dant tibi [tempora Par]c(a)e, |*  
*Seu [te rura col]ens urbes vel castra vel (a)equor. |*  
*Flores ama Veneris, Cereris bona munera carpe |*  
*Et Nysyi larga{s} et pingui dona Minervae. |*  
*Iam puer et iuvenis iam vir iam fessus ab annis. |*

#### RIU III 910

*Vivito mortalis (vac.) dunc [dant tibi tempora Parc(a?)e], |*  
*Seu te rura colens ur(vac.)be[s seu castra vel (a?)equor]. |*  
*Flores ama Veneris, Cere[ris bona munera carpe] |*  
*Et Nysyi larga{e} et pingui dona Minervae]. |*  
*Candida(m) vita(m) cole (vac.) ius[tissima mente serenus]. |*  
*Iam puer et iuvenis iam [vir et fessus ab annis]. |*

These inscriptions are for a wide variety of ranks, from a *miles* of the *cohors miliariae nouae Surorum* to a *tribunus* to an unknown person who was probably military but the epigraphic evidence is no longer apparent. These epitaphs have also been commissioned by a variety of people; although Lupus wrote the poem, the inscriptions were commissioned by the mother and sister of the *miles*, the *nepos* of the *tribunus*, with his own money, and his, either the *tribunus* or his *nepos*, *instantibus contubernilibus* ('upon the insistence of his messmates', ET.74.11). As with the subject of RIU III 910, we do not know who it was written by either.

Once again, we see the idea of flowers being associated with the divine, as well as Ceres appearing in reference to the products of agriculture. The *Nysyi larga* ('bounty of Nysa') must refer to grapes and wine, for Nysa was the place where Bacchus was brought up by nymphs,<sup>2837</sup> and Zarker believes that here Nysa stands for Bacchus.<sup>2838</sup> There must be a connection between the *flores Veneris* ('the flowers of Venus') starting the line before this one, just as the *Nysyi larga* begin this one: 'because of her links with the power of wine, Venus is presented in the rites and myth of the festivals of wine-production (Vinalia) as a mediatrix between Jupiter and the Romans'.<sup>2839</sup> What were the *pinguia dona Minervae* ('the fertile gifts of Minerva')? The answer is likely to be found in Ovid: *Oenea namque ferunt pleni successibus anni / primitias frugum Cereri, sua vina Lyaeo, / Palladios flavae latices libasse Minervae* ('for they say that Oeneus offered, for the success of a fertile / year, the first of the produce to Ceres, to Bacchus his own wine, / to golden Minerva Palladian oil', Met. 8.2773-275).<sup>2840</sup> Therefore, ideas of natural beauty and nature are identified with female deities in this inscription.

The line *seu te rura tenent/colens urbes seu castra vel aequor* ('either the countryside or the cities or the camps or the seas will keep you/is where you inhabit') shows the range of places that were 'inhabited' by those in the Roman world: rural countryside, urban developments, military encampments or the sea, showing the full extent of mankind's influence upon the

<sup>2837</sup> Kidd 1957: 141; Roberts (ed.) 2007; Dunbabin 2018: 490.

<sup>2838</sup> Zarker 1958.82.

<sup>2839</sup> Roberts (ed.) 2007.

<sup>2840</sup> See Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.38: 89.

world at the time. This was probably regarded as the great conquest and domination of humanity, that humans could live in all these different terrains throughout their lifespan, and the transient life of the Roman soldier encapsulated these different environments, as their forts in sometimes previously uninhabited places became important towns and they guarded the sea through the fleets. So, although this seems like a generic, ‘live life whilst you can’, addressed to anyone in any environment, it can also be argued that this is a specifically military message, for the military was the only institutional body of people who did inhabit all these locations at once. It demonstrates the manoeuvrability of those within the Roman world, that they were able to inhabit these various environments. Yet they also create a contrast between these environments, literally and socially, for the city was different from the countryside, and there has always been a recognised divide between ‘townsfolk’ and ‘countryfolk’, therefore there was, as this poem implies, a divide between those who inhabited the countryside, the urban environment, the military camp, and those who sailed on the sea. There is a separation between the civilian and military created here, twice: between those on land, for there was the navy division of the military as well, and between the civilians who did not live in encampments, and the military, who did. Although there were sailors too, such as merchants, they are also often described in Latin literature as different from society. Therefore, not only is this poem depicting the four different main kinds of environments people literally inhabited, but also the four main kinds of habitats that defined and categorised people socially, with their own perceptions and stereotypes behind them, which still exist today.

What is perhaps the most defining line of this collection is the sentiment: *Iam puer et iuuenis iam vir et fessus ab annis* (‘now a boy, and a young man, now a man, and now tired by the years’).<sup>2841</sup> The only epitaph in which we are aware of the person’s age is **ET.73**, the *miles* who died when he was twenty, having served in the army for three years. He may have been considered a *vir* at the age of twenty, although in **AI.3** Severus had yet to go through the *depositio barbae* at the age of twenty and he had also been a *miles*.<sup>2842</sup> But it is telling that the natural process of aging in this order is interrupted: he goes from boy, to youth to man, but not a *senex*, an old man, presumably because he died at the age of twenty. It may be a stretch of the imagination to wonder if this was not only a continuation of the nature theme because this line lists the natural order of aging, only for it to be interrupted by a natural process, i.e. death, but also an illusion to ‘the story of the magical vine of Nysa, which miraculously went through all the stages of growth and vintage in a single day’.<sup>2843</sup> The *miles* in **ET.73** is described as already being *fessus ab annis*, despite being just a *vir*, not a *senex*, perhaps therefore compensating for this absence in the natural order of events linguistically. The natural order of events is also disrupted for the *miles*, for he is buried by his mother, and it is a common theme in epitaphs that a child dying before their parents is a disruption of the natural order. The *nepos* of the *tribunus* buries him, so this is not disruptive to the natural order.

The lands in which these inscriptions were found are as diverse as the locations this poem describes: **ET.73** was found in Aquincum, Pannonia Inferior, **ET.74** in Raphia, Palestina, and *RIU* III 910 in Ulcisisa Castra, Pannonia Inferior, thus meaning that the location gives a military implication to *RIU* III 910. Perhaps the diversity of places one can inhabit reflects the diversity of locations in which military men were posted, and where they originated from, and perhaps

<sup>2841</sup> A similar sentiment is also seen in **ET.42**.

<sup>2842</sup> See discussion in Chapter 8.

<sup>2843</sup> Halliday 1928: 19.

the one(s) who transmitted this poem around the Empire wished to do so because it accurately represented how they felt about their itinerant lives. People do the same with poetry now, sometimes keeping a piece, or a few lines, of poetry that resonate with them in their wallets. One can imagine a soldier standing in front of epitaphs and reading them, finding a piece of poetry that resonated particularly with them, and they decided to write it down, perhaps to have on their own tombstone one day; we have seen before that this is something men considered during their lifetime. It is perhaps easier to understand a verse inscription being disseminated from one part of a province to another, hence the duplication in the same province, but explaining this travelling, almost word for word, except for one line missing, from Pannonia Inferior to Palestina, provides evidence that those in the Roman era carried out the same process, and that Martial was right, that they did disseminate poetry around the lands of the Empire in their pockets,<sup>2844</sup> not only the poetry of high literature, but also literary poems they saw on their travels around the Empire, which, for some, held so much meaning they decided to quote it almost word for word on their epitaphs.

These inscriptions that include multiple references to nature nearly all include astronomical references, thus reinforcing the idea that, those in the Roman world, what we now classify as a separate field to ‘astronomy’, considered a part of their natural world. All features of the natural world have divine connotations, either because they are associated with the divine and/or they are to be sacrificed to the divine. Just as philosophers used the natural world to try to assist their audience in understanding the complex, theoretical ideas they wished to convey, so do the ordinary people writing and commissioning these inscriptions, where they use the natural world with the divine/mythical/philosophical undertones such imagery and language had in their verse inscriptions, even if ostensibly they use them with practical connotations.

Monuments could be compared to feats of nature, to make them not only seem more impressive when compared to nature, but also when compared to other monuments that are outshone by nature. There is a subtle acknowledgement that they can never truly conquer nature, but that nature shall always triumph, and it is eternal, and yet they still try to conquer it, and exhibit this outsmarting of nature on their inscriptions as a feat of wealth, leadership, and of being outstanding in society. So not only can analysing the portrayals of the natural world in Latin military verse inscriptions give us an indication of how those in the Roman world, not simply the military, understood the natural world around them, but how they perceived themselves, and their own situation within the natural world.

## 7.6. Conclusion

In these military verse inscriptions, nature is not referred to metaphorically, but practically. It is through practical comparison that the ancients processed the world around them,<sup>2845</sup> although the stars were used in a more metaphorical way, but that was still to make the intangible tangible, such as time. The natural world in these inscriptions highlights the dual practical, literal sense in which it was interpreted, and the divine, mythological sense with which it was venerated, which we see across all genres of Classical literature. Nature is ideolised and undermined, it was something that defeated them, and something to be defeated. It represents

<sup>2844</sup> Kruschwitz 2020a: throughout. **ET.74**, the one from Raphia, certainly shows the most divergence in wording out of the three of these, indicating that it was copied from one of the other two. See also Chapter 3.

<sup>2845</sup> See Cook’s (1994: 205-211) analysis on Lucretius’ use of visual comparisons to convey his point to the reader, most of which are natural or agricultural images; ‘it furthers the immersion of the reader in the vividness, orderliness, and at the same time the variousness, indeed the *voluptas*, of the world taken in by his eyes’ (211).

the identity of peoples, cultures, and languages. Water is mainly associated with memories, whether it is of someone's life in death or of their home. Nature was someone's introduction into the world, and to *natura* they shall be returned, both literally and idealistically.

As can be seen in Figure 7.6 and Table 7, earth and water imagery dominate, and it cannot be a coincidence that in every ancient mythological creation myth earth and water came first. Celestial/astronomical imagery is the next most frequently mentioned of the natural world imagery, then air and flora are joined in being mentioned eight times each. The earth, water, and the celestial were perhaps those features that had the most impact on people's lives. They inhabited, and were buried in, the earth. Water was regarded for its healing properties and essential for life. The sun and the stars impacted on the processes of the Earth, and were used to track the passing of time upon it. The infrequency of the mentioning of fire is perhaps surprising, but it appears to have had less of an impact on the everyday machinations of the world for those inhabiting the Earth. Soldiers, and those associated with them, tended to discuss the natural world and nature in terms of how it affected their lives on Earth.

Once more, the provincial findspots of these inscriptions follow the pattern as seen in other chapters: Italy was the most frequent, followed by the Rhine-Danube frontier and African provinces (Table 7 and Figure 7.12). Those who used the birthland/deathland formula expressed their identity in a way equitable to those who express their identity today: Dardanian/Roman, English/British, for example, with a dual nationality, a more personal, individual, provincial/country one within a wider political idea. Most of these inscriptions were in Latin, although there are some bilingual inscriptions, the reason for which is usually connected to the land they inhabited also having a Greek speaking population; the bilingual ones differed slightly between the contents of the Greek and Latin inscriptions, and the metre was different (see Table 7). Most of these monuments were epitaphs (Table 7), with most of the earth inscriptions being epitaphs. The monuments with water imagery in were the most diverse, from epitaphs to votive to honorific inscriptions.

Most of the inscriptions were in hexameter, often called the metre of heroic poetry but, for this reason, i.e. well-known works such as the *Aeneid* were written in hexameters, perhaps this is why there was a bias towards writing in hexameter (Table 7 and Figure 7.7). Most of the inscriptions in this chapter can be dated to the mid-second to the mid-third century, and, given the pattern of the inscriptions in this study overall, this appears to be the peak of the creation of military verse inscriptions (Table 7 and Appendix 4). Whether these inscriptions were created for or by soldiers is almost equal (Table 7 and Figure 7.11). There is a great diversity in the military units presented in these inscriptions (Table 7 and Figure 7.10), although the greatest single units that produced these military verse inscriptions with natural world imagery in were the *equites singulares*, closely followed by the Praetorian Guard and the *Legio III Augusta* equally; the legions had the greatest output overall. The inscriptions in this chapter are as individual as those who wrote them, often a sole soldier from the wide variety of units within the Roman military.

Overall, the vast majority of ranks featured in these inscriptions belonged to those who were literate, such as the *centurio* and *tribunus*, and were higher up in the ranks of the Roman military, so had a position of power, although the diversity of ranks demonstrates the scope of literacy and competence with language featured in these inscriptions (Table 7 and Figure 7.9; see also Appendix 3). The most frequent of the ranks featured in the inscriptions in this chapter



was the *centurio*, closely followed by the *miles*. There is also a great diversity in the origins of the soldiers in these inscriptions (Table 7 and Figure 7.8). Most of the soldiers featured in the inscriptions in this chapter came from Italy, although they do follow the general pattern seen in this study: most were from Italy, followed by the Rhine-Danube frontier and the African provinces (see Chapter 9). This, therefore, presents the universality in the attitude and contemplation of the natural world, especially when examining the origins of those who use the birthland/deathland formula: this was used by a variety of different people who were born and died all around the Roman Empire. This pathos inducing idea of dying, and being buried away from, one's homeland is a universal ideal, as universal as the idea of nature itself.

Tacoma notes that 'there are, for example, no autobiographical migration narratives'<sup>2846</sup> and that they are one of the limitations of studying these as a source is because 'they normally testify to individual movement only, by mentioning that someone originates from elsewhere, without providing any further information'.<sup>2847</sup> He despairs that 'the custom of bringing some of the dead who died elsewhere back home is likely to have erased such movement [i.e. migration]'.<sup>2848</sup> In the case of these military verse inscriptions, this is not true. We see the migration patterns of people generated through the information presented regarding where they were born, served, and died,<sup>2849</sup> where political and career ascension could relocate a soldier (see, for example, **RI.2** and **RI.18**), as well as conjecture the migration patterns of a soldier, and potentially his family, through his unit's postings. Even if the migration patterns of a soldier are not noted in his inscription directly, then they can be determined through other factors, primarily through his military identity. The date of the inscription and the unit the soldier was identified as serving in can assist us in discovering these patterns; we know the movements of many of the Roman military units, particularly the legions.<sup>2850</sup> This includes those who whose remains were sent home and those who identify as coming from a different land to the one they were buried in, as seen in this chapter and Chapter 3; in fact, this is crucial in determining parts of their identity.<sup>2851</sup>

When they studied Greek epigrams, Tacoma & Tybout observe 'it is not only striking that movements were recorded in some detail, but the simple fact that they were mentioned at all implies that they were considered an integral part of a person's self-representation. They mattered'.<sup>2852</sup> In terms of military posting and promotion (military or political or both), this was crucial to a soldier's identity: this was a part of their career trajectory in the Roman military. This was a reflection of their service, and thus of themselves and their value within the military. Their military career enabled them to move about, but gave them a stable environment in which to do so; those they served with would have remained familiar, even if their unit was posted elsewhere, for example. They were not quite 'strangers in a strange land' in the sense that they were devoid of any familiarity, securities or constants that they would have known that would have made them comfortable with establishing themselves and expressing their identity. These inscriptions, therefore, can give us insights into how the transitory nature of the Roman military, i.e. it relied on the migration of men into its ranks and it enabled/enforced migration through its institutional processes, affected the identities,

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<sup>2846</sup> Tacoma 2016: 17.

<sup>2847</sup> *Ibid.*: 19.

<sup>2848</sup> *Ibid.*: 26.

<sup>2849</sup> See Chapter 7, for example.

<sup>2850</sup> See Appendix 2.

<sup>2851</sup> See Chapters 3 and 7.

<sup>2852</sup> Tacoma & Tybout 2016: 365.

affiliations and relationships of those serving within its ranks, but migration itself did not necessarily define their identities, their service within the Roman military did.<sup>2853</sup>

These inscriptions show the mastery of the Romans over nature, how the military commanded the natural world just as they commanded the people inhabiting it. But they also demonstrate how those in the ancient world needed the natural world, how they conformed to its wishes, tackled against its tempests, and identified themselves often not by the man-made associations and names of a country, but by the land they once inhabited. They are defined and their lives were influenced by the lands they lived in, the lands that buried them, the waters that healed them, the rivers they conquered, and the deserts that threatened them. They understood the world around them, and their place within that world, through the parts of nature they could see, touch, hear and smell. Their identities were intrinsically linked to the natural world, their sense of self, their bravery, their pride, their own identity embodied by the lives they led, and the feats they accomplished during them, which were governed by, and tried to overcome, the whims of the natural world.

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<sup>2853</sup> See also Tacoma, who notes that ‘paradoxical though it may sound, despite the shared characteristics of all forms of migration in terms of demographical profile or geographical background, there was no collective immigrant identity shared by all migrants ... soldiers saw themselves primarily as soldiers’ (2016: 246), which we can see in the inscriptions in this study, although this may simply be due to the data gathering process.

Table 7: A summary of the data in Chapter 7

| No.   | Rank                           | Unit                                  | Origin of Writer / Dedicatee  | Origin of Soldier      | For / By | Type of Monument | Date                               | Location                                               | Metre                                                          | Natural Imagery                                                                                                                                |
|-------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------|----------|------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ET.3  | <i>miles</i>                   | <i>Legio VII</i>                      | Asia Minor                    | Asia Minor             | For      | Epitaph          | Early first century AD             | Tilurium / Vojnić, near Trilj, Dalmatia                | Iambic senarii                                                 | Earth / land                                                                                                                                   |
| ET.4  | <i>Eques</i>                   | <i>Legio XI</i>                       | Unknown<br>Italian            | Italian                | For / by | Epitaph          | AD 9-42                            | Burnum / Mokro Polje, Dalmatia                         | Iambic senarii                                                 | Earth / land                                                                                                                                   |
| ET.14 | <i>Miles</i>                   | <i>Legio VI Ferrata</i>               | Hispania Tarraconensis        | Hispania Tarraconensis | For      | Epitaph          | AD 71-100                          | Tortosa / Dertosa, Hispania Tarraconensis              | Elegiac couplets                                               | Air / sky / breezes                                                                                                                            |
| ET.29 | <i>speculator in praetorio</i> | Praetorian Guard                      | Italian                       | Italian                | For      | Epitaph          | First half of the first century AD | Forum Semproni / Fossombrone, Italia                   | Dactylic elegiacs / dactylic hexameter with the odd elegiac in | Flora / flowers<br>Earth / land                                                                                                                |
| ET.40 | <i>veteranus?</i>              | Unknown                               | Africa                        | Africa                 | For      | Epitaph          | Second century AD                  | Colonia Flavia Cillium / Tunisia, Africa Proconsularis | Hexameter<br>Elegiac couplets                                  | Celestial / sun<br>Nature<br>Earth / land<br>Flora<br>Air / wind<br>Air / breeze<br>Fauna<br>Groves<br>Water / stream<br>Water / river<br>Fire |
| ET.42 | <i>Miles</i>                   | <i>Legio II Adiutrix</i>              | Gallia Narbonensis<br>Unknown | Gallia Narbonensis     | For      | Epitaph          | First century AD (pre-AD 43)       | Mogontiacum / Mainz, Germania Superior                 | Germania Superior                                              | Earth / land                                                                                                                                   |
| ET.51 | Veteran's son                  | N/A                                   | Baetica                       | Unknown                | For      | Epitaph          | First century AD                   | Caesarea / Charchell, Mauretania Caesariensis          | Hexameter                                                      | Earth / land                                                                                                                                   |
| ET.73 | <i>miles</i>                   | <i>cohors miliariae novae Surorum</i> | Unknown                       | Unknown                | For      | Epitaph          | AD 222-235                         | Aquincum / Budapest, Pannonia Inferior                 | Hexameter                                                      | Land / earth<br>Water / sea<br>Flora                                                                                                           |
| ET.74 | <i>tribunus</i>                | Unknown                               | Unknown                       | Unknown                | For      | Epitaph          | Early - mid third century AD       | Raphia / Rafa, Palestina                               | Hexameter                                                      | Land / earth<br>Water / sea<br>Flora                                                                                                           |

|      |                                 |                                              |                      |                |         |             |                                     |                                                                         |                                      |                              |
|------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------|---------|-------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| LL.4 | <i>beneficiarius consularis</i> | <i>Ala I Thracum</i>                         | Pannonian, Thracian  | Pannonian      | By      | Epitaph     | Second half of the third century AD | Campona / Nagyteteny, Pannonia Inferior                                 | Hexameter                            | Celestial / <i>genesis</i>   |
|      |                                 |                                              |                      |                |         |             |                                     |                                                                         |                                      | Air                          |
| LL.7 | Unknown / <i>miles</i>          | <i>Equites singulares</i>                    | Pannonia             | Pannonia       | For, by | Epitaph     | Third century AD                    | Rome, Italia                                                            | Mixed hexameter                      | Earth / land                 |
|      |                                 |                                              |                      |                |         |             |                                     |                                                                         |                                      | Water / river                |
| LL.6 | <i>centurio</i>                 | <i>Equites singulares</i>                    | Pannonia?            | Pannonia?      | By      | Epitaph     | Third century AD                    | Possibly the via Appia, Rome, Italia                                    | Mixed hexameter                      | Earth / land                 |
| RI.2 | <i>legatus legionis</i>         | <i>Legio III Augusta</i>                     | Dalmatian?           | Dalmatian?     | By?     | Statue base | Late second century AD              | Lambaesis, Numidia                                                      | Elegiac couplets<br>Iambic trimetres | Air                          |
| AI.1 | <i>trierarchus</i>              | <i>Classis praetoriae Misenatium</i>         | Roman citizen/Italy? | Italy?         | By      | Epitaph     | Post AD 71                          | Stabiae / Castellammare di Stabia, Latium et Campania / Regio I, Italia | Hexameter                            | Water / sea                  |
|      |                                 |                                              |                      |                |         |             |                                     |                                                                         |                                      | Water / river                |
|      |                                 |                                              |                      |                |         |             |                                     |                                                                         |                                      | Land / earth                 |
|      |                                 |                                              |                      |                |         |             |                                     |                                                                         |                                      | Land / shore                 |
|      |                                 |                                              |                      |                |         |             |                                     |                                                                         |                                      | Celestial / sun              |
| AI.2 | <i>miles</i>                    | Unknown                                      | Italian              | Italian        | For     | Epitaph     | Late first century AD?              | Interamna Nahars / Stroncone, Umbria / Regio VI, Italia                 | Hexameter                            | Water / river                |
|      |                                 |                                              |                      |                |         |             |                                     |                                                                         |                                      | Celestial / sun              |
| AI.3 | <i>centurio</i>                 | <i>Legio III Augusta</i>                     | Italian?             | Italian?       | By      | Votive      | AD 202/203                          | Gholaia / Bu Njem, Numidia                                              | Iambic senarii                       | Water                        |
|      |                                 |                                              |                      |                |         |             |                                     |                                                                         |                                      | Air / wind                   |
|      |                                 |                                              |                      |                |         |             |                                     |                                                                         |                                      | Land / desert                |
|      |                                 |                                              |                      |                |         |             |                                     |                                                                         |                                      | Fire                         |
|      |                                 |                                              |                      |                |         |             |                                     |                                                                         |                                      | Celestial / sun              |
| AI.4 | <i>primus pilus</i>             | <i>Legio XVI</i>                             | Italian              | Italian        | By      | Honorific   | 2 BC-AD 2                           | Acerrae / Acerra, Latium et Campania / Regio I, Italia                  | Iambic                               | Earth / land                 |
|      |                                 |                                              |                      |                |         |             |                                     |                                                                         |                                      | <i>mundus</i>                |
| AI.5 | <i>Aquilifer</i>                | <i>Legio XIII Gemina</i>                     | Italian              | Italian        | By?     | Epitaph     | AD 43-61/62                         | Viroconium / Wroxeter, Britannia                                        | Hexameter                            | Flora                        |
|      |                                 |                                              |                      |                |         |             |                                     |                                                                         |                                      | Water                        |
|      |                                 |                                              |                      |                |         |             |                                     |                                                                         |                                      | Celestial / <i>sidus</i>     |
| AI.6 | N/A                             | N/A                                          | Italy/servile?       | Italy/servile? | For     | Honorific   | AD 211                              | Rome, Italia                                                            | Iambic senarii<br>Hexameter          | Celestial / <i>sidus</i>     |
|      |                                 |                                              |                      |                |         |             |                                     |                                                                         |                                      | Earth / land                 |
|      |                                 |                                              |                      |                |         |             |                                     |                                                                         |                                      | Flora                        |
| AI.7 | <i>Tribunus in praefecto</i>    | <i>Cohors I Hamiorum Sagittiorum Syriaca</i> | African              | African        | By      | Votive      | Severan                             | Magnis / Carvoran, Britannia                                            | Iambic senarii                       | Flora                        |
|      |                                 |                                              |                      |                |         |             |                                     |                                                                         |                                      | Celestial / <i>caelestis</i> |
|      |                                 |                                              |                      |                |         |             |                                     |                                                                         |                                      | Celestial / <i>sidus</i>     |
|      |                                 |                                              |                      |                |         |             |                                     |                                                                         |                                      | Celestial / <i>caelum</i>    |

|              |                                   |                                         |                                                           |                      |         |         |                                       |                                                          |                              |                                                       |
|--------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|---------|---------|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
|              |                                   |                                         |                                                           |                      |         |         |                                       |                                                          |                              | Earth / land                                          |
| <b>AI.8</b>  | <i>miles</i>                      | Unknown                                 | African                                                   | Africa               | For     | Epitaph | AD 117-161                            | Portus / Fiumicino, Latium et Campania / Regio I, Italia | Elegiac couplet              | Earth / land                                          |
|              |                                   |                                         |                                                           |                      |         |         |                                       |                                                          |                              | Water / sea                                           |
| <b>AI.9</b>  | <i>tribunus</i>                   | <i>Legio III Augusta</i>                | Africa?                                                   | Africa?              | By      | Epitaph | Third century AD                      | Lambaesis, Numidia                                       | Iambic senarii               | Celestial / <i>caelestis</i>                          |
|              |                                   |                                         |                                                           |                      |         |         |                                       |                                                          |                              | Nature                                                |
| <b>AI.10</b> | Unknown                           | Unknown                                 | Unknown                                                   | Unknown              | By      | Epitaph | Unknown                               | Thugga / Dougga, Africa Proconsularis                    | Iambic                       | Celestial / wider universe / <i>Iuppiter</i> (planet) |
| <b>NW.1</b>  | <i>centurio</i>                   | Praetorian Guard                        | Italy                                                     | Italy                | For, by | Epitaph | AD 168-193                            | Aquileia, Venetia et Histria / Regio X, Italia           | Elegiacs                     | Earth / land                                          |
| <b>NW.2</b>  | <i>beneficiarius praefectorum</i> | <i>Legio VII Claudia</i>                | Moesia Superior                                           | Moesia Superior      | For     | Epitaph | Late first century AD                 | Mogontiacum / Mainz, Germania Superior                   | Dactylic hexameter           | Earth / land                                          |
|              | <i>Centurio</i>                   | Praetorian Guard                        |                                                           |                      |         |         |                                       |                                                          |                              |                                                       |
| <b>NW.3</b>  | <i>speculator</i>                 | <i>Legio I Germanica</i>                | Africa Proconsularis                                      | Africa Proconsularis | For     | Epitaph | Late first BC - late first century AD | Kasra / Chusira, Africa Proconsularis                    | Hexameter                    | Earth / land                                          |
|              | <i>cornicularius</i>              |                                         |                                                           |                      |         |         |                                       |                                                          |                              |                                                       |
|              | <i>centurio</i>                   |                                         |                                                           |                      |         |         |                                       |                                                          |                              |                                                       |
| <b>NW.4</b>  | <i>tribunus angusticlavius</i>    | <i>Legio II Adiutrix</i>                | Palestina                                                 | Palestina            | For     | Epitaph | Late second - early third century AD  | Aquincum / Budapest, Pannonia Inferior                   | Latin hexameter              | Earth / land                                          |
|              |                                   |                                         |                                                           |                      |         |         |                                       |                                                          | Greek spondees / heptameters |                                                       |
| <b>NW.5</b>  | <i>decurio</i>                    | <i>Equites singulares</i>               | Pontus (the Black Sea)                                    | Unknown              | By      | Epitaph | Second century AD                     | Rome, Italia                                             | Dactylic hexameter           | Earth / land                                          |
|              |                                   |                                         | The Marsaci, a Germanic tribe who lived near the Atlantic |                      |         |         |                                       |                                                          |                              | Water / sea                                           |
|              |                                   |                                         | Unknown                                                   |                      |         |         |                                       |                                                          |                              |                                                       |
| <b>NW.6</b>  | Unknown / <i>miles</i>            | <i>Vexillatio of Cohors III Vigiles</i> | Unknown                                                   | Unknown              | For, by | Epitaph | Second century AD                     | via Ferruccio, Esquilina, Rome, Italia                   | Elegiac distichs             | Land                                                  |
|              |                                   |                                         |                                                           |                      |         |         |                                       |                                                          |                              | Water / river                                         |
| <b>NW.7</b>  | <i>tribunus</i>                   | <i>Legio III Italica?</i>               | Italy                                                     | Italy                | For, by | Votive  | Late second - early third century AD  | Castra Regina/ Raetia, Noricum                           | Mixed metres                 | Land / earth                                          |
|              |                                   |                                         |                                                           |                      |         |         |                                       |                                                          |                              | Water / spring                                        |
| <b>NW.8</b>  | <i>centurio</i>                   | <i>Legio V Macedonica</i>               | Unknown                                                   | Unknown              | By      | Votive  | AD 183-185                            | Germisara / Cigmau, Dacia                                | Latin hexameter              | Water / spring                                        |

|              |                  |                                                         |                  |         |              |                       |                                                |                                        |                                      |                |
|--------------|------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|------------------|---------|--------------|-----------------------|------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------|
|              |                  | <i>Numerus peditus singularis Britanniciarum</i>        |                  |         |              |                       |                                                |                                        | Greek prose / heptameter / hexameter | Land / earth   |
|              |                  |                                                         |                  |         |              |                       |                                                |                                        |                                      | Flora          |
| <b>NW.9</b>  | Imperial family? | Unknown                                                 | Unknown          | Unknown | For          | Honorific / triumphal | First century AD?                              | Rome, Italia                           | Elegiac couplets                     | Water / river  |
|              |                  |                                                         |                  |         |              |                       |                                                |                                        |                                      | Land           |
|              |                  |                                                         |                  |         |              |                       |                                                |                                        |                                      | Air / breeze   |
| <b>NW.10</b> | Unknown          | <i>Equites singulares</i> / a Batavian unit             | Unknown          | Unknown | By / for     | Epitaph               | AD 117-138                                     | Sora, Italia                           | Dactylic hexameter                   | Water / river  |
|              |                  |                                                         |                  |         |              |                       |                                                |                                        |                                      | Water / sea    |
|              |                  |                                                         |                  |         |              |                       |                                                |                                        |                                      | Air            |
| <b>NW.11</b> | <i>emeriti</i>   | <i>Legio IV Flavia Pia Felix Severiana Alexandriana</i> | Moesia Superior? | Unknown | Neither, for | Dedicatory            | AD 222-235                                     | Singidunum / Bgrade, Moesia Superior   | Dactylic hexameter                   | Water / spring |
| <b>RD.2</b>  | <i>centurio</i>  | Unknown legio                                           | Unknown          | Unknown | By           | Epitaph               | Second or third decade of the third century AD | Vesontio / Besancon, Germania Superior | Hexameter                            | Earth / land   |
| <b>RD.9</b>  | Unknown          | <i>Equites singulares</i>                               | German           | German  | By           | Epitaph               | Second century AD                              | Rome, Italia                           | Hexameter                            | Earth / land   |

*Figure 7.6: A graph to show the variety of natural world imagery apparent in Latin military verse inscriptions*

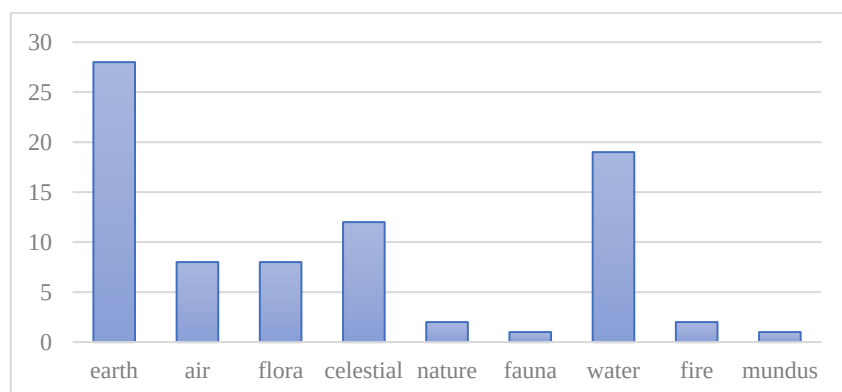


*Figure 7.7: A graph to show the types of Latin metre present in the inscriptions in Chapter 7*

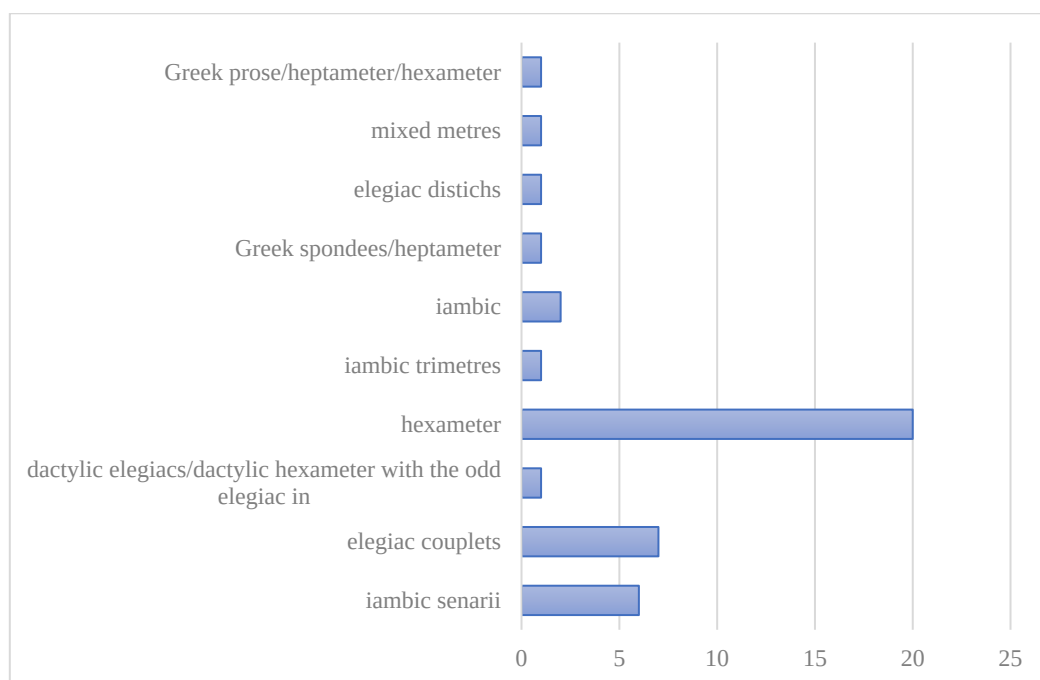


*Figure 7.8: A graph showing the origins of the soldiers in the inscriptions in Chapter 7*

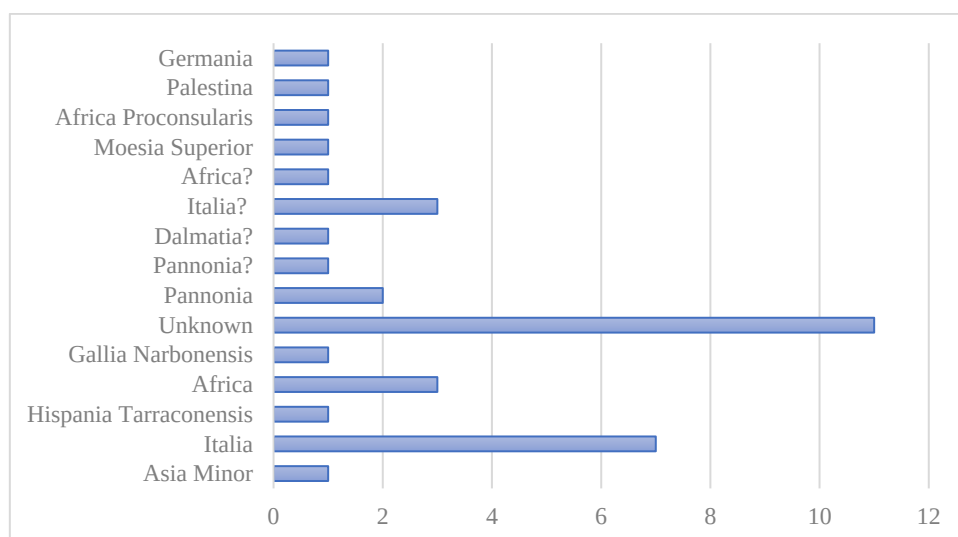


Figure 7.9: A graph to show the ranks apparent in the inscriptions featured in Chapter 7

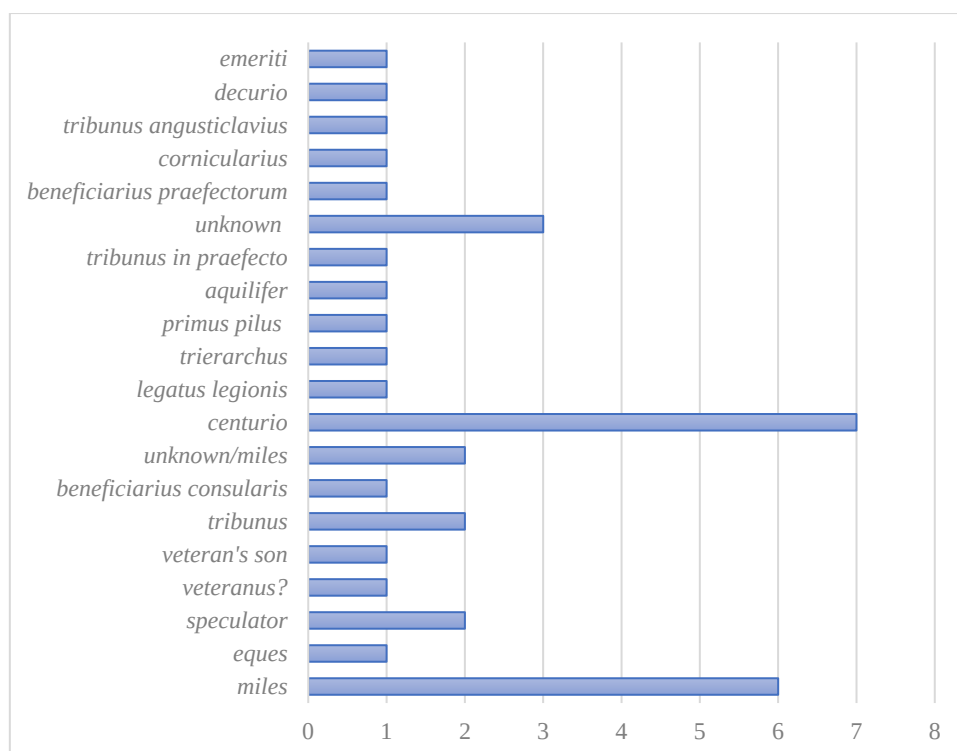


Figure 7.10: A graph to show the military units apparent in the inscriptions featured in Chapter 7

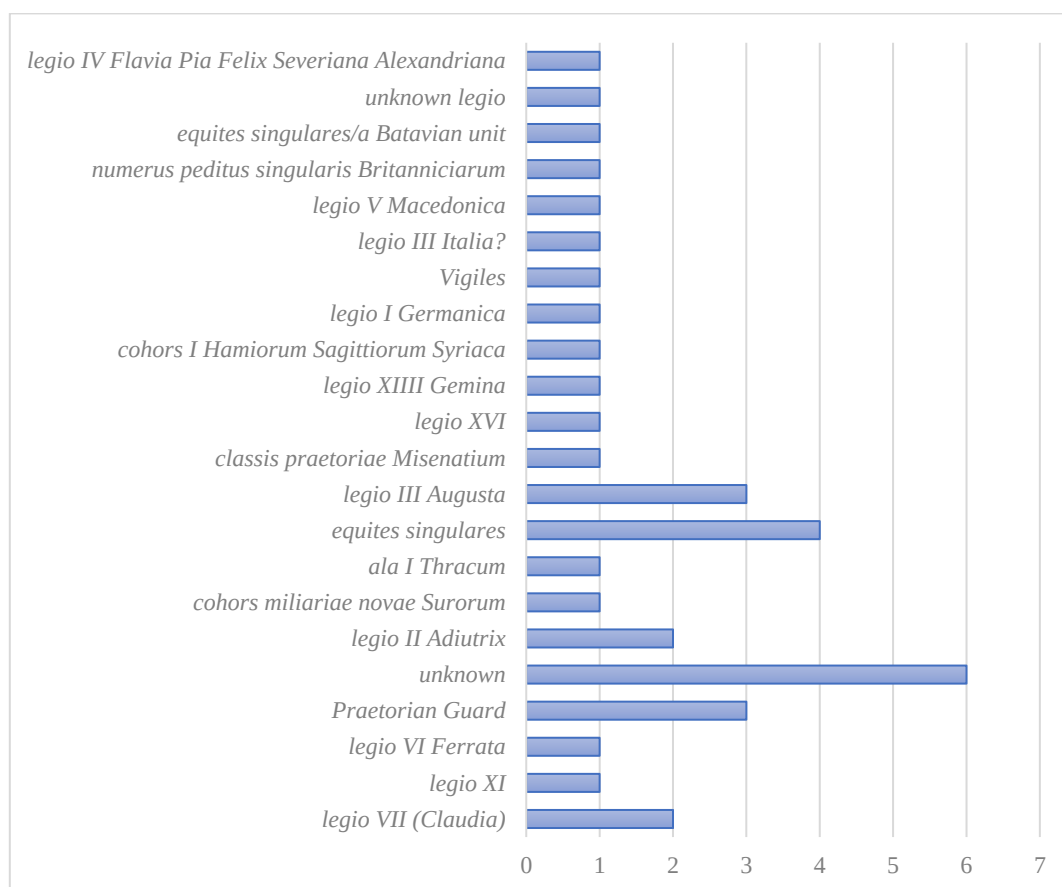




Figure 7.11: A graph to show if the inscriptions in Chapter 7 were by or for soldiers.<sup>2854</sup>

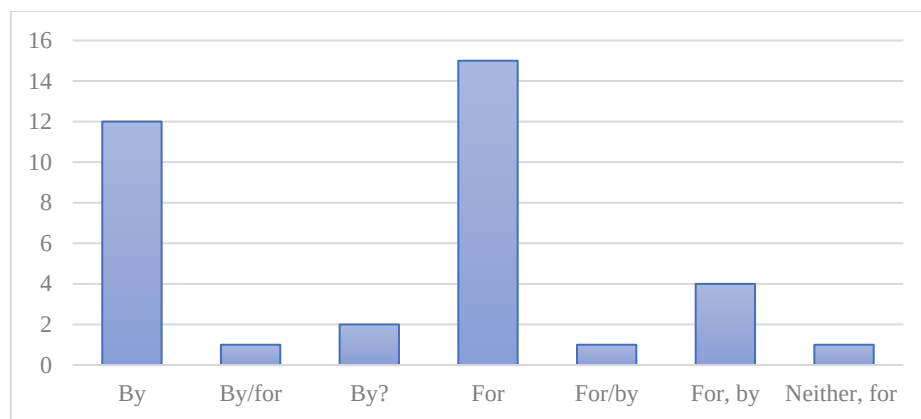
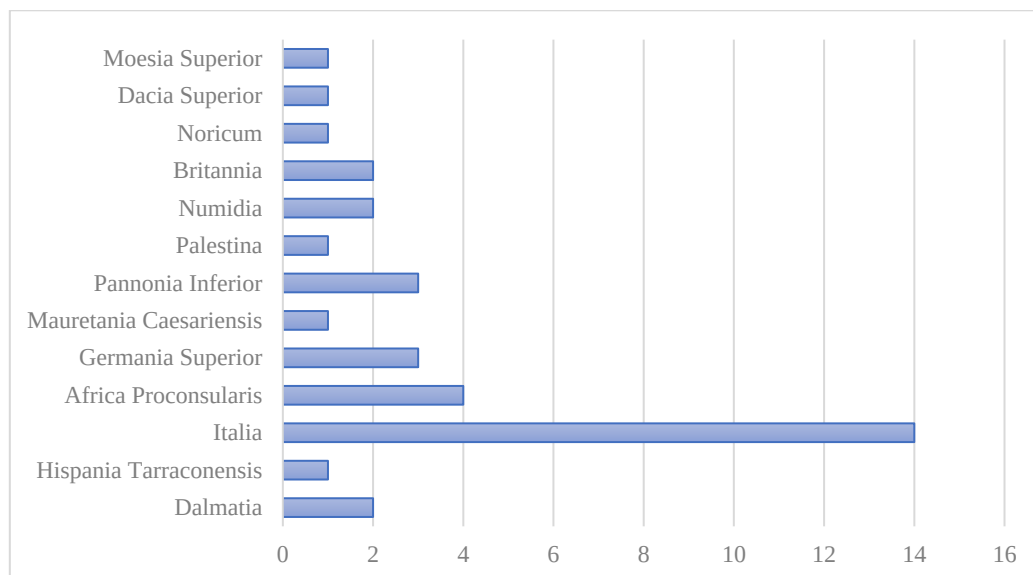


Figure 7.12: A graph to show the provincial findspots of military verse inscriptions featuring natural world imagery



<sup>2854</sup> As far as can be ascertained/deduced.

## Chapter 8

### *A Son and A Soldier: Family and Relationship Dynamics in Military Verse Inscriptions*

*militis officium longa est via; mitte puellam,  
strenuus exempto fine sequetur amans.  
ibit in adversos montes duplicataque nimbo  
flumina, congestas exeret ille nives,  
nec freta pressurus tumidos causabitur Euros  
aptaque verrendis sidera quaeret aquis.  
quis nisi vel miles vel amans et frigora noctis  
et denso mixtas perferet imbre nives?  
mittitur infestos alter speculator in hostes;  
in rivale oculos alter, ut hoste, tenet.  
ille graves urbes, hic durae limen amicae  
obsidet; hic portas frangit, at ille fores.*

It is a long road, the duty of the soldier; send a girl!  
The restless lover will follow her to the extreme ends of the world.  
He will go up adverse mountains and rivers doubled in size  
by the rain, he will march up the accumulated snow,  
he, about to hug the straits, will not excuse the swollen eastern wind  
and he will seek the right stars on the waters that he must scour.  
Who, unless he is a soldier or a lover, endures both the cold of the night  
and the snows mixed with heavy rain?  
One is sent as a spy against aggressive enemies;  
the other keeps his eyes on his rival, as if he were an enemy.  
This one besieges strong cities, that one the threshold of his harsh  
girlfriend; that one breaks down gates, this one doors.

Ov. Am. 1.9.9-20.

#### 8.1. Introduction

Relationship dynamics are revealed throughout Latin military verse inscriptions. Mainly, they are exhibited in the accompanying prose part of these verse inscriptions. Although the importance of family is primarily exhibited in epigraphy, in *diplomata* and epitaphs, due to the significance of family in funeral traditions and the act of remembrance, this is also seen in the soldier's religious veneration, sometimes as indicative of their hopes and wishes for their families (**RI.10**), other times of their involvement in a soldier's religious affairs (**RI.9**).<sup>2855</sup> The

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<sup>2855</sup> See the discussion in Chapters 2, 3 and 5, as well as, for example, Saller & Shaw 1984; Gardner 1998b; Phang 2001; Phang 2002; Allison 2010; Greene 2015; Edmondson 2017; Greene 2017; Klein 2017; for discussions on (Roman soldiers') families in the Roman world. See also the discussion below.

volume of inscriptions in this chapter (most of the inscriptions in this study feature in this theme) indicates how important family and relationships were to the Roman soldier. As Greene observed, ‘whether they dwelt within the forts or in extra-mural settlements, family members formed an integral part of the military community’.<sup>2856</sup> This is why they have also been included in this study: it was not just the Roman soldier who had a military life.<sup>2857</sup> Greene also observes that ‘there has been little study of the origins, social background and daily lives of these non-combatants’;<sup>2858</sup> this study contributes to this conversation, although these are less well-known than those of the soldiers. It makes one wonder to what extent those classified as ‘civilian’ in this study, and generally, i.e. anyone who was not a soldier, really were civilians; although they were not in the ranks, the wives and children of Roman soldiers inhabited the military sphere, their lives, too, governed by the Roman military way of life.<sup>2859</sup> After exploring the various relationship dynamics exhibited in these inscriptions, the latter half of this chapter focuses on characteristics depicted in Latin military verse inscriptions and the depictions of military life. A part of this discussion shall be about Roman masculinity but, given the seeming lack of emphasis on portraying Roman soldiers as such in these inscriptions, this shall only be touched upon, and why this is not a main theme of this study. Examining relationship dynamics, and how those within these relationships understood each other, are key to understanding identities; we all define ourselves partly by how we relate to one another, both literally and metaphorically. How the Roman soldier perceived himself shall be explored in this chapter how those nearest and dearest to him perceived him, and vice versa.

It is the homogeneity of the depiction of the *miles*, for example, in Classical literature, that makes it difficult to ascertain the relationship dynamics of the average Roman soldier.<sup>2860</sup> Much has been said about the families of Roman soldiers, and, in many of these studies, the use of epigraphic evidence in understanding these relationships is significant. One of the most often spoken about study when concerning family dynamics of the Roman military is Saller & Shaw’s 1984 paper *Tombstones and Roman Family Relations in the Principate: Civilians, Soldiers and Slaves*. Saller & Shaw examined more than 25,000 epitaphs, not distinguishing between whether they used solely prose epitaphs or a combination of prose and verse, from the western Empire and the relationships of civilian, military and servile societies through their commemoration patterns as observed in the quantitative data they had extrapolated from their data sets. Their data ranges from the Republic to the late Empire/onset of Christianity.

Saller & Shaw’s analysis concentrates on personal relationships expressed in these epitaphs within their specified social groups and then they compare them. Although their paper purports to focus on these three main social groups (civilian, military, servile) in the ancient Roman world, they mainly focus on relationship interactions in the military. These relationships coincidentally match the headings in this chapter, which have been led by the data in this study: the nuclear family (husband-wife, parents-children, children-parents), blood (parents, siblings, grandparents, cousins, etc.) and ‘extended family, heir, friends, and servile relationships’.<sup>2861</sup> They classify ‘extended family’ in a similar way to how it is defined here, ‘includes all kinship relationships except those within the nuclear family (e.g. nephew to uncle)’;<sup>2862</sup> in this chapter,

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<sup>2856</sup> Greene 2015: 125.

<sup>2857</sup> See *ibid.*: 143-144 for impacts of the military life on the wives and children of Roman (auxiliary) soldiers.

<sup>2858</sup> *Ibid.*: 126.

<sup>2859</sup> See *ibid.*: 144.

<sup>2860</sup> See Phang 2001: 294.

<sup>2861</sup> Saller & Shaw 1984: 132.

<sup>2862</sup> See *ibid.*

blood family is defined as parents, siblings, grandparents, cousins, etc., i.e. anyone related by blood, and are discussed with extended family, which includes in-laws. The only relationships that are separated here and grouped under the category of ‘extended family’ in Saller & Shaw’s analysis are *alumni*, who they define as ‘foster child’,<sup>2863</sup> and this is often how they are defined, but sometimes, in the military especially, an *alumnus* had a different role.<sup>2864</sup>

Saller & Shaw include *commanipulares*, *commilitiones* and *contubernales* under the category *amici* for soldiers.<sup>2865</sup> Their analysis of civilian and servile communities provides a useful point of comparison between these communities’ relationship commemoration patterns and those of the military; what can be seen is that the military community commemoration patterns do not differ much from civilian (see also Chapter 3). They balance the legal and human aspects of epitaph-erection, more obviously so than Phang.<sup>2866</sup> They consider the legal aspects of why people would erect epitaphs, but they recognise that ‘another motive, affection, though difficult to measure, was in no doubt also involved in the decision to erect an epitaph’.<sup>2867</sup> Their analysis uses legal and epigraphic data, as does Phang, but they apply it differently. Their epigraphic data is used to provide statistical and practical data, with legal jurists’ comments to support and explain certain social behaviours, whereas Phang uses the legal and epigraphic data in her analysis the other way around, where the legal is her primary point of information extrapolation and she uses epigraphy to show this in practice. For Saller & Shaw, ‘though on the narrowest view these tombstone inscriptions tell us only who fulfilled the duty of providing a memorial to the deceased, there are strong reasons for believing that fulfilment of this duty was closely related to transmission of property, to a sense of familial duty and feelings of affection’.<sup>2868</sup>

They do, however, appear to use the *equites singulares* as the case study to concentrate their analysis of military relationships on, probably because ‘the military type is characterized by weak family representation among the commemorators and is exemplified by the *equites singulares*’ ‘the great majority of *equites singulares* were recruited on the northern frontiers from the *alae* units and hence were separated from their families while serving in Rome. This is surely the main reason for the relative scarcity of family relationships’.<sup>2869</sup> This may be true of *equites singulares*, but to use them as a model of Roman military relationship dynamics because they exemplify the concentrated aspects of these dynamics is misguided. As shall be seen here, soldiers presented similar family dynamics to the ones discussed in Saller & Shaw’s paper regarding citizen communities. Saller & Shaw do later state that the different recruitment patterns of the Roman military in different provinces, and over time, impacted upon a soldier’s family dynamics, both by removing him from existing ones and the difficulty he may have encountered in trying to form a new one, and therefore this should be taken into account when analysing the relationship dynamics of the Roman military.<sup>2870</sup>

The relationship patterns in Spain, Pannonia Superior and Inferior, and Lambaesis (they focus their analysis on Lambaesis because it has ‘the best documented sample’ of epitaphs of the Roman military)<sup>2871</sup> had similar presenting relationship patterns to one another, akin to civilian

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<sup>2863</sup> Saller & Shaw 1984: 132.

<sup>2864</sup> See discussion below.

<sup>2865</sup> See Saller & Shaw 1984: 132.

<sup>2866</sup> See discussion below.

<sup>2867</sup> See Saller & Shaw 1984: 126.

<sup>2868</sup> *Ibid.*: 145. See also discussion on *pietas* below.

<sup>2869</sup> Saller & Shaw 1984: 133. See also the discussion above.

<sup>2870</sup> See Saller & Shaw 1984: 145.

<sup>2871</sup> *Ibid.*: 139.

relationship dynamics as presented in their epitaphs. But there were some discrepancies between the civilian and military patterns; one did not map onto the other, ‘while these African military samples display proportions of nuclear family relationships similar to the civilian pattern, they also show some of the characteristics typical of the military pattern. Wife-to-husband dedications outnumber husband-to-wife in all three groups – a characteristic of most military populations, but very rare among our civilian samples’.<sup>2872</sup> What is also distinctly military are *frater-frater* commemorations.<sup>2873</sup> But the nuclear family, as in civilian inscriptions, is the site of the highest expression of relationship dynamics in the Roman military.<sup>2874</sup> This, for Saller & Shaw, suggests a more local recruitment pattern in Spain, Africa and the Pannonian provinces.<sup>2875</sup> In the first century local recruitment began in Pannonia Superior and Inferior, and was established by the mid-second century; local African recruitment had also begun by the late first century, becoming the norm by the early second century.<sup>2876</sup> This allowed them to form and reinforce the relationships they had in their local area.

In Britain and Germania Superior and Inferior, however, where soldiers were more likely to be transferred to these provinces than locally recruited, there were lower nuclear family commemorators.<sup>2877</sup> Most of the officers stationed in Britain were not of British descent; they were mainly from Gaul, the Germanies, Spain, and some of the Upper Danubian provinces, and the British were recruited mainly into auxiliary units, which were then posted out to the Danubian provinces.<sup>2878</sup> The soldiers posted along the Rhine, in both the legions and *auxilia*, were sent to Britain and the Danubian frontier.<sup>2879</sup> This recruitment pattern was commented on in contemporary literature, and how it impacted on local society.<sup>2880</sup> Saller & Shaw’s statistical analysis agrees with Phang’s analysis of the situation, ‘that a considerable number of the husband-wife and parent-child dedications involved centurions and other officers whose greater wealth, age and status allowed more of them to marry and move their families when transferred from command to command. The common soldiers for the most part do not have marriage or other family ties represented in their epitaphs, much like the *equites singulares* at Rome, and like the *equites singulares* they [the soldiers in the British and German provinces] turned to friends and non-kin heirs for commemoration’.<sup>2881</sup> A similar, general, overall pattern of *frater-frater* commemoration to wife and/or children commemoration over the years is observed in a study of the soldiers garrisoned at Mainz.<sup>2882</sup>

The patterns Saller & Shaw observe are seen in the data here. The *equites singulares* are more likely to be commemorated by each other rather than family members. The similarity in commemoration in regards to the nuclear family in Rome and ‘in every other civilian population of the western empire’ leads Saller & Shaw to conclude that these areas have been ‘sufficiently influenced by Roman culture to erect funerary monuments’,<sup>2883</sup> furthering the idea that these inscriptions are a distinctly Roman cultural identity expresser in and of themselves. In Italy,

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<sup>2872</sup> Saller & Shaw 1984: 140.

<sup>2873</sup> See *ibid.*: 141.

<sup>2874</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2875</sup> *Ibid.*: 144.

<sup>2876</sup> See *ibid.*: 144-145.

<sup>2877</sup> *Ibid.*: 141-142.

<sup>2878</sup> *Ibid.*: 142.

<sup>2879</sup> *Ibid.*: 143.

<sup>2880</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2881</sup> *Ibid.*: 141-142.

<sup>2882</sup> Rossignol 2013: 278; all legionaries bar the centurions. Rossignol sees them as biological brothers (2013: 278-280). This is also explored on 283-285.

<sup>2883</sup> Saller & Shaw 1984: 136.

there is a greater concentration on nuclear family commemoration in both military and civilian communities, in some areas; in others, there is a higher concentration of commemoration based on non-blood relationships, primarily between soldiers, or soldiers and their slaves. Recruitment patterns affected the dynamics that enable us to see ‘why some samples have a pattern similar to that of civilians, and others do not’,<sup>2884</sup> and that is because in some areas they were (already) integrated into the local community, and thus were not so separate from the civilian community, whereas in other provinces they would have stood out as the separate military community with no ties to the local civilians, so they would be less likely to be able to make ties with the local community.

One of the most well-known aspects of the Roman military is the ban on marriage, supposed to have been imposed on the military by Augustus and relinquished in AD 197 by Septimius Severus.<sup>2885</sup> The marriage ban appears to have been enforced on all ranks below the centurionate (including the auxiliary), i.e. ‘all military personnel below equestrian rank’,<sup>2886</sup> although there is no direct evidence upon which to state which ranks were included in the ban.<sup>2887</sup> Despite this, those in the Roman military often addressed their partners, and their partners in turn addressed them, with legal marital terminology in these inscriptions: *uxor* (‘wife’), *coniunx* (‘spouse’, this is the most common, and is used for both men and women), and, to a lesser extent, *vir* (generally translated as ‘man’, but in the context of a partnership, it is translated as ‘husband’; this less frequent usage may be because *vir* ‘implies the right of Roman marriage or *conubium*’<sup>2888</sup>). Soldiers and their significant others perceived their partnerships as valid as those of a legal marriage, and did not feel any need to disguise this in inscriptions both for and by soldiers, despite the law stating they were not allowed to be legally (in the Roman way) married. Clearly the stonemasons, should one have been employed in the creation of these inscriptions, also felt no aversion to describing a partnership between a soldier and his partner (in the eyes of the law) in terms of a legal marriage.

The only time marriage seems to have been legally important for these soldiers is when one considers military diplomas, discharge papers issued to nearly all the units in the Roman military, bar the legions and Vigiles.<sup>2889</sup> In the *diplomata* of the *auxilia*, for example, it is stated that the partner, and any children, of the discharged auxiliary soldier, may be considered the legal wife, and therefore any children would become legitimate, and Roman citizens, upon the

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<sup>2884</sup> Saller & Shaw 1984: 139.

<sup>2885</sup> For more information on the marriages and relationships of Roman soldiers, especially on the marriage ban, see the general discussion on the Roman military introduced in Chapter 2. See, for example, Keppie 1984: 148; Campbell 1984: 222, 301-302, 409; Webster 1985: 94; Starr 1993: 90-93, 118; Goldsworthy 2003: 74, 77, 102-103; Southern 2007: 144 -145; Gilliver 2007: 187; Dyson 2010: 440; Greene 2015; de la Bédoyère 2020: 316-346. See also the discussion on Saller & Shaw 1984 above. Phang develops the acknowledgement of the existence of the marriage ban by offering useful debates and insights into it, and how it worked in practice.

<sup>2886</sup> Phang 2001: 392.

<sup>2887</sup> *Ibid.*: 129-132; Allison 2010: 165.

<sup>2888</sup> Starr 1993: 49.

<sup>2889</sup> See Chapter 2, Appendix 2, and, for example, Campbell 1984: 110; Starr 1993: 35-36, 71, 88-94, 108, 110, 180; Goldsworthy 2003: 102, 114, 143; Saddington 2007: 211-212; Southern 2007: 17-18; Greene 2015 (who emphasises the importance of the *diplomata* in understanding the nuclear family dynamics of the Roman soldier); de la Bédoyère 2020: throughout; for more information on *diplomata*. See Phang: ‘The question of the legionaries’ *conubium* and the legionaries’ and Praetorians’ *civitas liberorum* may have been moot due to the spread of the Roman citizenship in the provinces. The legionaries were more likely to form unions with Roman citizen women; this is even more true of the urban troops stationed in Rome. Epigraphy shows that most legionaries formed unions with Romanized women, with Latin *nomina* and Greek or Latin *cognomina*. Many legionaries formed relationships with slave women ... the slave women were given the Roman citizenship by manumission, not by diploma privileges’ (2001: 75). Issuing *conubium* to the soldiers in the fleet, the auxiliary cohorts and the Praetorian Guard in *diplomata* indicates they tended to have a non-Roman citizen partner (357). The partners of a legionary tended to be Roman citizens, on the other hand, so they would need neither *conubium* granted to them nor citizenship for their children, as they would automatically have both (357).

soldier's *missio honesta* from the Roman auxiliary forces. These diplomas acknowledge the existence of soldiers having long term monogamous relationships with women, and they had children from these relationships, and presenting them with rewards of service by acknowledging these relationships, whilst still reinforcing their legal separation from civilian society.<sup>2890</sup> But that the legitimacy of their children and marriage only became valid upon the soldier's honest discharge, which would have provided further motivation for the soldier to conduct his service in the military well. Yet, as can be seen in examples such as **RD.5**, auxiliary soldiers, both retired and on active service, referred to their 'wife' using this marital terminology too. There also, therefore, we can perhaps infer from this, seems to have been less societal prejudice against those who lived together as if they were married, without actually being married.

Just because something was written into Roman law does not mean that it was followed by the people. Would the soldiers have known about these laws and, if they did, would they have obeyed them? After all, 'the relation of law to social practice cannot be assumed to be one-to-one'.<sup>2891</sup> The case studies that Phang presents in her paper *The Families of Roman Soldiers (First and Second Centuries A.D.): Culture, Law, and Practice* suggest that they either did not know about these laws, and therefore did not obey them, or that the soldiers and their "wives" did know about these laws but chose to ignore them. Soldiers express their contempt at their children not being classified as citizens, and wives are denied their 'deposits' after their soldier-husband died because the magistrates know that these 'deposits' were really dowries.<sup>2892</sup> The terms of address, and the existence of children themselves, between a soldier and his partner in these verse inscriptions indicate they either did not know about or care to obey the marriage ban.

The most useful study for this chapter is Phang's (2001) *The Marriage of Roman Soldiers (13 BC – AD 235)*, where she examines multiple facets of the "marriages" of Roman soldiers. Phang's discussion, as it focuses on evidence from legal texts and the statistical data that can be gleaned from epitaphs, has a less human focused analysis in her portrayal of the sexual/romantic relationships of a soldier. She, like many who have analysed such relationships of Roman soldiers before her, divorces the emotional aspect from these relationships, and instead focuses on what happened and how these relationships were conducted in conjunction with the marriage ban and other laws that both prohibited and benefitted the members of the Roman military. This chapter aims to put the emotion back into these relationships.

In this chapter, friendships and relationships formed through camaraderie are also examined, which are less focused on in other studies on the relationship dynamics of the Roman soldier. This chapter focuses on all relationships a soldier could have, including his nuclear family, blood family, extended family, and relationships with other soldiers, i.e. it goes beyond the primarily sexually/romantically focused relationships a soldier could have, as well as beyond examining epitaphs, as most studies do, but all forms of Latin verse inscriptions produced by these men and those related to them, from all over the Empire. A vast majority of the inscriptions from this data set, therefore, are discussed in this chapter. Phang's analysis, like many others on this subject, focuses mainly on the romantic/sexual relationships a soldier could

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<sup>2890</sup> See Phang 2001: throughout, as well as Alston 1998: 217.

<sup>2891</sup> Phang 2002: 361.

<sup>2892</sup> See below.

have, and the results of these, i.e. the nuclear family, and with some discussion on homosexual relationships. However, she does observe from her analysis of epitaphs:<sup>2893</sup>

that at least one-half of all soldiers (more in the first century A.D.) are not recorded as “marrying” or having families (they are commemorated by parents, siblings, or comrades rather than “wives” and children). This suggests that conjugal and parental relationships may not have been important to these soldiers; they might have had “wives” and children, but regarded a relationship with a comrade as more worthy of posterity. Given such attitudes, many probably were single; certainly younger men will have tended to be single.

It is important, therefore, to also consider the relationships the soldier had with his friends and comrades when considering his identity. The perceptions of other people both inside and outside the military sphere would have had an affect on how he was portrayed and understood, and how he portrayed and understood others.

### 8.1.1. Soldiers and Marriage

Phang examines the marriage ban through legal documentation, as well as statistical analysis from a sample of 2000 inscribed epitaphs from North Africa, the Danubian provinces, and Italy, including Rome. Phang discusses its legal implications on the soldiers, their “wives”, and their children. She questions long-known ‘facts’ about the marriage ban, and about the relationships of soldiers in general, using both Roman legal texts and quantitative analysis of epitaphs, which reveals how the relationships of soldiers vary from province to province, time, rank, military unit, commemorator, and the life stage the soldier was in.<sup>2894</sup> Her findings lead her to conclude that the Roman soldier tended not to marry so frequently, if at all, in the first century AD, the members of the Praetorian Guard tended not to marry at all until Septimius Severus replaced their members with Pannonian, not Italian, recruits in the second century AD, sailors tended to marry freedwomen, even when the land forces started to marry freeborn women more commonly,<sup>2895</sup> and they ‘seem to “marry” young than the other forces’.<sup>2896</sup>

Soldiers, overall, tended to marry later in the time-frame she studies, which correlates with the evidence examined here.<sup>2897</sup> Elite Roman men tended to marry in their early twenties, around about the time a soldier would have enlisted, whereas Roman soldiers tended to “marry” at about thirty, similar to non-elite male marriage age patterns.<sup>2898</sup> One reason may be due to trying to save money to support a family; in the first century AD, soldiers had a much poorer existence, and probably did not have enough to support a family as well as themselves. ‘Legionaries seem to serve some 10-15 years before being promoted to the centurionate’,<sup>2899</sup> so waiting for a promotion, and therefore an increase in salary, would have meant that a soldier would have been older when he “married”. Soldiers in the first century AD were also the new conquerors of many of the lands in the Roman Empire, and so probably were less able to integrate with the locals as well as they could in the second century AD and beyond, when local recruitment

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<sup>2893</sup> Phang 2001: 229.

<sup>2894</sup> *Ibid.*: 143.

<sup>2895</sup> *Ibid.*: 156.

<sup>2896</sup> *Ibid.*: 185.

<sup>2897</sup> Men in general appeared to marry later in the Roman world: ‘the dominance of young men in migration streams is closely connected to the late male age at marriage, and is certainly relevant for understanding the age gap between spouses’ (Tacoma 2016: 266).

<sup>2898</sup> See Phang 2001: 164-190; Allison 2010: 167.

<sup>2899</sup> Phang 2001: 185.



became the norm, and thus they would have had pre-existing contact with the community which they could then continue. This appears to be corroborated by archaeological finds in forts.<sup>2900</sup> Phang sees the marriage ban as having three-fold reasons for its implementation and continued existence, although the latter is what she feels was the overall reason: it was started by Augustus and kept as a tradition; the potential legal complications, e.g. claims of citizenship for the children of a soldier, or any problems with the inheritance of a soldier's property, from allowing soldiers to legally marry were non-existent;<sup>2901</sup> and 'to exclude soldiers from *legitimate* marriages and to maintain a *formal* distinction between military and civilian life'.<sup>2902</sup>

This seems to have worked, at least on the level of marriage, as not only did soldiers "marry" later, 'more recent studies of civilian and military epitaphs suggest that the soldiers' "marriage" patterns differed from those of civilians: soldiers "married" less frequently than civilians'.<sup>2903</sup> Examining the legal aspects of the marriage ban and the impact this had on the "wives" and children of the soldier in the Roman military highlights how disadvantaged they were, especially in comparison to soldiers. The Roman military was not obliged to support these families, and if 'a soldier's will [was written] in favor of his comrades [it] could not be overturned in favor of a wife and children',<sup>2904</sup> thus potentially leaving a soldier's "wife" and children without an income after his death. This was the case even after soldiers were legally allowed to marry in AD 197.<sup>2905</sup> The marriage ban was a drawback for the women involved in these relationships, which may have made "'marriage" (even when illegitimate) ... probably a status symbol for the more successful soldiers: older soldiers and special ranks (centurions, *principales*) are more likely to be commemorated by "wives." From the woman's viewpoint, the promoted and/or older soldier was more able to offer social prestige and economic security in order to make up for the legal drawbacks of the illegitimate union'.<sup>2906</sup>

Phang acknowledges, as no one can deny it, that, despite the ban, soldiers did form long-term partnerships, in which they, and their partner, believed themselves to be "married". One need only look at how they address one another in their epitaphs to recognise this. She, also, analyses how the limitations, both for the soldier and for his partner, were mitigated, i.e. in terms of retrieving a 'quasi-dowry' upon the death of a soldier... These 'dowries' were ... given to the soldier formally as a 'deposit', which he perhaps left in his will, saying that it was a 'deposit', to work around the legal formality of calling it a 'dowry', and therefore his "wife" could receive it back upon his death; this did not always work, however.<sup>2907</sup>

The marriage ban affected the type of woman a soldier could, socially and legally, be allowed to have a relationship with. Soldiers had relationships with citizen and peregrine women, slave and freedwomen, and 'Junian Latins, informally manumitted freedwomen of Roman citizens'.<sup>2908</sup> Failing being able to attract a freeborn, a soldier could buy a slave woman and have a relationship with her, later freeing her after the age of thirty (as this was the youngest a slave could be manumitted) and thus later having freeborn children with her; children born with her when she was a slave were slaves themselves. Slave women were bought by soldiers and

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<sup>2900</sup> See, for example, Allison 2010: 172-181; Greene 2015: 125.

<sup>2901</sup> See Phang 2001: 383.

<sup>2902</sup> *Ibid.*: 377.

<sup>2903</sup> *Ibid.*: 138.

<sup>2904</sup> *Ibid.*: 379.

<sup>2905</sup> *Ibid.*: 390.

<sup>2906</sup> *Ibid.*: 389.

<sup>2907</sup> See discussion below. Phang 2002: 355.

<sup>2908</sup> *Ibid.*: 84.

had no choice in having a relationship with him, if that was what the soldier so desired, as slaves were considered to have no autonomy over their own lives. The freedwomen partnered with a soldier had probably been the soldier's slave in life and subsequently freed by him. Where they were posted and what unit they worked in would have affected a soldier's ability to meet women, for example, 'in Italy the Praetorians and the fleet soldiers are more likely to have met Junian Latin women than peregrine women'.<sup>2909</sup>

According to Greene's analysis of the *diplomata* of the auxiliary and fleet units of the Roman military from the first to the second centuries AD, she finds that 'the wives of auxiliary soldiers originated more often from the same home tribe as the soldier, a surprising conclusion considering the more common belief that soldiers formed unions with women local to the fort area'.<sup>2910</sup> This suggests that the "wife" of the soldier knew him before his service; either she came with him when he joined or she joined him later.<sup>2911</sup> Alternative origins of these soldiers' wives, as demonstrated in these diplomas, are origins from the military community itself (they were the sisters or daughters of soldiers or veterans), or they came from the local area, although the former appears to have been more common.<sup>2912</sup> For Greene, the reason for this was because 'families regularly traveled with and lived within the military community'.<sup>2913</sup> This indicates that the soldier met his "wife" when he was on active service.<sup>2914</sup> Marrying from the local area or from the soldier's place of origin were the most common origins of their "wives" in *diplomata* where the origins of both parties are mentioned.<sup>2915</sup> Greene offers three options for the origins of the "wives" of auxiliary troops:<sup>2916</sup>

the wife ... joined the soldier from his home town or region at some point during service; the soldier meeting and marrying a woman indigenous to the area around the fort; and the soldier marrying a woman already present within the military community (e.g. the daughter or sister of a comrade). The diplomas lead to the conclusion that a significant number of soldiers had active family lives prior to retirement, that many of these women were of the same cultural affiliation as the soldier, and that women and children were not only a significant component of settled military communities but also could have been part of an army on the march.

It has been commonly believed 'that soldiers almost always formed relationships with local women from the catchment area around forts ... we almost never imagine a soldier bringing a wife into the military community from his home tribe',<sup>2917</sup> but Greene's findings question this. This leads us to ask the question: what if a soldier was "married" to his "wife" according to the customs of their place of origin, but not according to Roman law? This may explain why some soldiers and their "wives" considered themselves married. That auxiliary soldiers 'sought wives from their home tribes or from within their immediate military community more often than they created partnerships with women from the local tribes'<sup>2918</sup> indicates a desired cultural affiliation between the soldier-husband and his wife. Greene, too, observes the rise in the (early) second

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<sup>2909</sup> Phang 2002: 84.

<sup>2910</sup> Greene 2017: 23. See also Greene 2015.

<sup>2911</sup> *Ibid.*: 24. See also Greene 2015: 126-127.

<sup>2912</sup> See Greene 2015: 127. This goes against the previous assumption that soldiers were more likely to have relationships with local women (see throughout Greene's paper, esp. 143).

<sup>2913</sup> Greene 2015: 143.

<sup>2914</sup> Greene 2017: 24.

<sup>2915</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2916</sup> Greene 2015: 128.

<sup>2917</sup> Greene 2017: 24 (she cites some previous scholars who have conveyed this opinion).

<sup>2918</sup> Greene 2015: 143.

century of family members (wife and/or children) mentioned in diplomas.<sup>2919</sup> Like the *diplomata*,<sup>2920</sup> these Latin verse inscriptions of the Roman military demonstrate how complex the community surrounding/intertwined with the military was, the increasing importance of family for Roman soldiers, women and children were integral to the lives of the Roman soldiers, and the military way of life was integral to their own lives.

### 8.1.2. Soldiers and the Legal Status of Their Children

Soldiers and their families, including their partners and children, of all ranks and relationships are seen in Latin military verse inscriptions. The sons and daughters of soldiers would have grown up in this military environment. As can be seen in some of the inscriptions presented below, serving in the military became a family tradition for some sons of soldiers. The daughters of soldiers also sometimes remained in the military community for their whole lives, marrying (ex)soldiers who were probably comrades of their father or brother or both.<sup>2921</sup> Many of these women would have been citizens, either through their father's retirement, or through birth (if both her parents were Roman citizens), thus she would have been a positive prospect for a military man looking for a wife.

Roman soldiers, during service, could not legally be married, 'but it is clear from the epitaphs that the unions were regarded as social marriages and that the children were socially legitimate',<sup>2922</sup> and not stigmatised for being the child of a technically not legally recognised union. Children who were born after a soldier's *honesta missio* were legitimate: 'the nature of *conubium* and of legitimate birth in Roman law suggests that only the soldier's children who were procreated after his discharge were legitimate'<sup>2923</sup> in regards to the law, and any children born after he was discharged because 'any subsequent children would be legitimate *sui heredes* and would displace the existing children's claims upon intestacy'.<sup>2924</sup> To be thought of as legally legitimate in Roman law, a child had to be born from a legitimate marriage (*iustum matrimonium*, *iustuae nuptiae*) between a Roman citizen and a non-Roman (e.g. a peregrine) who had been granted *conubium* or just between two Roman citizens.<sup>2925</sup> Roman soldiers who were given *diplomata* upon discharge were granted *conubium* with the woman they had had as a partner during service, or a woman they decided to have as a partner after they had been discharged. But a Roman marriage did not have any 'legal formalities ... any penalization occurred after the fact, by denying the partners the *effects* of legitimate marriage'.<sup>2926</sup>

Roman soldiers' children, then, born during the soldiers' service were not legitimate; those born after their father's service were legitimate, as their father would have Roman citizenship (if given when discharged, as stated in the relevant *diplomata*; legionaries were Roman citizens). Until the mid-second century AD, the children of auxiliary soldiers and the fleet were granted citizenship as well in their father's discharge *diplomata*. If they were born of a slave mother, they would be of servile status, and their father would have to free them. As well as the "wives" of Roman soldiers potentially being left destitute, due to the law, after her "husband"'s death, so could his children. His children born in service, as they were illegitimate, had no claim on

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<sup>2919</sup> Greene 2017: 23.

<sup>2920</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2921</sup> See, for example, Allison 2010: 163.

<sup>2922</sup> Phang 2001: 144.

<sup>2923</sup> *Ibid.*: 306-307.

<sup>2924</sup> *Ibid.*: 319.

<sup>2925</sup> *Ibid.*: 307.

<sup>2926</sup> *Ibid.*: 9.

his estate if he did not specifically mention them in his will. Children of servile status, as the property of their father, could be sold at his will. There were also advantages to being the son of a soldier. The children of a soldier, born in active service, as they were illegitimate, were not under his *potestas*; therefore, they could own their own property, and be in charge of their own assets. They may not have wanted to be classed as legitimate because, if they were, ‘that would bring them under the patria potestas of their fathers and deprive them of their right to own property’.<sup>2927</sup>

Soldiers below the rank of centurion lived in barracks with eight other men; did their families live with them too? Allison suggests that ‘it may be that “married” soldiers did not live with seven comrades but had more space for their own families’, based on archaeological evidence, if it was true that ‘some of these barrack rooms were given over to soldiers’ families this could radically change ideas about the fighting strength of these military bases’.<sup>2928</sup> This is, however, conjecture. She also postulates that ‘these families should not be viewed as merely a burden on their father’s or husband’s pay packet but may well have been productive members of these communities, from within these military bases’.<sup>2929</sup> Archaeological finds of women’s and children’s items in military camps prove they had a presence there,<sup>2930</sup> although ‘the general understanding is that most, if not all, non-military personnel, including any women and families, were housed in the settlements outside the forts’<sup>2931</sup> (*vici* when they were outside auxiliary forts and *canabae* when they were outside legionary fortresses).<sup>2932</sup> It is believed that they did not live within the fortress itself before Septimius Severus lifted the ban.<sup>2933</sup> But Allison, upon examination of the archaeological evidence of forts, questions this: ‘there is no reason to assume that all forts operated at full capacity at all times, and therefore could not have accommodated non-military personnel, not least because soldiers died in battle and new recruits may not always have been readily available’.<sup>2934</sup> The families of commanding officers did live inside the fort, and there is evidence that the families of centurions did as well.<sup>2935</sup>

Some soldiers had their children educated, and evidence of writing tablets, such as the famous birthday invite of Sulpicia Lepidina, wife of the commanding officer Flavius Cerialis, of the auxiliary fort Vindolanda, Britannia, to Claudia Severa, the wife of the commanding officer Aelius Brocchus, of a fort that was near Vindolanda, proves that their wives were literate also; although Lepidina did not write it herself, she did sign it with her own personal message to Severa.<sup>2936</sup> In **RD.2**, a centurion has a son who is a *quaestor*, thus demonstrating the social progression that the centurion’s career allowed himself and his family. As has been explored earlier, Roman soldiers established more families as they became a) more locally recruited in the second century and b) became more permanent garrisons, again in around about the second century AD. Soldiers would have had the ability to form connections with the local community, and/or maintain the connections they already had, and be more stable in their, what had previously been more itinerant life, military life and service, so they had more opportunities to have a stable life, and a stable family. There was ‘a causal connection between army recruitment

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<sup>2927</sup> Phang 2002: 362.

<sup>2928</sup> Allison 2010: 180.

<sup>2929</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2930</sup> Maxfield 2003: 164; See also Phang 2002: 359; Allison 2010: 162-164, 172-180.

<sup>2931</sup> Allison 2010: 163.

<sup>2932</sup> *Ibid.*: 171.

<sup>2933</sup> See *ibid.*: 168.

<sup>2934</sup> *Ibid.*: 169.

<sup>2935</sup> See *ibid.*: 169-170.

<sup>2936</sup> Tab. Vindol. 291.

... and family life',<sup>2937</sup> and nowhere is this more evident than in the temporal and spatial shift between the newly established early Principate with its new professional military and a point to prove, and the established Principate with its dominating professional military that operated across the Empire, both geographically and bureaucratically, that had proven its worth by conquering the greatest amount of Europe that it could in AD 118. War was less frequent than it was in the early Principate, the Empire itself had settled down, and local recruitment and a more sedate existence allowed those in the military to form a life of their own, beyond the military sphere.

Phang presents a nuanced version of the privileges of soldiers issued with *diplomata* upon their retirement, and how they changed over time. There were variations in what these diplomas granted: 'auxiliaries and sailors received the Roman citizenship for themselves and their children and the right to marry non-Roman women; in A.D. 140 the grant of citizenship to auxiliaries' children was abandoned',<sup>2938</sup> 'the praetorian and urban cohorts, already Roman citizens, received *conubium* ... the *equites singulares Augusti* ... received the same privileges as the *auxilia*'.<sup>2939</sup> Their wives were not given citizenship.<sup>2940</sup> These *diplomata* were not issued evenly to units throughout the general time period of their existence,<sup>2941</sup> and their formulaic wording changed over the ages.<sup>2942</sup> The most often discussed about is "the change of 140", where children, and future descendants, of auxiliary soldiers were no longer presented with the privilege of citizenship upon the retirement of the soldier.

Phang counters the general interpretation of this change: a way of encouraging recruitment, especially of soldiers' sons, because then they would gain the citizenship upon their own retirement,<sup>2943</sup> to discourage auxiliaries from having too many children, and therefore creating too many new citizens, to prevent the 'barbarization of the population',<sup>2944</sup> or fraudulent claims of citizenship. To prevent fraudulent claims of citizenship, auxiliary soldiers had to prove that their children were their own,<sup>2945</sup> and sailors in the Praetorian Fleet after c. AD 150 had to prove that their children were their own, and that they had been born from the woman they had been in a relationship with during their service.<sup>2946</sup> Phang, however, sees the changes in the *diplomata* as 'the moral regulation and social control of the soldiers' marriages; at the very least, status usurpation was checked'.<sup>2947</sup>

Soldiers' nuclear families they created when on active service are probably the way in which they demonstrate the most social deviance, especially if one examines this behaviour in conjunction with elite perceptions of the soldier and the military environment. The marriage ban is a practical demonstration of how the behaviour of soldiers in real life deviated from that expressed in elite literature: 'it conformed with an elite ideal of proper professional service and pursuit of *virtus* in its broad sense of soldierly 'virtue''.<sup>2948</sup> Although authors back in Rome

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<sup>2937</sup> Saller & Shaw 1984: 144.

<sup>2938</sup> Phang 2001: 14.

<sup>2939</sup> *Ibid.*: 54.

<sup>2940</sup> *Ibid.*: 58.

<sup>2941</sup> See *ibid.*: 67 on the Praetorian diplomas, for example.

<sup>2942</sup> See also, for example, 'the alteration of the praetorian fleet diplomas' formula around 150 A.D.' (Phang 2001: 80). See also Alston 1998: 217-218.

<sup>2943</sup> See, for example, Phang 2001: 76.

<sup>2944</sup> *Ibid.*: 77.

<sup>2945</sup> *Ibid.*: 79, see also 82.

<sup>2946</sup> See *ibid.*: 81-82.

<sup>2947</sup> *Ibid.*: 84.

<sup>2948</sup> Coulston 2013: 19.

criticised the existence of women in camps, that it was inappropriate for families and women to be there, ‘there is ample evidence that forts on the Roman frontier acted as habitation spaces, involving a community that included wives, families, and concubines’.<sup>2949</sup> Despite this, even the ordinary soldiers and their newly made families conform to the social norms of Roman society, perhaps looking to the examples of their commanding officers. They have a *coniunx* (the most common term used in these inscriptions for a ‘husband’, when used in reference to a man), an *uxor* (despite not being legally married), and children (despite the fact that they were illegitimate). They were celebrated and remembered in these inscriptions as if they existed as a normal Roman family unit; these family dynamics were clearly universal, as they are applied across the Empire, by people with a myriad of origins. In many ways then, whilst defying the legal prohibitions imposed upon him, the Roman soldier, indeed his entire family, behaved as, and abided by, the social, cultural and moral norms as set out by the expectations of Roman society.

### 8.1.3. The Soldier, His Family and Autonomy

Roman soldiers were (also) expected to financially support their parental families.<sup>2950</sup> There are several inscriptions in this chapter where it is clear that a soldier has at least improved his own situation by joining the military, and this is often transferred onto his own parents and siblings, his blood family’s future, as well as the family he himself created. So much of the discussion on Roman families centre around the definition of their dynamic by law.<sup>2951</sup> Yet, how much of that actually applied in practice? As we have seen, the law mattered little when it came to soldiers’ “marriages” in terms of how they and their partners considered it themselves, and the soldiers and their families, too, seem to have little ostensible regard for the legal aspects of the family; the social/moral (for the two were intertwined in Roman society) aspects, however, are emphasised in these inscriptions.

Saller, through examining legal texts, questions the ancient social understanding of the terms *pater familias* and *mater familias*, and concludes that the modern world has created them into the polarised imagery of ‘the severe patriarch and the respectable matron’.<sup>2952</sup> He, in his 1999 paper on *Pater Familias, Mater Familias, and the Gendered Semantics of the Roman Household*, instead, shows that *pater familias* as we understand it now was more of a legal term, and hardly used in everyday discourse; when it was, it meant something like ‘land-/home-/estate owner’ ‘without reference to family relations’,<sup>2953</sup> or ‘*pater familias* was used in nonlegal texts in a context with wife or children, it was most often in discussions of tetation that combined the dimension of property ownership with family obligations’,<sup>2954</sup> rather than the dominant male in charge of all his wife’s and children’s possessions, and all the slaves in their household. *Mater familias*, on the other hand, ‘although [it] occasionally had the bland sense of “mother of the family” or “mistress of the household,” it was most often used to evoke the quality of chastity associated with the respectable Roman matron’,<sup>2955</sup> which was also how the Roman soldier’s wife was regarded. Soldiers’ wives were not seen as lower-class members of society because

<sup>2949</sup> Allison 2010: 161. She also cites some examples of elite authors who criticise women living in military camps on this page.

<sup>2950</sup> Phang 2001: 189.

<sup>2951</sup> As seen in Saller & Shaw 1984; Saller 1999; Phang 2001.

<sup>2952</sup> Saller 1999: 197.

<sup>2953</sup> *Ibid.*: 190. See also Gardner 1998b: 2.

<sup>2954</sup> Saller 1999: 191.

<sup>2955</sup> *Ibid.*: 196.

of their partnership with soldiers, this was based on their own merit and, should they have one, profession.<sup>2956</sup>

Saller & Shaw question the realistic application of the *pater familias* as a social construct in practice in their analysis of funerary epigraphic data.<sup>2957</sup> This is because, from observing the epigraphic data in both civilian and some military communities, ‘in contrast to the frequent commemoration by spouses, parents and children, it is notable that sibling and extended family dedications are relatively rare ... when a man or a woman could not rely on his nuclear family for a funeral dedication, he or she usually turned to unrelated friends or dependents rather than more distant relatives’;<sup>2958</sup> this is observed in the data in this chapter. That does not discount the importance of the patriarchal focus of the nuclear family; for Saller & Shaw, ‘the emphasis in the funerary inscriptions on the nuclear family and the rarity of more distant kin offer a vital counterweight to the linguistic and legal evidence which highlights the extended family, particularly the patriarchal family under *patria potestas*’.<sup>2959</sup> As we have seen in studies such as Phang’s book on the families of Roman soldiers, Roman soldiers married later than civilians, if at all. As they were not under the power of their own fathers, and their children born in their active service were not under their power, how effective and/or relevant would the concept of the *pater familias* and *pietas* within a familial setting have been to a soldier and his nuclear family? Only the concept of *pater familias* would have become relevant to any children who were born of two Roman citizens, and/or after a soldier’s active service, and he had married his partner: then they would be legitimate, and under his *potestas*. So, for the majority of Roman soldiers and their families, the concept of the *pater familias* was almost entirely irrelevant.

Although soldiers were not under *patria potestas*, and nor were their children born to them during service, and thus were illegitimate, the desire to be, to act for one’s family/to have acted on behalf of one’s family, was respected, as expressed in the epithet of *pietissimus*, -a, both for a soldier and by a soldier in several of these military verse inscriptions. *Pietas* is a valued quality throughout the Latin verse inscriptions of the Roman military. A son was, in Roman society, under the conventions of the *pater familias*, subordinate to his *pater familias*, his father, until his father’s death. This did not stop a son from having his own authority over his own household, however, so sons could have large amounts of independence whilst being under the authority of their father.<sup>2960</sup> Soldiers, however, were different. They were not subordinate to their father under the convention of the *pater familias*: ‘enlistment partially liberated the *filius familias miles* from *patria potestas*: he was able to make free use of his *peculium castrense*, the property he acquired through military service, making his military will and freeing slaves’.<sup>2961</sup> The *peculium castrense* was inaccessible to a soldier’s father, unlike other sons whose entire property belonged to their father/*pater familias*: the ‘*peculium castrense* [was] a fund over which the father had no practical control’.<sup>2962</sup> They could, for example, legally make a will, ‘even if their fathers were still alive and they had not been legally manumitted’, unlike other

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<sup>2956</sup> See, for example, Phang 2001: 209-210.

<sup>2957</sup> *Ibid.*: 136.

<sup>2958</sup> Saller & Shaw 1984: 136.

<sup>2959</sup> *Ibid.*: 145.

<sup>2960</sup> See Alston 1998: 209.

<sup>2961</sup> Phang 2001: 313.

<sup>2962</sup> *Ibid.*: 390.

Roman male citizens.<sup>2963</sup> This may be because ‘it was improper for a soldier to be within the *potestas* of another apart from his general’.<sup>2964</sup>

Soldiers’ ‘camp property was regarded as separate from any property held in civilian life’.<sup>2965</sup> The marriage ban meant soldiers could not ‘form[ing] separate households, an area crucial to the exercise of *potestas*’.<sup>2966</sup> Soldiers, then, were legally regarded as separate from civilian men, and they had and did not have *potestas* in the ways civilian men could, for reasons linked to their position as a soldier within the Roman military. Their independence was more limited than that of civilian men, as they could have some form of their own independence and power by creating their own family, despite ostensibly being under the power of their *pater familias*. Soldiers could not, and ‘this separation of soldiers completed their emergence as a distinct status group; but the limitations on their *potestas* and the authority exercised over them reduced their status in the eyes of aristocratic writers’.<sup>2967</sup> Aristocratic members of the Roman military, those in temporary military posts, were able to be married, and they took their wives with them on campaign, thus these men had *potestas* both over their own households and the soldiers under their command.<sup>2968</sup> Soldiers were under their power, could be punished severely for their (mis)conduct,<sup>2969</sup> and thus did not have the freedom or control over oneself that a civilian had, despite some being citizens themselves.

#### 8.1.4. Relationships between Soldiers and Men

We may wonder about the nature of the relationships between soldiers (see section 8.4). There is ‘evidence for soldiers’ homosexual relations with male slaves’,<sup>2970</sup> as may be seen in **ET.8**, **ET.9** and **RD.13**, although **ET.9** is specified as *nostrae pignus amicitiae* (‘proof of our friendship’, 6). The freeborn men who were willing passive participants in a homosexual relationship are as silent on the pages of history as women in the Roman world, perhaps even more so, as Richlin believed that ‘they have left, and perhaps wrote, *no* poems, *no* letters, *no* history of their own’.<sup>2971</sup> The importance of inscriptions such as these, therefore cannot be understated: these inscriptions present us with poems by not only soldiers, but women, freedmen and women, and slaves. It could have been relatively common for soldiers to have homosexual relationships/encounters with their male slaves, some perhaps were even bought for this purpose, and widely accepted socially;<sup>2972</sup> these dynamics are overtly seen in a very few of the inscriptions in this collection. Another factor that separates the third century from the Empire was that attitudes towards relationships started to change in this century: ‘whether homosexual relations with male slaves or prostitutes fell out of practice in the later Empire (from the third century A.D. onwards) is uncertain. It is clear that high-culture and legal sources of the third to the sixth century disapprove of and repress homosexual relations. The cause is also highly uncertain’.<sup>2973</sup> The time period in which these Latin verse inscriptions of the Roman

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<sup>2963</sup> Alston 1998: 212.

<sup>2964</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2965</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2966</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2967</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2968</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2969</sup> See *ibid.*: 216-217.

<sup>2970</sup> Phang 2001: 268.

<sup>2971</sup> Richlin 1993: 524. See also Ivleva 2020: 254.

<sup>2972</sup> See Phang 2001: 267-275.

<sup>2973</sup> *Ibid.*: 276. See also Williams 2010: 247.



military, then, are examined is representative of the attitudes towards relationships, and relationship dynamics, in the imperial period.

When a relationship here is described as ‘homosexual’, it refers to a sexual relationship where people of the same sex were involved;<sup>2974</sup> in this study, concentrating on the Roman military, this means between two men. It does not mean that one or both of these men were ‘homosexuals’ in the way in which this term is used today. Williams questions how men in Roman society would have defined themselves; would their sexual preferences even have played a part in their own identity?<sup>2975</sup> Sexuality as we understand it did not exist in the Roman world. What mattered was the performative role someone had in a sexual act, and the conventions of their performative roles according to their gender. It did not matter who a man had a relationship with in terms of their sex, but what mattered was the man’s role in that relationship and the status of the person he was having a relationship with (i.e. free vs. slave).

Men were socially and legally permitted to have sexual relationships with: his wife, his slaves, anyone of non-freeborn status, and boys/adolescents. A desire for younger adolescent males by adult men was seen as normal, by both human and the divine.<sup>2976</sup> We see this in the love elegists, where the poets admire both their female lovers and younger men.<sup>2977</sup> Roman men were not allowed to have relationships with citizen adult males and freeborn citizen children, regardless of gender, who were protected by the *toga praetexta*.<sup>2978</sup> To do so was an act of *stuprum*, an unwanted sexual advance on a freeborn Roman citizen that was illegal and severely punished. Williams observes: ‘the sources left to us from ancient Rome make it abundantly clear that Roman traditions fell squarely in line with the worldwide trend: homosexual behavior was not condemned per se, and a citizen male could admit to sexual experience with males in certain contexts and configurations without fear of ridicule or reprisal, without the threat even of a raised eyebrow’.<sup>2979</sup> What was important in terms of regarding an adult citizen male’s sexual conduct was ‘penetration, betrayal of citizen status, political maneuvering, male/female polarities’.<sup>2980</sup>

What about the other cultures incorporated in the Roman Empire via conquest and diplomacy? Did they have the same opinions on same-sex relationships and sexual encounters as the Romans? If Williams’ observation is correct, then the implication was that they did; this is also likely, given the evidence Ivleva presents of homosexual relationships in the provinces, but the material evidence of this is rarer than that depicting heterosexual relationships.<sup>2981</sup> Phang observes that Roman ‘authors have made a convincing case for the autochthonous nature of Roman homosexual relations with slaves’,<sup>2982</sup> so this may have differed from culture to culture. The advent of the Romans and their culture itself may have influenced the perceptions and

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<sup>2974</sup> Information on homosexuality in the Roman military, and in general, has been sought from Phang 2001 and 2002; Williams 2010; Leitaio 2014; Masterson 2014; Ivleva 2020 (see also this chapter on Roman soldiers’ relationship dynamics in general); Richlin 1993. These were also referred to for interpretations on Roman masculinity, as Roman male sexual practices and masculinity are often discussed in tandem. See also Phang (2001: 264) for this definition of ‘homosexual’ in this historical context. See also the discussion on the *toga praetexta* and the stages of manhood in section 8.6 below for understanding Roman manhood, masculinity and sexuality.

<sup>2975</sup> Williams 2010: 249.

<sup>2976</sup> See, for example, Richlin 1993: 525. Relationships between women, however, was not so (see Williams 2010: 8).

<sup>2977</sup> See Goold 1999: 117 n. 14. See also Richlin 1993: 525; Williams 2010: 8, 158, 171-172, for example.

<sup>2978</sup> See above; see also discussion in section 8.6. See also Richlin 1993: throughout, esp. 533.

<sup>2979</sup> Williams 2010: 17.

<sup>2980</sup> Richlin 1993: 526. See also Ivleva 2020.

<sup>2981</sup> See Ivleva 2020

<sup>2982</sup> Phang 2001: 267.

expressions of sexual activity and gender.<sup>2983</sup> As the Roman world has been filtered down to us through Roman eyes and customs, including through the more ‘everyman writings’ of inscriptions, we may never know the answer to these questions. It is, however, important to bare in mind, considering the different nationalities and cultures incorporated into the Roman military, as well as the influence of the provincial norms the soldiers themselves would have been introduced to,<sup>2984</sup> and therefore the different nuances, interpretations and performances of sexuality and masculinity were likely to have presented themselves differently to the Roman elite ‘norm’ of receptions of masculinity, as have been passed down to us, in the individuals within the Roman military.<sup>2985</sup>

There has been debate about whether freeborn men who were willingly receptive were the subject of legal punishment. The *lex Scantiania* seems to be the source of this contention, some regarding it as more penalising than others for the willingly receptive male in a homosexual encounter.<sup>2986</sup> We do not know exactly what this law was, but we do know that ‘the Roman legal attitude toward passive homosexuality falls under the rubric of an important and an extensive concept in Roman law: *infamia*’.<sup>2987</sup> Men labelled as such ‘might be barred from service in the army’, according to Richlin,<sup>2988</sup> but this has been mentioned nowhere else. These men were not sought out, but, it did affect their civil rights: should they have need of the law, for example if they were prosecuted or wanted to make a will or join the army, then they would be affected by their identification as an *infamis*.<sup>2989</sup> Richlin regarded these men as being liable for dismissal from the military, if caught.<sup>2990</sup>

The lack of information about the direct nature of the *lex Scantinia* makes it difficult to reconstruct, but Phang regards it as ‘the main law punishing sexual relations between adult men’,<sup>2991</sup> particularly the receptive partner.<sup>2992</sup> But, who it penalised and how it was enforced is not clear. ‘There is no direct evidence’ that the *lex Scantinia* punished these men, either the receptive participant or both, and therefore there is no evidence if they were dismissed.<sup>2993</sup> Williams interprets this law as ‘formulated to penalize *stuprum* or the violation of the sexual integrity of the freeborn Roman male or female’ and, as such, ‘could at least in theory be invoked against the receptive partner in such an act’, but he, too, emphasises our scant knowledge, and therefore interpretation, of this law.<sup>2994</sup> There does seem to be one legal area in which willingly passive men were penalised, but Williams labels this as a ‘relatively mild legal restriction’: ‘one of the provisions of the praetorian edict specified certain classes of people who were excluded from appearing before a magistrate to make an application on behalf of someone else ... [including those] who had “submitted to womanly things with his body” (*qui corpore suo muliebria passus est*) – although the praetors made an exception in this last case for men who had been raped by pirates or by the enemy in time of war’,<sup>2995</sup> i.e. non-consensual homosexual encounters. William observes that, despite this ‘one legal restriction that we know

<sup>2983</sup> Ivleva 2020: 265. See also 266.

<sup>2984</sup> See also *ibid.*: 241, 266.

<sup>2985</sup> See also *ibid.*: 266-267.

<sup>2986</sup> Richlin believed the law was harsh on these men (1993: 530. See also 566).

<sup>2987</sup> *Ibid.*: 555. See also 569-571. See also Gardner 1998a: 146-147.

<sup>2988</sup> Richlin 1993: 560.

<sup>2989</sup> See *ibid.*: 560-561, 563. See also Gardner 1998a: 146-147.

<sup>2990</sup> Richlin 1993: 540.

<sup>2991</sup> Phang 2001: 278. See also 279.

<sup>2992</sup> *Ibid.*: 279.

<sup>2993</sup> *Ibid.*: 288.

<sup>2994</sup> Williams 2010: 214.

<sup>2995</sup> *Ibid.* Phang also mentions this law (2001: 289).

to have been placed' on these men, 'they could still appear before a magistrate on their own behalf'.<sup>2996</sup> How this would be enforced is questioned by both Phang and Williams.<sup>2997</sup>

For Phang, homosexuality as a practice was not a problem in the Roman military, what mattered was who and how a soldier conducted it with, as it was the same for the rest of society, she concludes;<sup>2998</sup> this is seen most evidently in **RD.13**. There are a lack of sources about if same-sex relationships between soldiers were punished in the imperial Roman military, apart from the episode where Domitian dismissed two soldiers from being involved in an uprising against him because they appeared to be passive homosexuals, and thus they were seen to have not been able to have any authority over anyone, even less so any authority to convince people to assassinate the emperor.<sup>2999</sup> The Republican examples that we do have of homosexual acts between soldiers were punishable by death, but there are no such punishments for the imperial soldier that we know about.<sup>3000</sup> For Phang, then, the homosexual practices of the soldiers were much the same as for Roman civilian men, except for with each other: 'in the Roman army only certain behaviors (such as sexual relations between soldiers) were punished, if at all; the evidence is not conclusive. It is probable that soldiers' homosexual relations with slave boys or male prostitutes were an acceptable sexual practice, at least in the Republic and the first century A.D.'. <sup>3001</sup> Williams comes to a similar conclusion to Phang about homosexual relationships within the Roman military: they were primarily the same as those socially (and legally) accepted for Roman citizen men.

Williams defines the "positive" Roman male sexual encounter as having the penetrative role. Anyone who had the receptive role was either not masculine (women, willingly receptive males; they are referred to as 'taking on the woman's role') or not free (slaves, etc.); all had no autonomy, and were submissive to the dominion of the Roman male. War was described in similar terms.<sup>3002</sup> Men who were willingly receptive in these sexual encounters subverted the expectations of their gender, and thus were described as 'womanly' and it was one of the criteria for a man being described as 'effeminate' and therefore 'unmanly', but not the criteria. To also be regarded as 'effeminate', 'a man must also not seem womanish in his clothing, in his manner of walking or talking, in his care for his body ..., or by displaying an unbridled lust or descending into a life of uncontrolled self-indulgence and pleasure, whether he sought the company of male or female sexual partners',<sup>3003</sup> 'a man could be considered effeminate if he was thought to have been penetrated, to have been domainted by women, to have indulged in a life of luxury, or to have lost his self-control in the face of death'.<sup>3004</sup> To be a man was to be self-controlled, self-disciplined; in the modern world, this would be described as 'being stoic' or, to use a now old-fashioned phrase, 'having a stiff upper lip'. 'Military discipline, pertinacity, endurance, and bravery in the face of death are all coded as masculine, and their absence as effeminate', Williams summarises.<sup>3005</sup> Seneca is surprised, and sees as an expression of luxury and vice, that *adeoque omnia indiscretae sunt diversissimis artibus ut, quicquid mundus muliebris vocabatur, sarcinae viriles sint; omnes dico, etiam militares* ('and everything is, by

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<sup>2996</sup> Williams 2010: 215.

<sup>2997</sup> *Ibid.*; Phang 2001: 289.

<sup>2998</sup> Phang 2001: 295. See also Coulston 2013: 19; Ivleva 2020: 246-247, 261.

<sup>2999</sup> See, for example, Richlin 1993: 540; Phang 2001: 292.

<sup>3000</sup> See, for example, Ivleva 2020: 261.

<sup>3001</sup> Phang 2001: 140. See also 262-295. See also Williams 2010: 122.

<sup>3002</sup> Phang 2001: for example, 255-256.

<sup>3003</sup> Williams 2010: 248-249.

<sup>3004</sup> *Ibid.*: 251.

<sup>3005</sup> *Ibid.*: 152. See also Masterson 2014.

the most diverse arts, indiscrete so that, anything that is called the adornment of a woman, are the adorned burdens of men; everything, I say, even soldiers', Nat. 1.17.10). *Etiam militares* makes it seem as if Seneca regarded them as the pinnacle of men and expressions of masculinity.

According to Richlin, 'Roman class-consciousness equated sexual submission with loss of honor, admission of inferiority, and lack of virility'.<sup>3006</sup> Linked to sexuality, inevitably, is one's portrayal of their gender, both through self- and received-expression. Willingly receptive homosexuals, or those who were perceived to be, were seen as the opposite of a Roman man, particularly a Roman soldier, as they were seen to have no authority or dominance, two traits that were the essence of Roman manhood and encapsulated by the Roman military. They were seen as willingly renouncing their masculinity when they took on this role in any sexual encounter.<sup>3007</sup> The active participant, or a man who appeared to be an active participant in sexual encounters, was not; his masculinity remained unquestioned. This may also explain the lack of contemporary Roman historical references to passive homosexuals in the Roman military: they were regarded as a part of the antithesis of everything it meant to be a Roman soldier, and they may not have wished to make their private lives public, at risk of being, at best, ridiculed, at worst, outcast.<sup>3008</sup> If any of the soldiers in this data set had romantic relationships with other soldiers, it is not made obvious; any such relationships with other men are with those of servile or freedman status.

### 8.1.5. Impacts of Time, Change and Family on the Character of the Military and the Individual Soldier

The Roman military was 'an instrument of the Roman state and [there was] the necessity for its soldiers to operate within an environment defined in part by the needs of the state'.<sup>3009</sup> It was a highly condensed crucible of Roman, as well as external, culture; the operations of the Roman military were 'fundamentally Roman'.<sup>3010</sup> The reign of Augustus was the epicentre of the death of the Republic and the birth of the Empire and, as such, this affected the political, social and cultural identity of this newly emerging political power.<sup>3011</sup> Social constructs came to be redefined, reshaped, restructured in correlation with the newly emerging superpower that would become the Roman Empire.

As a part of this, ideas of Romanhood and Roman masculinity were shaped,<sup>3012</sup> both through literature, political output and society, points of cultural contact. *Homo* and *vir* were the two words used for 'man', but *vir* was used more for elite men, *homo* for men in general.<sup>3013</sup> The *vir* was the ideal man, one with power, 'legally, financially and personally autonomous'.<sup>3014</sup> *Vir* was also used to mean 'husband', reflecting that 'in his own house, even if nowhere else, the Roman man was a *vir*'.<sup>3015</sup> *Virtus* was an important concept to Roman manhood, and, like Roman manhood itself, '*virtus* was not innate but something to be achieved; a concept loaded with wide-ranging moral, social, and political meanings amid temporal shifts in the meaning of

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<sup>3006</sup> Richlin 1993: 535. Following quote from 568. For discussion on *stuprum*, see also discussion below.

<sup>3007</sup> See Williams 2010 throughout.

<sup>3008</sup> See Ivleva 2020: 265-266 for suggestions of possible hidden, subtle portrayals of homosexual relationships in epitaphs that were depicted within the confines of social and cultural expectations.

<sup>3009</sup> *Ibid.*: 1999: 165.

<sup>3010</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3011</sup> See Alston 1998: 206.

<sup>3012</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3013</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3014</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3015</sup> *Ibid.*: 207.

the word itself'.<sup>3016</sup> It had to be achieved through careful guidance too, *virtus* was not simply dependent upon the man himself: *Virtus difficilis inventu est, rectorem ducemque desiderat* ('*virtus* is difficult to find, it desires a ruler and a leader', Sen. Nat. 3.30.8).

To be considered a man in the Roman world, one had to go through several ceremonies at various life stages; as Williams observed, 'boys must be *made* men, while girls just *become* women',<sup>3017</sup> and this is as true now as it was in the Roman world. Men had to prove the role they played sexually in the way they behaved, they had to prove their masculine development through public rites, they demonstrated their masculinity through what they wore,<sup>3018</sup> and they had to prove that they held the characteristics of 'conventional' manhood to be considered to have *virtus*. To correlate with this more visual representation of masculinity, perhaps the reason why aspects of masculinity are scarcely verbally depicted in these Latin verse inscriptions is because they were depicted visually in an accompanying relief: 'funerary and votive monuments of soldiers in the provinces also indicate the exhibition of heroic martial *virtus*, for images of a mounted warrior riding down a barbarian and a soldier in full armour were common topoi by which to showcase a soldierly quality'.<sup>3019</sup> This was not just the case for soldiers in the provinces, as *equites singulares Augusti* had reliefs of the triumphant cavalryman rearing over the defeated enemy. But not all epitaphs had an accompanying relief, so this cannot be true of all of them. Perhaps to state they were in the military was enough, more commonly in the accompanying prose section. To be a soldier was one way of explicitly demonstrating a man's *virtus*; after all, the military lifestyle itself was proof of a man's emotional and physical endurance, that he could withstand it.

Williams is not the only scholar to highlight the importance of remembering that the reality in the Roman world would have been more nuanced than the polarising image of Roman masculinity as presented in scholarship today.<sup>3020</sup> The context of a man's existence also shifted his interpretation of masculinity, and how his masculinity ought to be expressed: 'whereas *virtus* in Rome depended on public-facing qualities essential for the conduct of war, success in politics, and religious piety, in the Roman army manliness was especially associated with martiality'.<sup>3021</sup> If we are to regard the praises and exhibitions of *virtus* as demonstrated in **RI.14**, then not only was this coupled with battlefield martiality, but also with fulfilling of one's duties in a military context. Caesar's centurions were promoted for bravery,<sup>3022</sup> and exhibitions of bravery in general in the Roman military were rewarded, for example with the *corona civica*. In his *Gallic Wars*, Caesar differentiates between Roman courage and other cultures' perception of courage, such as the Germans (Gall. 1.2), thus the Romans recognised that there were cultural differences in the interpretation of this virtue. Masculinity in the Roman world as displayed by the literary texts, filtered through the city of Rome elite lens, is different to that of the Roman soldier in actuality.<sup>3023</sup>

the power of soldiers and gladiators, though limited, was real and publicly displayed.  
As wielders of *potestas*, soldiers qualified as *virī*...

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<sup>3016</sup> Ivleva 2020: 245.

<sup>3017</sup> Williams 2010: 155.

<sup>3018</sup> See Ivleva 2020: 248; see discussion below.

<sup>3019</sup> *Ibid.*: 248.

<sup>3020</sup> Masterson also emphasises the more realistic interpretation of the nuances in presentations of Roman masculinity, in his discussion on Roman masculinity (2014). See also Ivleva 2020.

<sup>3021</sup> Ivleva 2020: 248.

<sup>3022</sup> See Handford 1951: 19-20.

<sup>3023</sup> Alston 1998: 219-220. See also Coulston 2013: throughout.

The society of the city was large. The society of the empire was immense. There was more than enough scope for variation. In the circles of the élite, the soldiers had no claim to be *viri*, for they did not behave as *viri* should, but the circles of the élite were but a small part of the Roman Empire. In some parts and among the soldiers themselves, the soldiers' control over violence and their relatively high status as representatives of the empire qualified them as *viri*. Political events in the first two centuries AD demonstrated forcibly to the élite that the ultimate arbiters of empire were not the élite themselves but the soldiers. The emperor could use his troops to rob them of their wealth, their homes and ultimately their lives. The hostility of the élite towards soldiers stems from this threat to their political power and to their definition of and status as *viri*

Much of what has been said about the depiction of Roman masculinity was the more polarised depiction of the Roman elite: 'such formalised masculinity did not necessarily represent a rigid behavioral code imposed upon every soldier as a matter of state policy'.<sup>3024</sup> This interpretation of masculinity would differ on an individual case-by-case basis, dependent on the social, moral and cultural background and subsequent influences of each soldier.<sup>3025</sup> It is more likely that there was a diverse perception of masculinity, based on the backgrounds of those recruited into the Roman military, as well as the various hierarchies within the military itself.<sup>3026</sup> As Ivleva phrased it, 'the concept of soldierly hegemonic masculinity could have been acknowledged, endorsed, and propagated at the level of collective military identity but been fractured at the level of the individual soldier'.<sup>3027</sup> Masculinity was as much an expression of identity as any other facet of self-expression and social-assessment of the individual, and thus was open to interpretation, rebellion, conformation. But manliness, essentially, was the expression of power in the Roman world,<sup>3028</sup> as men in the Roman world had power, and no other gendered social class did. Despite the legal and social infringements on the Roman soldier that may have made it seem as if he had lost his individual power upon recruitment,<sup>3029</sup> in Roman literature, the Roman military was the expression of Roman power, and, thus, of Roman manliness.

Coulston's paper *Military Identity and Personal Self-Identity in the Roman Army* is important to discuss in this consultation on the identities of the Roman soldier. He acknowledges that 'contemporary Roman attitudes towards soldiers are well represented from an élite standpoint in the surviving literary record',<sup>3030</sup> which, in turn, has shaped our perception of the Roman soldier, and how others regarded him. He examines a variety of evidence, from literary to epigraphic to archaeological. Coulston clarifies in his paper that 'reference to 'the Roman soldier' is made in the understanding that there was not one, unchanging model of service in the army or service experience, as Roman military culture, and the people caught up within it, constantly evolved'.<sup>3031</sup> This was partially exhibited through changes to military dress through the ages: 'in fact, military equipment studies over the last twenty years have moved well away from the 'uniform' concepts and now suggest that there was no conscious central planning or design of equipment but that what similarity there was arose from practical ergonomics,

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<sup>3024</sup> Ivleva 2020: 249.

<sup>3025</sup> See also *ibid.*: 249, 266.

<sup>3026</sup> See throughout this study, as well as *ibid.*: 251, 266.

<sup>3027</sup> *Ibid.*: 250-251.

<sup>3028</sup> See, for example, Alston 1998: 220; Ivleva 2020: 248; as well as discussion throughout this chapter.

<sup>3029</sup> For example, through the fact that they could be beaten and suffer corporeal punishment by their superiors; it was a right of a Roman citizen that they were not allowed to be beaten; also, the marriage ban imposed on soldiers. See also Alston 1998: 218-220. See also the discussion on the *vitis* and *virga* above.

<sup>3030</sup> Coulston 2004: 133.

<sup>3031</sup> *Ibid.*: 133 n. 1.

localised small-scale production, and copying of pieces as troops moved around the empire'.<sup>3032</sup> This evolving experience of the Roman military is understood here.

Coulston emphasises the range of identities a soldier could form from within the hierarchy and structure of the Roman military community itself: from the sub-communities within the military (the basic group of eight *contubernales*, a *centuria* a soldier was posted in, to the overall military unit in which he served).<sup>3033</sup> Different ranks would have conferred different identities onto the soldier's own understanding of himself as a Roman soldier and as a person of value, thus creating both individual- and community-based identities within the structure of the military itself (see Appendix 3). The *immunes*, for example, were specialist troops, based on skill sets, and centurions were selected based on merit (either of character, recommendation, or military service, or all three).<sup>3034</sup> Different ranks had their own characteristic equipment that identified them from other soldiers (such as the *vitis* and *crista transversa* for the centurion), and military rewards must have had much the same effect, both material (such as *donativa* and *dona militaria*, torques and miniature spears, etc., presented to soldiers in the same way as medals are now) and promotion, such as between ranks or between units. All such rewards were said to come from the Emperor himself, as acknowledged in **AI.7**, which must have had an impact on a soldier's perception of his pride in receiving such acknowledgement for his service and military conduct. Units had their own identities, from the legions to the *auxilia*, to the fleet; this is overtly seen in only one military verse inscription, however, **NW.1**, where the Praetorian Guard are elevated at the expense of the 'barbarian legions' on the frontier. The differing legal status between units would have also created varying identifications within the military itself, certainly at the beginning of their formation: the legionaries were all citizen soldiers, whereas the *auxilia*, at first, were not. Differing armour and weapon usage between units would have been likely to have an impact on how a soldier perceived himself and how he was perceived.

When recruitment patterns changed in about the second century AD, and citizens began to be recruited into the *auxilia*, this must have changed the dynamic both of how the *auxilia* were regarded by civilian and military populations alike, and how those in the *auxilia* regarded themselves. Would this have led to Coulston's conclusion that 'these differentiations probably narrowed as a recruitment became more localised and as citizenship spread, so that legionary and auxiliary service may have converged'?<sup>3035</sup> This may have later on and this became more standard practice, and thus more normalised, but it may have led to an initial negative impact upon a citizen soldier's perception of himself when he was recruited into the *auxilia*, rather than the legions. This, Coulston observed, must have created a more fragmented approach to military identity as a whole: 'it is important to recognise that in practical terms, apart from planners in Rome, few soldiers thought of 'the Roman army' as a whole organisation. Depending on rank and service experience their horizons might not reach beyond the individual legion or auxiliary regiment, but between this level and the whole of Rome's army there were regional groupings which also carried some measure of identity',<sup>3036</sup> thus further emphasising the balance of the whole versus the individual which the Roman military managed to maintain and make work cohesively. This allegiance to the tangible legion rather than the principle of the military is, as Coulston observes, emphasised in times of civil war.<sup>3037</sup> The history of the military units

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<sup>3032</sup> Coulston 2004: 144.

<sup>3033</sup> *Ibid.*: 135.

<sup>3034</sup> See *ibid.*: 135-136.

<sup>3035</sup> *Ibid.*: 136-137.

<sup>3036</sup> *Ibid.*: 140. He also addresses this point in his 2013 paper (11-13). See also Chapter 2.

<sup>3037</sup> Coulston 2004: 140.

themselves would have also have had an impact on the identities of the soldiers posted within them.<sup>3038</sup>

The way Coulston describes the military is akin to a large family: ‘the role of elite generals, and especially of the emperor as commander, was defined as a fatherly over-watch’,<sup>3039</sup> and this can be said to be applicable to the soldiers’ attitude towards their service in the military.. They were not under the *potestas* of their father, but they owed *pietas* to the Emperor, thus making him akin to the father in the ‘familial structure’ of the military. Commanding officers could punish the soldiers below them, thus demonstrating their *potestas* over the men in the rank-and-file. Soldiers referred to one another as *frater*, as seen in these inscriptions, thus reinforcing the brotherly connection between them; these inscriptions highlight that there was real affection between the soldiers in the military. Creating their own families was partially discouraged because then soldiers were perceived to be less willing to be able to sacrifice themselves in battle and fight bravely if they had a wife and children to live for, but the military camaraderie was seen to encourage this: they all looked out for each other.

A way in which soldiers were legally separated from the civilian population was their right to bare arms ‘as a matter of course and at all times’.<sup>3040</sup> This would have further separated the Roman soldier’s identity of himself from the civilian population around him. The army did dress differently enough from civilians on a day to day basis for Josephus to remark that soldiers had been ordered to dress as civilians to disguise their intermingling in a potentially antagonised crowd in Jerusalem.<sup>3041</sup> They are depicted on tombstones wearing both civilian and military dress, ‘but when tunics are shown in coloured iconography they are almost invariably white with red or purple (and shades between) decorative details. They were thus the clothes of *wealthy* people’.<sup>3042</sup> So even when they were in civilian dress, soldiers were visually distinct from civilians, exhibiting both their status and their wealth.

The marriage ban was also a way of separating soldiers from civilian society, as ‘by the formal separation of soldiers from women, [it] maintained the masculine quality of the Roman army and hence maintained the Roman *imperium*’;<sup>3043</sup> another was that soldiers were not governed by their father’s *patria potestas*.<sup>3044</sup> The marriage ban maintained the community of the military:<sup>3045</sup>

The soldiers’ marriage ban enabled the perpetuation of an artificial, all-male community of which special commitment to masculine virtues was demanded; the marriage ban established a formal separation between army and subject population, creating a power differential between them and enabling and legitimating the army’s control of that population

The marriage ban was an expression, ostensibly, legally, of the maintenance of *disciplina militaris*,<sup>3046</sup> and to have children ‘was considered contrary to military discipline’.<sup>3047</sup> Yet, that

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<sup>3038</sup> See Coulston 2013: 15. See also 19.

<sup>3039</sup> *Ibid.*: 8.

<sup>3040</sup> Coulston 2004: 141.

<sup>3041</sup> J. BJ 2.175-178.

<sup>3042</sup> Coulston 2004: 142. See also Coulston 2013: 19.

<sup>3043</sup> Phang 2001: 383.

<sup>3044</sup> See *ibid.*: throughout, esp. 387, 390. See discussion throughout this chapter.

<sup>3045</sup> Phang 2001: 380.

<sup>3046</sup> *Ibid.*: 379.

<sup>3047</sup> Phang describes ‘a proclamation in letter [*Berliner Griechische Urkunden* (BGU) 140] form by the emperor Hadrian (117-138) addressed to the prefect of Alexandria in A.D. 119, grants certain legal privileges to soldiers’ illegitimate children ...



the marriage ban was so clearly not maintained in a social sense, both in the expression of relationship dynamics in the (verse) epitaphs of soldiers and also in the recognition of these relationships in officially issued military *diplomata*, highlights the difference between the legal ideal conveyed by law and reinforced by the portrayal of the Roman soldier in literature, and the lived experience of those who were in, and interacted with, the Roman military. Also, the commanders, who had more temporary posts, were allowed to take their wives with them.<sup>3048</sup> Thus, the Roman military became the expression of Roman civilisation and manhood, the dividing line between the citizen population and the ‘barbarians’ they conquered, or sought to conquer. This is demonstrated in the relationships of the Roman military, both in the idealised portrayal of the unmarried ‘man’s man’ that was the Roman soldier, hardened and disciplined by his military life, and the intermingling, influencing and intertwining of the Roman military with other cultures, both in recruitment and their relationships, in the everyday, realistic portrayal of military life as seen in these verse inscriptions.

Coulston also examines military courage and cowardice in the Roman military, and, in his discussion, many of the facets he ‘reviewed as elements which potentially enhanced courage’ are similar to the ones examined here for a review of military life and identity in general: ‘leadership, institutional culture, training, strategic and tactical practice, diet, gender relations, disciplinary regime, reward, religious belief, and self-identity’.<sup>3049</sup> He observes that the military message conveyed in elite literature is also depicted in elite monumental art, such as Trajan’s Column.<sup>3050</sup> According to Coulston, despite the ‘various words ... used for ‘courage’ (*animus, audentia, fortitude, ferocitas*), ... *virtus* was the one most closely linked military bravery’.<sup>3051</sup> This does appear to be the case, at least in the Latin verse inscriptions of the Roman military.

In conjunction with *virtus*, Coulston discusses the importance of *disciplina* to the Roman military; *disciplina* is what created and reinforced a soldiers’ courage in battle, as well as his general living conditions, and the belief that the gods were on their side.<sup>3052</sup> *Disciplina militaris* was an expression of Roman power.<sup>3053</sup> The discipline of the Roman military, for example, is often marvelled at and expressed as a feature of specifically Roman identity throughout Josephus; it was a part of how the Romans identified themselves and their Empire, through the discipline of the military.<sup>3054</sup> It was reinforced through military training and by rewards for approved military conduct, such as courage in battle, ostensibly by the Emperor himself. Yet, the practicality of the Roman mentality shines through once more when considering the marriage ban; although having a “wife” and children was considered to be against *disciplina militaris*, they were acknowledged and awarded privileges along with a soldier, if he was amongst the units who received the *diplomata* upon his honest dismissal, so this did not affect a soldier’s conduct enough to make him exempt from *honesta missio*.

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Hadrian’s letter shows clearly that soldiers in service could not have legitimate children and that their procreation was considered contrary to military discipline. However, he grants the illegitimate children inheritance rights as a human policy’ (2002: 356-257).

<sup>3048</sup> See, for example, Phang 2002: 359; Allison 2010: 162, 164.

<sup>3049</sup> Coulston 2013: 8.

<sup>3050</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3051</sup> Coulston does emphasise, however, that ‘like many Latin terms the meaning of *virtus* was elastic and could be nuanced by the context, but it designated a suite of qualities associated with proper Roman citizen behaviour’ (2013: 14). See also the discussion on *pietas* below.

<sup>3052</sup> *Ibid.*: 21.

<sup>3053</sup> See Phang 2001: 381.

<sup>3054</sup> See, for example, *ibid.*: 355.

*Disciplina militaris* was the distinctive quality of the Roman military, and, through this, Roman manhood. Throughout all the contemporary histories, the defining trait of the Roman military was their discipline.<sup>3055</sup> Vegetius defines the origins of the Roman army's name thusly: *exercitus ex re ipsa atque opere exercitii nomen accepit, ut ei numquam liceret oblivisci quod vocabatur* ('the army (*exercitus*) received its name from that fact itself and from the work of exercising (*exercitius*), so that it would never be allowed to forget what it was called', Mil. 2.1.6). Phang defines *disciplina militaris* as 'the complex of practices that promoted and maintained *virtus* in soldiers. In this respect *disciplina* prescribed an ascetic or "hard" masculinity for soldiers, imposing endurance of wounds, heat and dust in summer, cold in winter, physical exertions, coarse food and drink, lack of sleep, austerities of all sorts'.<sup>3056</sup> Only two inscriptions in this data set describe these hardships of military service, both of which are by centurions for their units, and both express opposing attitudes towards these toils of service. **RI.14** celebrates the *virtus* of the army in a building restoration project, partly expressed in their endurance through winter weather and harsher conditions than their ancestors had to tolerate. **AI.3**, on the other hand, celebrates relief from the toils of military life, once they have returned back to camp and can bathe in the cool springs, a welcome relief from the burning sun and sand of the African desert.

The military environment was seen as distinctly masculine, and therefore existed in opposition to everything feminine, to the extent that women who inhabited military spheres were seen as, at best, un-feminine, at worst (in the Roman opinion) their gender swapped completely and they were seen as masculine.<sup>3057</sup> The world of the Roman military was deemed to be so masculine that the involvement of women either was seen to detract by some from the masculinity of the soldier or the femininity of the woman.<sup>3058</sup> The, perhaps surprising, lack of reference to masculinity and virility in the Latin verse inscriptions of the Roman military demonstrates the nuance of Roman masculinity, and the message of masculinity that has now been disseminated through the social elite of Rome does not present a representative image of views on Roman masculinity and gender. Roman masculinity, as we know it, after all was an elite ideal.<sup>3059</sup> If these inscriptions depict a more accurate view of the ordinary people, then masculinity mattered little in their assessments of themselves. This is reinforced by inscriptions such as **RI.14**, where Roman masculinity, as it is understood through *virtus*, is emphasised, but this was in an honorific inscription where the restoration work of a legion, and a *numerus*, is celebrated by their commanding centurion; to an extent, we can say that this was an institutionalised inscription, and therefore it is of little surprise that it would continue to disseminate the message(s) of the elite.

Alternatively, as mentioned above, perceptions of masculinity were intertwined with a military identity. Soldiers had to be self-controlled, as a part of the ideal of the Roman man, and as a part of the ideal of the Roman soldier. Roman soldiers who were out of control often led to defeat in combat. Love was seen as the opposite of Roman self-control, and thus 'seems to have been antithetical to *militia*; the late Republican elegists relied on this antithesis for their paradoxical *militia amoris*'.<sup>3060</sup> This may have been the case for the literary reputation of love

<sup>3055</sup> See, for example, J. BJ 5.50, in which Josephus describes disciplined order as a defining trait of the Romans, in a manner similar to how Roman historiographers would describe the unique mannerisms of different races beyond their own.

<sup>3056</sup> Phang 2001: 354. See also Phang 2002: 358.

<sup>3057</sup> Phang 2001: 350-351.

<sup>3058</sup> See *ibid.*: 344-384. See also Phang 2002: 358-360.

<sup>3059</sup> See, in particular, Masterson 2014: 30.

<sup>3060</sup> Phang 2001: 362. See also the quote from Ovid at the beginning of this chapter.

vs. self-control, but many soldiers, in these verse inscriptions, express their love and affection for their partners, their families, their platonic (perhaps sometimes romantic) affection for each other, and so seem to have had no reservations about expressing this in reality.

## 8.2. The Nuclear Family

The ‘nuclear family’ includes: father/husband, mother/wife, and children (sons and daughters). This includes the soldier as a son and the soldier as a husband/father. This was the most common form of the family in the Roman world.<sup>3061</sup> It is especially significant for the Roman soldier, posted away from home, and thus making his own new family wherever he was posted, away from his parents and extended family (see section 8.3). This isolated aspect of the Roman soldier’s family must have made them particularly important to him, and thus made the family closer, not only for practical reasons (they would have relied on him for money, presumably), but also for emotional reasons (they would have been all each other had in terms of blood relations).

It is easier to determine the legal status and/or origins of the soldier more than his ‘spouse’, as these are often stated, through his name, or where he was born, for example. Although, in many cases these women were of non-Roman/Italic descent (see **RD.2**, for example), and it appears that the soldier met her during his time on active service. There are three main themes discussed in the verse part of inscriptions for soldiers’ wives: the age of the deceased, her relationship with her husband (including how long she was married to him, and the nature of their marriage), and if she had any children, thus exhibiting the main qualities that were expected of a virtuous woman in the Roman world. Sometimes, all we find out about a soldier from these inscriptions is his relationship with his wife; perhaps they had no children, or their children are unnamed. Monuments ‘by’ a soldier for his wife tend to be shorter. Their verse inscriptions to their spouses reveal the level of intimacy and feelings the soldier-husbands and their military-wives had for each other. Perhaps their level of isolated support network brought them closer together, or it was simply that they loved one another, and they wished to express this in one final poem, that verbally abstract portrayal of emotion, for their loved one. In these isolated, created family units, it would have mainly been left up to either the wife or the husband, especially if they had no children, to organise the funeral and epitaph for the deceased; as seen in these examples of epitaphs for their wives, the soldier organised, and perhaps contributed to it is composition, the erection of these verse epitaphs. These also express the affection that soldiers had for their wives.

### RD.5

*D(is) M(anibus).* |

*T(itus) Iul(ius) Satur|nin(us) vet(eranus) ex dec(urione) | coh(ortis) II Aur(eliae) Dar(danorum)*  
| *sibi viv<o> et Ovi|diae Pudentil|lae coniugi ka|rissimae.*

*Cum | qua conubio | stabili quin|quagint(a) an|nos, (vac.)*  
*sine | sece(vac.)s(vac.)su, | dulciter | egit. |*

### ET.20

*D(is) M(anibus).* |

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<sup>3061</sup> Saller & Shaw 1984: 124.

*Vivite felices nostris|que profundite Manis |  
et memores sitis nobis|cum vos esse futuros. |*

*Seviae Aquilinae con|iugi Aur(elius) Marinus b(ene)ff(iciarius) | b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit). |*

## ET.58

*D(is) M(anibus). |*

*Gargiliae Honoratae Salditanae.*

*Vix[it ---] | annos sine crimine ullo.*

*vivite mortu[les. ---] | omnibus instat. discite, qui legitis.*

*ego [---] | Herinnius Rogatus ses'q'uplicarius cla[ssis ---] |*

*maritae meae (vac.) dignae et meritae.*

*Gargi[lia, terra] | (vac.) tibi (vac.) levis (vac.) sit (vac.)*

Partnerships were not always described using marital language, although this is far less frequent. To be recognised as someone's partner was sometimes denoted using the genitive of their partner's name, as seen in **ET.75** which was by an auxiliary soldier for his partner:

*Paulla Ti(berii) | Iuli S<e>lvani | ex c(o)hor(te) Sur(orum) | anno(s) XXIIIX | h(ic) s(ita) e(st).*

|

*(H)ospes si vacu(u)m | est tumuli, cog|noscere cas{s}us, |*

*perlege, nam mo|rtis [---] caus{s}a | dolenda fu{u}it. |*

*dic, rogo, nu<n>c, "iue|nis, sit tibi terra | levis." (vac.).*

Women were often married young, especially when the soldier was often a lot older than his wife. According to **RD.6**, Veturia was married to her husband (of unspecified age, but he held the rank of *centurio* in the *Legio II Adiutrix Pia Fidelis*), when she was fifteen, and she died at the age of twenty seven. She is described in ideal terms for a Roman woman, i.e. she was married, and lay with, only one man. This also displays the discrepancies between men and women concerning 'virtuous' sexual conduct in the Roman world, both 'linked ... conceptually under the term *pudicitia*': 'a Roman *matrona* could properly employ her body sexually with only one man, her husband, and was ideally to remain his widow for the rest of her life, as the honorific funerary epithet *univira* ('wife of one man') indicates. A Roman man, however, could licitly engage in sex not only with his wife, but also with anyone who was not a Roman citizen regardless of that person's sex or age'.<sup>3062</sup> *Pudicitia* is now translated as 'chastity', but it:<sup>3063</sup>

is better paraphrased as the proper sexual employment of one's body. In the case of a Roman man, the proper employment was nuanced. While he could – and was even expected to – engage in sex with his wife, with a prostitute, or even with a male or female slave of any age, he was not to do so with another Roman citizen, male or female, of any age. If he did so, ... he violated that citizen's *pudicitia* and committed *stuprum* ... [which] was both a crime and a disgraceful act that could be committed only on free-born Romans

<sup>3062</sup> Sebesta 2005: 114. See discussion above.

<sup>3063</sup> *Ibid.*

## RD.6

*Hic sita sum, matrona genus nomen|que, Veturia  
Fortunati coniux. de patre Vetu|rio nata,  
ter novenos misera et nupta bis octo | per annos.  
unicuba uniuga, quae post | sex partus, uno superstite obii. |*

*T(itus) Iulius Fortunatus (centurio) leg(ionis) II Ad(iutricis) P(iae) F(idelis) | coniugi  
incomparabili et insigni in se pietate.*

**ET.71** is an epitaph for a centurion, who was married to a freedwoman, who both died from the same illness:

*T(itus) Acclenus T(iti) f(ilius) Qui(rina) cent[u(rio)]. | Annia T(iti) l(iberta) (vac.) Helena  
(vac.) uxor. |*

*Frugi summa qum probitate | fide magna.  
concordes indigne | morbo excruciatu morte obierunt. ||*

*D(ecimus) Vergilius Amaranthus a(nnos) LXXX.*

Very rarely, these soldiers describe how much they spent on these memorials, thus indicating they had a lot of money to spend on epitaphs for their family members, as seen in **ET.47** and **RD.11**:

## ET.47

*D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum). |*

*Valeriae Manili|ae carae adq(ue) dul|cissimae mulieri et | incomparabili | adfectu meren|ti  
coniugi quae v(ixit) a(nnos) | XXXVIII. Fl(avius) Impe|tratus vet(eranus) mari|tus eius ex  
(sestertium) mille | n(ummum) fec(it).*

*Et si qui | praeteriens le|geris, peto dicas, |  
“Manilia dulcis, | sit tibi terra | levis.”*

## RD.11

*C(aius) Iul(ius) Martialis vet(eranus).*

*Has sedes genitor, dum vita [---] |  
pietat[iq]ue simul persanctae coniugis ipse. |*

*Iuliae Victor[inae ---] | ann(is) L[---] [---]II diebusque et Iuliorum Rogati et Quintae  
lib[erorum. ---] | praeventis constituit cum Iuliis Martiale Caninia [---] | simul depensa sexs et  
XX (millia) n(ummorum). |*

*ann(os) agens vitae bis quadra[ginta ---]. |*

Memorials were often created by the wife/husband of the deceased in a joint collaboration with their child/ren. This is seen in military and civilian inscriptions (see **NW.11**, for an instance of this in a civilian inscription). However, the children only tend to be mentioned, whereas the spouse is exhibited as the creator of the monument, as seen in, for example (see also the discussion on parents burying their children in Chapter 3):

## RD.9

*D(is) M(anibus). |*

*H'i`c sita est (vac.) Paterna post annos VIII et XX |  
sanctae casta fide (vac.) post pignora certa. (vac.) |  
gnatum memoriae statuit haec prima | cubil'e`.  
coniugis (vac.) obsequio, (vac.) meruit (vac.) | in munere functae (vac.) sep{h}ulc(h)rum  
(vac.) | dignum pro meritis a coniuge amante{m}, |  
perciperet titulum suo nomine testans. |  
me Germana creat tellus (vac.) m'i`seram, |  
qu'a`m nunc hic (vac.) Fabia terra (vac.) tegit. (vac.) |  
nunc rogo, si colitis Manes, cuncti | meo nomini tantum  
terra(m) leve(m) optetis. | vobis nunc dii fortuna beata{m} (vac.) |  
et semper ho<no>rata{m} (vac.) praestent (vac.) | suo numine (vac.) sancto libentes (vac.) |  
ex qua possitis obiti bene linquere natos.*

*M(arcus) Aurel(ius) Diascentus vet(eranus) Aug(usti) n(ostri) | cum M(arco) Aur(elio)  
Antiochiano fil(io) coniu|gi inco`m`parabili b(ene) m(erenti) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt). |*

When the child's profession was mentioned, they were an adult, contributing to the everlasting monument of their parent, alongside their, often, only remaining parent:

## RD.2:

*[Vi]rginiae<sup>3064</sup> Marius Vitalis coniunx (centurio) leg(ionis) | et Marius Nigidianus fil(ius)  
q(uaestor).*

*matri e lon|ginq(uo) adportatae et hic conditae.  
sex et | triginta ann(os) vixit. inculpata marito  
ob|sequio raro solo contenta marito. |*

## ET.11

*"Ha[ve] Taurici." salus sis homo bon[e], quoniam  
me saluasti. | perlege et dicam tibi,*

*C(aio) Tauricio Vero vet(erano) ex b(ene)f(iciario) co(n)s(ularis) eques|tris militiae petitori  
Tauriciu[s] Ver|ulus filius et heres | et Iulia Ingenua coniux et vo[lunta]te testamenti |  
faciundum curaverunt.*

*Heredes et amici hic | ego vos specto [---]NET.*

Wives were left widowed with children. The cause of their soldier-husband's death is hardly mentioned, and it would be unwise to always attribute it to warfare. In **ET.68**, Philete mourns the death of her husband, who was a veteran of the Praetorian Guard. Her love for her husband, who is the only person in these inscriptions to address her husband as her *amor* ('lover', 7), as well as *coniunx* (4), is clear. The great grief his loss has caused to his wife and twin children is poignant, and his children appear to be captivated by the likeness of their father, either a relief

<sup>3064</sup> It is debated whether her name was Virginia, or if this is describing her as a 'virgin'. If the latter, this would make it a Christian inscription. This is a rather late inscription for this data set, so it is not outside the realm of possibility, but, given the lack of any other name, it seems more likely that this was her name. For discussion on this debate, see, for example, *AE* 1999.1125 and *CIL* XVIII 5385.

or a statue, that may have accompanied this inscription (8), perhaps because they thought it was so accurate. In this inscription, Philete describes her husband as the foundation of their family, of their future (1), and so presenting the idea that families began with fathers:

*D(is) M(anibus). |*

*L(uci) Vafrii L(uci) f(ili) | Clementis | vet(erani) coh(ortis) X pr(aetoriae). | Aelia Philete | coniugi desi|derantissim(o). |*

*Salve care mihi coniunx | dilecta propago, |  
condite perpetuis tumulis | sine lucis hiatu. |  
defleo te. puto nec satis est | decerpere crinis. |  
nunc neque te video, nec | amor satiatur amantis. |  
deflent et gemini, genito|ris imagine capti, |  
et coniunx misera | finem depono dolori. |*

Philete is not the only wife who passionately grieves her husband. In **LL.1**, a wife of a *veteranus* of a, now unknown, legion wished for death, so that she might join him, and she wished to see him in a vision/as a ghost. He brought light to her life, and his loss meant:

*... haec tibi sola domus [---] |  
semper in perpetuo vale mihi | carissime coniunx.*

In **RD.4**, a legionary who had served in the *Legio XXX Ulpia Victrix*, of unspecified rank, was commemorated by his wife and son, who were his heirs. Does his son's name perhaps indicate his peregrine status?

*D(is) M(anibus). |*

*L(uci) Sept(im)i Muciani m(issi) h(onesta) m(issione) | ex leg(ione) XXX U(lpia) V(ictrice) P(ia) F(ideli) dom(o) | Philippopoli.*

*Qui sexsies | denos animam sine | crimine pertulit anno<s>. |*

*L(ucius) Sept(imius) Peregrinus fil(ius) et | Secundinia Iusta uxor | her(edes) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt) et s(ub) a(scia) d(edicaverunt). |*

**RD.4**, 'en que describe una movilidad inusual en la familia del propio difunto ... el hijo, que nació en Xanten', as we find out from another inscription, and, despite stating the exact city he came from, Mucianus chose to stay, with his wife and son, near where he had been garrisoned during his service.<sup>3065</sup> The line of verse here, as seen in other poetic inscriptions where the verse is brief (see some of the examples cited in Chapter 3), is difficult to distinguish from the prose, making it almost poetic prose or prosaic verse,<sup>3066</sup> especially as numeric information (the age of the deceased) is included here. The verse part of **RD.4** is identical to **RD.3**, except where the age of the deceased soldier is specified: **RD.3** reads *Qui sep|ties denos animam | sine crimine pertu|lit annos* ('he who lived for seventy years without blame', 3). *Sine crimine* is often found in inscriptions, so perhaps this is not so surprising. The rest of the wording for the prose sections are also almost identical, apart from when they specify personal aspects individual to each soldier. Both soldiers were from Philippopolis, the capital of Thracia, and these two inscriptions were found in Lugudunum, Lugudunensis. But they served in different legions: Florus, the

<sup>3065</sup> Fernández Martínez 2016 on *CLEO* L011; Fernández Martínez 2020: 142.

<sup>3066</sup> Fernández Martínez 2020: 144-145.

soldier in **RD.3** was a veteran who had served as a *beneficiarius procuratoris* in the *Legio I Minerva Pia Fidelis*, and Mucianus served in the *Legio XXX Ulpia Victrix Pia Fidelis*.

The monuments themselves look similar aesthetically, but their dates are slightly different: **RD.4** is from the first half of the third century, whereas **RD.3** is from the early to late third century. It has been conjectured that **RD.3** was the inspiration for **RD.4**.<sup>3067</sup> Perhaps these two soldiers, of similar origins and garrisoned in the same place, knew each other. After all, both died when they were veterans, so it is not unlikely that they could have interacted with one another, and there was only ten years difference between their ages at death. To suggest that they were friends who knew each other before service and joined the military at the same time is a step too far, although it is not an unlikely conjecture that these two men knew each other; someone would surely have told one of them about the existence of someone else from the same place. Perhaps this repeated wording was for the familiarity, in solidarity with someone who had come from the same place, perhaps even a way of their families honouring their friendship.

In what may be perceived as tragic irony, considering their occupation, sometimes it was the soldier who had to bury his entire family:

### ET.23

*D(is) M(anibus). |*

*Augustaniae Cassiae Marciae | coniugi incomparabili quae | vixit annos XXXVIII mens(es) XI dies | XIII.*

*Quaequae, dum explesset Fa|ti sui laborem, meliora sibi spe|rans vitam functa est.*

*Et | M(arco) Ant(onio) Augustanio Phileto filio | innocentiss(imo) q(ui) v(ixit) ann(os) III mens(es) VIII | dies X.*

*Cui dii nefandi parvulo contra | vot(a) genitor(um) vita privaverunt.*

*M(arcus) Ant(oninus) Basilides frum(entarius) leg(ionis) X Gem(inae) | coniugi et filio pientissimis. | Simpliciter Urani vobi|s terra leve. ||*

*Felix | Itala.*

We see soldier-sons making monuments for their parents (**ET.46**, for example), and parents (including military-fathers) making these monuments for their children (such as, **ET.31**, **ET.45**, **ET.70**, **ET.16**, **LL.6**, **ET.15**, **AI.1**). Monuments such as **ET.40** were created by the child of a soldier (in this instance, a son for his father who had had some military service) for a soldier. Children of soldiers are sometimes described as just that: the child of a soldier, with no other description regarding their lives or career. This indicates the prestige bestowed upon the family of a soldier, as well as reinforcing who their parent was, as this was clearly a significant identification feature for their parent (as seen in, for example, **ET.50** and **ET.51**). In **RI.5**, Cassius' own self identity, not one imposed on those burying him, as he set up this religious inscription himself, is expressed through his parental military connections, as he describes

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<sup>3067</sup> See Fernández Martínez 2017 on *CLEO* L010. See also Fernández Martínez 2020: 140-145 for comments on these inscriptions.



himself as *optionis f(ilius)* ('son of an optio'), which highlights the importance of this military affiliation, not just for the soldier, but for his whole family.

In **ET.27**, a young boy is described as the son of a soldier of the *Legio XV Apollinaris*. This, now unnamed, soldier was the sole parent of his son, who is specified as being brought up without a mother:<sup>3068</sup>

*Festio [---] | Longini | Iulli mil(itis) leg(ionis) | XV Apol(linaris) f(ilius). h(ic) s(itus) e(st). | an(norum) V.*

*Nutritu[s] |  
sine matre, |  
salivis suis. |  
spes et corona |  
fuit patris sui. |  
Fatus et Fortuna |  
iniquiter iudicavit. |*

*p(ater) f(aciendum) c(uravit).*

This soldier of *Legio XV Apollinaris* was not the only single parent soldier, as seen in **LL.2**:

*Parvolus | hic situs est. | Ulp(ius) Iovinus | nomine qui vi|xit ann(os) V m(enses) VI | d(ies) XXIII.*

*Hic solus | pater hunc hu|nav[i]t parvolum, |  
cuius de[s]iderio | lumen intentus | dolet.*

*Ulp(ius) Vale|rianus b(ene)f(iciarius) leg(ati) pa|ter a quo sibi sperab(at). |*

As seen in Chapter 3, section 3.2.3, where parents had to conduct what was felt to be the duty of the child, i.e. bury them, many of these inscriptions were of parents burying their soldier-son, and/or setting up a permanent memorial to him when his remains were unable to be sent home.

In **ET.6**, a soldier (a *decurio* of the *cohors II Alpina*) and his son are buried by his wife (she describes her husband as *vir*). Yet, this is only known from the prose part of this inscription: the verse is wholly about the son. This exhibits the emphasis on the tragedy of a son/child dying, and the future his death takes away, even when their parent has died too, and is commemorated in the same inscription.

The hope that children could bring, not only by continuing the family with children of their own, but also through obtaining honours that could be bestowed onto the family through military service is highlighted in **ET.60**, an epitaph to an infant, whose death eradicated his father's hopes for future military victories (see also the discussion on this inscription below), and his mother, who appears to have died in childbirth:

*[---] Marcio Frugi | [---] Marciae L(uci) f(iliae) Cypare. |*

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<sup>3068</sup> *Salivis suis* is translated as 'with his own saliva', due to the nature of young children having their food chewed for them (see, for example, Zarker 1958.8; Massaro 2023: 12), although it is tempting to translate this as 'without her own [i.e. his mother's] milk'. See also Kruschwitz's discussion of this inscription (2002, esp. 196). Mosser interprets this as the mother dying in childbirth (2003: 251).

[N]on te qui properas viator ire, |  
 [tr]istes (h)endecasyllabi tenebunt. |  
 [q]uit credas homo tempori futur[o], |  
 [p]aucis hic tibi casus indicabit. |  
 [d]ulci pondere cum gravata | [m]ater  
 incluso utero decem k(alendas) |  
 [ga]udebat pueri ededissee partus, |  
 [vo]tis iamque pater deos rogabat  
 ut | [p]rimos pueri videret annos  
 mox cas|[t]ris iuvenem daret legendum,  
 For|[t]una dum magna studet aemulare. |

### 8.3. Blood and Extended Family

‘Blood family’ refers to the family beyond the nuclear, but who are, in many instances, more directly related (i.e. a brother and a sister, or a mother and a son). This include brothers, sisters, mothers, fathers, and, in one instance, a grandson. ‘Extended family’ include in-laws. Some of these inscriptions cross over with ones seen in the previous section: for example, **LL.4**, includes the husband (an *equites singulares*) and his father-in-law burying the soldier’s wife, and the father-in-law’s daughter, and refers to the soldier’s deceased daughter and living son

**RD.8** was intended for five people, and four of them are depicted visually in reliefs on the monument, the fifth verbally in verse. The verse inscription is for Salvius only (it mentions the other four, 5-6); perhaps there was no room for a fifth bust on the monument, so Asclepiades decided to depict Salvius in verse, that more artistic form of writing, whilst his other loved ones were depicted visually. Even with this elaborate epitaph, by far one of the most visually striking and artistic as well as with one of the most moving verse inscriptions in this data set, Asclepiades still feels it is insufficient, not what his family deserves (5). Due to the fragmentary nature of the beginning prose part of this inscription, we no longer have the names of the four other people, so we cannot be sure who they were or what relation they bore to Asclepiades and/or Salvius. But it appears that Asclepiades was Salvius’ father, and was, in some way, related to the other three people depicted on the monument. For Massaro, this monument was ‘nella espressione del dolore personale di un uomo che con questo giovane perde il quinto dei suoi cari (moglie e altri figli?), e con lui la casa, già vacillante, *recumbit*, “crolla distesa”’;<sup>3069</sup> this being a monument to his wife and children is logical, as Asclepiades appears to have been the sole surviving member of his household after Salvius’ death. This also demonstrates the familial background from which a soldier could originate, as Asclepiades’ status and profession are undefined, but his name indicates he was of freedman status. It was found in Sirmium, a *colonia* with military connections: it was once a military base in the first century, and ‘it possessed an imperial arms factory (*Not. Dign.* [occ.] 9. 18), was a fleet station (ibid. 32, 50), and the site of an imperial mint’ in the fourth century.<sup>3070</sup> This may explain how and why Asclepiades was inhabiting a military space, despite his son serving in the military; perhaps they lived there before, and Salvius joined the local military force.

### RD.8

*D(is) M(anibus).* |

<sup>3069</sup> Massaro 2023: 34.

<sup>3070</sup> Wilkes 2012c: 1373.

[-----] | XXXVII. *Salvio ann(orum) XXXIII frum(entario) leg(ionis) II Adi(utricis).* | *Iul(ius) Asclepiades caris suis.*

*Hunc titul(um) | posui miserabile munus  
non satis | ut meruistis.  
quattor amissis, te quin|tum Salvi flere necesse est  
adsiduae, | dum mea Fata resistant.  
te nunc amis|so, domus inclinata recumbit.  
depon<am> | luctus cum te sequar care per umbr<as>. |  
“dulce(m) meum Salvium,” liceat mihi dic<e>r<e> | semper.  
optaver<am> tumul(um) tu mihi ut facer<es>. |  
tot bona tum carui. merit<o> te care requiro. |*

**RD.8** is a moving inscription, one of the more emotional than the other epitaphs in this data set. The affectionate address of his family, particularly of his son, reinforces Asclepiades' mourning and loss, and the great emotion that losing them, all of them, it seems in a short space of time, became too much for him. His grief, he states, shall not cease until he rejoins his son, and therefore presumably his whole family, in the Underworld. His family were the *bona* ('good things', 12) in his life, and he says that it is right that he should miss his son (12), which implies that others, like Cicero's grief at the loss of his daughter, had criticised the intensity, and intense expression, of Asclepiades' grief. Asclepiades openly misses Salvius, his grief so intense at having lost five of his family members, how we do not know, that he appears to have been compelled to write a verse epitaph for the latest in his loss of loved ones: the *frumentarius* of the *Legio II Adiutrix*, his son, Salvius. This poetic epitaph can be said to depict the breaking point of Asclepiades' grief at losing what appears to be his entire family. The others were likely to have also been named on this epitaph, as it depicts four people, three men and one woman, and although all that now remains complete in the prose section is the information about Salvius, before this is the number 37, which implies that this was the age of another deceased, another of Asclepiades' *cari* ('dear ones', 3), who had been listed before Salvius. Salvius is only addressed by his *cognomen*, which also presents the familiarity with the deceased. But it was the loss of Salvius, his information coming last in the prose section of this inscription implying that the names of the deceased had been listed in the order in which they had died, that motivated Asclepiades to write this verse epitaph, and/or that Salvius was not able to have his bust depicted on the monument. It is indicated that the loss of Salvius meant there was no future for this household: *te nunc amis|so, domus inclinata recumbit* ('Now you are gone, my house, falling, subsides', 8), i.e. there was no one left to continue their family line, and how a *domus* was not only the house within which they lived, but the people who lived within that domicile, i.e. a *domus* was not only a home, but a family.

This inscription both fits with the themes seen in inscriptions from a parent for their child, for example, Salvius is addressed as *dulce(m)* (10), a rather childish nickname for a thirty three year old meaning 'sweet', Asclepiades states *optaver<am> tumul(um) tu mihi ut facer<es>* ('I had hoped that you would make a tomb for me', 11), and the future of their family has died with the loss of the final descendant of this household. But **RD.8** also defies the themes seen in these inscriptions, for it is more emotive, more expressive, more openly affectionate, not only grieving, than other parent-child epitaphs seen previously here. Asclepiades also addresses Salvius affectionately, more so than the stock epithets of *pientissimus* and *dulcissimus* often seen on children's inscriptions by their parents. The sentiment "*dulce(m) meum Salvium,*" *liceat mihi dic<e>r<e> | semper* ('May I always be allowed to call you, "Salvius, my sweet

boy””, 10),<sup>3071</sup> is curious: *dulcis* is often used as an affectionate nickname for a younger child, not an adult. Perhaps Salvius, as an adult, found the nickname juvenile and objected to it; but now he can no longer object to his father calling him that. Also, Asclepiades can always address Salvius this way literally, as stone epitaphs were put up for the sake of immortality, they were expected by the commissioner to be read aloud by the passer-by, and this verse inscription is addressed to Salvius by Asclepiades. The amount of times Asclepiades addresses Salvius as *care* (‘dear’) makes it seem as if he is relishing in the opportunity, or he is compensating for Salvius not having his bust depicted on the monument, like the rest of his family; just because he was not depicted visually does not mean that his father cared for him any less. Alternatively, he now addresses him as such because that was how he addressed all his family members: Asclepiades states he set this inscription up *caris suis*, (‘for his dear ones’, 2), which is an affectionate address not often seen stated in this way. Or, encompassing all these options, he is perhaps seizing the opportunity to talk to Salvius, to address his son as such for the last time. Epitaphs and funerals are seen as a final goodbye to the deceased, and this is Asclepiades’ final farewell to his son, as the last surviving member of his family.

In **ET.55**, we see a father composing the verse memorial to his son, and he blames Fortune for not letting his son be the one to do this for him (see Chapter 3). The language is not dissimilar to that in **RD.8** in feeling.

[---] *pro[batus in] | armis [---]. |*  
*occidit [in] | bello Num[id]um, veri[tatis] | amator (vac.) |*  
*hos patr[ ---] | inscripsi v[er]sus dictante | dolore (vac.)*  
*Fortuna(m) incu[sans quod | non mihi ta[lia] | natus (vac.) |*  
*composuit C+++ | +++ | [---] ‘t’riste | dicavit. (vac.) |*

As is often seen in these verse inscriptions, both by civilians who had a military member in their family, and by soldiers themselves for their own families, are group memorials designed to house their whole family, instigated by the death of one/a few individual/s to whom the verse inscription is dedicated, and any future descendants, after their demise. In **AI.1** and **NW.5**, for example, it is implied that family members were buried together; although the boys in **AI.1** were cousins, they are described as being *ut frater* (‘like [a] brother[s]’, 11), and they were buried in the same family tomb, and the boys in **NW.5**, although they were not related, but were both slaves of Aurelius Sanctinus, *diversisque lo[cis]* (‘and [born in] different places’, 5), *ac si fraterna sti[rpe, ---] | / [aeq]uali Tiburti ponde[re ---]* (‘as if they were brothers, they are buried under the same weight of Tiburtine [stone]’, 9-10). Thus those with a close relationship, even if there were no direct blood ties, were considered as family, even to the extent that they were buried together. This may also explain the apparent closeness of many of the soldiers towards each other as expressed in these inscriptions. Soldiers called each other *frater* and this may have had more emotional significance and meaning than just an equivalent of ‘brother’ as a sort of informal title or form of address.

Such examples of family group inscriptions include:

## **RD.11**

*C(aius) Iul(ius) Martialis vet(eranus).*

<sup>3071</sup> See also Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi’s comments on this inscription (2007.50).

*Has sedes genitor, dum vita [---] |  
pietat[iq]ue simul persanctae coniugis ipse. |*

*Iuliae Victor[inae ---] | ann(is) L[---] [---]II diebusque et Iuliorum Rogati et Quintae  
lib[erorum. ---] | praeventis constituit cum Iuliis Martiale Caninia [---] | simul depensa sexs et  
XX (millia) n(ummorum). |*

*ann(os) agens vitae bis quadra[ginta ---]. |*

### ET.39

*Innocuus Aper ecce iaces non virginis ira,  
nec Meleager | atrox perfodit viscera ferro.  
mors tacita obrepsit subito fecitq(ue) | ruinam  
quae tibi crescenti rapuit iuvenile(m) figuram. |*

*T(ito) Statilio Vol(tinia) Apro mensori | aedificior(um). vixit ann(os) XXII m(enses) VIII d(ies)  
XV. | T(itus) Statilius Vol(tinia) Proculus | accensus velatus et Argentaria | Eutychia parentes  
filio optumo et | Orciviae Anthidi uxori eius sibiq(ue) et suis | libertis libertabus posterisque  
eorum. |*

### ET.62

*Qui dum vita datast semper vivebat avarus  
heredi parcens, invidus ipse sibi. |  
hic accumbentem sculpti genialiter arte  
se iussit docta post sua fata manu, |  
ut saltem recubans in morte quiescere posset,  
securaque iacens ille quiete frui. |  
filius a dextra residet, qui castra secutus,  
occidit ante patris funera maesta sui. |  
sed quid defunctis prodest genialis imago?  
hoc potius ritu vivere debuerant. |*

*(vac.) C(aius) Rubrius Urbanus sibi et Antoniae (vac.) | (vac.) Domesticae coniugi suae et  
Cn(aeo) Domitio (vac.) | (vac.) Urbico Rubriano filio suo et libertis (vac.) | (vac.) libertabusque  
posterique eorum et M(arco) (vac.) | (vac.) Antonio Daphno fecit (vac.).*

For some, it seems as if the fact that this was a memorial to man with military experience was enough to bestow an immortal memory upon those who were immortalised on the tomb with him:

### ET.28

*D(is) M(anibus). |*

*M(arci) Antonii Antii Lupi pr(aetoris) | patricii auguris quaest(or)is sodal(is) Titii trib(uni) |  
mil(itum) leg(ionis) II Adiutr(icis) Piaae Fidel(is) Xvir(i) stl(itibus) iud(icandis) praef(ecti)  
fer(iarum) | Lat(inarum), cuius memoria per vim oppressi in | integrum secundum amplissimi  
ordinis | co(n)sultum restituta est. sepulchrum ab eo coeptum | Claudiae Regillae uxori et  
Antiae Marcellinae fil(iae) | pietatis suae erga eum testificandae gratia, et | nominis eius in  
perpetuum celebrandi. perfecerunt atfines | M(arcus) Valerius Bradua Mauricus pontif(ex) et  
Antonia Vitellia | amici | Q(uintus) Fabius Honoratus T(itus) Annaeus Placidus. |*

Although the verse may be brief, the accompanying prose is enough to reveal the tragedy that some people had to face: of burying nearly their entire family. Ursicina, in **ET.24**, who had to bury her brother, daughter and husband in one tomb. As both her brother and husband were in the military, it is likely that she met her husband through her brother's military connections, further highlighting how blood family could also be involved in a soldier's military life and relationship connections. Perhaps Ursinus and Ursicina had grown up in the military environment, and remained in it when they were adults. Firmus was her husband, further highlighting the age gap between soldiers and their wives; we can estimate that Ursicina was closer in age to her twenty five year old brother, especially given she had an eight year old daughter:

*D(is) M(anibus). |*

*Val(erius) Ursinus ducenarius q|ui vixit ann(os) XXV m(enses) III dies V, Aurel(ia) Firmilla filia quae vixit ann(os) | VIII m(enses) III dies V, et Fl(avius) Firmus mil(es) l(eg)ionis I Ad(iutricis) qui vixit a`nn(os) XLV m(enses) V d(ies) VII. Aurel(ia) Ursicina fratr|i et filiae et coniugi suo ben[e merentib[us] sepul[crum] | faciendu[m] c]uravit.*

*Viv[it]e felices qui b`u`s` est Fortu|na beata.*

Inscriptions such as these demonstrate the variety in family dynamics, for this goes beyond the nuclear family, but also extends into Ursicina's blood family. In **LL.4**, Marcellina is remembered by her husband and father; her epitaph was found in Rome, explained by her husband's, Victorinus', service in the *equites singulares*, yet he was of Pannonian origins, and her father, and therefore (at least partly) Marcellina, was of Thracian origin. Perhaps her mother, who is also mentioned in **LL.4** was also of Thracian origin. These inscriptions, also exhibit the mobility not only of military men, but of military families and of those who chose to accompany them, for Marcellina's (and, therefore, presumably also Victorinus') son is also mentioned in this inscription.

There were military families, where fathers and sons were soldiers in the Roman military. In **ET.26**, for example, in a moving verse inscription in which she laments her loss, Marcella has to bury her brother, a soldier in the Praetorian Guard and died on active service, and her mother. Her and Clemens' father is mentioned, although he was not involved in erecting this monument for his son and wife, so presumably he had already passed away, and he was an *evocatus*:

*Veiania Hospita | ann(or)um XLV h(ic) s(ita) e(st), et | L(ucius) Fabricius | Clemens mil(es) coh(ortis) I praetor(iae) | L(uci) Fabrici evoc(ati) f(ilius) qui decessit in praet(or)io | ann(or)um XXIX stip(endiorum) VIII. Fabricia | L(uci) f(ilia) Marcella matri suae et fratri | posuit. |*

*Felix terra precor leviter super | ossa residas |  
matris et et fra|tris, comprecor ecce soror. |  
pars iacet ipsa mei maior gemitque dolorem. (vacat) |  
filia | matri simul fratre iacent filio. |  
[co]mprecor ut, "vobis sit pia terra levis." |*

The elder sister of an *eques* of the *ala Vocontiorum*, called Treverus, was his heir (**ET.65**), and thus made his epitaph for him. Presumably, this is because she was the sole surviving member of their family:

*Silvano Loupi f(ilio) Trever(o) | eq(uiti) ala Vocont(iorum). an(norum) XXX | stip(endorum) XII, et vivis Primae | sorori eius hered(es) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt). |*

*Vos, rogitat, quaeso, soror unica | fratris amantis  
ni dissigilletis | nive violetis opus. |*

An attitude of pride in service and devastation at the death of a family member linked to their military service is seen in **LL.7**. This is not an uncommon attitude, as it is seen in, for example, **ET.7**, but it is interesting when it is discussed in a military family, i.e. by those who would have been more familiar with this environment and its dangers than a civilian family. In **LL.7**, an *equites singulares* is commemorated by his heirs, both of whom were *equites singulares*, and one of whom was his cousin. It is not clear whether Antoninus or Victorinus was his cousin, and it must surely be only one of them, as the opening lines in which it is declared this was put up for ‘my cousin’ are in the first person singular:

*Respice, praeteriens viator consobrini | pietate parata.  
cum lacrimis statui, quan|to in munere posto videtis.  
Pannonia terra | creat, tumulat Italia tellus  
ann(is) XXVI. ut sibi | castris honorem a`d`quireret ipse,  
dolori ma[g]|no substentavit tempore longo.  
postea, cum | sperans dolorem effugisse nefandam,  
ante | diem meritum hunc demersit at Styga Pluton. |  
quotsi Fata eo sinuissent luce(m) videre, (vac.) |  
ista prius triste munus posui dolori, repletus |  
munus inane quidem. terra nunc dividit ista |  
oss{u}a sub titulo potius. tu opta viator  
cum pie|tate tua ipso terra leve nobis Fortuna beata, |  
ex qua tu possis obitus bene linquere natos. |*

*Val(erius) Antoninus et Aur(elius) Victorinus hered(es) | Ulpio Quintiano eq(uiti) sing(ulari) ben(e) mer(enti) posuer(unt). |*

In Chapter 3, it was questioned why a grandson would need to be prompted to erect **ET.74** for his grandfather, *instantibus contubernalibus* (‘upon the insistence of his tent-mates’, 11); the wording of the inscription is unclear about whose tent-mates these are, as his grandfather appears to have been a *tribunus*, and, it is implied, still on active service. It could be as it was suggested in Chapter 3: that this was influenced by local traditions, and through family/cultural inheritance. Alternatively, the tent-mates of the grandson, who could have also been in the Roman military, could have pressured him to bury his grandfather, reminding him of his duty to his family members, to his once *pater familias*; without knowing whose tent-mates these were, it is difficult to be sure. But it could be due to Roman law. According to Saller & Shaw, ‘if the testator specified no legatee [for commemoration], by law the financial responsibility for reasonable costs of burial and a memorial lay with the heir’.<sup>3072</sup> In their examination of legal documents, ‘the juristic discussion reveals that here popular sentiment was stronger than the legal rule: burial and commemoration were so closely associated with heirship in the minds of Romans that onlookers automatically assumed that the person overseeing the burial was *ipso facto* signalling his decision to enter into the inheritance’.<sup>3073</sup> Maximianus could have delayed

<sup>3072</sup> Saller & Shaw 1984: 126.

<sup>3073</sup> *Ibid.*

erecting this monument for his grandfather, who, by implication, Maximianus was his grandfather's sole living male relative:<sup>3074</sup>

in spite of this legal protection some prospective heirs still refused to participate in the burial of the testator out of fear that they would be thought to have accepted. Ulpian states that in such circumstances sons should see to the burial as a filial duty [Dig. 11.7.4]. Sons in this position apparently tried to protect themselves from the assumption that they were acting as heirs by a public declaration that they were 'moved by feelings of duty' [Dig. 11.7.14.8; on filial duty overriding heirship see Dig. 11.7.14.13]. Where designated legatees, heirs and sons were not available or not willing to undertake burial, the law stipulated that intestate successors or *cognati* in order of degree of relationship do so. In sum, the statements in the Digest suggest that where the deceased is associated with a named commemorator (and by no means all Romans were commemorated), the latter is very likely to be the heir or, failing that, the family member thought to be tied by the strongest bond of duty.

Perhaps Maximianus' grandfather had made both his grandson and his comrades his heirs, but his comrades felt that it was Maximianus' family duty to erect an inscription to him.

Soldiers also made monuments for their fathers-in-law, and vice versa. We have one instance of a monument made for a soldier by his father-in-law, who was the arbiter of his will. Perhaps he was his only surviving, and nearest, relative:

#### ET.44

*D(is) M(anibus).* |

*L(ucio) Alfidio Urbano trib(un)o mil(itum) | leg(ionis) VII G(eminae) P(iae) F(elicis) Antoninianae | homini in vita sua optimo | ex testamento eiusdem | arbiterio Corneli Rusti|ci soceri. (vac.)*

*Vive laetus, | qui<s>que vivis. vita parvo(m) mu|nus est,  
mox exorta est, sen|sim vigescit, deinde sen|sim deficit.*

In **ET.69**, a veteran, who had served as an *optio* in the *Legio III Augusta*, commemorated his father-in-law, who himself was a military man: he was a *veteranus*, perhaps also of the *Legio III Augusta*. One can only presume that they met, and that Alexander met his unnamed wife, through their shared military lives.

*D(is) M(anibus).* |

*M(arcus) Iul(ius) Alexander | veteranus leg(ionis) III | Aug(ustae) ex optione vix(it) | annis XLXV et di|xit, (vac.)*

*“Non fueras, | nunc es. iterum | nunc desines es|se.”*

*Hic situs est patri|ae. Q(uintus) Ventidi|us Afri|cus veter(anus) socro di||gnis|si|mo | fe|cit.*

The phrase *frater fratri* is common on inscriptions made by both brothers of soldiers and comrades of soldiers. In a military context, *frater* meant 'comrade', thus exhibiting the closeness that soldiers felt towards one another. On occasion, it is difficult to determine the true

<sup>3074</sup> Saller & Shaw 1984: 126, ns. 12 and 13.



nature of the relationship between the deceased and the *frater* dedicating it: were they their fellow-soldier, or actually their brother? In some cases, however, it is evident when *frater* meant a ‘brother related by blood’, especially when we examine their names:

#### ET.10

[T(itus) Ci]ssonius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Ser(gia) vet(eranus) | leg(ionis) V Gall(icae).

Dum vixi, | bibi libenter. bibite vos | qui vivitis. |

[P(ublius) Cissi]onius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Ser(gia) frater | fecit. |

This is also evident through their demonstration of knowledge of other family relations, and the rites they performed for them. In ET.12, for example, the brother of Oufentina put up a monument for him out of piety for his brother’s wife and son:

“Have Calventi.” Calv|entius te resalutat. | C(aius) Calventius (H)omul(l)i fil(ius) Ouf(entina) Med(iolanus) hic situs | est. ann(or)um XLIIIX. mil(es) leg(ionis) V | [st]ip(endiorum) XXIIIX. et coniugi et | [fili]o frater pro pietate. |

In the case of Cominius (ET.48), the evidence of his blood brothers burying him is apparent in his verse inscription, where the verse expresses his wish to be buried in his homeland, with his brothers, his family, but he was unable to be:

L(ucius) Cominius | T(iti) f(ilius) Romil(ia) | Firmus lixa | annor(um) XXV | h(ic) s(itus) e(st). | T(itus) et C(aius) Comini | fratri posuerunt. |

Cominius hic iaceo, | sed morte peremptu[s]. |  
[optab]am in patriam [---] | [---] cum fatribus. |  
[ve]rte quos liqui et | morti debita fata dedi. |  
o utinam Italiae poti|us mea Fata dedissent, |  
quam premeret cine[re[s] ---].

The devotion to the performance of rites, and the wish to be able to perform them, but the denial of family members to do so due to the fact that the soldier had died abroad, is demonstrated poignantly in ET.53. Here, it is not a parent who wishes to perform the funeral and burial rites for the deceased soldier, but his biological brother, again, evident through the contents of the verse inscription dedicated to Ancharenus.<sup>3075</sup> This is also apparent in his name: Quintus Ancharenus. As Ancharenus, the *miles* of the 7<sup>th</sup> legion remembered here, is described as *Quinti filius*, we can safely surmise that Quintus Ancharenus was Lucius Ancharenus’s elder brother:

L(ucius) Ancharenus Q(uinti) f(ilius) | Ser(gia) Laranda mil(es) | leg(ionis) VII ann(or)um XL stip(endiorum) XXI | h(ic) s(itus) e(st). |

Q(uintus) Ancharenus haec tan[quam] | posuit tibi  
dona frater, quia | longe a patria te  
cecidisse dolet. | optaram vivo potius  
dare vin[a] | me tibi, non obito care ferenda |  
tuo. si quicquam sentire potes, | [pro t]e<m>pore  
nostro damus haec | o[s]s[ss{u}a?], “sit tibi terra levis.”

<sup>3075</sup> See also Sanader et al.’s comments on this inscription (2010: 485).

*Frater | fratri posuit.*

#### 8.4. Friends, ‘Brothers’, and Comrades-in-Arms

This section includes dynamics demonstrated in these inscriptions that go beyond the nuclear, blood or extended family, by their friends, comrades, or ‘brothers’, i.e. we cannot always determine if they were their comrade or related by blood. Rossignol interprets the *fratri* of the legionaries posted at Mogontiacum to be primarily blood-brothers and thus, for his data set, believes that it should only be used of sibling brothers,<sup>3076</sup> but this is not always the case, and it is not always easy to identify the exact nature of the relationship between these *fratri*. Comrades of soldiers also commemorated and remembered them. For some soldiers, these people were probably their closest attachments, if they had not managed to make a family of their own. Their bonds to their comrades must have been great: they lived together in fortresses, marched together, fought together, and relied upon the mental, emotional and physical strength of their comrades in battle to stay alive, and to carry out their non-military duties. They had left their familial attachments and support behind when they had joined the military, probably, for some, for a better life; for some, that leap would have been daunting and they would have needed their comrades as support. The closeness between soldiers is demonstrated in these inscriptions. It has been wondered if soldiers addressed each other as such for reasons of inheritance,<sup>3077</sup> but why they would do this when the law preferred them over a soldier’s own family when it came to inheritance, and a soldier could make his own will?

Instances where exactly what *frater fratri* (or *frater* in general; i.e. as a comrade) means is evident in examples such as:

##### ET.64

*T(itus) Cominius | C(ai) f(ilius) R[oa]milia | Ateste miles | leg(ionis) XI anno|rum XL stip(endiorum) XVI | h(ic) s(itus) e(st). frater | fratri posuit. |*

*Vix{s}i quad potui, sem|per bene pauper honest(vac.)e(vac.). |  
[fr]audavi nullum. nunc iuvat | [os]sa mea. |*

##### NW.6

*[-----] |  
qui quond|am situs | est  
prata | per I'l'lyr|ici litora | Danuvii.*

*patrono et | L(ucio) Popilio | Securo (vac.) vex<i>llario | coh(ortis) III Vig(ilis) | fratri |  
L(ucius) Popilius | Eutych|us fecit.*

In **ET.4**, the connection is slightly less ambiguous, as this epitaph was found in Burnum, Dalmatia, where Fannius would have served in the *Legio XI*,<sup>3078</sup> and he was described as being buried ‘in Illyrican soil’ (8), so it is more likely that he was buried by a military *frater*:

*P(ublius) Fanniu[s] | Ani(ensi) Cremon(a) | eq(ues) leg(ionis) XI an(norum) | XXIX  
stip(endorum) XII h(ic) s(itus) e(st). | f(rater?) f(ratri?) pos(uit). |*

<sup>3076</sup> See Rossignol 2013: 285.

<sup>3077</sup> See *ibid.*: 283.

<sup>3078</sup> See the discussion on this inscription in Chapter 3.

...

*rumore sancto Ilyrici | iaceo in solo.*

Other soldiers, without the use of the phrase *frater fratri*, made monuments for their fellow deceased comrades. We see this often with *equites singulares* (see Figure 8.4 and Table 8; as well as the similarities exhibited between inscriptions involving *equites singulares*, such as **LL.6** and **LL.7**, **ET.35** and **ET.36**), but we do see this in other units. Other soldiers were often also their heirs (see, for example, **LL.7**, **ET.35**, **ET.42**). Soldiers who were involved in the erection of these monuments were sometimes more specific on military detail, such as which centuries they served in, which also indicates that friendships and alliances took place across centuries: although they lived in their *contubernalia*, shared their days mostly with those men, they did interact with those outside their century, and formed close enough relationships that they were commemorated by these friends in verse epitaphs.

#### ET.42

*C(aius) Iulius C(ai) f(ilius) Vol(tinia) | Carc(asone) Niger mi|les leg(ionis) II annor(um) | XXXXV aer(or)um XVII | h(ic) s(itus) e(st). |*

*Hospes ades paucis et perlege ver|sibus acta.*

*aetern'u`m patriae hic | erit, ipsa domus,*

*hic erit inclusus tumu|lo, hic Iulius ipse,*

*hic{s} cinis ex caro cor|pore factus erit.*

*cum me'a` iucunde | aetas florebat ab annis*

*advenit fati | terminus ips'e` meis.*

*ultimus ipse f`uit | XXXXV annus,*

*cum mihi fatalis ve|nit acerba die's`.*

*hic ego nunc cogor | Stygias transire paludes,*

*sedibus aeter|nis me mea Fata tenent.*

*me memini Gal|li'a` natum caroq(ue) pare[nt]e,*

*et miles collo | fortiter arm[a t]uli.*

*Gallia crudelis tri|buit mihi [f]un[us ---],*

*[---] cultos artus ter|ra cinisqu(e) P[---].*

*[---]TO Gnatus | miles leg(ionis) II P[---]AT her'e`s | eius est.*

#### ET.41

*[T(itus) Caecilius T(iti) f(ilius) | Ga]le(ria) Aus[oni(us)] | mil(es) leg(ionis) IIII [Mac(edonicae)] | (centuria) Munati a[nno(rum)] | XXXVII aer(um) X[VII] | hic situs est. L(ucius) Se[mpr]|onius Aus(one) o(ptio) (centuriae) Iuli M[ar]|tialis ex{s} te[s]tame[nto] | fe[c]it.*

*Vivite felic[es] quibus est | data vita fruen[d]i.*

*n'a`m mi[hi] | non fato datum est felice | morari.*

*hic ego nunc iac[eo], | fati compostus [in]iqu[is]. |*

*crudeles superi, ni[si me] | fortuna iniqu[ua ---], |*

*mea iam [---] | a++[---]*

*++[---]*

In **ET.36**, we see Titus', an *equites singulares*, father and two heirs (of unspecified relation) set up an inscription for him, which was, however, looked after by a veteran of the *equites singulares*, demonstrating the collaborative relationship that could occur between a soldier's family and his comrades. Despite the deceased's mother still being alive, and her mourning of him is described in **ET.56**, Clarus' epitaph was set up for him by his *commanipularis* ('comrade', 12), *d(e) s(uo) p(ecunia)* ('with his own money', 12). Clarus' comrades are described as weeping for his loss, so it was not seen as 'unmanly' or 'unsoldierly' for them to be described in this fashion, but, it is prudent, appropriate, and equated with the deceased's parents' mourning, given its positioning in the verse (5, between the description of the deceased's mother's mourning and his father's). Proculus, despite Clarus' mother still being alive, is described as making this inscription himself. Does this suggest something more between them? Perhaps now, as it appears that when a soldier's parents were unable to bury him, most likely due to distance, fellow-soldiers were expected to bury their comrades in their stead, thus extending the familial atmosphere that the camps of the Roman military held beyond the blood family sphere that is expressed in some of these inscriptions (this is also seen in **ET.34**). To have an inscription erected itself, perhaps further emphasised by a verse inscription, was considered proof of someone's *pietas*; Proculus describes Clarus' epitaph as *hic pietatis honos* ('this is the honour of piety', 9).<sup>3079</sup> Clarus appears to have died whilst on active service, although the nature of his death is unknown; other matters must have contributed towards a soldier's death, not just war.

#### ET.56

[---] ++ [---]  
*cum bis duodenos aetas [c]ompleverat annos*, |  
*tum rapuit Fatis mors inimica suis*. |  
*ut rescit mater, planxit, (vac.) flevire sodales*, |  
*flevisset genitor (vac.) occidit ipse prior*. |  
*cognati proprii longa regione relict*, |  
*hi pompam ornasent funeris usque mei*. |  
*qui posuit Proculus titulum nomenq(ue) sodalis* |  
*inscripsit maerens, (vac.) hic pietatis honos*. |  
*sis felix, valeas et te tua servet origo*, |  
*et dicas Claro, (vac.) "sit tibi terra levis."* |

*L(ucius) Valerius Proculus | commanipularis | d(e) s(uo) p(ecunia) c(uravit)*. |

Even when their remains were sent home, their comrades still commemorated them. In **ET.72**, the unnamed *frater* and colleague of a centurion of the *Legio VIII Augusta* set up an inscription for him where he was cremated in Poetovio, Pannonia Superior; his remains were sent home, to Italy.

*M(arcus) Petronius | M(arci) f(ilius) Arn(iensis) Classi|cus Marrucinus | (centurio) leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae)*. |

*Hic est crematus. | ossa relata domi*.

*P(ublius) frater et con|lega pos[uit]*.

<sup>3079</sup> See also the discussion on the personality traits of the soldier and *pietas* in this chapter.

In **ET.67**, Cornelius, a *conlega et amicus* ('colleague and friend', 4) of Verecundus, a *signifer* of the 9<sup>th</sup> cohort, specifies he wrote the hexameter verses on Verecundus' epitaph. Can we conjecture that Cornelius served in the 9<sup>th</sup> cohort too? We do not know Cornelius' rank, as he does not specify it, but we do know that he also served in the military. He acknowledges that he wrote the verses, but not the prose: we may perhaps conjecture he wrote the verses, and gave them to a stonemason to carve. The prose part of this inscription is formulaic, so it is likely that this was chosen to describe him, and then the verses were given to the stonemason to carve alongside them.

*Sex(to) Naevio | L(uci) f(ilio) Pub(lilia) | Verecundo sign(ifero) | coh(ortis) XIII nato | Veronae.*

*Ossa | relata domum, | cinis hic adoperta | quiescit.  
heredes | titulum. versiculos | Cornelius epoi | conlegae et amico. |*

Times such as these are when one wonders about the nature of the relationship between the deceased soldier and those commemorating him, especially if they are outside the boundaries of family. With some inscriptions one cannot help but wonder if there was anything more (see, for example, **ET.9**).<sup>3080</sup> The examples given above, and the inscriptions in this data set that can be classified as belonging to this group (see Table 8), are all the insight we are given into relationships between soldiers. They had deep affection for each other, which they, like their families, expressed in verses immortalising their comrades.

### 8.5. Freedmen/women, Slaves, and *Alumni*

Soldiers were able to own, and free, slaves. Their freedmen sometimes acted as their heirs, and therefore contributed to the erection of their epitaphs, as seen in these inscriptions (see, for example, **ET.35**). Soldiers, as exhibited by examples such as **RD.1**, could be wealthy slave owners:

*L(ucio) Valerio Sex(ti) f(ilio) Vol(tinia) Serano | (vac.) Luco (centurioni) leg(ionis) IIII F(laviae) F(elicis). (vac.) | L(ucius) Valerius Privatus et | L(ucius) Valerius Martialis | liberti et heredes | (vac.) a se f(aciendum) c(uraverunt). (vac.) |*

*non fui mari<t>us et r'e'l<i>qui liberos. (vac.)  
servi | dominis. (vac.) mac<t>e tu, (vac.) vale. (vac.) |*

*Valerius Secundus (vac.) Valerius Ge[me]l[lin(us)] l[i]b(erti) | Valerius Cerdo l[i]b(ertus) (vac.) Valerius A[p]rio l[i]b(ertus) | Valerius Cresces l[i]b(ertus) (vac.) Va[l]leria Aprodisia l[i]b(erta) | Valerius Verecund(us) l[i]b(ertus) Valerius Amp[l]iatus | (vac.) h(eres) lib(ertus).  
|*

Ostensibly, this monument for the centurion of the *Legio VI Flavia Felix*,<sup>3081</sup> Seranus, was solely by his freedmen and women, only three of whom are specified as his heirs. Some have

<sup>3080</sup> See also Ivleva 2020: 261-262. See also above.

<sup>3081</sup> The *Legio IIII Flavia Felix* served on the Danubian frontier for a little while (Rémy 2012: 341): 'créée par Vespasien, la première était cantonnée à *Siniginum* (Belgrade) depuis 86, mais elle est aussi attestée en d'autres lieux de Mésie supérieure, notamment à *Viminacium* ... et en Pannonie. *Seranus* pourrait donc être mort alors qu'il était détaché dans la garnison de *Viminacium*, mais il pourrait aussi avoir choisi de s'installer non loin de cette ville après sa retraite' (342). Seranus' own origins are not entirely clear (see Russu 1977.1a; see also Tables 8 and 9). See also Mirković 1986.325. It is perhaps more likely, however, that he was from Luc-en-Diois/Voconces, Narbonnaise, as a high number of legionaries and praetorians from this period were recruited from this area (see Rémy 2012: 337). Massaro describes this inscription as 'il più antico epitaffio con

seen him as a wealthy slave owner,<sup>3082</sup> others that these freedmen and women were also his children. Rémy conjectures that he was upset he could not name his children on his tombstone, because they were probably illegitimate;<sup>3083</sup> if this were the case, he would be the only soldier in this data set to do so. Those who lived in the military lifestyle, rather ironically, sought little reason to be concerned by matters of legitimacy in their familial relationships, and so Seranus masking his relationship with his own slave children, who presumably are now freedmen and -women because he had manumitted them in his will, because they were illegitimate, and thus only addressing them in servile/emancipated slave terms seems incongruous with the behaviour of a soldier interacting with members of his own family. Yet, Cugusi sees the short verse aspect of this inscription as ‘gioco di parole probabilmente volute, basato sul doppio valore di *liberi=filii/nati e liberi* = ‘individui restituiti alla libertà’.<sup>3084</sup> Privatus and Martialis ‘qui ont pris soin de faire réaliser à leurs frais le monument funéraire et l’épithaphe’,<sup>3085</sup> indicating they had enough money to afford such a monument.

However, ‘Sernus’ addresses the people in this inscription as his slaves, and only acknowledges them as such. The language in his epitaph is also odd, as he uses servile language about himself: *servi | dominis* (‘I served my masters’, 5). He also says *non fui mari<t>us et r’e l<i>qui liberos* (‘I was not married and I did not leave children behind’, 4), so it seems that they were not his children, but his freedmen and -women. Although, the negative could only be attached to *mari<t>us*, thus meaning this line translates as ‘I was not married and I left children behind’. There is a formulaic aspect to this inscription, however, so perhaps the inscription had already been carved, awaiting the personal details about the deceased and the person/people dedicating the monument to them, in this instance Seranus and his freedmen and -women.

All we know about Seranus’ military career was that he held the rank of centurion, as is relatively common in these military (verse) inscriptions: ‘le texte de son épithaphe ne permet pas de savoir si *Sernus* a parcouru lui aussi une longue carrière militaire et s’il a seulement indiqué son grade le plus élevé, ce qui est courant dans l’épigraphie militaire ou s’il est entré dans l’armée comme centurion, hypothèse qui est peut-être moins plausible’.<sup>3086</sup> Rémy, in his discussion of this inscription, also highlights an important point that is often overlooked when contemplating these inscriptions, but is clear through the emphasis placed on a soldier’s rank, even in his epitaph: ‘puisque les militaires conservent leur titre pendant toute leur vie’.<sup>3087</sup> He was a Roman citizen by birth and,<sup>3088</sup> as his freedmen/women, those who set up his epitaph bore is *prae-* and *cognomina*. Rémy makes an interesting observation that those who served in the Roman military, despite being from a non-Roman background, felt as if they were not losing their militaristic roots by joining the Roman military, but may in fact have been able to retain them through this choice in career, despite the Romans having conquered their people: ‘il est impossible d’envisager que certains de ces soldats fils de citoyens aient été les cadets, mal pourvus, de familles de notables; certains étaient très vraisemblablement des fils de notables qui s’étaient engagés parce qu’ils avaient conservé le goût des armes de leurs ancêtres, puisque les Viennois et les Voconces ont mis beaucoup de temps à accepter la domination romaine. En

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complemento metrico da *Viminacium* in *Moesia superior* per un centurione originario di *Lucus Augusti* (oggi Luc) nella *narbonense*’ (2023.11: 29).

<sup>3082</sup> See Russu 1977.1a and Mirković 1986.325.

<sup>3083</sup> See Rémy 2012: 343.

<sup>3084</sup> Cugusi 2008.2.

<sup>3085</sup> Rémy 2012: 342.

<sup>3086</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3087</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3088</sup> See *ibid.*: 337.

entrant dans l'armée romaine, ils n'avaient pas l'impression de déroger, mais de maintenir une tradition (familiale ?)'.<sup>3089</sup>

Given the nature of soldiers not being allowed to be married, and if their mother(s) were non-Roman citizens, despite Seranus' status as a Roman citizen, his own children would not have been Roman citizens. We can see that Roman soldiers did also marry (their) freedwomen, so it is not outside the realm of possibility that a Roman soldier would have children with a woman of (ex-)servile origins, thus also not making them Roman citizens. Roman auxiliaries at least had the reassurance of their partnerships becoming legal and their children becoming Roman citizens upon their honest dismissal, yet what reassurance did those men serving in the Roman legions have, who had to be Roman citizens to serve within their ranks? It would make sense, if they had children of servile origins, who they then freed either before or in their will, guaranteeing them, at the very least, the status of 'freedman/woman' upon their deaths. We may never know, however, exactly what Seranus' relation to his freedmen and woman who contributed to the erection of his funerary monument, but there is the possibility that they could have been his children.

**RD.1** is not the only inscription where a soldier is celebrated by his freedmen. Sometimes freedmen were the sole commemorators of deceased soldiers, as seen in **ET.8**, and in **ET.9** the freedman of the commemorator of the soldier put the inscription up for his patron's deceased soldier-friend; these two verse inscriptions are for *milites* of the *Legio VII*.

#### **ET.8**

*C(aius) Iulius C(ai) f(ilius) | Fab(ia) Ninica | mil(es) leg(ionis) VII | ann(or)um XXXIX  
stip(endiorum) | XVIII h(ic) s(itus) e(st). |*

*Hospes resis[te et] tumulum | contempla meum.*

*lege et | moratus iam scies, quae | debeas.*

*vixi qua potui, ca|rus sum Oporum.*

*hic su|m sepultus hic oss{u}a re|quiescum mea.*

*vale et | bene facito vitae, dum Fa|tum venit.*

*Faustus l(ibertus) patrono.*

Ivlevna 'propose[s] that funerary monuments for male slaves and freedmen, paid for by their (former) masters, act as testimonies to their same-sex sexual relationships. Contextualising those monuments within a wider pool of inscriptions evincing patron-female slave/*liberta* relations support that argument'; this is convincing, but this cannot have been applicable to all of them.<sup>3090</sup> **ET.8** is by a freedman for his soldier patron, and this may also be indicative of more intimate aspects to their relationship; however, this is more generic and thematic in its wording (see discussion on this inscription in Chapter 3). Despite this, it does present some personal information about the soldier. Sanader et al. interpreted *vixi qua potui, carus sum Oporum* as 'some kind of a modest apology for the way he lived his life', similar to **ET.3**, where a brief portrayal of the character of the soldier is given.<sup>3091</sup> This presents Sanader et al. with further evidence of the use of poetic manuals for inscribed epitaphs, for 'both inscriptions

<sup>3089</sup> Rémy 2012: 338.

<sup>3090</sup> Ivleva 2020: 254. She sites examples of inscriptions for slaves/freedmen by soldiers, but not the other way around (254-258). See also 260-261. As Ivleva herself clarifies (258).

<sup>3091</sup> Sanader et al. 2010: 487. See the debate on the meaning of this line in the Catalogue of Inscriptions.

have *vixi* ... in the 1<sup>st</sup> person perfect and then allusion to the popularity with his fellows and friends'.<sup>3092</sup>

## ET.9

*L(ucius) Mummius, L(uci) | f(ilius), Fab(ia), Ancyra, | miles leg(ionis) VII, | ann(or)um XXXVI, | stipend(iorum) XVI, | h(ic) s(itus) est. ||*

*Arma bis octonis felicia qui tulit annis. |  
hic situs est Fato Mummius ipse suo. |  
si sapiunt obiti data munera, percipis am<pla> |  
et recipis nostrae pignus amicitiae. |  
hoc tibi cum titulo posuit Cornelius Chrestus |  
et dixit lachrymans, "sit tibi ter(r)a levis". ||*

*M(arcus) Cornelius M(arci) l(ibertus) | Chrestus posuit.*

Chrestus was, interestingly, the freedman of someone else, with the *praenomen* Marcus. Perhaps he was closer with Mummius than just a friend, hiding the true nature of their relationship under the guise of friendship.<sup>3093</sup> Alternatively, they could have just been friends; the military was an ideal place for establishing an environment of friendships between the soldiers of intense loyalty and platonic affection;<sup>3094</sup> it is likely that the same also occurred between other soldiers and other members of a soldier's household, such as his slaves and freedmen and women, as they would have all lived and interacted with each other.

**NW.6** was by the *frater* of Securus, called Lucius Popilius Eutyclus, who was also his patron. Guastella conjectures that this was for Eutyclus' patron and his biological *frater*, who were two separate people, and that the name of his *patronus* was in the missing part of the inscription.<sup>3095</sup> However, this does not appear to be very likely, as the only missing part of the text we seemingly have is predominantly of the verse, although some of the bottom section is missing, the concluding prose sentence is final and gives us no indication as to there being any missing information from the final prose conclusion as it has been interpreted in scholarly editions as presented today. There is a break in the middle of the final prose inscription on the epitaph, where it has been broken in two in the middle of Securus' *cognomen*. However, the shape and correlation of the top half of the break to the bottom half does not indicate that much has been lost between the top and bottom of this inscription; the crack in the stone aligns almost perfectly to the bottom half, indicating that those pieces had once been joined together in the place where they now rest. It ends in a typical fashion for an epitaph where the deceased, and relation to the dedicator, is stated. So there does not appear to be anything missing anything between *Danuvii* and *patrono*. Perhaps Guastella came to this conclusion because the concluding prose sentence begins *patrono et* (4), but this may be simply continuing with the play on words and typical formulae that is seen in this inscription, as well as continuing, even in the prose conclusion, with the poetic sense of the majority of the inscription. Cugusi also believes that the *patronus* and *frater* were two separate people, but, instead of the *patronus* dying abroad, he believes that it was the brother who died abroad.<sup>3096</sup>

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<sup>3092</sup> Sanader et al. 2010: 487.

<sup>3093</sup> See also discussion below and Ivleva 2020.

<sup>3094</sup> As noted by Sanader et al. (2010: 486) above, as well as throughout this chapter.

<sup>3095</sup> Gregori 2001.385.

<sup>3096</sup> *Ibid.*; Cugusi 1996: 211.



What if neither of these options are true, and that the *patronus* and *frater* in this inscription are one and the same person? That Securus and Eutychus were not biological brothers, but comrades in arms? The Vigiles were composed of freedmen,<sup>3097</sup> and, despite being described as the ‘semimilitary fire brigade of the city of Rome’,<sup>3098</sup> others ‘a paramilitary unit serving as a fire-brigade’,<sup>3099</sup> and some scholars questioning their military status, they were part of the Roman military, a sentiment expressed in this inscription (**NW.6.4**), and, by implication of the hierarchy of the ranks in the Roman military, as a promotion to the ranks of the Urban Cohorts, Praetorian Guard or the Vigiles from the military units outside Rome was prestigious,<sup>3100</sup> they were on a par with the Urban Cohorts and the Praetorian Guard in terms of prestige.<sup>3101</sup> Not only was Securus in a *vexillatio* of the Vigiles, but he had also, at some point and for some reason, been away from Rome, perhaps he was posted to Illyricum, as Bücheler suggests.<sup>3102</sup> The Vigiles, established by Augustus and were the only unit that lived entirely within the city,<sup>3103</sup> were composed of freedmen, in both the first and second centuries AD, with two *regiones* of Rome assigned to one cohort.<sup>3104</sup> Their ‘*stationes*, according to their functions and duties, were located in central places in the densely populated city’,<sup>3105</sup> and were similar to the *castra praetoria*, which ‘had no distinctly military character’.<sup>3106</sup> So perhaps Eutychus and/or Securus had been assigned to the region in which this inscription was found, especially as, for example, the *Cohors IV Vigiles*, was stationed on the Aventine.<sup>3107</sup> It was only under Septimius Severus’ reign that the Vigiles started accepting free borns into their ranks,<sup>3108</sup> thus indicating that Securus himself was a freedman. It seems more likely, then, that Eutychus was formerly the slave, and subsequently emancipated by, Securus, who thus became his patron. Eutychus, it appears, then joined the Vigiles, serving with his ex-master and patron, perhaps because one could obtain citizenship by serving in the Vigiles.<sup>3109</sup>

As discussed earlier, soldiers sometimes married freedwomen, and they commemorated them after their deaths, acting as the wives of any other Roman citizen or any other woman who considered herself the ‘wife’ of a Roman soldier (regardless of whether this was legally, technically, correct or not). The messages in their inscriptions do not differ from those already seen. Sometimes, they were the freedwomen of the soldier himself (as indicated by their names: compare **ET.66**, where Cotonia Prima is the freedwoman and wife of Lucius Cotonius Campanus, and **ET.57**, where Camidia Aphrodisia is described as *M(arci) l(iberta)*, but is married to Quintus Caelius).

<sup>3097</sup> See, for example, Keppie 1984: 154. See also Appendix 2.

<sup>3098</sup> Southern 2007: 73; this is the sentiment often expressed by scholars.

<sup>3099</sup> Busch 2007: 320.

<sup>3100</sup> For example, a promotion for a *primus pilus* could entail being made a tribune of the Praetorian Guard, the Urban Cohorts or the Vigiles, and fleet commanders could be promoted to ‘praetorian prefects; others advanced to the praefecture of the *vigiles*, a *rationibus*, and similar high posts’ (Starr 1993: 33).

<sup>3101</sup> Campbell 1984: 101. See also discussion above and Appendix 2.

<sup>3102</sup> *CLE* 1254; Chapter 7.

<sup>3103</sup> See, for example, Busch 2007: 320; see also Appendix 2.

<sup>3104</sup> See, for example, Keppie 1984: 154; Campbell 1984: 4; Le Bohec 1989b: 100; Starr 1993: 69; Busch 2007: 320.

<sup>3105</sup> Busch 2007: 323.

<sup>3106</sup> *Ibid.*: 328.

<sup>3107</sup> Gordon 1983: 156.

<sup>3108</sup> Birley 1988: 22.

<sup>3109</sup> Starr 1993: 73, referring to Ulpian and Gaius. See the discussion on this inscription in Chapter 7, and Appendix 2.

## ET.66

[L(ucius)] Cotonius | C(ai) f(ilius) Pol(lia) Cam|panus vet(eranus) | leg(ionis) XV Apol(linaris)  
| magister lud(i) | an(norum) LXXVII | h(ic) s(itus) e(st). | Coton(ia) Prima | l(iberta) coniugi  
et | sibi viva fecit. | Fortunatus Torq(uatus) | Servatus +++ | cur[a]ve[runt] (vac.) | [---]

Eruntque meliora I++SE[---]ROS. | vixi. servat me,  
securus, quoque. | nunc contegor hic tumulo.

## ET.57

Vivit | Q(uintus) Caelius Sp(uri) f(ilius) Vivi<us> | architectus navalis. |  
vivit | uxor Camidia | M(arci) l(iberta) | Ap'hr'odisia. |

Hospes resiste et, nisi m|olestust, perlege.  
noli | stomach(h)are suadeo, | caldum bibas.  
moriu|ndust. vale. |

There are a couple of instances where soldiers have spent a lot of money on commemorating their slaves with elaborate (verse) epitaphs.

**ET.13** is for a young boy who was the slave of the wife of Iunius Pastor, the *legatus* of the *Legio XXII Primigenia Pia Fidelis*. His parents, who were presumably slaves in Pastor's household, were described as the main contributors of this altar for their son, but it is likely that Pastor was the one who, at the very least, paid for it. Slaves could be well educated, and literate, so it is not outside the realm of possibility that either Hipponicus's parents or his owners contributed towards the composition of this personalised inscription:<sup>3110</sup>

Aram | D(is) M(anibus) et innocen|tiae Hipponici ser(vi) | Dignillae Iun(i) Pastoris | leg(ati)  
leg(ionis) XXII Pr(imigeniae) P(iae) F(idelis) | Hedyepes et Genesia | parentes. | (vac.)

Ut primum adolevit pollens | viribus, decora  
facie Cupidinis | os habitumque  
gerens nec metuam | dicere Apollineus.  
huic expletis | ter centum ter denisque  
diebus, | invisae Parcae sollemnem cele|brare  
diem iamque, ut esset gra|tus amicis,  
invidia superum cess[a]|vit amari.

In **ET.38**, again, we see a freedwoman, Aurelia Saturnia, 'make' an epitaph for her partner, a freedman called Marcus Aurelius Zosimus, but, in the verse part of this inscription, we learn that his patron (and thus his previous master) was the contributor of the inscription itself, at the very least paying for it, and he may have written the verses himself, especially given everything else he did for Zosimus' (and presumably therefore also Saturnia's) family:<sup>3111</sup>

M(arcus) Aurelius Cottae | Maximi l(ibertus) Zosimus | accensus patroni. |

<sup>3110</sup> The comparison to gods may seem superficial, but, for example, 'as a beautiful and youthful figure, Cupid was ideal for young boys; the idea of eternal play must have been of great comfort for recently bereaved parents, with the mischievous nature of the god perhaps calling to mind the character of the child' (Mander 2013: 56). See also the discussion on this inscription in Chapter 3.

<sup>3111</sup> See also discussion on this inscription in Chapter 3.

*Libertinus eram, fateor, | sed facta legetur |  
 patrono Cotta nobilis umbra mea, |  
 qui mihi saepe libens census donavit | equestris,  
 qui iussit natos | tollere, quos aleret, |  
 quique suas commisit opes | mihi, semper et idem  
 dotavit | natus ut pater ipse meas, |  
 Cottanumque meum produxit | honore tribuni,  
 quem fortis | castris Caesaris emeruit. |  
 quid non Cotta dedit? | qui nunc | et carmina tristis  
 haec dedit | in tumulo conspicienda meo. |*

*Aurelia Saturnia Zosimi. |*

Cotta, the patron of Zosimus, paid Zosimus handsomely and raised Zosimus' children as his own, for example he gave his daughters a dowry (ET.38.7) and presented Zosimus' son, named Cottanus after his patron, to military service, and to a high rank, served by men of elite status: *tribunus* (8). As seen in ET.7 and ET.60, it was the family, the male members of the family, who gave a man up for military service, and so Cotta here was acting also as the father, as the *pater familias*, of Zosimus' son.

RD.7 is an unusual inscription for this data set. It is a bilingual Greek and Latin graffito, scratched into wall plaster, and appears to be condemning the behaviour and character of a slave girl of an *optio* in the *Legio II Adiutrix*.<sup>3112</sup> The attack on Graeca, the *ancilla* of the *optio* Lupus, does not appear to have been based on prejudice because she was the slave of a soldier, but, instead, it appears to be a warning for Gratus against his relationship with this woman. It is a personal attack on her; what her behaviour was that brought about such condemnation is unknown, but it reflects the idea that people felt the behaviour of one's slaves reflected back upon the family in whose service they were occupied. It also provides evidence of slaves having relationships outside their own households, and that they did not only have relationships with their (soldier) master, if, in fact, they had one at all.

(column I)

*Bato cura. |*

(column II)

*Grate qui fotues | Gr(a)e`c`a(m) ancilla(m) Lupi |  
 optionis (vac.) | legionis secund`ae`, (vac.) | quae est in domo  
 vestra, | et malo tuo est (vac.). | per illa(m) a`d` nil  
 perduces | parentes tuos (vac.) | quotidie. |*

(underneath)

*Aurelius. |*

[---]imo

ΖΟΠΠΕΟΛΖΣΟΥΚΟΠ. |

<sup>3112</sup> This was the legion based in Aquincum, Pannonia Inferior, where this inscription was found, at the time (third century AD). See Appendix 2.

Phang describes this as being written ‘on the Danubian frontier, [by] an angry graffitist’.<sup>3113</sup> She interprets this as:<sup>3114</sup>

It seems as if the graffitist hoped the *ancilla* would not be incorporated into her anonymous lover’s family, whether through winning over the parents or producing children, even though the *ancilla* was a slave. It is realistic that in the small households of relatively poor slave-owners that the slaves were more part of the “family” than in the large households of the wealthy.

This features in her discussion of a slave-woman of a soldier was regarded as a “wife” or a concubine. As Roman concubinage was more about a relationship without the intention of producing children, whereas Roman marriage was (and thus a soldier’s “marriage”). It seems as if many soldier’s women, for want of a better word, were procured (either by literally buying her, and thus she had no choice in the relationship, or by finding a woman and developing a more naturally formed relationship with her, whereby she had more choice in the formation of the relationship) were not concubines.<sup>3115</sup>

*Alumni* were often foster children, and, from these inscriptions, it was not uncommon for soldiers to adopt foster children, and commemorate them as if they were their own child. The partner of the soldier in **ET.54** also appears to have been a freedwoman:

#### ET.54

[-----] | *class(is) s(uprae) s(criptae) et | Spedia Prisc[a l(iberta)] | alumno kariss(imo) | b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuerunt).* |

*O Fata brevia | contraria(ue) mihi, |  
quae me levastis | parvolae vitae meae, |  
ut hoc venirem | annis plenus XI. |  
nam omnia fecerunt | quorum alumnus, fui.* |

Claudius, a *veteranus* of the *Legio XI Claudia*, is described in **ET.17** as having no children of his own; he is, however, described as having *alumni* and heirs of unknown relation to him. All of these appear to have been of servile status to him, as ‘*li[c]et / sine liberos alumnos | heredes / remisi et modo post | ob[it]um*’ (‘it is also right / that, because I went back [i.e. died] with no children, I am only going to restore / my *alumni* and my heirs [their freedom] after my death’, 8-10). His *heredes* were likely to have been slaves who he freed in his will, therefore, and demonstrates the legal authority that soldiers had, i.e. they could, and did, free slaves in their wills, and this was a matter of such celebration that it was immortalised on his tomb. One of these *heredes* was Hermes, who set up this inscription *patrono* (‘for his patron’, 13):

*[Pi]us et heres Hermes patrono titu[lum posuit honorandum sepulcro.*

This highlights the primary purpose of many of these verse inscriptions: not to describe someone’s character, but to depict what they did in their lives, which meant that the reader recognised what the deceased was like as a person, so they conveyed their character primarily through their deeds (see also the discussion below). The narrative of this inscription is split between the third and first person: the third person presents the information that is often given

<sup>3113</sup> Phang 2001: 237.

<sup>3114</sup> *Ibid.*: 238.

<sup>3115</sup> *Ibid.*: throughout, for example 237.

in the prose section of these inscriptions, and the first person section presents more details about Claudius. ‘Claudius’ begins by describing his decision to free his *alumni* and his heirs in his will, which is depicted as the right thing to do, over three lines (**ET.17.8-10**), in contrast to ‘his’ discussion of his military career, which barely reaches across two lines (10-11). Both of these things, his action to free his slaves and his military career, it is implied that he reached the rank of centurion, means that *lapes aeterna[m] sedem quiescat et me salvum* (‘the stone, my eternal abode, will be peaceful and keep me safe’, 12).

In **RD.3**, a verse inscription to Titus Flavius Florus, a veteran *ex beneficiario procuratoris* of the *Legio I Minerva Pia Fidelis*, is by his two heirs, Valerius Primus Viperius and Titus Flavius Protus. As neither are described as his children, Protus was probably his freedman. Viperius, however, is described as *threptius*. *Threptus* has been offered by some scholars to be used as another term for *alumnus*, originating from the Greek *θρεπτός*:<sup>3116</sup> ‘en general, se considera que los *threptoi* son niños (de condición libre o esclavos) que no han sido criados por sus padres (abandonados, esclavos, huérfanos, vendidos...); los términos equivalentes en latín son *expositi* y sobre todo *alumni*’.<sup>3117</sup> This is not unexpected, as Greek was the language spoken in Thrace.<sup>3118</sup> It has been conjectured that Viperius ‘con un gentilicio distinto al de Titus Flavius Florus, podría haber sido un niño de condición libre (abandonado o entregado a alguien para su crianza) educado por *Florus*’.<sup>3119</sup>

The *equites singulares Augusti* stand out in the inscriptions in this research as having an obviously active community who support and care for one another. They were also from all over the Empire, with origins ‘from Germany, Pannonia, and Thrace, with a few also from Britain, Syria, Africa, and Mauretania’.<sup>3120</sup> It is unknown if this is because inscriptions of those in the *equites singulares Augusti* have survived to the extent that we can find other inscriptions in which they have been mentioned, and therefore find these connections, whereas the inscriptions of other soldiers are so wide spread, across the whole Roman Empire, and so randomly preserved that it is next to impossible to find inscriptions that may mention other soldiers featured in this study, or if it is because this part of the Roman military was a more actively community with their fellow comrades, closer than other units of the Roman military. We have a large quantity of documentation about this unit, as they were ‘stationed in Rome during the second and third centuries, [and were] one of the Empire’s best documented military units. Some seven hundred altars and gravestones with inscriptions and reliefs tell us much about the recruitment and service, the weapons and equipment, the life, duties, and beliefs of these horsemen’.<sup>3121</sup>

Aurelius Sanctinus assisted another *equites singulares Augusti*, Flavus, from whom he obtained Miles, and whom he describes as his *frater*, but in this instance as his colleague, in **RD.13**.<sup>3122</sup> Flavus died before Sanctinus, and Sanctinus appeals to him to receive Miles upon his entrance among the dead.<sup>3123</sup> The affective term given to Miles, *delicium*, in **RD.13** may have been a sign that he was Sanctinus’ lover.<sup>3124</sup> Terms such as *delicatus* and *delicium* ‘were terms of

<sup>3116</sup> See *CIL* XIII 1856. See also Solin 1992: 184; Fernández Martínez 2017 on *CLEO* L010; Fernández Martínez 2020: 138-139.

<sup>3117</sup> Fernández Martínez 2017 on *CLEO* L010; Fernández Martínez 2020: 138-139.

<sup>3118</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3119</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3120</sup> Speidel & Panciera 2006: 1419.

<sup>3121</sup> *Ibid.*: 1415. See also Speidel & Panciera 1989: 119; Spiedel 1992: 353.

<sup>3122</sup> See also the discussion on this inscription in Chapter 7.

<sup>3123</sup> *AE* 1989.30; HD014349. See also EDR081242.

<sup>3124</sup> Phang 2001: 274.

endearment that could have sexual connotations, used of slave passive partners’;<sup>3125</sup> although Phang does clarify that this was not always the case, Miles, at nineteen, was ‘old enough for such relationships to be more credible’.<sup>3126</sup> Why would Sanctinus, then, offer Miles to Flavus in death? Was Miles originally a slave, an *alumnus* (in the capacity of a groom),<sup>3127</sup> of Flavus, and then was inherited by Sanctinus upon Flavus’ death? Could Miles have also been the slave passive sexual partner of Flavus before Sanctinus? Or both at the same time? *Noster* is often used poetically to mean ‘my’, but, in this instance, could it be literal? Are we to interpret *commen[do]* | *tibi delictum* / *nostr[um]* | *Militem* as ‘I commend our darling / Miles to you’ (5-6)? Appeals for someone (living) to have a safe passage to the dead has been seen before in these verse epitaphs by the living partner who has been left behind by the deceased partner, and thus they wish to die too (see, for example, **LL.1**). This, as well as the other inscriptions presented in this study by *equites singulares Augusti*, emphasises how closely connected these men were, happy to carry out favours they ask of them, even after their deaths, and to erect epitaphs for their friends, even for their friends’ slaves/lovers, who they, perhaps, inherited upon their deaths, and/or who they had shared in life.

Speidel & Panciera romanticise the situation, concluding that **NW.5** and **RD.13** ‘reveal[ing] of the love of an Emperor’s horseman for those around him, even though they be of very different national origin, the epitaphs Sanctinus wrote for the two boys show forth a kindness Roman soldiers no doubt felt as much as other men of their time, but for which we too often lack documentation’.<sup>3128</sup> This lack of documentation on the ‘kindness of Roman soldiers no doubt felt as much as other men of their time’ is mitigated by this study, especially this chapter. In the Latin verse inscriptions of the Roman military, the Roman men, the members of the Roman military, were open in showing their affection for those they valued, be they their wives, sons, comrades, parents, their *alumni* or slaves. However, in this specific instance, although this may be true of the situation in **RD.13**, we do not know how Miles felt about the situation. This inscription can be said to portray a disturbing image of the conduct of some of the soldiers and how they treated their slaves: Miles appears to have been passed as a *delictum* from Flavus to Sanctinus, or Sanctinus was offering Miles as a ‘companion’ in death, or both. When Miles was alive, it is very unlikely that this would have occurred with his consent, especially as he appears to have been a slave, an *alumnus* of Flavus and/or Sanctinus (more likely in this context with a role such as a groom, or he held a different servile role), before and/or during his relationship with him/them as his/their *delictum*, and it certainly was not with his consent in death.

### **RD.13**

*D(is) M(anibus).* |

*Militi s(uo) nat(ione) Marsac(o).* | *vix(it) ann(os) XVIII ob|audientiss[i]mo ac | fideliss(imo).*  
*T(itus) Aurelius | Sanctinus dupl(icarius) sing(ularium) | Imp(eratoris) n(ostri) optim(o) ac*  
*pien|tissim(o) | mihi fac(iendum) cur(avit).* |

*Frater Flave, commen[do] | tibi delictum*  
*nostr[um] | Militem. si sunt aliq[ui]d infer[i, ---].* |

<sup>3125</sup> Phang 2001: 274. See also Ivleva 2020: 254.

<sup>3126</sup> Phang 2001: 275.

<sup>3127</sup> See Speidel and Panciera’s discussion on this inscription for Miles being Sanctinus’ groom (Speidel & Panciera 1989: 119-122; Speidel 1992: 353-356; Speidel & Panciera 2006: 1415-1417).

<sup>3128</sup> Speidel & Panciera 1989: 122; Speidel 1992: 356; Speidel & Panciera 2006: 1417.

## NW.5

[D(is)] M(anibus). |

[--- nat(ione) P]ontico ab [--- | --- puer]o. Aurelius San[ctinus] | dec(urio) de se bene merit[o].  
|

[--- du]o sunt iuvenes positi, C[---] |  
[---]RE in illo, diversisque lo[cis ---]. |  
[---] ibi, qui prior est posit[us, ---] |  
[---] Oceanique Marsa[ciorum ---]. |  
[--- P]ontus Achillea gē[nuit ---]. |  
[---] ac si fraterna sti[rpe, ---] |  
[aeq]uali Tiburti ponde[re ---]. |

[Aur(elius)] Sanctinus de s[(ua) p(ecunia) ---]. |

In **ET.49**, a contrast is made between those who were freeborn and those who were not. In the epitaph for Pius, who served in the *Legio XXX*, he is described as:

*Dum vixi, vixi quomodo | condecet ingenuom,  
q[u]od comedi et ebibi tantum meu(m) est. |*

Thus, creating a contrast between free and slaves, i.e. that the basic necessities of life, food and drink, were the possessions of the freeborn alone; those who were not free were not able to call these essentials their own. Perhaps this is also why slaves were not considered to be in possession of their own lives, for they could not even possess that which sustained them.

### 8.6. The Lifespan of a Man

We know about the stages of a man's life in the Roman world in more detail than those of a woman's: as is often seen through the annals of history, women are notably silent in their existence.<sup>3129</sup> These Latin military verse inscriptions, like other *carmina Latina epigraphica*, offer us an insight into poetry that women may have had an input in their creation, and thus allow us the opportunity to give a 'voice' to those who have been silent in pages for too long. In this data set, especially in this chapter on the family and relationship dynamics of soldiers, the women in their lives are able to start speaking from the stone.

It may be surprising that there are comparatively few explicit references to manhood and masculinity in these inscriptions, or that their contents themselves do not revolve more about the essence of manhood. Even when a man's personality traits are celebrated, this is not always overtly done so in conjunction with their gender; for a woman, their personality traits were centered around the roles that were expected of them based solely on their gender (see section 8.7). Although the data set itself is not a singularly masculine one, it is centred around a masculine governed society and culture (although the same could perhaps be said of the vast majority of sub-societies within the Roman world, including how the Roman world itself was run and governed; it was, after all, partially governed by the Roman military). It is indicative in and of itself that the theme of manhood is not a theme of its own, but a sub-theme of that of the more familial, social and personal life of a soldier, rather than of societal expectations of them in general.

<sup>3129</sup> See, for example, Richlin 1993: 523-524.

There are some aspects mentioned in these verse inscriptions that are singularly masculine characteristics and traits, although these are usually expressed to mourn the loss of a young man in his prime, such as his death arriving at approximately the same time as, or before he had even had, his first shave, and therefore had not conducted that important ritual as part of the stages of the development of a Roman man: the *depositio barbae*.<sup>3130</sup> This lamented not only his loss, but the lost future that the Fates had taken with them. Either he died before they could conduct the rite of the *depositio barbae*, or they were recruited into the military before they had, which gives further information regarding the average age of recruitment into the Roman military.<sup>3131</sup>

In **AI.2**, Severus' defining qualities are: his age, that he still had the 'down of youth' on his cheeks, he was *robore pollens* ('strong in my vigour', 6) and a soldier, who subsequently died (the implication is he died on active service). Nowhere in the Latin does it mention that he is a man, but these are the attributes that Severus himself had when he died. These, therefore, make them personal attributes, positive characteristics that were implicitly gendered orientated attributes, only able to belong to someone who was a man in the Roman world (i.e. having a beard, being a soldier, and probably the idea of being *robore pollens*). But these ideas in these inscriptions are presented as overtly personal, implicit to his gender (4-6). The same can be said of being a Roman soldier.

*ille ego qui vixi bis deno circi`n`e solis. |  
flore genas tenero vernans et robore pollens, |  
miles eram. sum deinde cinis de milite factus. |*

In **ET.7**, Principius joined the navy when he still had the 'down of youth', and the implication of the lament *heu miseri gloriari sibi | laetamque senectam* ('Oh, wretched ones, also they themselves who can boast of a fortunate old age!', 7) implies that he died at roughly the same time, certainly when he was still a young man (5-7):

*cum primum pulchra lanu|gine sumeret annos, |  
spectantes magnum patri|ae columenque futurum. |  
heu miseri gloriari sibi | laetamque senectam. |*

The indication that someone died in their youth is usually implied through a reference to them having the 'down of youth', and, therefore, that they had not lived before they could have their first shave. In **LL.3**, we find out in the prose part of this inscription<sup>3132</sup> that the deceased soldier had managed to have his first shave, at the age of nearly twenty four, in the same year as when he joined the military, although he died shortly afterwards:

*L(ucio) Neratio Iusto | mil(iti) c(o)hor(tis) X urb(anae). vixit | annis XXIII mens(ibus) VIII. |  
hic quo anno in praetor(ium) | transiret et barbas pone|ret, mors in`hi`buit. infelicis|simi  
parentes Neratius Libe|ralis et Vettia Hermione | pientissimo fil(io) sibique vivi | fecerunt, quod  
noluerunt. | (vac.) |*

A display of the progression from boyhood to youth, specifically, whereas the *depositio barbae* appears to have been a progression from boyhood to manhood, was shrugging off the *toga praetexta* and donning the *toga pura*, also called the *toga virilis*.<sup>3133</sup> Very few of the inscriptions

<sup>3130</sup> See discussion below, as well as Chapter 3.

<sup>3131</sup> Not a primary goal of this research, but the average age does seem to rest between 18-20 years old.

<sup>3132</sup> Unusually, as this information is more commonly in the verse.

<sup>3133</sup> As well as the discussion below, see also the discussion on **RI.1** in Chapter 5. This ceremony is described in Richlin 1993: 545, briefly; Rothe 2020: 64.



in this data set mention this process, but they are important to understanding the progression of manhood. When it is mentioned, it is not to lament a boy's missed opportunity of exchanging one for another (i.e. that he died before he could become legally a man), but to celebrate the stages of someone's life achievements, particularly to emphasise the young age at which they were achieved, as seen in **RI.1**, or because an early death meant that they were denied, as seen in **ET.6**, where Annius Severus was denied the *toga pura*, amongst other crucial moments in a man's life in the Roman world, because he died when he was fifteen. Why **ET.28** mentions the *toga praetexta* is now unknown, given its fragmentary state. But, given the context of the rest of the inscription, it appears to be giving, and celebrating, the life stages of Lupus, in a manner similar to **RI.1**.

The toga is intrinsically linked with the modern perception of Roman identity, through our interpretation of Roman identity as it has been portrayed in the annals of history.<sup>3134</sup> In the Roman period, it became associated with civilian/political duties carried out by a Roman man,<sup>3135</sup> 'and it was fundamental to the way Roman men negotiated their cultural and social identities'.<sup>3136</sup> It had to be worn at public and political events, both of which were governed by men, the dress of the urban elite.<sup>3137</sup> Like the definition of an Athenian citizen, i.e. those who could participate in the Athenian democratic assembly, this symbol of Roman citizenship also presents its own limitations when using it as a way of interpreting the important values of the Roman populace: 'the use of the toga was restricted to those of free or freed status, effectively discounting the unfree population from the 'Romanness' it symbolized'.<sup>3138</sup> It was worn mainly by men and even represented the life stages of a man.<sup>3139</sup> Thus, it was not a representative garment of the inhabitants of the Roman world. Those portrayed in a toga, both in statues and literature, were depicted as 'the perfect image of the Roman elite man: stern, dignified and steeped in public duty ... these attributes cannot be separated from the peculiar garment in which such a man was ideally clothed for most of Rome's history'.<sup>3140</sup> Quintilian's remarks on the correct way of wearing a toga emphasise the idea of the correlation between proper toga wearing and self-control.<sup>3141</sup> It became the symbol of Roman masculinity and citizenship.<sup>3142</sup>

Unwed girls, prostitutes and women who had committed adultery wore the toga; girls wore the *toga praetexta*, like their male counterparts, and prostitutes and adulteresses were depicted as wearing the *toga virilis*,<sup>3143</sup> which led Davies to interpret this garment as, therefore, not being wholly masculine, but that 'what makes the garment *virilis* is not so much the toga itself as how it is worn, and the behaviour of the wearer',<sup>3144</sup> rather like the concept of Roman masculinity and other abstractions of gender norms. The toga was once a unisex garment, worn by everyone, but later, during the Republic, it became the symbol of Roman (male) civic power:<sup>3145</sup> 'the toga did not start out as a male garment, it *became* one, and like all gender identities Roman

<sup>3134</sup> As seen in the resources used in studies on the toga. See, for example, Rothe 2018: 342; Rothe 2020: throughout.

<sup>3135</sup> See, for example, Rothe 2020: throughout.

<sup>3136</sup> Rothe 2018: 342.

<sup>3137</sup> See, for example, Rothe 2020: 42-43.

<sup>3138</sup> *Ibid.*: 9. See also Christ 1997: 25.

<sup>3139</sup> See, for example, Rothe 2020: 37, as well as the discussion below.

<sup>3140</sup> Rothe 2020: 1.

<sup>3141</sup> See *ibid.*: 56-57, referring to Quintilian Inst. 11.3.139-149.

<sup>3142</sup> Richlin 1993: 546: 'that *toga virilis* and *toga pura* were used interchangeable reminds us of the sexual overtones of *impurus* – definitely *un-manly*'; Vout 1996: throughout; Rothe 2020: throughout.

<sup>3143</sup> Richlin 1993: 545; Sebesta 2005: 113; Rothe 2020: 37.

<sup>3144</sup> See Davies 2005: 121.

<sup>3145</sup> Vout 1996: 215-216; *ibid.*: 128; Rothe 2020: 40-41;

masculinity was something that was constructed, cultivated and contested'.<sup>3146</sup> That girls, prostitutes and women who had committed adultery wore the toga did make the point 'that the toga in the imperial period could not be worn by respectable women, and particularly not by matrons', who wore the *stola*.<sup>3147</sup>

Others see it differently; girls wearing the *toga praetexta* are interpreted as being seen as non-gendered in the Roman world, and some scholars see adulteresses and prostitutes who wore the *toga virilis* (called the *toga muliebris* in this context) as being denied their right to wear the *stola*. Thus, they were denied their right to express their femininity, because they had broken the Roman cultural conduct of ideal womanhood.<sup>3148</sup> It is not known if these women were made to wear a toga by law, however, or if even if they did.<sup>3149</sup> Rothe does not see these women as wearing a toga as a symbol of their 'shameful' status, but instead were symbolically contrasted with those women who were 'respectable', i.e. who wore the *stola*, rather than the historically default clothing of the toga; they were shunned from respectability, rather than being isolated for their shame with the toga.<sup>3150</sup> Although Rothe makes this connection between Roman identity and the expression of Roman identity through the wearing of the toga clear in her monograph *The toga and Roman identity*, she does point out that 'although ... young girls and some women could wear it, it was a predominantly male garment for most of its history. As such, there is an obvious conflict between the claims made in this book for its embodiment of Roman identity and the fact that the type of Romanness it conveyed was heavily gendered in nature'.<sup>3151</sup>

It is telling that the only two inscriptions in this data set that mention the *toga praetexta* are associated with the Roman senatorial elite. In studies about the Roman toga, the importance of dress and how it was linked to expressions of social status, maturity and one's character, particularly in the circles of the elite, are emphasised throughout.<sup>3152</sup> Although now associated with depictions of the Romans as a race, most likely inspired by Virgil's *Romanos, rerum dominos, gentemque togatam* ('the Romans, masters of the world, the race that wears the toga', Verg. Aen. 1.283), research about the toga make it clear that this was an image of Romanness/manhood disseminated by the elite, for the elite.<sup>3153</sup> For them, it was very much the attitude of 'you are what you wear', and was essential to how others perceived the wearer.<sup>3154</sup> the message that comes across from studies on Roman dress is 'in essence, the Romans were keenly and consciously aware that adornment was an inextricable element of identity, and it was further more an important way in which an individual indicated his attitude to the dominant culture and his place in Roman society'.<sup>3155</sup> Visual representation went along with mental representation, both of how one saw oneself, and how others saw them. Both in society and law.<sup>3156</sup>

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<sup>3146</sup> Rothe 2020: 9.

<sup>3147</sup> Davies 2005: 128.

<sup>3148</sup> Vout 1996: 215. See also Richlin 1993: 545; Davies 2005: 128; Rothe 2020: 38, 41.

<sup>3149</sup> See Rothe 2020: 40. See also Vout 1996: 215; Davies 2005: 128.

<sup>3150</sup> Rothe 2020: 41.

<sup>3151</sup> *Ibid.*: 9.

<sup>3152</sup> See, for example, Rothfus 2010; in Rothfus' study, she defines the elite as 'in general to members of Rome's juridical elite within the city, the senatorial and equestrian orders' (426), which is implicitly how other similar studies on the toga approach the subject.

<sup>3153</sup> See, for example, Rothfus 2010: 426; Rothe 2020: throughout.

<sup>3154</sup> Rothfus 2010: 428-430; Rothe 2020: throughout, esp. 4-6. See also Ivleva 2020: 248.

<sup>3155</sup> Rothfus 2010: 428. See also Rothe 2020: throughout, esp. 4-6, 12.

<sup>3156</sup> Gardner 1998a: 147.

There is clearly a dress code. Behaviour and appearances are important and there is an image of ‘masculinity’ to be guarded, that is, of psychological masculinity. It is not enough merely to be biologically male, one must give out the appropriate signals and play the expected gender role.

Dress for the Romans was a part of social communication beyond language,<sup>3157</sup> sometimes the two went hand in hand: ‘an anecdote of Seneca the Elder describes orators wearing the toga to speak in Latin and changing into a *pallium* to speak in Greek (*Contr.* 9.3.13)’.<sup>3158</sup> Wearing the toga was intrinsic to the values someone wished to adhere to, i.e. Roman ones, and thus the purposeful removal of the toga was a deliberate act of an individual denying/being denied Roman values in their moral conscious.<sup>3159</sup>

If this was so crucial, then, to portraying someone’s identity, why is a toga only mentioned in three inscriptions in this entire data set (**ET.6**, **ET.28** and **RI.1**), twice in its capacity as the *toga praetexta* and once as the *toga pura*, which a fifteen year old boy was denied, therefore meaning that when he died he was still wearing the *toga praetexta*? The reasons for this could be because of the discussion above. Alternatively, it could be because many inscriptions were accompanied by reliefs, and so they could have been depicted togate in the accompanying relief, thereby feeling it surplus to requirements to mention it in their verse inscription; as the focus here is on the verse inscriptions themselves, this shall not be a central point of discussion here. Nevertheless, it is clear that the toga, in any form, was important primarily to the Roman elite, as they included it in their verse inscriptions, whereas those from a solely Roman military background tend to not mention the toga within the verse part of their inscription itself, thus it was clearly not as important to the soldiers of the Roman military and their sense of self and/or masculinity within their verse inscriptions; this correlates with the perception of the toga as presented in scholarship.

Another answer to this question could be that the elite perceptions of toga-donning were not, however, representative of the Roman world.<sup>3160</sup> Toga statues were art works of the elite/imperial family, and thus were selected for a reason, but were not representative of what everyone was wearing, nor everyday dress.<sup>3161</sup> The toga became more of a cultural symbol,<sup>3162</sup> a garment that would so famously come to represent the Romans both in contemporary and modern times, the civilian dress counterpart to the centurion’s/legionary’s armour that most people automatically envision when asked to visualise a Roman. In truth, there was a diversity in clothing, in terms of place, everyday wear, practicality, formal/informal, etc.: as Vout saw it, ‘the Roman world was one of tunics, trousers, and cloaks’.<sup>3163</sup> Many of the men and their families in Latin military verse inscriptions were not Roman citizens, or later became Roman citizens but were not by birth. Additionally, the Roman soldier had his own conventions of dress, and many soldiers are seen depicted on their epitaphs in their military uniform, rather than their civilian dress.

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<sup>3157</sup> See, for example, Rothfus 2010: 428; Rothe 2020: 6.

<sup>3158</sup> Rothe 2020: 6. See also 11.

<sup>3159</sup> See Rothfus 2010: 429; Rothe 2020: 11.

<sup>3160</sup> See Vout 1996.

<sup>3161</sup> *Ibid.*: 206.

<sup>3162</sup> See *ibid.*: throughout.

<sup>3163</sup> *Ibid.*: 217-218, see also 210.

Following on from these ideas, then, one can see how the toga is interpreted as a symbol for Roman manhood and masculinity.<sup>3164</sup> By the Empire:<sup>3165</sup>

the toga was not a military garment, but one of peace and civic duty, and *togam virile sumere* was not a biological threshold, but one that was defined and affirmed by the community. Whilst Roman manhood was not unrelated to sexual maturity, far more important was the cultural and political role that the young man assumed with his first *toga virilis*.

The garment expressed only one facet of Roman masculine identity, ‘but it was arguably the most important, as it pertained to a man’s civic role’.<sup>3166</sup> Davies, throughout her chapter ‘What made the Roman Toga virilis?’ in *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*, emphasises the correlation between power and the toga in the Roman world. The same is true of the symbols of Roman boyhood, the *bullā* and the *toga praetexta*, i.e. that they were expressions of manhood: Macrobius (Sat. 1.6.8-10) ‘records that the Roman ancestors allowed the bulla and the toga *praetexta* to noble-born Roman boys in the hope that they would take on such characteristics as bravery, manliness, and leadership, which those articles embodied as symbols of magistrates and triumphant generals. By granting young Romans the privilege of assuming these sartorial symbols, the Roman ancestors were also attempting to guide their development, identifying to those youths and those who interacted with them what values and characteristics were properly theirs’.<sup>3167</sup> Wearing a toga was symbolic of Roman civil manhood: ‘to wear the toga enunciated all those Roman *mores* which Roman citizenship demanded’.<sup>3168</sup> It can be confusing, as both Roman children and magistrates wore the *toga praetexta*,<sup>3169</sup> but this explains why Roman boys, at least, wore this purple bordered toga too. The toga was a display of civilian power, civilian masculinity, not military, which may also explain the rarity with which it is referenced in this data set.

In the Roman world, ‘just as a person’s male or female gender ... explained their behaviour, so did a person’s age or position in the life course of the freeborn population’.<sup>3170</sup> The *toga praetexta*, entitled to be worn by boys and girls of Roman citizens alike, was more of a protective garment for the child: ‘the toga praetexta, the purple-bordered garment that was a privilege of freeborn children. The purple border signified purity and was supposed to protect the child from witnessing or experiencing obscenity or untoward behaviour’.<sup>3171</sup> ‘Boys wearing the *toga praetexta* were seen as pre-sexual’,<sup>3172</sup> whereas *iuvenes*, young men who had donned the *toga virilis*, were not.<sup>3173</sup> As both boys and girls wore this garment, this has led many to interpret them as being seen in the Roman world as ‘non-gendered beings’.<sup>3174</sup> This toga also

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<sup>3164</sup> Richlin 1993: 546; Vout 1996: throughout, esp. 215; Christ 1997: throughout, esp. 25; Rothe 2020: throughout, esp. 36, 65, 68-69.

<sup>3165</sup> Rothe 2020: 65.

<sup>3166</sup> *Ibid.*: 42. See also Christ 1997: 25.

<sup>3167</sup> Rothfus 2010: 429. See also Rothe 2020: 63.

<sup>3168</sup> Vout 1996: 213.

<sup>3169</sup> See Rothe 2020: 59. She explains the origins of the *toga praetexta* and how it came to be worn by Roman children (60).

<sup>3170</sup> Laurence 2000: 443-444.

<sup>3171</sup> Rothe 2020: 37. See also 61 for Rothe’s analysis of how common it would have been for children to wear the *toga praetexta*, e.g. how many families would have been able to afford it?: ‘it seems likely that, as with the toga itself, there were classes of society who never wore it, and others for whom it was the dress of special occasions, such as court cases ... and religious rituals’. See also Richlin 1993: 553.

<sup>3172</sup> Laurence 2000: 444. See also Richlin 1993: 545.

<sup>3173</sup> Laurence 2000: 444. See also Sebesta 2005: 115.

<sup>3174</sup> Sebesta 2005: 116; Rothe 2020: 41.

had religious connotations, as it was worn by magistrates and those with religious posts/during religious ceremonies, and the colour purple had religious connotations, usually of purity.<sup>3175</sup>

Marriage and being given the *toga pura/virilis*, those stages of manhood, are seen in **ET.6**:

*intra ter quinos infelix occidit annos, |*  
*sic illi coniunx sic toga pura data est |*  
*nu[ll]aque pr[opa]go manibus succpta [p]arentis |*

Annius Severus' mother laments because his death at fifteen meant he was not able to be married, receive the *toga pura*, have children, and then have power from an office. The order of these events presented implies that this was the expected order of events in a man's life. The line *omnia Ditis habet praeterquam nomen eoru(um)* ('Dis has everything but their name', 9), 'their' presumably referring to both the *decurionus equitum* and his son, Severus, implies that, rather like the sentiment expressed in **AI.2**, Dis now owns these life events, or those years of their lives in which events such as Severus being married, receiving the *toga pura*, having children, and then having political power. Dis now has everything by the *decurionus equitum* and his son's names, which are kept in the land of the living through their epitaph. Marriage 'along with others [ceremonies] depicting military valour or state service, portray a normative image of elite Romans using visual references to key values and virtues ('*Leitwerte*'); ... marriage appears not as a private agreement but as a public act, showing the institution of marriage as central to a man's public identity. It could be postulated that, in addition, being married was considered a good, masculine thing to be, and implied stable heterosexuality and (future) control over a family'.<sup>3176</sup> We can see this ideology implicitly and explicitly stated in Latin military verse inscriptions, as seen in **ET.6**.

Both the *depositio barbae* and the exchange of the *toga praetexta* for the *toga pura* were societal expectations, cultural rites conducted in the lifetime, of a man, as they were rites conducted during a man's life in the stages of Roman manhood. Girls in the Roman world were regarded as becoming women when they, too, gave up their *toga praetexta* the night before their wedding.<sup>3177</sup> This rite for girl- to womanhood, although not seemingly conducted with the same pomp and ceremony as that of a boy exchanging his *toga praetexta* for the *toga virilis* for one of his multiple transitions into manhood, was equitable to the male version.<sup>3178</sup> For men, particularly for men in Rome, we can chart the life course of a boy to a man through recorded and conducted rites,<sup>3179</sup> but it was up to the boy's *pater familias* to decide when he could don the *toga virilis*, 'a decision made in light of the boy's physical development or his appropriateness for military service'.<sup>3180</sup> The military and a young man's maturity were intertwined: not only did youths take part in pre-military training in the early days of the Empire,<sup>3181</sup> but 'the temple of Mars Ultor... became the military centre of the city and the place where the youths registered on taking the *toga virilis* (Dio. lv, 10)'.<sup>3182</sup>

<sup>3175</sup> See Sebesta 2005: 116-118; Rothe 2020: 38, 61;

<sup>3176</sup> Rothe 2020: 49

<sup>3177</sup> *Ibid.*: 38, 64.

<sup>3178</sup> See Laurence 2000: 444 for more details on this, and 445, referencing Varro frg. 331.

<sup>3179</sup> *Ibid.*: 444.

<sup>3180</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3181</sup> See, for example, Ross Taylor 1924: 158, 160; Alston: 'the addition to the *cursus honorum* of junior military posts in charge of cavalry units and in the legions and the development of vigorous military exercises for aristocratic youths demonstrate Augustus' policy of generating an aristocracy fit to campaign' (1998: 212)

<sup>3182</sup> Ross Taylor 1924: 161.

The next rite a young man had to conduct to be regarded as a fully realised adult *vir* was the *depositio barbae*, the first shave ceremony. This ‘came to mark the young male’s definite transition to a stage in which he should no longer attract sexual attention from males... The ceremony was something for the family to fuss over’.<sup>3183</sup> *Iuvenes* ‘continued to be marked out as a group by the fact that they did not shave, unlike fully mature Roman men. The growth of a beard was seen as a key part of a male’s maturity and we can suggest that youths at Rome were seen with the first beard-growing through their later teenage years’.<sup>3184</sup> A young man in the Empire was considered to be aged between fifteen to twenty five.<sup>3185</sup> The *depositio barbae* took place in their late teens-early twenties, which we see in these inscriptions. Despite this, men:<sup>3186</sup>

were not considered mature enough to hold public office or transact business until they had reached a chronological age of 25. This was the age at which there was a certainty in the Roman cultural mindset that the soft child or *iuvenes* had been transformed into the hardness of manhood in terms of their body, their character and their mental capacity – in effect the final transition into citizenship

A young man was also not thought of as ‘capable of dealing with marriage ... prior to the age of 25 under the *Lex Plaetoria* and *Lex Villia Annalis*’.<sup>3187</sup> Men aged between twenty and forty were still called *iuvenes*, ‘and many of them were still legally subordinated to their father’,<sup>3188</sup> which explains why we see men in this age bracket described as *iuvenes* and as ‘the flower of youth’/in ‘the bloom of youth’ in these inscriptions.

The *toga virilis*’s symbolic use in the transition from boyhood to manhood in the Roman world was an abrupt one,<sup>3189</sup> yet the process of the transition into adulthood was not so. Young men were protected by the system and others around them as they were transitioning, through these rites, from boy- to manhood.<sup>3190</sup> Young men could hold lesser magistracies and military posts from about the age of eighteen onwards,<sup>3191</sup> as we see in so many of these inscriptions. The mentioning of the *toga praetexta* in **ET.28**, then, is perhaps equitable to its mentioning in **RI.1**, where clearly it was done so to emphasise the exceptionally young age at which Caesianus assumed his new priestly role, and that he left his *toga praetexta*, amongst other items, as a votive offering to Venus Erucina; perhaps Lupus, too, had assumed a political/religious role at an exceptionally young age and wished to show that off too.<sup>3192</sup>

It may seem, odd, then that so many soldiers who signed up, served, and died in the Roman military were technically not yet fully realised adult men when they died; it is little wonder, then, that their parents mourned them so. Yet, this may have been a way for them to participate in society and initiate their political careers, within the age restrictions imposed upon one wishing to enter the *cursus honorum*: due to a limited number of applicants to military posts, ‘Augustus required that every future senator should occupy a post as an officer (SUET.,

<sup>3183</sup> Richlin 1993: 547.

<sup>3184</sup> Laurence 2000: 444.

<sup>3185</sup> *Ibid.*: 328-330. See also Richlin 1993: 547.

<sup>3186</sup> *Ibid.* See also Eyben 1981.

<sup>3187</sup> Laurence 2000: 446. See also Eyben 1981: 349; Kleijwegt 1994.

<sup>3188</sup> Richlin 1993: 548.

<sup>3189</sup> Rothe 2020: 64.

<sup>3190</sup> Eyben 1981: 335-336, 340; Richlin 1993: 546; *ibid.*: throughout, esp. 65. See also Kleijwegt 1994: 93.

<sup>3191</sup> See Eyben 1981: 335-336, 345, 347-348 (345 and 347-348 for specifically military posts). See also Rothe 2020: 64-65 for more details on the social and legal freedoms that donning the *toga virilis* gave to the young man in question.

<sup>3192</sup> See Eyben: ‘but what should be thought of young men who conquered real political responsibility early? Quite simply, that they were exceptions, that it is not they who determine the image of youth’ (1981: 340).

Aug., 38, 2), - but the Emperor clearly did not get his way, as it is clear that many sons of senators did not serve in the army, even though the pay was not bad and this kind of military service did not last very long, sometimes scarcely half a year'.<sup>3193</sup> Augustus' 'attempt[ing] to spread military experience among the élite, ... created the paradoxical situation by which a professional soldiery was commanded by a largely amateur officer corps, which further enhanced the division of the *viri* [in this context, aristocratic men] from the soldiers'.<sup>3194</sup>

This lack of the sons of senators serving in the military led to more men of equestrian status, and who were older, having important military ranks.<sup>3195</sup> This meant that 'under the Empire thus young *equites* were only very exceptionally assigned military responsibility. Those exceptions were as a rule born and bred soldiers and one can hardly take them as the model of *the Roman youth*'.<sup>3196</sup> This did serve to create 'the awkward reality of military life: some soldiers, though old enough to serve in the army, may nevertheless still have possessed the youthful beauty of an adolescent, which may have proved irresistible to some older soldiers who were willing to risk leagal sanctions to pursue him. But ... a soldier, no matter how young or youthful, must be treated as a man'.<sup>3197</sup> Many men who entered into politics in later life had started their career in the military,<sup>3198</sup> as seen in the multiple inscriptions in this data set where a rank in the military was amongst the first of the many posts of a later high ranking politician.

These rites, the *depositio barbae* and the *toga praetexta* to *toga virilis*, were not, however, personality expectations of a man because of his gender, but practical stages that he was expected to go through as a part of Roman society and culture, during the lifespan of a man in the Roman world. These stages of a man's life were, primarily, only mentioned if they were lamented because they had been missed by the man's premature demise. As we have seen in epitaphs where funeral rites were denied for the family because the soldier had died abroad, these aspects of the progession of manhood that the Romans had made tangible were mourned when they were denied. This can hardly be unexpected of the Romans, being the practical people that they were.

A piece of imagery that is singularly related to manhood in these inscriptions is youth, especially traits such as having a beard, and being a young man (particularly if he was regarded to have died in the prime of his life); they were intrinsically linked to the identity of manhood in these inscriptions. Soldiers, regardless of age, are referred to as *iuvenes*, and, as such, are depicted as eternally youthful. The 'flower of youth' imagery, in particular, stands out as singularly (youth) masculine imagery. This is also how it is seen in Latin epic, such as throughout the *Aeneid* (see, for example, 5.295, 8.500). The age ranges in this data set in which this sentiment is expressed is used for young men in their twenties to men in their mid-forties.<sup>3199</sup> This may be because of the general family and "marriage" patterns of the Roman soldier: in the Danubian provinces, North Africa and the Praetorian Guard, 'soldiers were more likely to be commemorated in epitaphs set up by their parents than by their spouses and children, although not exclusively, and that this pattern was reversed after that age. This suggests that even though soldiers were forming unions while in active service they probably did this later

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<sup>3193</sup> Eyben 1981: 347.

<sup>3194</sup> Alston 1998: 212.

<sup>3195</sup> See Eyben 1981: 348-349.

<sup>3196</sup> *Ibid.*: 349.

<sup>3197</sup> Leitao 2014: 241.

<sup>3198</sup> See, for example, Eyben 1981: 333.

<sup>3199</sup> See also Jones 2018. See also the discussion below on the perpetual portrayal of the soldier as a *iuvenes*.

rather than earlier'.<sup>3200</sup> This imagery is filled with pathos, a strikingly tragic phraseology that summarises the idea of a youth dying when he was in the prime of his life, but yet with so much more potential left to give. This idea is usually expressed with *flos*, literally meaning 'flower' or 'blossom'. As can be seen in, for example, **ET.45**, **ET.17**, **ET.31**, **ET.42**, **LL.3**, **AI.2**, it is usually, but not always, parents who describe their deceased child in this way (see also Chapter 3). This is also seen in **ET.59**:

(ad sinistram)

*D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum).* |

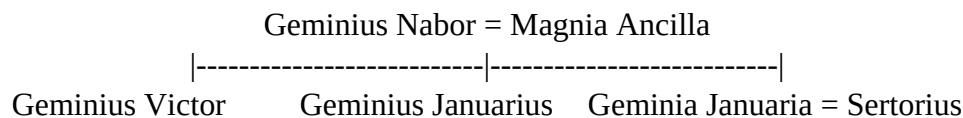
*Magnia Ancill'a* | *et Gemi|nius Na|bor de | eorum | Sertiorus | et Ianuaria | fecerunt.* ||

(ad dextram)

*Hic situs est iuvenis, primo qui flore | iuventae  
impavidus Martis. dum | <in>cautus iret in hostis,  
invida Par|carum sem<p>er sic prona volun|tas  
oppressit. memoran|de iaces Ianuari sepul|cro,  
sic felix quot | humo te mater mise|randa recondit.* |

*Geminus Victor fratri | carissimo fe|cit dedicavitque. | vix(it) an(nos) XXXXV.* |

Hamdoune (ed.) includes a family tree in his discussion of this inscription, which is presented as follows, with the caveat that 'l'inscription mentionne toute une famille dont le stemma pourrait se présenter ainsi en tenant compte du fait que l'ordre de naissance des enfants pourrait être différent':<sup>3201</sup>



Hamdoune (ed.) suggests that there were two stages in the creation of this inscription: Ianuarius' parents, Nabor and Ancilla, commissioned it before their deaths, and Ianuaria and her husband then paid for the tomb to be built. Nabor and Ancilla's epitaphs would then be created there upon the event of their death. Victor, who appears to be the eldest son, was responsible for commissioning/being involved in the creation of the verse inscription and accompanying underlying prose for his younger brother, Ianuarius, when he died in battle.<sup>3202</sup> This, thus, exhibits the chain of an expression of *pietas*, of duty to one's family both in life and death.<sup>3203</sup>

Despite dying at the age of forty five, Ianuarius is described as a *iuvenis*, and that he was *primo qui flore | iuventae* ('in the prime blossoming of his youth', 3) when he died.<sup>3204</sup> Hamdoune (ed.) postulates several reasons why this might be, most of which are related to his familial status, one on his military:<sup>3205</sup>

*Iuuenis* pourrait se comprendre, s'il est toujours sous la puissance paternelle ..., mais ce n'est probablement pas le cas ici, puisque ce n'est pas son père, mais son frère qui

<sup>3200</sup> Allison 2010: 167, discussing Phang's research, which is also discussed above.

<sup>3201</sup> Hamdoune (ed.) 2011.155: 252.

<sup>3202</sup> See *ibid.*, as well as the discussion on this inscription in section 8.9 below.

<sup>3203</sup> See discussion below.

<sup>3204</sup> Another explanation for this is provided below.

<sup>3205</sup> Hamdoune (ed.) 2011.155: 253.



s'est occupé des funérailles et que de ses parents, seule sa mère est citée. Il se peut aussi qu'il ait été member d'une de ces associations de *iuuenes* qui constituaient des milices de défense des cités en cas de danger. ... *Iuuenis* peut encore s'expliquer par la tendresse fraternelle: si Januarius était le cadet de Victor, il est demeure son petit frère

However, he could have been described as a youth, in his prime of life, simply because he died before his time, as he was described as being overpowered by the envy of the Fates, i.e. he died prematurely, and before both parents had died (*humo te mater mise|randa recondit*, 'your wretched mother buried you under the earth', 7). Those who were not able to fulfil their potential in life are often described as youthful in this way (as seen in Chapter 3). Alternatively, he was described in this way because he was a soldier.

The only time in this data set when this imagery refers to a woman is in **LL.4**, an epitaph for a soldier's wife, by the soldier himself (he held the rank of *beneficiarius consularis*) and her father:

+++ *memoriae* +++ [---]. |

*Hoc iacet in lapide Aure(lia) Marcellina pien|tissima coniux,  
qu'a`m lapis ipse tegit rap|ta(m) de luce serena.  
huic aetas prima cum | florebat in annis,  
invida Fatorum genesis | mihi sustulit illam.  
superante genetrice | sua, quae se cupiebat ob illam  
ante morti dari, | qu<a>m sibi flebil(is) casus  
acciderit, filiu[s]|que permansit Innocentius,  
et quicumque | legis nostros tu, nosti dolores.  
sic at et | Elysias senior descendis ad auras. |*

+ *Iul(ius) Victorinus b(ene)(vac.)f[ic](iarius) co(n)s(ularis) f(aciendum) c(uravit), || et pater  
Aur(elius) | Eptala | p(vac.)ientiss(im)i.*

The inscriptions that are most explicit about the progression of the life stages of a man, however, are **ET.73** and **ET.74** (and, therefore, *RIU* III 910), where they are stated in one line of these identically worded epitaphs to three soldiers,<sup>3206</sup> which lament the brevity of life, encourage the appreciation of it, no matter where one lives, and to live life to the fullest, because all that will be left of one's memory is the words upon their tomb:

*iam puer et iuenis iam vir et fessus ab annis.*

A similar sentiment is expressed in **ET.44** (6):

*mox exorta est, sen|sim vigescit, deinde sen|sim deficit.*

Perhaps it is important that this sentiment on the brevity of a man's life is found on the tombs of soldiers. After all, although they were amongst the minority in the ancient world in that they had a stable job, their job meant that their lives were regarded as, when needed, bullets in a gun, cannon fodder for a greater cause. They must have been reminded of the brevity of their own lives, if they had ever had to face against an enemy army in battle.<sup>3207</sup> Found in two different provinces, far away from one another, there was a universality to the message presented in this

<sup>3206</sup> Two definite, one conjectured (see the discussion on these inscriptions in Chapter 3).

<sup>3207</sup> For, as we have seen, not all Roman soldiers would have actually have seen military action in their lifetime.

copied verse that meant it could travel across the Roman Empire and still be deemed relevant in its message, both for the deceased, who themselves died in these various life stages, and for its viewers. The stages of a man's life, then, according to this poem, are these: *puer*, *iuvenis*, *vir*, *senex* (a boy, a youth, a man, an old man). They are not decorated by ceremonies in this inscription, nor lamented by the lack of them, but, much like the sentiments expressed in **ET.69** and **ET.44**, that the stages of a man's life could be encompassed into one line highlights the brevity of the passing of life. These inscriptions demonstrate that the stages of the life of a man are what defined manhood to the people who lived through it and who observed it, not the qualities that these men themselves held.

### 8.7. The Character of the Deceased

So, if their masculinity was not highlighted as a primary factor of a deceased soldier, but implied in their military service, what were considered important facets of a soldier's identity to be openly discussed? What did a soldier consider important aspects of the identities of those around him? To answer those questions, we must examine some portrayals of characteristics of the deceased. The general answer, however, appears to be that they were as individual as the inscribed verses, and their genesis, themselves: like how we remember those we grieve for now, we remember them for their personal attributes, and commemorate them, to give them an everlasting memorial in our minds.<sup>3208</sup> In this section, only personal characteristics, aspects of an individual's identity that were considered important enough to be revealed on their tombstone, are discussed; this can sometimes, however, coincide with their actions in battle, but these are focused on below.

Most of the information presented in these inscriptions are practical snippets of what was considered to have been a life conducted well in the Roman world: comments on their age, marital status, children, relation to others, their origins, where they were buried, how they died (or the absence of any knowledge of their death), the expressions of the grief of the living who the dead left behind, citizenship status, and, in the case of the military, their rank, achievements, and career, most often accompanied themes seen on epitaphs, for example. Given the references to the tombstone itself, and some expressing it as a 'gift' for the dead (see, for example, **AI.1**, **ET.40**, **LL.6**, **LL.7**), the act of erecting a (versified) tombstone was considered an act of love, commitment and grief by the commemorator themselves – i.e. a practical output of intangible emotions. This appears to be the way in which those in the Roman world understood the actions of those around them.

Generic, one word descriptors are often used to describe someone's 'personality'. However, these are formulaic, and from a small pool of epithets, thus removing the potential personal aspects attached to them. The most common of these epithets include *incomparabilis*, *dulcis*, *carus*, *-a* and the superlatives of *carus*, *-a*, *innocentissimus*, *-a*, *sanctus*, *-a* and *pius*, *-a*. For the bereaved, the most common self-epithet is *infelicissimus*, *-a*. *innocentissimus* is used most often for young children, *sanctissima* for women and *pientissimus* for men, although these epithets are found across the genders and age groups.

Such examples of the 'character' epithets found in Latin military verse inscriptions include:

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<sup>3208</sup> See also the discussion on how memory was immortalised in Chapter 3.

### ET.34

*Nigidia Firmina | mater infeliciss(ima) filio pientissimo.*

### LL.3

*L(ucio) Neratio Iusto | mil(iti) c(o)hor(tis) X urb(anae). vixit | annis XXIII mens(ibus) VIII. | hic quo anno in praetor(ium) | transiret et barbas pone|ret, mors in `hi `buit. infelicis|simi parentes Neratius Libe|ralis et Vettia Hermione | pientissimo fil(io) sibique vivi | fecerunt, quod noluerunt. | (vac.) |*

### RD.12

*C(aius) Ael(ius) Tertiolus, | b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) leg(ionis) VI Vict(ricis), | patri (vac.) pientissimo. |*

### ET.23

*M(arcus) Ant(oninus) Basilides frum(entarius) leg(ionis) X Gem(inae) | coniugi et filio pientissimis. |*

### ET.59

*Geminus Victor fratri | carissimo fe|cit dedicavitque. | vix(it) an(nos) XXXXV. |*

### ET.54

*[-----] | class(is) s(uprae) s(criptae) et | Spedia Prisc[a l(iberta)] | alumno kariss(imo) | b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuerunt). |*

### ET.61

*Maria Malchis mater | infelicissima filio sanctissimo.*

### ET.1

*T(itus) Vettius T(iti) f(ilius) Pol(lia) Nepos milit[(-) ---] | Ilvir q(uin)q(uennalis) flam(en) Dial(is) sibi et [---] | lib(-) [--- coniugi] | sanctissimae cum qua per mul[tos annos] | bene vixit.*

*Pietas* is important to consider briefly, as it goes beyond the nuances of the modern meaning of ‘pious’, which appear to have originated from the time of St Augustine.<sup>3209</sup> It was an attendance to familial obligation, with all the religious obligations that went along with it, rather than simply being rigorous in one’s religious obligations. Cicero defines it as *pietatem, quae erga patriam aut parentes aut alios sanguine coniunctos officium conservare moneat*, (‘*pietas* is the duty which advises us to care for our homeland and our parents and others joined to us by blood’, Inv. 2.66.). This is perhaps best exhibited in Courtney’s translation of the concept of *pietas* in his translation of **ET.40**: ‘filial piety’, thus highlighting its importance as an intrinsically masculine virtue in the Roman world.<sup>3210</sup> In **ET.40**, being *pius* and *pietas* are constantly highlighted as valued familial traits and qualities; nearly all the members of the

<sup>3209</sup> ‘From the time of Augustine (Civ. 10,1) *pietas* referred to the relationship between human beings and God, characterized by worship and the requirement of sacrifice, and the relationship between children and their parents; it also referred to the behaviour of people towards each other as manifested in works of charity. In this sense it was also significant in the further development of Christianity’ (Maharam 2006). See also, for example, Gardner 1998b: 3 for the meaning of *pietas*.

<sup>3210</sup> See, for example, Alston 1998: 213; Rothe 2020: 46; as well as the discussion below.

family in the prose inscriptions on this monument are described as *pius*, -a. As described in **a** and **b**, the creation of this monument, despite all its novelties, was an act of *virtus* and *pietas*, the noble act towards creating a truthful memorial of the life of Secundus' father. It was the duty of the son to put up the monument venerating and immortalising his father, both for the remembrance of his father, the religious observation and rites to appease his father's shade, and for future generations of his family. Therefore, setting up an inscription on behalf of the veneration/respect of one's family was an act of *pietas*, and this act of great *pietas* made Secundus align with the defining personality trait (being *pius*, -a) of his family.

To set up a tomb was not only an act of *pietas*, but was a way of exhibiting, displaying, advocating and proving one's *pietas*; it was something that could be acknowledged by the self, not just acknowledged and assigned as a personality trait by others. This is seen in **ET.40** and **RD.11**. In a much more condensed version of the sentiments expressed in **ET.40**, Martialis, a veteran, in **RD.11**, describes, in verse, his contribution to this monument he had set up for his whole family, as revealed in the prose part, but the verse was for his *pietas* and *persanctae coniugis* ('and for his most sacred wife', 3):

#### **RD.11**

*C(aius) Iul(ius) Martialis vet(eranus).*

*Has sedes genitor, dum vita [---] |  
pietat[iq]ue simul persanctae coniugis ipse. |*

*Iuliae Victor[inae ---] | ann(is) L[---] [---]II diebusque et Iuliorum Rogati et Quintae  
lib[erorum. ---] | praevenit constituit cum Iuliis Martiale Caninia [---] | simul depensa sexs et  
XX (millia) n(ummorum). |*

*ann(os) agens vitae bis quadra[ginta ---]. |*

Leading a family, being an heir, having (enough) money to pay for an inscription were primarily male-centred domains in the Roman world. Women are described as 'most pious' if they have fulfilled their female obligation as wives and mothers. Fortunatus, for example, in **RD.6** presents his motivations for making a verse inscription for his wife Veturia, who he describes as *unicuba uniuuga, quae post | sex partus, uno superstite obii* ('I am she who lay only with one man, was married only once; after having six children, I died with only one surviving', 4): *coniugi incomparabili et insigni in se pietate* ('for his incomparable wife, who was also distinguished in her piety to him', 5-6).

Men of all marital and familial status, however, are described as 'most pious'; although *pietissimus*, -a is attributed to both men and women, it is more often attributed to men, and across a more diverse range of societal (un)fulfilled obligations, thus giving it a nuanced interpretation of being a primarily masculine attribute and/or a good attribute for a man to have. Fortes describes *pietas* as 'that complex of reverent regard, moral norms, ritual observance and material duty in the relationship between parent and child, more particularly of a son to a father, both during the lifetime and after the death of the parent'.<sup>3211</sup> *Pietas* was heavily involved in the relationship between parent(s) and child:<sup>3212</sup>

<sup>3211</sup> Fortes 1961: 178.

<sup>3212</sup> *Ibid.*: 179.

it is understandable, therefore, why the right of filial succession was not only very strictly entrenched, but was in part enforced as an inescapable obligation to the familia in law and to the ancestral deities in ritual. One can easily imagine the legal constraint and moral compulsion that was required to bind a son in loyalty to his father, until the time when, as Maine put it, the paternal power was extinguished by his death. For not till then was the son jurally adult and autonomous, which meant *ipso facto* having the capacity to officiate in religious rites, as Aeneas does in *Aeneid* V, in commemoration of his father's death. Nor is it without significance that this should be his first important religious act.

This aspect of the parent-child relationship dynamic is seen in these inscriptions: when the epithet *pietissimus*, -a is used, it is most often used in an inscription either for a child by their parent(s) or by a child for their parent(s).<sup>3213</sup> *Pietas* was intrinsic to the family dynamic, both for how families operated in the Roman world, and how, legally, familial relationships were regarded.<sup>3214</sup>

In familial contexts, *pietas* was supposed to occur naturally as a result of birth. As Saller has shown, legal texts in the *Digest* treat *pietas* as a naturally occurring obligation for relatives to support each other's interests, and the jurists assumed *pietas* to be present even when the emancipation of children or some other legal mechanism technically separated blood relatives in the eyes of the law. Marriage or adoption might introduce a relationship after birth in which *pietas* was expected, but *pietas* was still supposed to exist throughout the length of that relationship as an intrinsic element of being in that relationship. This idea of natural *pietas* binding the family together... Pious reciprocity was supposed to be ongoing as long as the relationship continued to exist, and failure to uphold the obligations of *pietas* would be a negatively defined action in Roman society.

Yet, there was more to being *pious* and *pietas* than that, although this meaning is integrated in this ideal. Aeneas, Virgil's depiction of a perfect Roman man, let alone hero,<sup>3215</sup> is constantly described as *pious* throughout the *Aeneid* due to his veneration and respect of both his family (his father, son, wife and future descendants, i.e. the Romans), the country he shall found and his ancestral gods. Respecting and venerating the gods was inherited, 'one could be born into an ongoing reciprocal relationship with the gods, which it was one's pious duty to continue',<sup>3216</sup> and thus was also borne of familial connections (see also Chapter 5).

In Catullus, Henry argues, we see the more accurate, true meaning of *pietas* because he uses language in a way that is more akin to the way it was used by people at the time.<sup>3217</sup> Similarly to the interpretation that we see of *pietas* and its associated terms, in Catull. 63, *pietas* had meaning in 'the social, moral and religious ideas of ... society',<sup>3218</sup> 'to Catullus ... *pietas* is a quality that is shown in social life, in a man's relations with his fellows',<sup>3219</sup> and to be *pious* was

<sup>3213</sup> On a very few occasions, we see husbands calling their wives *pietissima* but, on the whole, this is the dynamic expressed with the epithet *pietissimus*, -a.

<sup>3214</sup> King 2003: 302-303.

<sup>3215</sup> See Henry 1950a: 63; Alston 1998: 213.

<sup>3216</sup> King 2003: 303.

<sup>3217</sup> 'He moved in, or at least on the skirts of, the fashionable society of the day, and when he writes to *pietas* and *fides* he does so as a man who appeals to ideas which are familiar to everybody, to ideas which do not require to be defined because they are generally agreed upon. He was not like Lucretius an ethical message with which he endeavours to reform society. He is not like Cicero interested in the philosophy of religion and ethics; he is not writing to order or to voice a programme or to enforce a political or social movement. And this detachment makes his evidence all the more reliable' (Henry 1950a: 63-64).

<sup>3218</sup> *Ibid.*: 63.

<sup>3219</sup> *Ibid.*: 65.

to conform to ‘the laws of the family and of society’.<sup>3220</sup> Henry summarises the meaning of *pietas*, and thus to be *pious*, as ‘for a Roman is not the observance of the virtues which in the eyes of moral philosophers are theoretically necessary for the order of family life and civil society, but adherence to the rules observed in civil society by the Roman fathers and handed down to their descendants as the *mores maiorum*: the root and basis of Roman *pietas* is to be found in the Roman community itself, and in those virtues which approved themselves to the Roman consciousness’ ‘and this *pietas* ... is pleasing to the gods’.<sup>3221</sup>

*Pietas* ‘was merely the traditional and customary performance of the social obligations which public opinion thought important’,<sup>3222</sup> which thus meant, as expressed in **ET.40**, that to erect an inscription to one’s family member was an act of *pietas*. In **ET.29**, the sister-in-law of Orfius, a *speculator* in the Praetorian Guard, made his inscription for him *propt’ e’r eius pietatem* (‘on account of his piety’, 2-3). It is not entirely clear whose *pietas* this is referring to, either it was because of Titus Orfius’ sense of *pietas* towards his deceased brother or because they wished to exhibit his deceased brother’s *pietas*, but, nevertheless, the erection of this inscription was linked to an expression of *pietas* towards one’s family members, beyond the parent-child dynamic, extending also to sibling and in-law relationships. Titus Orfius’ wife, Maria, emphasises her role in putting up this inscription for her brother-in-law and expressed her love and affection for him through it, a sentiment often expressed in Latin military verse inscriptions, especially ones by family members. Yet, it was not Orfius’ brother, Titus, but his sister-in-law who put it up for him (13). This extended beyond the family: strangers, too, participated in acts of *pietas* when they wished the earth would be light on the deceased, as seen in **LL.7.12**.

Cicero’s definition of *pietas* demonstrates how intertwined the treatment of one’s homeland and family were in the concept of *pietas*, not religion.<sup>3223</sup> King gives a useful definition of *pietas*, and he presents the sub-factors contained within the Roman meaning of *pietas*. He describes it vaguely as ‘the Roman ideal of reciprocal obligation’,<sup>3224</sup> which later leads to his description of *pietas*, which is perhaps the most accurate the author has found for this nuanced social, political, familial, moral and religious concept that was so important to, and therefore for understanding, the dynamics of those in the Roman world:<sup>3225</sup>

to be *pious* was not simply to be obedient to some authority (like a father, for example), but rather to be in fulfilment of one’s obligations toward another party in a relationship that was understood to be reciprocal, so that the other party could and should offer benefits in return as the relationship continued over time. In familial contexts, *pietas* emphasized the mutual support that family members could provide each other at different points in their lives...

*pietas* with the gods was also reciprocal. The gods could give benefits to humans, but humans gave offerings and reverence to the gods. Both sides of reciprocity were assumed to be important by participants in the ongoing worship.

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<sup>3220</sup> *Ibid.*: 66.

<sup>3221</sup> Henry 1950a: 67.

<sup>3222</sup> Henry 1950b: 57.

<sup>3223</sup> See Emilie’s discussion (1994).

<sup>3224</sup> King 2003: 275.

<sup>3225</sup> *Ibid.*: 302; this is also important to bare in mind when considering why people would have erected inscriptions to the gods, as presented in Chapter 5.

These reciprocal relationships were not, however, necessarily equal, in fact, they were rarely equal, but they were (mutually, for different reasons) beneficial.<sup>3226</sup> For King, there were sub-points of *pietas*, which, although his article is written in the context of Roman religious beliefs, applies to both the religious and the societal/familial aspects of *pietas* also: ‘*pietas* was reciprocal’, ‘the obligations of *pietas* were binding throughout the length of a given relationship, and that relationship was often of long-term or even permanent duration’, ‘*pietas* could link parties in multiple relationships simultaneously’, ‘*pietas* could link both individuals and groups, allowing for both individual and collective reciprocity’, ‘in a case where *pietas* linked an individual in relationships to multiple parties, the relationships did not have to be of equal strength, and the obligations owed to each party could be ranked in a hierarchy of importance’.<sup>3227</sup> *Pietas* worked for religious, familial and political/social (moral) obligations because ‘it was demanding enough in its obligations to reinforce ongoing ritual activity, while at the same time flexible enough to accommodate a much greater range in the number and degree of possible religious obligations’.<sup>3228</sup> But, the overall idea of being *pious* in these inscriptions was the same as that expressed in Virgil and Catullus, a veneration of home, society and family. To be thought of as *pious* was a reward for the self: ‘*pietas* is its own reward: it is the fulfilment of one’s duty to one’s fellows, not of one’s duty to the gods who, though they are pleased when men show *pietas*, do not reward him for what in the order of society rewards itself’,<sup>3229</sup> and to be *pious* was ‘the feeling that the one has the right to be regarded as *pious* is pleasant and consoling, and remains with one for life as a constant source of joy’.<sup>3230</sup> This, it seems, also appears to be the case for the dead, and/or for the living the dead left behind.

During the Empire, the concept of *pietas* had another nuanced meaning to it: ‘now to the Emperor, as supreme head of the armed forces, the soldiers and armies naturally owed *pietas*, for they had taken an oath to him. So in a soldier *pietas* comes to imply devotion to the Emperor, and *pia fidelis* becomes a title of honour bestowed on a legion that had shown special loyalty. But during the course of the first century not only the army, but the whole body of Roman citizens, gradually came to be thought of as owing *pietas* to the Emperor, and so *pietas* begins to mean loyalty on the part of a citizen to his ruler’.<sup>3231</sup> Yet, in these inscriptions, *pietas* with this aspect is only expressed once: in **ET.14**, where Verecundus is described as *[qui] pius in Suria fortiter arma tulit* (‘you who was pious and bravely bore arms in Syria’, 5). Although his posting away from home meant he missed being able to conduct his father’s funeral rites when he died (the implication is, as he should have done, as his son), and he therefore could not carry out this familial duty, Verecundus is still described as *pious*, because of his military service: this description of him is immediately followed by a reference to his active service in Syria. In this

<sup>3226</sup> See King 2003: 302, and: ‘one should stress that being in a state of reciprocity is different from being equal. Often *pietas* was the model for the interdependence of parties in unequal relationships. Humans were not equal to gods; citizens were not equal to the state; children were not equal to their parents, but their interests were interwoven. Citizens needed the state, but the state also needed citizens. A *paterfamilias* held the balance of power in his family unit, but he would nevertheless need the support of his children and spouse in a wide variety of ways. Likewise in religion, Roman worshippers assumed their gods to be far more powerful than themselves, but they nevertheless believed that they could offer gods things that the gods wanted or needed... The power was unequal but the relationship was reciprocal’. ‘Children (as a group) might have collective obligations to parents, and citizens (collectively) owed *pietas* to the state. Likewise, *pietas* with the gods could link an individual worshipper with multiple gods, but also link a group of Romans to any individual god, or even the entire Roman community (as a unit) to an individual god’ (305); this latter point is seen in those verse inscriptions in Chapter 5, where a centurion has erected a religious inscription on behalf of his unit (see also the discussion on **RI.14** below).

<sup>3227</sup> King 2003: throughout (these are the sub-headings in this paper).

<sup>3228</sup> *Ibid.*: 301.

<sup>3229</sup> Henry 1950b: 55.

<sup>3230</sup> Henry 1950a: 65. See also Alston 1998: 213.

<sup>3231</sup> Charlesworth 1943: 1. See also Maharam 2006 for all the facets included in the definition of *pietas*: veneration of family, the gods, one’s homeland, and the Emperor.

dialogue between him and his father, commissioned for Tardus and Verecundus by Laura, their wife/mother respectively, ‘Verecundus’ also shows respect and deference towards his parents.

It is perhaps not without significance, then, that the very epithet used to describe Aeneas himself (*pius*) is the very thing that takes away his individualism and free will (*pietas*),<sup>3232</sup> and that this epithet, whilst ostensibly denoting an individual characteristic, merely suggests that someone acted within the basic confines of proper societal behaviour towards one’s family, society and culture within these verse inscriptions. Within the concept of *pietas* is veneration and respect of one’s family, ancestors, and the gods, and thus the rites and customs that went along with those concepts. Therefore, when someone is described as ‘most pious’ in these inscriptions, it must be understood with this nuance, i.e. respect of one’s family, in conjunction with one’s (ancestral) gods. Perhaps this epithet was added to those who were unable to fulfil their obligations (as dictated by the conventions of *pietas*, i.e. having children and continuing the family, being unable to bury their parents, because their parents had to bury them, etc.) because death had been the one to deprive them of this obligation, not their own characteristics; their character in life had proven them to be *pius*, but Fate had taken away their ability to show this.

The inscription where these epithets are the most diverse, and thus become something akin to individualising, are *obaudientissimus*, *fidelissimus*, *optimus* and *pientissimus* in **RD.13**; Miles’ personality traits imply that he deserved a tomb. These are often featured in the prose introduction or conclusion attached to these verse inscriptions where the bare minimum of information about the deceased and their dedicator are given, and they were so formulaic that they were sometimes abbreviated. It is almost as if the pathos that perhaps now would one expect to be evoked through a more personalised commentary on the loss of the individual was instead in the Roman world gained through the loss of the potential of the individual, the practical aspects that the loss of their life took from the world, the void that their life left in the future, only to be filled by the permanence of their tombstone rather than the loss of the individual’s more abstract identity, i.e. through their morals, their characteristics, and what they stood for. In examples such as **RD.3** and **RD.4**, what may appear to be a personalised expression of an individual’s conduct of their life, that this idea is repeated, almost word for word, in another inscription negates this feeling of individualism. It is surprising, when examining these inscriptions in more depth, and with this aim in mind, how little such aspects of an individual were commented on and, if they were, they were often brief, and amongst other themes; these expressions of an individual’s characteristics are infrequent. Certain characteristics may become slightly ‘cariacatured’, i.e. slightly heightened from how they were presented by the individual when they were alive. Yet, those characteristics were deemed important enough about the individual to remember, and important enough to immortalise on a tombstone in their everlasting honour.

### 8.7.1. Soldiers

Infrequently, mixed in with epigraphic tropes, specific personality traits of individuals are expressed, such as Baebius, a *miles* of the 7<sup>th</sup> Legion, who (**ET.3**):

*dum vi[x]i, [hil]aris iucundus amicis*

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<sup>3232</sup> i.e., that his *pietas* to his duty/destiny, driven by the gods, that he would be the father of the Roman people led him to leave for Italy and, in doing so, leave Dido. See, for example, Fortes’ comments on other scholars’ verdicts of Aeneas’ repeated epithet (Fortes 1961: 178).



A now anonymous soldier, who died in a Numidian war, is described as *veri[tatis] | amator* ('a lover of truth', 10) and *pro[batus in] | armis* ('proven in arms', 3) in **ET.55**, a now fragmentary verse inscription by the father of this soldier. Unfortunately, **ET.63** is too fragmentary to learn more about the personal attributes of the life of the, now unknown, soldier other than *tam probus piusq(ue) vixi* ('I lived, such an honest and pious [man]', 8). In **NW.1**, we are introduced to Valerianus through, unusually, his personal attributes before anything else, including his military role: *iusti iu[dex] | laudator et aeq[ui]* ('the judge of the just, and praiser of the fair', 1), is Sentilius', his *frater*, verdict of his character. In this inscription, he is later also described as *praetoriae fidus* ('he was loyal to the Praetorian Guard', 4), which could be an assessment of Valerianus' character, but it appears to be a reflection of his military service, i.e. that he only served in the Praetorian Guard in his military career, and not in the legions (*non | barbaricae legion[is]*, 'not a barbarian legion', 4). Urbanus, a military tribune of the *Legio VII Gemina Pia Fidelis Antoniniana* (**ET.44**), was described by his father in law as *homini in vita sua optimo* ('the best man in his own lifetime', 3) in the prose part of his epitaph. Although what, exactly, he had done to deserve this appellation in his father-in-law's eyes is not specified. Herennus, a son of a veteran, as well as his desire to travel to Africa, was remembered for how he lived too, and, while he lived, his priority were his loved ones, and his ingenuity was celebrated by whoever (we do not know who they were) decided to commemorate him (**ET.51**):

*vivere dum liquit carus me|is*  
*et pius vix{s}i et in omnia sollers*

Such expressions of individual characteristics and ways of life often include the phrase 'while I lived' (*dum vixi*, etc.); thus, they had these attributes and not, it is implied, in death as well. In an example such as **ET.10**, then, it may be easy to mistake the brief verse aspect of this inscription, for Titus Cissonius, veteran of the *Legio V Gallica*, as an expression of how he, Cissonius, personally lived his life. Yet, the other half of the line reveals that it is playing with a common sentiment expressed in epitaphs, as a part of the idea of 'live, whilst you still can!':

*Dum vixi, | bibi libenter. bibite vos | qui vivitis. |*

Comments such as Lucius Trebius (**ET.30**) conducting his life *nullo odio sine offensa* ('with no hatred, with no offenses, 5) were also formulaic and, given the following words were *missus quoq(ue) honeste* ('I was also honestly dismissed', 5), this statement was made in relation to his military service, i.e. further emphasising the idea that he had been honestly dismissed, and, as he had conducted himself *nullo odio sine offensa*, that he deserved to be honestly dismissed, and thus nullifies this statement as one of an indication of a purely personal way of conducting one's life. The phrase *iniuriam feci nulli* may seem an odd expression to use for a soldier, but this was a sentiment expressed on epitaphs of soldiers and civilians alike (see **RD.3** and **RD.4**, and *CIL* IX 2128). A similar sentiment was also not cheating other people in life, as seen in **ET.64**. How Cominius, a *miles* of the 11<sup>th</sup> legion, was able to conduct his life, *sem|per bene pauper honest(vac.)e(vac.)* ('always well, poor, honest', 3) and without cheating anyone meant that his bones were able to lie at rest.

In **ET.4**, Fannius' character is given in relation to where he died: he appears to have died where he served, and he was buried 'with a virtuous reputation' (8). Thus, he retained his character and reputation in death:

*rumore sancto Ilyrici | iaceo in solo*

Only once is the way in which someone conducted their life is used in contrast with the way in which they died, usually to emphasise the goodness of one and the unfairness of the other. In the case of **ET.71**, where a centurion and his wife, a freedwoman, are both praised for conducting their lives in a similar fashion in direct contrast to the unjustness of their deaths. They have three praised attributes: *frux*, *probitas*, and *fides* ('virtuous', 'honour', 'loyal', respectively, 2). Their *frux* could refer to Titus Acclenus' rewards in the military service, perhaps the centurionate itself, and Annia Helena's reward was freedom from slavery, *probitas* translates to 'goodness' or 'honesty', of which theirs was regarded as the greatest (*summa*), and they were considered to have conducted themselves with great loyalty (*fide magna*). As they were united in life in their attributes, so were they in the harshness of their death:

*Frugi summa qum probitate | fide magna.*  
*concordes indigne | morbo excrucianti morte obierunt. ||*

Being literate was, for some, an important exhibition of someone's character, personality, and talents. The way in which Terentius Fortunatus (**AI.10**) was *vir armis | ingenio et animo | maximo* ('a man of great fortitude in arms, character and mind', 1) is not specified. But his two specified 'attributes' are that he was in the military (*vir armis*, 'a man of arms', 1) and he could read works in both Latin and Greek. As *ingenio* is next to *armis* and *animo* nearest the description of his ability in Latin and Greek, could these be the ways in which his great character and mind were exhibited (i.e. that he bore arms was an indication of the magnitude of his character, that he was bilingual/learned his mind)? In **ET.61**, Vitalis' skill in writing is the main focus of his epitaph by his mother; that he served in the Praetorian Guard comes after three indications of his skill in literacy and writing, references to his skill in writing are in every line except the one that mentions he was in the Praetorian Guard, and it was the Fates who took his skill away when he died, not his service in the military, or even Vitalis himself:

*L(ucius) Marius L(uci) f(ilius) | Vitalis | vixi ann(os) XVII d(ies) LV consummatus litter(is). |*

*Parentes suasi artefic(ium) | discerem.*  
*discessi ab | urbe in praetorio | Hadriani Aug(usti) Caesar(is), |*  
*ubi, dum studerem, Fata | inviderunt mihi*  
*raptum|que ab arte tradiderunt | hoc loco. |*

*Maria Malchis mater | infelicissima filio sanctissimo.*

*Virtus* is surprising in its infrequency: it is mentioned in only seven inscriptions in this data set. In the *Aeneid*, in many ways what would become the template of Romanhood upon which the Empire was constructed, 'of the other qualities of a Roman hero, Aeneas' *gravitas* and *dignitas* [neither terms are mentioned in these inscriptions], his private and public integrity, suffer severe blows in the course of the work; only his *virtus* ... and *pietas* remain intact, and in the end make it possible for him to reach his destination and found his city. (And *virtus*, whenever it appears, is linked closely to *pietas*...).<sup>3233</sup> These qualities are what make him the ideal Roman man.<sup>3234</sup> We have already seen the importance of *pietas* in this data set, and *virtus* is closely related to *pietas* (including the religious, performative aspects of *pietas*) when it is mentioned in Latin military verse inscriptions.<sup>3235</sup>

<sup>3233</sup> Mcleish 1972: 128. See also Maharam 2006. See also the implication of *pietas* and *virtus* being intertwined in Coulston 2013: 14, as well as the discussion in the introduction to this chapter.

<sup>3234</sup> See Alston 1998: 213.

<sup>3235</sup> See also the discussion on these inscriptions presented in the chapters above.

In **RI.1**, *virtus* relates to the context of religion and military action:

*quanta patet virtus, ens[is ---]*

As it does in **NW.8**, although in a different, (what exactly the verses said which involved *virtus* are now unknown due to the fragmentary state of the text) but still religious context:

*hinc undas mil[es(?)] ---] videre SUL+++ , |  
unde et pu+++[--- li]quor inde salutis |  
ex+[---] +iunt [---] quantus +++ |  
virt[(-) ---] +++ |  
[---] in anno[s] |  
[---]que vovera[t] ++tu+ |  
[---]us praepositus hunc tibi OVOM |  
[---]RE cingeris vite comati, |  
[---]++++ nata dono circumdata uvis. |  
te, precor, Odrysia donum terrena(?) recondas. |*

In **AI.7**, *virtus* solely features in its religious capacity, as the abstract goddess *Virtus*, who was identified as being syncretised with Cybele, Pax, Dea Syria visually into the constellation Virgo:

*Imminet Leoni Virgo caeles|ti situ (vac.)  
spicifera iusti in|ventrix urbium conditrix, |  
ex quis muneribus nosse con|tigit deos. (vac.)  
ergo eadem mater divum | Pax Virtus Ceres (vac.)  
Dea Syria | lance vitam et iura pensitans. |*

**ET.40** refers to the monument, set up in honour of Secundus' father by Secundus himself, being perceived by the public as an act of *virtus*, and thus we have *virtus* connected to another construction project, and to a recognised act of *pietas* (as referred to throughout the verse on the monument):

*quis non iam pronis animi virtutibus adsit*

Filled with epigraphic tropes and themes, the verse on this monument comments on the nature of manhood in the Roman world, portraying it with the stoic traits we associate with Roman masculinity, which appear to have continued into understandings of masculinity today; the message portrayed in **ET.40a.33-37** recall the sentiments expressed in Rudyard Kipling's *If*. In **ET.40a**, endurance through the hardships of life, labour, *pietas*, reverence of the gods, *virtus*, and respect of one's parents are what summarise a man, throughout the inscription, especially seen in 33-37, where the duration of life is defined as 'the age of man':

*... set si quis ad omnes |  
respiciat vitae casus hominemque laboret |  
metiri brevitatem suam, tunc credere discet |  
nil aliud melius fieri nisi viribus aevi |  
quot possit durare diu, sub honore deorum. |*

In **AI.8**, an epitaph for a *miles*, *virtus* relates to (his parents') pride in his service, and the moral reward that bestowed onto a soldier in the Roman military:

... huic suo | n<sup>o</sup> mine laeto, |  
 castrorum decus ac virtu|tum nobile munus |  
 [R]oma aeterna potens | tribuit.

As seen in **RI.14**, *virtus* was something inherent to the military, bestowed upon all those within its ranks. In **AI.8**, Semelius gains a specific type of *decus* unique to military life and *virtus*, called *nobile munus*, once he had been officially recruited into the military, by the agency of Rome: *castrorum decus ac virtu|tum nobile munus | / [R]oma aeterna potens | tribuit* ('powerful, eternal Rome bestowed the glory of the army life / and *virtus*, that noble gift, on him', 8-9).<sup>3236</sup> There is a play on the meanings of *munus* here, as it means both 'gift' and 'duty', and so *virtus* is described in **AI.8** as both a 'noble duty' and a 'noble gift'. *Virtus* is automatically bestowed onto a soldier as soon as they join the ranks, a duty they automatically serve as soon as they are recruited into the military.

In **RI.13c**, a hunting trophy of boars' tusks are an exhibition of the *legatus Augusti pro praetori Maximus' virtus*, thus further reinforcing the link between hunting, as well as military, success as tangible displays of *virtus*. *Virtus*, then, seems to have been exhibited through any form of combat, physical and prolonged exertion, and conquest, all of which were made tangible through visible proof, in this case boars' tusks, in the case of the soldier in general, through his military service and the trophies he earned through it. *Virtus* is linked with *pietas* through both familial and religious acts, it was a part of piety and piety was a part of it. As we have seen in **ET.40**, revering and enduring life under the gods was a part of the lot of man (specifically *vir* 'man', not 'man' as in 'human', which would be *homo*)<sup>3237</sup> (36), and thus was a part of manhood, which is how *pietas* can be said to be an integral part of *virtus*, and so an expression of *pietas* could be said to be an expression of *virtus* also.

The most obvious inscription in which the connection between abstract virtuous characteristics (especially *virtus*, explicitly, and *pietas*, implicitly) are made tangible through practical deeds, however, is honorific: **RI.14**. In this, a centurion of the *Legio III Augusta* commemorates the virtues of the legion and an accompanying *numerus*, but, as seen in earlier chapters, he extolls the *virtus* of the legion. This is one of the few inscriptions in which the importance of virtues commonly associated with Roman masculinity, such as *virtus*, are expounded. Here, we see the *virtus* of the legion repeatedly emphasised (it is their *virtus* that makes the work immortal: *Arta virtute sua opera aeternale fecerunt*, 'they make their works exist for eternity with their skill in *virtus*', 9), as well as their *honestia* ('honesty', 10). Other virtues that are not so often associated so synonymously as *virtus* with Roman manhood are also present, such as their *zelus*. They worked *Rigido vigore iuvenum* ('with the strict vigour of a young man', 3), which highlights how, by definition, regardless of age, soldiers were considered young men, and to possess the physical qualities of a young man. This also indicates how the legion worked as a unit, as one: *iuvenis* is in the singular. The performance of *pietas* is emphasised through the work itself: it is for the benefit of the community, beyond that of the legion.

*Pietas* is also implicit in the action of Iascuthan itself: he, as the centurion of the *Legio III Augusta*, commemorated this inscription on behalf of his unit, this individual representing the *pietas* of a legion, partly due to his status, and partly because this was how acts of *pietas* could

<sup>3236</sup> See also the discussion on this inscription below.

<sup>3237</sup> See discussion on Alston 1998: 206.

work, the individual working on behalf of/representing the many.<sup>3238</sup> Through the narrative of the verse, there is also the sense that the speed with which this work was conducted should also be thought of as praise-worthy. However, these virtues were not celebrated because of military combat, but they were through activity that was also associated by those in the Roman world with the Roman military: (the restoration of a) construction, in this case a gate that had been neglected by previous military units posted in Gholaiia. That they developed upon what their ancestors had started, had restored it to its former glory, and made it more lustrous than it was before must have been spotted as the perfect metaphor for the way the values of the Roman world were created and modelled: morality was based on the *mos maiorum*, but made better by the forthcoming generations, whilst doing so under similar or worse conditions than their ancestors (**RI.14.10-11**) was considered the height of progression and development in the Roman psyche.

Throughout **RI.14**, these virtues are praised, lauded, and are demonstrated through their work on the gate. Although the *Legio III Augusta* was assisted by a *numerus* in this restoration work, these virtues are primarily associated with the conduct of the soldiers in the legion, and the work is solely credited to this legion. We only know about the *numerus*' input because one of the soldiers from this unit sacrificed his life, it seems, during the construction project, and thus was honoured in one line (24). In this verse inscription, abstract virtues become tangible, through their actions in life, which were then recorded in verse. Also, this inscription indicates that what could be considered personal attributes could also be given to a collective, and they would be regarded as just as praiseworthy, for being held by the individual (there are three 'named' individuals in this inscription: the *magister*, the anonymous member of the *numerus* who died, and the centurion who commissioned the inscription and led the work) as well as by the collective (the *Legio III Augusta*, mentioned throughout, and the *numerus*, mentioned only because of the sacrifice of the individual).

**ET.20** summarises the purpose behind epitaphs in particular, but it can be applied to inscriptions in general, in the Roman world: they had a practical function, to encourage the living that they are lucky, simply for being alive, of mourning, and of perpetual remembrance.

*Vivite felices nostris|que profundite Manis |*  
*et memores sitis nobis|cum vos esse futuros. |*

Those reading these inscriptions were designed as the perpetuators of these people's memories. Perhaps, then, they had to cling to the tangible aspects of someone's life, the ways in which they made their mark on the world, as practically as a verse inscription carved in stone does, because that always has meaning, sentiment, understanding. Whereas, if someone is funny, or adores their family above all else, may perhaps be too abstract to make someone's memory able to be remembered by all who pass by their tombstone, as humour and love are subjective and

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<sup>3238</sup> See King 2003: throughout, esp. 305-307, as well as Chapter 5. 'the Romans could conceive of the Roman community (as a whole) as being one side of a reciprocal relationship with any god. Equally importantly, they show that the rituals that made up the Roman side of that reciprocity did not need to be conducted by each individual member of the community and might be conducted only by a small number of individuals. Thus, there was no contradiction between the ideal of maintaining eternal continuity of worship and the reality that individual Romans did not worship all of their gods. As long as someone in the community was maintaining the worship, then the collective *pietas* of the Romans with all of those gods was being upheld. Only a sign of divine displeasure would suggest that the Romans were failing in their commitments ... If life was running smoothly, then the gods were satisfied, and the Romans assumed that they were maintaining an appropriate level of *pietas* with all their divine protectors' (King 2003: 305).

open to interpretation by the individual receiving them, not the individual beholding them, especially to a practically minded race such as the Romans.

### 8.7.2. The Soldier's Family

Even more unusual is when the personal characteristics of a member of a soldier's family are described. Most often, this happens with their wives, and children's (i.e. the child of a soldier, not a son as a soldier) personal characteristics are seldom, if at all, mentioned. However, the majority of character descriptions we encounter in Latin military verse inscriptions are one word attributes, of which there is a rather generic, narrow set that people tended to choose from/were used in inscriptions (see section 8.7.3 below; see also above).

Wives are praised for the virtues they show in their capacity as wives, rather than their own personal attributes. This is seen, for example, in **AI.9**, where Aelius Proculus, a tribune of the *Legio III Augusta*, praises his wife as a *karissima coniunx cer|tae pudicitiae / bonoque obse|quo laudanda matrona* ('dearest wife of unerring chastity / and a respectable woman who must be praised for her good obedience', 5-6), all attributes of a good Roman wife. Similarly, in **RD.2**, the wife of a centurion of a legion is praised for her *inculpata marito / ob|sequio raro solo contenta marito* ('She was blameless to her husband, / rare in her obedience, content with only her husband', 4). In **RD.6**, Veturia is described in similar terms: *unicuba uniuga, quae post | sex partus, uno superstite obii* ('I am she who lay only with one man, was married only once; after having six children, I died with only one surviving', 4), and it is presumably for these reasons why she is described as a *coniunx incomparabilis* ('incomparable wife, 6') and *insignis in se pietate* ('distinguished in her piety to him [her husband]', 5-6). Veturia is introduced to us as a *matrona* before her name is given (**RD.6.1**).

Paterna in **RD.9** is also described in this way: she was worthy of a tomb, also a *coniunx incomparabilis* (15), because she was a good Roman woman and wife: *sanctae casta fide (vac.) post pignora certa. (vac.) | / gnatum memoriae statuit haec prima | cubil'e' / coniugis (vac.) obsequio, (vac.) meruit (vac.) | in munere functae (vac.) / sep{h}ulc(h)rum (vac.) | dignum pro meritis a coniuge amante{m}* ('with the chaste fidelity of a virtuous woman, after her [survives] an unerring assurance of her affection: / this woman first had a son in memory of her marriage. / Obedient to her husband, she deserved a tomb, acting as a gift, / worthy of her merits, from her loving husband', 3-6). As these generic wifely qualities are the only good characteristics these wives are presented as possessing, we can infer from this that these were the only worthwhile characteristics they could have, i.e. those of a Roman matron, and being a mother. In **ET.47**, the wife of a veteran, Valeria Manilia, is described as *carae adq(ue) dul|cissimae mulieri et | incomparabili* ('a dear and sweet and incomparable woman and wife', 2) and her husband, Flavius Impetratus, asks the passer-by to address her as *Manilia dulcis* ('sweet Manilia', 6).

In **ET.21**, Iustus, a *hydraularius salariarius* of the *Legio II Adiutrix* praises his wife for her superior ability in playing the same instrument as he did, the *hydraularius*. Her musical talent (singing and playing), as well as being dear and pious to him, are her defining attributes in the eyes of her husband, and he intertwines her musicality further with Aelia Sabina's epitaph by it both being in verse and he encourages the passer-by not to say the final farewell to his wife, but to sing it:

*Clausa iacet lapidi coniunx pia cara Sabina. |  
artibus edocta, superabat sola maritu|m.*

vox ei grata fuit, pulsabat pollice cordas, |  
 set cito rapta sil'e`t. ter denos duxerat annos  
 he|u male quinque minus, set plus tres me(n)ses habebat |  
 bis septemque dies, vixit. h(a)ec ipsa superstes  
 spectata in {p}po|pulo, hydraula grata regebat.  
 sis felix, quicumque leges, te | numina seruent,  
 et pia voce cane: "Aelia Sabina, vale!"

T(itus) Ael(ius) Iustus | hydraularius salararius leg(ionis) II Ad(iutricis) coniugi faciendum curavit. |

In **ET.23**, the wife and son of a *frumentarius* of the *Legio X Gemina* are remembered. The son, who died when he was a toddler, is not presented with any personal attributes, but the gods are condemned for taking him away from his parents so soon. But his wife is described in a more individual manner. There is one line of verse for each of the deceased, and Augustinia Cassia Marcia, the wife of Marcus Antonius Basilides, the *frumentarius*, is described thusly: *Quaequae, dum explesset Fa|ti sui laborem, meliora sibi spe|rans vitam functa est* ('And she who had served life, while she fulfilled the work of her Fate, hoping it would be better for herself', 4). *Dum explesset Fa|ti sui laborem* refers to her being alive: here, it is the equivalent of *dum vixit*, but it is the part of the line after this that is a more oblique reference to her character than we have seen in this data set before: *meliora sibi spe|rans vitam functa est*. One could see this as her being a hopeless optimist, others that she was selfish and conducted her life for self-gain (as indicated by *sibi*), or that she was more cynically/pessimistically inclined, that she hoped that life would get better, but knew in reality that it would not. It does have an element of despair about it, although that could be the context of the verse itself; it is, after all, in an epitaph. Alternatively, this could be a positive line about Marcia and the way she conducted her life, it could be presenting her as someone who did not give up, and who bravely carried on, despite everything; after all, sometimes the hardest thing someone can do is carry on, hoping, rather than knowing, things will get better, and, in a world that was hard to exist in even on a day to day basis, perhaps sometimes the future did feel like a trial by hope, rather than knowledge.

In only one inscription in this data set is someone portrayed unfavourably: the father of Rubrianus, Urbanus, in **ET.62**:

*Qui dum vita datast semper vivebat avarus  
 heredi parcens, invidus ipse sibi. |  
 hic accumbentem sculpi genialiter arte  
 se iussit docta post sua fata manu, |  
 ut saltem recubans in morte quiescere posset,  
 securaque iacens ille quiete frui. |  
 filius a dextra residet, qui castra secutus,  
 occidit ante patris funera maesta sui. |  
 sed quid defunctis prodest genialis imago?  
 hoc potius ritu vivere debuerant. |*

The tomb was made by Urbanus, Domestica (Urbanus' wife and Rubrianus' mother), their son Rubrianus, for themselves, their freedmen and women and their descendants and someone called Daphnus, who appears to have been related to Domestica in some way. Urbanus'

behaviour, unusually, is the focus of this inscription, rather than Rubrianus'; he is mentioned in his capacity as *castra secutus* ('he followed the camps', **ET.62.7**), so he was either a soldier or a camp follower, and that he died before his father's funeral. Although Urbanus is described as one of the three founders of this tomb, it seems unlikely that he was the one who wrote this inscription. Urbanus, however, is described as avaricious, tight, paranoid and jealous of his heir, who presumably was Rubrianus. Whoever wrote this inscription comments that it would have been better if Urbanus had lived genially, rather than requested that he looked as such in death. The inscription has an aspect of a feeling of vengeance for Urbanus' behaviour, and whoever wrote this poem was quite resentful of him. This does, however, indicate the influence the deceased could have on their portrayal in death, for Urbanus is described as carefully choosing what the accompanying relief depicting himself would look like. The inscription, therefore, was certainly written by someone else, for, as much as Urbanus wanted to make himself look favourable in the accompanying relief, the one who wrote the inscription describes his personality as it was and the discrepancy between that and his appearance, which Urbanus manufactured, in the relief. All the artifice and presentation of Urbanus also demonstrates how he cared little for how others actually thought of him, but he cared greatly about how he wanted to be seen. That his son is mentioned in two lines, and only in practical aspects of his life, i.e. how he lived it (*castra secutus*) and that he died before his father did (8) indicates that the author of the inscription did not wish for Rubrianus to be thought of in the same regard as Urbanus, even though they are both portrayed in the relief. The detached description of the way in which Rubrianus lived, living a life that is often associated with pride and glory, compared to the emotional description of Urbanus' personality distances Rubrianus' own personality and lifestyle from the negative characteristics of his father.

### 8.8. Pride in a Military Career

Pride in a military career, either for a soldier or by a soldier, is sometimes expressed in these inscriptions, although perhaps not as often as one might have expected in a study centred around Latin military verse inscriptions. This pride in their career is often accompanied by other life accomplishments, such as having a family, civil/political posts they also held, a change in social status that came about through their career in the Roman military. This was a career that some people chose, and their families were proud of it. Similar to Massaro's observation upon analysing military *carmina Latina epigraphica* from select provinces:<sup>3239</sup>

Negli epitaffi dedicati a militari, di qualsiasi grado siano, mai un accenno a specifiche virtù o glorie militari, neanche per chi aveva raggiunto gradi più alti. Se mai, si esprime talora il rammarico che a un giovane defunto la morte precoce non abbia consentito di conseguire gli onori di carrier anche ci si agururava. Ma non si esprime, viceversa, l'orgoglio di un eventuale grado raggiunto; la menzione del grado (o di una qualifica distintiva) è riservata alle sezioni testuali informative (*tituli*).

Never is not entirely applicable to the inscriptions here, but it is very infrequent. But soldier's parents did regret their son not being able to progress further in his career; maybe this was another way of exhibiting that death had deprived his life of its potential by taking him away so tragically soon.

For three soldiers, mourned by their parents (presumably, in the case of Fontanus and Semelius), their military reputation is all they had when they died, as they were young and

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<sup>3239</sup> Massaro 2023: 56.



childless, as surmised by their lack of mentioned spouse and children. Fontanus (**ET.43**) died just as he began his military service, and yet this is enough to make sure his reputation shall exist for eternity, at the despair of the Fates. From this inscription, we learn that becoming a soldier was Fontanus' idea, something he wanted to do (*militiam cupide*, 'began his military service eagerly', 3); there is something in the tone that indicates this may have been against his parents' wishes. In **AI.8**, another new recruit killed so early on in his career, Semelius' own character was increased with glory, nobility and *virtus* by Rome when he was installed in a military career. There is also that pride in his career and rank that feels parental in **AI.8**, and is similar to other inscriptions for young soldiers by their parents when such a pride is expressed.

### ET.43

*M(arcus) Acilius L(uci) f(ilius) | Fontanus. |*

*Eripuit nobeis unde vincens annus |*

*ingressum iuenum militiam cupide. |*

*Parcae falluntur Fontanum quae rapue[ru]||nt, ||*

*cum sit perpetuo fama futura viri. |*

### AI.8

*D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum). |*

*Q(uintus) Gargilius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Iu[li][a]nus qui et Semeliu[s] | miles vixit ann(os)  
XXIII[I?] | mens(es) III d(ies) XIII. |*

*[?H]unc Karthago lubens pue[rum] | et suo nomine Parcae |*

*[c]aelesti monstrante dea pe[r] | caerula ponti |*

*Tyrrhenum per iter placid[a] | labante karina |*

*[I]talia misere. huic suo | n[on] o[mn]ine laeto, |*

*castrorum decus ac virtu[tum] nobile munus |*

*[R]oma aeterna potens | tribuit. post talia dona |*

*[---] ++ [---] + [---]*

A military career was an aspect of pride in an of itself, something to be mentioned and celebrated, and enabled a man to live on forever, despite the designs of the Fates; in the absence of anything else that was their own, apart from their age and denoting where they died, it was all these men had when they were living. As with all the soldiers in this study, an aspect of their immortal identity is that they were a soldier in the Roman military. Some simply state their rank, mostly when they are the ones dedicating the inscription, others have pride expressed in their rank, usually when the inscription has been written about them. This is the case in **AI.8**, for example: *huic suo | numine laeto | / **castrorum** decus ac virtu[tum] nobile munus | / [R]oma aeterna potens | tribuit. post talia dona...* ('When he delighted in his name, / powerful, eternal Rome bestowed the glory of the army life / and *virtus*, that noble gift, on him', 7-9). Rome gave him *castrorum decus ac virtutum*; it is the *castris*, the (army) camp, or military life,<sup>3240</sup> that bears a specific glory, the exact connotations of which, for the Romans, have been lost to time. It appears that, at least here, *virtus* has a specific connotation as associated with the military and, thus, in this instance we can understand *virtus* has the meaning of something along the

<sup>3240</sup> Kidd 1957: 30.

lines of ‘military virtue’. Despite sending Semelius away and (inadvertently) causing his death, his military service is still celebrated and seen as a *nobile munus*. As can be seen in **LL.7**, the military life bestows honour onto a soldier.

Yet **AI.8** highlights that *decus* and *virtus*, although having overall meanings of ‘honour/glory’ and ‘virtue’, that these words, often associated with the military in the modern western world, had specific meanings and aspects to them that applied to only the military in the Roman world, the complete meanings and nuances of which, unfortunately, are probably lost to time. But we can gain some sense of what this meant to those existing in the Roman world, for military service, even for those close to non-Romans serving in the Roman military, was an honour, something to be proud of, it was a *nobile munus* (8). This idea, at least for this research, has only ever been seen to refer to a career in the military, and only a career in the military seems to have this much pride for both family members and the soldier himself. The use of *munus* is telling because it reiterates the idea of the military service being ‘gifted’ to Semelius,<sup>3241</sup> and, by implication, all those who serve in the military, for *munus* not only means ‘duty’ but it also means ‘gift’.<sup>3242</sup> This aspect of *munus* is reiterated in the phrase *post talia dona* (9), which clearly refer to the glory and *virtus* given to Semelius by Rome simply by joining and being a member of her military, even with a rank as lowly as a *miles*. Perhaps it is also not only a gift to those who join the military, but also those who were protected by them: the military was a gift to them, men who volunteered their lives to protect the Empire, and all her inhabitants.

The idea that Rome is *aeterna potens* (**AI.8.9**) is also important here, because not only is Rome seen as eternal, and eternally powerful, but the implication is that this eternal, powerful, divine city has bestowed prestigious honour and glory onto those it has allowed to be in her military, as if being in the military is akin to a divine honour itself; the verb *tribuo* reiterates this idea.<sup>3243</sup> Rome, like Carthage, is an active force in this, and has a hand in people’s lives just as much as Fate and the gods. Here, the divine governed life and death, and the cities one’s honour, sense of self and identity, as well as one’s place within wider society. Therefore, not only is Rome eternal, powerful, but also so are those who have been given this honour, this glory, *talia dona*.

If we are to believe **AI.8** was set up, and perhaps composed by, Semelius’ parents, and the evidence indicates this is the most likely scenario, this means that his parents, too, bought into this mentality of this being a great honour, parents who, presumably, were also Carthaginians. Their son, with his *tria nomina*, and the fact that he served in the Roman military as a *miles* was a Roman citizen, and his filiation *Q(uinti) f(ilius)* (‘son of Quintus’, 2), indicates that his father, at least, was also a Roman citizen. Again, however, his name shows his pride and contribution to both countries, Carthage and Rome, as he may have a ‘Roman’ *tria nomina*, but Semelius has an African *nomen*: Gargilius,<sup>3244</sup> particularly common in the first-second centuries AD.<sup>3245</sup> This further emphasises the idea of the syncretism of cultures in the Roman Empire, not simply of the religions of the various peoples inhabiting this vast expanse, but also of their cultures, how they interacted with each other, and how they thought. Clearly, the love and appreciation of one’s homeland is not lost, as indicated by the importance of Carthage in this poem and how it is perceived as being proud of her native inhabitant Semelius, but also the pride and appreciation of Rome in those who choose to serve her, those who choose to give up their

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<sup>3241</sup> As the use of *tribuit* indicates (**AI.9.9**).

<sup>3242</sup> See Kidd 1957: 155, for example.

<sup>3243</sup> In its various (nuanced) meanings, see, for example, Kidd 1957: 220.

<sup>3244</sup> See, for example, Dolganov 2020: 389, appendix A, 391, appendix B; Stern & Eshel 2008.

<sup>3245</sup> Stern & Eshel 2008.

homeland and family and, ultimately, life to fight for a country which was not their own, and to receive honours and appreciation and gratitude from said country for their service. The cities, and not the countries, are proud of their inhabitants and of those who serve them. It is these cities to which people belong, they are the true expression of a community, they are how people move from place to place: they do not move from country to country, they move from city to city, they are where people are born, work, and die. It is the city, here, that is key someone's identity, and their understanding of the world around them, be it local or across the sea.

A similar sentiment is expressed in **ET.7**. Again, his inscription laments the fortunate future that was awaiting him that, with his death, is now lost. However, his military career, which appears to have been the cause of his death, is celebrated, despite the future his death took away from him, and which his family mourns. In **ET.7**, an interesting balance is struck between mourning his death, which probably happened when he was on active service, although it is unknown if his death was caused by military action, and his family taking pride in service in general, which, despite meaning that he died far away from home, was something they were proud to declare they chose this life for him.

*Ultima clausurunt Par|carum staming filo |  
Principii miserandi diem, | quem gloria nisi |  
avus adque pater puerum | dedere praeclara |  
militia patruoque suo iun|xere fovendum. |  
cum primum pulchra lanu|gine sumeret annos, |  
spectantes magnum patri|ae columenque futurum. |  
heu miseri gloriari sibi | laetamque senectam. |  
crudele(m) luctum domui | Ravenna remisit. |  
hoc miseros titulo pro|prium signasse dolorem. |*

In this inscription, we learn of three of Principius' family members: his grandfather, his father and his uncle. In this inscription, like in **ET.60**, it is revealed that the family sometimes chose a life of soldiery for the man. In **ET.7**, it is revealed that his grandfather and father, thus those who were in charge of him, 'gave' Principius 'to noble military service' (3), and therefore sent him to be fostered by his uncle; perhaps his uncle was also serving in the military. In **ET.7**, a life of military service is presented as giving glory to the whole family: the reason why Principius' grandfather and father present him to military service is because they were 'pressing for glory' (2). They saw him as 'a great pillar of his fatherland and the future' (6), presumably for the future of his family, as he began to become a man in the eyes of the Roman process of manhood (5). Sometimes, therefore, to join the ranks of the military was not the choice of the soldier himself, but a choice made for him by his family, especially by the men in his life who had power over him; in this instance, his still surviving grandfather would have been his *pater familias*. As the purpose of this was to bring glory to his family, this indicates that this is how a military lifestyle was perceived by both those who were not involved in the military directly (it is unknown what his grandfather and father did in their lifetimes) and those who were (his uncle appears to have served in the military): as a way of achieving glory for the whole family, through the military service of one family member. But this was perhaps confined to the nuclear family unit; the uncle's military service does not appear to have been enough in the father and grandfather's eyes, unless it was a way for them to achieve even more glory for their family by having at least two family members serving in the military, or the uncle was about to retire, or was a veteran, and thus they felt they needed at least one family member on active service to achieve further glory and honour for their family.

In **ET.60**, an infant and his mother are remembered.<sup>3246</sup> The mother is remembered in her role as his mother: she, in terms reminiscent of those used for tombs (*[d]ulci pondere cum gravata | [m]ater / incluso utero decem k(alendas)*, ‘when a mother, pregnant with a sweet weight / confined to her womb for ten Kalends’, 6-7), is only described when she was expecting him, but the tomb is also for her (1). The infant, however, is celebrated because he was a boy, thus emphasising those in the Roman world’s preference for boys, perhaps partly because they could serve in the military and bring glory to their family. Frugi, the father, wanted his son to join the military even as an infant (9): this was where the future of their family lay. He describes the boy *cas|[t]ris ... legendem* (‘to be selected for the army life’, 11) as a *iuvenis*, thus further emphasising how soldiers were perceived as forever youthful, permanently a *iuvenis*, the idealised stage of a man’s life, before he was fully a man, but he was just starting to be able to gain power and blossom into his potential; soldiers were *iuvenes* when they joined, and continued to be throughout their lives, both on active service and in retirement. This also demonstrates how people wanted their sons to serve in the army, wished for the prestige it would bring; some even wished for it when they discovered that their new child was a son. In contrast to **ET.7**, however, the father’s role in his initiation into the ranks is more passive: in **ET.7**, Principius’ grandfather and father took an active role in signing him up for active service, yet, here, Frugi wishes for his son *legendum* (‘to be selected’, 11). But this extends from his wish for his son to live to see *[p]rimos ... annos* (‘his first years’, 10), and this expresses the desire of fathers for their sons to serve in the military, and implies that the male influences in a man’s life were the ones who could chose their livelihood for them. The final line of this inscription furthers the prestige of military life, and that this was conferred onto family members beyond just the soldier himself, for Frugi wished for his son as *cas|[t]ris ... iuvenem ... legendum*, / *For|[t]una dum magna studet aemulare* (‘a young man to be selected for the army life, / while Fortune is keen to emulate the greats’, 11-12). Thus, he wanted his son to join the land militia whilst Fortune was still looking down favourably on it, and the army continued to emulate the victories of the past through Fortune’s favour, thus bring the same glories and honours onto their family.

By contrast, however, in **ET.61**, it seems that sometimes the soldier themselves chose their military lifestyle, against their parents’ wishes. Vitalis had to persuade his parents *artefic(ium) | discerem* (‘that I would learn a practical profession’, 3), thus the military was perceived as a profession, equitable with being a baker or a stonemason. That he had to persuade his parents indicates that they did not want him to do it, or that they did not believe that he would have a practical career, considering that we are introduced to him as *consummatus litter(is)* (‘accomplished in literacy’, 1-2).

In **ET.29**, the positives of a military life are made clear. Described as *commoda militiae* (‘the advantage of military service’, 11), to serve in the Roman military was recognised as not only advantageous for oneself in terms of personal honour and glory, which extended to one’s family, but it is also, in this way, recognised as an easier life. Yet, it is contrasted with life itself, as if to serve in the military was mutually exclusive from living (10-11; see discussion in the section below). A similar attitude is seen in **RI.8**, where the benefits that came through promotion from a successful military career are sought as much as military victory and celebrations, civilian posts, and seeing the Nymphs:

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<sup>3246</sup> See the discussion on this inscription above; the boy may not have died, and this could just be an epitaph for his mother.

[O]ptavi Dacos tenere caesos, (vac.) tenui. |  
 [opt]avi in sella pacis residere, (vac.) sedi. |  
 [o]ptavi claros sequi triumphos, (vac.) factum. |  
**optavi primi commoda plena pili, (vac.) hab[ui].** |  
 optavi nudas videre Nymphas, (vac.) vidi. |

Pride and/or success in a military career often equated with a successful family life. This could be because it improved the family lives of the soldiers, or because it brought, and/or continued the, fame to their family (nuclear and blood). In this way, military service encompassed many of the facets of *pietas*: soldiers served the Empire, and thus provided a service to society, and they continued, if not elevated, the reputation of their family, a reputation that would reflect onto their parents, and be a mantle on their children.

The way in which Lucius Trebius (**ET.30**) conducted his life is a source of pride for his son, who ordered his epitaph to be made. In this epitaph, the way he conducted his life is praised: he was born into poverty, and then became a soldier in the navy, thus the implication is that he improved, at the very least, his own quality of life by joining the military. He is grandly described as serving *classicus miles* | / *ad latus Augusti annos septemque decemque* ('as a soldier in the navy / on Augustus' flank for seventeen years', 3-4). Starr interprets this as 'in view of the early date of this inscription, "Augustus" may best be taken as referring to Octavian himself. Since his civil wars did not last seventeen years, Trebius must have been with him at Rome for at least part of the period'.<sup>3247</sup> Reddé, in his discussion of this inscription, sees it as a part of the social and cultural mobility that the Roman military enabled:<sup>3248</sup>

La marine jouait ainsi le rôle d'intermédiaire pour l'entrée de certains pérégrins dans l'armée et leur passage dans les corps supérieurs. ... Service inférieur, la *militia* navale n'en constituait pas moins un étape possible d'un *cursus* militaire, signe que les flottes étaient bien considérées, au second siècle, comme des forces régulières de l'armée, qui jouaient leur rôle dans le processus général de romanisation de l'Empire, au même titre que les auxiliaires. Un certain *L. Trebius T(iti) f(ilius)* ne nous dit-il pas, avec quelque fierté, que sa promotion sociale est due à son passage dans la marine (*CIL* V, 938)? ... Cette intégration progressive pourrait expliquer que les marins recevaient peut-être, dès leur entrée en fonction, le droit latin.

The location and date of the inscription suggests that 'il s'agit donc d'un marin de la flotte de Ravenne qui, à ses débuts, eut certainement un détachement à Aquilée ou à Grado'.<sup>3249</sup> Although the final line is constructed of formulaic ideas (*nullo odio sine offensa, missus quoq(ue) honeste*), they are still indicative of what was important to Ruso in describing/praising the conduct of his father's life: he conducted himself with no hatred and no offenses, both of which meant he was honourably dismissed. Trebius' service in the navy meant he not only improved his own quality of life, but his children would not have to be brought up *summa in pauperie* ('in great poverty', 3), as he had been.

This ideology/attitude is also seen towards military combat in **ET.5**, which is one of the few inscriptions that reveals a soldier died in combat:

<sup>3247</sup> Starr 1993: 28 n. 37.

<sup>3248</sup> Reddé 1986: 525.

<sup>3249</sup> *AE* 1972.194. See also Reddé 1986: 213-218, who queries the dates in which these ports were actually used. This inscription is dated between AD 1-70 and was found in Aquileia, Italy (see Table 8 below).

*Militia i[ns]ign[i] raptus tri|eteride sexta,  
s[e]dibus his | situs est mis[e]rabi[l]is Heli|[odo]rus.*

*H[eli]odo[r]us e[t C---]|tiane parentes miseri f[i(lio)].*

Despite dying young, the war he was killed in is described as *insignis*, ‘extraordinary’, ‘illustrious’, ‘famous’. This is a positive description of the combat in which Heliodorus was killed at eighteen, and thus must have been a relatively new recruit. *Militia insigni* begins his epitaph, thus displaying his parents’ pride in his participation in this ‘well-known battle’, despite it being the direct cause of his death.

**RD.14** highlights the social significance a military career had, and the significance of it for a family, and the pride they had in their family members who had served in the ranks of the Roman military:

(column I)

*[-----] | Nigri annos XXXVIII.*

*U[n]i | nupta viro, summa cum |  
concordia ad ult`i`mum | diem pervenit,  
tres ex [e]o | superstites reliquit  
libero[s]. | unum maximis municipi  
honorib(us) | iudiciis August<i>  
Caesaris. usum | alterum castre<n>sibus  
eiusdem | Caesaris August<i> summis  
[eq]u[es]|tris ordinis honoribus,  
et iam | superiori destinatum ordini. |  
filiam sanctissimam probissimo |  
viro coniunc[t]am et ex ea duos, ||*

(column II)

*[-----] |  
[-----] |  
[-----] |  
[-----] |  
[-----] |  
[-----] |  
[-----] |  
[-----] |  
[-----] |  
[-----] |  
dedit [---] | quas [---] | rep[---] |*

**RD.14** is, like **RD.8**, a family tomb but with only the *cognomen* of one family member remains: Niger, who died when he was 39. In this inscription, we learn about three members of this family, so presumably they were the ones who this monument was dedicated to. If they were listed in order, this would make Niger the one who served in the military (7-10). The mother of this family is praised, once more, for her qualities as an ideal Roman matron and woman (2-5), and then the most significant events in her two deceased children’s lives, those of her sons, are

described: one was ‘give the greatest / honour of the *municipium*’ by the Emperor (5-7), the other served in the military, for which he was rewarded with the social rank of becoming a member of the *ordo equestris*. His ascension to the *ordo equestris* as a reward for his service implies that he served as at least a centurion in the *auxilia*, and ‘l’accession à l’ordre équestre était la juste recompense d’un Vaillant soldat qui n’était pas destiné à faire une carrière équestre’.<sup>3250</sup> Alternatively, he could have been a *primus pilus*. The editors of the *CIL* and Dessau interpret Niger as holding the post of either *tribunatus cohortis* or *praefectura equitum*: ‘*castrenses Augusti summi equestris ordinis honores sunt tribunatus cohortis et praefectura*’,<sup>3251</sup> ‘*significatur tribunatus cohortis et praefectura equitum, quibus vir ille functus esse putandus est*’.<sup>3252</sup>

This inscription indicates that a soldier’s social advancement and progression could also be an indication of his rank without having to state it, and Niger was apparently *destinatum ordini* (‘intended for a greater rank’, **RD.14.9**),<sup>3253</sup> and thus was expected, at least by his family, to have been promoted to a rank higher than a centurion; perhaps he had already been promised it when he died, like **NW.3**. The daughter and her husband, with whom she had had two children, put up this inscription for her mother and brothers; no mention of the father’s life/career is made, unless he was mentioned in the ten lines that are now missing. As can be seen throughout this chapter, it was usually the husband and the wife who put up the inscription, not the wife and husband, which indicates that the daughter here took an active role in the creation of this inscription, perhaps this is because it was an inscription for her entire family, like Asclepius in **RD.8**.

A similar pride in the career of a soldier is seen in **RD.15**. Not much remains of this inscription, but we learn that he served in a naval battle, even though his service was in the *Legio XI*:

*M(arcus) Billienus, M(arci) f(ilius), | Rom(ilia), Actiacus, | legione XI.*

*Proe|lio navali facto, | in coloniam de|ductus.*

*ab ordi|[n]e decurio allec|[tus. ho]mo f[rug[i] | [-----]*

This naval battle appears to have been the final stage in his career; after this, he *in coloniam deductus* (‘was settled in a *colonia*’, 2), i.e. was settled in a civilian settlement, and was reintegrated into civilian society, because ‘he had been selected as a *decurio* by the council’ (3). This naval battle was the Battle of Actium, and thus the naval battle that cemented Octavian’s victory as the ruler of the Roman world and the beginning of the transition from the Republic to the Empire. Billienus, like other veterans from *Legio XI*, received the nickname *Actiacus* in honour of his service in this battle.<sup>3254</sup> **RD.15** was found near Ateste; soldiers from the 11<sup>th</sup> legion were sent to Ateste after Actium, and so it appears that this *colonia* was Ateste itself.<sup>3255</sup> Not only is this inscription important because of Billienus’ participation in Actium, but also ‘ciò che distinguee Billieno dagli altri *Actiaci* e in genere dagli altri legionary attestati ad Ateste è poi la sua *adlectio* nell’*ordo decurionum* ... perché, se non sbaglio, si tratta ad oggi del più antico caso di soldato semplice ammesso a far parte dei decurioni, circostanza quest’ache rimase sempre piuttosto rara anche durante l’Impero rispetto ai casi più frequenti di

<sup>3250</sup> Rémy 2012: 343.

<sup>3251</sup> *CIL* IX 3158.

<sup>3252</sup> *ILS* 2682.

<sup>3253</sup> See Appendix 3.

<sup>3254</sup> See Dessau’s comments on **RD.15** (*ILS* 2243). See also Gregori’s commentary on this inscription (2014: 205-217).

<sup>3255</sup> *ILS* 2243. See Dessau’s comments on this. See also Gregori’s commentary on this inscription (2014: 205-217).

centurioni e di primipili'.<sup>3256</sup> We do not know who set this inscription up for him but, given the dedicators of the other verse inscriptions in this study, it was most likely to be by either a family member or a comrade.

As Ianuarius was the one who set up **RI.18**, however, we are given his career progression, chronologically, in verse, unusually, as this is usually given in prose. Military vocabulary is used in this inscription,<sup>3257</sup> such as *in caliga prima*, which refers to 'befindet sich ein Soldat nach seiner Prüfung als Rekrut (*probatio*), in der ersten Periode seines Militärdienstes', as well as '*in caliga militare* versteht man gewöhnlich, den Militärdienst als gemeiner Soldat auszuüben', but *caliga prima* can mean the start of someone's military career at any level, not simply the beginning of a military career from the lowest rank, so Ianuarius could have been recruited straight into the army as a centurion.<sup>3258</sup> As he does not give any other ranks between his recruitment and his post as a centurion, this is the more likely option; but he does label himself as a *tiro* when he went into the *Legio I Adiutrix*, which was the term for a new military recruit.

Military vocabulary is more apparent in **RI.18** than in most of the other military verse inscriptions we have seen, due to the specifically military setting in which this inscription was both erected and placed, and thus the known military identities of the audience, as well as the creators, of this votive inscription would not have hindered them from using more military specific language. Despite the fragmentary nature of the verse part of this inscription, it can be deduced that Ianuarius' whole military career was described here, from his recruitment as a *tiro* into the *Legio I Adiutrix* to his current post as *primus pilus* of the *Legio I Italica Severiana*. This was not an epitaph for Ianuarius, but a religious inscription to Jupiter Optimus Maximus Depulsor, set up on behalf of the *Legio I Italica Severiana* by its centurion, Ianuarius. It was, therefore, not regarded as inappropriate, out of place, or even *inpius* to set up an inscription to an aspect of the head of the Roman pantheon, in thanks for surviving and winning a skirmish, on behalf of one's entire unit, whilst dedicating nearly the entirety of the verse inscription on this votive altar outlining one's personal military career, including participating in triumphs. **RI.18** also makes us wonder about the character of the soldier, as Ianuarius is described as *cu[m] compare | cent[urio]ne* ('when he was equal to a centurion', 9); how, exactly, was he equal to a centurion? Is this a poetic way of referring to when he was made a centurion, or was he a centurion's equal in behaviour and/or conduct, even though he had not yet been made one? As this describes his career, it is more likely to be a practical reference, rather than his character and conduct, although both must have contributed to his promotion to the rank of centurion, and thus made him worthy of his rank. Through the ranks held by a soldier, therefore, we are also given an insight into his character and conduct.

In **RI.3**, Maximus spends most of this verse inscription discussing his military career, which would have led to his political career, and then the second half describes which gods he was dedicating his altar to. Wedged between these two sections is a line which appears to be out of place, describing his status as a father of twin, adult, children:

*paren[s] | adultae prolis gemina[e] | liberum*

<sup>3256</sup> Gregori 2014: 207-208.

<sup>3257</sup> See Božilova et al. 1992.13. See also Piso 2017: 63.

<sup>3258</sup> Piso 2017: 63.



This may be because he wished to convey how he fulfilled the essential *quadrata* of *pietas* and, therefore, of Roman societal expectations: he served his country and society, had children, and venerated the gods in this altar he erected to them. But it emphasises how a military life was a part and/or expression of those facets of life that Roman society valued in the lives of its citizens.

Sometimes, a familial connection is best expressed through pride in one's relative and their military service. In the fragmented remains of **ET.63**, a soldier's career is stated and rejoiced in by his parents (*gaudebant*), the way he conducted his life celebrated, and the grief of his parents expressed at losing him. We learn that he became a centurion and he was a veteran of the *Legio XXX Ulpia Victrix*, so perhaps he rose through the ranks, rather than entering the army immediately as a centurion.

[-----] |  
 [pr]imae in I[---] |  
 anno non[o ---] |  
 cum permisit [---] |  
 sic me semper [---] |  
 et mihi vitem deder[unt ---] |  
 Ulpia legione missus [---] |  
 tam probus piusq(ue) vixi [---] |  
 qui gaudebant ordinat[ione ---] |  
 hi mei miseri parente[s ---] |  
 quo 'd' Tiburtinus fuerit [---] |  
 [-----] |

A now unnamed soldier's career is lauded in **NW.2**. He, like others seen in this data set (see, for example, **ET.35** and **ET.36**), was selected from the legions to serve in the prestigious Praetorian Guard.

*D(is) M(anibus) | et bon(a)e memoriae. |*

*Quid stas et [---] | [-----] | [-----] | [-----] | [-----] | [-----] | [-----] | situs. (vac.) |*  
*mil(itavit) ann(os) XXIII. prob 'a' | tus hic in leg(ione) VII Cl[audia], | lectus in praetor[io], |*  
*factus eq(ues) promot[us (centurio)] | ex b(ene)f(iciario) praefectoru[m]. (vac.) |*

*Natus provincia M[oe]l[sia] Superiore, reg[io]l[ne] Scupi n'at'(ione).*

*Da(r)dan[ia] | me genuit, tenuit G[erma]n[ia] colonum.*

*C(aius) O[---] | Ser(gia) Valens primus [he]|res et consobrinus [---].*

His behaviour and conduct in the *Legio VII Claudia* reflect more his skill in his military duties and performance rather than a personal assessment of his character, given both its use in conjunction with his service in the *Legio VII Claudia*, and this is shortly followed by the announcement that he was then selected to serve in the Praetorian Guard. His promotion to the Praetorian Guard also happened in conjunction with a promotion in his rank: he had served in the primarily administrative role of a *beneficiarius praefectorum* in the *Legio VII Claudia*, and then he was promoted to the rank of a centurion. The information given about the process of this soldier's promotion is found both in verse and prose. Families of soldiers understood the vocabulary of different ranks and the process of promotion within the Roman military, because this inscription was erected by the primary heir and cousin of the now unnamed soldier,

although he may have served in the military himself.<sup>3259</sup> Although it was found near a military garrison, **NW.2** was found in a mountain near Mogontiacum, not in the garrison itself, and therefore was not found in a military setting.<sup>3260</sup> It demonstrates that those reading these inscriptions were expected to understand these terms, the impact of the various promotions upon the soldier, and what they meant about his experience and performance in his military service. Through inscriptions such as the ones discussed in this section, also, we can see how rewards of service worked in the Roman military, and were thus displayed and understood by wider society: they included citizenship and/or promotion in societal standing, and/or ascension through the ranks.

In **NW.4**, we can see how a soldier's career reflected onto his nuclear family, and even enabled them to have an ascended social standing/career than the one the soldier had started of with. **NW.4** is a bilingual Latin and Greek inscription by the sons of a tribune of the *Legio II Adiutrix*. In this inscription, we learn that he was brought to Aquincum, Pannonia Inferior, where he died, due to his military duties (3-4). **NW.4** was found in the *canabae* south of the legionary fortress. *Canabae* were civilian settlements directly right next to a legionary fortress,<sup>3261</sup> which indicates that, even if Papirianus lived in the military camp, his family did not. Also, as workshops for equipment and weapons have been found in *canabae*,<sup>3262</sup> can we conjecture that this inscription was made in a workshop in the *canabae*? He may have lived in the *canaba* with his family, as, under Septimius Severus, the earliest emperor to which this inscription has been dated.<sup>3263</sup> His sons are described as belonging to the equestrian class, but no further ranks and/or social positions are attributed to them. Here, Papirianus' role as a soldier in the Roman military brought him so far from home, but he made a life for himself in Aquincum. Either that, or he brought his family with him from wherever he had been posted previously; for Fehér, they were born either in Palestine or Pannonia;<sup>3264</sup> given the life of a soldier, particularly when considering postings, these are not the only options for where they could have been born. This demonstrates, therefore, not only the itinerant life of a soldier, but also of the soldier's family; various postings, especially the higher a soldier ascended through the ranks, where posts became less and less permanently situated, would have meant that either the soldier moved around on his own, leaving his family behind somewhere, or that his family went with him, and thus would have been unable to settle themselves.

**NW.4** also shows the ascension and retention of a soldier's children within society, as his children are of equestrian status, as he was, as well as the linguistic ability of his children, as they could presumably speak Greek fluently, as their father could.<sup>3265</sup> Their social rank was as important to them as their father's military post, as his sons repeat their social status as *equites*, despite, ostensibly, holding no other (social/civilian) rank of their own, other than their status in the equestrian class, which they would have inherited from their father. In **RD.2**, for example, where a father is a centurion and his son is a *quaestor*, it can be seen how the position of a soldier as a soldier in the Roman military enables his future descendants (i.e. that of his sons)

<sup>3259</sup> See the discussion on this inscription in Chapter 7.

<sup>3260</sup> See the discussion on **NW.2** in Chapter 7.

<sup>3261</sup> Mrđić & Milovanović 2009: 397; Fischer 2014: 42; Tomas 2016: 128; Mosser 2017: 484. Southern 2007: 78-79, 166, who comments on the *canabae* at Aquincum, where the *Legio II Adiutrix* were. See also Keppie 2000: 307.

<sup>3262</sup> Fischer 2014: 42. See also Keppie 2000: 307; Verboven 2007: 298; Hilali 2007: 485; Tomas 2016: 128, 130.

<sup>3263</sup> See Smith: 1972: 497.

<sup>3264</sup> Fehér 2010: 180-183.

<sup>3265</sup> *Ibid.* for the Greek ability of his children.

could enable his family to have a more prosperous future, enjoying the privileges and opportunities that came with an increase in social status in the Roman world.

**RI.1** is a religious, votive inscription for Venus Erucina. It celebrates the military victory of Lucius Apronius Caesianus, and it records the religious veneration of Caesianus and his father, Lucius Apronius. Both father and son had been involved in the fight against Tacfarinas, but **RI.1** is a celebration of Caesianus' victory over the Gaetuli. Both of them dedicating a statue of Tiberius leads Bücheler to the conclusion that they were competing with each other: 'ambo duces Caesarem uenerati sunt certantes uter pientior foret, fuit autem uterque pientissimus' ('both military leaders venerated Caesar, both in contest for greater *pietas*, but they were both the most pious').<sup>3266</sup> The editors of the *CIL* appear to have interpreted the situation more accurately: 'dedicationem factam esse pateat propter Aproniorum duorum patris filiiue pugnam cum Gaetulis' ('it is evident that the dedication has been made on account of the Apronii as both the father and son fought with the Gaetuli'), as referenced in Tacitus' *Annales*.<sup>3267</sup> They were less in competition, but just wishing to express their *pietas* (specified in iv.14), both through the act of dedicating statues to the goddess, and that one of these statues was of the Emperor, her descendant. **RI.1** is more about the son, Caesianus, than the father, Lucius Apronius, and his achievements, so it would seem strange that his father would want to compete with him. Instead, the act seems more to be one of pride in his son, them both being thankful for the military victory, and, perhaps, for the honour that this would have further bestowed upon their family too. Their *pietas* could also be said to be expressed by their participation, and victory, in warfare. After all, Lucius Apronius' own military and political career is celebrated, as well as the military combative action of Caesianus (iv.1-11). This is one of the very few inscriptions in which fighting is described, and it is described as heroic (iv.7-10); most of the time, when fighting is described, it is done so with despair, because that is what took a soldier's life away (see the section below). **RI.14** is another inscription where pride in military activity and service is expressed, also celebrating a display of *virtus*, except here it is pride in a legion's, accompanied by a *numerus*, carrying out of construction work, not their conduct in battle, as this was also a part of expected Roman military conduct.

In **RD.10**, a sister expresses her pride in her brother's military, and subsequently political, career in a graffito she scratched on the side of a pyramid in Giza, Egypt:

*Vidi pyramidas sine te dulcissime frater, |  
et tibi, quod potui, lacrimas hic m'a`esta profudi |  
et nostri memorem luctus hanc sculpo, querelam. |  
sit nomen Decimi Gentian{n}i pyramide alta, |  
pontificis comitisque tuis Traiane triumphis, |  
lustra sex intra censoris consulis esse[t]. |*

This inscription is about a high ranking man who was more famous politically than he was militarily, as often happened in senatorial families; a military career was compulsory for a political one, but they were more often remembered for their politics. Gentinus held the military post of *tribinus militum*, amongst other titles, although we do not know this from **RD.10**, but other evidence we have about him, including epigraphic. For example, in **RD.10**, 'censor ... means censor, the official who estimates the value of estates for tax purposes', and we see him

<sup>3266</sup> *CLE* 1525. See also the discussion on this inscription in Chapter 5.

<sup>3267</sup> *CIL* X 7257. Refers to Tac. Ann. 3.21; it is clear in Tacitus that Lucius Apronius and Lucius Apronius Caesianus fought the Gaetuli. See the discussion on this inscription in Chapter 5.

with this role in other inscriptions.<sup>3268</sup> In **RD.10**, his military career is merely alluded to, whilst his civil/political posts are specified. Gentianus' sister does not name herself in her graffito.

They both came from a famous family. They were related to Decimus Terentius Scaurianus, 'who was governor of Dacia and established the colonia Ulpia Traiana Dacica around 110, [he] was clearly a relative, probably [their] father'.<sup>3269</sup> Gentianus himself 'was regarded as a potential successor to Hadrian',<sup>3270</sup> and he was consul in AD 116.<sup>3271</sup> The triumphs of Trajan mentioned here are perhaps, then, misleading, as 'Gentinus was hardly old enough ... to participate in Trajan's Dacian wars, for which he won his second triumph in 107, so 5 either refers to Trajan's posthumous triumph for his Parthian war ... with a grandiloquent plural ..., or is merely metaphorical (but still meaning the Parthian war)'.<sup>3272</sup> According to Bücheler, Hadrian, shortly before his death, hated Gentinus.<sup>3273</sup> Bücheler believed that 'Traiani comitem pro patre habeo, pro filio illum inuisum Hadriano', and he understood Decimus Terentius Scaurianus as likely to be his brother, not his father.<sup>3274</sup> He thought that Gentianus was old enough to serve in Trajan's Dacian wars,<sup>3275</sup> which would make him Courtney's Gentianus' father, not the Gentianus Courtney describes himself. Dessau, akin to Courtney's perception of the man, pairs this inscription with *ILS* 1046, taking Decimus as Gentianus' *praenomen*, and making them one man, rather than relatives.<sup>3276</sup> Dessau perceives this inscription as being written by Gentianus' sister when he was in charge of Africa.<sup>3277</sup> Mommsen also sees Gentianus as the son of Decimus Terentius Scaurianus.<sup>3278</sup> Given this majority perception of the Gentianus featured in **RD.10**, this is how he is understood here.

This graffito reads like an epitaph, acting as one for the permanent memorial of a sister's loss of her brother. We learn from the narrative of **RD.10** that she felt inspired to inscribe something everlasting for him into such a great, perpetual monument as a pyramid when she saw it, and because they had promised to see the pyramids together, but, as he had died, they could not. Here, we see a micro-snapshot into the dynamics of sibling relationships in the Roman world: some of them travelled together, to see the great monuments of the ancient world. She chose his eternal memory on this public world wonder to convey his participation in triumphs, and his political career, as that is how she wished others to remember her brother, not with personal accounts of his character, but of who he had been, and what he had done, in life.

Pride in the civilian career of a former soldier is emphasised, with the military role simply being stated as something they did, listed in their other ranks (civilian, political or military). It is as if

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<sup>3268</sup> Courtney 1995: 295. See also *CLE* 270. Dessau sees *censor* here referring to when he was given role of *censor* of the province of Macedonia (see his commentary on *ILS* 1046a).

<sup>3269</sup> Courtney 1995: 296.

<sup>3270</sup> '(SHA 1.23.5, which seems to refer to the period c. 134-6 A.D.; either this, as is likely, or Groag's dating of this poem to 130 on the assumption that Terentia then accompanied Hadrian to Egypt is wrong)' (Courtney 1995: 295).

<sup>3271</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3272</sup> Courtney: 'He attained these offices before the age of thirty. Since he was *censitor* in Macedonia in 119, and the prose inscription quoted above indicates that this came after his consulate (the verse inverts the order for the sake of metre), this would indicate that he cannot have been born before 90 A.D. Under the empire the normal minimum age for the consulate was 32, and that only for the most privileged, but (apart from the rights conferred by the *ius trium liberorum*) imperial favour could give exemptions' (*ibid.*: 296).

<sup>3273</sup> *CLE* 270.

<sup>3274</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3275</sup> 'qui uir quoniam intra XXX annum censitor Macedoniae factus est comesque fuit Traiano in bellis Dacicis, diuresis uidetur a Terentio Gentiano quem Hadrianus breui ante mortem suam detestatus est (Spartianus 23) et ab eo quem proconsulem fuisse anno 119 Vlpiani testimonio efficitur (Mos. et Rom. leg. coll. 13, 3, 1)' (*CLE* 270).

<sup>3276</sup> See *ILS* 1046a.

<sup>3277</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3278</sup> *CIL* III 6625.

a military rank was interpreted as not being separate from a civilian or political post in terms of value and service to society. Given how intertwined a political career was with a military one, how having military experience was a requirement of a political career, and how the military was intertwined with the functionings of government, it is not difficult to see why military and political posts were listed as if they were a part of the same system, because they were.

Sometimes it is difficult to separate a military post from a political one. After all, ‘military service also brought some local status. Soldiers were representatives of the Roman state and were, therefore, people of some influence’.<sup>3279</sup> Even veterans are seen holding civilian posts, on a smaller scale, in *colonia*, for example, and so the intertwined nature of civilian, military and politics pervaded the entirety of Roman society. ‘The loss of independence that came with military service appears not to have led to a reduction in status; rather individual power, and hence status, was enhanced’, Alston observed.<sup>3280</sup> The Emperor was the head of the military as well as government, and he relied on military victories, conducted in his name through the military, to stay in power, to stay in the favour of the people and government: Roman society was run by a military government.

Some examples of military verse inscriptions where someone’s military post is only referred to in the accompanying prose part of a Latin military verse inscription, and in conjunction with their, primarily, governmental posts include:

#### ET.1

*T(itus) Vettius T(iti) f(ilius) Pol(lia) Nepos milit[(-) ---] | Ilvir q(uin)q(uennalis) flam(en) Dial(is) sibi et [---] | lib(-) [--- coniugi] | sanctissimae cum qua per mul[tos annos] | bene vixit.*

#### ET.28

*M(arci) Antonii Antii Lupi pr(aetoris) | patricii auguris quaest(or)is sodal(is) Titii trib(uni) | mil(itum) leg(ionis) II Adiutr(icis) Piae Fidel(is) Xvir(i) stl(itibus) iud(icandis) praef(ecti) fer(iarum) | Lat(inarum)*

### 8.9. Against a Military Life

There are a handful of inscriptions that present a narrative that can be interpreted as against a military life. This is usually encountered in epitaphs, where the cause of the soldier’s untimely death was his military life, i.e. he died in combat. This attitude can be implicit in the narrative presented on the epitaph, for example, in **ET.22** and **NW.3**, where two soldiers were unable to fulfil their military career and/or their just end for a lifetime of service.

In **ET.22**, Aicensi, although he was a veteran, and thus had completed his military career, died before he was able to reap the rewards of a life now retired from service: *nec licuit pretium | [-]mere militiae* (‘he was not allowed to [take up] the reward of military service’, 4). This means he could not ‘riuscisse a ottenere il premio di congedo che ormai gli spettava, e che, come sembra, voleva specialmente destinare alla sua liberta. Si tratta quindi di un epigramma imperniato su una vicenda del tutto personal, andhe se naturalmente attinge ad alcuni motivi comuni’.<sup>3281</sup> This payment was ‘istituito da Augusto per l’ammontare di 3000 denari, doveva

<sup>3279</sup> Alston 1998: 218.

<sup>3280</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3281</sup> Massaro 2023: 29.

essere l'unico vero 'miraggio' del servizio militare, dal momento che lo *stipendium* ordinario non consentiva quasi più che un mero sostentamento'.<sup>3282</sup> One wonders if Ainensi had been able to obtain this money before his death, but had died too early to enjoy it, or if he had died before he could collect it, as Massaro seems to interpret the situation. If it was the latter, then presumably his freedwoman, who was also his partner and probably the woman he had a daughter with, was unable also to enjoy this benefit of her partner's military service, so one wonders how she would have been able to support herself.<sup>3283</sup>

Similarly, in **NW.3**, an epitaph set up by the wife of a newly-promoted centurion, Ingenuus was unable to enjoy, and be proud of, his deserved promotion to the centurionate, interrupted as it was by his death: *initium vitis vitae fuit finis* ('the beginning of his centurionate was the end of his life', 4). This unfulfilled pride and career are implicit in these inscriptions, as is the message of being against a life of military service. They indicate that, despite the pride that went with serving in the Roman military, there were significant drawbacks and the rewards of service were not always guaranteed, certainly not for the lives of the families accompanying the soldier, and whose lives were therefore intertwined with military life.

The verses in **RD.12** consist of only a couplet of hexameters, and sound formulaic in their execution, yet it is unique in the message in the latter half of the first line for this data set (in bold):

[D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum)]. |

[C(aius) Ael(ius) Extri(?)]catus h[ic] | situs est. |

Qui, post | tantum **o|nus multos** | **crebrosq(ue)** | **labores**, |  
nunc silet | et tacito | contentus sede | quiescit. |

C(aius) Ael(ius) Tertiolus, | b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) leg(ionis) VI Vict(ricis), | patri  
(vac.) pientissimo. |

The sentiment of the final line of this inscription is fairly standard, but *post tantum onus multos crebrosq(ue)* ('after so many frequent burdens and labours', **RD.12.3**) is not. These 'frequent burdens and labours' must refer to the arduous activities and lives conducted out by those in the Roman military, not only fighting in battle, and the fear that would have accompanied that, but also construction works and daily training, for example. The son, Tertiolus, it has been postulated, was also firmly intertwined with military life, as Tertiolus 'il s'agit d'un bénéficiaire du légat de la *legio VI Victrix*, sans doute un (ex) *castris*, car on peut penser que le père était déjà soldat de la Troisième légion Auguste',<sup>3284</sup> which would make both the dedicator and the dedicatee soldiers.<sup>3285</sup> Sons often followed their fathers into a military life; this seems especially likely for sons who had grown up with their fathers living in a military fortress, as this would have been the only life they had ever known. It is implied that his father died after he had retired from the military. To describe the activities of military life as *onus multos crebrosq(ue) labores* is not the most positive portrayal of this way of life, especially as the way he lived his life is contrasted with his now present state of death, which is described as peaceful, filled with the

<sup>3282</sup> *Ibid.* 67: 29.

<sup>3283</sup> There is the story of a (female) partner of a deceased soldier being refused by the prefect of Egypt in AD 117 to have a claim on some money the soldier set aside as it was not a dowry, because soldiers were not (legally) allowed to marry (see, for example, Gardner 1998a: 145; Phang 2002: 355).

<sup>3284</sup> Hamdoune (ed.) 2011.107: 189.

<sup>3285</sup> Although this latter point is not indicated in the inscription.

purest form of happiness, contentment: *nunc silet | et tacito | contentus sede | quiescit* ('[he] is now still and rests, content, in his silent eternal abode', 4).

In **ET.37**, Felix's status as a soldier is not stated, but we know of his military service from another inscription: *CIL* XI 3108.<sup>3286</sup> In this inscription, his mother celebrates his military service and decorations. We learn that he was a centurion of the *Legio XX Valeria Victrix*, and later a *cornicularius* in the Praetorian Guard. He received awards from Trajan for his service in the Parthian war and from Hadrian he received the *hasta pura* and the *corona aurea*. Given his young age at death in **ET.37**, it is difficult to imagine how he could have achieved this career by the time he was almost twenty, so his age must be recorded incorrectly (perhaps the *X* and the *I* were written the wrong way, and he died when he was twenty one; which was still a young age to have achieved the ranks he did in the military). This inscription was found in Falerii Novi (Viterbo), whereas **ET.37**, his epitaph set up for him by his father, was found in Nepes Etruria (Nepi), only thirty miles south east of Falerii Novi. According to the inscription, **ET.37** was set up on his father's estate and was for Felix and his brother, who was a canvas maker.

*CIL* XI 3108 cuts a stark contrast to **ET.37**: in detailed prose, Felix's mother sings his praises about his military career, whereas in **ET.37**, only two lines of brief prose and two lines of formulaic verse, with no mention of his military career, by his father indicates the abrupt end to this young man's prosperous life, rather than/not as well as his life. Whilst he was alive (implicitly), his mother celebrated his military achievements, immortalised them in stone. On his epitaph, shared with his brother, the unknown, abrupt end to Felix's life, and the way it took him from his father too soon, is all that is commented upon by his father. Perhaps it was felt unnecessary to state his military career, as it had already been immortalised by his mother nearby; this is the only known instance in this data set where a soldier has a verse epitaph set up for him and his soldierly status is not given with the verse inscription itself, but elsewhere. The prosaic triumphant rise of his career, as expressed by his mother, that must have taken years to ascend to, is contrasted with the abrupt, brief verse lines, as dictated by his father, signalling the end of his life. One wonders if his mother had died before Felix had, and therefore why only his father made this inscription for him, and describes his son as being taken from his singular parent (5), despite being pious to both his parents (4). In this dual epitaph for two sons, only the soldier has a verse section dedicated to him; his brother, the civilian, only had lines of prose dedicated to him.

### **ET.37**

*Diis | M[anibus]. ||*

*Q(uinto) A[l]bio Q(uinti) f(ilio) Hor(atia) | Felici. | qui v[i]xit annis XIX | et mensibus VIII. |*

*Piissimus erga parentes | suos quem  
subito iniqua) | Fata rapuere parenti.*

*Q(uinto) Albio [Q(uinti) f(ilio) Hor(atia)] | Parvi[---]. | perdidit[---] | magist[r ---] | linton[---]  
--] | Fale[r---]. | Q(uinto) Albio [Q(uinti) f(ili)] | vix(it) [a(nnos) ---]. ||*

*Q(uitus) Albius Felix pater fecit in fundos [---]*

Most of these inscriptions intertwine pride in military service, and despair at a military death, and thus both promote and condemn a military life. In **ET.29**, a *speculator* of the Praetorian

<sup>3286</sup> It is believed that this is the same Quintus Albius Horatia Felix.

Guard is remembered by his brother and his brother's wife, especially, in his epitaph. In this inscription, there is pride in his military career. After all, he held a rank in a prestigious unit in the Roman military. He is described, first of all, in the verse, by his military identity, which is not uncommon in Latin military verse inscriptions (often it is age and then military identity, or the other way around). His military identity in the verse, however, is expressed not by his rank or his service, but by his weapon: *ensis*. This is not the first time we have seen soldiers being identified by their weapons (see, for example, **NW.7**); soldiers, thus, were not perceived as weapons, but as weapon bearers. Orfius, the *speculator* here, is described as being killed by a *mors inimica* ('hostile death', **ET.29.7**), which leads to the implication that he was killed on active service, perhaps in battle. Here, too, military service is described as laborious: *nam his septenos [tibi] Roma laboribus annos / praestitera[m]* ('for I performed [praesto also has connotations of being outstanding or superior] my duty to you, Rome, in hard work / for fourteen years', 8-9), and conducted in the name of Rome. His departure for military service is not described as something to be celebrated, something to be desired, but a wretched tearing apart of a family, and his leaving to join the military camps was akin to him relinquishing life:

*egressum castris duo me videre parentes |*  
*linquentem vitae et commoda militiae. |*

The language here is similar to when parents describe their child having died before their eyes, which continues with the imagery that Orfius gave up living when he joined the Roman military. His own life was sacrificed, so it could be presented to the military. His life of military service is implicitly compared and contrasted to that of his brother's civilian life. Orfius, however, has died childless, single, and taken too soon by the Fates, all because of his military service. He had relinquished the opportunities for this when he had joined the Roman military. This presents a condemning image of military service, how some perceived someone's recruitment so detached from the living that their service to Rome was a separation from the living so severe that it could be compared to the divide between the living and the dead. This is an unusual, but not unique sentiment, as Tacitus has Civilis compare military recruitment to death in his speech: *instare dilectum quo liberi a parentibus, fratres a fratribus velut supremum dividantur* ('they insist on a levy, by which children are separated from parents, brothers from brothers, just as the moment of death does'; this can also be translated as 'just as funeral rites do', Tac. Hist. 4.14.1).<sup>3287</sup>

Other basic opportunities of life that a military career took away from a soldier, and his family, was the guarantee that he would be buried by his family, let alone at all. His parents, then, are likely to lose their son, and thus had to perform rites that society felt were the duties of the child, and they were denied the opportunity to bury their son and, sometimes, even to hear of his exploits in his military service, the circumstances of his death. Sons were denied the ability to bury their parents, because they were stationed far from home. Nowhere is this more poignant than in **ET.14**,<sup>3288</sup> a cenotaph for a fallen soldier, where the son was denied a burial, and the son was unable to assist in his father's funeral rites. **ET.14** expresses sentiments similar to **ET.29**: in both, we see pride in the soldier's military career, but grief at the premature death his military service brought. In **ET.29**, Orfius was buried by his brother and sister-in-law, but, in **ET.14**, Verecundus' body was not found, which left his mother to set up a cenotaph for him.

<sup>3287</sup> See also Saller & Shaw 1984: 143.

<sup>3288</sup> See also a commentary on, and description of, this inscription in *HEp* 1994.877, *HEp* 2002.421, and Gómez Pallarès 2002: 112-117, for example.



Despite his military service being compared to death, Orfius' family are still proud of how he conducted himself during his service, although he laboured for Rome, he did it excellently (ET.29.8-9).

This same message is seen in ET.14. In many ways, the inability of his parents to bury him, and him dying before his parents, is part 'dels tòpics de la mort prematura i de la mort en terra estrangera', although 'en una forma dialogada',<sup>3289</sup> presumably between the soldier and his mother, as she was his sole surviving parent when he died. These themes are ones discussed and encountered, including in this inscription itself, in Chapter 3: 'els fats contratis, la fortuna adversa, la incapacitat de lloar totes les coses bones que el mort feu en vida, el plor dels pares, l'enterrament en terra estrangera, la no possibilitat de la mare d'haver pogut atendre el moribund, la conformitat final amb el destí que ens és deparat, la crida al passant perquè no desprecii la inscripció, la llegeixi i digui la fórmula ritual final'.<sup>3290</sup> Despite its thematic qualities, this inscription conveys these ideas in poignant and pathos-laden ways, partly because it is presented as a dialogue between the soldier-son and his mother, a final 'conversation' between a mother and her son immortalised in stone.

Verecundus 'himself', *miles* of the *Legio VI Ferrata*, and his mother lament, in the dialogue format of ET.14, the opportunities his military life, by posting him so far from home, denied him. He hopes that someone will bring stories of his exploits back home, he laments for his parents and them being denied the opportunity to bury their son and conduct the funeral rites, and he was unable to bury his father, because he was away from home. The rites he should have conducted, and which should have been conducted for him, are expressed here instead. This was said 'by Verecundus' because, of course, he did not say these words, but, in all likelihood, it was his mother who had chosen them to be 'voiced' by her son on his cenotaph. They are her wishes, conveyed through him. The suddenness of his death implies that he was taken in battle, as well as the description of *Fortuna nimis saevas exercuit eiras* ('and Fortune exercised excessively savage rages', 6); the use of the military term *exerceo* ought to be noted and again, implies that he died in combat.

The implication is, then, that his mother knew nothing about his fate, other than he died abroad; he was not even buried, she presumes that his body was exposed to the elements (ET.14.21), and the very minimum she can hope for is that a passer-by might wish that *sit tibi terra levis*, and wish him a peaceful rest, wherever his remains lie. His mother decides to place praise of his chosen life in the legions into her speech: she describes him as *pius* and brave for his military service. So, whilst there was pride in his military career, one cannot help but notice that, again, a soldier's chosen military life meant he was taken from his family too soon, too far away to bury, too far away to be able to participate in family rites and rituals, against the wishes of a family dynamic. A military life, in this way, denied the familial relationship as expressed through *pietas*, both from the parents towards their child, and the child towards his parents. It is difficult to deny how this inscription, whilst conveying pride in a soldier's military career, gives an overall negative image of a military life, and the simple, ordinary opportunities a military life deprives from those serving within it and their families, especially when a soldier serves and dies away from home.

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<sup>3289</sup> Gómez Pallarès 2002: 114.

<sup>3290</sup> Gómez Pallarès 2002: 115.

Another inscription where a soldier has died away from home, and yet pride in his military career itself is expressed, is in **ET.34**, an epitaph for a soldier by his mother:

### **ET.34**

*D(is) M(anibus). |*

*L(uci) Comagi Firmi | milit(is) leg(ionis) II Parth(iae) | qui vixit ann(os) XXVII m(enses) II d(ies) V. |*

*Parcae te miseris rapuere parent(ibus) urna, |  
spectantes animo tuae gloriae cursum. |  
fletus in perpetuo miserae reliq(uisti) dolore, |  
nec potuit corpus a sodalib(us) tradi sepulchre. |  
me decepisti, ni(mi)um horfanum tu reliquist(i). |*

*Nigidia Firmina | mater infeliciss(ima) filio pientissimo.*

Firmus' remains, unlike Verecundus', may have been able to be sent home. Although the Fates are described as *te ... rapuere ... urna* ('seized you in an urn', **ET.34.4**), which may make it seem as if his remains had been sent home in an urn, this is a metaphor for the Fates sending him to his death, probably based on wishful thinking by his parents, who would have liked to have buried him, and therefore have his remains in an urn. As even his comrades could not bury him (7), it seems as if his remains could not be buried, for some reason (see also the discussion in Chapter 3). It is interesting that Firmus' mother makes this comment, because the implication is, therefore, that comrades were expected to bury soldiers when their families were unable to, due to, for example, distance.

Firmina, his mother, and his father, who was presumably deceased by the time his son died, were proud of his career, and call his military service his 'glory': *spectantes animo tuae gloriae cursum* ('[his parents] were watching the passage of your glory in their mind', **ET.34.4**). His goal, then, was to rise up the ranks; he was a *miles*, but his mother wished to focus on his promised ascent, as so many of the verse inscriptions to soldiers who died young do, through the ranks. Like **ET.7**, his career in the military was a path to glory: *gloriae cursum* (5). The abruptness of his death may indicate that he, too, died in battle, as the language in Verecundus' cenotaph indicates, and as is interpreted by Franzoni: 'la menzione della *Legio II Parthica*, fondata da Settimio Severo, porta a datare il perduto cenotafio non prima della fine del II secolo d.C.; pare difficile definire ulteriormente la cronologica del monument e collegare l'allusione al mancato recupero del corpo del soldato ad una ben precisa spedizione militare della legione'.<sup>3291</sup> But it seems that this was not a cenotaph, as Firmus' remains were sent home, in an urn, so he must have been cremated before he was sent home. This may indicate that he did not die on the battlefield but, instead, of some other cause, probably an illness. How his parents obtained his remains is unknown; although it is not directly stated that he was sent home, this can be inferred from other inscriptions where the ashes of a soldier were sent home to their parents in Italy (see **ET.70**, **ET.67**, **AI.2**, for example, as well as Chapter 3, section 3.5.2.2), and Firmus was potentially of Italian origin.

Firmina specifies that Firmus' comrades were unable to bury him, so he was not buried away from home/near his military posting either. Firmina, too, describes herself as being left alone

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<sup>3291</sup> Franzoni 1987.58: 86.

by the death of her son, as did Laura, Verecundus' mother, who had also lost her husband (ET.14). This epitaph is not so anti-military life, and the opportunities it took away from those who enlisted, as other inscriptions in this section, such as ET.14, but it does still demonstrate the intermingling of a parent being proud of their son for their service in the Roman military and the glory this bestowed on them, but it still meant that they were separated from their son when he died an early death, an early death that, in many cases, would have been caused, either directly or indirectly, through his military service. This epitaph is constructed as a dialogue between the deceased father and son, both lamenting the unceremoniously marked death of the son, in contrast to the death of the father, which was properly marked and the funereal rites carried out. The son, however, was not there to carry out these rites, presumably because he was posted abroad. The ability of the father to be buried properly is starkly contrasted with that of the son, who was unable to be buried properly, and it is unknown where his body lies, or how he died. The only rite after death the son has, then, is to ask passers-by to wish "*sit tibi terra levis*". They both openly mourn one another in this dialogue, composed on behalf of both deceased men by their wife/mother (or, at least, commissioned on their behalf).

In the inscriptions examined so far, the death of a soldier in battle has been implied: they could have died away from home, whilst on active service, but by other means, e.g. illness, yet the language presented within the verse implies that they were killed in battle. However, there are a small number of inscriptions where the death of a soldier in battle is explicitly specified, such as in ET.55:

[---] *pro[batus in] | armis [---]. |*  
*occidit [in] | bello Num[id]|um, veri[tatis] | amator (vac.) |*  
*hos patr[ ---] | inscripsi v[er]|sus dictante | dolore (vac.)*  
*Fortuna(m) incu|sans quod | non mihi ta[lia] | natus (vac.) |*  
*composuit C+++ | +++ | [---] 't'riste | dicavit. (vac.) |*

Although he was killed in battle, Fortune is accused of cutting his life short. Here, a father buries his son, who *occidit [in] | bello Num[id]|ium* ('[was] killed in a Numidian war', ET.55.10), despite being *pro[batus in] | armis* ('proven in arms', 9); perhaps this is why Fortune is blamed for cutting his life short, his proficiency in arms implying that he should have lived. The combat in which his son died is unclear: 'l'építaphe ne donne aucune précision sur la nature de l'affrontement, sans doute parce que les choses étaient claires pour les contemporains et qu'après tout, l'important pour un père, c'est que son fils était courageux et qu'il est mort au combat'.<sup>3292</sup> He is proud of his son and who he was, *pro[batus in] | armis ... veri[tatis] | amator* ('proven in arms [...] / ... a lover of truth', 3-4), and despairs at his death, grief driving him to write this verse inscription.

As Hamdoune (ed.) points out in his edited collection of the verse inscriptions of Roman Africa, 'rares sont les poèmes dans le recueil qui évoquent la mort de soldats au cours de combats. Même le soldat Julius Ingenius [NW.3], mort en Gaule alors qu'il accédait au centurionat..., n'est probablement pas mort au combat. On peut rapprocher les circonstances de la mort de ce défunt, dont le nom n'a pas été conservé, de celles de Julius Capito ... ou d'Ulpius Optatus'.<sup>3293</sup> Once again, despite being proud of his son's military career, his death in battle has meant that the dynamic of a family, as dictated by *pietas*, is defied: 'le père déplore ce bouleversement de

<sup>3292</sup> Hamdoune (ed.) 2011.66: 125-126.

<sup>3293</sup> *Ibid.*: 125. Both of these examples are too late for this study (see Hamdoune (ed.) 2011.151 for Julius Capito and Hamdoune (ed.) 2011 for Ulpius Optatus, as well as the discussion below).

l'ordre naturel des décès qui l'oblige à faire pour son fils ce que la *pietas* du fils aurait dû faire pour lui'.<sup>3294</sup> This must have been an indictment against a military life, being denied the basics of family life, and actively going into a profession that was known to disrupt the dynamics of familial *pietas*, that cornerstone of family dynamics in the Roman world, as well as defying the natural order, for a father had to bury his son.

There is only one inscription in which combat itself is condemned: **ET.40**. Here, it is condemned for when combat is used to obtain riches other lands possess; lives have been sacrificed to obtain them. It is recognised that multiple races desire the goods of other lands, this is not just the Romans seeking to conquer everyone, but everyone has something someone else wants (**a26-31**). These items include slaves, consumable goods, and specific skills: both the practical and the artistic are desired by others, and blood shed to obtain them. Notably these acts of combat are described as *certamen*, not *bellum* or *proelium*, thus making them more akin to spats than all-out war. Nevertheless, it is acknowledged that people died in these combats, and so they are not belittled. They are, however, condemned because they are categorised under acts of *furor*, and they supply other acts of *furor* (19-25): those who seek monetary gain, and mind little who or what has to be sacrificed for it (20), a wealthy man who seeks to obtain affection and love through showering his lover, who has no interest in him, with gifts, and women who seek only materialistic desires, such as expensive clothes and jewellery. These expensive items were obtained through combat, and, thus, the desire for material goods and monetary gain, which sometimes leads to bloodshed, is ridiculed as a vanity, a *furor*, in many ways an un-Roman act of passion and senselessness.

There is one instance of the condemnation of military life on the mental state of soldiers in this data set. The most dramatic example of this from military verse inscriptions in general is *CIL* VIII 21562,<sup>3295</sup> but it is clear from contextual evidence that this inscription dates from later in the third century, after the scope of this study.<sup>3296</sup> **ET.59**, similarly, is dated from the third to the fourth century;<sup>3297</sup> bearing in mind *CIL* VIII 21562, and that such inscriptions that depict the volatile mental state of a soldier in battle are outliers in this data set (without including *CIL* VIII 21562, **ET.59** is the only one). Without further evidence suggesting either that it definitely should or should not belong in this data set, **ET.59** has been included, although there is an argument to suggest, considering the above factors, that it does not belong in the date range stated in the parameters of this study.

### **ET.59**

(ad sinistram)

*D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum). |*

*Magnia Ancill`a` | et Gemi|nius Na|bor de | eorum | Sertiorus | et Ianuaria | fecerunt. ||*

(ad dextram)

*Hic situs est iuvenis, primo qui flore | iuventae  
impavidus Martis. dum | <in>cautus iret in hostis,*

<sup>3294</sup> Hamdoune (ed.) 2011.66: 126.

<sup>3295</sup> = *CLE* 520 = *CLEAfrigue* 174.

<sup>3296</sup> Despite being dated to the third century (see Hamdoune (ed.) 2011); for discussion on the dating of this inscription, based on contextual evidence of the military vs. local state at the time, see Kruschwitz 2015a and Laes 2020: 102-104.

<sup>3297</sup> See Hamdoune (ed.) 2011.155.

*invida Par|carum sem<p>er sic prona volun|tas  
oppressit. memoran|de iaces Ianuari sepul|cro,  
sic felix quot | humo te mater mise|randa recondit. |*

*Geminus Victor fratri | carissimo fe|cit dedicavitque. | vix(it) an(nos) XXXXV. |*

It appears, then, that Ianuarius died in combat, similarly to Ulpian Optatus in *CIL* VIII 21562: being overpowered in the middle of combat, having become overcome by his own emotions in the turmoil, making him incensed to the extent that he appears to have not had any regard for his own life. He rushed against the enemy and, in doing so, he was killed. Hamdoune (ed.) wonders if the described deaths of these two men are comparable: Optatus' is much more explicit in describing him as dying in battle. Ianuarius' however, is less descriptive than Optatus': 'l'épithète ne donne ni l'identité des ennemis, ni le titre auquel il combattait, ni même les circonstances exactes de sa mort. Comme elle est attribuée à l'action des Parques, là où la responsabilité principale devrait relever d'ennemis humains, on peut se demander s'il n'est pas décédé de maladie pendant son temps de service'.<sup>3298</sup> However, there are other inscriptions where the Fates are described as taking someone too soon, and this tends to be because they have died too soon, rather than because of the way they died, i.e. just because he is described as being taken by the Fates, does not mean that Ianuarius was killed by an illness, nor that he was not killed in battle, but simply that, in the eyes of his family, he died too soon, which is also indicated by the fact that he is described as *iuvenis, primo qui flore | iuventae* ('a young man, who, in the prime blossoming of his youth', 3). The description of him being *impavidus Martis. dum | <in>cautus iret in hostis* ('was fearless of Mars. While he heedlessly raged against the enemy', 4) cannot be interpreted any other way than he was killed in battle, without regard for his own safety, regardless of the lack of naming of his enemies or his rank.

For the Romans, courage was different, encapsulated by *virtus*, both an abstract concept and a concrete deity, this had many connotations.<sup>3299</sup> Included in the nuance of *virtus* was the ability to remain disciplined in the face of adversity, to keep fighting when all you want to do is flee; this is even demonstrated in **RI.14**, when the *Legio III Augusta* carried on building and restoring the gate, despite the adverse weather and worse conditions than those who had constructed the building had to contend with, and this is lauded throughout as an exhibition of their *virtus*. That particular attitude towards courage continued throughout the ages, probably influenced by the Greek myths and then the Roman ideal soldier, as, despite their acts of violence to achieve it, their empire was seen as the pinnacle of conquest, achievement, and power; in fact, it continued until very recently, where that 'stiff upper lip' approach is now generally perceived as rather old fashioned and unhealthy.

But, it cannot be ignored that Roman *virtus* included the ability to be able to take a life,<sup>3300</sup> whereas the opposite would be said of courage today.<sup>3301</sup> Yet, this is probably because killing was part of the life blood of the ancient world, not simply in the Roman world, although perhaps it is more obvious with their amphitheatres, their public executions at their triumphs, and their seemingly casually accepted and carried out orders of gratuitous violence in celebrated wars.<sup>3302</sup> When soldiers were punished for gratuitous and unnecessary acts of violence and those who

<sup>3298</sup> Hamdoune (ed.) 2011.: 252-253.

<sup>3299</sup> See the discussion on *virtus* above.

<sup>3300</sup> See de la Bédoyère 2020: 212

<sup>3301</sup> Now, the hero is the one who refuses to take a life, whereas the villain is the one who takes life easily and without remorse.

<sup>3302</sup> De la Bédoyère 2020; see, for example, 212.

allowed themselves to succumb to the frenzy of blood-lust and war, it is clear that there were levels of violence that were condemned in Roman society: ‘uncontrolled violence was savage and no part of the aristocratic image of the *vir*’.<sup>3303</sup> Yet violence in such a way was common throughout all ancient societies, and was a part of the masculine imagery of asserting authority in Roman society.<sup>3304</sup> It is almost impossible to say whether these acts of violence and brutality were frowned upon by some and merely accepted by the crowd, or if they were universally accepted, although it is likely that it was the former.

In questioning whether Roman soldiers suffered from post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), Melchior observes that the habitual violence of the ancient world would have desensitised those inhabiting it from acts of violence in a way that is vastly different to our own. Infant mortality alone is greater than in the modern world,<sup>3305</sup> and exposing children was common. This in and of itself ‘would have contributed to a fatalistic worldview’.<sup>3306</sup> Death, and dead bodies, were a common occurrence in the Roman world, either through shows, or through everyday life:<sup>3307</sup> ‘in general, the Romans inhabited a world that was significantly more brutal and uncertain than our own’.<sup>3308</sup> Violence and killing were on display, both in gladiator shows and in religious rites where animals were sacrificed; people of all ages would have been exposed to this kind of habitual violence that civilians inhabiting the Western world are separated from now, now there is a separation between military violence and civilian peace, even people do not often see animals being slaughtered for meat.<sup>3309</sup> Military punishment was also brutal.<sup>3310</sup>

The Romans did not shy away from the violence of war to the general populace either; the violent, brutal acts of the soldiers during the Dacian Wars are depicted for all to see on Trajan’s Column, including a soldier holding a Dacian’s decapitated head by the hair between his teeth, and scenes of torture and the chaos of battle, as well as expressed in literature, such as in Virgil and Lucan. We must, then, take this into consideration when contemplating the acts of violence performed by those inhabiting the Roman world: violence, even extreme acts of violence, was a part of everyday life, it which was provided as entertainment for the masses and was wanted by the masses,<sup>3311</sup> and although those in the Roman military were sometimes considered to go too far by ancient commentators,<sup>3312</sup> what would be far too extreme for a modern audience was simply reported and sometimes commended for being part of the heroism of war.<sup>3313</sup>

Yet, as many acts of violence as there were carried out by the Romans, so too were they carried out by their enemies;<sup>3314</sup> for all in the ancient world, they were still fighting to survive just as those in prehistory had, yet, now they were also faced with the prospect of having to survive from each other, not simply having to survive the environment that more developed nations such as the Romans were just starting to conquer. Perhaps the most telling comment about the Roman attitude towards violence and war, and gives the best understanding of it to a modern audience, is by de la Bédoyère: after his glorification of his victory at Zama, despite the former

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<sup>3303</sup> Alston 1998: 219.

<sup>3304</sup> *Ibid.*; de la Bédoyère 2020: 207-229.

<sup>3305</sup> See Melchior 2011: 220.

<sup>3306</sup> *Ibid.*: 221.

<sup>3307</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3308</sup> *Ibid.*: 220.

<sup>3309</sup> *Ibid.*: 221.

<sup>3310</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3311</sup> See, for example, de la Bédoyère 2020: 207-229.

<sup>3312</sup> See, for example, *ibid.*

<sup>3313</sup> See, for example, *ibid.*: 207-229, esp. 209.

<sup>3314</sup> De la Bédoyère 2020: 207-229, esp. 228.

extreme violence Scipio, later Scipio Africanus, had ordered at Cartagena in 209 BC, ‘no one considered him a war criminal, because the concept simply did not exist. He was a hero; someone to live up to’.<sup>3315</sup> Those generals who killed masses of the enemy were venerated, adored, championed, never mind how they achieved it.<sup>3316</sup> The Romans were a practical people; death was a part of war, and it seems the extremes to which it could be carried out by them, and their enemies, mattered not.<sup>3317</sup> What mattered was that they won, and victory was a part of the definition of *virtus*. What seemed to be the exception to this was civil war, deemed as a pointless waste of specifically Roman life, because they were not fighting an enemy, but themselves.<sup>3318</sup>

This everyday brutality and death, Melchior postulates, ‘offered a harsh moral lesson but also perhaps desensitized men to the sights they would witness in battle’.<sup>3319</sup> The inhabitants of the Roman world lived in ‘an empire whose prosperity was quite openly tied to conquest ... violence was both the means and the expression of Roman power’.<sup>3320</sup> The Romans used different weapons, and studies show that weaponry can have an affect on a soldier’s during and post-war psychological reaction.<sup>3321</sup> We read about the men on the battlefield, about men on campaign, we do not read about their return home.<sup>3322</sup> There is only one inscription in this data set (**ET.59**) that some might argue demonstrates an aspect of combat trauma, but, instead, a better case can be made for it still describing what would have been regarded as a proud moment in battle.<sup>3323</sup> Although the Romans did make provision to stop men from fleeing the battlefield,<sup>3324</sup> and trained them with strict discipline for battle, Melchior ‘suspect[s] that we may find the evidence will point to a lower frequency of PTSD in the ancient world than that experienced by our troops in the present day’.<sup>3325</sup> PTSD does not seem to be mentioned in the inscriptions in this data set; if it is, it comes later, but even then it is rarely mentioned, in examples such as *CIL* VIII 21562.<sup>3326</sup>

His family probably did not know the exact circumstances of Ianuarius’ death (**ET.59**), all they knew was that he had died in battle, and he died fighting. The way he is described here is almost like Aeneas at the end of the *Aeneid*, when he rages in battle, going on a rampage, and his final act in the narrative is killing Turnus, making Ianuarius both heroic and sympathetic. That he is described as a *iuvenis* is also a part of this portrayal of Ianuarius: ‘ou ... par une sorte de stylisation épique: le héros combattant est par le fait même jeune, puisqu’il a la force physique et l’énergie de la jeunesse’.<sup>3327</sup> Awareness of battle frenzy is, as demonstrated in **ET.59**, *CIL* VIII 21562 and the *Aeneid*, was not unknown to the Romans, and nor did it have the negative connotations that some may attribute to the phrase ‘battle frenzy’ now. There are stories time and time again in Roman historiography where rushing into battle is warned against, both for generals and the men, because rash eagerness and lividity against the enemy will lead to defeat

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<sup>3315</sup> *Ibid.*: 209

<sup>3316</sup> *Ibid.*: 209, 213-214.

<sup>3317</sup> As evident in *ibid.*: 217-219.

<sup>3318</sup> See, for example, de la Bédoyère 2020: 218; and as evident throughout Lucan’s *Pharsalia*.

<sup>3319</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3320</sup> *Ibid.*: 222.

<sup>3321</sup> See *ibid.*: throughout.

<sup>3322</sup> *Ibid.*: 212.

<sup>3323</sup> See discussion below. See also Melchior’s discussion on Xenophon’s eulogy for Clearchus (2011: 216).

<sup>3324</sup> ‘It was not unusual for the reserve line to be made up of veterans because they were better able to watch the combat without losing their nerve. Held in reserve, they had to watch stoically as their comrades were injured and killed, and contemplate the awful fact that they might suffer the same fate. This was not for the faint of heart’ (*ibid.*: 218).

<sup>3325</sup> *Ibid.*: 223.

<sup>3326</sup> See this inscription, as well as Kruschwitz 2015a; Laes 2020: 102-104.

<sup>3327</sup> Hamdoune (ed.) 2011.155: 253.

and death.<sup>3328</sup> But they clearly were aware of the effect of battle and warfare on the men who fought in it. Ianuarius is still described as ‘fearless of Mars’ and brave in this battle, and thus the negative connotations that may be perceived to accompany this description of him were not felt by his family, especially as they agreed/decided to have him depicted this way on his tombstone. Perhaps some of his comrades had told his family what had happened in the battle, as we can see in **ET.14**, the families left behind were desperate to know not only where their loved one had died, but also how, regardless.

Other factors could have encouraged Ianuarius to have acted this way in battle, not simply blood lust against the enemy. Perhaps the enemy were trying to capture him, and he was fighting back. For the Romans, the ultimate punishment induced shame, and being captured by the enemy was shameful for a Roman soldier, an attitude best portrayed by Josephus when describing what happened to a Roman cavalryman who was captured by the Jews, who, significantly, Josephus does not name:

ὁ δ’ αὐτὸν ὀπίσω τῷ χεῖρι δήσας καὶ ταινίᾳ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀντικρὺ τῶν Ῥωμαίων προήγαγεν ὡς καρατομήσων· φθάνει δ’ ἐκεῖνος εἰς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους διαφυγὼν ἐν ᾧ τὸ ξίφος ἐσπάσατο ὁ Ἰουδαῖος. τοῦτον διαφυγόντα ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ἀνελεῖν μὲν οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν Τίτος, ἀνάξιον δὲ Ῥωμαίων εἶναι στρατιώτην κρίνας, ὅτι ζῶν ἐλήφθη, τὰ τε ὅπλα ἀφείλετο καὶ τοῦ τάγματος ἐξέβαλεν, ἅπερ ἦν αἰσχυνομένῳ θανάτου χαλεπώτερα.

Ardalas tied the man’s hands behind his back, blindfolded him, and led him out to be beheaded in plain view of the Romans: but just as the Jew was drawing his sword the man made a sudden dash to safety in the Roman lines. Since he had managed to escape from the enemy Titus was reluctant to put him to death, but decided that letting himself be taken alive disqualified him from service as a Roman soldier: so he stripped the man of his arms and dismissed him from the legion – a punishment worse than death for anyone with a sense of shame.

J. BJ 6.361-263, trans. by M. Hammond 2017: 334.

We do not know what unit Ianuarius served in, nor his rank, all we know is that he died in battle; surely this missing unit and rank must be of significance here? There must have been a reason why his family did not state it, but did describe how he died in battle. This, still, therefore, is not a condemnation of battle and warfare itself, but, from this, we can see the effect of warfare on the mental state of a soldier, in his conduct as a soldier on the battlefield, which led some, tragically, to their deaths.

### 8.10. For and Against a Military Life

In a very few inscriptions, there was those that were both for and against a military life. This is portrayed in the ways in which they depict a military life and how this affected those within it; the agenda of these inscriptions, rather like those discussed in sections 8.8 and 8.9 above, are not necessarily to depict a military life in a certain way, but this is how they depict it. The depiction of the military life, or of someone’s attitude towards it, is something we infer from the language they use in regard to it. As the vast majority of the inscriptions in this data set are epitaphs, their purpose is to remember the life of the person lost. As inscriptions, their overall function is remembrance. As discussed in Chapter 3, these verse inscriptions were erected to

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<sup>3328</sup> One of the most famous examples, although it happened after the events of this inscription did, in which both a rash general and a rash army led to a devastating defeat was the Battle of Adrianople, as described in Amm. 31.



mark a moment, whether that moment was a victory in battle, a religious experience, or a life, all were aspects of the lived experience of those in the Roman military, in the Roman world, that these soldiers and those close to them wished to immortalise.

In **LL.7**, a military way of life (*castris*, 4) was a way of acquiring honour (4-10):

*ann(is) XXVI. ut sibi | castris honorem a'd'quireret ipse,  
dolori ma[g]|no substentavit tempore longo.  
postea, cum | sperans dolorem effugisse nefandam,  
ante | diem meritum hunc demersit at Styga Pluton. |  
quotsi Fata eo sinuissent luce(m) videre, (vac.) |  
ista prius triste munus posui dolori, repletus |  
munus inane quidem.*

Perhaps, then, masculinity, as has been discussed earlier, was not mentioned because it was exhibited in/by a soldier's military way of life, and further adds to the reasoning why those in the elite would not see it as desirable for women to be involved in the military way of life as it was quintessentially masculine. It bestowed *honor* onto all those who inhabited it, it was implied to exist in those who led a military life. To ascertain this fully, however, and if this existed in the wider, public mindset, one would need to compare civilian and military inscriptions, as **LL.7** was by *equites singulares* for their fellow *equites singulares*, and so this may be part of the military's perception of their own way of life. Many of the Roman elite had also served in the Roman military so, if this was implicit in the Roman military attitude towards their own lifestyle, then it would have been present in the mindset of the Roman elite too. Examples such as **ET.7** and **ET.60** demonstrate that this attitude was also present in the (masculine) perception of the military lifestyle also, as these inscriptions were influenced by the dominant male presence in the deceased's life. In **LL.7**, we are told, we are able to 'see' Quintianus in this verse inscription that has been erected to commemorate him (2). In this inscription, we are told about his origins, the (potential) cause of his death, and his motivations for joining the military: 'so he would acquire for himself the honour of army life' (4). After all, 'the decades serving the Emperor in Rome could mean social advancement, gaining fortune and recognition while the best ones could become military officers'.<sup>3329</sup> The military offered social as well as career advancement and, in a world where status and prestige mattered, it is obvious that someone would choose that lifestyle, especially if it had a known time limit on it, and perhaps even more so if they were not of citizens of the Empire, choosing to better their and their families lives in a system that provided support, a clear progression, and a clear end. This verse indicates that to live a military life, to live in the military sphere, was regarded by some as to automatically bestow honour onto its inhabitants, and that honour was one's own, earned for the individual, by the individual. In **ET.7** and **ET.60**, the honour also was expected to extend onto one's family.

**LL.7** was both overtly proud of a military lifestyle, and implicitly criticises it, for it presents a negative image of its effects upon those who inhabited it. Quintianus died at the age of twenty six, just a year after honourable discharge from the *equites singulares* was often given.<sup>3330</sup> This is two years after the average age of when the *deposito barbae* ceremony was performed, meaning he potentially died after he had reached the official age of manhood. Like many other inscriptions of those who died in their youth, his life was considered to have been cut short.

<sup>3329</sup> Székely 2014: 73. See also 75, 80.

<sup>3330</sup> *CLE* 474: 224; Speidel 1994b: 328, nr. 596.

Yet, the greatest ‘deterrent’ against a military, life, perhaps, is in the description of the great pain that Quintianus suffered in his life.<sup>3331</sup> Military service is implied as the (indirect) cause of Quintianus’ death, which appears to have been drawn out and painful. Had he been suffering from a disease or an injury? We will never know. One wonders how it would have affected his ability to perform his role as a soldier in one of the most prestigious units of the Roman military. His death, it seems, was anticipated: if his cousin and heirs had not put up this inscription for him, it was expected that he would have (9-10). His pain was so acute that his death was in fact wished for, both by Quintianus and his family and comrades, and it is his pain that is remembered; perhaps this was seen as a further indicator of his personality, his character, his honour and fortitude, for enduring pain, despite hoping for a release from it.

Alternatively, this *dolor* was military service itself. Although describing the pain he endured may be implicit indications of Quintianus’ fortitude as a character, this is not the typical way of describing a character in these military verse inscriptions. Although their *honor*, *virtus* and expression as an ideal Roman man was implicit in their military service, their individual characteristics were often expressed directly, such as their *pietas* and their bravery. In the lines in which this *dolor* Quintianus endured is described, there is no hint of pride in these lines, and instead he hoped for a release from it, and, when he thought he had, he died. This could have been a literal ailment, but if it is a metaphor for their military service, or simply how Quintianus perceived it, then this is a significant contradiction from describing military service with the honour with which it is portrayed, even in this inscription, especially as it was put up by his heirs, one of whom was a member of Quintianus’ family, both of whom were also *equites singulares*. If this is referring to their military service, also seen in Speidel’s interpretation of this inscription as ‘Selbst bei dichterischer Übertreibung zeigt dieses Gedicht doch ungefähr wie ein Reiter seinen Dienst auffaßte: als ein Leiden, dessen Ende man sehnsüchtig erwartete, und das man hauptsächlich wegen der Heere (und des Gewinns bei) der Entlassung auf sich nahm’,<sup>3332</sup> two *equites singulares* put up an inscription describing the service of their colleague, their service, as a great burden, a stress, a sorrow, described with such loaded words as *dolor*, a word often used to mean ‘grief’ as in the feeling at the loss of a loved one, and *nefandus*, -a, -um. But, as military life itself is described as an *honor*, perhaps only Quintianus felt this way about his choice of career, and his colleagues did not feel so burdened by their service. But, given the more literal use of language in these inscriptions and the description of the pain itself, this *dolor* is more likely to have been a physical pain.

In **RI.17**, a soldier commemorated a victory in a military skirmish:

*Pro salute imp(eratoris) Caesaris | Traiani Hadriani Aug(usti) | domini n(ostri).*

*Voto Serenus | aram inst[r]u[x]it Iovi.  
biduo | secutus Agriophagos nequ|issimos,  
quorum fere pars mai|or in pugna perit,  
neque vulnera|to nec relicto m[i]lite,  
praedam|que totam cum camelis apstulit.*

ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Αυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος | Τραιανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου | Σουλπίκιος υἱὸς Γναίου Κουρίνα | Σερηνὸς Ἀγριοφάγους δει[νοτά]τους ++++ΑΝΣ+---]Σ+[- --].

<sup>3331</sup> See also the discussion on this inscription in Chapter 4.

<sup>3332</sup> Speidel 1994b: 328, nr. 596.

Here, a military life is celebrated overtly: Serenus ordered this inscription to be put up, ostensibly in thanks for his victory over the Agriophagi. He defeated them like an *exemplum* from the history books, killing most of them, *neque vulnera|to nec relictio m[i]llite* ('with neither a soldier wounded nor abandoned', 5). Not only that, but he took booty from the Agriophagi, *cum camelis* ('with their camels', 6). His victory was triumphant and absolute. Yet, the undertone of relief in this inscription cannot be ignored. We have seen Jupiter invoked in his guise as *Depulsor* in **RI.18** where he was celebrated because of a safe return after a battle, and, here, the tone can be said to read both as victorious and filled with relief at a safe return back after the battle. The enemy is also not usually described in these inscriptions in such emotive terms as they are here: the Agriophagi are *nequissimos* ('vilest', 3) and δει[νοτά]το[υ]ς ('wicked', 8). Did Serenus order this inscription to be put up because of a vow he made before the battle, asking Jupiter for safety, or was it upon his return? It is likely we will never know the answer to that question, but this inscription demonstrates how inference can lead us to see the double edged sword that was a life in the Roman military: it invited a man into a life of honour, noble and virtuous, was implicitly an exhibition of his masculinity and value as a man, and yet it was full of threat and danger, and victory was celebrated through the loss of the enemy's life, preferably their complete or almost complete annihilation, and through the retention of one's own and one's men's lives.

### 8.11. Conclusion

An observation about the Latin verse inscriptions of the Roman military in general is similar to that as observed by Massaro in the military *carmina Latina epigraphica* in Dalmatia, Moesia Superior and Inferior, Dacia, Pannonia Superior and Inferior and Noricum: 'osserviamo anzitutto, in relazione proprio alla connotazione da ambiente militare, che di retorica militare o bellica non abbiamo incontrato alcuna traccia', with only a few exceptions, and these have a later date'; 'nei complementi affettivi è anzi assai raro incontrare anche specifici accenni alla vita o ambiente militare, e per lo più indiretti'.<sup>3333</sup> A military life in the Roman world affected more than just the lives of those serving within it. The lives of those who had relationships with Roman soldiers were heavily affected by their military way of life. Military recruitment tore apart families, sons never returned home, and it enabled new ones to be forged, away from a soldier's birth family; 'whether families were located within the fort itself or outside in the extramural settlement, the life led here would be centered first and foremost on the interests of the Roman army',<sup>3334</sup> and around it, for this was their social environment. A military way of life dictated how a Roman soldier lived, and how he loved. It affected his choice of future partner, whether he had to buy his "wife", or take her with him from their shared place of origin, or choose her from the relatives of comrades; after all, it makes sense if a soldier 'sought a spouse who already understood this military way of life'.<sup>3335</sup> Their military displacement among communities made it more difficult for them to forge and keep relationships naturally. Their military life was their stability, in contrast to a civilian, whose family was his stability. As a consequence, their comrades were likely to have been close, loyal friends, perhaps more so than the male friends of a civilian.

It should not be ignored that some of these relationships may have been sexually exploitative and abusive; Roman soldiers did rape people, regardless of gender, during military campaigns,

<sup>3333</sup> Massaro 2023: 56; his only exception is 'se non appena nei due versi del tardo Catalogo, nr. 32'.

<sup>3334</sup> Greene 2017: 24.

<sup>3335</sup> *Ibid.*

and slaves did not have a choice if their masters wished to use them for sexual reasons. Just because someone used a term of endearment or affection for someone else does not mean that the deceased reciprocated those feelings. The point of this analysis is not to romanticise the relationships of the Roman military, but depict them as they did in their Latin verse inscriptions. Given the apparent reciprocity of some of these relationships, i.e. soldiers were not the only ‘authors’/creators of monuments for their partners, and the sentiment expressed in the verse chosen and/or written specifically for their eternal commemoration, for some there was affection in these relationships. Yet, the abundance of inscriptions in this study in which family relationships are depicted is indicative of a soldier’s attitude towards his lifestyle; ‘the shadow of military service did not necessarily follow every soldier, as evident, for instance, in the fact that not all tombstones made for and by soldiers depicted the deceased in full military attire ... indeed, some were depicted as family men embracing their wives and children ... and on such gravestones, military heroism and an abundance of medals are replaced by imagery expressing sentiment for the ordinary’.<sup>3336</sup>

The family dynamics demonstrated in these inscriptions are the same as those presented in civilian inscriptions, and in other studies on military family dynamics, but perhaps with a more focused geographical area of analysis, for example. Also, again, as Massaro observed in his more localised study of military *carmina Latina epigraphica*, ‘affetti, elogi, situazioni ed emozioni non differiscono in sostanza da quelli di analoga produzione epigrafica da ambiente e società civile. Quando sono loro a dedicare complimenti affettivi a moglie o figli, i militari, di qualsiasi grado, non manifestano altro che sensibilità e dolore di mariti e padri’.<sup>3337</sup> This leads Massaro to conclude that ‘sul piano quindi esistenziale, affettivo, la vita militare non produce ... atteggiamenti differenti da quelli di altri stati o ambienti di vita’, and he interprets this universality of life in the Roman world as being demonstrated in the shared verse of **ET.73**, **ET.74** and *RIU* III 910: *seu te rura tenent/colens urbes seu castra vel (a)equor*.<sup>3338</sup> For Massaro, funerary epigraphy was a public expression of private affection, without the intention of exhibiting their prestige or achievements, and exhibited themes in them that were used universally, across the Empire and across social groups.<sup>3339</sup>

The family dynamics of those in and around the military were universal across the Roman Empire (see Table 8 and Figures 8.1 and 8.8). Despite the differing nationalities, and social/cultural conventions that would have led to, within the Roman military, which would have been further reinforced by the potential varying races and cultures added to the military milieu through the “wives” of these men, some who would have been bought as slaves, family across the Roman world was recognised in a similar way, both in manner and pattern of presentation and commemoration. Differing recruitment patterns and cultural conventions in each province mean that the dynamics fluctuate and change in specifics across the Empire, yet, overall, the relationships a soldier could have to others/others could have to a soldier, were relatively uniform. The focus was on the nuclear family, either the soldier-husband or the soldier-son, and then the next focus was on the military community itself. Despite the law favouring the soldier over the nuclear family, then, the soldier’s focus was his nuclear family.

A military life gave a man an aspect of autonomy away from his father, a beginning to a career that was his own, and that may have been a part of his stepping stone into a political career he

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<sup>3336</sup> Ivleva 2020: 250.

<sup>3337</sup> Massaro 2023: 56.

<sup>3338</sup> *Ibid.*: 57.

<sup>3339</sup> See *ibid.*: 57-58.

could not yet access, a way of expressing his masculinity in a world where men under the *patria potestas* may have felt that they were limited in how they could express their *virtus*,<sup>3340</sup> and it meant that he was regarded as a man, even if he had not yet gone through all the social rites and stages where a man's progression into manhood was realised. Despite this, he was eternally youthful, described as a *iuvenes* at whatever age he died. It enabled him to have his own independence, and subsequent pride in the identity, reputation and respect intertwined with serving in the military, as well as the ability to start his own family and relationships.

There is a greater diversity of ranks in the inscriptions discussed in this chapter (see Table 8 and Figure 8.3); soldiers from a variety of ranks in the Roman military had family connections, and displayed these in their verse inscriptions. The majority of the ranks mentioned in these inscriptions were soldiers with a higher rank (*centurio* and above), which is perhaps not unexpected, given the additional social and political dynamics behind the ranks of the Roman military (see Appendix 3). When analysing these inscriptions, it must be taken into consideration that some origins, relationship connections and even ranks are unknown to us now, and knowing these, given the number of 'unknowns' in comparison to what is known, would significantly impact our data analysis. The highest output of these inscriptions was from the legions (Table 8 and Figure 8.4). The *numeri* and the navy displayed the fewest familial connections of the units in the Roman military (see Table 8 and Figures 8.4). The *auxilia* were also very low in terms of familial connections expressed in verse inscriptions, at just 9 auxiliary units mentioned in these inscriptions. The legions far outweighed the other military units in terms of poetic output and their familial connections, at 50 mentions of legionary units in the inscriptions in this chapter; the cohorts of Rome had just under half of that amount in total (including the Praetorian Guard, the *equites singulares*, the Urban cohorts and the *Vigiles*).

Perhaps there were fewer family members who could or would think to commemorate their deceased family member in this literary manner in units outside the legions. This may be to do with recruitment patterns and citizenship. However, most of these inscriptions originate from the generally recognised consensus of the height of Latin verse inscriptions: late second to the early third centuries (Table 8 and Appendix 4), when the lines between citizens going into the legions and non-citizens being recruited into the *auxilia* became blurred. Perhaps the legions, due to their more static nature in both recruitment, especially in the second century, and garrisoning enabled them to lay down more roots and make more family connections, as has been hypothesised by scholars. This was also when the Empire was relatively stable in terms of warfare; the first century was more militarily tempestuous and restless with civil war and new conquests. The Empire was at its height under Trajan, and Hadrian began retreating from lands that had been newly conquered, strengthening the borders of the Empire, consolidating and protecting the lands they already had, rather than seeking to obtain more. A more settled, peaceful Empire would have allowed the soldiers and their families, some of whom would have been stationed on the frontiers but did not necessarily experience any active warfare in their lifetimes, time to compose and carve poetry.

Martial's comment that soldiers took his poetry around the Empire does appear to be correct. The distribution of the soldiers exhibited in this chapter highlights how they were found all over the Empire, with their families. The soldiers came from all over of the Roman Empire (Table 8 and Figure 8.2), and they went all over the Empire (see Table 8 and Figure 8.6). The geographical distribution of these inscriptions follows a general pattern of focusing on the

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<sup>3340</sup> For this point, see Masterson 2014: 24-25.

centre of the Empire, with only a smattering appearing in the extremities (Table 8 and Figure 8.6). The centre focus was on the Mediterranean (Italy and the African lands opposite Italy) and through the Germanies and the Danubian provinces, along the Rhine-Danube frontier, as has been seen as a general trend throughout the chapters in this study. This gives a central and military focus to these Latin verse inscriptions; the central focus is the Mediterranean itself, and the military is concentrated along the Rhine-Danube frontier. Poetry was the focus of these inscriptions in the heart of the Roman Empire, crossing into Roman lands across the Roman sea, and it was exhibited along the frontier between the Roman world and the ‘barbarian’, which was protected by the military. The most common place for these inscriptions to feature in was Italy; was there, as mentioned in Chapter 3, a correlation between the families left behind in Italy and the soldiers’ remains being sent home?

Unfortunately, the origins of many of these soldiers have been lost, predominantly, to time (Table 8 and Figure 8.2). What we do know of these soldiers’ origins, Italian was the most common. Were those Italians more likely to announce their origins, proud of their heritage of ‘truly Italian’ Romans? Or was it more likely that they would make a verse inscription in their own native language? Either argument is probable, or both may have existed at the same time. Either way, this, as well as the general location of these inscriptions, reaffirms the idea that Latin verse inscriptions were a quintessential part of exhibiting Latin-speaking, Roman identity. The origins of these soldiers continue to follow the general pattern as observed in the origins of soldiers in other studies on the subject: the next most common origin was of those from the Rhine-Danubian and then African provinces, and this general pattern has been seen throughout this study, that the origins of these soldiers centre around Italy, the Rhine-Danube and Africa.

As in Chapter 3, perhaps due to the nature of the data analysed for this chapter also being more general in theme, there was a wider variety of metres seen in these inscriptions (Table 8 and Figure 8.5). The most commonly used metre was hexameter, approximately double the amount of the next most commonly used metres: elegiac couplets and iambic metres in general.<sup>3341</sup> Is this because hexameter was the most commonly encountered metre, due to this being the metre of epic poetry? Most of the inscriptions in this chapter are epitaphs, and, typically, elegy is thought to be the poetry of funerary poetry, yet this is not the case here. Given the variety of people and relationships demonstrated in these inscriptions (Table 8 and well as Figures 8.1 and 8.8), this demonstrates that a variety of people had experience with/understood the value of Latin metre beyond the military.

This raises questions concerning the actual authorship of these inscriptions, which lies on the spectrum of ‘writing the inscription and carving it themselves’ to ‘commissioning the inscription’. Most appear to lie in the centre of that spectrum, contributing in some way towards the creation of the inscription; given the often personal information in the contents of the verse, it is perhaps not too far fetched to say that their contribution was more likely to have been in the composition of the poem, rather than the carving of the inscription. However, we may never truly know who the author was; all we can say for certain is that they were dedicated either by or for soldiers (Table 8 and Figure 8.7). The majority of these monuments were for soldiers (Table 8 and Figure 8.7). Where the contents of the inscription were about the personality and opinions of the deceased, can we suggest that they were likely to have correlated with the

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<sup>3341</sup> The number of military Latin verse inscriptions in elegiac couplets and iambic metres in general are identical.

personal perceptions and opinions of the deceased themselves? This is probably true, except, perhaps, in the case of a parent despairing the military life of their son when it led to his death.

However, the type of people who dedicated these monuments were by far outweighed by soldiers themselves (Table 8 and Figure 8.8). This correlates with the suggestion that soldiers were more literate than the rest of society,<sup>3342</sup> partly due to the nature of their training, as hypothesised throughout this research, which thus would have separated them further from the rest of society. Perhaps, with their stable jobs and salary, career trajectory and, in some soldiers' cases, relatively infrequent combat in certain areas of the Empire, the Roman military was one of the most stable, consistent environments someone could inhabit in the Roman world. It promoted training and, thus, education; it needed literate men so military bureaucracy could function. Ironically, soldiers, and thus the families that lived near/with them, lived in one of the most consistent, safe societies in the Roman world. They had food rations, consistent pay, rewards for their dedicated service, and a career trajectory. They gradually had static garrisons, and local recruitment became more common as the years went by, so a soldier was not necessarily too far away from home. The settlers and conquerors of the ancient world were settled and at peace, and thus had time for more leisurely, literary pursuits. After all, Vegetius said that *iuventus enim cui defensio provinciarum, cui bellorum est committenda fortuna, et genere, si copia suppetat, et moribus debet excellere*, and the soldier could only do the latter of these requirements *si copia suppetat* ('for the youth whose responsibility is the defense of the provinces, to whom fortune in battle must be entrusted, and who ought to generate, if resources are sufficient, and to excel in, morals', Mil. 1.7.5-6), i.e. a soldier and a young man, for *iuventus* can be translated as either 'youth (male), man, or soldiers', who people rely on for protection and victory, can only generate and excel in his morals if his basic needs, are not only met, but abundant.

There are four key relationship dynamics exhibited in these inscriptions, which are applicable to most of the rest of the Roman world, apart from military camaraderie: nuclear, blood, comrade, servile. Of the relationships mentioned in these inscriptions (Table 8 and Figure 8.1), the most common were the "wives" or partner of the soldier, and they are often described as such both by the soldiers and their "wives" themselves. Of the defined relationships, as some relationships are not clear in these inscriptions, the nuclear family was the most mentioned (wife of the soldier and his children). The next most frequently mentioned relationships are those of blood relations (parents, siblings, descendants, for example), but there is a considerable gap between the amount of nuclear and blood relationships depicted in these inscriptions, thus demonstrating the importance of the nuclear family to the soldier and to his new nuclear family itself. Surprisingly, there are few comrade-relationships mentioned, in comparison to the nuclear and blood relationships, and it is not always clear if *frater* meant 'comrade' or 'brother'. Last of the significant relationship dynamics are freedmen and -women and servile ones, and there are very few demonstrated in terms of their relationship to the soldier. In the military world, as in the civilian, the priority was one's own family unit, then extended blood family. The range of relationships in these inscriptions are as versatile and varied as normal civilian life, but with a focus on the nuclear family, probably due to the nature of the military environment and how families were broken and forged by/in this environment and livelihood.

There is an inversion in these relationship dynamics when one examines who dedicated these inscriptions in relation to the soldier (Table 8 and Figure 8.8). The singular type of person who

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<sup>3342</sup> See, for example, Adams 1999: 128-129; Adams 2004: 108, 760-761; Haynes 2015; Matijević 2015.

dedicated them are dominated by the soldiers (compare Figures 8.9 and 8.8). The soldiers are the largest overall group of commissioners of these monuments, closely followed by blood family members in general, the nuclear family and freedmen and -women and servile connections, an almost exact inversion of the general relationship dynamics exhibited in these inscriptions. Just under half the amount of the soldiers overall total were the wives/partners of soldiers; it was more likely to be the soldier himself. There were fewer people who dedicated the monuments in comparison to the relationships mentioned within them: there was usually just one dedicator, sometimes with others associated with them. Although these poems are primarily male dominated: of the gendered defined relationship roles mentioned and remembered in and commemorating these verse inscriptions, the majority are masculine (see Figure 8.8 and Chapter 9), these inscriptions give a voice to those in the Roman world who otherwise do not have one, let alone a poetic one. We see different forms of relationships that go beyond heterosexual and they, too, can voice their thoughts on their loved ones. Here, women in these poems are given a chance to have a voice unlike any other form of ancient literature; even if they did not write the poem themselves, they were involved in its creation and commemoration of their loved one. We hear of their grief, their hopes for their families, and their affection for their loved ones. We see how relationships in Roman society could have real affection between them, both platonically and romantically, despite the objectively difficult circumstances under which some of these relationships may have developed. These relationship dynamics are humanised in the Latin verse inscriptions of the Roman military.

We learn about people, their lives, their personalities, through their actions, their actions narrated through written verse. Despite their disregard for many of the legislations imposed upon the Roman military, both the positive and the negative (that they could not marry legally, but they had more autonomy than the average Roman man), the soldiers of the Roman military and their families abided by and appreciated the social and moral norms and expectations as dictated by Roman society and culture in their presentation of their *carmina Latina epigraphica*. They behaved, and regarded one another, according to the conventions of the Roman family. However, soldiers tended to have a partner and a family later in life than a civilian man. They memorialised each other in ways similar to the civilian population, with their tropes and themes emerging time and again in these military verse inscriptions (as seen in Chapter 3). As in every subculture within a society, they did have their own conventions, and which they conveyed, such as the dedications of *frater fratri*, and in their depictions of an honourable soldier.

Sometimes military life was despaired of, primarily because a military life took a son away from his parents, either through an untimely death, only sometimes caused by war, or simply because he was taken away from his family, his home. Condemnation of a military life was combined with praise of a military career, but a military life meant there was a, perhaps higher, chance of someone dying before they could die of natural causes, which upset the balance of family dynamics, rites and the natural order of events. As has been seen throughout this study, the output of inscriptions is concentrated in the mid-second to the early third century (Appendix 4), thus correlating with the general trend of the existence of inscriptions in the Roman world. Around about this time, local recruitment had become the norm in several places and, for some of those soldiers who were not locally recruited, their units would have been established in those garrisons for a while. The legionaries had become more stationary in their garrisons. This allowed them to become more civilian-like in their family dynamics, and the demonstrations of their family dynamics, as seen here and in other studies on Roman military families such as the ones conducted by Saller & Shaw and Phang. They depict themselves, their family dynamics,



and the characteristics, morals and themes presented within these verse inscriptions in much the same way as the rest of the Roman world, only sometimes with a specifically military deviation. Soldiers and their families behaved according to moral and social conventions of the Roman world, rather than legal impositions. Soldiers in the Roman military had the liberty, at this time, to put down roots in their place of garrison without worrying about being posted elsewhere or going on a campaign abroad. They had the opportunity to have lives in their garrisons, have people other than fellow-soldiers to love them, to commemorate them, and they in turn had more people they could care about and mourn.

Table 8: A table summarising the inscriptions featured in Chapter 8

| No.   | Rank                      | Unit                     | Origin of Writer / Dedicatee | Origin of Soldier | For / By | Date                                 | Location                                       | Metre               | Relationship to the soldier <sup>3343</sup>             | Who dedicated the monument <sup>3344</sup>                             |
|-------|---------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------|----------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ET.1  | Unknown                   | Unknown                  | Italian?                     | Italian?          | For      | Second half of the second century AD | Mutina / Moderna, Aemilia / Regio VIII, Italia | Iambic senarii      | Wife<br>Unknown – either children or freedmen / - women | Soldier                                                                |
| ET.3  | <i>Miles</i>              | <i>Legio VII</i>         | Unknown                      | Galatia           | For / by | AD 9-42                              | Tilurium / Vojnić, near Trilj, Dalmatia        | Iambic senarii      | Frater                                                  | Frater                                                                 |
| ET.4  | <i>Eques</i>              | <i>Legio XI</i>          | Unknown                      | Italian           | For / by | AD 9-42                              | Burnum / Mokro Polje, Dalmatia                 | Iambic senarii      | Frater                                                  | Frater                                                                 |
| ET.5  | Unknown                   | Unknown                  | Unknown                      | Unknown           | For      | Third-fourth centuries AD            | Novi Grad, Dalmatia                            | Hexameters          | Parents                                                 | Parents                                                                |
| ET.6  | <i>Decurionus equitum</i> | <i>Cohors III Alpina</i> | Unknown                      | Unknown           | For      | First century AD                     | Salona / Solin, Dalmatia                       | Elegiac couplets    | Wife<br>Son                                             | Wife                                                                   |
| ET.7  | Unknown                   | <i>Classis Ravennae</i>  | Dalmatian                    | Dalmatian         | For      | Third century AD                     | Dabricam / Travnik, Dalmatia                   | Hexameters          | Grandfather<br>Father<br>Uncle                          | Unknown / family member                                                |
| ET.8  | <i>Miles</i>              | <i>Legio VII</i>         | Cicilia                      | Cicilia           | For      | AD 9-42                              | Tilurium / Vojnić, near Trilj, Dalmatia        | Iambic senarii      | Freedman                                                | Freedman                                                               |
| ET.9  | <i>Miles</i>              | <i>Legio VII</i>         | Asia Minor                   | Asia Minor        | For      | AD 6-42                              | Tilurium / Vojnić, near Trilj, Dalmatia        | Elegiac couplets    | Friend / partner? / comrade                             | Friend / partner? / comrade<br>Freedman of friend / partner? / comrade |
| ET.10 | <i>Veteranus</i>          | <i>Legio V Gallica</i>   | Italian                      | Italian           | For      | c. 25-1 BC                           | Antiochia Pisidiae / Yalvac, Galatia           | Trochaic septenarii | Frater / brother                                        | Frater / brother                                                       |
| ET.11 |                           | Unknown                  | Unknown                      | Unknown           | For      |                                      |                                                | Trochaic            | Wife                                                    | Wife                                                                   |

<sup>3343</sup> These refer to the relationships mentioned within the inscription and how they relate to the soldier. This does not include filiation indicated in names.

<sup>3344</sup> In relation to the soldier.

|       |                                                                       |                                         |                        |                        |     |                                    |                                                                 |                          |                             |                         |
|-------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-----|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
|       | <i>Veteranus ex beneficiario consularis equestris militia petitor</i> |                                         |                        |                        |     | Third century AD                   | Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium / Cologne, Germania Inferior |                          | Son                         | Son                     |
| ET.12 | <i>Miles</i>                                                          | <i>Legio V</i>                          | Italian                | Italian                | For | AD 10-69                           | Colonia Ulpia Traiana / Xanten, Germania Inferior               | Hexameters               | Frater / brother            | Frater / brother        |
|       |                                                                       |                                         |                        |                        |     |                                    |                                                                 |                          | Wife                        |                         |
|       |                                                                       |                                         |                        |                        |     |                                    |                                                                 |                          | Son                         |                         |
| ET.13 | <i>Legatus legionis</i>                                               | <i>Legio XII Primigenia Pia Fidelis</i> | Unknown                | Unknown                | By? | AD 157-159                         | Mogontiacum / Mainz, Germania Superior                          | Iambic senarii           | Wife's slave                | Soldier (contributed)   |
| ET.14 | <i>Miles</i>                                                          | <i>Legio VI Ferrata</i>                 | Hispania Tarraconensis | Hispania Tarraconensis | For | AD 71-100                          | Tortosa / Dertosa, Hispania Tarraconensis                       | Elegiac couplets         | Parents / mother            | Mother                  |
| ET.15 | <i>Veteranus</i>                                                      | <i>Cohors X Praetoria</i>               | Italian?               | Italian?               | For | Second century AD                  | Puteoli / Pozzuoli, Italia                                      | Hendecasyllables         | Father                      | Soldier                 |
| ET.16 | <i>Miles praetorianus</i>                                             | Praetorian Guard                        | Unknown                | Unknown                | By  | Third century AD                   | Comakovci / Chomakovtsi, Moesia Inferior                        | Iambic senarii           | Parents                     | Soldier                 |
| ET.17 | <i>Veteranus</i>                                                      | <i>Legio XI Claudia</i>                 | Unknown                | Unknown                | For | Third-fourth centuries AD          | Tomis / Constanta, Moesia Inferior                              | Iambic senarii           | Parents                     | Unknown / family member |
|       | Centurio                                                              |                                         |                        |                        |     |                                    |                                                                 |                          | Alumni                      | Heir / freedman?        |
|       |                                                                       |                                         |                        |                        |     |                                    |                                                                 |                          | Freedmen / - women? / heirs |                         |
| ET.18 | <i>Bucinator</i>                                                      | <i>Cohors Mattiacorum</i>               | Unknown                | Unknown                | For | First half of the third century AD | Nicopolis ad Istrum / Obedinenie, Moesia Inferior               | Iambic septenarius       | Frater / brother            | Frater / brother        |
|       |                                                                       |                                         |                        |                        |     |                                    |                                                                 |                          | Mother                      | Mother                  |
| ET.19 | <i>Veteranus</i>                                                      | <i>Legio XI Claudia</i>                 | Unknown                | Unknown                | For | Second century AD                  | Reselets, Moesia Inferior                                       | Hexameter?               | Wife                        | Soldier                 |
|       |                                                                       |                                         |                        |                        |     |                                    |                                                                 |                          | Children                    |                         |
| ET.20 | <i>Beneficiarius</i>                                                  | Unknown                                 | Unknown                | Unknown                | By  | AD 151-300                         | Viminacium / Kostolac, Moesia Superior                          | Hexameters               | Wife                        | Soldier                 |
| ET.21 | <i>Hydraularius salariarius</i>                                       | <i>Legio II Adiutrix</i>                | Pannonia?              | Pannonia?              | By  | First half of the third century AD | Aquincum / Budapest,                                            | Hexameters               | Wife                        | Soldier                 |
|       |                                                                       |                                         |                        |                        |     |                                    |                                                                 | Final elegiac pentameter |                             |                         |

|       |                         |                               |                          |                    |     |                                    |                                                      |                                                                |                      |                      |
|-------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|-----|------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
|       |                         |                               |                          |                    |     |                                    | Pannonia Inferior                                    |                                                                |                      |                      |
| ET.22 | Veteranus               | Legio XV Apollinaris          | Italian                  | Italian            | For | AD 39-63                           | Carnuntum / Bad-Deutsch-Altenburg, Pannonia Superior | Elegiac couplets                                               | Freedwoman / partner | Freedwoman / partner |
|       |                         |                               |                          |                    |     |                                    |                                                      |                                                                | Daughter             |                      |
| ET.23 | Frumentarius            | Legio X Gemina                | Unknown / Greek?         | Unknown / Greek    | By  | Third century AD                   | Carnuntum / Bad-Deutsch-Altenburg, Pannonia Superior | Trochaics                                                      | Wife                 | Soldier              |
|       |                         |                               |                          |                    |     |                                    |                                                      | Iambics                                                        | Son                  |                      |
| ET.24 | Ducenarius              |                               | Unknown                  | Unknown            | For | First half of the third century AD | Brigetio / Komarom, Pannonia Superior                | Hexameter                                                      | Daughter             | Daughter             |
|       | Miles                   | Legio I Adiutrix              |                          |                    |     |                                    |                                                      |                                                                | Wife                 | Sister               |
|       |                         |                               |                          |                    |     |                                    |                                                      |                                                                | Brother-in-law       |                      |
| ET.26 | Miles                   | Cohors I Praetoria            | Danubian                 | Danubian           | For | First half of the third century AD | Carnuntum / Petronell-Carnuntum, Pannonia Superior   | Elegiac couplets                                               | Son                  | Sister               |
|       | Evocatus                |                               |                          |                    |     |                                    |                                                      | Final elegiac pentameter                                       | Wife                 | Daughter             |
|       |                         |                               |                          |                    |     |                                    |                                                      |                                                                |                      |                      |
| ET.27 | Miles                   | Legio XV Apollinaris          | Germany / western Empire | Unknown            | By  | AD 71-114                          | Carnuntum / Petronell-Carnuntum, Pannonia Superior   | Iambic / trochaic rhythm                                       | Son                  | Soldier              |
|       |                         |                               | Unknown                  |                    |     |                                    |                                                      |                                                                |                      |                      |
| ET.28 | Tribunus militum        | Legio II Adiutrix Pia Fidelis | Unknown                  | Unknown            | For | AD 193-195                         | Rome, Italia                                         | Hexameters                                                     | Wife                 | Friends              |
|       |                         |                               |                          |                    |     |                                    |                                                      |                                                                | Daughter             | Unknown              |
|       |                         |                               |                          |                    |     |                                    |                                                      |                                                                | Friends              |                      |
|       |                         |                               |                          |                    |     |                                    |                                                      |                                                                | Wife                 |                      |
|       |                         |                               |                          |                    |     |                                    |                                                      |                                                                | Friends              |                      |
| ET.29 | Speculator in praetorio | Praetorian Guard              | Italian                  | Italian            | For | First half of the first century AD | Forum Sempronii / Fossombrone, Italia                | Dactylic elegiacs / dactylic hexameter with the odd elegiac in | Frater / brother     | Frater / brother     |
|       |                         |                               |                          |                    |     |                                    |                                                      |                                                                | Sister-in-law        | Sister-in-law        |
|       |                         |                               |                          |                    |     |                                    |                                                      |                                                                | Parents              |                      |
|       |                         |                               |                          |                    |     |                                    |                                                      |                                                                | Niece / nephew       |                      |
| ET.30 | Classicus miles         | Unknown                       | Unknown / Italian?       | Unknown / Italian? | For | AD 1-70                            | Aquileia, Venetia et Histria / Regio X, Italia       | Hexameters                                                     | Son                  | Son                  |

|              |                           |                                             |                    |                    |          |                                    |                                              |                         |                    |                           |
|--------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|
| <b>ET.31</b> | <i>Venator</i>            | Unknown                                     | Italian?           | Italian?           | For      | End of the second-third century AD | Verona, Venetia et Histria / Regio X, Italia | Elegiac couplets        | Parents            | Parents                   |
| <b>ET.32</b> | <i>Miles</i>              | <i>Cohors II Praetoria</i>                  | Unknown            | Unknown            | By       | AD 29-50                           | Rome, Italia                                 | Elegiac couplets        | Partner / unknown  | Soldier                   |
| <b>ET.34</b> | <i>Miles</i>              | <i>Legio II Parthica</i>                    | Italian?           | Italian?           | For      | AD 197-300                         | Mediolanum / Milan, Italia                   | Hexameter               | Parents / mother   | Mother                    |
| <b>ET.35</b> | <i>Curator</i>            | <i>Equites singulares, turma Herodis</i>    | Curator            | Dacian             | For      | AD 193-300                         | Rome, Italia                                 | Pentameter              | Comrade            | Comrade                   |
|              | Unknown                   | <i>Ala Gallorum</i>                         | Unknown            |                    |          |                                    |                                              |                         | Freedman           | Freedman                  |
|              | Unknown                   | <i>Equites singulares, turma Rufinianus</i> | Unknown            | Unknown            | By       |                                    |                                              |                         |                    |                           |
| <b>ET.36</b> | <i>Veteranus</i>          | <i>Equites singulares, turma Emeriti</i>    | Boian / Pannonian  | Boian / Pannonian  | For      | AD 193-300                         | Rome, Italia                                 | Pentameter              | Father / heir      | Father / heir             |
|              |                           | <i>Ala I Thracum</i>                        |                    |                    |          |                                    |                                              |                         | Heirs / friends?   | Heirs / friends?          |
|              | <i>Veteranus</i>          | <i>Equites singulares</i>                   | Unknown            | Unknown            | By       |                                    |                                              |                         |                    | Comrade?                  |
| <b>ET.37</b> | Unknown                   | Unknown                                     | Italian            | Italian            | For      | AD 150-170                         | Nepet Etruria / Nepi, Italia                 | Hexameter? / commaticum | Parents / father   | Father                    |
|              |                           |                                             |                    |                    |          |                                    |                                              |                         | Brother            |                           |
| <b>ET.38</b> | <i>Tribunus</i>           | Unknown                                     | Unknown            | Unknown            | Mentions | AD 20-50                           | Rome, Italia                                 | Elegiac couplets        | Father             | Wife of freedman father   |
|              |                           |                                             |                    |                    |          |                                    |                                              |                         | Mother?            | Patron of freedman father |
|              |                           |                                             |                    |                    |          |                                    |                                              |                         | Siblings / sisters |                           |
|              |                           |                                             |                    |                    |          |                                    |                                              |                         | Patron             |                           |
| <b>ET.39</b> | <i>Mensor aedificorum</i> | Unknown                                     | Gallia Narbonensis | Gallia Narbonensis | For      | AD 117-183                         | Rome, Italia                                 | Hexameters              | Son                | Parents                   |
|              | <i>Accensus velatus</i>   | Unknown                                     | Gallia Narbonensis | Gallia Narbonensis | By       |                                    |                                              |                         | Father             |                           |
|              |                           |                                             |                    |                    |          |                                    |                                              |                         | Wife               |                           |
|              |                           |                                             |                    |                    |          |                                    |                                              |                         | Children           |                           |
|              |                           |                                             |                    |                    |          |                                    |                                              |                         | Parents            |                           |
| <b>ET.40</b> | <i>Veteranus?</i>         | Unknown                                     | African?           | African?           | For      |                                    |                                              | Hexameter               | Son                | Son                       |

|              |                          |                                               |                        |                        |         |                                     |                                                        |                     |                      |                      |
|--------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|---------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
|              |                          |                                               |                        |                        |         | Second century AD                   | Colonia Flavia Cillium / Tunisia, Africa Proconsularis | Elegiac couplets    |                      |                      |
| <b>ET.41</b> | <i>Miles</i>             | <i>Legio IIII Macedonica, centuria Munati</i> | Hispania Tarraconensis | Hispania Tarraconensis | For     | AD 42-70                            | Mogontiacum / Mainz, Germania Superior                 | Hexameter           | Comrade / heir       | Comrade / heir       |
|              | <i>Miles</i>             | <i>Legio IIII Macedonica, centuria Iuli</i>   | Hispania Tarraconensis | Hispania Tarraconensis | By      |                                     |                                                        |                     |                      |                      |
| <b>ET.42</b> | <i>Miles</i>             | <i>Legio II Augusta</i>                       | Gallia Narbonensis     | Gallia Narbonensis     | For     | First century AD (pre-AD 43)        | Mogontiacum / Mainz, Germania Superior                 | Elegiac couplets    | Parent               | Comrade / heir       |
|              |                          |                                               | Unknown                |                        |         |                                     |                                                        |                     | Comrade / heir       |                      |
| <b>ET.43</b> | <i>Miles? Tiro?</i>      | Unknown                                       | Hispania Citerior      | Hispania Citerior      | For     | First half of the first century AD  | Saguntum / Sagunto, Hispania Citerior                  | Elegiac couplets    | N / A                | Parents?             |
| <b>ET.44</b> | <i>Tribunus militum</i>  | <i>Legio VII Gemina Pia Felix Antoniniana</i> | Spanish                | Spanish                | For     | AD 211-222                          | Terraco / Terragona, Hispania Citerior                 | Trochaic septenarii | Father-in-law / heir | Father-in-law / heir |
| <b>ET.45</b> | Unknown ( <i>eques</i> ) | Unknown                                       | Unknown                | Unknown                | By      | Third century AD                    | Auzia / Sour El-Ghozlane, Mauretania Caesariensis      | Commatica / iambic  | Children             | Soldier              |
|              |                          |                                               |                        |                        |         |                                     |                                                        |                     | Wife                 | Wife                 |
| <b>ET.46</b> | <i>Miles</i>             | <i>Legio III Augusta</i>                      | African / Punic        | African / Punic        | By      | Third century AD                    | Guigba / El Guigba, Numidia                            | Pentameter          | Son                  | Soldier              |
|              |                          |                                               |                        |                        |         |                                     |                                                        |                     | Brother              | Brother              |
| <b>ET.47</b> | <i>Veteranus</i>         | Unknown                                       | African?               | African?               | By      | Third century AD                    | Lambaesis, Numidia                                     | Elegiac couplets    | Wife                 | Soldier              |
|              |                          |                                               | Unknown                |                        |         |                                     |                                                        |                     |                      |                      |
| <b>ET.48</b> | <i>Lixa</i>              | Unknown                                       | Italian                | Italian                | For     | Second half of the first century AD | Carnuntum / Bad-Deutsch-Altenburg, Pannonia Superior   | Elegiac couplets    | Siblings / brothers  | Siblings / brothers  |
| <b>ET.50</b> | <i>Veteranus</i>         | Unknown                                       | Italian                | Italian                | By      | First century AD                    | Mactaris / Mactar, Africa Proconsularis                | Dactyls and iambic  | Daughter             | Soldier              |
| <b>ET.51</b> | N / A                    |                                               | Spanish                | Unknown                | Unknown | First half of the first century AD  | Caesarea / Cherchell,                                  | Hexameters          | Son                  | Soldier?             |

|              |                                 |                                |                                   |                                   |       |                                                 |                                                   |                            |                     |                               |
|--------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------|-------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------|
|              | <i>Veteranus</i>                | Unknown                        | Unknown                           |                                   |       | Fourth-fifth century AD                         | Mauretania Caesariensis                           |                            |                     |                               |
| <b>ET.53</b> | <i>Miles</i>                    | <i>Legio VII</i>               | Asia Minor                        | Asia Minor                        | For   | AD 1-41                                         | Tilurium / Vojnić, near Trilj, Dalmatia           | Dactylic / trochaic        | Sibling / brother   | Sibling / brother             |
| <b>ET.54</b> | <i>Classis</i>                  | <i>Classis Ravennae</i>        | Unknown                           | Unknown                           | By    | Unknown                                         | Ravenna, Italia                                   | Iambic senarii             | Alumnus             | Soldier                       |
|              |                                 |                                |                                   |                                   |       |                                                 |                                                   |                            |                     | Wife? / freedwoman / partner  |
| <b>ET.55</b> | Unknown                         | Unknown                        | Unknown                           | Unknown                           | For   | AD 138-160 / first half of the third century AD | Testour / Tichillia, Africa Proconsularis         | Hexameter                  | Father              | Father                        |
| <b>ET.56</b> | <i>Commanipularis</i> / unknown | Unknown                        | Unknown / German?                 | Unknown / German?                 | By    | Second century AD                               | Mogontiacum / Mainz, Germania Superior            | Elegiac couplets           | Parents             | Comrade                       |
|              |                                 |                                |                                   |                                   |       |                                                 |                                                   |                            | Comrades            |                               |
| <b>ET.57</b> | <i>Architectus navalis</i>      | Unknown                        | Unknown                           | Unknown                           | For   | First century BC                                | Minturnae / Minturno, Italia                      | Iambic                     | Wife / a freedwoman | Unknown                       |
| <b>ET.58</b> | <i>Sesquiplicarius classis</i>  | Unknown                        | Unknown                           | Unknown                           | By    | Second century AD                               | Caesarea / Cherchell, Mauretania Caesariensis     | Hexameters                 | Wife                | Soldier                       |
|              |                                 |                                | Mauretania Caesariensis           |                                   |       |                                                 |                                                   |                            |                     |                               |
| <b>ET.59</b> | Unknown                         | Unknown                        | Mauretania Caesariensis / unknown | Mauretania Caesariensis / unknown | For   | Third-fourth centuries AD                       | Auzia / Sour El-Ghozlane, Mauretania Caesariensis | Hexameters                 | Mother / parents    | Brother-in-law                |
|              |                                 |                                |                                   |                                   |       |                                                 |                                                   |                            | Siblings            | Sister                        |
|              |                                 |                                |                                   |                                   |       |                                                 |                                                   |                            | Brother-in-law      |                               |
| <b>ET.60</b> | N / A                           | N / A                          | Unknown                           | Unknown                           | N / A | Second century AD                               | Firmum Picenum / Fermo, Italia                    | Phalecian hendecasyllables | N / A               | Father (of hoped for soldier) |
| <b>ET.61</b> | Unknown                         | Praetorian Guard               | Unknown / Italian?                | Unknown / Italian?                | For   | First half of the second century AD             | Rome, Italia                                      | Iambic senarii             | Parents / mother    | Mother                        |
| <b>ET.62</b> | Unknown                         | Unknown                        | Unknown / Italian?                | Unknown / Italian?                | For   | AD 71-100                                       | Rome, Italia                                      | Elegiac couplets           | Father / parents    | Father                        |
|              |                                 |                                |                                   |                                   |       |                                                 |                                                   |                            | Children            |                               |
|              |                                 |                                |                                   |                                   |       |                                                 |                                                   |                            | Unknown             |                               |
| <b>ET.63</b> | <i>Centurio</i>                 | <i>Legio XXX Ulpia Victrix</i> | Italian?                          | Italian?                          | For   | AD 161-200                                      | Augusta Taurinorum / Torino, Italia               | Iambic senarii             | Parents             | Parents                       |

|              |                                 |                                  |                       |                       |         |                                                                                                                                         |                                                               |                  |                            |                            |
|--------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|---------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
|              | <i>Veteranus</i>                |                                  |                       |                       |         |                                                                                                                                         |                                                               |                  |                            |                            |
| <b>ET.64</b> | <i>Miles</i>                    | <i>Legio XI</i>                  | Italian               | Italian               | For     | AD 9-42                                                                                                                                 | Burnum /<br>Ivosevci,<br>Dalmatia                             | Elegiac couplets | Frater                     | Frater                     |
| <b>ET.65</b> | <i>Eques</i>                    | <i>Ala<br/>Vocontiorum</i>       | Unknown               | Unknown               | For     | Second half of<br>the second<br>century AD                                                                                              | Colonia Ulpia<br>Traiana /<br>Xanten,<br>Germania<br>Inferior | Elegiac couplets | Sister                     | Sister                     |
| <b>ET.66</b> | <i>Veteranus</i>                | <i>Legio XV<br/>Apollinaris</i>  | Pannonian?            | Pannonian?            | For     | First half of<br>the first<br>century AD /<br>second half of<br>the first<br>century to the<br>beginning of<br>the second<br>century AD | Scarbantia /<br>Sopron,<br>Pannonia<br>Superior               | Elegiac couplets | Freedwoman /<br>wife       | Freedwoman /<br>wife       |
| <b>ET.67</b> | <i>Signifer</i>                 | <i>Cohors XIII</i>               | Italian               | Italian               | For, by | Second half of<br>the first<br>century BC-<br>first half of<br>the first<br>century AD /<br>AD 69-150                                   | Rome, Italia                                                  | Hexameters       | Comrade /<br>friend / heir | Comrade /<br>friend / heir |
| <b>ET.68</b> | <i>Veteranus</i>                | <i>Cohors X<br/>Praetoria</i>    | Unknown /<br>Italian? | Unknown /<br>Italian? | For     | AD 51-150                                                                                                                               | Sarsina /<br>Sassina, Italy                                   | Hexameters       | Wife<br>Children           | Wife                       |
| <b>ET.69</b> | <i>Veteranus ex<br/>optione</i> | <i>Legio III<br/>Augusta</i>     | African /<br>Numidian | African /<br>Numidian | For     | Second or the<br>third century<br>AD /<br>beginning of<br>the third<br>century AD                                                       | Lambaesis,<br>Numidia                                         | Hexameters       | Father-in-law              | Soldier (both<br>soldiers) |
|              | <i>Veteranus</i>                | Unknown                          | Unknown               | Unknown               | By      |                                                                                                                                         |                                                               |                  | Son-in-law                 |                            |
| <b>ET.70</b> | <i>Miles</i>                    | <i>Cohors VIII<br/>Praetoria</i> | Italian               | Italian               | For     | Second<br>century AD                                                                                                                    | Hadria? /<br>Cerchiara, Italia                                | Iambic           | Father                     | Father                     |
|              | <i>Speculator</i>               |                                  |                       |                       |         |                                                                                                                                         |                                                               |                  |                            |                            |
| <b>ET.71</b> | <i>Centurio</i>                 | Unknown                          | Italian?              | Italian?              | For     | 50 BC-AD 30                                                                                                                             | Corduba /<br>Cordoba,<br>Baetica                              | Hexameter        | Freedwoman /<br>wife       | Unknown                    |



|              |                                 |                                                         |                  |                  |          |                                     |                                                |                          |                           |                           |
|--------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|------------------|------------------|----------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| <b>ET.72</b> | <i>Centurio</i>                 | <i>Legio VIII Augusta</i>                               | Italian?         | Italian?         | For, by  | AD 9-45                             | Poetovio / Ptuj, Pannonia Superior             | Pentameter               | <i>Frater / colleague</i> | <i>Frater / colleague</i> |
| <b>ET.73</b> | <i>Miles</i>                    | <i>Cohors miliariae novae Surorum</i>                   | Syrian?          | Syrian?          | For      | AD 222-235                          | Aquincum / Budapest, Pannonia Inferior         | Hexameter                | Mother                    | Mother                    |
|              |                                 |                                                         |                  |                  |          |                                     |                                                |                          | Sister                    | Sister                    |
| <b>ET.74</b> | <i>Tribunus</i>                 | Unknown                                                 | Unknown          | Unknown          | For      | First half of the third century AD  | Raphia / Rafa, Palestina                       | Hexameter                | Grandson                  | Grandson                  |
|              |                                 |                                                         |                  |                  |          |                                     |                                                |                          | Comrades                  | Comrades                  |
| <b>ET.75</b> | Unknown                         | <i>Cohors Surorum</i>                                   | Unknown          | Unknown          | By       | First half of the first century AD  | Mogontiacum / Mainz, Germania Superior         | Hexameter and pentameter | Wife                      | Soldier                   |
| <b>LL.1</b>  | <i>veteranus</i>                | <i>Legio VII Gemina</i>                                 | Spanish?         | Spanish          | For      | AD 201-230                          | Terraco / Terragona, Hispania Citerior         | Hexameter                | Wife                      | Wife                      |
| <b>LL.2</b>  | <i>beneficiarius legati</i>     | <i>Legio IIII Flavia</i>                                | Moesia Superior? | Moesia Superior? | By       | AD 151-300                          | Viminacium / Kostolac, Moesia Superior         | Hexameter                | Son                       | Soldier                   |
| <b>LL.3</b>  | <i>miles</i>                    | <i>Cohors X urbana</i>                                  | Italian          | Italian          | For      | First half of the second century AD | Saepinum / Saepino, Samnium / Regio IV, Italia | Iambic octonarius        | Parents                   | Parents                   |
| <b>LL.4</b>  | <i>beneficiarius consularis</i> | <i>Ala I Thracum</i>                                    | Pannonian        | Pannonian        | By       | Second half of the third century AD | Campona / Nagytetyeny, Pannonia Inferior       | Hexameter                | Wife                      | Soldier                   |
|              |                                 |                                                         | Thracian         |                  |          |                                     |                                                |                          | Son                       |                           |
|              |                                 |                                                         | Mother-in-law    |                  |          |                                     |                                                |                          | Father (of the deceased)  |                           |
|              |                                 |                                                         | Father-in-law    |                  |          |                                     |                                                |                          |                           |                           |
| <b>LL.5</b>  | <i>decurio</i>                  | <i>Ala I Thracum</i>                                    | Pannonian        | Pannonian        | By       | First half of the second century AD | Gorsium / Szabadbattyan, Pannonia Inferior     | Hexameter                | Daughter                  | Soldier                   |
|              |                                 |                                                         |                  |                  |          |                                     |                                                |                          | Wife                      | Wife                      |
| <b>LL.6</b>  | <i>centurio</i>                 | Unspecified legion<br><i>Equites singulares Augusti</i> | Pannonian?       | Pannonian?       | By       | Third century AD                    | via Appia, Rome, Italia                        | Hexameter                | Wife                      | Soldier                   |
|              |                                 |                                                         |                  |                  |          |                                     |                                                |                          | Son                       | Wife                      |
| <b>LL.7</b>  | Unknown / <i>miles</i>          | <i>Equites singulares Augusti</i>                       | Pannonian        | Pannonian        | For / by | Third century AD                    | Rome, Italia                                   | Hexameter                | Heirs / comrades          | Heirs / comrades          |
| <b>RI.1</b>  | Unknown                         | Unknown                                                 | Italian          | Italian          | By / for |                                     |                                                | Hexameter                | Father                    |                           |

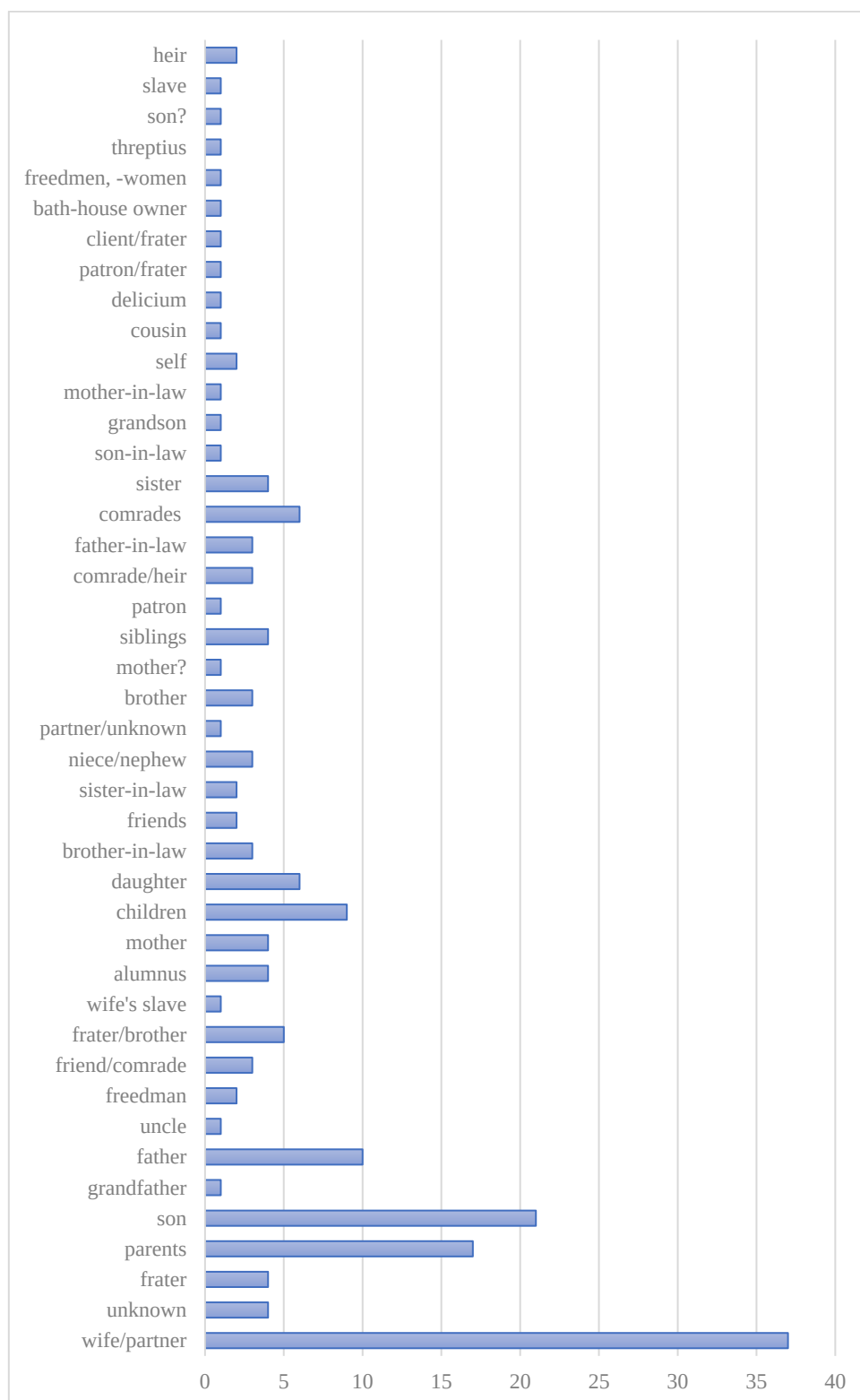
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|-------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------|--------------|----------|------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------|------------------------|
|       |                              |                               |              |              |          | Early first century AD       | Mount Erice, Sicily                                                     | Elegiac couplets          | Son           | Unknown / father / son |
| RI.2  | legatus legionis             | Legio III Augusta             | Dalmatian?   | Dalmatian?   | By?      | Late second century AD       | Lambaesis, Numidia                                                      | Elegiac couplets          | Soldier       |                        |
|       |                              |                               |              |              |          |                              |                                                                         | Iambic trimetres          | Children      |                        |
| RI.3  | legatus Augusti pro praetore | Unknown                       | Italian      | Italian      | By       | Early third century AD       | Bonna / Bonn, Germania Inferior                                         | Iambic senarii            | Children      | Soldier                |
| RI.5  | optio                        | Unknown                       | Italian?     | Italian?     | By       | First century AD             | Novaria / Novara, Transpadana / Regio XI, Italia                        | Hexameter                 | Son           | Son of optio           |
| RI.9  | miles                        | Unknown                       | Unknown      | Unknown      | By       | Second to third centuries AD | Habitancum / Risingham, Britannia                                       | Hexameter couplet         | Wife          | Soldier?               |
| RI.10 | praefectus castris           | Legio III Augusta             | Unknown      | Unknown      | By       | Third century AD             | Lambaesis, Numidia                                                      | Stress accent (not metre) | Wife          | Soldier                |
|       |                              |                               |              |              |          |                              |                                                                         |                           | Sons          |                        |
| RI.14 | centurio                     | Legio III Augusta             | African      | African      | By       | AD 222                       | Gholaia / Bu Njem, Numidia                                              | Hexameter                 | Comrades      | Soldier                |
|       |                              | Unknown numerus               |              |              |          |                              |                                                                         |                           |               |                        |
| RI.17 | praefectus Berenice?         | Unknown                       | Alexandrian  | Alexandrian  | By       | AD 117-138                   | Thebes / Luxor, Aegyptus                                                | Greek prose               | Soldier       | Soldier                |
|       |                              |                               |              |              |          |                              |                                                                         | Latin iambic senarius     | Comrades      |                        |
| RI.18 | legatus Augusti pro praetore |                               | Unknown      | Unknown      | For / by | AD 227                       | Novae / Swischtow, Moesia Inferior                                      | Hexameter                 | Comrades      | Soldier                |
|       | legatus legionis             | Legio I Italica Severiana     | Tripolitania | Tripolitania | For / by |                              |                                                                         |                           |               |                        |
|       | primus pilus                 | Legio I Italica Severiana     | Noricum      | Noricum      | By       |                              |                                                                         |                           |               |                        |
|       | tiro                         | Legio I Adiutrix              |              |              |          |                              |                                                                         |                           |               |                        |
| AI.1  | trierarchus                  | Classis praetoriae Misenatium | Italian?     | Italian?     | By       | Post 71 AD                   | Stabiae / Castellammare di Stabia, Latium et Campania / Regio I, Italia | Hexameter                 | Son           | Soldier                |
|       |                              |                               |              |              |          |                              |                                                                         |                           | Wife          |                        |
|       |                              |                               |              |              |          |                              |                                                                         |                           | Nephew        |                        |
|       |                              |                               |              |              |          |                              |                                                                         |                           | Sister-in-law |                        |
| AI.2  | miles                        | Unknown                       | Italian      | Italian      | For      | Late first century AD?       | Interamna Nahars / Stroncone,                                           | Hexameter                 | Parents       | Parents                |

|              |                                   |                                   |                                                           |                      |         |                                               |                                                          |                              |                  |                  |
|--------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|---------|-----------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------|------------------|
|              |                                   |                                   |                                                           |                      |         |                                               | Umbria / Regio VI, Italia                                |                              |                  |                  |
| <b>AI.8</b>  | <i>miles</i>                      | Unknown                           | African                                                   | African              | For     | AD 117-161                                    | Portus / Fiumicino, Latium et Campania / Regio I, Italia | Hexameter                    | Parents          | Parents          |
| <b>AI.9</b>  | <i>tribunus</i>                   | <i>Legio III Augusta</i>          | African?                                                  | African?             | By      | Third century AD                              | Lambaesis, Numidia                                       | Iambic senarii               | Wife             | Soldier          |
| <b>AI.10</b> | Unknown                           | Unknown                           | Unknown                                                   | Unknown              | By      | Unknown                                       | Thugga / Dougga, Africa Proconsularis                    | Iambic senarii               | Unknown          | Unknown          |
| <b>NW.1</b>  | <i>centurio</i>                   | Praetorian Guard                  | Italian                                                   | Italian              | For, by | AD 168-193                                    | Aquileia, Venetia et Histria / Regio X, Italia           | Elegiac couplets             | Frater / brother | Frater / brother |
| <b>NW.2</b>  | <i>beneficiarius praefectorum</i> | <i>Legio VII Claudia</i>          | Moesia Superior                                           | Moesia Superior      | For     | Late first century AD                         | Mongontiacum / Mainz, Germania Superior                  | Dactylic hexameter           | Cousin / heir    | Cousin / heir    |
|              | <i>centurio</i>                   | Praetorian Guard                  |                                                           |                      |         |                                               |                                                          |                              |                  |                  |
| <b>NW.3</b>  | <i>Speculator</i>                 | <i>Legio I Gemina</i>             | Africa Proconsularis                                      | Africa Proconsularis | For     | Late first century BC - late first century AD | Kasra / Chusira, Africa Proconsularis                    | Hexameter                    | Wife             | Wife             |
|              | <i>cornicularius</i>              |                                   |                                                           |                      |         |                                               |                                                          |                              |                  |                  |
|              | <i>centurio</i>                   |                                   |                                                           |                      |         |                                               |                                                          |                              |                  |                  |
| <b>NW.4</b>  | <i>tribunus angusticlavius</i>    | <i>Legio II Adiutrix</i>          | Palestina                                                 | Palestina            | For     | Late second - early third century AD          | Aquincum / Budapest, Pannonia Inferior                   | Latin hexameter              | Sons             | Sons             |
|              |                                   |                                   |                                                           |                      |         |                                               |                                                          | Greek spondees / heptameters |                  |                  |
| <b>NW.5</b>  | <i>decurio</i>                    | <i>Equites singulares Augusti</i> | Pontus (the Black Sea)                                    | Unknown              | By      | Second century AD                             | Rome, Italia                                             | Hexameter                    | <i>Alumni</i>    | Soldier          |
|              |                                   |                                   | The Marsaci, a Germanic tribe who lived near the Atlantic |                      |         |                                               |                                                          |                              |                  |                  |
|              |                                   |                                   | Unknown                                                   |                      |         |                                               |                                                          |                              |                  |                  |
| <b>NW.6</b>  | Unknown / <i>miles</i>            |                                   | Unknown                                                   | Unknown              | For, by | Second century AD                             |                                                          | Elegiac couplets             | Patron / frater  | Client / frater  |

|              |                                               |                                                         |                                                  |                                                  |              |                                                     |                                         |                  |                             |                             |
|--------------|-----------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|--------------|-----------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
|              |                                               | <i>Vexillatio of Cohors III Vigiles</i>                 |                                                  |                                                  |              |                                                     | via Ferruccio, Esquiline, Rome, Italia  |                  | Client / frater             |                             |
| <b>NW.11</b> | <i>emeriti</i>                                | <i>Legio VI Flavia Pia Felix Severiana Alexandriana</i> | Moesia Superior?                                 | Moesia Superior?                                 | Neither, for | AD 222-235                                          | Singidunum / Belgrade, Moesia Superior  | Hexameter        | Bath-house owner            | Bath-house owner            |
|              |                                               |                                                         |                                                  |                                                  |              |                                                     |                                         |                  |                             | Bath-house owner's daughter |
| <b>RD.1</b>  | <i>centurio</i>                               | <i>Legio IV Flavia Felix</i>                            | Lucus Augusti, Narbonne / Lucus Feroniae, Italia | Lucus Augusti, Narbonne / Lucus Feroniae, Italia | For          | Late first-early second century AD                  | Kostolac / Viminacium, Moesia Superior  | Iambic           | Freedmen / women, children? | Freedmen / women, children? |
| <b>RD.2</b>  | <i>centurio</i>                               | Unknown legion                                          | Unknown                                          | Unknown                                          | By           | Second or third decade of the third century AD      | Vescontio / Besancon, Germania Superior | Hexameter        | Wife                        | Soldier (husband)           |
|              |                                               |                                                         |                                                  |                                                  |              |                                                     |                                         |                  |                             | Son                         |
| <b>RD.3</b>  | <i>veteranus ex beneficiario procuratoris</i> | <i>Legio I Minervia Pia Fidelis</i>                     | Philippolis, Thracia                             | Philippolis, Thracia                             | For          | AD 231-270                                          | Lugudunum / Lyon, Lugudunensis          | Hexameter        | <i>Threptius</i>            | <i>Threptius</i>            |
|              |                                               |                                                         |                                                  |                                                  |              |                                                     |                                         |                  | Son?                        | Son?                        |
| <b>RD.4</b>  | <i>veteranus</i>                              | <i>Legio XXX Ulpia Victrix Pia Fidelis</i>              | Philippolis, Thracia                             | Philippolis, Thracia                             | For          | First half of the third century AD                  | Lugudunum / Lyon, Lugudunensis          | Hexameter        | Wife                        | Wife                        |
|              |                                               |                                                         |                                                  |                                                  |              |                                                     |                                         |                  | Son                         | Son                         |
| <b>RD.5</b>  | <i>veteranus ex decurione</i>                 | <i>Cohors II Aurelia Dardani</i>                        | Unknown                                          | Unknown                                          | For, by      | End of the second-beginning of the third century AD | Timacum Minus / Ravna, Moesia Superior  | Elegiac couplets | Wife                        | Soldier (husband)           |
| <b>RD.6</b>  | <i>centurio</i>                               | <i>Legio II Adiutrix Pia Fidelis</i>                    | Unknown                                          | Unknown                                          | By           | First half of the third century AD                  | Aquincum / Budapest, Pannonia Inferior  | Hexameter        | Wife                        | Soldier (husband)           |
|              |                                               |                                                         |                                                  |                                                  |              |                                                     |                                         |                  | Children                    |                             |
| <b>RD.7</b>  | <i>optio</i>                                  | <i>Legio II Adiutrix</i>                                | Unknown                                          | Unknown                                          | N / A        | Third century AD                                    | Aquincum / Budapest, Pannonia Inferior  | Commaticum       | Slave                       | Unknown                     |

|              |                                                                           |                                                                        |                     |                     |           |                                            |                                                |                     |                                                      |                   |
|--------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-----------|--------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|---------------------|------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| <b>RD.8</b>  | <i>Frumentarius</i>                                                       | <i>Legio II Adiutrix</i>                                               | Unknown             | Unknown             | For       | Second-third century AD                    | Sirmium / Sremska Mitrovica, Pannonia Inferior | Hexameter           | Father                                               | Father            |
| <b>RD.9</b>  | <i>veteranus</i>                                                          | <i>Equites singulares Augusti</i>                                      | German              | German              | By        | Second century AD                          | Rome, Italia                                   | Hexameter           | Wife                                                 | Soldier (husband) |
|              |                                                                           |                                                                        |                     |                     |           |                                            |                                                |                     | Son                                                  | Son               |
| <b>RD.10</b> | <i>tribunus militum</i>                                                   | Unspecified legion                                                     | Unknown             | Unknown             | For       | Second century AD                          | Giza / Al Jizah, Aegyptus                      | Hexameter           | Sister                                               | Sister            |
| <b>RD.11</b> | <i>veteranus</i>                                                          | Unknown                                                                | Unknown             | Unknown             | For, by   | Second-third century AD                    | Zarai / Zraia, Numidia                         | Hexameter           | Wife / partner                                       | Soldier           |
|              |                                                                           |                                                                        |                     |                     |           |                                            |                                                |                     | Children                                             | Unknown           |
| <b>RD.12</b> | <i>beneficiarius consularis</i>                                           | <i>Legio VI Victrix</i>                                                | African / Numidian? | African / Numidian? | By        | Late second century AD                     | Timgad / Thamugadi, Numidia                    | Hexameter           | Father                                               | Soldier           |
|              |                                                                           |                                                                        |                     |                     |           |                                            |                                                |                     |                                                      | Unknown           |
| <b>RD.13</b> | <i>duplicarius</i><br>Unknown                                             | <i>Equites singulares Augusti</i><br><i>Equites singulares Augusti</i> | Unknown<br>Unknown  | Unknown<br>Unknown  | By<br>For | Second half of the second-third century AD | Rome, Italia                                   | Hexameter           | Comrade<br>Slave / <i>alumnus?</i> / <i>delicium</i> | Soldier           |
| <b>RD.14</b> | <i>Tribunatus cohortis / praefectura praetorii / praefectura equitum?</i> | Unknown                                                                | Unknown             | Unknown             | For       | First half of the first century AD         | Corfinio / Corfinium, Italy                    | Hendecasyllables    | Mother                                               | Sister            |
|              |                                                                           |                                                                        |                     |                     |           |                                            |                                                |                     | Brother                                              | Brother-in-law    |
|              |                                                                           |                                                                        |                     |                     |           |                                            |                                                |                     | Sister                                               | Nieces/nephews    |
|              |                                                                           |                                                                        |                     |                     |           |                                            |                                                |                     | Brother-in-law                                       |                   |
| <b>RD.15</b> | Unknown                                                                   | <i>Legio XI</i>                                                        | Unknown             | Unknown             | For       | 27 BC-AD 14                                | Este / Ateste, Italia                          | Iambic septenarius? | Not given                                            | Unknown           |
|              |                                                                           |                                                                        |                     |                     |           |                                            |                                                |                     |                                                      |                   |

*Figure 8.1:* The relationship dynamics mentioned in these inscriptions, in relation to the soldier<sup>3345</sup>



<sup>3345</sup> Many of these categories intersect, for example, those of freed/servile status were also sometimes partners of the soldier; for more details on specific relationship dynamics within these inscriptions, see the body of this chapter.

Figure 8.2: The origins of the soldiers in these family-themed inscriptions<sup>3346</sup>

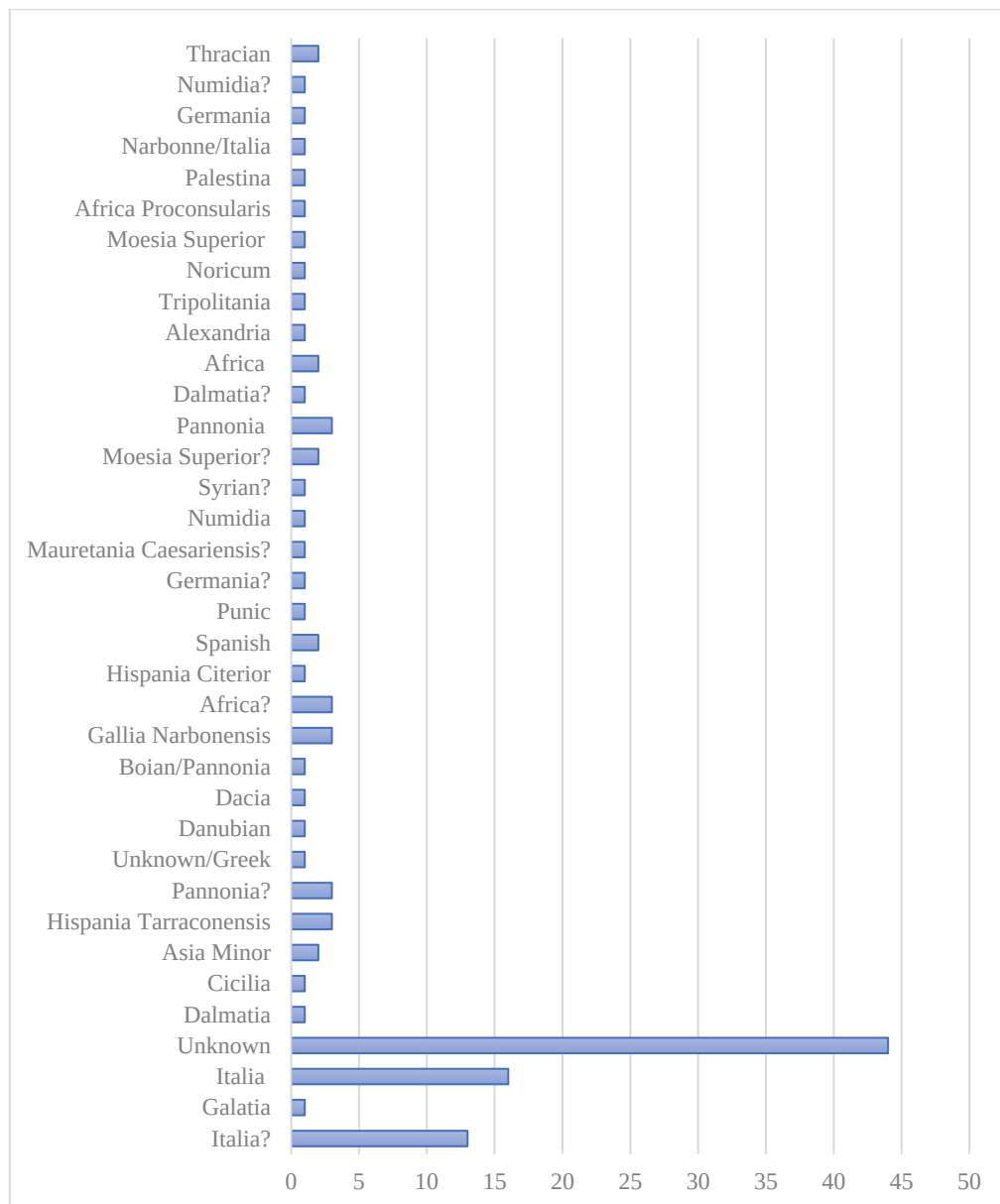
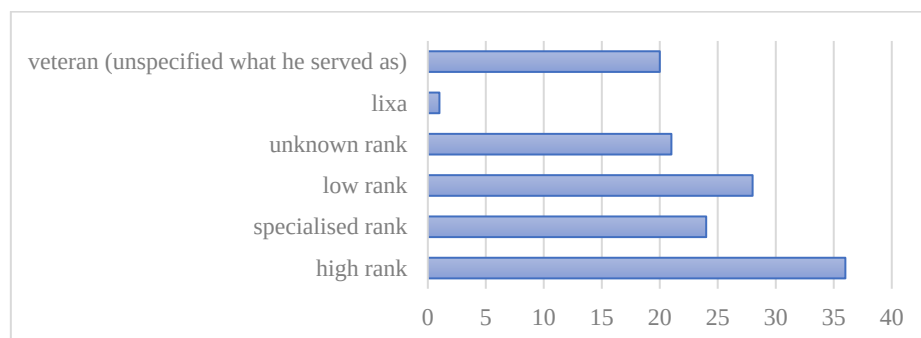


Figure 8.3: The proportion of high to low ranks mentioned in these family/relationship themed military verse inscriptions



<sup>3346</sup> The origins of their families are less easy to determine.

Figure 8.4: A graph demonstrating the proportions of the various military units in the inscriptions of Chapter 8

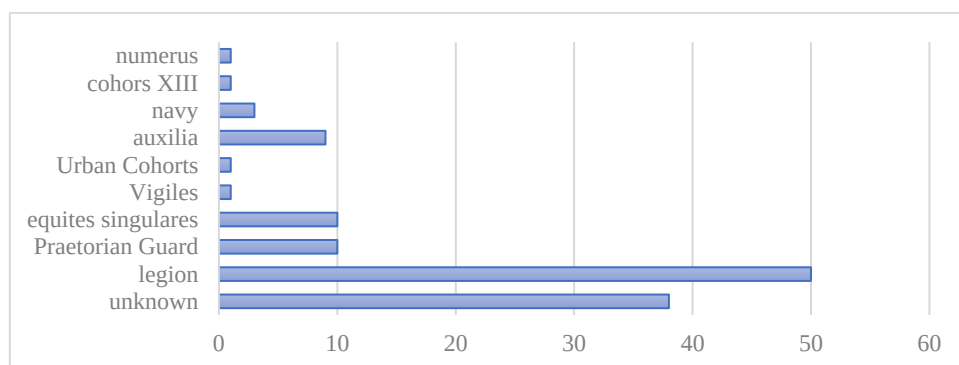


Figure 8.5: A graph showing the different metres used in the military verse inscriptions in which family and/or relationship dynamics were conveyed

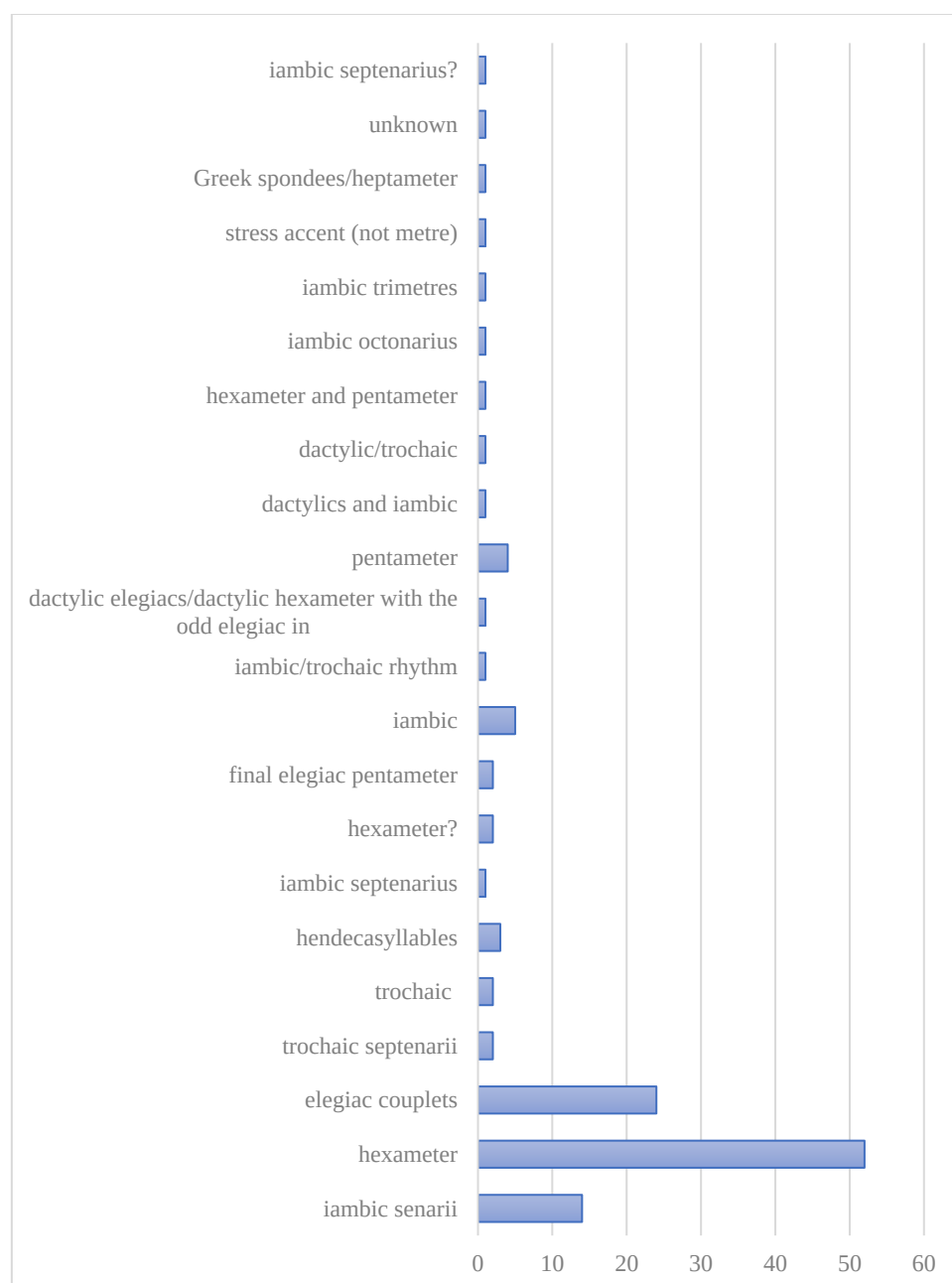




*Figure 8.6: A graph showing in which provinces military verse inscriptions displaying elements of family and/or relationship dynamics occurred*

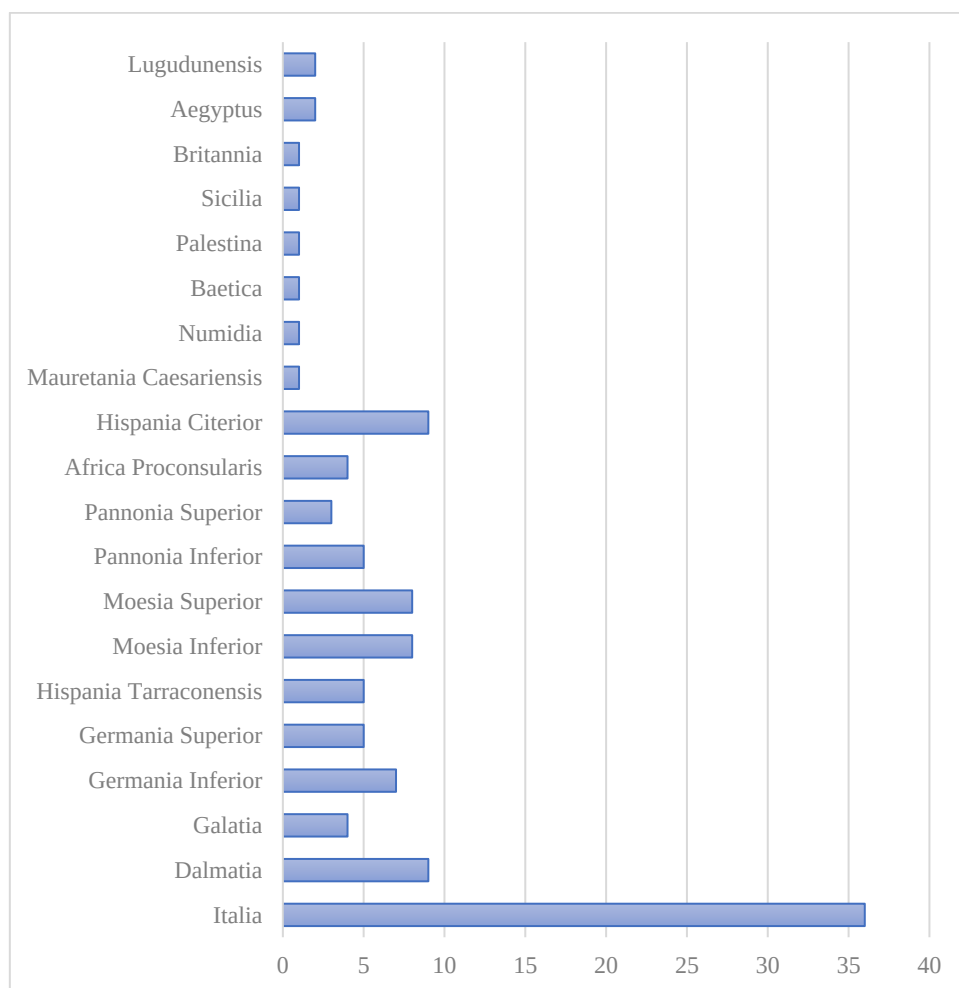


*Figure 8.7: A graph to show if a monument was dedicated for a soldier or by a soldier, for a loved one*

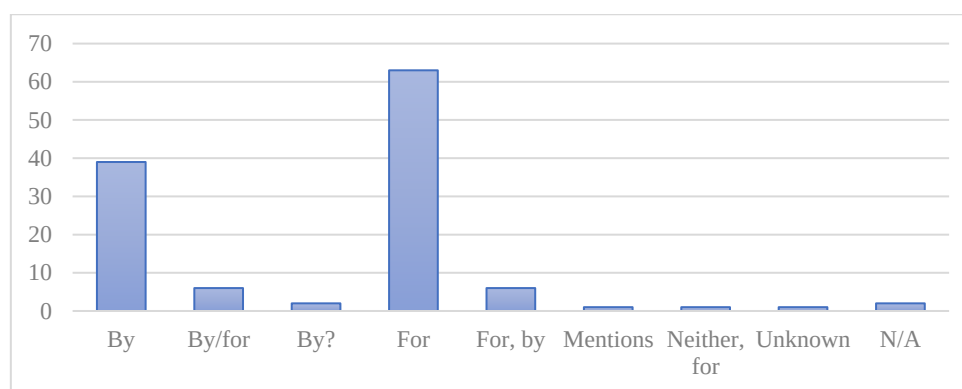
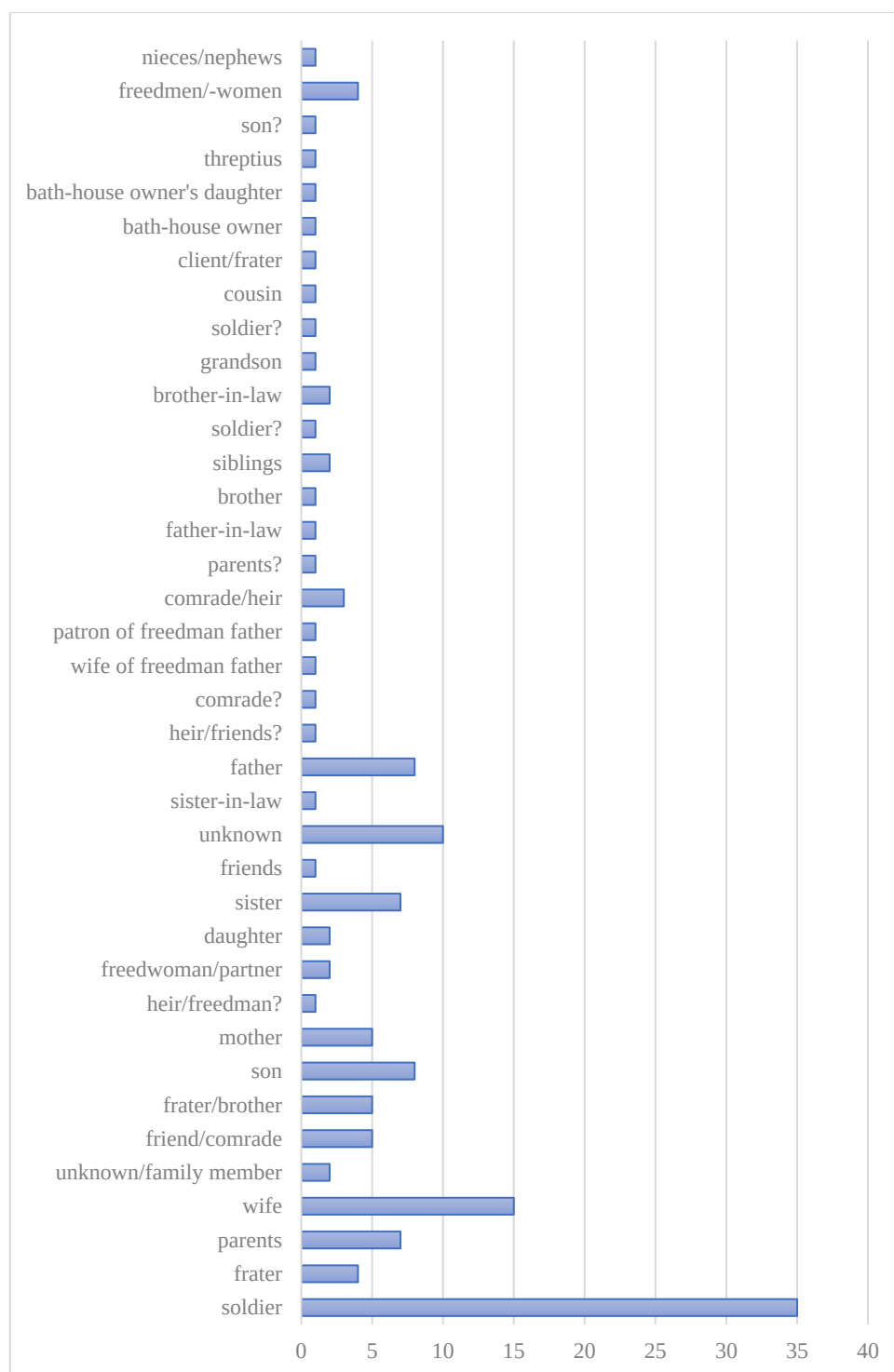


Figure 8.8: A graph demonstrating who dedicated the monument, in relation to the soldier



## Chapter 9

### ***Service and Sacrifice: Conclusion***

In addition to war, destruction, death, and Roman rule, Roman soldiers, recruited from across the empire, brought poetry in their knapsacks – and it is from their monumental poetry that one gets to learn about their own insecurities, vulnerabilities, and concerns.

Kruschwitz, *Rocky starts: the arrival of Roman poetry in Britain*, 2018: 17-18.

Following the data in this research has led the initial key research questions of ‘what did it mean to be a Roman soldier/a soldier in the Roman world?’ and ‘what did it mean to be a man in the Roman world?’ to become secondary explorations, and, instead, how the lived experience of those associated with and in the military and what they discussed in these Latin verse inscriptions impacted on their identities became the primary focus of this research. The analysis was focused on what was expressed, rather than what might be expected of one researching Latin verse inscriptions of the Roman military. The main questions, then, transformed into ‘why have these themes emerged from military verse inscriptions?’ and ‘what can these tell us about the lived experience and identities of the Roman soldier, and those associated with him?’; the initial key questions became facets of exploration of this latter question. Although this study is designed to focus on the lived experience and the identity of those within and affected by the Roman military, the original objectives of this study focused more on the lived experience, rather than the soldier’s identity. Yet, following the data has allowed this to become not only more balanced, but more skewed in favour of examining a soldier’s personal identity, as depicted by himself, his family, friends, comrades, freedmen and -women, and slaves.

Our identity is shaped by ourselves and by those around us, by how we are perceived and how we perceive ourselves. One shapes the other, and this is exhibited in these verse inscriptions. These are the final words left to us by those who existed in the military sphere, from those whose lives were either entirely inhabited by the Roman military way of life, to those who only existed in it for a few years as a part of furthering their political career. What insight they do offer about the lived experience is primarily on an individual level, especially in the themes that were more specialised (Chapters 5-7). As the only known study of its type to discuss the Latin verse inscriptions of the Roman military from across the Roman Empire, generalisations have had to be made, but, it is hoped, not at the expense of recognising the impact of individualism. Throughout this research, there has been an ongoing identity definition of the individual vs. the collective, and how they contrasted and complemented each other, and how it worked in reality, as expressed in the Latin verse inscriptions of the Roman military.

It is important to note that, as a select group of inscriptions from an overall select social/institutional/career group, this data set is not wholly representative of certain dynamics, especially those that have been the focus of Roman military history and epigraphy before. These include who erected military related inscriptions in general, migration studies, general statistics on age and ranks within the Roman military. The data set, in fact, is almost random; it has gone through several factors of filtration, including whoever chose to write in verse at the time, and

the inscription has had to survive two thousand years. Therefore, previous analysis that has been applied to epigraphy and the Roman military, primarily for statistical information, is not necessarily representative in this data set of the Roman military at large, but the statistical information presented here is representative of this data set. This research has approached military inscriptions in a new way to how they have been examined before, without a focus on what the statistics can tell us and if they align with the canonical version of events. We know a lot about how the elite in Roman society identified and defined the Roman soldier,<sup>3347</sup> but little from their own perspectives; this research intends to begin a discussion so the scales can become more balanced. Here, the contents of the inscription themselves have been focused on, and what they can tell us about the Roman soldier; the statistics have been used here to support and enrich the argument, not create it. What has been mainly analysed here is qualitative data to gain an understanding of what was important to those connected to the Roman military, what they said and why they said it, in verse.

Other aspects of this data set are representative, more so than statistical analysis gleaned from military inscriptions overall. This collection of inscriptions ‘form part of an empire-wide presentation of identity, status and career achievement by soldiers who belonged to a self-regarding community of professional service’.<sup>3348</sup> We can see their identities through their monuments, aspects of their every day, of themselves, and of how they interacted with the world at large. Even when considering the individual, and the impact of the individual focused on in the inscription and the individuals depicting them in stone, general themes have emerged from what they discuss, and how they discuss it, demonstrating a general understanding of aspects of society, culture, the world, and poetry. By analysing the general themes as a thematic sub-catalogue, as seen in Chapters 3 and 8, and the more individual themes, such as those emergent in Chapters 4, 5-7, with more detailed commentaries and analysis, highlights how ‘il ressort de ces études la nécessité de perspectives larges couplées à une attention précise à chaque document’.<sup>3349</sup> Exploring the validity and applicability of methodologies from other disciplines, such as IPA and TA, are important avenues of exploration when contemplating how research in epigraphy, philology, and historiography can progress and develop beyond the current scholarly norm. The broad and the individual analysis means that this data could be approached in the way those in the ancient world would have situated themselves, both within the world they inhabited, Roman society at large and the institution of the Roman military, and their own individual impact upon it.

To present a picture of a more realistic lived experience for the Roman soldier himself, the themes that were so important to him, and those nearest to him, that they inscribed them on stone are examined here. Through this we have an insight into ‘the soul of the soldier’,<sup>3350</sup> the soldier’s mentality, and the mentality of those around him. When it came to death, the themes and messages for and by Roman soldiers on their tombstones differ little from the civilian, thus placing his mentality towards life and death in correlation with that of the wider population. Religion, however, was a primarily military domain; they adhered to the general gods the wider population did, but they also venerated them with a more military leaning, asking for or thanking a god for success in battle, or a successful return from a military assignment, for example. Gods, too, had military facets to their identity, but soldiers did not always invoke them

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<sup>3347</sup> See, for example, Coulston 2004: 133, as well as the discussion in Chapters 2 and 8.

<sup>3348</sup> Coulston 2014: 74; Coulston said this in relation to the reliefs of soldiers’ inscriptions in Britain, but the idea still applies here.

<sup>3349</sup> Rossignol 2013: 276.

<sup>3350</sup> MacMullen 1984: 440.

for their military associations. The way the soldier understood the natural world around him was the way in which it was understood by (scholarly) members of society, with the stars and the cosmos being an extension of the natural world on Earth rather than separate from it.

Their family dynamics were similar to that of the wider Roman world, although with some exceptions. They venerated their comrades, too, and they had an imbalance between the nuclear and the blood family; there was a greater focus on the nuclear family they made when on campaign, rather than the blood family they left behind (see Figure 9.12 as well as Chapter 8). This evidence points to the Roman soldier being a more learned facet of Roman society, an institution where men were trained both in physical and intellectual pursuits. Yet, their families, friends, and freedmen and -women had poetry commissioned/wrote poetry for these men, thus demonstrating that poetry was valued Empire-wide. There are some that are more likely to have been made and/or composed by the commissioning party themselves (soldier or someone close to them), others to have been commissioned but had input from the commissioner, and others likely to have been stock phrases and themes, personalised slightly for the individual, but selected from a workshop's repertoire. The isolated outposts of many of the Roman soldiers' places of residence probably meant that access to a professional stonecutter outside the military was limited, if not impossible, meaning that they would have had to make their inscriptions themselves. As Coulston observes:<sup>3351</sup>

more traditional views of the Roman army, based on the experience of more modern periods, were reluctant to credit soldiers with the skills, training, and even cultural flair for 'art'. However, the almost complete lack of indication of any intrusive personnel, taking in conjunction with the style, repertoire, working methods and limitations of sculpture created at military installations in Roman Britain [this should also apply to other isolated military outposts], make it abundantly clear that the vast majority of work was executed by soldiers within the army ... put bluntly, there was no other workforce available outside the army to provide inscriptions and figural sculpture in their various forms for military installations

Coulston says that, as has been suggested throughout this research, 'soldiers were trained in a great range of constructional and artistic skills as part of their career development, and the military iconography of Roman Britain was a direct product of this training'.<sup>3352</sup> The same can be said for military literacy and, therefore, the creation of poetic inscriptions. The creation of military verse inscriptions, like the contents of the verse inscriptions themselves, differs on an individual basis, thus reinforcing the individualistic act of inscriptions, poetry and literary art.

Religious and social syncretism are demonstrated in the religious Latin verse inscriptions of the Roman army. These are exclusively of the army as the navy do not feature in them. Material evidence and religious practices can identify the differences between these units,<sup>3353</sup> but these poetic inscriptions also highlight the differences in artistic/linguistic practices demonstrated in these units. The religious practices in these inscriptions are not uniform; they do not venerate the same gods across the Empire and across units in their verse inscriptions. The religious inscriptions set is the only part of this data where communal and individual inscriptions are seen on a semi-regular basis, with individuals setting up inscriptions and centurions acting on

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<sup>3351</sup> Coulston 2014: 73. See also Coulston 2004: 150.

<sup>3352</sup> Coulston 2014: 73.

<sup>3353</sup> Coulston 2013: 12.

behalf of a whole unit. Most of the inscriptions in the other thematic chapters, however, were erected on an individual basis, by/for an individual, at most an individual family unit.

The exchange in, and retention of, gods demonstrates how people approached expressions of their own identity: it was on a spectrum of conformity, with most people resting approximately in the centre, for a myriad of reasons. These could include: will/desire, practicality, resistance against their own culture/Roman culture/the culture of the society they had been posted to and, thus, all would differ on an individual basis, as these are personal decisions that can only be taken by an individual, based on their morals, affection for their home, affection for the place they were garrisoned in, and character. In these inscriptions, mostly the legions were referred to, the *auxilia* on occasion. They were entirely by those on active service, or referred to active service. These are exclusively military, as they are by the army, for the army, found in military settings, and they use the highest frequency of military language within them. The centurions' religious role is seen in these inscriptions, and most of these inscriptions were by men of a higher, more learned, rank. The religious verse inscriptions of the Roman military exhibit the different aspects of a military life beyond that of the battlefield, as they include inscriptions set up for hunting trophies and celebrations of a legion's engineering work, and thus express pride not only in a military identity but also in all facets of a military life. They are unusual when compared to the other thematic chapters, as they mention military activity directly more than the verse inscriptions in the other thematic chapters, as well as having a triumphant tone in them about their military career. The gods typically associated with the Roman military, Hercules and Mithras for example, are not mentioned in any of these inscriptions. The Nymphs are the most widely mentioned, probably because of the diversity of locations they could be found in; as a category, they are the widest ranging of the Roman deities, yet each reference to the Nymphs were for different deities. Religious inscriptions were erected with the idea of permanence as much as epitaphs were, as they were attached to the worship and reverence of a divinity, and thus the identified Roman soldier would exist as long as the divinity did.

But for these themes to be effective, for them to be so common as to emerge as themes at all, means that they must have had a universality to them that appealed to a wide-range of people. They had to appeal to those recruited into the Roman military, who became decreasingly Italian and increasingly 'provincial' over time, they had to appeal to their families, friends, comrades and slaves, whose origins were more uncertain but were also a mixture of peoples and cultures, and they had to do so over a period of nearly three hundred years, for these themes are apparent throughout the time period examined here (27 BC-AD 235). This demonstrates the uniformity in the Roman mind, and that of those beyond the Roman sphere. This can be seen best in their religious inscriptions, both in the Roman approach to religion and non-Roman approaches to religion; they recognise that there was common ground in their understanding of the gods, and thus of how the world worked around them, despite their differing cultures. The only difference between some gods were their names.<sup>3354</sup> There was only one Christian inscription in this data set (**RD.2**); the rest were pagan. What can be said about the Roman army's approach to religion in the ancient world can be said of the Roman military in general: they did not seek to stamp a Roman identity on a conquered place, but created a social and cultural landscape of recognition that everyone could understand, respect and interact with. This was spoken through Latin, demonstrated through the Roman military itself, and cemented in their verse inscriptions.

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<sup>3354</sup> See Chapter 5, especially the quote from Caes. Gall. 6.17.

This is also seen in their approach to the natural world, and this is recognised by the soldiers themselves. In **AI.7**, a *tribunus* on the edges of the Roman Empire recognised the syncretism between African and Roman gods, and how they coalesced into one constellation. The natural world was something they all experienced, suffered, and wondered at; it was beyond their understanding in many cases. As such, they marvelled at it, almost like a divinity. In many cases, through examples such as the Nymphs and rivers, the natural world was regarded as divine. The natural world was also another aspect of the world the Roman soldier had to conquer in order to carry out his role, either through understanding it, seeking peace through venerating it, or engineering construction projects over it. There was a symbiotic relationship between the soldier and the environment around him, including the social, religious and literal. There was an exchange of cultural patterns and ideas between the soldier and the community around him, as well as the soldier retaining his own cultural ideas and understandings of the world. The soldier may have conquered the Roman world, but the Roman world was just as influenced by the Roman soldier as he helped to shape it.

For many of these soldiers, their identity as a soldier, expressed in their inscriptions, was the only way in which they differed from the rest of civilian society in terms of outlook, approach to the world and understanding their own identity. In many inscriptions where a military career is expressed in a prose addendum to the verse, it is just that: a career. After all, ‘this was not just a career but a life-defining service, *tiro* to *miles* and, on proper discharge (*honesta missio*), a *veteranus* until death’.<sup>3355</sup> This is seen in the continued portrayal of the *miles* to the *veteranus* as a *iuvenes*. Even though it was ‘just a career’, this was intrinsic enough to their identities to include it on all forms of inscriptions: epitaphs, religious vows, and honorific inscriptions. The Emperor’s own military identity was not forgotten. When a soldier refers to his own military action, he primarily does so in his religious inscriptions; families referred to this more often in a soldier’s epitaph. Those who include their military career in the verse make the military identity of the soldier more than a career, a further intrinsic part of their identity. They were soldiers still in retirement, *veterani* retaining their military identity, and they were soldiers still in death. Their military identity did impact on how they were seen by others, it was valuable enough to state on the stone in varying degrees of detail, especially by their parents, who honoured their way of life, but mourned the fact that it sometimes brought their son to an early, unmarked, grave.

Examining the identities of those in the Roman military has been of increasing interest in recent years,<sup>3356</sup> and this study hopes to develop on, continue, and encourage this discussion. Despite the previous focus on qualitative over quantitative analysis, the statistics generated as a result of this data are important in terms of their poetic-geographical patterns, legionary-poetic patterns, who said what, and, therefore, perhaps why. Further statistical analysis based on these inscriptions, then, would be a significant avenue of exploration, for example examining the origins of the non-soldiers who commissioned verse inscriptions for a soldier. Only six of the 136 inscriptions in this data set were bilingual (see Table 9 and Figure 9.10), and bilingual inscriptions were only in Latin and Greek, two languages which were, in many ways, quintessentially Roman, for a self-respecting, well-educated, learned, elite Roman was expected to know Greek, and the importance of the use of Greek in expressions of (Roman) authority was largely dependent upon the province. Perhaps the overwhelming majority of mono-lingual Latin is owed to the fact that Latin was the language of the military, and therefore

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<sup>3355</sup> Coulston 2013: 12.

<sup>3356</sup> See, for example, *ibid.*: throughout. See also Chapter 2.

those within it were more comfortable using Latin. Either that, or, even if the greater proportion of higher ranks exhibited in these inscriptions indicates that more learned soldiers were involved in the creation of verse inscriptions (see Table 9 and Figures 9.1 and 9.2), they were not generally educated in Greek; Latin was the language they were educated in. Greek was the educated language of the Roman elite, thus making it an even greater exhibition of someone's educated identity. Alternatively, it could be because of the likelihood of someone being able to read and understand someone's inscription; we see bilingual Latin and Greek inscriptions in places where both languages were spoken. The language on the inscription was about creating and utilising a language so the audience reading it would have the most accessibility to the contents of the inscription, rather than merely about exhibiting one's education level. This, once more, indicates the 'universal language' factor Latin had; as the language of the Romans, it is no wonder that Latin was the more prolific, and that Greek tended to be used as well as Latin in Greek-speaking countries. It would be interesting to see if solely Greek verse inscriptions of the Roman military intersected with the themes exhibited in their Latin counterparts, or if they were different.

A comparative study of Republican military verse inscriptions and imperial military verse inscriptions would be interesting in terms of the Roman military. After all, 'although the Augustan period was in no doubt influential, to see it as some kind of year zero is to deny the existence of any significant ideas that might have fed into the identity process over the hundreds of years that preceded the late Republic'.<sup>3357</sup> The imperial military was founded upon that of the Republican, but the structure, institutional approach, recruitment and distribution of both were different. Let it not be forgotten that the earliest Latin verse inscriptions were military ones, found in the Tomb of the Scipios, that great militaristic family. These verse inscriptions exhibit more martial and masculine values, ones which perhaps would have been more expected of a study such as this. Yet, the latest one, *CIL* I 15, exhibits the most similarities in terms of subject, and focus (or lack thereof) on masculinity and warlike matters.

Sometimes, poetry is created in times of great crisis, other times of great peace. Permanence and stability are also factors that allow inscriptions to be made, as they allow a national unity and identity to settle and be formed.<sup>3358</sup> Under the Empire, for the first time, the military was a fixed, permanent institution. For the warring Celtic tribes, writing was scarce and only used in select communities.<sup>3359</sup> Latin may well have been the first writing system some (soldiers) encountered, hence why they may have adopted it as their own, depicted their immortal identities onto stone with it: because they had no other written language in which to do so. It has been observed that verse inscriptions become more prolific during the first century AD, after Augustus came to power and validated the power of inscriptions by publishing his *Res Gestae* and having it chiselled in stone. It has been said that this is because of the peace that had now come upon the expanding Empire, after the turbulent final years of the Republic.

Yet, what also occurs around this time is the setting up of permanent bases for the soldiers. It began with Caesar and the construction of timber buildings with thatched roofs in his *hibernia* (winter camps), and continued into Augustus' reign, and permanent camps became established over this time.<sup>3360</sup> As time went on and the army developed, so did their places of garrison, and the surrounding area, and *canabae* became *vici*. There is a correlation between the development

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<sup>3357</sup> Rothe 2020: 7.

<sup>3358</sup> See Handford 1951: 16-17. Caes. Gall. 1.1. See also Woolf 2002: 186; Beltrán Lloris 2015b: 144.

<sup>3359</sup> See Handford 1951: 16.

<sup>3360</sup> Webster 1985: 167-169.



of more permanent bases for the military, as timber turned to stone for forts and fortresses in the late first century and into the second,<sup>3361</sup> and the trend in the creation of military verse inscriptions, escalating in the first century and peaking in the second (see Appendix 4), when the military is far more established and living in more permanent garrisons. It is likely that the security of these permanent stations gave the soldiers the liberty to settle down, and form their own identities; it is difficult to form an identity during the instability of transience.

But the mobility of the legion does not seem to have affected the poetic productivity of those linked to these units; for example, *Legio III Augusta*, a legion that remained in one garrison (see Figures 9.4 and 9.5 and Appendix 2), was one of the most often mentioned singular unit of the legions, with six verse inscriptions in which it is mentioned; it is tied at six with the *Legio II Adiutrix*, which was very mobile in its early years (see Figures 9.4 and 9.5 and Appendix 2). The next most frequent, with five mentions each, were the *Legio VII* and the *Legio XI*, both of which had similarly mobile beginnings but became more settled in the late first-early second centuries (see Figures 9.4 and 9.5 and Appendix 2). *Legio XV Apollinaris*, on the other hand, a very mobile legion that transferred between multiple provinces in a relatively short space of time, had four verse inscriptions in which it is mentioned. There, therefore, appears to be no apparent correlation between the number of times a legion was moved between garrisons and/or provinces and the frequency of its soldiers' poetic output, i.e. the higher the number of times a legion was moved does not necessarily mean that its soldiers had a lower poetic output (see Table 9, Figures 9.4 and 9.5, and Appendix 2).

The general timeline of the inscriptions (Appendix 4) of when the creation of these verse inscriptions was at its highest correlates with that of inscriptions in general: the second to the third centuries AD. This also correlates with the idea that soldiers who lived in a more stable, peaceful time, and their families, were able to have more time to focus on more luxurious pursuits, such as settling down with a family. Although Beltrán Lloris questions the justification of the academic reasonings for it,<sup>3362</sup> it cannot be denied that the recognised trend that, for whatever reason, the production of inscriptions peaked in the latter part of the second century correlates with the data presented here. The majority, as well as the increased quality of the final product, are found in and around the reign of the Severans.<sup>3363</sup> Although it goes beyond the reaches of this data, in the initial data gathering stages, it was noticed that military verse inscriptions followed the general pattern of epigraphic production across the Empire, not just in application and ascent, but in decline too, with inscriptions significantly decreasing as the Crisis of the Third Century began to grip the Empire.<sup>3364</sup> These points are important to consider when approaching this study, as it places military verse inscriptions within the wider corpus of *carmina Latina epigraphica*, in that they do not separate the military from the civilian population, and nor do they differ from the general trends we see, but reinforce them. The second most common time period was the first century AD, when epigraphy was just starting to become popular, and when the Roman military had become a permanent force, rather than the temporary, recruited when needed, force of the Republic.

The overall distribution of these inscriptions correlates, although not completely, with the pattern observed by Beltrán Lloris for inscriptions in general (see Table 9 and Figure 9.7): 'a marked concentration in Italy. Rome and the cities of Italy provide half the surviving public

<sup>3361</sup> Webster 1985: 213.

<sup>3362</sup> Beltrán Lloris 2015: throughout.

<sup>3363</sup> See Appendix 4, as well as the tables at the end of Chapters 3-9; see also Woolf 1996: 22; Matijević 2015: 299.

<sup>3364</sup> See, for example, Woolf 1996: 22. Beltrán Lloris 2015b: 141-142, who queries this recognised pattern. See also Chapter 1.

inscriptions from the Roman world, while almost another half comes from the western provinces and barely three percent from the East'.<sup>3365</sup> The next most commonly observed places were 'Africa Proconsularis and Numidia ..., the Hispanic provinces, Gallia Narbonensis, and Dalmatia; and ... certain provinces in the Rhine-Danube region such as the Germanies, the Pannonias, and Dacia. On the other hand, the rest of the Latin-speaking regions – Britannia, the three Gauls, Moesia Superior and Inferior, Mauretania Caesariensis and Tingitana, the Alpine provinces, and the islands – have much smaller totals'.<sup>3366</sup>

The inscriptions in this data set are not distributed evenly around the Empire; some provinces are not represented at all (see Table 9 and Figure 9.7). Despite the Roman military being distributed around the Roman Empire, the majority of these inscriptions originate from Italy. Mauretania Caesariensis is the only singular province to have a military poetic presence in double digits, and even then the difference between Italy and Mauretania Caesariensis is overwhelming (see Table 9 and Figure 9.7). 31% of the inscriptions were found in Italy, which is the greatest concentration of inscriptions in a singular province. This is just under double the percentage of those found in African provinces (16%), but the greatest overall percentage was of those along the Rhine-Danube frontier, at nearly 40% of the findspots of these inscriptions originating from these provinces, although there were several provinces incorporated into this frontier. The African province with the greatest number of military verse inscriptions was Mauretania Caesariensis, with 12, and the Rhine-Danubian frontier province with the greatest number were Pannonia Superior and Dalmatia, with both featuring 10 military verse inscriptions each. These inscriptions tend to be found either as singular examples distributed in various places in that province or as singular examples or gathered in small numbers in/by military stations/outposts (such as Tilurium, Mogontiacum, Aquincum, Burnum and Carnuntum, also Rome itself; see Table 9, where military locations are in bold, and Figure 9.8). The majority of these inscriptions were found in places with an active military presence (such as forts, fortresses and military outposts), but they were also found in and around civilian settlements (see Table 9 and Figure 9.8). Veterans were settled sometimes amongst civilians, and their settlements sometimes were the precursor to civilian settlements.

The results of this study address Woolf's observations, because the vast majority of Latin military verse inscriptions came from the Mediterranean basin (Italy and the African provinces opposite Italy) and the Rhine-Danubian frontier:<sup>3367</sup>

although all the correlations observed between epigraphy and other phenomena provide useful contexts for understanding some categories of inscription and some aspects of Roman epigraphy, none of them provide a general account of the epigraphic culture of the Roman Empire. Treating epigraphy as simply a component of 'urban culture' may help us understand the inscriptions of central Italy or western Asia Minor, but takes no account of the high epigraphic density of parts of the Empire such as Numidia or the Rhineland which were relatively under-urbanized, but highly militarized.

Why, then, do the patterns of military verse inscriptions correlate with that of inscriptions in general? Beltrán Lloris sees it as obvious why 'a huge majority come from the city of Rome and Italy, while for obvious reasons they are much less numerous in the provinces'.<sup>3368</sup> Those

<sup>3365</sup> Beltrán Lloris 2015b: 137, discussing the distribution patterns as seen on EDCS.

<sup>3366</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3367</sup> Woolf 1996: 23. See Table 9 and Figures 9.5 and 9.6.

<sup>3368</sup> Beltrán Lloris 2015b: 139.

who were Italian saw themselves as Roman: Italy was an extension of Rome.<sup>3369</sup> This pattern may be the same also for the findspot pattern of Roman military verse inscriptions. For military verse inscriptions, this could also be because there was a greater concentration of units in one singular area: the Urban Cohorts, Vigiles, Praetorian Guard and the *Equites Singulares* were all posted in Rome and, of the singular units in the Roman military, the Praetorian Guard and the *Equites Singulares* had the highest epigraphic poetic output (see Figure 9.3, as well as the discussion below). Yet, as the recruitment of Italians into the legions decreased and frontier and provincial recruitment increased, so did the number of verse inscriptions,<sup>3370</sup> an inversion, perhaps, of what was expected of the creation of these inscriptions. Therefore, there was not necessarily a connection between output of Latin verse inscriptions and the (Italic) origins of the soldier; the creation of these inscriptions is more a ‘Latin speaking act’, rather than an Italic one. Like English globally today, Latin in the Roman military was a universal language, used to as a part of the dynamic of universal accessibility and understanding between people. How an individual used that language was a part of their identity, not the language itself.

Soldiers of a variety of origins created these verse inscriptions (see Table 9 and Figure 9.6). Yet, the most common of the known origins of soldiers mirrors the general distribution pattern of military verse inscriptions: Italy dominates, followed by those from the Rhine-Danube frontier and the African provinces,<sup>3371</sup> but both with dramatically fewer than Italian origins. The next most common are Spanish origins, but, again, these are a very small fraction of their origins that are known. This is the same as the distribution pattern of these verse inscriptions. These men were posted around the Empire; they did not necessarily have their verse inscription set up in their place of origin. Further comparisons, therefore, between postings and origins and setting up of verse inscriptions would be another intriguing avenue of exploration.

Another qualitative and quantitative avenue of analysis that would be of interest to examine further would be a comparison of civilian and military inscriptions. Do their poetic themes intersect, and do they exhibit them in similar proportions? Were verse inscriptions more important for soldiers or civilians? Such a study of a comparison of civilian and military verse inscriptions Empire-wide would be a near-impossible task for a researcher, so the best approach for this would perhaps be provincially, or in a group of provinces where there is a higher frequency of verse inscriptions, or by theme.

Although seeking to condense all the military verse inscriptions of the Roman world into one study, poems just from military areas were not examined, only those that mentioned a military title and/or military action, for the sake of definitively knowing that we were looking at a military verse inscription. It would be interesting to see if those who inhabited the military area, but may not necessarily have been a Roman soldier, reinforced or strayed away from the themes found in the military verse inscriptions of the Roman Empire. This would add further nuance to the idea of a ‘military life’. This is touched upon here, by examining the family members of the soldiers affected by their soldier-relative’s military way of life, sometimes by proxy or because the soldier’s way of life dictated the whole life experience of those closest to them, and therefore how they, as non-soldiers, experienced the Roman world with a significant military influence.

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<sup>3369</sup> See Rothe 2020: 3.

<sup>3370</sup> See Webster 1985: 102.

<sup>3371</sup> These assessments are based on the ones that are known, not including those that are denoted with a question mark.

The military verse inscriptions of the Roman Empire are often judged by the standards of Virgil, Ovid and other famous Latin poets, and, as such, it is said that they frequently ‘break the rules’ of Latin metre, their poems labelled as ‘imperfect’, ‘faulty’ or ‘perfect’. This is sometimes due to linguistic differences, such as the differences seen in African Latin. But this is often for literary, artistic, linguistic reasons, and thus does not detract from their literary and poetic skill and understanding but, instead, enhances it. Few inscriptions break the rules of Latin metre due to a ‘misunderstanding’ of the metre itself. The authors of these military verse inscriptions, both soldiers and their families, including their wives, experiment and, in doing so, expand our interpretation of the ‘ordinary man/woman’s’ understanding of Latin metre through demonstrating the breadth of their understanding of Latin metre, and their willingness to ‘break the rules’ for artistic and creative reasons. As such, they add a nuance and depth to our understanding of how the ancients themselves used and understood Latin (poetry) to express themselves on a day to day basis.

Even those who clearly had less poetic ‘skill’ in understanding metre (i.e. their ‘mistakes’ were not done so for linguistic, artistic flare) valued the implications of conveying their words in verse. They are not ‘faulty’ for their ‘deviations’ from, say, Virgil, but this is a part of their expression of identity; poetry is a part of an expression of identity. Although there are certain overall themes seen in these inscriptions, these do not detract from the individuals expressing themselves in these poems. Love and grief, for example, could be said to be a universal constant of poetry, throughout time and space, but they are experienced and expressed uniquely in poems that attempt to make these abstract concepts tangible. Through these inscriptions, we see the creativity of the general populace.

These military verse inscriptions exhibit a variety of metres, and experimentations in those metres, therefore of metrical understanding; not all inscriptions were in hexameters and elegiac couplets, those metres made famous through Latin literary poetry and poets. But hexameter and elegiac couplets were the most extensively used of the singular types of metre (see Table 9 and Figure 9.15), which suggests that these were the ones soldiers, and those who commissioned these inscriptions with military associations, were more familiar with. Perhaps they wished to show off their level of education by demonstrating their familiarity with the two most famous of the literary metres too, or perhaps these were the most widely taught. Inscriptions featuring hexameter far outweighed the other metres, at over double the amount of the next most common metre, elegiac couplets. The most diversely used of the metres had iambic features, and poems written in this metre are more likely to cause confusion about their intended poetic nature.

*Vera versu verba dicamus* is from a verse inscription, although not a military one.<sup>3372</sup> Yet, it conveys an important aspect of the value of verse: ‘in verse, we speak the truth’. This is predominantly why, here, it is believed that understanding regarding the identity of Roman soldiers can be conveyed through their verse inscriptions. It is acknowledged that erecting an inscription is ‘the result of its desire to project a particular self-image’ in a certain place, time, etc., so simply the act of inscribing a stone is linked intrinsically to identity.<sup>3373</sup> So, where can we place these literary forms of a ‘sub-literary’ class of writing? Many have commented on the potential authors behind an inscription, but it is perhaps best summarised, and approached, by Adams in his assertion that ‘the concept of the ‘authorship’ of an inscription or other non-

<sup>3372</sup> *CIL* VI.9797 = 33815a = 41107a = *CLE* 29 = *CLENuovo* 97 = *ILS* 5173 = *ZPE* 126 (1999) p. 240 = *AE* 1998.145 adn. = *AE* 1999.207.

<sup>3373</sup> Cooley 2002: 10.

literary text is far from simple, and it is appropriate to consider the possible circumstances behind the composition of such a text'.<sup>3374</sup> Although it is suggested here that soldiers had the capacity to write and create their own inscriptions, the individual circumstances of each inscription are considered along with the possibilities of its authorship. With the skill these verse inscriptions show, it is very difficult to describe them as anything other than literary.

These inscriptions give a poetic voice/contribution to those who are silent in the literary repertoire, including soldiers themselves. Evidence of soldiers sending letters home exhibits that their families, too, were literate and these letters, in combination with a family's desire to commemorate their loved one who served as a soldier in the Roman military in verse, demonstrates that they could appreciate the value of literary expressions of immortalisation. In these military verse inscriptions, commissioning an inscription was a distinctly masculine act (Figure 9.14). This may be skewed in favour of men commissioning these inscriptions because of the nature of the military environment, the data gathering was conducted to focus on those with military roles and/or mentions of military combat, and soldiers were involved in the creation of most of these inscriptions (Table 9 and Figure 9.12). This not only highlights soldiers' increased literary proficiency, and appreciation, above the rest of society, but also their greater levels of monetary independence. They were the holders of one of the few stable careers in the Roman world, with bonuses, rewards, promotions and retirement support. They would have had more money to spend on inscriptions. Their basic needs were met, and thus they could pursue higher, more literary, philosophical contemplations. Although commemoration was a gender-neutral act, the act of commemorating someone through epigraphy was not: it was dominated by the dominant presence in Roman society. The difference in the gender bias between men and women involved in commissioning these verse inscriptions of the Roman military is outstanding (Figure 9.14). It would be intriguing to see if this significant gender imbalance was unique to the Roman military environment, or if this was the same in the rest of Roman society.

Most of these inscriptions were made for soldiers (see Table 9 and Figure 9.10). However, of those commissioning these inscriptions, the vast overall social majority were the soldiers themselves, either for themselves, their families, or their comrades (see Table 9 and Figures 9.12 and 9.13). This brings up several suggestions: either the soldiers, as a more educated faction of society, by the nature of the requirements of the Roman military, were able to and/or placed more value on literary pursuits, perhaps being literate in and of itself was an exhibition of their advanced, prestigious role in society as a member of the Roman military, and thus exhibiting this in verse further separated them from civilian society. Soldiers had more money, and a stable life, and thus were more likely to be able to be involved in the commissioning of an inscription, especially one that was longer and contained less formulaic phraseology, and so would have been more expensive. Soldiers made their own inscriptions, both due to their literacy levels and the inaccessibility of many of their outposts, and so were a part of society that, as a demographic, had more access to creating inscriptions. For some other reason, commissioning inscriptions were more important to the Roman military than to the civilians connected to them.

The majority of the relationships in these inscriptions had a military connection, with the second most common being blood family (see Table 9 and Figure 9.13). The discrepancy between

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<sup>3374</sup> Adams 2004: 84. See 84-93 for discussion on the difficulties of ascertaining the author of an inscription. Cf. Kruschwitz 2023.

military compared with blood family relationships is great; it is less dramatic between blood family and nuclear family relationships. These would have been the closest connections the soldiers had, to each other, their parents (left at home) or their wives and children (the family they made during service), and so this picture of these relationship dynamics in these not unexpected. The preference of military connections is logical, as they were mostly from military environments, and there were some factions of the Roman military who had fewer nuclear family connections available to them, either because they had been posted away from home and/or because they were less likely to ‘marry’ and have children, and so their closest connections would have been to their military comrades. The variety of relationships was more extensive between men than between men and women; the men are soldiers, friends, comrades, fathers, sons, grandsons, cousins, clients, freedmen, whereas the women are solely from the family setting, they are wives, mothers, daughters, sisters, freedwomen (and they often intersected with the other dynamics, for example freedwomen are found mostly as partners of soldiers). These military relationships add a significant, unique relationship dynamic to these soldiers’ lives in comparison to the rest of civilian society. Most civilian inscriptions were commissioned by the nuclear family, the third most common commissioners of Roman military verse inscriptions (see Table 9 and Figure 9.13). The primary ones were based in military relationships, thus exhibiting the importance of the environment and relationships to soldiers in the Roman military, and thus how significantly this impacted on their lived experience and that fundamentally human aspect of life: relationships. This would have affected how they interacted with the world, and the fact that they exhibit their military connections so often indicates that this is the way they saw themselves, wanted to be seen, and were seen.

Most of the soldiers in this research appear to have acted as sole representatives of their unit, thus being involved in the act of commissioning a verse inscription, in the military, a distinctly individual act (Table 9 and Figures 9.3-9.5). Not all military units are represented in these inscriptions, but certain military units do appear to have had a ‘poetic footprint’, such as the *Legio III Augusta*, *Legio II Adiutrix*, *Legio XI*, *Legio VII*, and *Legio XV Apollinaris*, but, in terms of singular unit output, the *equites singulares Augusti* and the Praetorian Guard produced the most military verse inscriptions (Table 9 and Figures 9.4 and 9.5); the Praetorian Guard were involved in eleven military verse inscriptions, the *equites singulares* ten. These were military dominated lifestyles and environments; the *auxilia* and the legionaries were more likely to have families than these two Roman units. This perhaps suggests that the influence of producing a verse inscription by a member of the military was also influenced by the actions and epigraphic output of those around them. This does correlate with the observed general trend that areas in the Roman world tended to have their own customs within the ‘Roman’ epigraphic habit. Legionaries were involved in the creation of the vast majority of military verse inscriptions, those who were more likely to be Roman citizens. The legion was the most commonly mentioned unit of the Roman military in these verse inscriptions (see especially Figure 9.3). *Auxilia* units are infrequent, naval rare. Perhaps this was another way of exhibiting rivalries/differences between these units in the Roman military; although they do not tend to explicitly criticise/have rivalries with other units, it is significant that the legions dominate the poetic output of the Roman military. It seems that those who were more comfortable using Latin, i.e. would have been more likely to have it as their first language and who were more likely to be of citizen status, appreciated having and using metre in their inscriptions.

A lesser aim of this research was to explore literacy and education in the Roman military, and it is hoped that this shall encourage further discussion of this. It is clear that a range of men in

the Roman military, as well as their families, were literate. Whether it was chosen from a stonemason's workbook or composed themselves, poetry held enough significance to the commissioner to indicate that they appreciated literary pursuits and ideas. As such, more exploration into if we can identify if a soldier made a (verse) inscription or someone else did would also be a valuable avenue of exploration. In these inscriptions, the higher and specialised ranks proportionately dominate the ranks mentioned in these inscriptions (see Table 9 and Figures 9.1 and 9.2). This supports the hypothesis presented in this research that the more learned and educated ranks were involved in the creation of these inscriptions; they would have needed to be more literate due to the nature of their roles, and they may have been more learned anyway. As they were more literate, soldiers of a higher and more specialised rank appear to have valued literary pursuits more.

The nature of this research has meant that the written and/or verse aspect of these inscriptions were focused on. Reliefs accompanied many inscriptions, including many of those discussed here, and this research has fallen prey to what many other epigraphic studies with a focus on philological analysis have: what the inscription said is often not examined in conjunction with the relief.<sup>3375</sup> What Coulston says about reliefs can also be said about military *carmina Latina epigraphica*:<sup>3376</sup>

because it is so unrepresentative in the sense of being 'typical' as a genre or as a sample of deceased soldiers [even more so for *CLE*]. Even allowing for biases of survival, only a tiny proportion of soldiers who served were commemorated in this manner. As artefacts, such gravestones are not uniform in their distribution and they were not erected regularly over time. However, each extant item represented a degree of 'Roman' cultural practice ... and a series of compositional and economic decisions on the part of the deceased subject, his heirs, and/or an artist. Clearly the degree of available skill played a part in literally shaping the final result.

Some of these inscriptions visually depict those who created them, and who they were created for, as identifying as Roman; they all do so linguistically, through the act of writing a Latin verse inscription. When soldiers are depicted in reliefs, they are often dressed in Roman civilian dress or in military uniform, thus identifying them as visually, as well as linguistically, Roman. But to be depicted in military dress was a rejection of civilian life.<sup>3377</sup> Roman mentality, and Roman citizenship, as these verse inscriptions demonstrate also correlate with the 'ideology ... if Romanness wasn't in the blood, then it could be acquired; it could, like a garment, be 'put on' by those who aspired to it'.<sup>3378</sup> Roman citizenship was not reliant on being Italian born, but 'being a Roman, in the legal sense, was a matter of either having citizen parents, being born into a community with citizen status, or having citizenship granted as a political act. Roman status was, from this point, something which could be acquired, and even, in extreme cases, revoked'.<sup>3379</sup> To be a Roman in the military for those who were citizens already were Roman in this sense; for those who were given the citizenship upon *honesta missio*, they were citizenship-pending, and were regarded as such. To see if there was a correlation between depiction of the soldier in relief and the accompanying inscription being written in verse would be an

<sup>3375</sup> See Coulston 2014, who examines the reliefs of soldier's inscriptions in Britain, without referring to the written aspects of the inscription itself; this analysis is, thus, an inversion of the approach here.

<sup>3376</sup> Coulston 2004: 148.

<sup>3377</sup> See Rothe 2020: 46. What Rothe says about the toga can be said about that other mark of Roman identity, the Roman military (2)

<sup>3378</sup> *Ibid.*: 7.

<sup>3379</sup> Lomas, Gardner & Herring 2013: 4.

informative future path of exploration when considering the impact and importance of art in the Roman military as a way of conveying identity.

An even more fascinating area to explore further would be one of the unexpected themes to emerge from this data set: the natural world and astronomy in verse inscriptions. This would give us an informative insight into how everyone, civilian and soldier alike, understood the machinations of the wider world around them, and therefore how they understood their place within it. The soldiers within this study were at the mercy of the natural world, which, for them, also encompassed the cosmos. This was true of the other inhabitants of the Roman world; they lived under the governance of nature far more than most of the modern world, where humans ‘triumph’ over nature rather than being at the mercy of her whim. This would also give us an insight into the teachings of those academic Greeks and Romans who hypothesised about the wider world, and if they were widely known, disseminated and understood, or if there were more societal understandings of the workings of the natural world. These themes were where the most individuality was expressed. Exploring this further, and in the context of citizen inscriptions, could have a significant impact on our understanding of identity in the ancient world, and how humans situated themselves within the environment around them. Further research into the natural world and astronomy in Latin verse inscriptions in general is currently under consideration by the author.

The problem with defining Roman military identity is that it was a heterogeneous group of individuals within a homogenous institution that did not impose extensive identity defining homogeneity on the individuals serving within it, apart from their identity as a Roman soldier. The reason why we see the Roman military this way may be because this is how it was portrayed in Roman literature, as a united, homogenous group with only a few distinguished individuals who represented the ideal of the Roman military, or who were representatives against the ideal of the Roman military. The Roman military had its own hierarchy, visual ways of identifying itself (such as some aspects of shared armour, weapons, etc.), social forms of conduct that separated it from society, and a shared language. Yet, the Roman military, in contrast to how it is depicted now, was non-uniform, in the literal and non-literal sense.<sup>3380</sup>

Coulston’s observation that ‘the Roman imperial ‘army’ should also be referred to as ‘armies’, in the plural, because the forces of the Roman state were not monolithic but devolved into a series of geographical army groups’<sup>3381</sup> can be seen in these verse inscriptions. The soldiers identified themselves, and in turn were identified, by their unit, not as a member of the Roman military as an institutional whole. Indeed, the general patterns of identity that Coulston identifies on tombstones of soldiers in general are observed in the data here.<sup>3382</sup> It was a constantly evolving society, and thus interpretations of identity, self, and societal roles within it would have changed as attitudes evolved.<sup>3383</sup> Ivleva identifies the problem clearly:<sup>3384</sup>

Because identity operates on individual and communal levels ..., a division between official dimensions of military identity and the identity of an individual soldier has also been acknowledged ... On the one hand, being part of an institution with its own forms of ranking, dress, rituals, and even living arrangements clearly contributed to a shared

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<sup>3380</sup> As highlighted by studies such as Coulston 2014.

<sup>3381</sup> Coulston 2013: 12. See also Chapter 2.

<sup>3382</sup> Coulston 2013: 13.

<sup>3383</sup> See, for example, Coulston 2004: 133 n. 1.

<sup>3384</sup> Ivleva 2020: 243.



sense of being a Roman soldier, or *miles*. That shared sense of belonging to the military community set soldiers apart from other groups and communities that formed the Roman Empire – traders or craftspeople of various professions, amongst others – with their own ways of expressing identity ... The collective military identity was expressed and performed within military communities on a daily basis, for instance, while on the move, during drills, and at religious festivals... On the other hand, what appears to have been a monolithic, homogeneous group at a glance varied widely at the level of individuals, who were bound by local and regional affiliations, and preferences to various communities outside the military milieu... Therefore, what constituted the ‘personal identity of a man as a soldier’ (Coulston 1988: x) was seldom predictable.

These verse inscriptions highlight the individuality of the soldier over the institution. They identified as a part of the institution, but they expressed themselves within it.

To define the identity of the Roman soldier, let alone through their verse inscriptions, is difficult due to the importance of the influence of nuance on one’s individuality. To try to do so would perhaps go against the objectives of this study: to emphasise the heterogeneity of the Roman military, rather than the canonical perception of its homogeneity. A key aspect to understanding identity in the Roman world is one that is applicable to all cultures: ‘in human culture – both ancient and modern – identities do not exist in and of themselves: they are created, are constantly evolving and are lived out by means of specific actions, objects, stories that are told about the past and beliefs about the inherent qualities of the people to whom they apply ... But Roman identity was highly complex: in fact, uniquely so for the ancient world, evolving as it did from the customs of a minor Italian city state into the *Leitkultur* of a vast empire’.<sup>3385</sup> This was enabled, enforced, and represented by the Roman military, thus the malleable Roman identity was condensed into the Roman military.

In many ways, it was the stereotype that we all see it as now. When the military life is mentioned and/or celebrated, it is seen as a way of life that bestowed honour and *virtus* onto the soldier, which may be why the anticipated overt references to masculinity and *virtus* are surprisingly lacking in this study on the Latin verse inscriptions of the Roman military, as they were automatically apparent in one who served in the military camps. This seems to be specific for those who served in the military camps, not lived, as this honour does not appear to have been given to their wives, for example. Although having a soldier serving in the ranks of the Roman military did impact the status and character of the soldier’s family as a whole, and not only his future family in his wife and children, but also that of his parents and blood family. Roman soldiers were the apex of Roman masculinity, a lifestyle intertwined with *virtus* and *disciplina* in their everyday training and activities. ‘Professional cultural cohesion [also was created through] a shared military cultural tradition’ and ‘religious observance’;<sup>3386</sup> Coulston observes that the history of the units themselves contributed towards identity.<sup>3387</sup> This may have been the case with some soldiers, but this is not exhibited in the data set here, unless this is implicit in their posting and recruitment. The Roman military acted as a large family, tied together by *pietas* to their Emperor, country, and service. Recruitment was an act of severance from one’s family, and enabled them to form their own.

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<sup>3385</sup> Rothe 2020: 5-6. See also, for example, Lomas et al. 2013: throughout for comments on Roman identity constructs and how difficult this is to define; Ivleva 2020: 243 on identity in the Roman military.

<sup>3386</sup> Coulston 2013: 14.

<sup>3387</sup> *Ibid.*: 15.

Yet to see underneath that, to scratch the surface just a little, leads one to see the nuances behind this. Within their Latin verse inscriptions, the military cared little for portraying masculinity and exerting their *virtus* upon others; *virtus* was their, specifically the legions', virtue, when it is mentioned. Only a handful of inscriptions refer to this essence of Roman manhood and militarism. Erecting a Latin verse inscription, however, was an act of *pietas* and *virtus*; this act, in and of itself, exhibited these qualities. Interacting with an inscription was an act of *pietas* by the *viator*. Revering one's family and venerating the gods were acts of *pietas* ostensibly, acts of *virtus* implicitly; a part of what it meant to be a Roman man was to be *pius*. Nearly all the religious inscriptions in this study were created by soldiers, further exacerbating the link between manhood, masculinity, *virtus* and acts of *pietas*.

Latin and epigraphy were Roman acts, but, like the Romans themselves, who had taken this model from the Greeks and made it uniquely their own, the individuals crafted it to suit their individual needs. They used it as a tool to perpetuate themselves, using the universal language of the day on a difficult to damage medium. They highlight their *pietas* in their family units, to the Emperor and the gods in their religious inscriptions, and sometimes the two intersect. Soldiers in the Roman military venerated both those of the Roman pantheon and those they encountered in their time on active service; these were gods to be venerated and respected. They took on the culture and customs of the local area, as well as bringing them with them. The Romans engulfed the ancient world through the military, and the military spread Roman religion, culture and language across the lands they conquered, but the people within it were able to retain their local customs, ideas and beliefs, even those serving within the ranks of the troops that represented the Roman Empire. Like the various cultures and societies in the Roman world they conquered, the Roman military brought poetry with them on their travels, and they absorbed it themselves and brought it home.

People had multiple identities; 'many other social factors, such as gender, social class, economic status, or membership of a sub-group within the community may act as important modifiers of ethnic or cultural identities, or how they are displayed'.<sup>3388</sup> Being Roman was one of them, but this was separate to being a soldier in the Roman military, for, although they were representatives of Rome, not all of them were Roman citizens. Being a man was another, and this, too, had individual cultural connotations. The Roman process of being a man was largely performative, both through rites and behaviour. Roman identity and morality were performative acts, through how one lived one's life, in a tangible sense, rather than a linguistic, philosophical sense. To be a 'Roman was [to be] sturdy, pious, honest and dutiful',<sup>3389</sup> and the way a Roman soldier lived his life was a simple exhibition of this, requiring no other explanation of one's adherence to the Roman ideal of characteristics. But this has remained as an ideal of a person now, particularly a man, so there must be a universality in the human experience of what an ideal person, especially a man, should be for this to still resonate. Although, that has now become an adherence to an ideal, rather than an exhibition of it.

Being a soldier was another identity. This was not just a title, but a way of life, one that affected a man's existing relationships and his ability to create new relationships for himself. The military way of life would have encouraged more social cohesion; they relied on one another to survive in battle, and they were often communities posted on the edges of Roman civilisation. Identity, however, is a conscious choice, as was the use of epigraphy to exhibit one's eternal

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<sup>3388</sup> Lomas et al. 2013: 6.

<sup>3389</sup> Rothe 2020: 7.

identity: Meyer describes it as ‘the conscious adoption of Roman habits’,<sup>3390</sup> as was describing oneself as a soldier in the Roman military. The lifestyle of a Roman soldier was a primarily itinerant one, especially in the initial years of the Roman military. Even when permanent garrisons alongside local recruitment became common, vexillations still sent soldiers temporarily away from their fortress home. The life of the Roman soldier, and the life of his family, highlights the fluidity and impermanence of Roman society, ‘and because changes existed for many to exchange one social role for another within a fluid society, social mobility resulted in a desire to advertise the successful achievement of a better existence and the adoption of a new identity in inscribed texts’.<sup>3391</sup>

Roman soldiers were separated from society by law, through the marriage ban and their independence from their father’s *potestas*, although they were under that of their commander. Despite this, they had levels of autonomy over their own lives that male civilians did not. Soldiers stood as judges in the provinces, and acted as policemen against riots. The vine stick of the centurion, which appears to be his main identifying feature when it is mentioned within these verse inscriptions rather than their *crista transvectus*, meant that they could enact violence and legal action on provincials and soldiers, the *vitis* acting ‘as much a symbol of their superiority as the riding down of the barbarian’.<sup>3392</sup> Yet, soldiers did not see themselves as displaced from society, as demonstrated in their verse inscriptions, both in the contents of their themes, and their approaches towards family. They stood out from society, but also blended in; they stood out by their very identification as belonging in the Roman military, but they blended in by using themes, ideas and cultural references that were known throughout society in the ancient world. This was what made them stand out from society, but also demonstrate their place within it, and thus was part of their immortal identity.<sup>3393</sup>

Inclusivity and acceptance of all as well as, paradoxically, exclusive rights and advantages for the Roman citizen were the *modus operandi* of the practical minded Roman. The soldiers adhered to the overall culture of the Roman Empire, such as demonstrating the same epigraphic tropes across the Empire, whilst still stating their origins and seeing no distinction in their own self-identity between their status as a Roman soldier but a man born on non-Italic soil. Indeed, ‘ethnic and cultural identities do not emerge or exist in a vacuum. Internalizations, adaptations, or reactions against the ethnic categorizations devised by outsiders can be an important element in the ways in which identities evolve. As the dominant political and cultural force – especially among elites – Rome was a critical factor in shaping the development of the ethnic and cultural identities of the inhabitants of the empire’.<sup>3394</sup> Yet, these military verse inscriptions demonstrate that those within the Roman military saw themselves as both intrinsically Roman and intrinsically ‘other’, stating and contrasting their native birthplaces with their final place of rest, as well as their ideals whilst using the language and cultural phenomenon of the Romans (i.e. Latin epigraphy).

The Roman mind was practical, as was the non-Roman mind. People recognised the authority of the Roman Empire, and they adapted to its ways. The way of the Roman Empire towards society was flexible in its approach; people were allowed to retain their native identities even after obtaining Roman citizenship. People recognised the advantages the Roman Empire

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<sup>3390</sup> Meyer 1990: 83.

<sup>3391</sup> Carroll 2006: 28.

<sup>3392</sup> Alston 1998: 218-219.

<sup>3393</sup> See also Coulston 2004: 150.

<sup>3394</sup> Lomas et al. 2013: 1.

brought, including the custom of inscribing one's name in stone, for all to read, for all eternity. They would live on into immortality through their Latin words depicted on stone, in a distinctly Roman custom. Who knew that they really would live forever, never forgotten, as the very nature of this study demonstrates? These inscriptions stand in the stead of the person who devised them, depicting them as they wished to be remembered, or how others wished them to be remembered. They are their last testaments, the closest written self-identities we have of someone from the ancient world in their own words and thoughts. Even if they used a generic verse inscription, the accompanying prose that described someone as a Roman soldier was enough to demonstrate the wish to remember him as such, whatever his origins.

The problem, of course, of seeing ethnicities of other cultures and races in the Roman world is that they were all filtered through the Roman lens;<sup>3395</sup> even in these verse inscriptions, this is still the case, because, for example, they are written in Latin and use Latin linguistic patterns (i.e. metre) of poetry. Many of them identify their own cultures using the names the Romans gave them. This, itself, identifies Rome as the dominant culture, regardless of their inclusivity of other cultures.<sup>3396</sup> Romans themselves recognised that they came from a mixed background in their foundation myths.<sup>3397</sup> For Roman identity in general, it was citizenship that mattered.<sup>3398</sup> However, a Roman soldier did not necessarily have to be a Roman citizen; even the dichotomy between provincial/barbarian auxiliary and citizen/legionary broke down after a century or so, and so this distinction, on the surface, seems to have mattered little. There is only one inscription where the legions are insulted for being barbaric and the Praetorian Guard as superior (**NW.1**); rivalries between units are not mentioned in any other inscription in this entire data set. Examining these inscriptions, then, goes against the ideals portrayed in Roman elite literature, which is now believed to be the ancient world lived experience.

What other aspects of the lived experience of the ancient world can we discover by examining the themes of verse inscriptions in general? Will they, too, conform to the narrative as understood from Roman literature, or will a different/more nuanced perspective come to light? For those inhabiting the Roman world, their identity (ethnic, social, cultural, individual) intersected with that of their place within Roman society, and nowhere is that more visible than in the Roman military. This study is socially led: it concentrates on a social group that happened to be, in the Roman world, particularly ethnically diverse. This is also another way in which the Roman military was representative of the Roman world at large.

Depictions, interpretations and general attitudes towards manhood and masculinity in the Roman world meant that men did not express it in the way the modern world does, and therefore they did not exhibit it in these verse inscriptions as perhaps one reading about military verse inscriptions of the Roman Empire might expect. Masculinity had to be 'proven' in similar ways to now (i.e. through certain modes of behaviour, morals, characteristics, presentation), and there was a heavier emphasis on expressing and proving masculinity through tangible ways, rather than abstract. To be a Roman soldier was a condensed crucible of masculinity, and thus was implicitly very masculine. To express oneself as a Roman soldier was an expression of masculine identity, and the height of it at that. One's behaviour did reinforce or deny one's masculinity, as it still does, and this, like other acts that 'proved' masculinity and exhibited the lifespan of a man in the Roman world, was a performative act. These performative expectations

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<sup>3395</sup> See Lomas et al. 2013: 1.

<sup>3396</sup> See *ibid.*: 3. See also 4-5.

<sup>3397</sup> See *ibid.*: 4.

<sup>3398</sup> See *ibid.*: 3, for example.

were different, culturally based and thus have changed over the millennia, although some remain the same, such as growing a beard. But these were performative expectations during one's lifetime; masculinity mattered little to the dead, and mattered little to the way others, or themselves, wished them to be remembered. Masculinity was asserted through deeds, not words, and it was implied through military service.

War was an intrinsic part of Roman self-identity. The Romans formed their own identity as militaristic, a lasting self-constructed (social) identity that has stayed throughout the millennia. The actions of the Roman military thus perpetuated this image. The individuals in these inscriptions saw a validity in their social status as Roman soldiers for them to depict these in their verse inscriptions. Due to the nature of the data gathering in this research, as only those who described themselves as soldiers/had military connotations (such as mentions of war) in their inscriptions were included, we cannot say if there were any Roman soldiers unwilling to describe themselves as such, so there is an implicit bias in this data set towards believing that all Roman soldiers were proud of their military title and saw it as an inherent part of their identity, and thus displayed it as such on their inscriptions. However, this is unlikely to be the case for all of them, and this must be borne in mind. As Alston summarises:<sup>3399</sup>

Soldiers themselves appear to have been proud of their status. We cannot, of course, know how many soldiers and veterans avoided commemorating their military careers on tombstones, and the use of the designation '*veteranus*' by former soldiers in the communities of Roman Egypt is certainly not systematic. Nevertheless, we have a considerable number of military tombstones from many provinces of the empire giving the particular soldier's name, age, length of service and sometimes unit. The inscriptions also often note who erected the inscription: the soldier's heirs, freed or relatives. These individuals chose to be commemorated as soldiers. Frequently, these tombstones carry a rather formulaic depiction of the soldier. ... Military service was for these men a self-defining role. Service differentiated them from barbarians. It made them men.

Being affiliated with the Roman military had an impact on a family's perception of itself, as the soldier's military identity affected all of them. It affected the soldier's parents', and the soldier's descendants' perception of themselves and their family, thus a military identity extended beyond the reaches of the soldier self. This corpus of Latin verse inscriptions highlights the duality between the soldier and his adherence to the social cohesion of the Roman military, and his expression of his own self-identity both within and without the social norms of the Roman military as an institution. Self-identity was encouraged for practical reasons, as soldiers had individual ways of identifying themselves in battle, such as through their shields and their plumes: 'display would have also injected a degree of individuality amongst the mass of soldiery, thus allowing individual acts of bravery to be recognised'.<sup>3400</sup>

A Roman soldier, in the eyes of Rome, was first and foremost a soldier of the Empire; he may have had a secondary, independent, individual identity, manufactured in his mind of his ethnic origins, for example, influenced by the unit he was stationed in, and other factors of the self, but, for the Roman ideal, he was a Roman soldier first and foremost. His individual personality was seldom expressed. The Roman Empire may have viewed him as the paragon of Roman manhood, but, given the lack of overt mentioning of distinctly masculine qualities in these verse inscriptions, this does not appear to have been the case for the Roman soldier himself on an

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<sup>3399</sup> Alston 1998: 218.

<sup>3400</sup> Coulston 2004: 147; Coulston 2013: 20.

individual level, unless his display of his military rank and/or prowess was enough to demonstrate this, which does appear to be the case. Their, eventually, relatively stable lives meant that those within the Roman military had the luxury of creating and composing works of art such as these, both for themselves and for each other. The themes expressed in Latin military verse inscriptions are no different to those seen in Roman literature, Latin poetry. The hope and fear the gods instil and alleviate, the stars and their wonder, death and all its perils, nature and its beauty all feature throughout the famed poetry of Latin literature. Even buildings are admired and nymphs venerated. War is a great theme of Latin poetry. Poetry exceeds the era of life just as much as stone, making its subject as eternal as its written and literal medium. These Latin verse inscriptions demonstrate how the Roman soldier exhibited, understood and displayed his individual identity within the overall institutional life and identity of the Roman military.

These, often, first hand poems, sometimes composed by the soldier himself, offer us a unique insight into their lives, mindsets, hopes, dreams, beliefs, and interpretations of the world around them as well as life beyond it, by those who lived in this military environment in the Roman world. They define the individual soldier and, in doing so, situate him, and those closest to him, within the military lifestyle he had chosen, or had been selected, to lead. The Roman military is often regarded as this crucible of Romanness (i.e. Roman identity expression and acceptance) and of Roman manhood, a condensed, exclusively masculine society that exerted Roman dominance and will upon the rest of the world they had conquered. This study has sought to understand if this is a correct interpretation of the Roman military. In many ways, this was true, with the Roman military carrying out the orders of the Empire, conducting much of imperial bureaucracy, taking Roman civilisation everywhere it trod, and, as such, it spread the customs and language of the Roman world with it, as expressed in the act of epigraphy itself, and poetry. Roman masculinity, honour, *virtus*, *pietas*, were implicit in all those who served in its ranks. These poems of the Roman military are not nation defining texts, but they allow us to have an insight into the way the defenders and perpetuators of the Roman nation defined themselves, and how others defined them. They are individual acts of poetic art, expressing a way in which someone wanted to remember, venerate, honour, thank. These texts are not intended as cultural and society definers; they are markers of an individual act a soldier, and those associated with him, wished to immortalise. The three main categories of inscriptions that have been found from the Roman world are found here (votive, honorific and funerary; see Table 9 and Figure 9.9) and, in correlation with the rest of the epigraphic data we have, the vast majority of these inscriptions are epitaphs. But it is significant to note that nearly all the religious inscriptions were written by soldiers. They are signifiers of individual acts, from which facets of identity, both individual and wider, can be assessed. In many ways, they are individual definers.

What can the Latin verse inscriptions of the Roman military tell us about their identities and lived experience? What can they tell us about ‘the soul of the soldier’,<sup>3401</sup> and of those who inhabited the military sphere with him? They give us an insight into these aspects of life because, in verse inscriptions, the world was not convoluted through poetic metaphor, but expressed more fully, more deeply, through metre, but nevertheless what they describe is literal, tangible, experienced. Perhaps this is due to the nature of the languages themselves: ‘whereas abstract expressions and ideas abound in English, Latin is matter-of-fact and concrete’.<sup>3402</sup> The poetry of those inhabiting the Roman military sphere was as practically minded as they were, focusing on religious acts of veneration or dedication, death and their family. Emotions here,

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<sup>3401</sup> MacMullen 1984: 440.

<sup>3402</sup> Haynes & Collins 1920: 342.

on the whole, were formulaic. The focus of these inscriptions was in remembrance of an event: a victory, an understanding, a person's life. The facets of their identity they express, either implicitly or explicitly, are their origins, their families/relationships, and their pride in being a part of the military. They do this through setting up religious monuments to gods from where they originated, expressing where they were buried in contrast to where they were born, tombstones for their loved ones, and through discussing acts of warfare or, more overtly, simply through expressing their place within the ranks of the Roman military. These inscriptions highlight how significant the military life was to the identity of those who inhabited it. It made their relationship interactions and dynamics unique in comparison to the rest of Roman society. The use of poetry in an inscription was a preference, used by all, soldiers and civilians associated with soldiers alike. But there was a significantly greater proportion of soldiers involved in the creation of verse inscriptions, and of those soldiers, higher and specialised ranks more often used, and therefore appreciated, verse in their inscriptions (Figures 9.1-9.2). Soldiers of all origins feature in these inscriptions, further highlighting the flexibility and adaptiveness of the Roman military. Just as the Romans accepted them, the recruits accepted aspects of the Roman way of life, even down to the act of erecting a Latin verse inscription. Despite this, that a collection of themes emerge from this corpus indicates that there was a universality to the lived experience of those who had a military-influenced life in the Roman world.

They may define themselves as Roman soldiers, but they never define themselves as 'Roman'. In doing so, they embody the apparent 'contradictions' that have been discussed and explored in previous literature when the nature of Roman military identity has been mentioned. They had their identity as a Roman soldier alongside their original identity expressed in their name, specification of where they were born, or of where they were buried. The soldiers of the Roman military 'fitted in' with several of what are perceived now as 'Roman ideas', but may perhaps simply have been part of the ancient worldview, rather than specifically Roman. Few of these inscriptions refer to the military lifestyle itself, as described in the historiographies and epic poems we are more familiar with. The military lifestyle spread them around the Roman world and allowed them to eventually stay near their homes; poetry went with them, as individually selected and used as poetry is regarded now. They do not portray themselves as defenders of the Empire, its representatives against the barbarians they conquered. For most, they were individuals who happened to be members of the Roman military. They identify themselves by the units within which they served, not the Roman military as a holistic institution.<sup>3403</sup> This did shape their identity, how they interacted with the world and those who lived in it, how they perceived themselves and how they wished others to perceive them, for otherwise they would not mention their military associations within their verse inscriptions, which they were conscious would outlive them. There were connotations to being a Roman soldier that implicitly identified them as having those qualities. Perhaps they were proud of the military lifestyle, how it enabled them to prove these qualities simply by being a Roman soldier, or because the military was one of the few stable lives in the Roman world, or because of the privileges a Roman soldier had, both during and after his service, socially, practically and morally. A life in military service not only promoted the social status of the soldier, but also that of his family. Perhaps these all played a part, or there were other, more personal reasons, why a man wished to be remembered as a soldier in the Roman military.

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<sup>3403</sup> See Chapter 2.

The Latin verse inscriptions of the Roman military were, primarily, solely individual acts. To write in verse was an act of self-expression, and its contents were an exhibition of one's morals and character. But the themes both mentioned and not mentioned also create a feeling of overall unity between the units of the Roman military, certainly when it comes to the ideas discussed in their verse inscriptions. Reflecting the practical mindset the Romans were famous for, which perhaps existed throughout the ancient world, the themes are practical in character; their primary aims are not moralistic verses of virtue. Little is war mentioned, the everyday trainings of the soldier, the virility or the virtue of the soldier himself, perhaps because these were already known by wider society and implicit in his role; they did not need to be reiterated. Occasionally, military triumphs are celebrated and the emperor is honoured; these are usually done in celebration of a military victory, and the Emperor is celebrated in his overarching capacity as the leader of the Roman military, not the soldier for the individual part he played in that war. Instead, what is mentioned are the gods they venerated, the workings of the wider world around them, and the individual lives they led and the connections they made during it. We learn about their wishes, their hopes, for themselves and their families. Sometimes, it is pride in their career, hope for ascension through the ranks. Other times, it is pride in the life the soldier lived and the hope he resembled for his family. Other times, the military life was despaired, primarily for the premature loss of the soldier it could cause. This is exhibited in all their inscriptions, whether they were verse epitaphs, veneration of the gods or in honour of the Emperor. The same, underlying message resides in every theme soldiers, and those associated with them, displayed in their verse. They wished to return home, to their military bases, safe, while they lived, and desired to return home, where they were born, when they died, and it is within that dichotomy that the identity of the Roman soldier lies.

Soldiers were, by definition, regardless of age, *iuvenes*, youthful young men, therefore this is why they are referred to as such, whether they were in their late teens or mid-forties when they died. Qualities of the soldier were more often implied than expressed, but what we do learn about them, both overtly expressed and hinted at through implication, they were the beholders of *virtus*, a specific military kind, they were strong, both in mind but especially in body, and they were eternally youthful. A soldier's life immediately bestowed honour, strength and other attributes of admiration onto the men within the camps. What they tell us about Roman masculinity is implied, but crucial: perceptions of the soldier translated onto perceptions of the Roman ideal man, one feeding the other. Masculinity, therefore, may not have been an overarching theme of the lived experience, but it was a predominantly implicit expression of a soldier's identity. The honour this bestowed onto an individual, although referring to the military life (often expressed by the place in which the soldiers lived, the *castra*), always referred to the soldier himself, and not those who inhabited the military sphere with him. Soldiers were, in short, the essence of what many humans desire: to be strong, admired, and, throughout their lifetime, both on active service and in retirement, eternally youthful. They express not only a universal desire of how the Romans wished their men to be perceived and understood, but also of a traditional portrayal of masculinity that is only recently being questioned and transformed, becoming a universal experience of how one wishes to be perceived, and how we evaluate others: to be honourable and noble through the expressions of the strength of one's mind and body, determined through how one lived. As with everything, the Latin verse inscriptions of those affected by a military life in the Roman world highlight that there was nuance to the lives of the individual *caligulae* on the ground.



Table 9: A table showing overall information about the inscriptions investigated in this study

| No.  | Military rank                 | Unit                     | Origin of Writer / Dedicatee | Origin of Soldier | For / By | Monument type | Date                                 | Location                                       | Metre            | Bilingual | Who commissioned the monument <sup>3404</sup>                          |
|------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------|----------|---------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|------------------|-----------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ET.1 | Unknown                       | Unknown                  | Italian?                     | Italian?          | For      | Epitaph       | Second half of the second century AD | Mutina / Moderna, Aemilia / Regio VIII, Italia | Iambic senarii   | N         | Soldier                                                                |
| ET.2 | <i>veteranus ex decurione</i> | Unknown                  | Unknown                      | Unknown           | By       | Epitaph       | AD 131-170                           | <b>Tibiscum</b> / Caransebes, Dacia            | Hexameters       | N         | Soldier                                                                |
| ET.3 | <i>miles</i>                  | <i>Legio VII</i>         | Unknown<br>Galatia           | Galatia           | For / by | Epitaph       | AD 9-42                              | <b>Tilurium</b> / Vojnić, near Trilj, Dalmatia | Iambic senarii   | N         | <i>Frater</i>                                                          |
| ET.4 | <i>eques</i>                  | <i>Legio XI</i>          | Unknown<br>Italian           | Italian           | For / by | Epitaph       | AD 9-42                              | <b>Burnum</b> / Mokro Polje, Dalmatia          | Iambic senarii   | N         | <i>Frater</i>                                                          |
| ET.5 | Unknown                       | Unknown                  | Unknown                      | Unknown           | For      | Epitaph       | Third-fourth centuries AD            | Novi Grad, Dalmatia                            | Hexameters       | N         | Parents                                                                |
| ET.6 | <i>decurionus equitum</i>     | <i>Cohors III Alpina</i> | Unknown                      | Unknown           | For      | Epitaph       | First century AD                     | <b>Salona</b> / Solin, Dalmatia                | Elegiac couplets | N         | Wife                                                                   |
| ET.7 | Unknown                       | <i>Classis Ravenna</i>   | Dalmatian                    | Dalmatian         | For      | Epitaph       | Third century AD                     | Dabricam / Travnik, Dalmatia                   | Hexameters       | N         | Unknown / family member                                                |
| ET.8 | <i>miles</i>                  | <i>Legio VII</i>         | Cicilia                      | Cicilia           | For      | Epitaph       | AD 9-42                              | <b>Tilurium</b> / Vojnić, near Trilj, Dalmatia | Iambic senarii   | N         | Freedman                                                               |
| ET.9 | <i>miles</i>                  | <i>Legio VII</i>         | Asia Minor                   | Asia Minor        | For      | Epitaph       | AD 6-42                              | <b>Tilurium</b> / Vojnić, near Trilj, Dalmatia | Elegiac couplets | N         | Friend / partner? / comrade<br>Freedman of friend / partner? / comrade |

<sup>3404</sup> In relation to the soldier. Soldier = the soldier himself (if there was more than one soldier involved, this has been indicated in the table).

|       |                                                                       |                                         |                        |                       |     |         |                                    |                                                               |                     |   |                         |
|-------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|-----|---------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|---|-------------------------|
| ET.10 | <i>veteranus</i>                                                      | <i>Legio V Gallica</i>                  | Italian                | Italian               | For | Epitaph | c. 25 - 1 BC                       | Antiochia Pisidiae / Yalvac, Galatia                          | Trochaic septenarii | N | <i>Frater</i> / brother |
| ET.11 | <i>veteranus ex beneficiario consularis equestria militia petitor</i> | Unknown                                 | Unknown                | Unknown               | For | Epitaph | Third century AD                   | Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium Cologne, Germania Inferior | Trochaic            | N | Wife                    |
|       |                                                                       |                                         |                        |                       |     |         |                                    |                                                               |                     |   | Son                     |
| ET.12 | <i>miles</i>                                                          | <i>Legio V</i>                          | Italian                | Italian               | For | Epitaph | AD 10-69                           | Colonia Ulpia Traiana / Xanten, Germania Inferior             | Hexameters          | N | <i>Frater</i> / brother |
| ET.13 | <i>legatus legionis</i>                                               | <i>Legio XII Primigenia Pia Fidelis</i> | Unknown                | Unknown               | By? | Epitaph | AD 157-159                         | <b>Mogontiacum</b> / Mainz, Germania Superior                 | Iambic senarii      | N | Soldier (contributed)   |
| ET.14 | <i>miles</i>                                                          | <i>Legio VI Ferrata</i>                 | Hispania Tarraconensis | Hispania Tarrconensis | For | Epitaph | AD 71-100                          | Tortosa / Dertosa, Hispania Tarraconensis                     | Elegiac couplets    | N | Mother                  |
| ET.15 | <i>veteranus</i>                                                      | <i>Cohors X Praetoria</i>               | Italian?               | Italian?              | For | Epitaph | Second century AD                  | Puteoli / Pozzuoli, Italia                                    | Hendecasyllables    | N | Soldier                 |
| ET.16 | <i>miles praetorianus</i>                                             | Praetorian Guard                        | Unknown                | Unknown               | By  | Epitaph | Third century AD                   | Comakovci / Chomakovtsi, Moesia Inferior                      | Iambic senarii      | N | Soldier                 |
| ET.17 | <i>veteranus</i>                                                      | <i>Legio XI Claudia</i>                 | Unknown                | Unknown               | For | Epitaph | Third-fourth centuries AD          | Tomis / Constanta, Moesia Inferior                            | Iambic senarii      | N | Unknown / family member |
|       | <i>Centurio</i>                                                       |                                         |                        |                       |     |         |                                    |                                                               |                     |   | Heir / freedman?        |
| ET.18 | <i>bucinator</i>                                                      | <i>Cohors Mattiacorum</i>               | Unknown                | Unknown               | For | Epitaph | First half of the third century AD | Nicopolis ad Istrum / Obedinenie, Moesia Inferior             | Iambic septenarius  | N | <i>Frater</i> / brother |
|       |                                                                       |                                         |                        |                       |     |         |                                    |                                                               |                     |   | Mother                  |
| ET.19 | <i>veteranus</i>                                                      | <i>Legio XI Claudia</i>                 | Unknown                | Unknown               | For | Epitaph | Second century AD                  | Reselets, Moesia Inferior                                     | Hexameter?          | N | Soldier                 |
| ET.20 | <i>beneficiarius</i>                                                  | Unknown                                 | Unknown                | Unknown               | By  | Epitaph | AD 151-300                         | <b>Viminacium</b> / Kostolac,                                 | Hexameters          | N | Soldier                 |

|       |                            |                                     |                                |                     |     |         |                                                |                                                                   |                                            |   |                         |
|-------|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------|-----|---------|------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|---|-------------------------|
|       |                            |                                     |                                |                     |     |         |                                                | Moesia Superior                                                   |                                            |   |                         |
| ET.21 | hydraularius<br>salararius | Legio II<br>Adiutrix                | Pannonia?                      | Pannonia?           | By  | Epitaph | First half<br>of the<br>third<br>century<br>AD | Aquincum /<br>Budapest,<br>Pannonia<br>Inferior                   | Hexameters,<br>final elegiac<br>pentameter | N | Soldier                 |
| ET.22 | veteranus                  | Legio XV<br>Apollinaris             | Italian                        | Italian             | For | Epitaph | AD 39-63                                       | Carnuntum /<br>Bad-Deutsch-<br>Altenburg,<br>Pannonia<br>Superior | Elegiac couplets                           | N | Freedwoman /<br>partner |
| ET.23 | frumentarius               | Legio X<br>Gemina                   | Unknown /<br>Greek?            | Unknown /<br>Greek? | By  | Epitaph | Third<br>century<br>AD                         | Carnuntum /<br>Bad-Deutsch-<br>Altenburg,<br>Pannonia<br>Superior | Trochaics,<br>iambics                      | N | Soldier                 |
| ET.24 | miles                      | Legio I<br>Adiutrix                 | Unknown                        | Unknown             | For | Epitaph | First half<br>of the<br>third<br>century<br>AD | Brigetio /<br>Komarom,<br>Pannonia<br>Superior                    | Hexameter                                  | N | Daughter                |
|       |                            |                                     |                                |                     |     |         |                                                |                                                                   |                                            |   | Sister                  |
| ET.25 | tubicen                    | Legio XV<br>Apollinaris             | Unknown                        | Unknown             | For | Epitaph | AD 39-56                                       | Carnuntum /<br>Petronell-<br>Carnuntum,<br>Pannonia<br>Superior   | Elegiac couplets                           | N | Unknown                 |
|       | miles                      |                                     |                                |                     |     |         |                                                |                                                                   | Final elegiac<br>pentameter                |   |                         |
| ET.26 | miles                      | Cohors I<br>Praetoria               | Danubian                       | Danubian            | For | Epitaph | First half<br>of the<br>third<br>century<br>AD | Carnuntum /<br>Petronell-<br>Carnuntum,<br>Pannonia<br>Superior   | Elegiac couplets                           | N | Sister                  |
|       | evocatus                   |                                     |                                |                     |     |         |                                                |                                                                   | Final elegiac<br>pentameter                |   | Daughter                |
| ET.27 | miles                      | Legio XV<br>Apollinaris             | Germany /<br>western<br>Empire | Unknown             | By  | Epitaph | AD 71-<br>114                                  | Carnuntum /<br>Petronell-<br>Carnuntum,<br>Pannonia<br>Superior   | Iambic / trochaic<br>rhythm                | N | Soldier                 |
|       |                            |                                     | Unknown                        |                     |     |         |                                                |                                                                   |                                            |   |                         |
| ET.28 | tribunus<br>militium       | Legio II<br>Adiutrix Pia<br>Fidelis | Unknown                        | Unknown             | For | Epitaph | AD 193-<br>195                                 | Rome, Italia                                                      | Hexameters                                 | Y | Friends                 |
|       |                            |                                     |                                |                     |     |         |                                                |                                                                   |                                            |   | Unknown                 |
| ET.29 |                            |                                     | Italian                        | Italian             | For | Epitaph |                                                |                                                                   |                                            | N | Frater / brother        |

|              |                                |                                             |                    |                    |     |         |                                     |                                                |                                                                |   |                  |
|--------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----|---------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|---|------------------|
|              | <i>speculator in praetorio</i> | Praetorian Guard                            |                    |                    |     |         | First half of the first century AD  | Forum Sempronii / Fossombrone, Italia          | Dactylic elegiacs / dactylic hexameter with the odd elegiac in |   | Sister-in-law    |
| <b>ET.30</b> | <i>classicus miles</i>         | Unknown                                     | Unknown / Italian? | Unknown / Italian? | For | Epitaph | AD 1-70                             | Aquileia, Venetia et Histria / Regio X, Italia | Hexameters                                                     | N | Son              |
| <b>ET.31</b> | <i>venator</i>                 | Unknown                                     | Italian?           | Italian?           | For | Epitaph | End of the second-third century AD  | Verona, Venetia et Histria / Regio X, Italia   | Elegiac couplets                                               | N | Parents          |
| <b>ET.32</b> | <i>miles</i>                   | <i>Cohors II Praetoria</i>                  | Unknown            | Unknown            | By  | Epitaph | AD 29-50                            | <b>Rome</b> , Italia                           | Elegiac couplets                                               | N | Soldier          |
| <b>ET.33</b> | <i>miles</i>                   | <i>Cohors VIII Praetoria</i>                | Unknown            | Italian            | For | Epitaph | Second half of the first century AD | Nola / Napoli, Italia                          | Iambic senarii                                                 | N | Unknown          |
|              |                                |                                             | Italian            |                    |     |         |                                     |                                                |                                                                |   |                  |
| <b>ET.34</b> | <i>miles</i>                   | <i>Legio II Parthica</i>                    | Italian?           | Italian?           | For | Epitaph | AD 197-300                          | Mediolanum / Milan, Italia                     | Hexameter                                                      | N | Mother           |
| <b>ET.35</b> | <i>curator</i>                 | <i>Equites singulares, turma Herodis</i>    | Dacian             | Dacian             | For | Epitaph | AD 193-300                          | <b>Rome</b> , Italia                           | Pentameter                                                     | N | Comrade          |
|              | Unknown                        | <i>Ala Gallorum</i>                         |                    |                    |     |         |                                     |                                                |                                                                |   | Freedman         |
|              | Unknown                        | <i>Equites singulares, turma Rufinianus</i> | Unknown            | Unknown            | By  |         |                                     |                                                |                                                                |   |                  |
| <b>ET.36</b> | <i>veteranus</i>               | <i>Equites singulares, turma Emeriti</i>    | Boian / Pannonian  | Boian / Pannonian  | For | Epitaph | AD 193-300                          | <b>Rome</b> , Italia                           | Pentameter                                                     | N | Father / heir    |
|              |                                | <i>Ala I Thracum</i>                        |                    |                    |     |         |                                     |                                                |                                                                |   | Heirs / friends? |
|              | <i>veteranus</i>               | <i>Equites singulares</i>                   | Unknown            | Unknown            | By  |         |                                     |                                                |                                                                |   | Comrade?         |
| <b>ET.37</b> | Unknown                        | Unknown                                     | Italian            | Italian            | For | Epitaph | AD 150-170                          | Nepet Etruria / Nepi, Italia                   | Hexameter? / <i>commaticum</i>                                 | N | Father           |

|       |                   |                                        |                        |                        |          |         |                                    |                                                        |                     |   |                                |
|-------|-------------------|----------------------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|----------|---------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|---|--------------------------------|
| ET.38 | tribunus          | Unknown                                | Unknown                | Unknown                | Mentions | Epitaph | AD 20-50                           | Rome, Italia                                           | Hexameters          | N | Wife of freedman father        |
|       |                   |                                        | Italian                |                        |          |         |                                    |                                                        |                     |   | Patron of freedman father      |
| ET.39 | ensor aedificorum | Unknown                                | Gallia Narbonensis     | Gallia Narbonensis     | For      | Epitaph | AD 117-183                         | Rome, Italia                                           | Hexameters          | N | Parents (father was a soldier) |
|       | accensus velatus  |                                        |                        |                        | By       |         |                                    |                                                        |                     |   |                                |
| ET.40 | veteranus?        | Unknown                                | African?               | African?               | For      | Epitaph | Second century AD                  | Colonia Flavia Cillium / Tunisia, Africa Proconsularis | Hexameter           | N | Son                            |
|       | Unknown           |                                        |                        |                        |          |         |                                    |                                                        | Elegiac couplets    |   | Brother                        |
| ET.41 | miles             | Legio IIII Macedonica, centuria Munati | Hiapania Tarraconensis | Hispania Tarraconensis | For      | Epitaph | AD 42-70                           | Mogontiacum / Mainz, Germania Superior                 | Hexameter           | N | Comrade / heir                 |
|       | miles             | Legio IIII Macedonica, centuria Iuli   |                        |                        |          |         |                                    |                                                        |                     |   |                                |
| ET.42 | miles             | Legio II Augusta                       | Gallia Narbonensis     | Gallia Narbonensis     | For      | Epitaph | First century AD (pre-AD 43)       | Mogontiacum / Mainz, Germania Superior                 | Elegiac couplets    | N | Comrade / heir                 |
|       |                   |                                        | Unknown                |                        |          |         |                                    |                                                        |                     |   |                                |
| ET.43 | miles? tiro?      | Unknown                                | Hispania Citerior      | Hispania Citerior      | For      | Epitaph | First half of the first century AD | Saguntum / Sagunto, Hispania Citerior                  | Elegiac couplets    | N | Parents?                       |
| ET.44 | tribunus militum  | Legio VII Gemina Pia Felix Antoniniana | Spanish                | Spanish                | For      | Epitaph | AD 211-222                         | Terraco / Terragona, Hispania Citerior                 | Trochaic septenarii | N | Father-in-law / heir           |
| ET.45 | Unknown (eques)   | Unknown                                | Unknown                | Unknown                | By       | Epitaph | Third century AD                   | Auzia / Sour El-Ghozlane, Mauretania Caesariensis      | Commaticum / iambic | N | Soldier                        |
| ET.46 | miles             | Legio III Augusta                      | African / Punic        | African / Punic        | By       | Epitaph | Third century AD                   | Guigba / El Guigba, Numidia                            | Pentameter          | N | Soldier                        |
|       |                   |                                        |                        |                        |          |         |                                    |                                                        |                     |   | Brother                        |
| ET.47 | veteranus         | Unknown                                | African?               | African?               | By       | Epitaph | Third century AD                   | Lambaesis, Numidia                                     | Elegiac couplets    | N | Soldier                        |
|       |                   |                                        | Unknown                |                        |          |         |                                    |                                                        |                     |   |                                |

|              |                       |                            |                   |                   |         |         |                                                 |                                                             |                     |   |                                         |
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| <b>ET.48</b> | <i>lixa</i>           | Unknown                    | Italian           | Italian           | For     | Epitaph | Second half of the first century AD             | <b>Carnuntum</b> / Bad-Deutsch-Altenburg, Pannonia Superior | Elegiac couplets    | N | Siblings / brothers                     |
| <b>ET.49</b> | Unknown               | <i>Legio XXX</i>           | Italian?          | Italian?          | For     | Epitaph | 30 BC-AD 14                                     | Beneventum / Benevento, Italia                              | Iambic senarii      | N | Unknown                                 |
| <b>ET.50</b> | <i>veteranus</i>      | Unknown                    | Italian           | Italian           | By      | Epitaph | First century AD                                | Mactaris / Mactar, Africa Proconsularis                     | Dactyls and iambic  | N | Soldier                                 |
| <b>ET.51</b> | N/A                   | N/A                        | Spanish           | Unknown           | Unknown | Epitaph | First half of the first century AD (prose)      | Caesarea / Cherchell, Mauretania Caesariensis               | Hexameters          | N | Soldier?                                |
|              | <i>veteranus</i>      | Unknown                    | Unknown           |                   |         |         | Fourth-fifth century AD (verse)                 |                                                             |                     |   |                                         |
| <b>ET.52</b> | <i>decurio</i>        | <i>Cohors II Brittonum</i> | Unknown           | Unknown           | For     | Epitaph | First half of the second century AD?            | Thanaramusa / Berrouaghia, Mauretania Caesariensis          | Iambic? Uncertain   | N | Unknown                                 |
| <b>ET.53</b> | <i>miles</i>          | <i>Legio VII</i>           | Asia Minor        | Asia Minor        | For     | Epitaph | AD 1-41                                         | <b>Tilurium</b> / Vojnić, near Trilj, Dalmatia              | Dactylic / trochaic | N | Sibling / brother                       |
| <b>ET.54</b> | <i>Classis</i>        | <i>Classis Ravenna</i>     | Unknown           | Unknown           | By      | Epitaph | Unknown                                         | <b>Ravenna</b> , Italia                                     | Iambic senarii      | N | Soldier<br>Wife? / freedwoman / partner |
| <b>ET.55</b> | Unknown               | Unknown                    | Unknown           | Unknown           | For     | Epitaph | 138-160 AD / first half of the third century AD | Testour / Tichillia, Africa Proconsularis                   | Hexameter           | N | Father                                  |
| <b>ET.56</b> | <i>commanipularis</i> | Unknown                    | Unknown / German? | Unknown / German? | By      | Epitaph | Second century AD                               | <b>Mogontiacum</b> / Mainz, Germania Superior               | Elegiac couplets    | N | Comrade                                 |

|       |                                |                                |                                   |                                   |     |         |                                                                              |                                                   |                            |   |                               |
|-------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----|---------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|----------------------------|---|-------------------------------|
| ET.57 | <i>architectus navalis</i>     | Unknown                        | Unknown                           | Unknown                           | By  | Epitaph | First century BC                                                             | Minturnae / Minturno, Italia                      | Iambic                     | N | Unknown                       |
| ET.58 | <i>sesquiplicarius classis</i> | Unknown                        | Unknown                           | Unknown                           | By  | Epitaph | Second century AD                                                            | Caesarea / Charchell, Mauretania Caesariensis     | Hexameters                 | N | Soldier                       |
|       |                                |                                | Mauretania Caesariensis           |                                   |     |         |                                                                              |                                                   |                            |   |                               |
| ET.59 | Unknown                        | Unknown                        | Mauretania Caesariensis / unknown | Mauretania Caesariensis / unknown | For | Epitaph | Third-fourth centuries AD                                                    | Auzia / Sour El-Ghozlane, Mauretania Caesariensis | Hexameters                 | N | Brother-in-law                |
|       |                                |                                |                                   |                                   |     |         |                                                                              |                                                   |                            |   | Sister                        |
| ET.60 | N/A                            | N/A                            | Unknown                           | Unknown                           | N/A | Epitaph | Second century AD                                                            | Firmum Picenum / Fermo, Italia                    | Phalician hendecasyllables | N | Father (of hoped for soldier) |
| ET.61 | Unknown                        | Praetorian Guard               | Unknown / Italian?                | Unknown / Italian?                | For | Epitaph | First half of the second century AD                                          | <b>Rome</b> , Italia                              | Iambic senarii             | N | Mother                        |
| ET.62 | Unknown                        | Unknown                        | Unknown / Italian?                | Unknown / Italian?                | For | Epitaph | AD 71-100                                                                    | <b>Rome</b> , Italia                              | Elegiac couplets           | N | Father                        |
| ET.63 | <i>centurio</i>                | <i>Legio XXX Ulpia Victrix</i> | Italian?                          | Italian?                          | For | Epitaph | AD 161-200                                                                   | Augusta Taurinorum / Torino, Italia               | Iambic senarii             | N | Parents                       |
|       | <i>Veteranus</i>               |                                |                                   |                                   |     |         |                                                                              |                                                   |                            |   |                               |
| ET.64 | <i>miles</i>                   | <i>Legio XI</i>                | Italian                           | Italian                           | For | Epitaph | AD 9-42                                                                      | <b>Burnum</b> / Ivoševci, Dalmatia                | Elegiac couplets           | N | <i>Frater</i>                 |
| ET.65 | <i>eques</i>                   | <i>Ala Vocontiorum</i>         | Unknown                           | Unknown                           | For | Epitaph | Second half of the second century AD                                         | Colonia Ulpia Traiana / Xanten, Germania Inferior | Elegiac couplets           | N | Sister                        |
| ET.66 | <i>veteranus</i>               | <i>Legio XV Apollinaris</i>    | Pannonia?                         | Pannonia?                         | For | Epitaph | First half of the first century AD / second half of the first century to the | Scarbantia / Sopron, Pannonia Superior            | Elegiac couplets           | N | Freedwoman / wife             |

|              |                             |                                      |                    |                    |         |         |                                                                                    |                                               |            |   |                           |
|--------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|---------|---------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|------------|---|---------------------------|
|              |                             |                                      |                    |                    |         |         | beginning of the second century AD                                                 |                                               |            |   |                           |
| <b>ET.67</b> | <i>signifer</i>             | <i>Cohors XIII</i>                   | Italian            | Italian            | For, by | Epitaph | Second half of the first century BC-first half of the first century AD / AD 69-150 | <b>Rome</b> , Italia                          | Hexameters | N | Comrade / friend / heir   |
| <b>ET.68</b> | <i>veteranus</i>            | <i>Cohors X Praetoria</i>            | Unknown / Italian? | Unknown / Italian? | For     | Epitaph | AD 51-150                                                                          | Sarsina / Sassina, Italia                     | Hexameters | N | Wife                      |
| <b>ET.69</b> | <i>veteranus ex optione</i> | <i>Legio III Augusta</i>             | African / Numidian | African / Numidian | For     | Epitaph | Second or the third century AD / beginning of the third century AD                 | <b>Lambaesis</b> , Numidia                    | Hexameters | N | Soldier (both soldiers)   |
|              | <i>veteranus</i>            | Unknown                              | Unknown            | Unknown            | By      |         |                                                                                    |                                               |            |   |                           |
| <b>ET.70</b> | <i>miles</i>                | <i>Cohors VIII Praetoria</i>         | Italian            | Italian            | For     | Epitaph | Second century AD                                                                  | Hadria? / Cerchiara, Italia                   | Iambic     | N | Father                    |
|              | <i>speculator</i>           |                                      |                    |                    |         |         |                                                                                    |                                               |            |   |                           |
| <b>ET.71</b> | <i>centurio</i>             | Unknown                              | Italian?           | Italian?           | For     | Epitaph | 50 BC-AD 30                                                                        | Corduba / Cordoba, Baetica                    | Hexameter  | N | Unknown                   |
| <b>ET.72</b> | <i>centurio</i>             | <i>Legio VIII Augusta</i>            | Italian?           | Italian?           | For, by | Epitaph | AD 9-45                                                                            | <b>Poetovio</b> / Ptuj, Pannonia Superior     | Pentameter | N | <i>Frater</i> / colleague |
| <b>ET.73</b> | <i>miles</i>                | <i>Cohors miliariae novae Suorum</i> | Syrian?            | Syrian?            | For     | Epitaph | AD 222-235                                                                         | <b>Aquincum</b> / Budapest, Pannonia Inferior | Hexameter  | N | Mother                    |
|              |                             |                                      |                    |                    |         |         |                                                                                    |                                               |            |   | Sister                    |
| <b>ET.74</b> | <i>tribunus</i>             | Unknown                              | Unknown            | Unknown            | For     | Epitaph | First half of the third century AD                                                 | Raphia / Rafa, Palestina                      | Hexameter  | N | Grandson                  |
|              |                             |                                      |                    |                    |         |         |                                                                                    |                                               |            |   | Comrades                  |



|              |                                |                                   |                     |                  |          |         |                                     |                                                   |                          |   |                                                        |
|--------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------|------------------|----------|---------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|---|--------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>ET.75</b> | Unknown                        | <i>Cohors Surorum</i>             | Unknown             | Unknown          | By       | Epitaph | First half of the first century AD  | <b>Mogontiacum</b> / Mainz, Germania Superior     | Hexameter and pentameter | N | Soldier                                                |
| <b>LL.1</b>  | <i>veteranus</i>               | <i>Legio VII Gemina</i>           | Spanish?            | Spanish          | For      | Epitaph | AD 201-230                          | Terraco / Terragona, Hispania Citerior            | Hexameter                | N | Wife                                                   |
| <b>LL.2</b>  | <i>beneficarius legati</i>     | <i>Legio IIII Flavia</i>          | Moesia Superior?    | Moesia Superior? | By       | Epitaph | AD 151-300                          | <b>Viminacium</b> / Kostolac, Moesia Superior     | Hexameter                | N | Soldier                                                |
| <b>LL.3</b>  | <i>miles</i>                   | <i>Cohors X Urbana</i>            | Italian             | Italian          | For      | Epitaph | First half of the second century AD | Saepinum / Saepino, Samnium / Regio IV, Italia    | Iambic octonarius        | N | Parents                                                |
| <b>LL.4</b>  | <i>beneficarius consularis</i> | <i>Ala I Thracum</i>              | Pannonian, Thracian | Pannonian        | By       | Epitaph | Second half of the third century AD | <b>Campona</b> / Nagytetyen, Pannonia Inferior    | Hexameter                | N | Soldier                                                |
|              |                                |                                   |                     |                  |          |         |                                     |                                                   |                          |   | Father (of the deceased)                               |
| <b>LL.5</b>  | <i>decurio</i>                 | <i>Ala I Thracum</i>              | Pannonian           | Pannonian        | By       | Epitaph | First half of the second century AD | <b>Gorsium</b> / Szabadbattyán, Pannonia Inferior | Hexameter                | N | Soldier                                                |
|              |                                |                                   |                     |                  |          |         |                                     |                                                   |                          |   | Wife                                                   |
| <b>LL.6</b>  | <i>centurio</i>                | Unspecified legion                | Pannonian?          | Pannonian?       | By       | Epitaph | Third century AD                    | via Appia, <b>Rome</b> , Italia                   | Hexameter                | N | Soldier                                                |
|              |                                | <i>Equites singulares Augusti</i> |                     |                  |          |         |                                     |                                                   |                          |   | Wife                                                   |
| <b>LL.7</b>  | Unknown / <i>miles</i>         | <i>Equites singulares Augusti</i> | Pannonian           | Pannonian        | For / by | Epitaph | Third century AD                    | <b>Rome</b> , Italia                              | Hexameter                | N | Heirs / comrades                                       |
| <b>RI.1</b>  | Unknown                        | Unknown                           | Italian             | Italian          | By       | Votive  | Early first century AD              | Mount Erice, Sicilia                              | Hexameter                | N | Unknown / father / son (aka. soldier)                  |
|              |                                |                                   |                     |                  |          |         |                                     |                                                   | Elegiac couplets         |   |                                                        |
| <b>RI.2</b>  | <i>legatus legionis</i>        | <i>Legio III Augusta</i>          | Dalmatian?          | Dalmatian?       | By?      | Votive  | Late second century AD              | <b>Lambaesis</b> , Numidia                        | Elegiac couplets         | N | Soldier (who had two children; his partner is unknown) |
|              |                                |                                   |                     |                  |          |         |                                     |                                                   | Iambic trimetres         |   |                                                        |

|              |                                     |                                        |                                  |                                  |          |        |                                          |                                                  |                           |   |                     |
|--------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------|--------|------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|---|---------------------|
| <b>RI.3</b>  | <i>legatus Augusti pro praetore</i> | Unknown                                | Italian                          | Italian                          | By       | Votive | Early third century AD                   | <b>Bonna</b> / Bonn, Germania Inferior           | Iambic senarii            | N | Soldier             |
| <b>RI.4</b>  | <i>praefectus cohortis</i>          | <i>Cohors I Chalcidenorum equitata</i> | Syrian?                          | Syrian?                          | By       | Votive | AD 160s                                  | <b>Bir Umm Ali</b> / Bir Oum Ali, Numidia        | Elegiac couplet           | N | Soldier             |
| <b>RI.5</b>  | <i>optio</i>                        | Unknown                                | Italian?                         | Italian?                         | By       | Votive | First century AD                         | Novaria / Novara, Transpadana / Regio XI, Italia | Hexameters                | N | Son of <i>optio</i> |
| <b>RI.6</b>  | <i>cornicularius</i>                | <i>Legio IX Hispana</i>                | Unknown                          | Unknown                          | By       | Votive | Mid first of the early second century AD | <b>Eboracum</b> / York, Britannia                | Iambic senarii            | N | Soldier             |
| <b>RI.7</b>  | <i>singularis consularis</i>        | Unknown auxiliary unit                 | Germanic / Pannonian / Danubian? | Germanic / Pannonian / Danubian? | By       | Votive | Second century AD                        | <b>Cataractonium</b> / Catterick, Britannia      | Iambic senarii            | N | Soldier             |
|              | <i>beneficiarius consularis</i>     | Unknown                                | Unknown                          | Unknown                          |          |        |                                          |                                                  |                           |   | Soldier             |
| <b>RI.8</b>  | <i>primus pilus</i>                 | Unknown                                | Unknown                          | Unknown                          | By       | Votive | Beginning of the second century AD       | Aquae Flaviae / El-Hamma, Numidia                | Iambic senarius           | N | Soldier             |
| <b>RI.9</b>  | <i>miles</i>                        | Unknown                                | Unknown                          | Unknown                          | By       | Votive | Second to third centuries AD             | <b>Habitancum</b> / Risingham, Britannia         | Hexameter couplet         | N | Soldier?            |
| <b>RI.10</b> | <i>praefectus castris</i>           | <i>Legio III Augusta</i>               | Unknown                          | Unknown                          | By       | Votive | Third century AD                         | <b>Lambaesis</b> , Numidia                       | Stress accent (not metre) | N | Soldier             |
| <b>RI.11</b> | <i>praefectus Aegypti</i>           |                                        | Unknown                          | Unknown                          | For / by | Votive | AD 92                                    | <b>Thebes</b> / Luxor, Aegyptus                  | Latin prose               | Y | Soldier (both)      |
|              | <i>praefectus cohortis</i>          | <i>Cohors II Thebaeorum</i>            | Unknown                          | Unknown                          | For / by |        |                                          |                                                  | Greek distichs            |   |                     |
| <b>RI.12</b> | <i>praefectus alae</i>              | <i>Ala veterana Gallica</i>            | Unknown                          | Unknown                          | By       | Votive | AD 117-138                               | <b>Thebes</b> / Luxor, Aegyptus                  | Hexameter                 | N | Soldier             |
|              | <i>praefectus Berenice</i>          |                                        |                                  |                                  |          |        |                                          |                                                  |                           |   |                     |
| <b>RI.13</b> | <i>legatus legionis</i>             |                                        | Libyan                           | Libyan                           | By       | Votive |                                          |                                                  | Hexameter                 | N | Soldier             |

|              |                                                                                                      |                                                                                                 |                                    |                                    |                            |           |                        |                                                                         |                                                          |   |                 |
|--------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------|------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|---|-----------------|
|              |                                                                                                      | <i>Legio VII Gemina Felix</i>                                                                   |                                    |                                    |                            |           | AD 162-166             | <b>Legio</b> / Leon, Hispania Tarraconensis                             | Iambic trimetres<br>Iambic dimetres<br>Trochaic senarius |   |                 |
| <b>RI.14</b> | <i>centurio</i>                                                                                      | <i>Legio III Augusta</i><br>unknown <i>numerus</i>                                              | African                            | African                            | By                         | Honorific | AD 222                 | <b>Gholaia</b> / Bu Njem, Numidia                                       | Hexameter                                                | N | Soldier         |
| <b>RI.15</b> | N/A                                                                                                  | N/A                                                                                             | Unknown                            | N/A                                | For                        | Honorific | AD 150-160             | <b>Rome</b> , Italia                                                    | Elegiac couplets                                         | N | Unknown         |
| <b>RI.16</b> | <i>eques</i>                                                                                         | <i>Ala Vocontiorum, turma Maturus</i>                                                           | Thracian                           | Thracian                           | By                         | Honorific | AD 98-117              | <b>Krokodilo</b> / Al-Muwayh, Aegyptus                                  | Iambic senarius                                          | N | Soldier         |
| <b>RI.17</b> | <i>praefectus Berenice?</i>                                                                          | Unknown                                                                                         | Alexandrian                        | Alexandrian                        | By                         | Honorific | AD 117-138             | <b>Thebes</b> / Luxor, Aegyptus                                         | Greek prose<br>Latin iambic senarius                     | Y | Soldier         |
| <b>RI.18</b> | <i>legatus Augusti pro praetore</i><br><i>legatus legionis</i><br><i>primus pilus</i><br><i>tiro</i> | <i>Legio I Italica Severiana</i><br><i>Legio I Italica Severiana</i><br><i>Legio I Adiutrix</i> | Unknown<br>Tripolitania<br>Noricum | Unknown<br>Tripolitania<br>Noricum | For / by<br>For / by<br>By | Votive    | AD 227                 | <b>Novae</b> / Swischtow, Moesia Inferior                               | Hexameter                                                | N | Soldier (all)   |
| <b>AI.1</b>  | <i>trierarchus</i>                                                                                   | <i>Classis praetoriae Misenatium</i>                                                            | Italian?<br>Unknown                | Italian?                           | By                         | Epitaph   | Post AD 71             | Stabiae / Castellammare di Stabia, Latium et Campania / Regio I, Italia | Hexameter                                                | N | Soldier<br>Wife |
| <b>AI.2</b>  | <i>miles</i>                                                                                         | Unknown                                                                                         | Italian                            | Italian                            | For                        | Epitaph   | Late first century AD? | Interamna Nahars / Stroncone, Umbria / Regio VI, Italia                 | Hexameter                                                | N | Parents         |
| <b>AI.3</b>  | <i>centurio</i>                                                                                      | <i>Legio III Augusta</i>                                                                        | Italian?                           | Italian?                           | By                         | Votive    | AD 202/203             | <b>Gholaia</b> / Bu Njem, Numidia                                       | Iambic senarii                                           | N | Soldier         |
| <b>AI.4</b>  | <i>primus pilus</i>                                                                                  | <i>Legio XVI</i>                                                                                | Italian                            | Italian                            | By                         | Honorific | 2 BC-AD 2              | Acerrae / Acerra, Latium et Campania / Regio I, Italia                  | Iambic                                                   | N | Soldier         |

|              |                                   |                                              |                      |                      |         |           |                                               |                                                          |                              |   |                                        |
|--------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---------|-----------|-----------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|---|----------------------------------------|
| <b>AI.5</b>  | <i>aquilifer</i>                  | <i>Legio IX Gemina</i>                       | Italian              | Italian              | By?     | Epitaph   | AD 43-61/62                                   | <b>Viroconium</b> / Worxeter, Britannia                  | Hexameter                    | N | Soldier?                               |
| <b>AI.6</b>  | N/A                               | N/A                                          | Italian / servile?   | N/A                  | For     | Honorific | AD 211                                        | <b>Rome</b> , Italia                                     | Iambic senarii<br>Hexameter  | N | <i>Corpus Piscatorum et Urinatorum</i> |
| <b>AI.7</b>  | <i>tribunus in praefecto</i>      | <i>Cohors I Hamiorum Sagittiorum Syriaca</i> | African              | African              | By      | Votive    | Severan                                       | <b>Magnis</b> / Carvoran, Britannia                      | Iambic senarii               | N | Soldier                                |
| <b>AI.8</b>  | <i>miles</i>                      | Unknown                                      | African              | African              | For     | Epitaph   | AD 117-161                                    | Portus / Fiumicino, Latium et Campania / Regio I, Italia | Hexameter                    | N | Parents                                |
| <b>AI.9</b>  | <i>tribunus</i>                   | Unknown                                      | African?             | African?             | By      | Epitaph   | Third century AD                              | <b>Lambaesis</b> , Numidia                               | Iambic senarii               | N | Soldier                                |
| <b>AI.10</b> | Unknown                           | Unknown                                      | Unknown              | Unknown              | By      | Epitaph   | Unknown                                       | Thugga / Dougga, Africa Proconsularis                    | Iambic senarii               | N | Unknown                                |
| <b>NW.1</b>  | <i>centurio</i>                   | Praetorian Guard                             | Italian              | Italian              | For, by | Epitaph   | AD 168-193                                    | Aquileia, Venetia et Histria / Regio X, Italia           | Elegiac couplets             | N | <i>Frater</i> / brother                |
| <b>NW.2</b>  | <i>beneficiarius praefectorum</i> | <i>Legio VII Claudia</i>                     | Moesia Superior      | Moesia Superior      | For     | Epitaph   | Late first century AD                         | <b>Mogontiacum</b> / Mainz, Germania Superior            | Dactylic hexameter           | N | Cousin / heir                          |
|              | <i>centurio</i>                   | Praetorian Guard                             |                      |                      |         |           |                                               |                                                          |                              |   |                                        |
| <b>NW.3</b>  | <i>speculator</i>                 | <i>Legio I Germanica</i>                     | Unknown              | Africa Proconsularis | For     | Epitaph   | Late first century BC - late first century AD | Kasra / Chusira, Africa Proconsularis                    | Hexameter                    | N | Wife                                   |
|              | <i>cornicularius</i>              |                                              | Africa Proconsularis |                      |         |           |                                               |                                                          |                              |   |                                        |
|              | <i>centurio</i>                   |                                              |                      |                      |         |           |                                               |                                                          |                              |   |                                        |
| <b>NW.4</b>  | <i>tribunus angusticlavius</i>    | <i>Legio II Adiutrix</i>                     | Palestina            | Palestina            | For     | Epitaph   | Late second-early third centuries AD          | <b>Aquincum</b> / Budapest, Pannonia Inferior            | Latin hexameter              | Y | Sons                                   |
|              |                                   |                                              |                      |                      |         |           |                                               |                                                          | Greek spondees / heptameters |   |                                        |

|       |                  |                                                  |                                                           |         |              |            |                                            |                                        |                                      |   |                             |
|-------|------------------|--------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|---------|--------------|------------|--------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|-----------------------------|
| NW.5  | decurio          | Equites singulares Augusti                       | Pontus (the Black Sea)                                    | Unknown | By           | Epitaph    | Second century AD                          | Rome, Italia                           | Hexameter                            | N | Soldier                     |
|       |                  |                                                  | The Marsaci, a Germanic tribe who lived near the Atlantic |         |              |            |                                            |                                        |                                      |   |                             |
|       |                  |                                                  | Unknown                                                   |         |              |            |                                            |                                        |                                      |   |                             |
| NW.6  | Unknown / miles  | Vexillario of Cohors III Vigiles                 | Unknown                                                   | Unknown | For, by      | Epitaph    | Second century AD                          | via Ferruccio, Esquiline, Rome, Italia | Elegiac couplets                     | N | Client / frater             |
| NW.7  | tribunus         | Legio III Italica?                               | Italian                                                   | Italian | For, by      | Votive     | Late second century-early third century AD | Castra Regina / Raetia, Noricum        | Mixed metres                         | N | Soldier                     |
| NW.8  | centurio         | Legio V Macedonica                               | Unknown                                                   | Unknown | By           | Votive     | AD 183-185                                 | Germisara / Cigmau, Dacia              | Latin hexameter                      | Y | Soldier                     |
|       |                  | numerus peditus singularis Britannicorum         |                                                           |         |              |            |                                            |                                        | Greek prose / heptameter / hexameter |   |                             |
| NW.9  | Imperial family? | Unknown                                          | Unknown                                                   | Unknown | For          | Honorific  | First century AD?                          | Rome, Italia                           | Elegiac couplets                     | N | Imperial?                   |
| NW.10 | Unknown          | Equites singulares Augusti / a Batavian unit?    | Unknown                                                   | Unknown | For          | Epitaph    | AD 117-138                                 | Sora, Italia                           | Hexameter                            | N | Soldier / unknown           |
| NW.11 | emeriti          | Legio IV Flavia Pia Felix Severiana Alexandriana | Moesia Superior?                                          | Unknown | Neither, for | Dedicatory | AD 222-235                                 | Singidunum / Bgrade, Moesia Superior   | Hexameter                            | N | Bath-house owner            |
|       |                  |                                                  |                                                           |         |              |            |                                            |                                        |                                      |   | Bath-house owner's daughter |

|             |                                               |                                            |                                                  |                                                  |         |                     |                                                     |                                                       |                               |   |                             |
|-------------|-----------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|---------|---------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|---|-----------------------------|
| <b>RD.1</b> | <i>centurio</i>                               | <i>Legio IV Flavia Pia Felix</i>           | Lucus Augusti, Narbonne / Lucus Feroniae, Italia | Lucus Augusti, Narbonne / Lucus Feroniae, Italia | For     | Epitaph             | Late first-early second century AD                  | <b>Viminacium</b> / Kostolac, Moesia Superior         | Iambic                        | N | Freedmen / women, children? |
| <b>RD.2</b> | <i>centurio</i>                               | Unknown legion                             | Unknown                                          | Unknown                                          | By      | Epitaph             | Second or third decade of the third century AD      | Vesontio / Besancon, Germania Superior                | Hexameter                     | N | Soldier                     |
|             |                                               |                                            |                                                  |                                                  |         |                     |                                                     |                                                       |                               |   | Son                         |
| <b>RD.3</b> | <i>veteranus ex beneficiario procuratoris</i> | <i>Legio I Minervia Pia Fidelis</i>        | Philippolis, Thracia                             | Philippolis, Thracia                             | For     | Epitaph             | AD 231-270                                          | Lugdunum / Lyon, Lugdunensis                          | Hexameter                     | N | <i>Threptius</i>            |
|             |                                               |                                            |                                                  |                                                  |         |                     |                                                     |                                                       |                               |   | Son?                        |
| <b>RD.4</b> | <i>veteranus</i>                              | <i>Legio XXX Ulpia Victrix Pia Fidelis</i> | Philippolis, Thracia                             | Philippolis, Thracia                             | For     | Epitaph             | First half of the third century AD                  | Lugdunum / Lyon, Lugdunensis                          | Hexameter                     | N | Wife                        |
|             |                                               |                                            |                                                  |                                                  |         |                     |                                                     |                                                       |                               |   | Son                         |
| <b>RD.5</b> | <i>veteranus ex decurione</i>                 | <i>Cohors II Aurelia Dardani</i>           | Unknown                                          | Unknown                                          | For, by | Epitaph             | End of the second-beginning of the third century AD | <b>Timacum Minus</b> / Ravna, Moesia Superior         | Elegiac couplets              | N | Soldier                     |
| <b>RD.6</b> | <i>centurio</i>                               | <i>Legio II Adiutrix Pia Fidelis</i>       | Unknown                                          | Unknown                                          | By      | Epitaph             | First half of the third century AD                  | <b>Aquincum</b> / Budapest, Pannonia Inferior         | Hexameter                     | N | Soldier                     |
| <b>RD.7</b> | <i>optio</i>                                  | <i>Legio II Adiutrix</i>                   | Unknown                                          | Unknown                                          | N/A     | Accusatory graffito | Third century AD                                    | <b>Aquincum</b> / Budapest, Pannonia Inferior         | Trochaic? / <i>commaticum</i> | Y | Unknown                     |
| <b>RD.8</b> | <i>frumentarius</i>                           | <i>Legio II Adiutrix</i>                   | Unknown                                          | Unknown                                          | For     | Epitaph             | Second-third century AD                             | <b>Sirmium</b> / Sremska Mitrovica, Pannonia Inferior | Hexameter                     | N | Father                      |
| <b>RD.9</b> | <i>veteranus</i>                              |                                            | German                                           | German                                           | By      | Epitaph             |                                                     | <b>Rome</b> , Italia                                  | Hexameter                     | N | Soldier                     |

|              |                                                                           |                                   |                     |                     |         |                   |                                            |                               |                     |   |                 |
|--------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------|-------------------|--------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------|---|-----------------|
|              |                                                                           | <i>Equites singulares Augusti</i> |                     |                     |         |                   | Second century AD                          |                               |                     |   | Son             |
| <b>RD.10</b> | <i>tribunus militum</i>                                                   | Unspecified legion                | Unknown             | Unknown             | For     | Funerary graffito | Second century AD                          | Giza / Al Jizah, Aegyptus     | Hexameter           | N | Sister          |
| <b>RD.11</b> | <i>veteranus</i>                                                          | Unknown                           | Unknown             | Unknown             | For, by | Epitaph           | Second-third century AD                    | <b>Zarai</b> / Zraia, Numidia | Hexameter           | N | Soldier         |
|              |                                                                           |                                   |                     |                     |         |                   |                                            |                               |                     |   | Unknown         |
| <b>RD.12</b> | <i>beneficiarius consularis</i>                                           | <i>Legio VI Victrix</i>           | African / Numidian? | African / Numidian? | By      | Epitaph           | Late second century AD                     | Thamugadi / Timgad, Numidia   | Hexameter           | N | Soldier         |
|              |                                                                           |                                   |                     |                     |         |                   |                                            |                               |                     |   | Unknown         |
| <b>RD.13</b> | <i>duplicarius</i>                                                        | <i>Equites singulares Augusti</i> | Unknown             | Unknown             | By      | Epitaph           | Second half of the second-third century AD | <b>Rome</b> , Italia          | Hexameter           | N | Soldier         |
|              | Unknown                                                                   | <i>Equites singulares Augusti</i> | Unknown             | Unknown             | For     |                   |                                            |                               |                     |   | <i>delicium</i> |
| <b>RD.14</b> | <i>tribunatus cohortis / praefectura praetorii / praefectura equitum?</i> | Unknown                           | Unknown             | Unknown             | For     | Epitaph           | First half of the first century AD         | Corfinium / Corfinio, Italia  | Hendecasyllables    | N | Mother          |
|              |                                                                           |                                   |                     |                     |         |                   |                                            |                               |                     |   | Brother         |
|              |                                                                           |                                   |                     |                     |         |                   |                                            |                               |                     |   | Sister          |
|              |                                                                           |                                   |                     |                     |         |                   |                                            |                               |                     |   | Brother-in-law  |
|              |                                                                           |                                   |                     |                     |         |                   |                                            |                               |                     |   | Nieces/nephews  |
| <b>RD.15</b> | Unknown                                                                   | <i>Legio XI</i>                   | Unknown             | Unknown             | For     | Epitaph           | 27 BC-AD 14                                | Ateste / Este, Italia         | Iambic septenarius? | N | Unknown         |

Figure 9.1: The ranks of the Roman military referred to in the Latin verse inscriptions of the Roman military

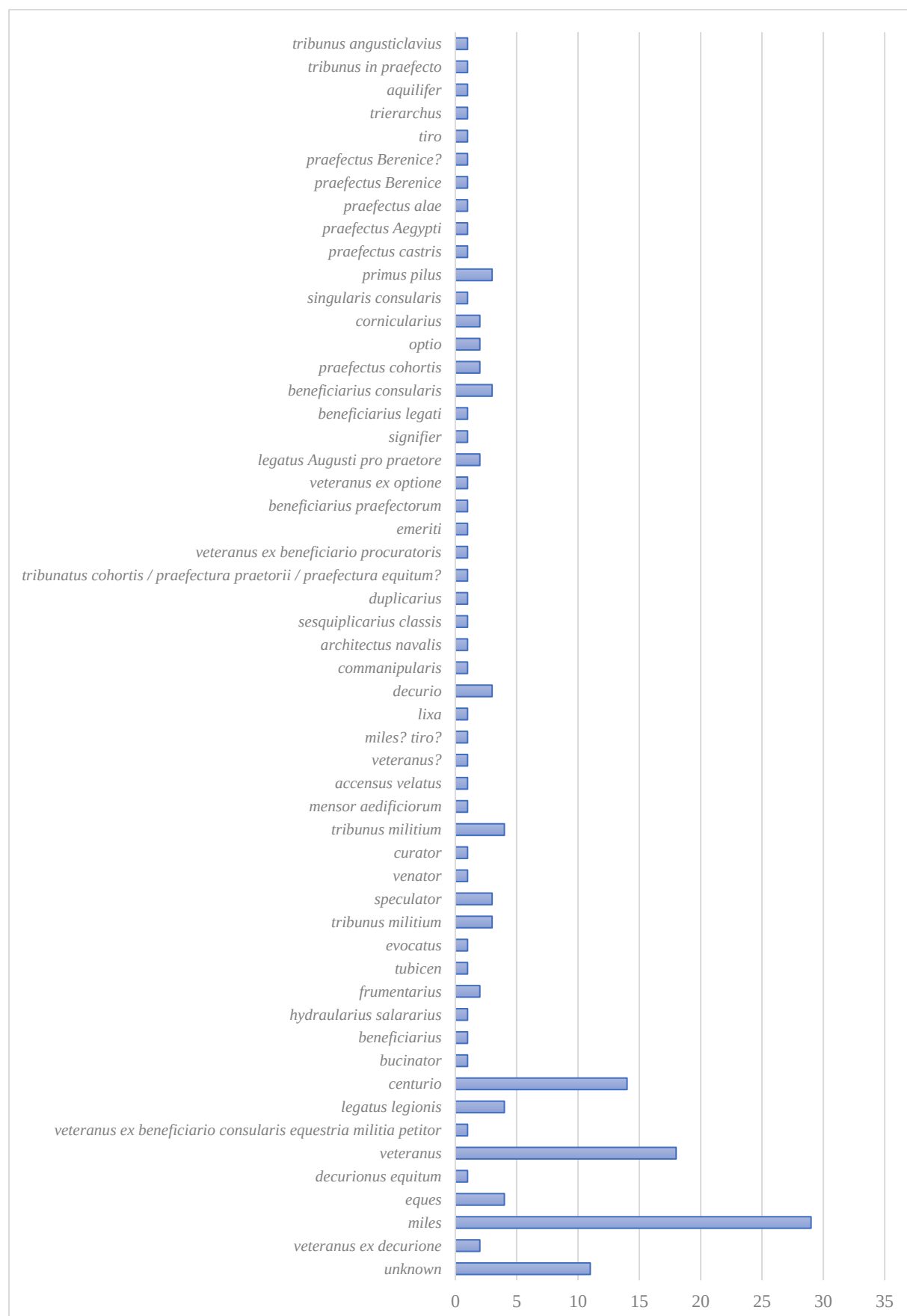




*Figure 9.2:* The proportions of importance of the ranks demonstrated in the verse inscriptions of the Roman military

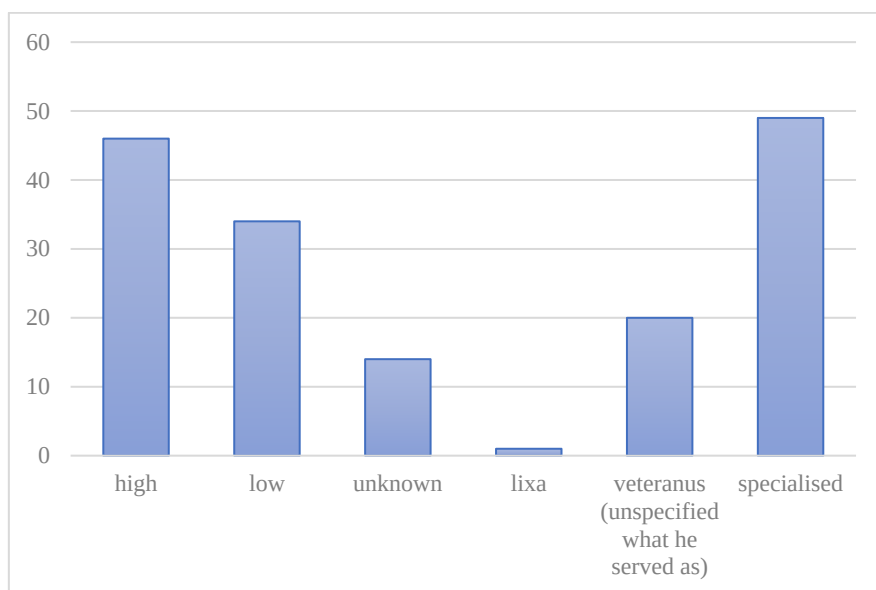


*Figure 9.3:* The proportions of the various military units mentioned in Latin military verse inscriptions

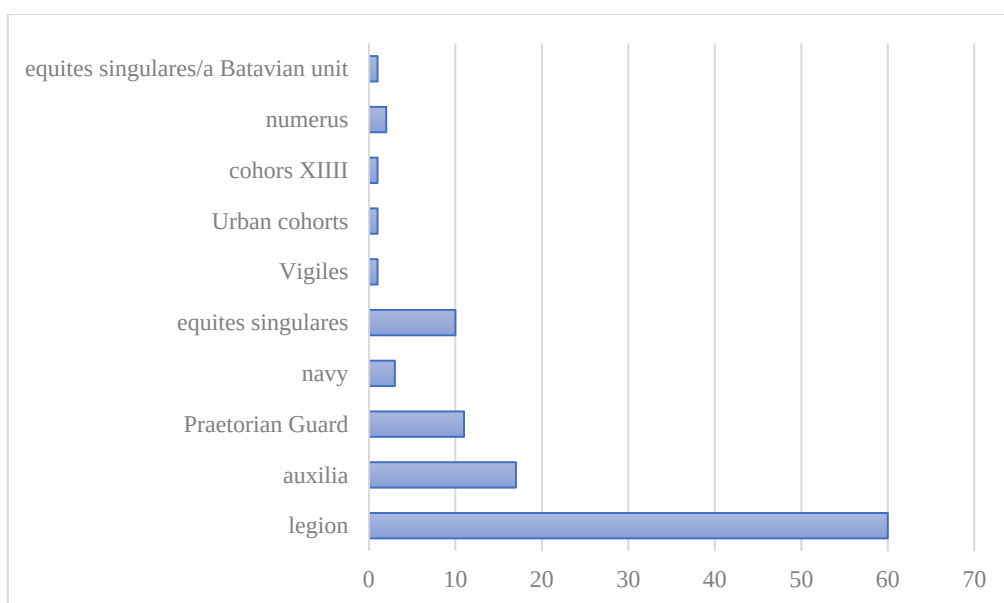


Figure 9.4: The known units of the Roman military referred to in the Latin verse inscriptions of the Roman military

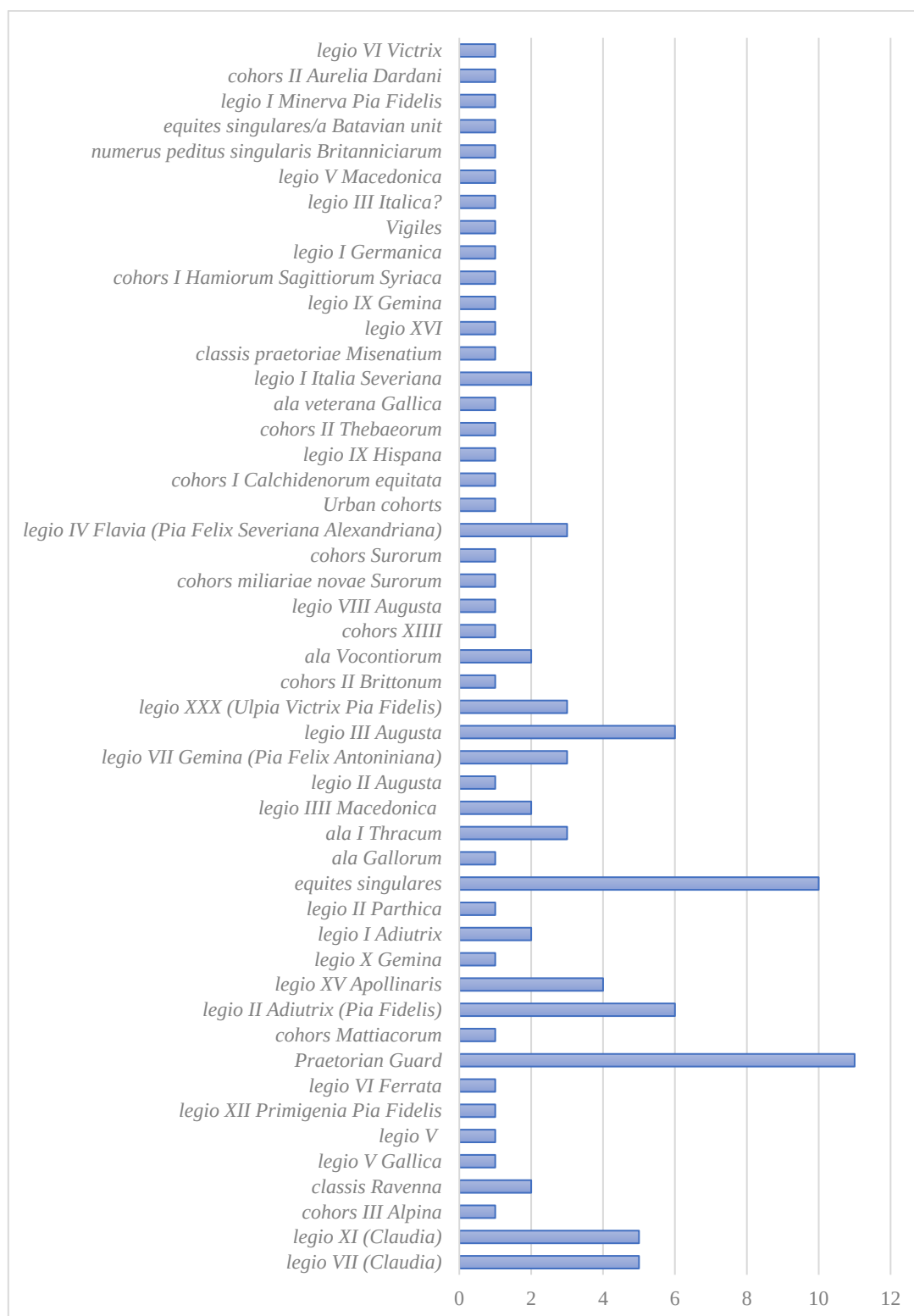


Figure 9.5: A graph to show the legions represented in the verse inscriptions of the Roman military

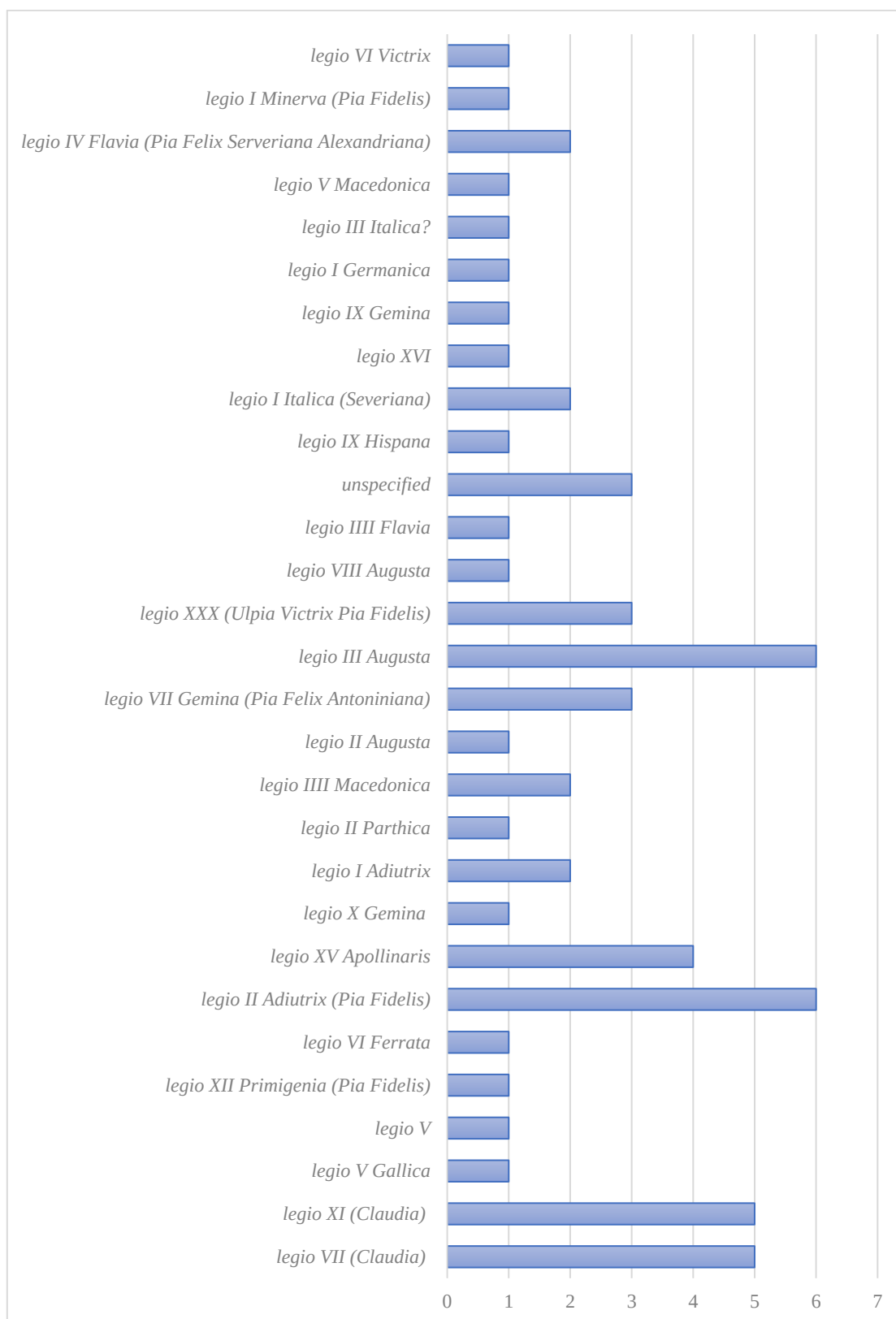


Figure 9.6: A graph depicting the origins of the soldiers involved in the creation of military verse inscriptions

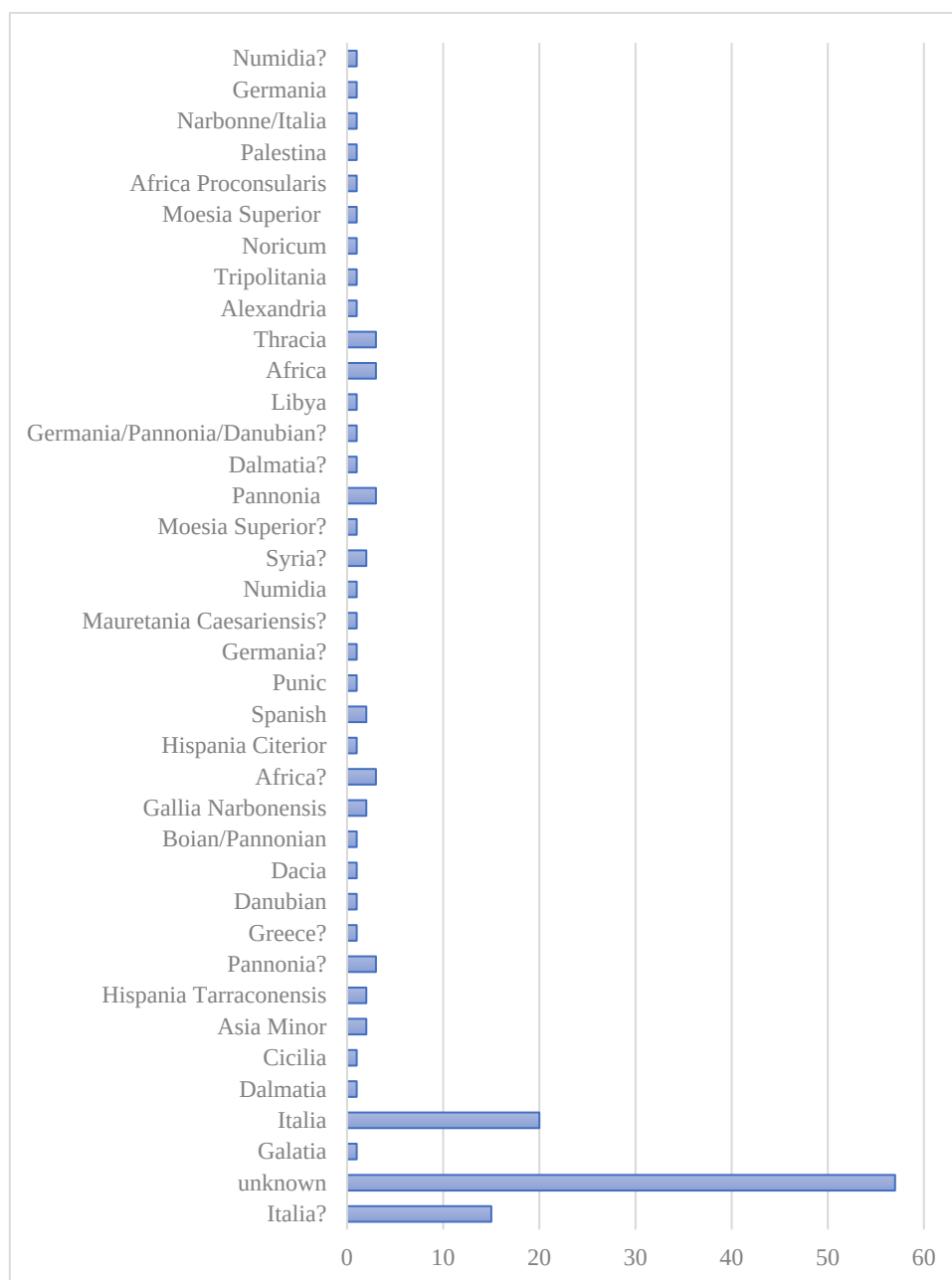


*Figure 9.7: A graph demonstrating the overall distribution of Latin military verse inscriptions in the provinces*

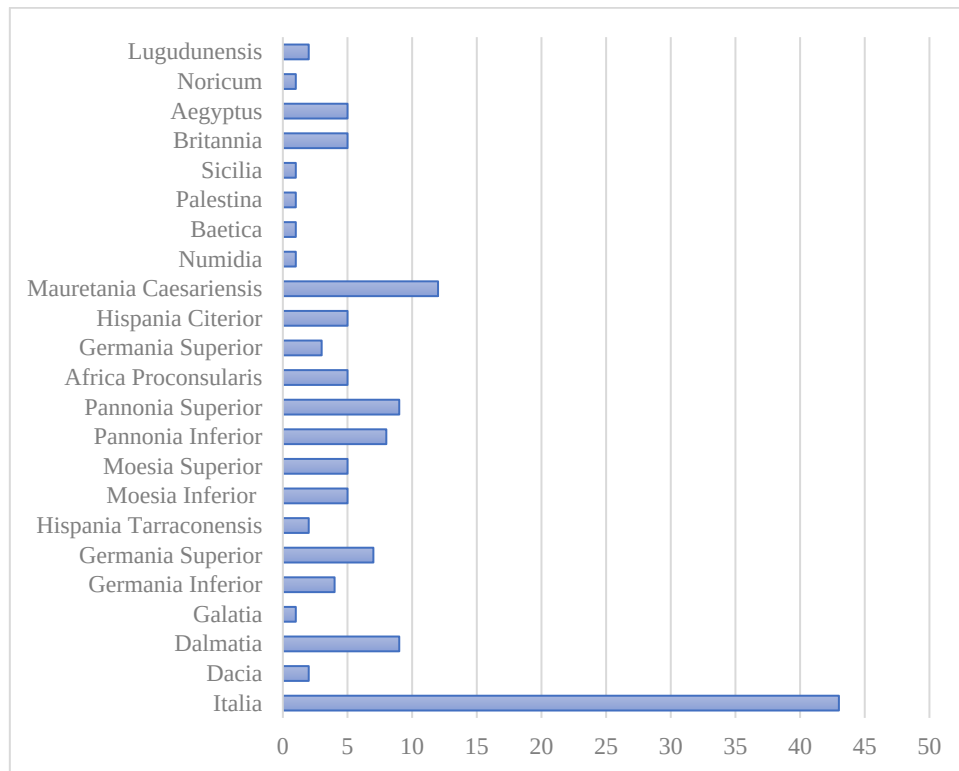


*Figure 9.8: A graph depicting the distribution of settlement types the Latin military verse inscriptions were found in*

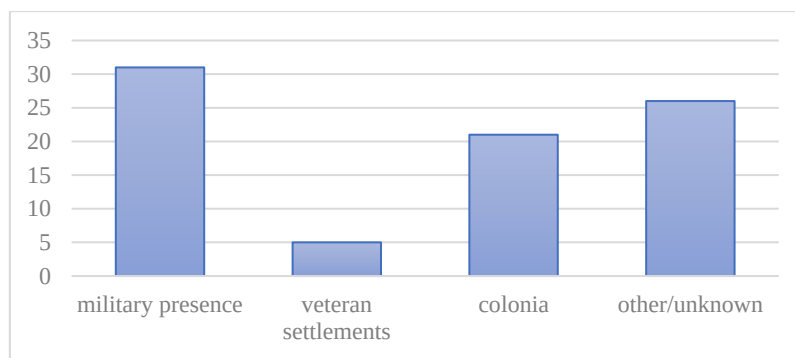


*Figure 9.9: A graph to show the types of monuments Latin military verse inscriptions were written on*

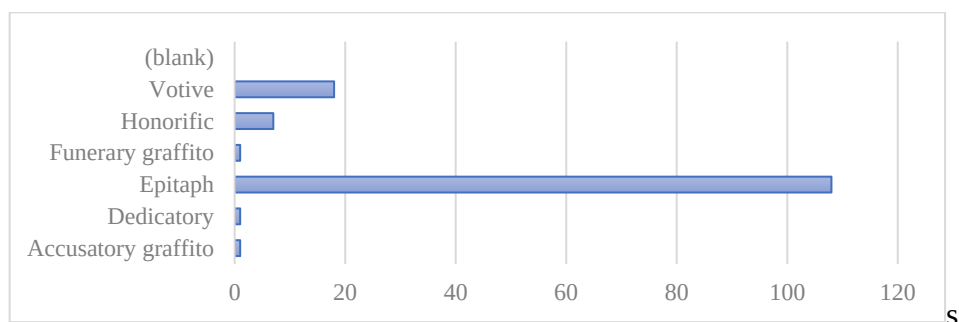


Figure 9.10: A graph showing if the Latin verse inscriptions of the Roman military were for or by a soldier, or both

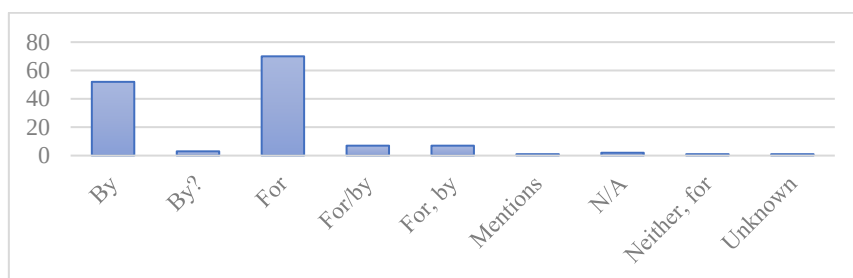


Figure 9.11: A graph showing the number of bilingual vs. non-bilingual verse inscriptions of the Roman military<sup>3405</sup>

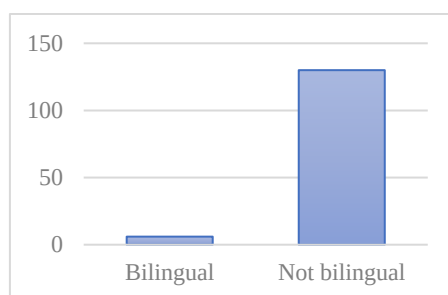
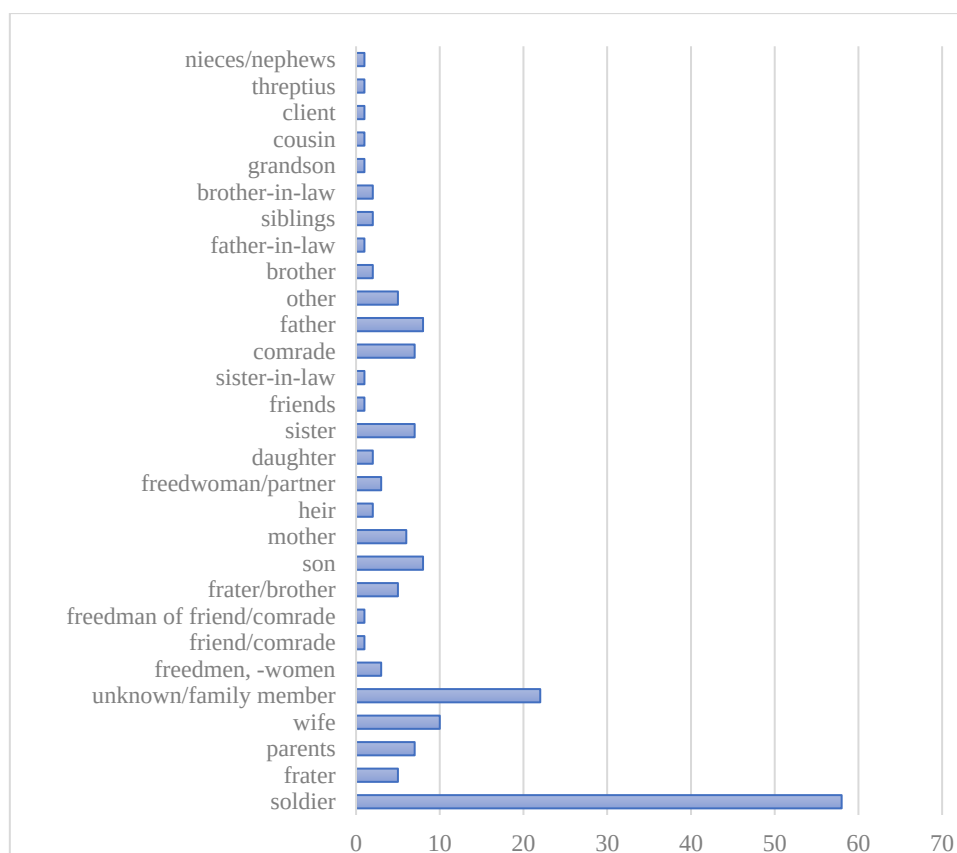


Figure 9.12: A graph showing who commissioned the Latin verse inscriptions of the Roman military, in relation to the soldier



<sup>3405</sup> The bilingual inscriptions are always in Latin and Greek.

*Figure 9.13: A graph showing the proportions of the various relationship dynamics in the Latin verse inscriptions of the Roman military, as displayed in who commissioned the monument<sup>3406</sup>*

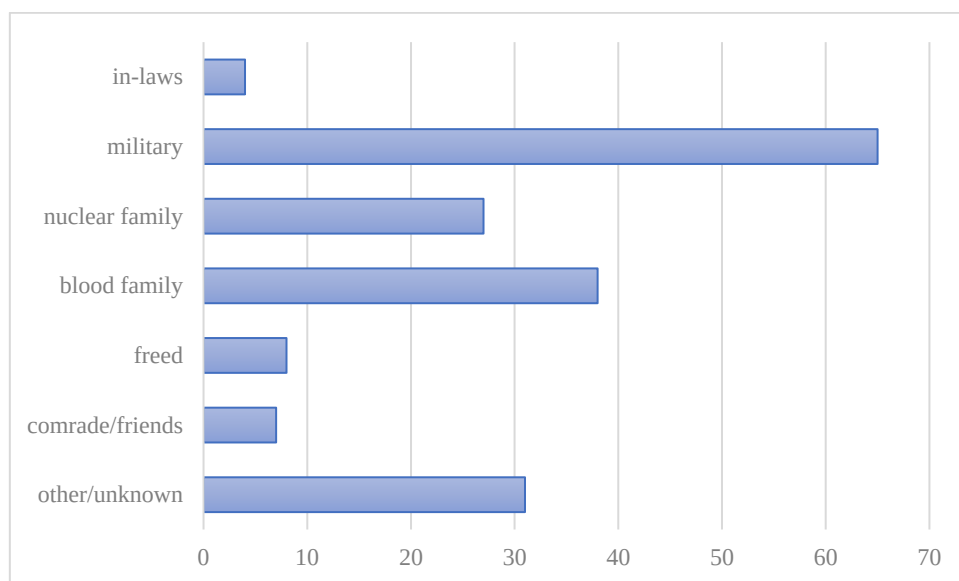
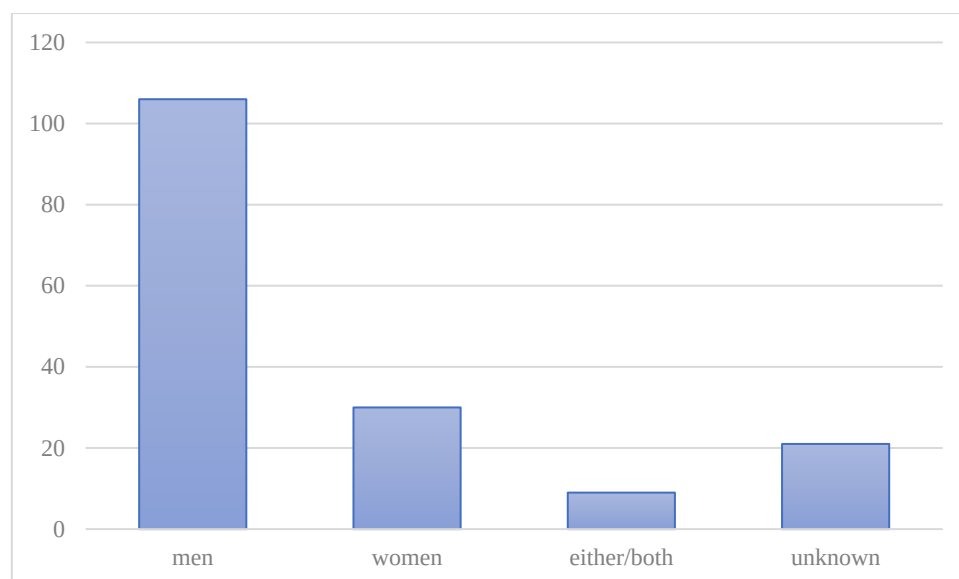
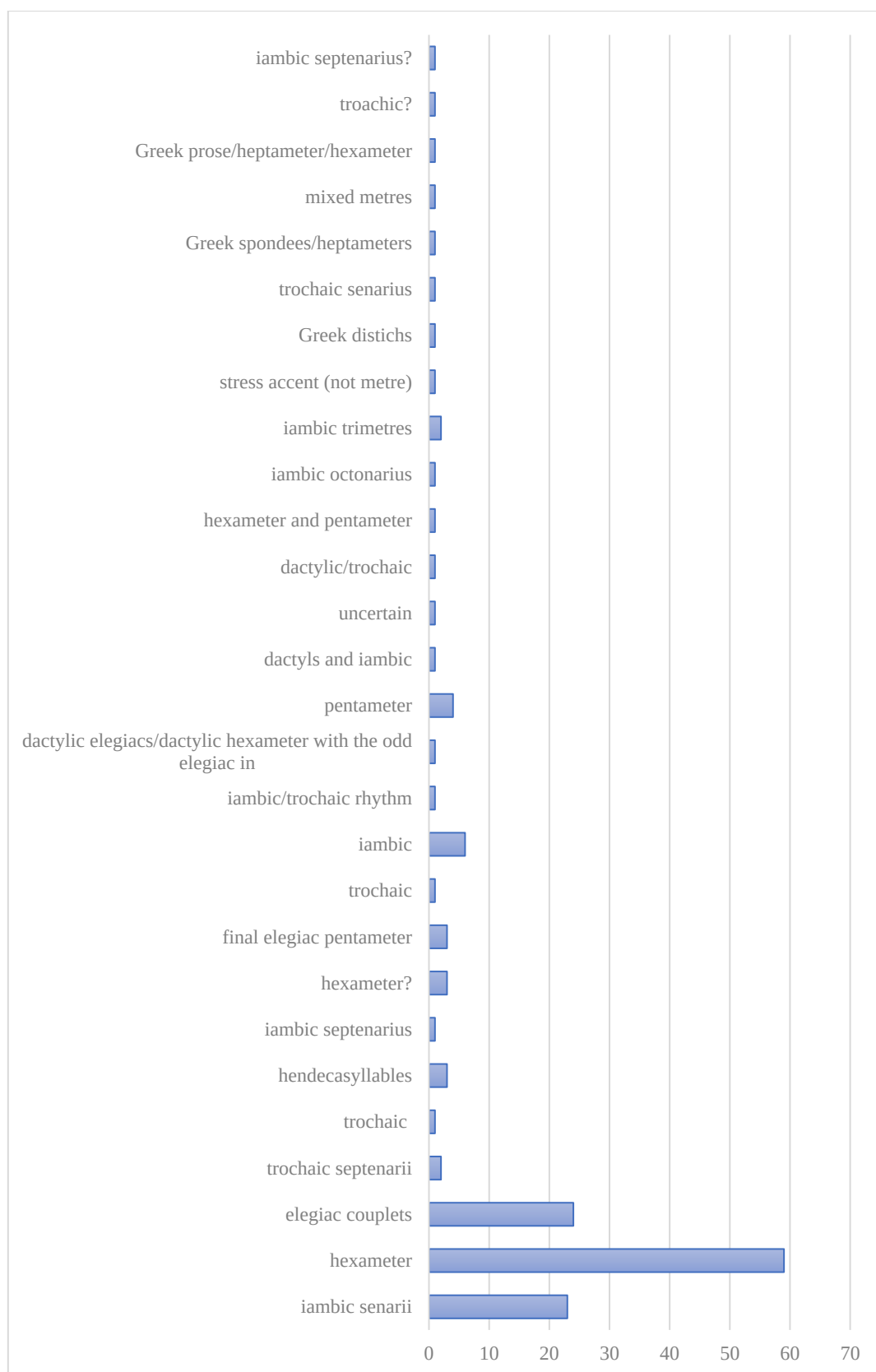


*Figure 9.14: The proportion of men vs. women as commissioners of Latin military verse inscriptions*



<sup>3406</sup> Some of these categories intersect, for example a soldier may have been in a relationship with his freedman or freedwoman in life.

Figure 9.15: A graph to show the variety of metres exhibited in Latin military verse inscriptions





## Appendix 1: Wars fought in the Roman Empire (27 BC-AD 235)<sup>3407</sup>

|                                                        |          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|--------------------------------------------------------|----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Battle of Actium</b>                                | 31 BC    | Octavian's defeat of Anthony led to him becoming the sole ruler of Rome; given the honorary title Augustus in 27 BC, when he officially becomes the sole ruler of the Principate; 27 BC is the traditional date for the creation of the Roman Empire. |
| <b>Romans conquer to the Danube</b>                    | 27 BC-14 |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <b>Conquest of the Alpine tribes</b>                   | 16-15 BC |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <b>Conquest of Pannonia and Germany</b>                | 12-7 BC  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <b>Revolt of Pannonia</b>                              | 6-9      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <b>Revolt in Germany</b>                               | 9        | Varian disaster.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| <b>Mutiny of Rhine and Danube legions</b>              | 14       | Upon Augustus' death.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <b>War against Arminius</b>                            | 14-16    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <b>Germanicus' campaigns</b>                           | 14-17    | In Germany.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <b>Revolt of Lucius Arruntius Cammilus Scribomanus</b> | 42       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <b>Conquest of Britain</b>                             | 43       | Invasion and conquest of southern Britain.                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| <b>War with Parthia for control of Armenia</b>         | 55-64    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <b>Boudicca's rebellion</b>                            | 60-61    | In Britain.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <b>The Jewish War</b>                                  | 66-70    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <b>The Jewish Revolt</b>                               | 66-74    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <b>Civil War</b>                                       | 68-69    | The Year of the Four Emperors (Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian).                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| <b>Battle of Bedriacum</b>                             | 68       | Defeat of Otho by Vitellius.                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |

<sup>3407</sup> Source for these dates are Campbell 2002: 155-156; Goldsworthy 2003: 10-11; Lendon 2005: 328-330; de la Bédoyère 2020: 406-407. These dates are sometimes approximations; dates sometimes differ between sources. All dates are in AD, unless otherwise specified.

|                                                       |                                                 |                                                                                                                |
|-------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Battle of Cremona</b>                              | 69                                              | Defeat of Vitellius by Vespasian's forces (also called the second Battle of Bedriacum).                        |
| <b>Batavian Revolt</b>                                | 69-70                                           |                                                                                                                |
| <b>Siege of Jerusalem</b>                             | 70                                              |                                                                                                                |
| <b>Siege of Masada</b>                                | 73-74                                           |                                                                                                                |
| <b>War with the Chatti</b>                            | 82-83                                           |                                                                                                                |
| <b>Battle of Mons Graupius</b>                        | 83                                              | In Scotland.                                                                                                   |
| <b>War with King Decebalus of Dacia</b>               | 85-89                                           |                                                                                                                |
| <b>Wars against the Dacians and Pannonians</b>        | 85-92                                           |                                                                                                                |
| <b>Rebellion of the governor of Germania Superior</b> | 89                                              | Governor of Germania Superior: Lucius Antonius Saturnus.                                                       |
| <b>Dacian Wars</b>                                    | <b>First:</b> 101-102<br><b>Second:</b> 105-106 | Dacia becomes a province at the end of the Second Dacian War.                                                  |
| <b>Parthian War</b>                                   | 113-117                                         |                                                                                                                |
| <b>Uprising of the Jews of the Diaspora</b>           | 116-117                                         |                                                                                                                |
| <b>Hadrian's first provincial tour</b>                | 121-125                                         |                                                                                                                |
| <b>Hadrian's second provincial tour</b>               | 128-132                                         | Hadrian reviews the troops at Lambaesis in 128; his comments are inscribed on stone.                           |
| <b>Bar Kochba Revolt / Second Jewish Revolt</b>       | 132-135                                         | In Judaea.                                                                                                     |
| <b>Incursion of the Alans</b>                         | 135                                             |                                                                                                                |
| <b>Dacian War</b>                                     | 157-158                                         |                                                                                                                |
| <b>War with Parthia</b>                               | 162-166                                         | Led by Lucius Verus.                                                                                           |
| <b>Warring with German tribes on the Danube</b>       | 167-175, 177-180                                | 167-175: wars against the Marcomanni and Quadi.                                                                |
| <b>Revolt of the governor of Syria</b>                | 175                                             | Governor of Syria: Gaius Avidius Cassius.                                                                      |
| <b>Civil War</b>                                      | 193-197                                         | Won by Septimius Severus.<br>Pescennius Niger defeated in 194.<br>Clodius Albinus defeated at Lugdunum in 197. |
| <b>Parthian War</b>                                   | 197-198                                         |                                                                                                                |
| <b>Campaign in the north of Scotland</b>              | 201-210                                         |                                                                                                                |
| <b>War against the Alamanni</b>                       | 213                                             | In Germany.                                                                                                    |
| <b>Parthian War</b>                                   | 214-217                                         |                                                                                                                |

|                  |         |                                           |
|------------------|---------|-------------------------------------------|
| <b>Civil war</b> | 217-222 | Severus Alexander becomes Emperor in 222. |
|------------------|---------|-------------------------------------------|

|                         |         |
|-------------------------|---------|
| <b>Persian Campaign</b> | 231-233 |
|-------------------------|---------|

|                          |         |
|--------------------------|---------|
| <b>Alamanni Campaign</b> | 234-235 |
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|------------------------------------|---------|
| <b>Crisis of the Third Century</b> | 235-284 |
|------------------------------------|---------|

## Appendix 2: Units in the Latin Verse Inscriptions of the Roman Military

The units featured in the inscriptions in this study are listed here in order of prestige, and then in alphabetical order, and they are named here in the way in which they are called in the inscriptions themselves. Here, the creation, movements and, if applicable/known, disbandment of the units expressed in the Latin verse inscriptions of the Roman military are described,<sup>3408</sup> to provide contextual information for the units expressed in the inscriptions in this study. The information on the foundation, recruitment and movements of these units also offer insights into aspects of the identities of those serving within them. There is a higher singular frequency of the most prestigious units (i.e. the Praetorian Guard and the *equites singulares Augusti*) in comparison to other singular instances of units (the next most frequent would be the verse inscriptions of *Legio II Adiutrix* or *Legio III Augusta*, both tied at just over half the total amount of verse inscriptions involving the Praetorian Guard). As Speidel observed about how these units worked: despite their prestigious position within the Roman military, ‘during much of the first three centuries A.D. [the Praetorian Guard and *equites singulares Augusti*] stayed in their imposing fortresses in Rome, rarely leaving the capital save when an Emperor personally took to the field. The brunt of Rome’s wars, either in defense of the long frontiers or in quelling revolts, was born by the provincial armies. These *exercitus provinciae* – legions and *auxilia* – were self-contained corps, capable of fighting full-sized wars on their own... Like all traditional armies they comprised guards serving as elite units on the battle field, as escorts to their commanders, as security and ceremonial forces in the capital, as a school for officers, and as a strategic reserve’.<sup>3409</sup> Proportionally speaking, there are very few Latin verse inscriptions created and/or in existence in comparison to the number of men serving in the Roman military at any one time. As can be seen, not every unit, not even every legion, is represented in the Latin verse inscriptions of the Roman military.

| Unit                     | History of the Unit <sup>3410</sup>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>URBAN/ROMAN UNITS</b> |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| <b>Praetorian Guard</b>  | Stationed primarily in Rome, this was the force that guarded the Emperor: ‘its role was to protect the emperor and members of the imperial family, suppress disturbances, and discourage plots. A detachment of the guard accompanied the emperor on campaign, although it had no special tactical role’. <sup>3411</sup> To be promoted into the ranks of the Praetorian Guard, ‘there existed a requirement of four years prior service in one’s original unit’. <sup>3412</sup> |

<sup>3408</sup> If they have not already been described in the chapters above.

<sup>3409</sup> Speidel 1978: 1.

<sup>3410</sup> See Keppie 1984: 205-215, appendices 2-4; Parker, Watson & Coulston 2012: 341; Wolff in Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 1037-1049; Campbell 2012a: 47; Campbell 2012d: 816-819 for general information on these units. See also discussion in the thematic chapters of this research. See also Gilliver 2007: 181-182; de la Bédoyère 2020: 419-428, for example, for general glossaries of terms; these are found in most books on the Roman military.

<sup>3411</sup> Campbell 2012f: 1204.

<sup>3412</sup> Speidel 1978: 7.

|                                                |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
|------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                                                | <p>The imperial version of this military unit was founded by Augustus in 27 or 26 BC, with nine cohorts originally. This number fluctuated, until it settled to ten cohorts, led by a tribune, under Domitian. These contained between 500-1000 men ‘recruited mainly from Italy and Romanized provinces’.<sup>3413</sup> Under Septimius Severus, they were of Pannonian origin. They were commanded by one or two Praetorian Prefects, who were of equestrian status. Their cohorts were commanded by a tribune, with six centurions; the superior centurion was not called a <i>primus pilus</i>, but a <i>trecenarius</i>.<sup>3414</sup></p> <p>They had three times the amount of pay of legionaries and served for sixteen years.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <b><i>Equites Singulares Augusti</i></b>       | <p>Stationed in Rome. Cavalry arm of the Praetorian Guard, with the same function as the Praetorian Guard; the commander of the <i>equites singulares Augusti</i> was in the command of the Praetorian Prefect.</p> <p>They evolved from the <i>Germani corporis custodes</i> (also called the Batavi, <i>corporis custodes</i>, or <i>Caesaris Augusti corporis custodes</i>),<sup>3415</sup> they were ‘probably established by the Flavians’.<sup>3416</sup> The <i>equites singulares Augusti</i> ‘were recruited from auxiliary cavalry <i>alae</i>, predominantly Germans and Pannonians’,<sup>3417</sup> as can be seen in this data set.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <b><i>Cohors (X) Urbana</i></b>                | <p>Stationed in mainly Rome; one cohort stationed in Ostia. Urban cohort units also existed in Puteoli, Lyon and Carthage; in Lyon they protected the mint. They acted as a police force in Rome, commanded overall by the <i>praefectus urbi</i>, who was of senatorial rank, until the second century when they were commanded by the Praetorian Prefects. The <i>cohors</i> of the Urban Cohorts were commanded by tribunes and six centurions, like the Praetorian Guard. There were originally founded by Augustus in 13 BC with three <i>cohors</i> (X-XII), but this was increased to four under Vespasian, of varying sizes. They, too, sometimes also protected the emperor. The Urban Cohorts ‘were recruited from Italians, served for twenty years, were paid half the rate of praetorians, and had their base in the praetorian camp until the construction of a new camp for them in 270’.<sup>3418</sup></p> |
| <b><i>Vexillatio of Cohors III Vigiles</i></b> | <p>The <i>Vigiles</i> were stationed in Rome; four centuries were posted to Ostia. There was also a contingent in Puteoli; Ostia and Puteoli were ‘the two harbors on which Rome’s supplies most depended’.<sup>3419</sup> The <i>Vigiles</i> were the firemen/nightwatchmen of Rome. Founded by Augustus in AD 6, the <i>cohortes</i> of the <i>Vigiles</i> ‘seem to have been a nominal 1,120 made up of seven double-centuries each by 205, if not from their inception under Augustus’.<sup>3420</sup></p> <p>The <i>cohortes</i> of the <i>Vigiles</i> were composed of freedmen. ‘The <i>vigiles</i> were not considered to be real soldiers for the simple reason that they did not bear arms. They were equipped with siphons, buckets, and brooms to fight fires and they had lamps at their disposal for the night</p>                                                                                            |

<sup>3413</sup> Campbell 2012f: 1204.

<sup>3414</sup> Wolff in Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 1037.

<sup>3415</sup> See *ibid.*: 1038.

<sup>3416</sup> Parker & Campbell 2012: 532.

<sup>3417</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3418</sup> Parker et al. 2012.

<sup>3419</sup> Wolff in Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 1038.

<sup>3420</sup> De la Bédoyère 2020: 420.

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|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | <p>watch’;<sup>3421</sup> this seems to be contradicted by the narrative presented in <b>NW.6</b>.</p> <p><i>Vexillationes</i> were mobile, temporary (on the whole, although they did sometimes become permanent) detached units, of varying size, from any unit in the Roman military, for a variety of reasons.<sup>3422</sup> Crucially, ‘<i>vexillationes</i> were not seen as a collection of men from different units with no specific identity. They acted like a regular unit, and for instance, dedicated monuments to glorify the emperor or to honor a deity’;<sup>3423</sup> despite being from different units, these men could work coherently and cohesively. <i>Vexillationes</i> were detachments of men from any of the units comprising the Roman military, from those posted in Rome to the fleets,<sup>3424</sup> moved not only for fighting, but also for ‘engaging in work or occupying posts’, for a specific reason,<sup>3425</sup> or for construction work.<sup>3426</sup> Known from the reign of Tiberius onwards,<sup>3427</sup> they were designed to make the movements of the military more flexible, and not constantly uproot and disrupt the legions, as well as pay the expense of having to transport them across the Empire, and they sometimes returned.<sup>3428</sup> A cohort of the <i>Vigiles</i> would be expected to return, as they were designed to serve in Rome. <i>Vexillations</i>, composed of about one to two thousand men,<sup>3429</sup> ‘were temporary units comprising soldiers drawn from several units, sometimes simply to bring them safely to the war zone, or in other circumstances to undertake specific tasks during a campaign. They fought together under their own standard called a <i>vexillum</i>’,<sup>3430</sup> indicating how the men fought under their own military identity, retaining it despite being posted far away from their main base, and being commanded by the man in charge of where they had been posted to, not their unit’s commander.<sup>3431</sup> They were commanded by <i>praepositi</i>, equestrian prefects of auxiliary <i>alae</i>, <i>ex-primi pili</i>, and senators.<sup>3432</sup> There was a separation between the legions and the <i>Vigiles</i>; officers from the <i>Vigiles</i> were only allowed into the legions during Antoninus Pius’ reign.<sup>3433</sup></p> <p>See also discussion on this unit, and on <i>vexillationes</i>, in discussions on <b>NW.6</b>.</p> |
| <b>LEGIONS</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <p>Of the Roman military units beyond Rome, ‘the legions constituted the elite of the army in the provinces’.<sup>3434</sup> By the time of Tiberius’ reign, there were 25 legions; this increased to 33 by the end of the imperial period examined here, with added and disbanded/unknown disappearances of other legions during this time. Some legions were more mobile than others,</p> |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |

<sup>3421</sup> Wolff in Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 1038.

<sup>3422</sup> See Wolff (2015: 1047) for the various roles the *Vigiles* carried out.

<sup>3423</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3424</sup> Le Bohec 1989b: 30.

<sup>3425</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3426</sup> *Ibid.*: 31.

<sup>3427</sup> Gilliver 2007: 197.

<sup>3428</sup> See, for example, Gilliver 2007: 196; Hoyos 2013: xl. See also Keppie 2000: 174 and 212 on the movements of the legions.

<sup>3429</sup> Gilliver 2007: 196-197; Hoyos 2013: xl. See also Southern 2007: 202.

<sup>3430</sup> Southern 2007: 202. See also Le Bohec 1989b: 30; Hoyos 2013: xl.

<sup>3431</sup> Le Bohec 1989b: 30.

<sup>3432</sup> *Ibid.*: 31, 39; Gilliver 2007: 196.

<sup>3433</sup> Starr 1997: 43.

<sup>3434</sup> Wolff in Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 1039.

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
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| and Wolff observed the following pattern: ‘the legions were thus more mobile in the west than in the east, and in a way were more specialized. The legions that went from the west to the east were very few and did so only under Nero for the campaigns of Corbulo and then again under Trajan. The redistribution legions reflected the campaigns and conquests of various emperors, and reveals that priorities were not constant during the first three centuries of the Imperial period’. <sup>3435</sup> |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <b><i>Legio I Adiutrix</i></b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | One of two legions named ‘Helper’, and this one was said to have been composed of sailors garrisoned at Misenum by Nero in AD 68, and recognised formally as a legion by Galba. Their first garrison was in Mogontiacum, Germania Superior (Flavian), then they were transferred to Brigetio, Pannonia during the reign of Domitian (c. AD 86), to Dacia in the early second century AD, and then back to Brigetio, Pannonia in the reign of Antoninus Pius. The honorific titles it received from Trajan ( <i>Pia Fidelis</i> ) are not given in <b>ET.24</b> or <b>RI.18</b> , despite both dating to the early third century. <b>ET.24</b> was found in Brigetio, Pannonia Superior, which is where this legion was stationed, twice, by AD 97, and in c. AD 120, where it remained. <sup>3436</sup> |
| <b><i>Legio I Germanica</i></b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | Formed in the 40s BC, this legion was disbanded in AD 69 for conspiring with Gaius Julius Civilis. Stationed in Germany for the duration of its existence under the Julio-Claudians. It was given the honorific title <i>Germanica</i> in recognition of its service on the Rhine, where it was based between c. 16 BC-69 AD. It was garrisoned at Ara Ubiorum (Colonia Agrippinensis) and then Bonna in the early first century AD.<br>For more information on this legion, see discussion in Chapter 7.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| <b><i>Legio I Italica Severiana</i></b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | Created by Nero, with Italian recruits. It was sent to Germania Superior, and then based at Lugdunum, Transalpine Gaul in AD 68. <sup>3437</sup> Vespasian then sent it to Novae, Moesia Inferior, where it remained.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| <b><i>Legio I Minervia Pia Fidelis</i></b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | Created by Domitian in AD 83. Remained garrisoned in Bonna, Germania Inferior. It was given the honorific titles <i>Pia Fidelis</i> for its loyalty to Domitian against the revolt of Lucius Antonius Saturninus in AD 89.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| <b><i>Legio II Adiutrix (Pia Fidelis)</i></b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | Created in the Year of the Four Emperors, it is speculated that the <i>Legio II Adiutrix</i> may have originally been composed of sailors from the fleet during the reign of Nero (Hardy says this was from the Misenum fleet, Keppie Ravenna). <sup>3438</sup> It had been given the honorific titles <i>Pia Fidelis</i> by AD 70. Garrisoned in: Lindum and Deva, Britain (AD 71), sent to Acumincum, Pannonia in c. AD 87, Moesia by AD 92, then to Aquincum, Pannonia Inferior.<br>For more information on this legion, see discussion in Chapter 3.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <b><i>Legio II Augusta</i></b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | Created in c. the early 40s BC, this legion was garrisoned in: Spain (30 BC?-AD 9), the Rhine frontier (?AD 9-43; after AD 17 it was based at Argentorate), Britain (from AD 43 onwards, when it participated in the invasion of Britain and was permanently garrisoned at Isca from the                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |

<sup>3435</sup> Wolff in Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 1043.

<sup>3436</sup> For more information on this legion and its various postings, see Hardy 1887: throughout; Campbell 2012d: 816; Wolff in Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 1042 table 8.

<sup>3437</sup> See also Drinkwater 2012: 604-605.

<sup>3438</sup> Hardy 1887: 643 (Campbell 2012d: 816 also says they may have been from the Misenum fleet); Keppie 1984: 213, Appendix 1.

|                                                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
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|                                                                  | mid 70s onwards). Its honorific title <i>Augusta</i> ‘reflect[s] reconstitution or a victory, 27 BC – AD 14’. <sup>3439</sup>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <b><i>Legio II Parthica</i></b>                                  | Septimius Severus raised this legion pre-AD 197, in connection to his Parthian campaign, hence the name. <sup>3440</sup> <b>ET.34</b> can be dated to the third century, as it was found in Mediolanum, Italia, only a hundred or so miles from where the legion was stationed from c. AD 202 onwards: Albanum. <sup>3441</sup> It was the first legion in the Empire to be permanently garrisoned in Italy. Under Elagabalus, this legion had the honorific titles <i>Pia Fidelis Felix Aeterna</i> , which also dates <b>ET.34</b> to before Elagabalus’ reign.                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| <b><i>Legio III Augusta</i></b>                                  | Created in c. the early 40s BC. Garrisoned in Africa from 30s BC, maybe earlier, onwards: Ammaedara, Theveste (during Vespasian’s reign), Lambaesis (c. AD 98 onwards). This legion gained the honorific title <i>Augusta</i> ‘reflecting reconstitution or a victory, 27 BC-AD 14’. <sup>3442</sup><br>For more information on this legion, see discussion in Chapters 5 and 6.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| <b><i>Legio III Italica?</i></b>                                 | <b>NW.7</b> could refer to this legion. The <i>Legio III Italica</i> was created in c. AD 165 by Marcus Aurelius, with Italian recruits. Permanently garrisoned in Castra Regina, Raetia.<br>See discussion on <b>NW.7</b> for more information on this legion.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <b><i>Legio IV Flavia (Pia Felix Severiana Alexandriana)</i></b> | Created by Vespasian from the <i>Legio IV Macedonica</i> . Garrisoned in: Burnum, Dalmatia (mid-late first century AD), Singidunum?, Moesia Superior (c. AD 86-101/102), Sarmizegethusa Ulpia, Dacia (early second century), back to Singidunum, Moesia Superior (second century, beginning of Hadrian’s reign?, where it remained).                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <b><i>Legio IV Macedonica</i></b>                                | Created in 48 BC and disbanded by Vespasian in AD 69 because of its actions in the Year of the Four Emperors and Julius Civilis’ rebellion, <i>Legio IV Flavia Felix</i> created in its stead in 70. <sup>3443</sup> Garrisoned in (in the imperial period): Spain (30 BC-AD 43), Rhine frontier (Germania Inferior; may have been posted to Mogontiacum, which is in Germania Superior) (AD 43-69). Its honorific title ‘reflects service in Macedonia, 47-44 [BC]’. <sup>3444</sup>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| <b><i>Legio V</i></b>                                            | Given the findspot of <b>ET.12</b> , this has to be the <i>Legio V Alaudae</i> . Found in Vetera, Germania Inferior, this inscription dates to the early-late first century AD. <sup>3445</sup> Created in 52 BC, the <i>Legio V Alaudae</i> was garrisoned in (in the period covered here): Spain (30-19? BC), Rhine frontier (?19 BC-AD 69), they lost their eagle in Gaul (AD 17), Vetera, Germania Inferior (during the reign of the Julio-Claudians, 14 AD-the end of this dynasty), it was either transferred to Moesia by Vespasian in AD 70 and subsequently lost from the record, or disbanded during the Year of the Four Emperors, or it was destroyed on the Danube in c. AD 85-86. The title of the <i>Legio V Alaudae</i> means ‘larks’ and is of Celtic origin, |

<sup>3439</sup> Keppie 1984: 205 appendix 2.

<sup>3440</sup> See, for example, Campbell 2012d: 816; Salmon & Potter 2012a: 49; Wolff in Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 1041; *CIL* V 5824 for information on this legion and **ET.34**.

<sup>3441</sup> EDCS-05100979; LLDB-60526-27, 61964-69, 64332, 64335, 64371-73 and EDR124141 date **ET.34** between AD 197-300, but we can more precisely date it to the third century. Perhaps his family was from Mediolanum.

<sup>3442</sup> Keppie 1984: 205, appendix 2.

<sup>3443</sup> Keppie 1984: 206, appendix 2.

<sup>3444</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3445</sup> EDCS-11100738 and LLDB-104951-54 date it between AD 10-69; HD075698 dates it between AD 31-79.



|                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
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|                                   | as it ‘reflects formation in Transalpine province; also Celtic custom of wearing bird-crest or feathers attached to helmet... perhaps in origin merely a nickname’. <sup>3446</sup>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <b><i>Legio V Gallica</i></b>     | Its name stemmed from its service in Gaul. <b>ET.10</b> is one of the earliest inscriptions in this collection, and belongs to a legion that did not exist after Augustus’ reforms of the Roman military in his reign, so some may argue that it does not belong in this data set. Yet, it just about fits under the timeline of 27 BC-AD 235, as it can be dated to c. 25 BC, which is when the <i>colonia</i> Antiochia Pisidiae, Galatia, was founded and settled by veterans of this legion, and was where this inscription was found. <sup>3447</sup> As the soldier in <b>ET.10</b> was a veteran of this legion, however, he must have served in the Republican period, not under Augustus’ reign.            |
| <b><i>Legio V Macedonica</i></b>  | Created in the early AD 40s. Garrisoned in (in the imperial period): Macedonica (30 BC-AD 6), Oescus, Moesia Inferior (AD 6-?), Syria (AD 61/62), back to Oescus, Moesia Inferior (AD 71-early second century), Troesmis, Moesia (early second century AD), Potaissa, Dacia (AD 167 or 168). Its title originated ‘from service in Macedonia in the generation after Actium’. <sup>3448</sup>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <b><i>Legio VI Ferrata</i></b>    | Created in 52 BC. It was stationed in Syria from 30 BC onwards (it moved around the province; garrisoned in Raphanaea? by AD 54), it was temporarily sent to Moesia in the Year of the Four Emperors, before returning to Syria (instead possibly garrisoned at Samosata), temporarily posted in Arabia, then it went to Carparcotna, Judaea, ‘becoming part of the garrison of the new province of Syria Palestina’, <sup>3449</sup> and possibly sent to Syria Phoenice during Severus Alexander’s reign. Its name means “Ironclad”. <sup>3450</sup>                                                                                                                                                               |
| <b><i>Legio VI Victrix</i></b>    | Created in c. the early 40s BC. Garrisoned in: Spain (30 BC-AD 69), Novaesium, Germania Inferior (it rebuilt this camp; AD 69/70), Vetera, Germania Inferior (by AD 105), Eburacum, Britannia (sent to Britain in AD 122, Eburacum became its permanent garrison). It was given the honorary titles <i>Pia Fidelis Domitiana</i> in AD 89 for its loyalty to Domitian against Lucius Antonius Saturnius’ revolt.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| <b><i>Legio VII (Claudia)</i></b> | Created in the middle of the first century BC. Garrisoned in: the Balkans (?-AD 9?), Tilurium, Dalmatia (AD 9?-?; it ‘probably came to Illyricum during the Delmatian-Pannonian uprising’ in AD 6-9), <sup>3451</sup> Moesia Superior (AD 56/57?; based at Viminacium from Vespasian’s reign onwards; temporarily posted in Italia during the Year of the Four Emperors). When it was stationed in Tilurium, ‘Legio VII did not just serve as a military contingent in the province, it also took part in the construction of the road network and other construction projects in Dalmatia. Its officers also set the boundaries between local communities and thereby participated in the provinces’ administrative |

<sup>3446</sup> Keppie 1984: 207, appendix 2.

<sup>3447</sup> Ramsay 1916: 89; Waldmann 1981: 98; EDCS-26900081; *ILS* 2238; *CLE* 243; *AE* 1989.726 adn.; *AE* 1998.1386 adn.; Cugusi 2011.15; it was accompanied by four other inscriptions of this legion (Holder 1982: 148).

<sup>3448</sup> Keppie 1984: 207, appendix 2.

<sup>3449</sup> Campbell 2012d: 817.

<sup>3450</sup> Keppie 1984: 207, appendix 2.

<sup>3451</sup> Sanader et al. 2010: 483. See also this paper throughout for information on this legion. See also Tončinić 2011: throughout for information on this legion, especially on the highly debated movements of this legion in the early Empire (11-15).

|                                                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
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|                                                        | <p>affairs'.<sup>3452</sup> Sander noted that 'until its departure in the mid-first century AD, Legio VII was one of the two main military units in Dalmatia. This is also demonstrated by the fact that of all Roman military units that had been in Dalmatia, Legio VII, together with Legio XI, left behind the most stone monuments'.<sup>3453</sup> The legion had moved to Moesia by the mid first century AD,<sup>3454</sup> where it joined <i>Legio VIII Augusta</i>,<sup>3455</sup> and later in the century <i>Legio III Gallica</i>;<sup>3456</sup> its base was at Viminacium.<sup>3457</sup> <i>Legio VII Claudia</i> moved to Italy by AD 69, where four other legions had been posted,<sup>3458</sup> and it returned to, and stayed in, Moesia during the Flavians' reign, where it was joined by three other legions.<sup>3459</sup> It was posted to Moesia Superior after the Dacian Wars, in which it served,<sup>3460</sup> where it was joined by only one other legion, and it was still stationed by the early to mid second century AD,<sup>3461</sup> where it remained until at least the end of the time period examined for this study.<sup>3462</sup></p> <p>It was given the honorific titles <i>Claudia Pia Fidelis</i> for its loyalty to Claudius after Camillus Scribonianus' revolt in Dalmatia (AD 42). In this data set, this legion is referred to once with its title of <i>Legio VII Claudia</i>; four times it is simply called <i>Legio VII</i>.</p> <p>See discussion on this legion in Chapter 3.</p> |
| <b><i>Legio VII Gemina (Pia Felix Antoniniana)</i></b> | <p>Originally called <i>Legio VII Hispana</i> upon its formation by Galba (raised in Spain) in the Year of the Four Emperors. It went to Rome, then Carnuntum, Pannonia Superior. It was 'reconstituted in 70, perhaps incorporating soldiers of Legio I, and given name <i>Gemina</i> ('Twin'); received title <i>felix</i> ('fortunate') possibly for distinguished service in Upper Germany in 72/3'.<sup>3463</sup> It was then permanently garrisoned in Legio, Hispania Tarraconensis (AD 74-). It 'may have received some men from one or both disbanded legions [the <i>Legio I Germanica</i> and the <i>Legio XV Primigenia</i>]' after they were reconstituted into other legions as punishment for their involvement in Civilis' rebellion.<sup>3464</sup> This legion was composed of the <i>Legio VII Hispana</i> and, possibly, <i>Legio I</i>, hence its epithet <i>Gemina</i> in c. AD 70. It received the title <i>Felix</i>, potentially for its service in Germania Superior in AD 72/73. During Septimius Severus' reign, it had the honorary titles <i>Pia Felix</i>,<sup>3465</sup> 'possibly for loyalty against Clodius Septimius Albinus'.<sup>3466</sup> It must have received the additional title <i>Antoniana</i> under the Antonines, although it is not known by this title, so it is unsure why they used this title in <b>ET.44</b>.</p>                                                                                                                                                                           |

<sup>3452</sup> Sander 2000: 9.

<sup>3453</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3454</sup> See Hardy 1887: 634. See also Campbell 2012d: 817.

<sup>3455</sup> Hardy 1887: 634.

<sup>3456</sup> *Ibid.*: 636.

<sup>3457</sup> Campbell 2012d: 817; see also *ibid.*: 649.

<sup>3458</sup> Hardy 1887: 643.

<sup>3459</sup> *Ibid.*: 645-646.

<sup>3460</sup> *Ibid.*: 649.

<sup>3461</sup> *Ibid.*: 652.

<sup>3462</sup> *Ibid.*: 656.

<sup>3463</sup> Campbell 2012d: 817.

<sup>3464</sup> Keppie 1984: 214, Appendix 2.

<sup>3465</sup> See Campbell 2012d: 817 for information on this legion.

<sup>3466</sup> *Ibid.*

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| <b><i>Legio VIII Augusta</i></b> | Created in 59 BC or earlier. Garrisoned in: Dalmatia (30 BC-?), Poetovio, Pannonia (AD 9-?), Novae, Moesia Inferior (c. AD 45-70), Argentoratum, Germania Superior (AD 70-onwards). It received the honorific title <i>Augusta</i> ‘after some victory, 27 BC-AD 14’. <sup>3467</sup>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <b><i>Legio IX Hispana</i></b>   | Created in the 40s BC. Garrisoned in: Spain (30-19?BC), Illyricum, Pannonia (9-AD 43, Siscia, Pannonia Superior?), Africa (temporary transfer, for war against Tacfarinas, AD 20-24), Britain (AD 43 - unknown whereabouts after its posting in Britain; stationed at Lindum by 61, then Eburacum in c. 71; its last attestation in Britain is in 108). Disappeared, unknown fate; Wolff conjectures that this legion was disbanded by Hadrian or it was destroyed in a war, along with the <i>Legio XXII Deiotariana</i> , another legion with an unknown fate that suddenly disappears from the record. <sup>3468</sup> It has been conjectured that it was transferred somewhere else, ‘surviving at least into the mid-120s (on the evidence of the careers of senatorial officers), although suggestions that it perished in the Jewish Revolt, 132-5, or in the Parthian War, 161, are pure speculation’. <sup>3469</sup> Its title stems from its service in Spain. See also discussion on this legion in Chapter 5. |
| <b><i>Legio X Gemina</i></b>     | Created in 59 BC, or earlier. Garrisoned in: Petavonium?, Spain (30?BC-AD 63), Carnuntum, Pannonia Superior (AD 63-68), Spain (68-70), Noviomagus, Germania Inferior (70-c. early second century), Aquincum, then Vindobona, Pannonia Inferior (c.103, where it remained). It was given the honorary titles <i>Pia Fidelis Domitiana</i> for its loyalty to Domitian in Lucius Antonius Saturninus’ revolt in 89.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <b><i>Legio XI (Claudia)</i></b> | Created in the late Republic? Garrisoned in: the Balkans (30 BC-AD 9), Burnum, Dalmatia (AD 9-69), Vindonissa, Germania Superior (70-c. early second century), Brigetio, Pannonia Superior (c. 101-?). <sup>3470</sup> From the reign of Trajan, this legion was posted in Lower Moesia, <sup>3471</sup> where it remained. <b>ET.19</b> was found in Resele, Moesia Inferior and can be dated to the second century AD. <sup>3472</sup> In the reign of Trajan, it was posted in Oescus, and Durostorum during the Severan period ( <i>CLEMoes</i> 58). It was given the honorific titles <i>Claudia Pia Fidelis</i> for its loyalty to Claudius after Camillus Scribonianus’ revolt in Dalmatia in AD 42. <sup>3473</sup> Three verse inscriptions mention this legion without its honorific title <i>Claudia</i> , two do.                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| <b><i>Legio XIV Gemina</i></b>   | Created in the late Republic? Garrisoned in: Illyricum (30 BC-AD 9), Mogontiacum, Germania Superior (AD 9-43), Britain (43-66; later stationed at Viroconium), mobile (67-68), Italia (68 AD), Britain (68-70), Mogontiacum, Germania Superior (70-92/3), Danube (92/3 AD; Mursa?, Moesia Superior), Vindobona, Pannonia Superior (c. 101), Carnuntum, Pannonia Superior (by 114). Was given the honorary titles <i>Martia Victrix</i> after it was victorious over Boudicca (60-61). See also discussion in Chapter 6 on this legion.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |

<sup>3467</sup> Keppie 1984: 208, appendix 2.

<sup>3468</sup> Wolff in Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 1041.

<sup>3469</sup> Campbell 2012d: 818.

<sup>3470</sup> See also Hardy 1887: throughout; Campbell 2012d: 818; Wolff in Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 2041 table 8 for information on the garrisons of this legion.

<sup>3471</sup> Hardy 1887: throughout; Campbell 2012d: 818; Wolff in Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 1042 table 8.

<sup>3472</sup> EDCS-11301335; EDR012573; LLDB-121554; Conrad is the only one who dates it to the first half of the third century (2004 515: 263); Cugusi dates it to the end of the second to the beginning of the third centuries AD (2008.58).

<sup>3473</sup> See also Sanader et al. 2010: 483.

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| <b><i>Legio XV Apollinaris</i></b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | Created in the mid Republic? by Augustus. The name of this unit means ‘sacred to the god Apollo, to whom Augustus was especially devoted. Augustus may have honoured the legion with this title after Actium, where victory had been attributed to the intervention of Apollo’. <sup>3474</sup> Garrisoned in: Illyricum, Emona?, Pannonia (post AD 9), Carnuntum, Pannonia Superior (possibly; post 14), ‘moved to the east in 63 for Gnaeus Domitius Corbulo’s campaigns’, <sup>3475</sup> Judaea (66-70), Carnuntum, Pannonia Superior (71-72), Satala, Cappadocia (117 - onwards). ‘A detachment took part in Trajan’s Dacian Wars, and the legion was probably transferred to the east for the emperor’s Parthian campaigns’. <sup>3476</sup><br>See also discussion on this legion in Chapter 3.                                                                                                                                                                |
| <b><i>Legio XVI</i></b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | Created by Augustus in the mid Republic? Garrisoned in: the Rhine frontier (30 BC-AD 9), Mogontiacum, Germania Superior (9-the reign of Claudius), Novaesium, Germania Superior (during the reign of Claudius), ‘part of the legion took part in Vitellius’ invasion of Italy; the remaining soldiers were disgraced by their surrender to Iulius Civilis and the legion was subsequently disbanded by Vespasian who reconstituted it as XVI Flavia Firma’. <sup>3477</sup><br>See also the discussion on this legion in Chapter 5.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| <b><i>Legio XXII Primigenia Pia Fidelis</i></b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | Created by Caligula in AD 39 or, but this is less likely, by Claudius in 42, to prepare for an invasion of Britain. The ‘numbers [were] chosen to fit [the] sequence of garrisons in two German provinces. Title: <i>Primigenia</i> , ‘First Born’, of a new breed of legions’. <sup>3478</sup> Garrisoned in: Mogontiacum, Germania Superior (c. 43; where <b>ET.13</b> was found), ‘accompanied Vitellius on his march to Rome; transferred briefly to Carnuntum; by 71 had returned to a new station at Vetera’, Germania Inferior. <sup>3479</sup> When <i>Legio XIV Gemina</i> was transferred to the Danube, <i>Legio XXII Primigenia</i> was moved to Mogontiacum, Germania Superior. This legion was given the honorific titles <i>Pia Fidelis Domitiana</i> for their loyalty to him in 89, and 92/3. It was moved back to Mogontiacum in AD 92/93, and thus spent most of its service in the Germanic provinces. <b>ET.13</b> has been dated to AD 157-159. |
| <b><i>Legio XXX (Ulpia Victrix Pia Fidelis)</i></b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | It was created by Trajan, hence its honorary titles, in c. AD 105 for the purpose of serving in the Dacian Wars; it served in the Second Dacian War, until 122. It was stationed in Brigetio, Pannonia Superior (c. 105-122; where it served in the Second Dacian War), Colonia Traiana, nr. Vetera, Germania Inferior (during Hadrian’s reign onwards), where it replaced the <i>Legio VI Victrix</i> when it was transferred to Britain.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| <b>AUXILIA</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| These units accompanied the legions and they ‘provided the army with couriers and scouts, and could consist of either light- or heavy-armored cavalry’. <sup>3480</sup> They were originally of non-Roman origin, as indicated in the titles of some of the units, which were often named after the peoples they had (originally) been recruited from, but over time Roman citizens were |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |

<sup>3474</sup> Keppie 1984: 210, appendix 2.

<sup>3475</sup> Campbell 2012d: 818.

<sup>3476</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3477</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3478</sup> Keppie 1984: 213, Appendix 1. See, for example, for information on this legion, Campbell 2012d: 819; Wolff in Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 1041.

<sup>3479</sup> Campbell 2012d: 819.

<sup>3480</sup> Wolff in Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 1044.

recruited into them. The *auxilia* were also named after the weapons they used, or an emperor. ‘In the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD., although many *auxilia* were volunteers, most were probably conscripted’.<sup>3481</sup> The soldiers serving in the *auxilia* were often granted citizenship, for themselves and their children, for their *honesta missio* at the end of their twenty five year service, as seen in military *diplomata*.<sup>3482</sup> The *cohortes civium Romanorum* were auxiliary cohorts composed of citizen volunteers, ‘the soldiers who belonged to these cohorts were commanded by a tribune and were seen as equal to legionaries’.<sup>3483</sup>

The *auxilia* were arranged into *alae*, composed of cavalry troops, or *cohortes*, which were of infantry. The hierarchy of the composition of the *auxilia* is as follows:

- *alae*: cavalry wing in the *auxilia*. The commanders of these units were equestrian prefects, ‘who in the three posts often held by equestrian officers (*tres militiae*) ranked above the prefects of auxiliary cohorts and military tribunes’.<sup>3484</sup>
- *cohors equitata*: ‘an auxiliary infantry cohort with a mounted component’.<sup>3485</sup> More common in the West, particularly on the Rhine and Danube, but they are found in the East.
- *cohors*: ‘an infantry division of a legion or a standalone auxiliary infantry unit’.<sup>3486</sup>

A *turma* was a cavalry sub-unit in the *auxilia*; in the urban units and the legions, a cavalry sub-unit was a *centuria*. A *quingenary cohors* was under the command of a *praefectus*, with a *centurio princeps* as his subordinate. A *milliaria cohors* was under the command of a *tribunus militum*, with a *centurio princeps* as his subordinate. Both of these commanders were junior to a *legatus legionis*.

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| <b><i>Ala Gallorum</i></b>  | The only reference to this unit is in <b>ET.35</b> . Speidel supposes that the full name of this unit was: ‘da man in der mittleren Kaiserzeit dei Truppen meistens örtlich aushob, stand die Reitertruppe, aus der Antonius zur Garde befördert wurde, wohl in Dakien. Vermutlich war es die Ala I Claudia Gallorum Capitoniana aus Niederdakien, die dann 233-235 in Mauretanien auftaucht’. <sup>3487</sup>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| <b><i>Ala I Thracum</i></b> | There were several <i>alae I Thracum</i> , because ‘the Roman army was unmethodical in its numbering and naming of units, and every time new Thracian units were raised, they were numbered from <i>cohors</i> (or <i>ala</i> ) I upwards; only rarely was a distinguishing title added – and this might not be used consistently and invariably. In consequence, there are at least five units which might appear in inscriptions as <i>ala I Thracum</i> , and at least eleven with the title <i>cohors I Thracum</i> ’, <sup>3488</sup> including the <i>ala I Thracum Mauretana</i> , the <i>ala I Thracum veteranorum</i> , <sup>3489</sup> and the <i>ala I Thracum</i> serving in Britain. <sup>3490</sup> So, in some cases it may be difficult to determine which <i>ala I Thracum</i> the |

<sup>3481</sup> Campbell 2012c: 215.

<sup>3482</sup> See also discussion on this in Chapter 8.

<sup>3483</sup> Wolff in Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 1045.

<sup>3484</sup> Campbell 2012a: 47.

<sup>3485</sup> De la Bédoyère 2020: 420.

<sup>3486</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3487</sup> Speidel 1994b: 603, 632.

<sup>3488</sup> Jarrett 1969: 215.

<sup>3489</sup> See Knight 1991: 193.

<sup>3490</sup> Jarrett: ‘attested in Britain in 103 and 124, it was probably in the province earlier: an inscription from Cirencester, probably of the mid to late first century, records an *ala Thraec* (sic), and no other *ala Thracum* is attested in Britain. It is probably the *ala I Thracum* known in Lower Germany, but not certainly there before the mid-second century; it was still in Germany in 219. Cichorius sought to identify this with one of the *alae I Thracum* serving on the Danube in the second century; he is followed by the editors of *RIB*. The studies of the other units ... make this extremely unlikely’ (1969: 218). See also Knight 1991: 191.

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|-----------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                                                     | <p>soldier was said to have served in. Most of the Thracian units, ‘if not all ... appear to have been formed during the first century A.D.’.<sup>3491</sup></p> <p>The <i>ala I Thracum</i> mentioned in <b>ET.36</b>, for example, is different to the ones mentioned in <b>LL.4</b> and <b>LL.5</b>. For Speidel, this <i>ala I Thracum</i> was probably stationed in Carnuntum,<sup>3492</sup> which fits the Pannonian origins of the soldier (the Boii were from Pannonia Superior). Speidel conjectures that it could also refer to the <i>ala I Thracum exercitus Pannoniae superioris</i>.<sup>3493</sup> There was also the <i>ala I Thracum Victrix</i>, which is found in Pannonia Superior between AD 133-154, possibly later, and it could have been in this province during the reign of Trajan;<sup>3494</sup> these dates could correlate with the service of the soldier in <b>ET.36</b>. The <i>ala I Thracum</i> unit in <b>LL.5</b> is believed to be a reference to the <i>ala I Thracum veterana sagittaria</i>;<sup>3495</sup> given the closeness in their findspots and <b>LL.5</b> and <b>LL.4</b> can be dated to the same century, it is possible that this is the unit also referred to in <b>LL.4</b>.</p> <p>This unit, therefore, does not appear to have had the unique poetic output for the auxiliary units as it would appear, as the <i>ala I Thracum</i>, in these three cases, refer to different units.</p> |
| <b><i>Ala Veterana Gallica</i></b>                  | See Chapter 5 for more information on this unit.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| <b><i>Ala Vocontiorum</i></b>                       | <p>For <b>ET.65</b>, Lehner sees the <i>ala Vocontiorum</i> as ‘die ala Vocontiorum wird identisch sein mit der ala Augusta Vocontiorum, die in Britannien stand’.<sup>3496</sup> This unit was stationed in Britain during the early second century AD, having previously been in Germania Inferior in Domitian’s reign.<sup>3497</sup></p> <p>See Chapter 5 for more information on this unit.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <b><i>Cohors I Chalcidenorum equitata</i></b>       | See Chapter 5 for more information on this unit.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| <b><i>Cohors I Hamiorum Sagittiorum Syriaca</i></b> | See Chapters 5 and 6 for more information on this unit.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| <b><i>Cohors II Aurelia Dardanorum</i></b>          | <p>This unit and its role are described by Petrović: stationed in Timacum Minus, ‘la <i>cohors II Aurelia Dardanorum</i>, qui porte dans les inscriptions honorifiques les épithètes <i>milliaria, equitata, Antoniniana ... Gordiana</i>. Cette unité a été formée en 169, probablement à la même époque que la <i>cohors II Aurelia Dardanorum</i>, qui était stationnée à Naissus, et les autres <i>cohortes Aureliae</i> en garnison en Mésie</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |

<sup>3491</sup> Jarrett 1969: 215.

<sup>3492</sup> Speidel 1994b: 355, 659.

<sup>3493</sup> See *ibid.*: 356, 659.

<sup>3494</sup> Jarrett 1969: 217.

<sup>3495</sup> Kuntić-Makvić 1976: 43; Lőrincz 2001:211; Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007.45: 99; Fehér 2020.1899. See also Adamik 1997: 166; Lupa 3587. ‘Nagy (1856) suggests, on the basis of the names of men serving with this unit, that it may well have been in Pannonia Superior before its transfer to Pannonia Inferior. It is attested in the latter province by *diplomata* for the period 139-167, and was still there under Caracalla (or Elagabalus) and Severus Alexander. The latest record is a milestone of 251. In 150 it had just returned from service in Mauretania. Nagy is probably correct in reading *veter(anorum)* rather than *veter(ana)*, since the latter would imply two units of the same name and number in the province, and only one is attested’ (Jarrett 1969: 218). See also Knight 1991: 204, who also identifies this unit as being previously posted in Pannonia Superior by AD 113 and then transferred to Pannonia Inferior by AD 139.

<sup>3496</sup> Lehner 1918: 263, 657.

<sup>3497</sup> Knight 1991: 198.

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|                                    | Supérieure ( <i>I et II Aurelia nova</i> ) et en Dalmatie ( <i>I et II Aurelia Delmatarum</i> ). Organisées en milices territoriales, ces unités assuraient la sécurité des routes et de l’approvisionnement; dans notre région, la <i>cohors II Aurelia Dardanorum</i> contrôlait aussi le transport du minerai entre la vallée du Danube et Naissus, qu’une route reliait au port de Lissus sur la mer Adriatique’. <sup>3498</sup> This cohort is seen in many other prose inscriptions. <sup>3499</sup>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <b><i>Cohors II Brittonum</i></b>  | Similar to the problem encountered with the <i>ala I Thracum</i> , there were several <i>cohors II Brittonum</i> : the <i>cohors II Augusta Nerviana Brittonum milliaria</i> , which was stationed in Pannonia Inferior in AD 144 and then sent to Dacia Porolissensis in 133, <sup>3500</sup> and had probably left the Dacian province by the time of the Parthian War conducted during Trajan’s reign. <sup>3501</sup> There was also a <i>cohors II Flavia Brittonum equitata</i> , posted in Moesia Inferior (with Dacia Inferior, Thracia and Macedonia). <sup>3502</sup> There was a <i>cohors II Brittonum miliaria civium Romanorum pia fidelis</i> posted in Colonia Ulpia Traiana, Germania Inferior in c. AD 89, sent to Moesia Superior in 100, and was garrisoned in Dacia Porolissensis by the reign of Hadrian. <sup>3503</sup> But there was a <i>cohors II Brittonum</i> recorded in a <i>diplomata</i> from Mauretania Caesariensis (128), <sup>3504</sup> which fits with both the time and location of the findspot of <b>ET.52</b> , the only inscription to mention this unit in this data set. This cohort was the only <i>cohors II Brittonum</i> posted in Mauretania Caesariensis during the reign of Hadrian, so <b>ET.52</b> must be referring to this one.<br>Eck and Pangerl suggest that this unit was established by Nero in c. 57, or perhaps under Claudius, not long after the invasion of Britain, contrary to the previous belief that this unit was established under Vespasian. They assume that this unit was transferred to the lower Rhine after the Batavian revolt, when many Batavian cohorts were withdrawn from the militia of Germania Inferior. <sup>3505</sup> |
| <b><i>Cohors II Thebaeorum</i></b> | For more information on this unit, see discussion in Chapter 5.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| <b><i>Cohors III Alpina</i></b>    | Thirty inscriptions mention a <i>cohors III Alpinorum</i> in Dalmatia ‘and its monuments are also the most common in the province’, and they have found other traces of material evidence supporting this cohort’s presence here. <sup>3506</sup> Other names for this cohort were the <i>cohors III Alpinorum</i> and the <i>cohors III Alpina</i> . In one inscription concerning this unit (prose; AE 1983.650 = ILAM 145 = AE 2013.835), in which an auxiliary cavalryman is written about, is according to AE 2013.835: ‘la <i>cohors III Alpinorum equitata</i> , qui la recruté six autres soldats dans les Alpes maritimes et cottiennes, et pour laquelle l’appellation <i>Alpina</i> est                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |

<sup>3498</sup> Petrović 1995: 44.

<sup>3499</sup> See *ibid.*

<sup>3500</sup> Knight 1991: 202. See also Holder 2018: 258.

<sup>3501</sup> Holder 2003: 106.

<sup>3502</sup> See *ibid.*: 133, table 2. See also 134, table 4, 138, table 11, as these tables give the locations of these *cohortes*. See also Edzard, Kaletsch, Callies, Lotze, Homeyer, Petrikovits & Schneider 1967: 451; Pochmarski 2011: 253.

<sup>3503</sup> Knight 1991: 199-200, 202. See also Eck & Pangerl 2003: 206; AE 2006.880.

<sup>3504</sup> Holder 2003: 112.

<sup>3505</sup> Eck & Pangerl 2003: 208.

<sup>3506</sup> Demicheli 2020: 312-313.

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|                           | <p>attestée à deux reprises'.<sup>3507</sup> There is evidence suggesting it is 'possible that – like certain other auxiliary units in Dalmatia – peregrines constituted the bulk of the military personnel in <i>cohors III Alpinorum</i> at the beginnings of its formation, while over time Roman citizens also served in its ranks as ordinary soldiers',<sup>3508</sup> and they were eventually locally recruited.<sup>3509</sup> When their origins have been stated on their monuments, men in this auxiliary unit have been found to originate 'from the Alpine provinces, northern Italy, Gallia, Noricum, Pannonia and Dalmatia'.<sup>3510</sup></p> <p><b>ET.6</b> is also not the only inscription attested to a <i>cohors III Alpinorum</i> and likely to have been found in Salona: 'as the name suggests, originally this unit consisted of peregrines from the territory of the Alps, i.e., the three Alpine provinces (Alpes Maritimae, Poeninae and Cottiae), and it most likely came to Dalmatia, or rather Illyricum, together with numerous other units that participated in quelling the Pannonian-Dalmatian Uprising (the so-called Batonian War) from 6 to 9 AD'.<sup>3511</sup> About a dozen other monuments attesting to this unit have been found in Salonitan land, mentioning men holding various ranks.<sup>3512</sup> It was stationed in Dalmatia between the first half of the first century to the beginning of the third, but 'it would seem that this cohort was not permanently stationed at a single location, rather it stayed at several thus far known and assumed military forts. Based on previous hypotheses, it was apparently initially posted in the hinterland of Narona ..., then in the hinterland of Salona ... and perhaps farther to the north-west, in one of the possible forts for auxiliary units near the legionary fortress of Burnum'.<sup>3513</sup></p> |
| <b>Cohors Mattiacorum</b> | <p>There was a <i>cohors I</i> and <i>II Mattiacorum</i>,<sup>3514</sup> but the most likely unit <b>ET.18</b>, the only inscription in this data set that refers to a <i>cohors Mattiacorum</i>, belonged to was the <i>cohors II Mattiacorum</i><sup>3515</sup> (its full name was the <i>cohors II Mattiacorum milliaria equitata</i>, thus making it a cavalry unit, which is referred to in <b>ET.18</b> itself, as a rider is in the accompanying relief).<sup>3516</sup> Diploma evidence indicates this unit moved from Moesia Inferior to Thrace between Trajan and Hadrian's reigns;<sup>3517</sup> references to this cohort are found in Moesia Inferior and Thrace in the early years and middle of Antoninus Pius' reign respectively.<sup>3518</sup> This unit, therefore, must have been moved to Thrace</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |

<sup>3507</sup> See also Demicheli 2020: 313.

<sup>3508</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3509</sup> *Ibid.*: 314.

<sup>3510</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3511</sup> *Ibid.*: 311.

<sup>3512</sup> *Ibid.*: 313.

<sup>3513</sup> Demicheli 2020: 312.

<sup>3514</sup> 'cohors *Cilicum* et cohors *Mattiacorum* sine numero distinguente afferuntur, e quo suspicari licet eo tempore solummodo unam cohortem *Cilicum* et unam *Mattiacorum* in Moesia fuisse. Verisimile igitur videtur alteram esse ... *I Mattiacorum*, quam exstitisse adhuc inde tantum concludere poterat, quod coh. *II Mattiacorum* in Moesia memoratur' (Nesselhauf in *CIL* XVI 22 n. 4); see Devijer 1982: 182 n. 47. See also Pelham 1906: 46 n. 1.

<sup>3515</sup> See also Conrad 2004: 29, 215 and Cugusi 2008.25. Cugusi, too, believes the unit to be the *cohors II Mattiacorum*: the *diplomata* which show it moved to Thrace must have been unknown to him, as 'essa fu sempre di stanza nella Moesia Inferior; a quanto è dato sapere' (2008.25).

<sup>3516</sup> See Conrad 2004: 29, 215. See also *CLE* 1323.

<sup>3517</sup> See Holder 2003: 104.

<sup>3518</sup> See *ibid.*: 133 table 2. In this table, references to the *cohors II Mattiacorum* in Moesia Inferior are seen in AD 145-146, and in Thrace from AD 155/9 (see also Weiß 2001: 263, 265). The *cohors II Mattiacorum* is referred to in diplomas from



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|  | <p>in approximately AD 152/154: ‘in den thrakischen Diplomen treten dann 155/159 und in den 160er Jahren drei Kohorten auf, die offenbar den Gesamtbestand dieser kleineren prätorischen Provinz ausmachten (Alen lagen dort nicht): eben die <i>II Lucensium</i> und die <i>II Mattiacorum</i>, beide zu unterschiedlichen Zeiten aus Niedermösien gekommen’.<sup>3519</sup></p> <p>The earliest reference to this unit appears to have been in 78.<sup>3520</sup> The unit was stationed in fort Sostra, Thracia by the time of Antoninus Pius, having previously been stationed in Sexaginta Prista.<sup>3521</sup> The unit was moved into Thracia in the reign of Antoninus Pius for a year, and for another year around about the time of the reigns of Marcus Aurelius and Verus,<sup>3522</sup> so the unit was bounced between Moesia Inferior and Thracia; these are neighbouring provinces, so the move could hardly have been arduous. The unit had returned to Sostra by the reign of Septimius Severus,<sup>3523</sup> correlating with the date <b>ET.18</b> has been given; at some point in the Severan era, this unit disappeared from the record, and so it is unknown what happened to it.<sup>3524</sup></p> <p>Conrad, however, believed this unit was stationed in Moesia Inferior between the end of the first – first half of the third centuries and ‘da nach den Relief- und Buchstabenformen die Stele kaum vor dem Ende des 2. Jh. entstanden ist, kann nur die <i>cohors II Mattiacorum</i> in Frage kommen, die ab dem Ende des 2. Jh. im Kastell Sostra stationiert war’,<sup>3525</sup> whereas the <i>cohors I Mattiacorum</i> ‘die bisher nur am Ende des 1. Jh. in Moesia inferior nachgewiesen ist’.<sup>3526</sup></p> <p>Cugusi dates <b>ET.18</b> between the end of the first and the second half of the second century ‘quando il centro faceva parte della Tracia’,<sup>3527</sup> which suggests that the findspot of this inscription, the necropolis of Tenča, near Nicopolis ad Istrum, was once in Thrace,<sup>3528</sup> so perhaps the unit did not move far from its location, but the province boundaries changed, which meant that it was once in Moesia Inferior and then in Thrace. The fort Sostra was on the road between Philippolis, the capital of Thracia and it was included in the territory of Moesia Inferior, ‘understand also jedenfalls bis weit ins dritte Jahrhundert hinein dem Statthalter dieser Provinz’,<sup>3529</sup> so the boundaries or the understanding of which province this fort was located in appears to have changed over time. There were military veterans from the <i>cohors Mattiacorum</i>, <i>Legio I Italica</i> and <i>Legio V Macedonica</i> also stationed in Moesia, in Nicopolis, which may also explain the findspot of this inscription: perhaps this was a military burial site.<sup>3530</sup></p> |
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Moesia Inferior dating from the final decade of the first – first quarter of the second century (Eck & Pangerl 2010; Eck & Pangerl 2014a; Eck & Pangerl 2020: 293-294). See also Weiß 1999: 284-285; Eck & Pangerl 2014b: 254.

<sup>3519</sup> See Weiß 2001: 265.

<sup>3520</sup> See, for example, Syme 1935: 96.

<sup>3521</sup> See Eck & Ivanov 2009: 191-192.

<sup>3522</sup> *Ibid.* See also AE 1998.1622.

<sup>3523</sup> Eck & Ivanov 2009: 191-192. See also Sharankov 2020: 318 n. 51.

<sup>3524</sup> Eck & Ivanov 2009: 191-192.

<sup>3525</sup> Conrad 2004: 215.

<sup>3526</sup> *Ibid.*: 29.

<sup>3527</sup> Cugusi 2008.25.

<sup>3528</sup> See, for example, *ibid.*

<sup>3529</sup> Eck & Ivanov 2009: 191.

<sup>3530</sup> Seure 1907: 276.

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|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | This unit had constructed the Gherghina fortress, Moesia Inferior, in 112, a <i>castellum</i> ‘sur une forte position au croisement des vallées de Siret et du Danube, su l’emplacement d’un marché getico-grec en face d’un autre château fort existant à Biserictuza en Dobrogea. Il dèéfendait un important gué danubien, qui reliait les cites grecques à la route de Dacie’. <sup>3531</sup>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <b><i>Cohors miliariae novae Suorum</i></b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | See discussion in Chapter 3 for more information on this unit.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| <b><i>Cohors Surorum</i></b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | This cohort is only mentioned in <b>ET.75</b> , and this inscription provides evidence for ‘die Kohorte, von der bisher aus Germanien nichts bekannt war, stand offenbar in der ersten Hälfte des 1. Jahrhunderts zeitweise in oder bei Mainz; vielleicht ist sie identisch mit der <i>coh. Syrorum</i> in Mauretanien’. <sup>3532</sup> It was an auxiliary cavalry unit (its full name was the <i>cohors Surorum equitata</i> ; an alternative name for this cohort was the <i>cohors II Surorum sagittariorum</i> ), <sup>3533</sup> perhaps stationed at fort Stahlberg, as this inscription was found in the Roman cemetery here. <sup>3534</sup> It was perhaps stationed in the military garrison in Sala when it was posted in Mauretanian. <sup>3535</sup><br>See also Chapter 3 for information on this unit. |
| <p style="text-align: center;"><b><i>Numeri</i></b><sup>3536</sup></p> <p>Differing opinions have been offered on what the <i>numeri</i> were in the Roman army (they were a unit that appears to have only featured in the army, not the navy; they could be mounted or infantry),<sup>3537</sup> but it is Southern who offers the most logical, complemented by her analysis of the differing nuance of what this might have meant at any one time, in any one place, and analysis and interpretation of this aspect of the Roman military. According to her, a <i>numerus</i> ‘covers a wide range of unrelated troops, some of which were auxiliaries or legionaries brought together under various guises for specific purposes, and some of which were raised from tribes at the fringes of the Empire’.<sup>3538</sup> Men who served in the <i>numeri</i> were not granted citizenship upon retirement, it is not known how long they served for in these units, or how big these units were, and the men within them do not appear ‘to have been Romans or</p> |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |

<sup>3531</sup> Cantacuzène 1928: 87.

<sup>3532</sup> Nesselhauf 1938: 113. See also Lazzaro 1979: 207.

<sup>3533</sup> See *AE* 1989.913.

<sup>3534</sup> See Lazzaro 1979: 206.

<sup>3535</sup> Gasco 1992: 727.

<sup>3536</sup> See, for example, de la Bédoyère 2020: 424. For more detailed discussion on these units in the Roman military, see Southern 1989. See also discussion on the unknown *numerus* involved with the restoration work in **RI.14**.

<sup>3537</sup> De la Bédoyère defines a *numerus* as an ‘irregular infantry unit of hired provincials. Such men had no discharge rights like other auxiliaries’ (2020: 424). Wolff perceived them as the lowest in the hierarchy of the *auxilia* units (in Le Bohec [ed.] 2015: 1043, 1046-1047) and described them as ‘a troop of non-Roman soldiers who had kept their ethnic features and thus their own language and weapons (it may also be used for any sort of unit, that is, as a synonym for “unit”)’ (1046). *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* more accurately with ‘in a military context was simply a term for bodies of soldiers; consequently *numerus* was often applied to a formation lacking a formal title, like *frumentarii* (grain-collecting agents) or *equites singulares Augusti*, and to units recruited from un-romanized peoples, which, preserving their military customs and techniques, in some cases remained distinct from the usual army structure. However, since *numerus* was also used to designate a *cohors*, *ala* ..., or legion, it was not a technical term applied only to special types of unit. Therefore, the use of *numerus* to describe a national or ethnic unit ... does not imply that such units had uniform conditions of service, organization, and function; the formation of national units was probably a gradual process beginning in the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD.’ (Campbell 2021e). *The Encyclopedia of the Roman Army* simply defines a *numerus* as ‘any type of unit’ (Le Bohec [ed.] 2015: 699). Speidel’s definition of *numerus* is similar, describing it as ‘the Roman term for “military unit”’ (1978: 22). Wolff, later in *The Encyclopedia of the Roman Army*, defines a *numerus* when regarding the *equites singulares Augusti* as ‘a unit made up of irregulars, which was neither a legion nor a cohort nor an *ala*. The soldiers who comprised the *numerus* were taken from different regular units and they were called *singulares* (“isolated” or “detached”) because they had been seconded to the army commander’ (in Le Bohec [ed.] 2015: 1038). See also Haynes 2013: 13. For more detail, see Haynes 2013: 70.

<sup>3538</sup> Southern 1989: 131.

Romanized provincials'.<sup>3539</sup> The role of the *numeri* differed according to the location of their posting, but were apparently used for security within and without the provinces,<sup>3540</sup> rather like the overall construct of the Roman military itself.

The creation of the *numeri* may have begun under the Flavians, but became more established during Hadrian's reign.<sup>3541</sup> They could have been both temporary and more permanent units.<sup>3542</sup> *Numeri*, unlike the other units in the Roman military, 'denote[s] a unit, but not one of standard size or organisation'.<sup>3543</sup> Southern provides a more nuanced view of these units, and perhaps even their categorised place within the hierarchy of the Roman military presented in this study ought to be queried: 'the assumption that the known facts about some of the *numeri* were readily applicable to all the others has led to their treatment as a distinct class of units, fourth in line after legions, *alae* and cohorts, which is not sufficiently precise. Strictly speaking each *numerus* should be examined on its own merits and without preconceived ideas, but the use of a convenient and all-embracing label facilitates discussion on the subject as a whole: hence, the national *numeri*'.<sup>3544</sup> What Southern defines as 'the national *numeri*' are 'a variety of units not classifiable as legions, *alae* or cohorts, but which are also distinct from the ... non-national *numeri* such as the *frumentarii*, *pedites* and *equites singulares*, *statores* and so on, called by the same title but probably not organised in the same way, and definitely not of the same status'.<sup>3545</sup> Southern recommends approaching the *numeri* 'individually instead of generally, with regard to their origins and later recruitment'.<sup>3546</sup>

In an epigraphic context, 'on inscriptions *numerus* sometimes appears in place of 'troops' or 'units''.<sup>3547</sup> This maybe how we should understand the reference to a *numerus* in **RI.14**, as a unit of the *Legio III Augusta*, rather than a separate unit, although that the legion is named throughout and this unit mentioned once perhaps indicates it was a unit distinct from the legion. The *numerus* mentioned as participating in the restoration work in **RI.14** is not named, which may denote its lower-placed value in comparison to the legion (in this inscription, the *Legio III Augusta* is frequently named throughout, whereas the *numerus* is never named), or it may suggest its integration into the legion, i.e. it was considered a part of the legion, rather than a separate unit. These units were often led by 'legionary centurions acting as *praepositi*',<sup>3548</sup> which is perhaps seen in **NW.8**. However, 'a *numerus* could be jointly commanded along with another unit',<sup>3549</sup> which may be what we see in **RI.14**.

***numerus peditum singularium Britannicianorum***

This *numerus* was an infantry unit of *singulares*. The *singulares* were the bodyguard of the governor, and a reserve force in battle.<sup>3550</sup> Chosen from the *auxilia*, 'by contrast [to the *equites singulares Augusti*], the provincial governors had a standing guard of *pedites* and *equites singulares* since the beginning of the Empire'.<sup>3551</sup> The *equites* were more prestigious than the *pedites*.<sup>3552</sup> Mainly garrisoned in provincial capitals, these *singulares* units were a temporary detachment from

<sup>3539</sup> Southern 1989: 131.

<sup>3540</sup> See *ibid.*: 131-132.

<sup>3541</sup> See *ibid.*: 131.

<sup>3542</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3543</sup> *Ibid.*: 81.

<sup>3544</sup> *Ibid.*: 81-82. Southern provides a list of the national *numeri* and the *numeri* of the Roman army (132-138, appendix 1).

<sup>3545</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3546</sup> *Ibid.*: 89.

<sup>3547</sup> *Ibid.* See also 83-84.

<sup>3548</sup> *Ibid.*: 89. According to Wolff, however, 'their commander bore the title of prefect when they were 500-strong, and tribune when they were 1,000-strong. The commander could also be called a *praepositus*, a title that was used to designate an officer who had come from another unit and had been given a temporary command; he was often a legionary centurion detached from his legion' (in Le Bohec [ed.] 2015: 1046).

<sup>3549</sup> Southern 1989: 131.

<sup>3550</sup> See Speidel 1978: 7 (see also throughout). See also discussion in Appendix 3 below.

<sup>3551</sup> *Ibid.*: 6.

<sup>3552</sup> See *ibid.*: 37.

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|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | <p>their original unit,<sup>3553</sup> and to be a '<i>singularis</i> [such as this], therefore, was not a rank or a pay grade, only a special assignment'.<sup>3554</sup> Their role was probably similar to that of the urban <i>singulares</i> units;<sup>3555</sup> as well as 'their function as a ceremonial- and body guard, as an escort, a security force, and a strategical reserve, the <i>singulares</i> constituted also a bond of unity, cohesion and control within the provincial armies... As representatives of their unit with the governor they will have boosted the pride and loyalty of their comrades on the frontier'.<sup>3556</sup> The <i>singulares</i> had various roles, such as 'quarri[ng] stones and sometimes fir[ing] bricks',<sup>3557</sup> and they 'continued their role as a force of unity and cohesion by supplying the legions with training officers and centurions'.<sup>3558</sup> These <i>singulares</i> units were mobile reserve units supporting the military presence in the provinces; the <i>equites singulares</i>, however, were larger and mounted, and thus could be deployed easier.<sup>3559</sup></p> <p>See discussions on <b>NW.8</b> for more information on this unit.</p> |
| <p style="text-align: center;"><b>NAVY</b></p> <p>Created by Augustus. The fleets in the Roman navy had multiple functions, although their role was similar to the function of the Roman army, i.e. one beyond a fighting force, more of an assistive role to the functioning and progression of the Empire: they 'were employed for the defense of the empire and their troops acted as a reserve corps. But they were also used, more importantly, to provide logistical support for military campaigns, especially the transport of troops and supplies'.<sup>3560</sup></p> <p>There were more fleets than the ones present in this data set, where only the two main fleets, the one at Misenum and Ravenna, are represened. These main fleets were commanded by a prefect from the <i>ordo equestris</i>, during the reigns of Claudius and Nero they were sometimes commanded by imperial freedmen. The squadrons of ships in the fleet were commanded by a <i>navarchus</i>, the individual ships themselves a <i>trierarchus</i>. 'Each ship, whatever its size, was run as a century'.<sup>3561</sup></p> |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| <b><i>Classis praetoriae Misenatium</i></b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | <p>Stationed in Misenum, protected the western Mediterranean. The prefect of this fleet was more senior than the prefect of the Ravenna fleet.</p> <p>Detachments at: Ostia, Centumcellae, Puteoli, 'and probably at ports elsewhere'.<sup>3562</sup></p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| <b><i>Classis Ravenna</i></b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | Stationed in Ravenna, protected the eastern Mediterranean.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |

<sup>3553</sup> See Speidel 1978: 24.

<sup>3554</sup> *Ibid.*: 36.

<sup>3555</sup> See *ibid.*: 42-43, including guarding the governor's palace, escorting the governor, serving as a police force, and training.

<sup>3556</sup> *Ibid.*: 67.

<sup>3557</sup> *Ibid.*: 24. See also 45.

<sup>3558</sup> *Ibid.*: 68.

<sup>3559</sup> *Ibid.*: 52-53.

<sup>3560</sup> Wolff in Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 1049. See also Chapter 2.

<sup>3561</sup> Wolff in Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 1049. For more information on this, especially on trierarchs, see discussion on **AI.1** in Chapter 6.

<sup>3562</sup> Webster 1985: 158.

## Appendix 3: Ranks in the Latin Verse Inscriptions of the Roman Military<sup>3563</sup>

Although all aspects of the Roman military were considered in the data gathering process, this does not mean that all aspects of the Roman military were represented. As can be seen below, not all ranks in the Roman military have been represented, and there is a skew towards those with more of an administrative/highly educated background. There is a far greater diversity of ranks in the Roman military present in prose inscriptions;<sup>3564</sup> some ranks of the Roman military we only know about from inscriptions, and none of these otherwise unknown ranks feature in the verse inscriptions in this study.

The ranks in the Roman military were a mix between career soldiers and senatorial and equestrian men who happened to hold military posts as a part of the career ascension of their respective classes.<sup>3565</sup> Those who rose through the ranks could later ascend to a higher social class (see, for example, the *primus pilus*). The career soldiers served in the Roman military for the entirety of their working life; those ascending the senatorial and equestrian pathway only held military posts temporarily, for a few years at the most. Those in the senatorial class held more senior military posts, usually without previous military experience, at a younger age. The equestrians held military posts in the middle of their careers/lives. Career soldiers had to work their way through the ranks through their whole working life to attain a high-ranking post. This, therefore, creates an age-discrepancy in the ranks (i.e., seniority did not necessarily mean older, but it did correlate with the class system) that ought to be borne in mind when considering them. The intertwined system of political/civilian and military careers/posts, therefore, can make distinguishing between the two difficult, especially the more senior military posts, which often had political/civilian and military roles. The ranks here are presented in hierarchical order.

| Rank                                | Explanation of rank                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Imperator</b>                    | – technically, the Emperor was the head of the Roman military. Promotions were said to have been chosen by the Emperor himself.                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <b>Legati:</b>                      | a <i>legatus</i> was a ‘lieutenant of the Emperor chosen by him from the senatorial aristocracy; the title of (i) the provincial governor ( <i>legatus Augusti pro praetore</i> ) and (ii) the commanding officer of a legion ( <i>legatus Augusti</i> or <i>legatus legionis</i> )’. <sup>3566</sup> |
| <b>legatus Augusti pro praetore</b> | This was the man in command of several legions at once, and he was the governor of the province the legions were stationed in, as well as                                                                                                                                                             |

<sup>3563</sup> For information on these, see Speidel 1978: throughout; Keppie 1984: 216-219; Gilliver 2001; Rogan 2006; Gilliver 2007; Southern 2007: 335-341; Parker, Watson & Lintott 2012: 1201-1202; Burton 2012: 1215-1216; Wolff in Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 1039-1049; Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: throughout; de la Bédoyère 2020: 419-428; *RIB*, ‘glossary’, <https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/reference/glossary>, last accessed 16/4/2024.

<sup>3564</sup> See the catalogue in Mander’s *Portraits of Children in Roman Funerary Monuments* (156-343), for example, where, in a general collection, featuring people from all strata of Roman society, there is a greater diversity of Roman military ranks, when they appear in this general sweep collection, than featured here. These inscriptions are predominantly prose, although three military verse inscriptions, which feature in this study, that can be found in Mander’s catalogue of 881 inscriptions.

<sup>3565</sup> For a hierarchy of the senior officers in the Roman military, see Le Bohec 2015: 865, table 6 ‘basic hierarchy’, and for information on the career pathways of those in the senatorial and equestrian orders, see 865, table 7 ‘career paths of senators and knights’.

<sup>3566</sup> *RIB*, ‘glossary’, <https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/reference/glossary>, last accessed 16/4/2024.

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|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | <p>the legions stationed within it; he was of senatorial and consular status. He had military and civil roles.</p> <p>The legionary legate who was also in charge of the legion was also called <i>legatus Augusti pro praetore</i>; ‘he was also a member of the senatorial order, but of praetorian rank, inferior to the other <i>legatus</i>’.<sup>3567</sup></p> <p>In provinces where there was only one legion, there was a singular <i>legatus Augusti pro praetore</i>.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| <b><i>legatus legionis</i></b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | <p>A <i>legatus legionis</i> was the commanding officer of a legion and ‘had regional senior command over the auxiliary units stationed within his military district ... also had responsibilities for the maintenance of security and ensuring that local councils, their officers and people remained quiet and reliable’.<sup>3568</sup></p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <b><i>tribunus militum</i></b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | <p>Also referred to as <i>tribunus</i>. <i>Tribuni</i> acted as staff to <i>legati legionis</i> and <i>legati Augusti pro praetore</i>. A <i>tribunus</i> was ‘one of the six middle-ranking officers in a legion. Their tasks were administrative and protective of the soldiers’ interests, and they exercised no definite military command over any sub-unit within the legion’.<sup>3569</sup></p> <p>The senior tribune of senatorial rank was the <i>tribunus laticlavus</i>. He was second in command to the <i>legatus legionis</i> and assisted the <i>legatus Augusti pro praetore</i>. He was a younger man (about 20 years old) intended for a senatorial career. The other five <i>tribuni</i> were the <i>tribuni angusticlavii</i>.</p> <p>Alternatively, a <i>tribunus (militum)</i> refers to ‘(military) tribune’... the commanding officer of a ‘military’ cohort of auxiliary infantry’.<sup>3570</sup></p> |
| <b><i>tribunus angusticlavus</i></b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | <p>There were five <i>tribuni angusticlavii</i> in a legion. They were from the equestrian order and commanded two cohorts each. They assisted the <i>legatus Augusti pro praetore</i>. They were probably older than the <i>tribunus laticlavus</i>. According to Gilliver, they ‘would already have commanded an auxiliary cohort and may have held municipal magistracies previously’ and there is ‘no direct evidence to support the view that equestrian tribunes were primarily concerned with the legion’s administration, and given their previous military experience, it seems very likely that all the tribunes undertook a range of military duties’.<sup>3571</sup></p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| <b><i>tribunatus cohortis / praefectura praetorii / praefectura equitum?</i></b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | <p>See discussion on <b>RD.14</b> for more information on this.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| <p><b><i>Praefecti</i></b>: there were a variety of <i>praefecti</i>, of differing importance, and some were military, and others civilian. A simple <i>praefectus</i> belongs among the <i>immunes</i> (see below). Others, however, such as the <i>praefectus Aegypti</i>, were more senior. <i>Praefecti</i> were also in charge of one of the Italian fleets. In general, they can be understood as “prefect”, commanding officer of equestrian rank (i) <i>cohortis</i>, of an auxiliary cohort nominally 500-strong [an</p> |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |

<sup>3567</sup> Wolff in Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 1040.

<sup>3568</sup> Rogan 2006: 60.

<sup>3569</sup> Keppie 1984: 219, Appendix 3.

<sup>3570</sup> RIB, ‘glossary’, <https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/reference/glossary>, last accessed 16/4/2024.

<sup>3571</sup> Gilliver 2007: 190.

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| <p><i>immunis</i>]; (ii) <i>equitum</i> or <i>alae</i>, of a cavalry regiment [an <i>immunis</i>]; (iii) <i>classis</i>, of the fleet [an <i>immunis</i>]; (iv) <i>castrorum legionis</i> or (informally, from the second century A.D.) <i>legionis</i>, the legion's chief administrative officer, a promoted <i>primus pilus</i> who ranked after the legate and <i>tribunus laticlavius</i>; (v) <i>praetorio</i>, commander of the praetorian guard at Rome'.<sup>3572</sup> They are defined, in general, as an 'overseer, director, governor, commander; ~ <i>classis</i> admiral; ~ <i>legionis</i> colonel'.<sup>3573</sup></p> |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| <b><i>praefectus Aegypti</i></b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | A prefect of equestrian rank who had a similar authority to that of a <i>legatus Augusti pro praetore</i> .<br>See discussion of this rank in Chapter 5.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| <b><i>praefectus Berenice</i></b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | See discussion on this rank in Chapter 5.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <b><i>praefectus castris</i></b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | The <i>praefectus castrorum</i> was one of the highest ranks in the legion, senior to the <i>tribuni angusticlavii</i> and junior to the <i>tribunus laticlavius</i> . Of equestrian status, the <i>praefectus castris</i> was the prefect of the camp, third in command of the legion. He was 'in charge of the maintenance of the camp walls, of commanding the artillery, and of checking the <i>impedimenta</i> '. <sup>3574</sup> Unlike the <i>legati</i> and <i>tribuni</i> , he was 'a career soldier' <sup>3575</sup> who had worked his way up through the ranks. This rank, and every rank below it, belonged to professional soldiers. By the early Empire, this appears to have been a promotion for <i>primi pili</i> . The role of the <i>praefectus castris</i> 'combined the roles of a station warrant officer, the station duty officer and the officer in charge of administration' and 'in many ways he was the anchor man who ran the military establishment'. <sup>3576</sup> He was involved in 'the administration of the fort or camp when the army was on campaign, and supply and logistics'. <sup>3577</sup> Also called <i>praefectus castrorum</i> . |
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| <b><i>primus pilus</i></b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | The most senior centurion in the legion; in charge of the first cohort, the most prestigious cohort in the legions. The <i>primus pilus</i> , with the <i>pilus priores</i> of the other cohorts, commanded the cohort as a whole, not just their own centuries, and was the link between the lower ranks and their commanding officers. This position was only held for a year, after which the soldier gained equestrian rank, which meant they could advance further in the Roman military. <sup>3578</sup> The <i>primus pilus</i> was the most senior of the <i>primi ordines</i> , the centurions of the first cohort.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <b><i>centurio</i></b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | A senior role in the Roman military, below the ranks of the tribunes and the <i>praefectus castris</i> . Men in this role could either be directly recruited into it, or they could work their way up to it through the ranks; 'yet a fair number of them were also provided by the Emperor's guard in Rome, apparently in an effort to promote uniform standards of training and command in the different provincial armies. Praetorians were thus promoted to the legionary centurionate and                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |

<sup>3572</sup> RIB, 'glossary', <https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/reference/glossary>, last accessed 16/4/2024.

<sup>3573</sup> Kidd 2016: 165.

<sup>3574</sup> Wolff in Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 1040.

<sup>3575</sup> Gilliver 2007: 190.

<sup>3576</sup> Rogan 2006: 62.

<sup>3577</sup> Gilliver 2007: 190.

<sup>3578</sup> See Wintjes (in Le Bohec [ed.] 2015: 399-400) for more information on the career soldiers and ascension through the ranks.

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|  | <p><i>equites singulares Augusti</i> were sent as decurions to the <i>auxilia</i> of the provinces’ and this may have applied to the provincial <i>singulares</i> as well.<sup>3579</sup> There was a minimum of 59 centurions in a legion; they were also in command of infantry units in the <i>auxilia</i>. There was a definite hierarchy among the centurions, with each cohort having, in order of seniority, a: <i>pilus prior</i>, <i>princeps prior</i>, <i>hastatus prior</i>, <i>pilus posterior</i>, <i>princeps posterior</i>, <i>hastatus posterior</i>, apart from in the first cohort, which did not have a <i>pilus posterior</i>. The duties of the centurion, as well as commanding their century (which was named after them), ‘included training the men and leading them in battle’.<sup>3580</sup> They also trained the <i>cohortes</i> of the <i>auxilia</i>. They had administrative roles also and were often in charge of discipline. Centurions have been known to have acted as judges in the provinces.</p> <p>This was also a type of <i>pedites singulares</i> (part of the definition given for <i>decurio</i>),<sup>3581</sup> on the bodyguard of the governor. He had the same role as in the infantry.</p> <p>The centurions were amongst the most stable of the positions in the Roman military: ‘centurions provided not only the military experience that many of the elite officers lacked, but also continuity of practice and personnel, vital in a system in which the tribunes and legates held office usually for no more than three years’.<sup>3582</sup> Centurions were likely to have been literate in the imperial military, as ‘promotion to centurion under the republic was dependent on experience and bravery, though patronage helped as well...; the standing army of the empire required such attributes too, and others such as literacy, a quality that seems to have been required for most promotions from the rank of <i>miles gregarius</i> or ordinary soldier’.<sup>3583</sup> They had their own private quarters in camp. This rank was an important juncture in the Roman military, for it embodied the two ways of ascent into the Roman military ranks, and it encapsulates the divide between the truly military man with the military elite man, as a centurion was either a man who was promoted through the ranks or, and in contrast with, he was the man who came to his post through political and social ascension.<sup>3584</sup> The structure of the centurionate, therefore, ‘offered a degree of social advancement that – apart from being highly unusual for any ancient society – made it much sought after’.<sup>3585</sup></p> <p>See also discussion on this role throughout this research.</p> |
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<sup>3579</sup> Speidel 1978: 51. See also Gilliver: ‘Centurions were appointed from several different sources: from the junior officers in the legion (the *principales*), probably after 10 – 15 years’ service; from the ranks of the Praetorian Guard in Rome; and the direct appointment to centurion of men of sufficient social status, often from provincial municipia, or sometimes those of equestrian status, though the unrepresentative nature of the epigraphic evidence makes it difficult to determine the proportions of centurions from each source’, ‘the social advancement that the centurionate offered meant that ‘apart from legionaries who had already served for at least 12 years (who probably filled most centurion posts), auxiliary centurions and decurions, soldiers who had served in Rome with the praetorians or other urban units, and even civilian members of the equestrian order attempted to gain access to the centurionate’ (2007: 191). See also Wintjes in Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 400-401.

<sup>3580</sup> Wolff in Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 1040. See also Speidel 1978: 28.

<sup>3581</sup> See Speidel 1978: 7, 31. See also discussion in Appendix 2.

<sup>3582</sup> Gilliver 2007: 191.

<sup>3583</sup> *Ibid.* See also Wintjes in Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 400.

<sup>3584</sup> See also, for example, Adams 1999: 126.

<sup>3585</sup> Wintjes in Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 400.



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| <b><i>trierarchus</i></b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | Understood as ‘captain of a ship’. He was head of operations on the ship and was the rank below the prefect; <sup>3586</sup> ‘it is usually assumed that the <i>trierarchus</i> was responsible for the handling of the ship and in charge of the sailors, while the <i>centurio</i> controlled the military and presumably also the administrative aspects of the unit’. <sup>3587</sup> The <i>trierarchus</i> was initially recruited from the legions, and of peregrine status. <sup>3588</sup><br>See also discussion on this rank in Chapter 6.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <b><i>decurio</i></b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | In a military context, this was the cavalry equivalent of a centurion (including in terms of recruitment too). They, too, conducted the basic training of the auxiliary <i>alae</i> . A <i>decurio</i> was the commanding officer of a <i>turma</i> , which bore his name. <sup>3589</sup> He was senior to the <i>centurio</i> serving in the <i>auxilia</i> , and ‘was seen as a stepping-stone to the legionary centurionate and therefore attracted legionaries trying to bypass the usual promotion paths within the legion’. <sup>3590</sup><br>A <i>decurio</i> was also the name of a type of <i>equites singulares</i> (i.e. a bodyguard of the governor), <sup>3591</sup> who was one of ‘the non-commissioned officers serving in the governor’s <i>singulares</i> had the same ranks and titles as those serving in the <i>alae</i> and <i>cohortes</i> ’. <sup>3592</sup> |
| <b><i>decurionus equitum</i></b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | This is how the soldier is described in <b>ET.6</b> ; this meant to be understood as a <i>decurio</i> , and perhaps it has been written this way to make it clear that this person held the <u>military</u> rank of <i>decurio</i> , and of a cavalry unit.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| <b><i>praefectus alae</i></b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | The soldier in command of the <i>auxilia</i> unit; senior to the <i>decurio</i> , junior to a <i>legatus legionis</i> . Middle, and then the highest rank in the <i>militiae equestres</i> (also called the <i>tres militiae</i> ; see also discussion on this in Chapter 3, concerning <b>ET.65</b> ).<br>See also information on <i>praefecti</i> above and on <i>praefectus cohortis</i> below.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| <b><i>praefectus cohortis</i></b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | Lowest rank in the <i>militiae equestres</i> (also called the <i>tres militiae</i> ), the equestrian career pathway; the soldier held the posts in this hierarchy for about three years per post. This was followed by the <i>praefectus alae</i> , and then the <i>tribunus</i> (Claudius to Nero/Vespasian), and then it changed to <i>praefectus cohortis</i> , <i>tribunus</i> (of a legion or cohort, in the position of <i>tribunus angusticlavius</i> or <i>tribunus sexmetris</i> ) and then the <i>praefectus alae</i> .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| <b><i>Principales</i></b> : these were promotions, and included higher pay for those who held these posts (trumpeters and surveyors are included in Vegetius’ list of <i>principales</i> , but not in the <i>Digest</i> , where they are listed as <i>immunes</i> ). <sup>3593</sup> They are more generally described as ‘the under-officers of a legion below the rank of centurion, but above <i>immunis</i> ’. <sup>3594</sup> They, too, could be instructors and trainers for the soldiers in the units of the Roman military, as well as groomsmen, cavalrymen, judicial interrogators, accountants, and secretaries. |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |

<sup>3586</sup> See Saddington 2007: 210.

<sup>3587</sup> Wintjes in Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 402.

<sup>3588</sup> Saddington 2007: 210.

<sup>3589</sup> *RIB*, ‘glossary’, <https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/reference/glossary>, last accessed 16/4/2024.

<sup>3590</sup> Wintjes in Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 402.

<sup>3591</sup> See Speidel 1978: 7. See also discussion in Appendix 2 and below.

<sup>3592</sup> Speidel 1978: 31.

<sup>3593</sup> Gilliver 2007: 192.

<sup>3594</sup> *RIB*, ‘glossary’, <https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/reference/glossary>, last accessed 16/4/2024.

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| <b>cornicularius</b> | This soldier was an adjutant for a tribune, centurion, propraetor, etc., <sup>3595</sup> ‘the chief clerk in a military unit’, <sup>3596</sup> on the staff of either a senior officer or the governor. The <i>cornicularii</i> organised the staff of the <i>legatus legionis</i> and the <i>tribunus laticlavus</i> . He was the head of the <i>tabularium</i> , the staff office of the legion. The promotion above this rank was the <i>centurio</i> .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <b>optio</b>         | The assistant of the centurion. This was also the name of a type of <i>equites singulares</i> and <i>pedites singulares</i> (part of the definition given above, for <i>decurio</i> ), <sup>3597</sup> on the bodyguard of the governor. He possibly had the same role as in the infantry, but he also ‘join[ed] in the duties of a quartermaster, procuring and distributing provisions for the men and the horses’. <sup>3598</sup> Although, ‘whether the <i>optio</i> of the <i>pedites singulares</i> was also a quartermaster of sorts or whether he was a deputy centurion is not clear as <i>optio</i> is a title for many different functions and ranks, often meaning no more than “in charge”’. <sup>3599</sup>                                                        |
| <b>duplicarius</b>   | This was also the name of a type of <i>equites singulares</i> (part of the definition given above, for <i>decurio</i> ), <sup>3600</sup> on the bodyguard of the governor. He had the same role as in the cavalry. The <i>duplicarius</i> was on a double salary and was second in command of a <i>turma</i> . Alternatively, he could be on the staff of a senior officer, such as a <i>praefectus</i> (in Rome), or a <i>legatus legionis</i> , governor or a <i>procurator</i> (in the provinces).                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| <b>aquilifer</b>     | An <i>aquilifer</i> was a high rank in the Roman legions, <sup>3601</sup> a member of the <i>principales</i> who was the senior standard bearer of the legion, <sup>3602</sup> the one who carried the sole eagle standard, <sup>3603</sup> the sign of the legion, hence the name ( <i>aquila</i> meaning ‘eagle’). If the <i>aquila</i> was lost in battle, this brought great shame onto the legion. This role was more prestigious than a <i>signifer</i> . As the standards were considered divine, this indicates the importance of the role.                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| <b>signifer</b>      | The soldier in charge of the <i>signum</i> , a standard depicting a hand: ‘this <i>signifier</i> ’s duties, apart from taking care of his standard, consisted of keeping the men’s savings in the shrine, as well as administering the soldiers’ provisions. These were purely civilian tasks in which he was helped by assistants, called <i>adiutores</i> ’. <sup>3604</sup> He assisted the <i>centurio</i> . This was the name of the standard bearer of the <i>centuriae</i> and <i>turmae</i> .<br><br>The standards in the Roman military were crucial: ‘they were used to give orders and they showed the way to go, both when the army was on the march and when it was in battle. Moreover, they were worshipped, especially on the unit’s anniversary, and there was a |

<sup>3595</sup> See Lewis & Short 1945: 470.

<sup>3596</sup> *RIB*, ‘glossary’, <https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/reference/glossary>, last accessed 16/4/2024. See also Speidel 1978: 35 for information on this rank.

<sup>3597</sup> See Speidel 1978: 7, 31. See also Appendix 2.

<sup>3598</sup> Speidel 1978: 34.

<sup>3599</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3600</sup> See *ibid.*: 7, 31. See also Appendix 2.

<sup>3601</sup> Kruschwitz 2015: 55; *RIB*, ‘glossary’, <https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/reference/glossary>, last accessed 16/4/2024. See also Schumacher 2012: 61. See Appendix 3.

<sup>3602</sup> See Appendix 3; *RIB*, ‘glossary’, <https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/reference/glossary>, last accessed 16/4/2024.

<sup>3603</sup> Schumacher 2012: 61; Kruschwitz 2015: 55.

<sup>3604</sup> Wolff in Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 1039.

|                             |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
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|                             | <p>shrine (<i>aedes signorum</i>) in the <i>principia</i> in the center of each camp where the standards were lodged'.<sup>3605</sup></p> <p>This was also a type of <i>pedites singulares</i> (part of the definition given above, for <i>decurio</i>),<sup>3606</sup> on the bodyguard of the governor.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <b><i>speculator</i></b>    | <p>A <i>speculator</i> was a 'legionary seconded to the governor's staff like the <i>beneficiarius consularis</i>, but of higher rank, who served as secretary or special emissary'.<sup>3607</sup> They were sometimes used as scouts and agents of the emperor around the Empire. <i>Speculatores</i> also functioned as public executioners, and this term was sometimes used just to refer to an executioner,<sup>3608</sup> and they also appear to have had a judicial and policing role.<sup>3609</sup> <i>Speculatores</i> were 'a legionary soldier attached to the headquarters staff (<i>officium</i>) of a provincial governor. <i>Speculator</i> was a fairly senior rank within the <i>officium</i>'.<sup>3610</sup> They were sometimes also used as couriers to send out and receive orders to the armies around the Empire, as well as urgent orders.<sup>3611</sup> The <i>speculatores</i> of the Praetorian Guard 'were probably for the personal use of the Emperor on similar missions. Apparently, too, the <i>Speculatores</i> were used as a kind of Military Police in the legions, so that police and courier duty always seem to have gone together'.<sup>3612</sup> <i>Speculatores</i> were a part of the mounted section of a legion (and the Praetorian Guard), as were the <i>frumentarii</i>.<sup>3613</sup> 'die speculatores praetorii mussten beritten sein, um ihre Aufgabe, den Schutz den Kaisers, jederzeit wahrnehmen zu können'.<sup>3614</sup> There were ten <i>speculatores</i> in a legion.<sup>3615</sup> The soldier in <b>ET.29</b> must have been a Roman citizen, because 'für den Dienst im officium konnten nur römische Bürger verwandt werden, in den Auxiliareinheiten dienten aber in der Regel keine römischen Bürger'.<sup>3616</sup> They were higher in rank than the <i>beneficarii</i>, but below a <i>cornicularius</i>, a <i>commentariensis</i>, an <i>optio</i> and a centurion.<sup>3617</sup> <i>Speculatores</i> held their posts for a long time, sometimes permanently, because 'Ihre Ausbildung und Tätigkeit schloss weitere Verwendungsmöglichkeiten weitgehend aus'.<sup>3618</sup></p> |
| <b><i>beneficiarius</i></b> | <p>A <i>beneficiarius</i> was a soldier 'detached from normal duty to serve on the governor's staff',<sup>3619</sup> thus making him literate; he was above the tactical ranks, selected to serve on the senior officer's staff above the rank of <i>tribui militum</i>.<sup>3620</sup> Created in the imperial era, soldiers with</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |

<sup>3605</sup> Wolff in Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 1039.

<sup>3606</sup> See Speidel 1978: 7, 31. See also Appendix 2.

<sup>3607</sup> *RIB*, 'glossary', <https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/reference/glossary>, last accessed 16/4/2024. See also Gori's commentary on **ET.30** (1989: esp. 161-162).

<sup>3608</sup> See Clauss 1973: 69, 72-73; Rankov 1987: 244.

<sup>3609</sup> Clauss 1973: 70-74.

<sup>3610</sup> Rankov 1987: 244.

<sup>3611</sup> Baillie Reynolds 1923: 186; Clauss 1973: 73; *ibid.*

<sup>3612</sup> Baillie Reynolds 1923: 186; Clauss 1973: 74-75.

<sup>3613</sup> See Baillie Reynolds 1923: 174; Clauss 1973: 78-79.

<sup>3614</sup> Clauss 1973: 79.

<sup>3615</sup> Baillie Reynolds 1923: 178.

<sup>3616</sup> Clauss 1973: 62, for information on this rank, *speculatores* in inscriptions and the locations of where they are mentioned, and a description of them. See also 59-79.

<sup>3617</sup> *Ibid.*: 75-76.

<sup>3618</sup> *Ibid.*: 77.

<sup>3619</sup> Tomlin 1992: 142.

<sup>3620</sup> Domaszewski 1908: 4.

|                                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
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|                                        | <p>this role had exemptions from duties.<sup>3621</sup> They had a variety of roles: ‘by far the most numerous of the <i>officiales</i>, they were also the most polyvalent. They were involved in a variety of police duties maintaining law and order, they oversaw judicial and financial matters, and they ensured the circulation of information between the capital and the different outposts (<i>stationes</i>) to which they were detached throughout their province for limited periods of time’.<sup>3622</sup> This was also a type of <i>equites singulares</i> or <i>pedites singulares</i> (part of the definition given above, for <i>decurio</i>),<sup>3623</sup> on the bodyguard of the governor.</p> <p><i>Beneficarii</i> were literate and partially educated military men, who were mainly Roman citizens from a military background, men who worked their way up through the ranks, could be legally married, and live a comfortable life;<sup>3624</sup> Nelis-Clément designates them as ‘militaires bureaucrates’ who lived outside the military camps, and were closely integrated into the wider community and mingled with the elite classes.<sup>3625</sup> Indeed, they were closer to the wider community than the military one from which their more administrative role stemmed: ‘Leurs inscriptions semblent montrer que les bénéficiaires des gouverneurs (et des procureurs) restaient relativement distants de la vie du camp et des soldats de combat, mais qu’ils entretenaient des contacts personnels et souvent amicaux avec leurs collègues bénéficiaires et les autres <i>officiales</i>, avec lesquels certains avaient noué des liens familiaux’.<sup>3626</sup></p> <p>Southern summarises this rank as: ‘usually legionaries with long experience, on the staff of a provincial governor and stationed at important places on the frontiers or within the provinces. They may have undertaken police work and perhaps were responsible for intelligence gathering’.<sup>3627</sup></p> |
| <b><i>beneficiarius consularis</i></b> | <p>Kuntiċ-Makviċ describes <i>beneficarii</i> as administrative soldiers who were commanded by higher officers with fewer normal military duties, <i>beneficarii consularis</i> specifically men who protected the officer they were assigned to,<sup>3628</sup> their name coming from their role: they were a ‘soldier, usually a legionary, seconded for special duties by favour (<i>beneficium</i>) of a specific senior officer; in particular the <i>beneficiarius consularis</i>, an officer on the governor’s staff, who might be out-posted’.<sup>3629</sup> They also acted as military messengers. See also discussion on this rank in Chapter 5.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <b><i>beneficiarius legati</i></b>     | <p>A <i>beneficiarius</i>’ rank was dependent on the rank of the officer they were assigned to,<sup>3630</sup> for example, their title as <i>beneficiarius legati</i></p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |

<sup>3621</sup> Domaszewski 1908: 4.

<sup>3622</sup> Nelis-Clément in Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 690.

<sup>3623</sup> See Speidel 1978: 7, 31. See also Appendix 2.

<sup>3624</sup> Nelis-Clément 2000: 330-331 gives a very in-depth description of the role of *beneficarii*. See also throughout this study for the roles of *beneficarii*. Adamik 1997: 166 for a discussion on the roles of *beneficarii consularis*. See also Cugusi & Sblendorio Cugusi 2007: 48: 106 for a brief discussion on the role of the *beneficiarius consularis*.

<sup>3625</sup> Nelis-Clément 2000: 330-331.

<sup>3626</sup> *Ibid.*: 331.

<sup>3627</sup> Southern 2007: 335.

<sup>3628</sup> Kuntiċ-Makviċ 1976: 48, nr. 6. See also Schumacher’s comments on this rank (2012: 149-150, and n. 564).

<sup>3629</sup> RIB, ‘glossary’, <https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/reference/glossary>, last accessed 16/4/2024. It seems the *beneficarii consularis* had some religious duties too. See, for example Kovács 2020: 309.

<sup>3630</sup> Domaszewski 1908: 66.

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|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | can be given when their role in connection to the governor is clear. <sup>3631</sup> Their rank within the <i>principales</i> of the legion meant that, when they were dismissed, they were entitled to gain citizenship and qualify for the legionary centurionate, <sup>3632</sup> making it likely that the father in <b>LL.2</b> , Ulpian Valerianus, was not a Roman citizen at the time of making this inscription. There has been a <i>beneficiarius legati legionis</i> ‘found in charge of the legionary prison’, <sup>3633</sup> and they also sometimes ‘für die Disziplinargewalt treten als Ersatz...ein’. <sup>3634</sup> |
| <b><i>beneficiarius praefectorum frumentarius</i></b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | See also discussion on <i>beneficiarius</i> above.<br>See also discussion on <b>NW.2</b> .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | A type of <i>exercitatores</i> , <sup>3635</sup> ‘ <i>frumentarii</i> were legionaries who served as intelligence gatherers and secret police’. <sup>3636</sup> They also worked as guards and agents of the emperor around the Empire. They were ‘formally still enrolled in the legion but in reality serving outside its organizational framework..., who had an administrative infrastructure all of their own, the <i>castra peregrina</i> in Rome being their main base’. <sup>3637</sup>                                                                                                                                         |
| <b><i>singularis consularis</i></b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | There were different kinds of <i>singulares</i> : as a general term, the <i>singulares</i> can be defined as soldiers ‘drawn from auxiliary units and served as the governor’s bodyguard’. <sup>3638</sup> But they also referred to soldiers who were especially selected and ‘in the personal service of other officers’. <sup>3639</sup> This is the type of <i>singulares</i> a <i>singularis consularis</i> was. He was a part of the ‘governor’s bodyguard’ either mounted ( <i>eques</i> ) or infantry ( <i>pedes</i> ), seconded from an auxiliary unit; he also served as a courier and special emissary’. <sup>3640</sup>     |
| <b><i>sesquiplicarius classis</i></b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | A <i>sesquiplicarius</i> was a ‘soldier receiving one and a half times the basic rate of pay, in particular the third-in-command of a <i>turma</i> ’. <sup>3641</sup> <i>Principales</i> received this rate of pay.<br>This was also the name of a type of <i>equites singulares</i> (part of the definition given above, for <i>decurio</i> ), <sup>3642</sup> on the bodyguard of the governor. He had the same role as in the cavalry. This is probably not how it is meant here.<br>In a naval context, as it is here, he was a soldier in the fleet who received a pay and a half.                                                 |
| <b><i>Immunes</i></b> : these were minor, but specialised ranks. Although they had no increase to their salary, they were a promotion above ordinary soldier, and their technical roles ranged from doctors, administrative/financial clerks, secretaries, musicians, teachers/instructors, weapons specialists, hunters, animal handlers, builders, surveyors, weapons- and arms- |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |

<sup>3631</sup> Domaszewski 1908: 33.

<sup>3632</sup> *Ibid.*: 82. See also Allen 1908: 12-25, and his ‘Plan Indicating the Relative Rank of Officers in the Roman Army’, for the position of *beneficarii* in relation to other ranks in the Roman army, from epigraphic evidence.

<sup>3633</sup> Tomlin 1992: 144.

<sup>3634</sup> Domaszewski 1908: 39.

<sup>3635</sup> See Speidel 1978: 43.

<sup>3636</sup> Southern 1989: 84.

<sup>3637</sup> Wintjes in Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 401.

<sup>3638</sup> Southern 1989: 84. See Speidel 1978: throughout.

<sup>3639</sup> Speidel 1978: 6.

<sup>3640</sup> *RIB*, ‘glossary’, <https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/reference/glossary>, last accessed 16/4/2024.

<sup>3641</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3642</sup> See Speidel 1978: 7, 31. See also discussion in Appendix 2.



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| <p>manufacturers, and craftsmen such as potters, smiths, and stonemasons.<sup>3643</sup> Their ‘primary benefit was immunity from fatigues’.<sup>3644</sup> Gilliver proposes that ‘it is entirely possible that <i>immunes</i> were appointed as necessary and that there was no “standard” list of <i>immunes</i> that were appointed in every legion’.<sup>3645</sup></p> <p>The roles listed below are not in any hierarchical order; they simply are a list of the <i>immunes</i> featured in this research.</p> |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| <b><i>architectus navalis</i></b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | An <i>architectus</i> was ‘architect, military engineer’. <sup>3646</sup> This, therefore, was someone who was an engineer specifically working on ships. The engineers of the Roman military were used for military and civilian construction projects, due to their specialist skills.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| <b><i>ensor aedificorum</i></b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | A building surveyor. Literally means ‘a measurer’, <sup>3647</sup> and there were a variety in the Roman military, with a variety of roles. <sup>3648</sup> In <b>ET.39</b> , the only reference to this rank, he could or could not have been involved with the military; his father’s military connections perhaps make it more likely.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| <b><i>hydraularius salariarius</i></b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | Someone who played the water organ. <sup>3649</sup> A <i>salariarius</i> was a contracted worker in the military: ‘plutôt que de voir le <i>salariarius</i> comme un poste bien distinct de la hiérarchie, il s’agit de le considérer comme un véritable contractuel de l’armée. La personne provenant de la sphère civile signe un contrat avec une unité pour accomplir des tâches spécifiques en échange du versement d’une somme prédéfinie, le <i>salarium</i> , et obtient ainsi le statut à part entière de <i>salariarius</i> . Cependant, l’homme engagé ne bénéficie certainement pas de tous les avantages relatifs à l’incorporation dans l’armée. Il est ainsi fortement probable que, contrairement aux soldats pleinement incorporés, la <i>salariarius</i> ne reçoive aucune furniture de l’armée et, à ce titre, qu’aucune somme ne soit retenue sur sa paie’. <sup>3650</sup> This suggests that Iustus, in <b>ET.21</b> , was contracted to play the <i>hydraularius</i> for the <i>Legio II Adiutrix</i> , and this also raises questions about if his wife was too. If a <i>hydraularius</i> was often contracted, then this can explain why he and his wife could play the same instrument, but perhaps be hired by different people (i.e. she may not necessarily have been contracted to play the <i>hydraularius</i> by the <i>Legio II Adiutrix</i> as well as her husband). He, thus, could have been a civilian who was contracted to carry out this role: ‘ensuite le <i>salariarius</i> qui vit au sein de l’Empire, citoyen ou pérégrin, il travaille sur contrat avec l’armée à un poste qui peut être combattant ou non, très souvent afin de remplir des tâches spécialisées qu’un soldat ne pourrait mener sans formation spécifique’. <sup>3651</sup> This further demonstrates the integration of the civilian and military spheres. For |

<sup>3643</sup> For a comprehensive list, see Nelis-Clément in Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 688-689. See also Speidel’s discussion on the *immunes* (2000: 54-60).

<sup>3644</sup> Gilliver 2007: 192. See also *RIB*, ‘glossary’, <https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/reference/glossary>, last accessed 16/4/2024.

<sup>3645</sup> Gilliver 2007: 192.

<sup>3646</sup> *RIB*, ‘glossary’, <https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/reference/glossary>, last accessed 16/4/2024. See also Speidel 1978: 35; Wesch-Klein in Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 371-373.

<sup>3647</sup> See de la Bédoyère 2020: 423. See also Speidel 1978: 35 on this rank.

<sup>3648</sup> See also Wesch-Klein in Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 372-373.

<sup>3649</sup> See also Méa’s discussion of the *salariarius*, including discussing **ET.21** (2012: 207-213).

<sup>3650</sup> Méa 2012: 210.

<sup>3651</sup> *Ibid.*: 211.

|                                                                |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
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|                                                                | Méa, however, this role was used in an emergency, e.g. when there were deficiencies in recruitment, and was an exception to the rule. <sup>3652</sup> See discussion on <b>ET.21</b> in Chapters 3 and 8.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| <b>curator</b>                                                 | A manager, someone in charge; in a military context, a soldier who was sent on missions ( <i>cura</i> = mission); ‘in an <i>ala</i> , the soldier in a <i>turma</i> responsible for its provisioning’. <sup>3653</sup> Later, this was also the name of a type of <i>equites singulares</i> (part of the definition given above, for <i>decurio</i> ), <sup>3654</sup> on the bodyguard of the governor.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <b>tubicen</b>                                                 | Someone who plays the <i>tuba</i> , the ‘trumpeter signalling orders’. <sup>3655</sup>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <b>bucinator</b>                                               | Someone who plays the <i>bucina</i> , same role as the <i>tubicen</i> , <sup>3656</sup> a ‘hornblower’. <sup>3657</sup>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <b>venator</b>                                                 | A hunter.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| <b>RETIRED SOLDIERS</b>                                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <b>evocatus</b>                                                | A ‘soldier of the praetorian guard retained after 16 years’ service for special service which might include promotion to centurion and above’. <sup>3658</sup>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| <b>veteranus</b>                                               | A veteran, ‘a soldier discharged after serving his time or being honourably incapable of further service’. <sup>3659</sup> The <i>veterani</i> ‘were no longer active soldiers, but legionaries had to spend several years in the reserve after their discharge in the first years of the Imperial period... each legion had a cohort-sized reserve at its disposal in case of emergency’. <sup>3660</sup>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| - <b>ex beneficiario consularis, equestria militia petitor</b> | This is how Gaius Tauricius Verus’ rank in the military is defined in <b>ET.11</b> : he was a veteran who had held the post of <i>beneficiarius consularis</i> , and then he held a post in the <i>militiae equestres</i> . This is ‘ist es bezeichnend für die Veränderung der Struktur des Offizierskorps, daß seit Ende des 2. oder Beginn des 3. Jahrhunderts die ritterlichen Offiziere sich auch aus ehemaligen principales des Heeres rekrutierten. Die Gründe dafür waren wohl verschiedener Art: verstärkte Heranziehung von ritterlichen Offizieren zu Funktionen, die bisher senatorischen Offizieren vorbehalten waren, Mangel an geeigneten Berwerbern und die sich aus der militärischen Situation des Reiches ergebende Notwendigkeit, die ritterlichen Offiziersstellen mit militärisch ergahrenen Leuten zu besetzen. <i>Petitor</i> wird nicht ‘Bewerber’ heißen, sondern ‘Anwärter’, der vom Kaiser für eine entsprechende Stelle vorgesehen ist, sonst wäre die Verwendung als Rangbezeichnung (wie hier und anderswo) nicht möglich’. <sup>3661</sup> From the reign of Septimius Severus, <i>beneficiarii</i> could be promoted straight into the <i>militiae equestres</i> . <sup>3662</sup> Alternatively, the addition of <i>equestrian militia petitor</i> indicates Verus’ ‘Anwartschaft [emphasis added by the author] auf eine Beförderung zu ritterlichen |

<sup>3652</sup> Méa 2012: 212-213.

<sup>3653</sup> *RIB*, ‘glossary’, <https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/reference/glossary>, last accessed 16/4/2024.

<sup>3654</sup> See Speidel 1978: 7, 31. See also discussion in Appendix 2.

<sup>3655</sup> Rogan 2006: 63. See also Speidel 1978: 35.

<sup>3656</sup> See also Speidel 1978: 35.

<sup>3657</sup> Southern 2007: 336. See Vegetius on the instruments used in the Roman military, for example Veg. Mil. 2.22.5-6.

<sup>3658</sup> *RIB*, ‘glossary’, <https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/reference/glossary>, last accessed 16/4/2024.

<sup>3659</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3660</sup> Wolff in Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 1048.

<sup>3661</sup> Nesselhauf & Lieb 1960.221.

<sup>3662</sup> See RSK 202.

|                                               |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
|-----------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                                               | Offiziersstellen', or it may have been an honorary title by the third century. <sup>3663</sup> This is regarded as perhaps the more logical, as 'sich Tauricius als Veteran schon im Ruhestand befand, also realiter keine Beförderung mehr zu erwarten hatte'. <sup>3664</sup><br>See the discussion on <i>beneficarii</i> above.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| - <b>ex<br/>beneficiario<br/>procuratoris</b> | This soldier was a <i>veteranus</i> who had held the post of <i>beneficiarius procuratoris</i> during his time of service; presumably this was the highest rank he had obtained.<br>See the discussion on <i>beneficarii</i> above.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <b>emeritus</b>                               | A 'time-expired soldier, equivalent to <i>veteranus</i> '. <sup>3665</sup>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <b>eques</b>                                  | Cavalryman.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <b>miles</b>                                  | Infantryman, the ordinary soldier in the legions.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <b>classis miles</b>                          | Ordinary soldier in the fleet.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| <b>tiro</b>                                   | A recruit; these 'recruits ( <i>tirones</i> ) were not yet soldiers ( <i>milites</i> ): they became soldiers only once they had proven themselves, after they joined the unit to which they had been posted, and joined their unit as a group'. <sup>3666</sup>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| <b>accensus velatus</b>                       | The <i>accensi</i> were, during the Empire, servants of soldiers and non-combatants. They were also the aids of <i>centuriones</i> and <i>decuriones</i> . <sup>3667</sup> An <i>accensus velatus</i> , however, was 'a kind of reserve troop[s] who followed the army as supernumeraries ... to take the place of those who fell in battle'. <sup>3668</sup> They were called <i>velati</i> because they bore no arms, apart from slingshots and stones, and only wore a military cloak, hence their name. <i>accensi</i> 'were also employed in constructing public roads'. <sup>3669</sup>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| <b>lixa</b>                                   | Feig Vishnia evaluates, and thus provides an in-depth definition of, the <i>lixa</i> in the Roman military in her 2002 paper <i>The Shadow Army: The Lixae and the Roman Legions</i> . Often translated simply as 'a camp follower', Feig Vishnia's verdict develops on and clarifies what exactly is meant by a <i>lixa</i> , giving them a role beyond just 'a camp follower', sutlers, or a slave/servant of a soldier. <sup>3670</sup> The <i>lixae</i> were a part of the baggage train and non-combatants who accompanied the Roman military on the march, including grooms, slaves/servants, craftsmen, etc., i.e. people whose livelihoods also depended on the military, but who were not enlisted in it. The evidence around the definition of the term, and how it was used, is conflicting and unclear. <sup>3671</sup> <i>Lixae</i> were unarmed and 'free although probably of lowly origins or freedmen', <sup>3672</sup> who 'were evidently held in great contempt and suffered from a very bad reputation. The <i>lixae</i> are described in disparaging terms and are linked directly or |

<sup>3663</sup> Galsterer, B., & H. 2010.281.

<sup>3664</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3665</sup> *RIB*, 'glossary', <https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/reference/glossary>, last accessed 16/4/2024.

<sup>3666</sup> Wolff in Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 1048.

<sup>3667</sup> Lewis & Short 1945: 15-16.

<sup>3668</sup> *Ibid.*: 16.

<sup>3669</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3670</sup> See Le Bohec (ed.) 2015: 601 for this latter interpretation. See also Goldsworthy's comments on *lixae* (1999: 1).

<sup>3671</sup> See Feig Vishnia 2002: throughout.

<sup>3672</sup> *Ibid.*: 267.



|                              |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                              | <p>indirectly with the deterioration in soldiers' discipline',<sup>3673</sup> which clarifies the paucity of their appearance in inscriptions, given their vast numbers,<sup>3674</sup> although it makes one wonder why even one <i>lixa</i> appears in this data set. Despite this, 'it is evident that they had some sort of formal relations with the army. First, it seems that they were under the direct authority of the commanding officer, who could use them for military purposes if he considered it necessary', and these included being involved in the battle-cry, and helping to retrieve supplies.<sup>3675</sup> They were clearly important to the Roman army, for 'few Roman armies marched without a large group of <i>lixae</i> at their rear'.<sup>3676</sup> But the army was just as important to the <i>lixae</i>, who appear to have relied on military booty and plunder for their livelihoods. Bearing in mind the scant evidence she was working from, Feig Vishnia convincingly argues that the <i>lixae</i> were slave traders/handlers attached to the army, who looked after the slaves captured during war: 'a paramilitary squad connected to the army contractually, whose main task was not only to capture inhabitants in war areas, but also to take care of the newly enslaved population for an agreed upon share in this form of booty'.<sup>3677</sup></p> <p>But whether this is what is meant throughout the duration and location of its use is also up for debate, for example, 'the epigraphical evidence from the end of the first and the beginning of the second centuries AD, corroborated by Tacitus' testimonies, suggests that <i>lixae</i> were to be found not only amidst marching armies, but also in the various permanent camps, thus making it quite clear that their respective duties could not have been similar'.<sup>3678</sup></p> |
| <b><i>commanipularis</i></b> | <p>Not technically a rank, but a military term by which a soldier identifies himself solely as. This means 'comrade', 'solider in the same company'.<sup>3679</sup></p> <p>See discussion in the chapters above.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |

<sup>3673</sup> Feig Vishnia 2002: 267.

<sup>3674</sup> See *ibid.*: 268.

<sup>3675</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3676</sup> *Ibid.*: 269.

<sup>3677</sup> *Ibid.*: 272.

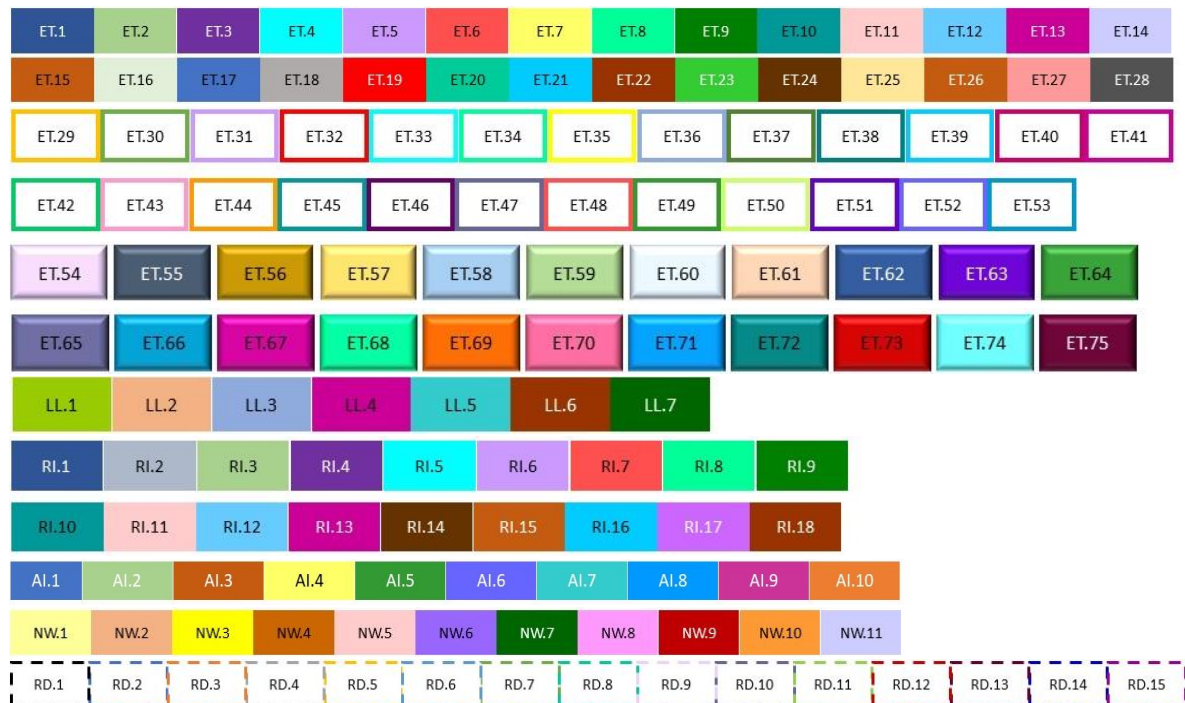
<sup>3678</sup> *Ibid.*

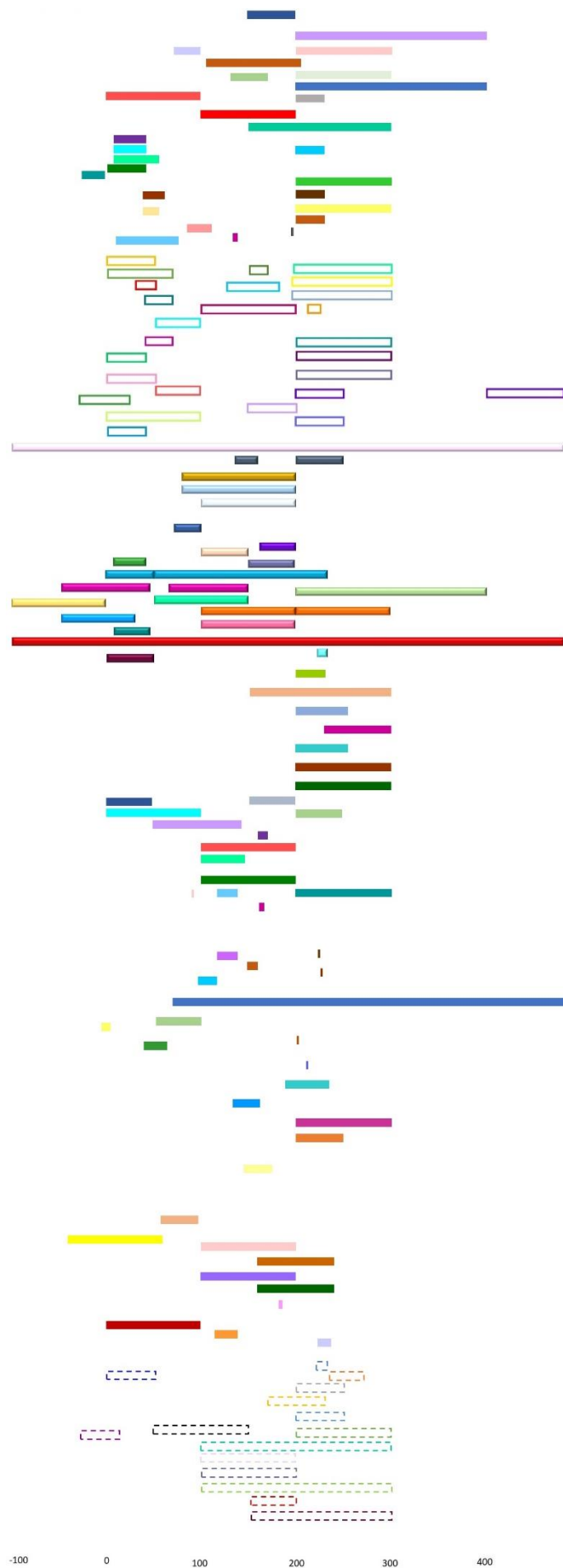
<sup>3679</sup> Kidd 2016: 38.

## Appendix 4: Timeline of Latin Military Verse Inscriptions

Below is a timeline of the inscriptions presented in the data set of this study (see the Catalogue of Inscriptions as well as Table 9). They are colour coded and presented in the order in which they are labelled in the Catalogue of Inscriptions. As can be seen below, the most common dates of the inscriptions in this data set correlate with the general trend as observed for the creation of verse inscriptions: the second to third centuries AD.

Key:





## Appendix 5: Abstract

*War and Peace. Military Lives and Identities in Latin Verse Inscriptions* untersucht die Erfahrung der römischen Soldaten anhand deren Schilderungen in poetischen Inschriften. Das römische, kaiserliche Militär (27 BC-AD 235) bestand aus einer heterogenen Ansammlung von, aus dem Imperium stammenden, Einzelpersonen. Diese Inschriften veranschaulichen sowohl die Vielfalt der sprachlichen und literarischen Fähigkeiten der Angehörigen, und jener, die mit ihm in Verbindung standen, des kaiserlich-römischen Militärs als auch die weite Bandbreite an Erfahrungen ihrer von Krieg und Frieden geprägten Leben. Diese Forschungsarbeit untersucht Themen, die in einem Datensatz von 136 Inschriften auftreten, und daher als wichtig genug erachtet wurden, um wiederholt in Stein verewigt zu werden. Diese Themen bezeugen die sozialen, kulturellen und individuellen Identitäten derjenigen, deren Leben durch das römische Militär geprägt wurde, sei es durch die Rekrutierung oder durch die Assoziation mit Rekruten. Des Weiteren weisen die Motive darauf hin, wie sich diese Beziehung mit dem Militär auf die Lebenserfahrung und den Ausdruck der Identität jener Personen auswirkte. Diese Motive reflektieren die Funktionsweise des römischen Militärs, wo Individualität innerhalb eines größeren, zusammenhängenden und disziplinierten Ganzen durch Tapferkeit, Leistung und Belohnungen bestimmt war. Daher ist diese Arbeit beginnt mit breiterem, gesellschaftlich umfassenderem Gedankengut, und dann fokussiert sich die Arbeit auf einzelne Ideen, von denen einige bisher noch nicht erforscht wurden. Lateinische Versinschriften gehören zu den bedeutsamsten Schriften eines antiken Autors, da sie direkt von dessen eigener Hand stammen, und die Lyrik eine der persönlichsten und emotional ausdrucksstärksten schriftlichen Gattungen ist, was sie zu einem mächtigen Instrument für das Verständnis und die Analyse von Identität und Realitätswahrnehmung macht. Durch die Untersuchung dieser poetischen Inschriften, *War and Peace. Military Lives and Identities in Latin Verse Inscriptions* zeigt den Mann innerhalb der Rüstung.

*War and Peace. Military Lives and Identities in Latin Verse Inscriptions* investigates the lived experience of the Roman soldier and how he was portrayed in poetic inscriptions. Created from a heterogenous collection of individuals from around the Empire, these inscriptions present the diversity of linguistic and literary skill of those in, and associated with, the imperial Roman military (27 BC-AD 235), as well as the range of experiences they had, in these lives governed by war and peace. This research explores the themes exhibited in a data set of 136 inscriptions, themes which were deemed important enough to immortalise in stone, and exhibit the social, cultural, and individual identities of those whose lives were centred around the Roman military, either through being recruited into its ranks or association with the recruit, and how that impacted their lived experience and expressions of identity. These themes reflect the workings of the Roman military, where individuality was expressed and recognised through bravery, service and rewards, but within a wider, cohesive, disciplined whole. Therefore, this research begins with broader, more socially extensive ideas, and then becomes focused towards individual ideas, some of which have not been explored before. Latin verse inscriptions are amongst the closest writings of an ancient author directly from their own hand, and poetry is one of the most personally and emotively expressive of all written media, making it a powerful tool for understanding and analysing identity and perceptions of reality. Through examining these poetic inscriptions, what *War and Peace. Military Lives and Identities in Latin Verse Inscriptions* does is show the man inside the armour.

## Catalogue of Inscriptions: *Latin Military Verse* *Inscriptions and Their Translations*

Many of the inscriptions in the data set of this study have been translated previously, in a variety of languages; some of these can be found in the references presented below. Some of these inscriptions, however, have been translated into English here for the first time. They have been organised by chapter headings and numbers, for ease of access. Many of these inscriptions intersect with other chapters and thus multiple references may be made to a single inscription across the chapters. Each inscription is labelled according to their predominant theme (**ET** = Epigraphic Topoi; **LL** = Light as Life; **RI** = Religious Inscription; **AI** = Astronomical Inscription; **NW** = Natural World; **RD** = Relationship Dynamics, respectively; for example, **AI.1** = Astronomical Inscription number 1, so it is the first inscription examined in Chapter 6), indicating which chapter they are discussed the most in/which theme is the most prominent in that particular inscription. However, many of these inscriptions intersect with other themes and so they can be featured in other chapters.

All Latin translations in this research have been done by the author; all the inscriptions in this study have been translated by the author. All the verse inscriptions throughout this study have been laid out according to their metre, not their layout on the stone, although this is denoted in their formatting. The editions presented here have been created from published editions of these inscriptions and photographs, where available (see the footnotes for more details). For explanations and reasons behind the translations presented here, see the commentaries presented on these inscriptions, particularly the ones in Chapters 4-7. Please note, when the term *pietas* is translated here as ‘pious’, this is understood with the Latin/Roman meaning of *pietas* = pious (i.e. dutiful, dutiful to one’s family, especially), not the modern/English meaning (see the discussion on this in Chapter 8). Any acrostics have been capitalised and are highlighted in bold.

*The inscriptions labelled **ET** (= Epigraphic Topoi) in this data set have an epigraphic topos/epigraphic topoi as their main theme, and are primarily discussed in Chapter 3.*

**ET.1** = *CIL* XI 856 (cfr. p. 1249) = *CLE* 191 = EDCS-20402295 = EDR130872;<sup>3680</sup>  
(Mutina/Modena, Aemilia/Regio VIII, Italia; second half of the second century).

*D(is) M(anibus). |*

*T(itus) Vettius T(iti) f(ilius) Pol(lia) Nepos milit[(-) ---] | Ilvir q(uin)q(uennalis)  
flam(en) Dial(is) sibi et [---] | lib(-) [--- coniugi] | sanctissimae cum qua per mul[tos  
annos] | bene vixit.*

---

<sup>3680</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* XI 856; *CLE* 191.

5        *Tu [---] |*  
           *sumus mortales immortales non sumus [---] |*  
           *praesumptio nostra haec est VAS[---] |*  
           *victuros credimus [---] |*  
           *sic ergo tu mortal(is) securam iam nunc [---] |*  
 10       *casus nostri haec facere relin[quit ---] |*  
           *mortem vivere semper so[---] |*  
           *agentes sani ad superos ho[---] |*  
           *quia vivere n[---].*

To the spirits of the departed.

Titus Vettius Nepos, son of Titus, of the Pollian tribe, served [...] as a *duovir quinquennalis*, *flamen* of Jove, with whom himself and [...] for his [...] and his most sacred wife; he lived with her well for many years.

You, [...]

We are mortal, we are not immortal [...]

this is our supposition, [...]

we believe they will prevail [...]

In this way, therefore, you, mortal one, the untroubled [...] already now [...]

This, my death, left behind [...] to make [...]

[...] to always live [...] death [...]

the healthy pursuing [...] to the gods

because [...] to live [...].

**ET.2** = *CIL* III 1552 (cfr. p. 1017) = III 8001 = *CLE* 460 = *IDR* III 1.157 = Massaro 2023.14 = EDCS-26600747;<sup>3681</sup> (Tibiscum/Caransebes, Dacia; AD 131-170).

*[D(is) M(anibus)?]. |*

*Publi Aeli Ulpi vet(erani) ex dec(urione). |*

*Hanc sedem longo placuit sacrare labori |*

*hanc requiem fessos tandem qua conderet artus. |*

5       *Ulpus emeritis longaevi muneris annis |*

*ipse suo curam titulo dedit, ipse sepulcri |*

*arbiter hospitium membris Fatoque paravit. |*

[To the spirits of the departed.]

[The monument] of Publius Aelius Ulpus, veteran from the rank of a decurion.

It was agreed to consecrate this eternal resting place, this respite from long labour, as where he shall bury his tired limbs at last.

Ulpus, tired from years of service of drawn out duty, himself took care of his inscription, he himself, the arbiter of the tomb, prepared the guest-room for his limbs and Fate.

<sup>3681</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* III 1552; *CIL* III 8001; *CLE* 460; *IDR* III 1.157; Massaro 2023.14; and photographs of this inscription. See *CIL*; Lupa 17549 for photos/description of this sarcophagus.

**ET.3** = *CIL* III 9733 (cfr. p. 1475) = *CLE* 77 = Sanader, Bradač & Demicheli 2010: 485-486 nr. 2 = *Legio VII* 8 = Massaro 2023.3 = EDCS-30100403;<sup>3682</sup> (Tilurium/ Vojnić, near Trilj, Dalmatia; AD 9-42).

*Q(uintus) Baebius, Q(uinti) f(ilius) Serg(ia) Conan(a) | miles leg(ionis) VII ann(or)um  
XXXXV | stip(endiorum) XX h(ic) s(itus) e(st). |*

*Quamvis la[ss]e viator rogo ne graveris et | tumulum contempla meum  
lege et moraris iam | aliquid resciveris.*

5 *dum vi[x]i, [hil]aris iucundus amicis |  
[nu]nc to[rpen]s iaceo hic o[ssa req]u[ies]cunt mea.  
natus | sum C'o`n`a`nis, conditu(s) [i]n Illurico.  
vale et bene | facito vitae, dum Fatum venit. |*

*Frater fratri. |*

Quintus Baebius, of the Sergian voting tribe, from Conana, soldier of the 7<sup>th</sup> Legion, lived for 45 years, served for 20, lies here.

Although you may be tired, passer-by, I ask you not to be burdened, and to contemplate my grave:

read and stay, now you shall learn something.

While I lived, I was cheerful and agreeable to my friends:

here I lie now, stiff, here my bones rest.

I was born in Conana, I was buried in Illyricum.

Farewell and conduct your life well, while your Fate approaches.

A brother for a brother.

**ET.4** = *CIL* III 6416 (cfr. p. 82, 2328, 114) = *CLE* 82 = *CSL* 1073 = Massaro 2023.5 = EDCS-30600027;<sup>3683</sup> (Burnum/Mokro, Polje, Dalmatia; AD 9-42).

*P(ublius) Fanniu[s] | Ani(ensi) Cremon(a) | eq(ues) leg(ionis) XI an(norum) | XXIX  
stip(endorum) XII h(ic) s(itus) e(st). | f(rater?) f(ratri?) pos(uit). |*

*Hospes resiste et tumulum | contempla meum,*

*mora|[re gressu]m, litteras nos|[-]++*

5 *lege mando et ST |  
[-]US aliquis alter | facit.*

*titulum intueri | scriptum quo Fato occidi. |*

*rumore sancto Ilyrici | iaceo in solo.*

*infunde | lacrimas quisquis es | [mihi] misericors.*

10 *aetate | [cuncta] ceciderunt mecum | [breui].*

*[ae]quo animo vive vitam | [quoad] fieri [potest]. |*

<sup>3682</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* III 9733; *CLE* 77; Sanader et al. 2010: 485, nr. 2; Massaro 2023.3; and photographs of this inscription. See Sanader et al. 2010: 485, nr. 2, fig. 2; *Legio VII* p. 31 fig. 8; HD058840; EDCS-30100403 for a photo of this monument.

<sup>3683</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* III 6416; *CLE* 82; Massaro 2023.5; photographs of this inscription. Now in fragments. See photos Lupa 23023. This inscription is in fragments, and appears to be far more fragmentary than what the editors of the *CIL* had access to. It appears that lines 1-12 were joined, at least, in the way in which they are presented here, but lines 14-16 were separate. What, exactly, the last two fragments are is not certain, nor is their meaning easy to determine.

[-----]

[---]OIAM[---] | [---]CNORIS AL[---] | [---]R quaedam [---] | [---]SADEMII[---] | [---]  
] nomen in P[---] | [---] quorum [---]

15

[-----] | prima noc[te ---] | [---] vivo fieri [---] | [---] satis [---] | [-----]

Publis Fannius, of the Aniensian tribe, from Cremona, *eques* of the 11<sup>th</sup> Legion, lived for 29 years, served for 12, lies here. A brother put this up for a brother.

Visitor, stop and contemplate my grave,

delay your steps, read my words

[...] I commit and [...]

[...] some other person made [...]

Consider the inscription on which it is written which Fate killed me.

I lie in Illyrican soil with a virtuous reputation.

Pour out your tears, whoever you are, have sympathy for me!

Everything in my brief life died with me.

Live life with patience for as long as possible.

[the rest is incomprehensible]

**ET.5** = *CIL* III 8376a (cfr. p. 2127, 2328,159) = III 13242 = *CLE* 539 = *CSL* 336 = *CLENuovo* p 177 = *AHB* p. 362 = Migotti 2018: 81 = Massaro 2023.31 = EDCS-31400322,<sup>3684</sup> (Novi Grad, Dalmatia; third-fourth centuries AD).

*Militia i[ns]ign[i] raptus tri|eteride sexta,  
s[e]dibus his | situs est mis[e]rabi[l]is Heli|[odo]rus.*

*H[eli]odo[r]us e[t C---]|tiane parentes miseri f[i(lio)].*

Seized in his eighteenth year in an extraordinary war,  
he lies in these eternal abodes, wretched Heliodorus.

Heliodorus and [...], parents, for their wretched son.

**ET.6** = *CIL* III 8739 = *CLE* 1148 = *CSL* 679 = Massaro 2023.7 = EDCS-28700953,<sup>3685</sup> (Salona/Solin, Dalmatia; first century AD).

[-----] | dec(urioni) equit(um) p[raeposito? c]oh(ortis) | III Alpinae et Q(uinto) Annio  
Sever[o] | ann(or)um XV. fecit Lutatia Veneria | viro et filio. |

*orba queror genetrix miseri post funera nati, |  
r[aptaque et ante premit] me mea c[a]ra soror. |*

5

*intra ter quinos infelix occidit annos, |  
sic illi coniunx sic toga pura data est |  
nu[ll]aque pr[opa]go manibus suscepta [p]arentis |  
nullus honos fasces in mea tecta tulit. |  
omnia Ditis habet praeterquam nomen eoru(m), |*

<sup>3684</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* III 8376a; *CLE* 539; *CSL* 336; Migotti 2018: 81; Massaro 2023.31; and photographs of this inscription. See Mesihović 2011: 362; EDCS-31400322 for a drawing of this inscription. See Migotti 2018: 81; Lupa 15771 for photos of this inscription.

<sup>3685</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* III 8739; *CLE* 1148; Massaro 2023.7. See EDCS-28700953; HD062533; Lupa 26206 for photographs of this inscription. The photos are, unfortunately, insufficient for making an edition.



*nec comitem nati sinit esse mei. |*  
*o genitor felix qui nec tua funera vidit. |*  
*nec filiu[---]FIL[---]FRI[---]+++[---]*

For [... Annus ...], *decurionus equitum* in charge of the *cohors III Alpina*, and Quintus Annus Severus, who lived for 15 years. Lutatia Veneria made this for her husband and son.

I, a bereaved mother, lament after the funeral of my wretched son,  
 and my dear sister, seized before me, burdens me.  
 Within the space of fifteen years, that unlucky one died,  
 in this way he was given a wife, in this way he was given the *toga pura*,  
 and no child was brought up by the parents' hands,  
 no office brought the fasces under my roof.  
 Dis has everything but their name,  
 nor does he allow me to be my son's companion.  
 O fortunate parent, who did not have to see your funeral!  
 Nor son [...].

**ET.7** = *CIL* III 8385 (cfr. p. 2256, 2328,117) = *CLE* 587 = *CSL* 678 = Starr 1993: 78 = *AHB* pp. 28-32 = Brunet 2022.121 = Massaro 2023.16 = EDCS-31400647;<sup>3686</sup> (Dabricam/Travnik, Dalmatia; third century AD).

*Ultima clausurunt Par|carum stamina filo |*  
*Principii miserandi diem, | quem gloria nisi |*  
*avus adque pater puerum | dedere praeclara |*  
*militia patruoque suo iun|xere fovendum. |*  
*cum primum pulchra lanu|gine sumeret annos, |*  
*spectantes magnum patri|ae columenque futurum. |*  
*heu miseri gloriari sibi | laetamque senectam. |*  
*crudele(m) luctum domui | Ravenna remisit. |*  
*hoc miseros titulo pro|prium signasse dolorem. |*

The last threads of the Fates were cut off by the filament  
 of wretched Principius' day, the boy whom his grandfather and father,  
 pressing for glory, gave to noble military service  
 and brought him to his uncle to foster.  
 When he first entered into the years of having a beautiful downy beard,  
 they regarded him as a great pillar of his fatherland and the future.  
 Oh, wretched ones, also they themselves who can boast of a fortunate old age!  
 Ravenna sent cruel mourning back home.  
 In this inscription, these wretched ones mark their grief.

<sup>3686</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* III 8385; *CLE* 587; and photographs of this inscription. See EDCS-31400647; Lupa 30631 for photos of this inscription.

**ET.8** = *CLE* 1876 = *ILJug* III 1950 = Sanader, Bradač & Demicheli 2010: 487, nr. 3 = *Legio VII* 20 = Grassl 2020: 145 = Massaro 2023.4 = EDCS-10100892;<sup>3687</sup> (Tilurium/Vojnić, near Trilj, Dalmatia; AD 9-56).

*C(aius) Iulius C(ai) f(ilius) | Fab(ia) Ninica | mil(es) leg(ionis) VII | ann(or)um XXXIX stip(end)iorum) | XVIII h(ic) s(itus) e(st). |*

*Hospes resis[te et] tumulum | contempla meum.*

*lege et | moratus iam scies, quae | debeas.*

5 *vixi qua potui, ca|rus sum Opiorum.*<sup>3688</sup>

*hic su|m sepultus hic oss{u}a re|quiescum mea.*

*vale et | bene facito vitae, dum Fa|tum venit.*

*Faustus l(ibertus) patrono.*

Gaius Julius, son of Gaius, of the Fabian tribe, from Ninica, soldier of the 7<sup>th</sup> Legion, he lived for 39 years, he served for 18, lies here.

Guest, stay and contemplate my tomb.

Read and delay, now you shall know what you must.

I lived how I was able to, I was the beloved of the Opii.

Here I am buried, here my bones rest.

Farewell and conduct your life well, while your Fate approaches.

Faustus the freedman [had this made] for his patron.

**ET.9** = *AE* 1995.1232 = Sanader, Bradač & Demicheli 2010: 488,, nr. 4 = *Legio VII* 42 = Massaro 2023.2 = EDCS-03300744;<sup>3689</sup> (Tilurium/between Vojnić and Gardun, Dalmatia; AD 6-42).

*L(ucius) Mummius, L(uci) | f(ilius), Fab(ia), Ancyra, | miles leg(ionis) VII, | ann(or)um XXXVI, | stipend(iorum) XVI, | h(ic) s(itus) est. ||*

*Arma bis octonis felicia qui tulit annis. |*

*hic situs est Fato Mummius ipse suo. |*

5 *si sapiunt obiti data munera, percipis am<pla> |*

*et recipis nostrae pignus amicitiae. |*

*hoc tibi cum titulo posuit Cornelius Chrestus |*

*et dixit lachrymans, “sit tibi ter(r)a levis”. ||*

*M(arcus) Cornelius M(arci) l(ibertus) | Chrestus posuit.*

<sup>3687</sup> This edition has been created using *CLE* 1876; Sanader et al. 2010: 487, nr. 3; Massaro 2023.4. See Sanader et al. 2010: 487, nr. 3, fig. 3; *Legio VII* 20 p. 45 fig. 20; EDCS-10100892 (see also for a drawing); Lupa 21448 for photographs of this inscription. The photos are, unfortunately, insufficient for making an edition.

<sup>3688</sup> Grassl debates what this is in reference to (2020: 147). As *carus sum* needs a dative, Grassl dismisses this being the genitive plural of a gentile name, but instead suggests that it reads *carus sumo deorum*. Tončinić believes it translates to ‘Opio’ (2011: 43). Here, it is conjectured that this is in reference to the *Opii*, the nymph-followers of Diana (see Lewis & Short 1945: 1270). The use of the genitive plural may be a mistake by the author of this inscription. The meaning of this, however, is still up for debate.

<sup>3689</sup> This edition has been created using *AE* 1995.1232; Sanader et al. 2010: 488, nr. 4; Massaro 2023.2. See Sanader et al. 2010: 488, nr. 4, fig. 4; *Legio VII* 42: 72, fig. 42; EDCS-03300744 for photographs of this inscription. The photos are, unfortunately, insufficient for making an edition.

Lucius Mummius, son of Lucius, of the Fabian voting tribe, from Ancyra, soldier of the 7<sup>th</sup> legion, lived for 36 years, served for 16, lies here.

He who bore fortunate arms for sixteen years.

Here he lies, Mummius himself, by his own Fate.

If the dead know of the gifts given to them, you see them in abundance

and you receive proof of our friendship.

Cornelius Chrestus put this up, with an inscription, for you

and he, crying, said: “may the earth be light for you”.

Marcus Cornelius Chrestus, freedman of Marcus, put [this] up.

**ET.10** = *CIL* III 293 = III 6825 = *CLE* 243 = *CSL* 1068 = *ILS* 2238 = *ZPE* 44 (1981) p. 98 = *ZPE* 47 (1982) p. 148 = *AE* 1989.726 adn. = *AE* 1998.1386 adn. = *CLEOr* 15 = EDCS-26900081;<sup>3690</sup> (Antiochia Pisidiae/Yalvac, Galatia; c. 25 – 1 BC).

[*T(itus) Ci*]ssonius *Q(uinti) f(ilius) Ser(gia) vet(eranus) | leg(ionis) V Gall(icae).*

*Dum vixi, | bibi libenter. bibite vos | qui vivitis. |*

[*P(ublius) Cissi*]onius *Q(uinti) f(ilius) Ser(gia) frater | fecit. |*

Titus Cissonius, son of Quintus, of the Sergian tribe, veteran of *Legio V Gallica*.

Whilst I lived, I drank freely. Drink, you who live!

Publius Cissionius, son of Quintus, of the Sergian tribe, his brother, made this.

**ET.11** = *AE* 1956.252 = Zarker 1958.144 = Nesselhauf & Lieb 1960.221 = *RSK* 202 = *CBI* 72 = *IKoeln* 281 = EDCS-00500062;<sup>3691</sup> (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium/Cologne, Germania Inferior; third century AD).

“*Ha[ve] Taurici.*” *salus sis homo bon[e], quoniam me saluasti. | perlege et dicam tibi,*

*C(aio) Tauricio Vero vet(erano) ex b(ene)f(iciario) co(n)s(ularis) eques|tris militiae petitori Tauriciu[s] Ver|ulus filius et heres | et Iulia Ingenua coniux et vo[lunta]te testamenti | faciundum curaverunt.*

*Heredes et amici hic | ego vos specto [---]NET.*

“Greetings to Tauricius!” May you be healthy, good man, because you greeted me.

Read through and I shall say to you:

to Gaius Tauricius Verus, veteran from the rank of *beneficiarius consularis* of the military cavalry recruiting officer. Tauricius Verulus, his son and heir, and Julia Ingenua, his wife, both took care of the creation of this, according to the wish of his will.

Heirs and friends, here I, I see you [...]

<sup>3690</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* III 293; *CIL* III 6825; *CLE* 243; *CSL* 1068; *ILS* 2238; *ZPE* 47 (1982) p. 148; *CLEOr* 15. See EDCS-26900081 for a photograph of this inscription. The photo is, unfortunately, insufficient for making an edition.

<sup>3691</sup> This edition has been created using *AE* 1956.252; Zarker 1958.144; Nesselhauf & Lieb 1960.221; *RSK* 202; *IKoeln* 281, and the photograph of this inscription in *IKoeln* 281. For a photo of this inscription, see *IKoeln* 281; EDCS-00500062.

**ET.12** = *CIL* XIII 8644 = *CLE* 374 = *FeRA* 2017 34.18-21 = *AE* 2017.1023 = EDCS-11100738;<sup>3692</sup> (Colonia Ulpia Traiana/Xanten, Germania Inferior; AD 10-69).

“Have Calventi.” *Calv|entius te resalutat. | C(aius) Calventius (H)omul(l)i<sup>3693</sup> fil(ius) Ouf(entina) Med(iolanus) hic situs | est. ann(or)um XLIIIX. mil(es) leg(ionis) V | [st]ip(endiorum) XXIIIX. et coniugi et | [fili]o frater pro pietate. |*

*[Flete] coaequales. mors haec | [mea fletibu]s apta est.  
5 vi(vi)t(e) fel(i)ces q(u)i(bus) [---]. |  
[--- p]ar patria dulcis. |  
[her]es e sua [pec(unia) e(rex)it]. |*

“Greetings to Calventius!” Calventius echoes the greeting back to you. Gaius Calventius, son of Omulus, of the Oufentian tribe, from Milan, lies here. He lived for 48 years. He served as a soldier in the 5<sup>th</sup> legion for 28 years. A brother put this up out of pity for both his wife and son.

Weep, men of equal age! My, this, death is suitable for tears!  
Live successfully, you to whom ...!  
[...] equal [...] fatherland [...] sweet.  
His heir put this up from their own money.

**ET.13** = *CIL* XIII 6808 = *CLE* 1590 = *CSIR D* 2.6.87 = *Grabstelen* 166 = *AE* 2008.17 adn. = Mander 2013.454 = *AE* 2018.1171 adn. = EDCS-11000857;<sup>3694</sup> (Mogontiacum/Mainz, Germania Superior, AD 157-159).

*Aram | D(is) M(anibus) et innocen|tiae Hipponici ser(vi) | Dignillae Iun(i) Pastoris | leg(ati) leg(ionis) XXII Pr(imigeniae) P(iae) F(idelis) | Hedyepes et Genesia | parentes. | (vac.)*

*Ut primum adolevit pollens | viribus, decora  
5 facie Cupidinis | os habitumque  
gerens nec metuam | dicere Apollineus.  
huic expletis | ter centum ter denisque  
diebus, | invisae Parcae sollemnem cele|brare  
diem iamque, ut esset gra|tus amicis,  
10 invidia superum cess[a]|vit amari.*

Hedyepes and Genesia, his parents, had this altar made for the spirits of the departed and for the innocence of Hipponicus, slave of Dignilla, wife of Iunius Pastor, legate of the *Legio XXII Primigenia Pia Fidelis*.

As soon as he matured, capable in his strength, with a beautiful face: he had the facial features and characteristics of Cupid, and I am not afraid to say he was like Apollo. After three hundred and thirty complete days of that boy's life, the Fates were envious to celebrate his appointed

<sup>3692</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* XIII 8644; *CLE* 374; *FeRA* 2017 34.18-21; *AE* 2017.1023. See EDCS-11100738 for a drawing of this inscription.

<sup>3693</sup> This is debated amongst those who have made editions of this inscription.

<sup>3694</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* XIII 6806; *CLE* 1590; photographs of this inscription. See EDCS-11000857; Lupa 16600; Arachne 3460531 for photos of this inscription.

day, and now, although he was dear to his friends,  
the envy of the gods above withdrew his ability to be loved.

**ET.14** = *CIL* II<sup>2</sup>/14 814 (cfr. p. 1040) = *AE* 1992.1094 adn. = *HEp* 1994.877 = *HEp* 2001.541  
= *HEp* 2002.421 = *PELCatalans* T 9 = *CLENuovo* p. 51, p. 169 = Hernández Pérez 2008: 181-  
200 = *CLEHisp* 107 = *SEBarc* 12.166 = EDCS-09100861;<sup>3695</sup> (Tortosa/Dertosa, Hispania  
Tarraconensis; AD 71-100).

*C(aius) Aebutius Tardus | C(aius) Aebutius Verecundus | filius miles leg(ionis) VI in  
Suria. |*

5       *“Iamque XVIII aetas mea nunc conpleverat annos, |  
          ruperunt misero fata repente viam.” |*  
      *“lectus miles eras, legio quae sexta tenebat, |  
          [qui] pius in Suria fortiter arma tulit, |  
          et Fortuna nimis saevas exercuit eiras, |  
          quam sic ut torrens ante diem rapuit.” |*  
10       *“nemo ne votisqu[e] meis adeo usque parentes |  
          militiae referat splendida facta suae. |  
          o miseros quei me talem genuere parentes. |  
          non licuit patrios continuisse sinus. |  
          te miseram mater quae sic deserta queris, |  
          nam patris interitu lapsa ruina iacet.” |*  
15       *“nec te pretereor cor et solacia nostri, |  
          indignor misera[m] non licuisse frui |  
          dulces anplexus morientis et oscula data |  
          nec tenuit moriens deficiente manu. |  
          in superos it, si qua viast aditusque sepulcro |  
          instituto, casus pareat usque meus.” |*  
20       *“inritus infelix peregrinas possidet auras, |  
          neu quisquam pressit lumina nemo manus. |  
          hospes praeteriens titulum ne desere nostrum |  
          et precor ut deicas, “sit tibi terra levis.” |*  
25       *Valeria Laura dilar[gi]tur. |*

Gaius Aebutius Tardus and Gaius Aebutius Verecundus, his son, soldier of the 6<sup>th</sup> legion  
in Syria.

“And already now my life has completed 18 years,  
the Fates have ruptured the passage of my life suddenly; I am wretched.”  
“You were chosen to be a soldier, you who was pious and bravely bore  
arms in Syria, which the Sixth Legion occupied,  
And Fortune exercised excessively savage rages,  
so that she is the one who, in this way, rapidly seized him before his day.”  
“And lest anyone, in my prayers to my parents thus far,  
shall not relay the splendid deeds of my military service.

<sup>3695</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* II<sup>2</sup>/14 814; *CLENuovo* p. 51; *SEBarc* 12.166; *PELCatalans* T 9; photographs of  
this inscription. See *SEBarc* 12.166; EDCS-09100861; Gómez Pallarès 2023 on *CLEO* T8; HispaniaEpigraphica Online  
Database 13766; HD026906; for photos of this inscription.

O wretched parents who begot one such as me!  
 I was not allowed to hold onto fatherly embraces.  
 You, my wretched mother, you who lament that you have been deserted in this way,  
 for a ruin lies fallen in the death of a father.”  
 “I did not forget you, my heart and grief,  
 I am angry that you, wretched one, were not allowed to enjoy  
 the sweet embraces and kisses given by a dying man,  
 nor did he hold you with his failing hand.  
 He went up to the land of the gods above, if there is a road and entrance to there  
 when a tomb has been built: let my death be visible for all time.”  
 “My empty, unlucky [body] occupies [the land] under foreign skies,  
 nor did anyone close my eyes, no one my hands.  
 Guest, passing by, do not forsake my inscription  
 and I pray that you shall say, “may the earth be light for you”.”  
 Valeria Laura gave this lavishly.

**ET.15** = *CIL* X 1760 = *CLE* 1604 adn. = EDR158622 = EDCS-11500697;<sup>3696</sup>  
 (Puteoli/Pozzuoli, Italia; second century AD).

*D(is) M(anibus).* |

*Q(uinto) Valerio Felici | veterano coh(oris) | X pr(aetoriae). pater fecit | b(ene)  
 m(erenti).*

*Sed is mihi | debuit facere quam |  
 senectae meae dolum | relinquere.* |

To the spirits of the departed.

For Quintus Valerius Felix, veteran of the 10<sup>th</sup> Praetorian cohort. His father made this  
 [for his son, for whom it was] well deserved.

But he, he was obliged to make for me that which  
 deceit bequeathed to my old age.

**ET.16** = Conrad 2004.506 = *ILBulg* 171 = EDCS-11301330;<sup>3697</sup> (Comakovci/Chomakovtski,  
 Moesia Inferior; third century AD).

*D(is) M(anibus).* |

*Have viator. si stu|diosus es, siste et | perlege.*

*Aureli(us) | Longinus mil(es) pre|torian(us) Scarini Bu|sile pat(ri) pien(tissimo) vix(it)  
ann(is) LXX | et Sura Pyrulae matri pi|entis(simae) superstanti titulu(m) | bene  
merentibus [pos(uit)].*

To the spirits of the departed.

Greetings, passer by! If you are studious, stop and read this through.

<sup>3696</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* X 1760.

<sup>3697</sup> This edition has been created using Conrad 2004.506; *ILBulg* 171; photographs of this inscription. See Conrad 2004: fig. 84.3; EDCS-11301330 for photos of this inscription.

Aurelius Longinus, soldier of the Praetorian Guard, made this for his most pious father, Scarinus Busilis<sup>3698</sup>, who lived for 70 years, and his most pious mother, Sura Pyrula, who is still living. [He put up] this inscription [for them, for whom it was] well deserved.

**ET.17** = AE 1966.372 = *IScM* II 383 = *CLEMoes* 62 = *Alumnus* 56a = *IScM* VI 2.383 adn. = Brancato 2021: 91 = Massaro 2023.34 = EDCS-11800291;<sup>3699</sup> (Tomis/Constanta, Moesia Inferior; third-fourth centuries AD).

*D(is) M(anibus) | et perpetuae securitati{s}. hic [---] |*

*VIS[---]ER est semper quem, [---] |*

*de querentem questus, [---?a]dque que | [---]*

*lectu<s?>. [Cl]audius nomine, | quem [in flor]entem posuerunt*

5 *paren[tes. pr(a)en[o]men Aurel(ius) nomenque |*

*Claudiu[s]. habebat veteranus quidem |*

*leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae) certus, octiens sic decies | subito*

*fata rapuerunt tenebris. | et li[c]et*

*sine liberos alumnos | heredes*

10 *remisi et modo post | ob[it]um. reddo meae vitis*

*rationem. | [n]unc opto ut hic*

*lapes aeterna[m] sedem quiescat et me salvum. |*

*[Pi]us et heres Hermes patrono titulum posuit honorandum sepulcro.*

To the spirits of the departed and perpetual safety. Here [...]

[...] is always, whom [...]

the complaint, about which he was complaining, and [...] also [...]

he had been chosen (?) [...]. He was called Claudius, he whom his parents laid in state in the bloom [of youth]. His *praenomen* was Aurelius, and his *nomen*

Claudius. Indeed, he was an unerring veteran

of the *Legio XI Claudia*, and, in his eightieth year, suddenly

the Fates seized him into the Underworld. It is also right

that, because I went back with no children, I am only going to restore

my *alumni* and my heirs [their freedom] after my death.

Now I hope for a consideration of my vine stick so that, here,

the stone, my eternal abode, will be peaceful and keep me safe.

His pious heir Hermes put up this inscription for his patron, honouring him on his tomb.

**ET.18** = *CIL* III 12437 = *CLE* 1323 = AE 1892.109 = *ILBulg* 395 = Conrad 2004.328 = *CLEMoes* 25 = Massaro 2023.24 = EDCS-29100156;<sup>3700</sup> (Nicopolis ad Istrum/Obedinenie, Moesia Inferior; first half of the third century AD).

*D(is) M(anibus). |*

<sup>3698</sup> This could be a filiation.

<sup>3699</sup> This edition has been created using AE 1966.372; *CLEMoes* 62; Brancato 2021: 91; Massaro 2023.34; photographs of this inscription. For photos of this inscription, see EDCS-11800291.

<sup>3700</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* III 12437; AE 1892.109; *ILBulg* 395; *CLEMoes* 25; Conrad 328: 215; Massaro 2023.24.

*Si modo sunt Ma|nes, sentiant. spes vi|t(a)e nostr(a)e fueras.  
nu(n)|c quis ubi iaceas indi|cat iste lapis.*

5 *L(ucius) Spureni|us Herculanus <f>rater<sup>3701</sup> et | ++<sup>3702</sup> Paula mater L(ucio)  
Spuren|nio Rufo b(ucinatori) c(o)h(o)r(tis) Mattiacorum, militante an(nos) XX. | bene  
merenti posue|runt. valete viatores.*

To the spirits of the departed.

If the spirits of the departed exist in any way, they can feel: you had been the hope of our life.

Now the stone itself indicates who you were and where you lie.

Lucius Spurenius Herculanus, his brother, and [name missing] Paula, his mother, put [this] up for Lucius Spurennius Rufus, *bucinator* of the *cohors Mattiacorum*; he served for 20 years. They put this up, [for their brother and son, for whom it was] well deserved. Farewell, passers-by!

**ET.19** = *Epigraphica* 1976.65 = *AE* 1976.613 = *ILBulg* 178 = Conrad 2004.515 = *CLEMoes* 58 = EDCS-11301335;<sup>3703</sup> (Reselets, Moesia Inferior; second century AD).

*[D(is)] M(anibus). |*

*[---] viator et |[tit(ulum) ? l]ege. si lex | e[st]  
[leger]e tibi | [---].*

5 *P(ublius) Aelius (vac.) | (vac.) [F]irmus vet(eranus) | [--- le]g(ionis) XI Cl(audiae). se  
vivo | [---]tani coniugi | s(uae) b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit).*

For the spirits of the departed.

[...] passer-by, and read this inscription. If the rule is for you [to read ...].

Publius Aelius [...] Firmus, veteran of the *Legio XI Claudia*. When he was alive, he put [this] up for himself, for [...] his wife, [...] herself, [for whom it was] well deserved.

**ET.20** = *CIL* III 13809 = III 14217, 1 = *CLE* 859 = *IMS* II 118 = *CBI* 577 = *CLEMoes* 5 = Ninković 2019.6 = Massaro 2023.28 = EDCS-29601702;<sup>3704</sup> (Viminacium/Kostolac, Moesia Superior; AD 151-300).

*D(is) M(anibus). |*

*Vivite felices nostris|que profundite Manis |  
et memores sitis nobis|cum vos esse futuros. |*

5 *Seviae Aquilinae con|iugi Aur(elius) Marinus b(ene)f(iciarius) | b(ene) m(erenti)  
p(osuit). |*

<sup>3701</sup> The editor of *CIL* III 12437 conjectures that this is *[p]ater*. *AE* 1892.109; *ILBulg* 395; Conrad 328; *CLEMoes* 25; Massaro 2023.24 postulate *frater*.

<sup>3702</sup> Her name is conjectured as *[Fl(avia)]*.

<sup>3703</sup> This edition has been created using *AE* 1976.613; *ILBulg* 178; Conrad 515: 263; *CLEMoes* 58.

<sup>3704</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* III 14217, 1; *IMS* II 118; *CLEMoes* 5; Ninković 2019.6; Massaro 2023.28; photographs of this inscription. See *IMS* II 118; EDCS-29601702 for photos of this inscription.



For the spirits of the departed.

Live successfully and pour out [tears] for our departed spirits  
and may you be mindful that you will be allowed to exist into the future with us.

Surelius Marinus, *beneficiarius*, put this up, for his wife Sevia Aquilina, [for whom it was] well deserved.

**ET.21** = *CIL* III 10501 = *CLE* 489 = *CSL* 35 = *AE* 1979.470 adn. = Courtney 1995.115 = *AE* 2003.115 adn. = *CLEPann* 36 = *TitAq* II 519 = *ZPE* 181 (2021) p. 208 = *EAOR* IX 3 = EDCS-28500317;<sup>3705</sup> (Aquincum/Budapest, Pannonia Inferior; first half of the third century AD).

*Clausa iacet lapidi coniunx pia cara Sabina. |*  
*artibus edocta, superabat sola maritu|m.*  
*vox ei grata fuit, pulsabat pollice cordas, |*  
*set cito rapta sil'e`t. ter denos duxerat annos*  
5 *he|u male quinque minus, set plus tres me(n)ses habebat |*  
*bis septemque dies, vixit. h(a)ec ipsa superstes*  
*spectata in {p}po|pulo, hydraula grata regebat.*  
*sis felix, quicumque leges, te | numina ser|ent,*  
*et pia voce cane: "Aelia Sabina, vale!"*

10 *T(itus) Ael(ius) Iustus | hydraularius salariarius leg(ionis) II Ad(iutricis) coniugi*  
*faciendum curavit. |*

A pious, dear wife, Sabina, lies here, confined in stone.  
Only she, instructed in the arts, surpassed her husband.  
Her voice was dear to him, she struck the strings with her thumb,  
but she, having been suddenly seized, is silent. Alas, she lived,  
ailed for five years less than thirty, but she had three months  
and fourteen days more. This woman, when she was still alive,  
was watched by the people: she enchanted them agreeably with her water organ.  
May you be lucky, you, whoever reads this, may the gods watch over you,  
and sing with a pious voice, "farewell, Aelia Sabina!"

Titus Aelius Justus, *hydraularius salariarius* of the *Legio II Adiutrix*, had this made for his wife.

**ET.22** = *CIL* III 11229 (cfr. p. 2328, 32) = *CLE* 1011 (cfr. p. 857) = Schober 1923.35 = *AE* 1949.203 adn. = *MaCarnuntum* 232 = *Legio XV Apo* 65 = *AEA* 2003.2 adn. = *CLEPann* 2 = *AEA* 2011/12.41 adn. = *AEA* 2016/17.56 adn. = *AEA* 2016/17.66 adn. = Massaro 2023.10 = EDCS-29100249;<sup>3706</sup> (Carnuntum/Bad-Deutsch-Altenburg, Pannonia Superior; third century AD).

<sup>3705</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* III 10501; *CLE* 489; *CSL* 35; *CLEPann* 36; *TitAq* II 519; *ZPE* 181 (2012) p. 208; Courtney 1995.115; and photographs of this inscription. See *TitAq* II 519; EDCS-28500317; Lupa 3025 for photos of this inscription.

<sup>3706</sup> This edition has been created using the *CIL* III 11229; *CLE* 1011; Schober 1923.35; *MaCarnuntum* 232; *Legio XV Apo* 65; *CLEPann* 2; Massaro 2023.10; photographs of this inscription. See EDCS-29100249; HD027771; Lupa 223 for photos of this inscription.

*C(aius) Pedusius | M(arci) f(ilius) Ani(ensi) Crem(ona) | veter(anus) leg(ionis) XV  
Apo(llinaris) | ann(orur) LX stip(endiorum) XXIII | h(ic) s(itus) e(st). | Amanda  
l(iberta) pos<u>it. |*

5 *Invida mors rapuit Fato | crudelis iniquo,  
nec licuit pretium | [---]mere militiae.  
non tantum | [---]me quam ut reddere pos[---]. |  
[---]e et dignae plur`i`ma | [---]  
huic precor in | [---]t sua fila so[---] |  
[--- + + + ---]. |*

Gaius Pedusius, son of Marcus, of the Ainesian tribe, from Cremona, veteran of the *Legio XV Apollinaris*, lived for 60 years, served for 24. Here he lies. Amanda, his freedwoman, put this up for him.

Jealous, cruel death seized him with an unjust fate,  
he was not allowed to [take up] the reward of military service.  
Not only that, [...] me [...] she whom [...] so was he able to return.  
[...] and his multiple honours [...]  
I pray for him in [...] his own daughter [...]  
[...]

**ET.23** = *ILS* 9093 = Schober 1923.100 = Hild 1968.153 = *CSIR* Oe 1 3.331 = *MaCarnuntum* 12 = *AE* 1990.797 = *AEA* 1993/98.133 = *AEA* 2001/02.1 adn. = *AEA* 2005.4 adn. = *CLEPann* 10 = *AEA* 2007.2 adn. = *AEA* 2010.16 = Mander 2013.591 = *AEA* 2016/17.3 adn. = *AEA* 2016/1.33 adn. = *AEA* 2016/17. 66 adn. = Massaro 2023.25 = EDCS-05200558;<sup>3707</sup> (Carnuntum/Bad-Deutsch-Altenburg, Pannonia Superior; third century AD).

*D(is) M(anibus). |*

*Augustaniae Cassiae Marciae | coniugi incomparabili quae | vixit annos XXXIII  
mens(es) XI dies | XIII.*

*Quaequae, dum explesset Fa|ti sui laborem, meliora sibi spe|rans vitam functa est.*

5 *Et | M(arco) Ant(onio) Augustanio Phileto filio | innocentiss(imo) q(ui) v(ixit) ann(os)  
III mens(es) VIII | dies X.*

*Cui dii nefandi parvulo contra | vot(a) genitor(um) vita privaverunt.*

*M(arcus) Ant(oninus) Basilides frum(entarius) leg(ionis) X Gem(inae) | coniugi et filio  
pientissimis. | Simplici Urani vobi|s terra leve. ||*

10 *Felix | Itala.*

To the spirits of the departed.

For Augustania Cassia Marcia, my incomparable wife, who lived for 34 years, 11 months, and 13 days.

<sup>3707</sup> This edition has been created using *ILS* 9093; Schober 1923.100; *MaCarnuntum* 12; *AE* 1990.797; *CLEPann* 10; Massaro 2023.25; photographs of this inscription (including ones taken by the author). For photos of this inscription see EDCS-05200558; Lupa 91.

And she who had served life, while she fulfilled the work of her Fate, hoping it would be better for herself.

And for Marcus Antonius Augustianus Philetus, our most innocent son, who lived for 3 years, 8 months, and 10 days.

From whom, when he was a young boy, the wicked gods deprived him of life, against the prayers of his parents.

Marcus Antonius Basilides, *frumentarius* of the *Legio X Gemina*, made this for his most pious wife and son. Simplex, Uranus,<sup>3708</sup> [may] the earth lie light on you!

Felix Italia.

**ET.24** = *CIL* III 11036 = *CLE* 805 (cfr. p. 857) = *RIU* II 600 = *CLEPann* 29 = Mander 2013.579 = Massaro 2023.23 = EDCS-29000382;<sup>3709</sup> (Brigetio/Komarom, Pannonia Superior; first half of the third century AD).

*D(is) M(anibus). |*

*Val(erius) Ursinus ducenarius q|ui vixit ann(os) XXV m(enses) III dies V, Aure|l(ia) Firmilla filia quae vixit ann(os) | VIII m(enses) III dies V, et Fl(avius) Firmus mil(es) leg(ionis) I Ad(iutricis) qui vixit 'a`nn(os) XLV m(enses) V d|ies VII. Aurel(ia) Ursicina fratr|i et filiae et coniugi suo ben|e merentib|us sepul|crum | faciendu|m c|uravit.*

*Viv|e felices qui 'b`u`s` est Fortu|na beata.*

To the spirits of the departed.

Valerius Ursinus, *ducenarius*, who lived for 25 years, 3 months, and 5 days, Aurelia Firmilla, his daughter, who lived for 8 years, 3 months, and 5 days, and Flavius Firmus, soldier of the *Legio I Adiutrix*, who lived for 45 years, 5 months, and 7 days. Aurelia Ursicina had this tomb made for her brother, daughter, and husband, [for whom it was] well deserved.

Live successfully, you for whom Fortune is blessed.

**ET.25** = *CIL* III 4483 = *CLE* 1082 = *CSIR* Oe 1 4.384 = *MaCarnuntum* 151 = *Legio XV Apo* 79 = *AEA* 2003.2 adn. = *AEA* 2006.3 adn. = *AEA* 2006.7 adn. = *CLEPann* 1 = *AEA* 2011/12.37 adn. = *AEA* 2013/14.35 adn. = *AEA* 2016/17.56 adn. = *AEA* 2016/17.66 adn. = Massaro 2023.8 = EDCS-26600123;<sup>3710</sup> (Carnuntum/Petronell-Carnuntum, Pannonia Superior; AD 39-56).

*C(aius) Valerius C(ai) f(ilius) | Ser(gia) Her(?) tub(icen) | mil(es) leg(ionis) XV | Apoll(inaris) stip(endiorum) | XVI ann(or)um | XXXVI | h(ic) s(itus) e(st). |*

<sup>3708</sup> According to Cugusi (2007: 49) and the Archäologisches Museum Carnuntinum in Bad Deutsch Altenburg, where this inscription is displayed and the author saw it, these were Basilides' nicknames for his wife and son.

<sup>3709</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* III 11036; *RIU* II 600; *CLEPann* 29; Massaro 2023.23; photographs of this inscription. For photos of this inscription, see Lupa 3493. There is a drawing of this inscription in *RIU* II 600.

<sup>3710</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* III 4483; *MaCarnuntum* 151; *Legio XV Apo* 79; *CLEPann* 1; Massaro 2023.8; photographs of this inscription. For photos of this inscription, see Alexandrescu 2007: 36 fig. 3; EDCS-26600123; HD061033; Lupa 164.

Vivite felices | quibus est dat|a longior (h)ora. |  
vixi ego, dum licu|it, dulciter ad supe|ros.  
dicite, si merui, | “sit tibi ter(r)a | levis.”

5

Gaius Valerius, son of Gaius, of the Sergian tribe, from Her?, *tubicen*, soldier of the *Legio XV Apollinaris*, served for 16 years, lived for 31 years, lies here.

Live successfully, you for whom longer hours in life have been given.  
I, I lived, while it was allowed, more sweetly amongst the living.  
Say, if I deserve it: “may the earth be light for you.”

**ET.26** = *CIL* III 4487 = III 11095 = *CLE* 1121 = *MaCarnuntum* 295 = *AEA* 2003.2 adn. = *CLEPann* 8 = Massaro 2014: 91 = *AEA* 2016/17.4 adn. = Massaro 2023.22 = EDCS-28800231;<sup>3711</sup> (Carnuntum/Petronell-Carnuntum, Pannonia Superior; first half of the third century AD).

Veiania Hospita | ann(orum) XLV h(ic) s(ita) e(st), et | L(ucius) Fabricius | Clemens  
mil(es) coh(ortis) I praetor(iae) | L(uci) Fabrici evoc(ati) f(ilius) qui decessit in  
praet(orio) | ann(orum) XXIIIX stip(endiorum) VIII. Fabricia | L(uci) f(ilia) Marcella  
matri suae et fratri | posuit. |

5

Felix terra precor leviter super | ossa reſidas |  
matris et et fra|tris, comprecor ecce soror. |  
pars iacet ipsa mei maior gemi|natque dolorem. (vacat) |  
filia | matri simul fratre iacent filio. |  
[co]mprecor ut, “vobis sit pia terra levis.” |

Veiania Hospita, lived for 45 years, lies here, and Lucius Fabricius Clemens, soldier of the *cohors I Praetoria*, son of Lucius Fabricus, an *evocatus*, who died on active service in the Praetorian Guard in his 28<sup>th</sup> year, having served for 8 years. Fabricia Marcella, daughter of Lucius, put [this] up for her mother and brother.

Lucky land, I pray you will settle lightly above the bones  
of both my mother and brother: look, I implore you as a sister!  
The greater part of myself lies here and doubles my grief:  
at the same time a daughter lies here with her mother and her son<sup>3712</sup>, next to her  
brother.  
I implore you, so that [you may say]: “may the pious earth be light for you.”

**ET.27** = *AE* 1936.67 = *AE* 1938.164 adn. = *AE* 1939.169 adn. = Zarker 1958.3 = Hild 1968.172 = *MaCarnuntum* 191 = *Legio XV Apo* 164 = *AEA* 2001/02.64 adn. = *CSE* 16 = *AEA* 2003.2 adn. = *AEA* 2005.4 adn. = *CLEPann* 60 = *AEA* 2016/17.56 adn. = *AEA* 2016/17.66 adn. = Massaro 2023.12 = EDCS-15800410;<sup>3713</sup> (Carnuntum/Petronell-Carnuntum, Pannonia Superior; AD 71-114).

<sup>3711</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* III 4487; *CIL* III 11095; *MaCarnuntum* 295; *CLEPann* 8; Massaro 2014: 91; Massaro 2023.22; photographs of this inscription. See Lupa 1847 for photos of this inscription.

<sup>3712</sup> i.e. her mother's son, so her brother.

<sup>3713</sup> This edition has been created using *AE* 1936.67; Zarker 1958.3; *MaCarnuntum* 191; *Legio XV Apo* 164; *CSE* 16; *CLEPann* 60; Massaro 2023.12; photographs of this inscription. See *CSE* 16; EDCS-15800410; HD024324; Lupa 4437 for photos of this inscription.

*Festio [---] | Longini | Iulli mil(itis) leg(ionis) | XV Apol(linaris) f(ilius). h(ic) s(itus)  
e(st). | an(norum) V.*

*Nutritu[s] |  
sine matre, |  
salivis suis. |  
spes et corona |  
fuit patris sui. |  
Fatus et Fortuna |  
iniquiter iudicavit. |*

*p(ater) f(aciendum) c(uravit).*

For Festius ..., son of Longinus Iullus, soldier of the *Legio XV Apollinaris*. Here he lies.  
He lived for 5 years.

Brought up  
without his mother,  
on his own saliva.  
He was the hope and  
crown of his father.  
Fate and Fortune  
judged him unfairly.

His father had [this] made for him.

**ET.28** = *CIL* VI 1343 (cfr. p. 3141, 3805, 4683-4684) = *CLE* 449 = *ILS* 1127 = *CSL* 1344 = *IG*  
XIV 1398 = *IGUR* III 1156 = *AE* 1999.169 adn. = *AE* 2003.6 adn. = *AE* 2012.56 adn. =  
EDR111756 = EDCS-17800494;<sup>3714</sup> (Rome, Italia; AD 193-195).

*D(is) M(anibus). |*

*M(arci) Antonii Antii Lupi pr(aetoris) | patricii auguris quaest(oris) sodal(is) Titii  
trib(uni) | mil(itum) leg(ionis) II Adiutr(icis) Piae Fidel(is) Xvir(i) stl(itibus)  
iud(icandis) praef(ecti) fer(iarum) | Lat(inarum), cuius memoria per vim oppressi in |  
integrum secundum amplissimi ordinis | co(n)sultum restituta est. sepulchrum ab eo  
coeptum | Claudia Regillae uxori et Antiae Marcellinae fil(iae) | pietatis suae erga  
eum testificandae gratia, et | nominis eius in perpetuum celebrandi. perfecerunt atfines  
| M(arcus) Valerius Bradua Mauricus pontif(ex) et Antonia Vitellia | amici | Q(uintus)  
Fabius Honoratus T(itus) Annaeus Placidus. |*

*Διών ἐκ πατρος [---] |  
ἐγομκai σαrp[---]. |*

*Accomodata gerunt [---] |  
[---] praetextas stamina serum |  
aedificata Tholis [---]. |*

To the spirits of the departed.

<sup>3714</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* VI 1343; *CLE* 449; *ILS* 1127; *CSL* 1344; Daguet-Gagey 1997: 400, nr. 3.

For Marcus Antonius Antius Lupus, *praetor patrici, augur, quaestor, sodalis* of Titus, *tribunus militum* of the *Legio II Adiutrix Pia Fidelis, decemvir stlitibus iudicandis, praefectus feriarum Latinarum*, whose memory, of a man oppressed by violence, is made whole again, restored in a decree of the highest order. This tomb was begun by him with Claudia Regillae, his wife, and Antia Marcellina, his daughter, for the sake of testifying their piety against his and they celebrate his name in perpetuity. His relations who completed this are Marcus Valerius Bradua Mauricus, *pontifex*, and Antonia Vitellia, their friends, and Quintus Fabius Honoratus and Titus Annaeus Placidus.

*Dion* [...] from the father [...]

[...] and [...]

Suited [...] they bore [...]

[...] the threads [...] the *toga praetexta* [...] late [...]

Built in Tholis [...]

**ET.29** = *CIL* XI 6125 (cfr. p. 1397) = *CLE* 986 (cfr. p. 857) = *AE* 1992.564 = EDR107371 = EDCS-23100611,<sup>3715</sup> (Forum Sempronii/Fossombrone, Italia; first half of the first century AD).

[---] *Orfius* [*C(ai) f(ilius) F*]al(erna) *speculator* | [*in praetor*]io *meruit a(nnos) XIII* | [*vixit a(nnos)*] XXXV. *T(itus) Orfius C(ai) f(ilius) Fal(erna)* | [*frate*]r et *Maria L(uci) f(ilia) Polla* *propt̃e r̃ eius pietatem de suo* [*fecerunt*].|

*Qui legis et flores viae carmina pia*

5 *hospes, consist[e et p]erleg[e qui | f]uerim.*

*fraternis manibus tumulusque et coniugis eius |*

*traditus est m[ihi nun]c quem mors inimica peremit. |*

*nam bis septenos [tibi] Roma laboribus annos*

*praestiteram], | quom me miserum mala Fata vocarunt. |*

10 *egressum castreis duo me videre parentes |*

*linquentem vitae et commoda militiae. |*

*hi duo viderunt fratres, dulcissima coiu]x |*

*fraterna quae mi titulum donavit apertum |*

*quem vos + + + + ere<sup>3716</sup> et vestris ostendere gnateis |*

15 *possetis, quorum vita per saecula currit. |*

*dicite, “Maria tibi bene sit quae + e + + +<sup>3717</sup> [c]aru[m] |*

*coniugis habuisti germanum + e + + +<sup>3718</sup> dedi[sti].” |*

[...] Orfius, son of Gaius, of the Falernan tribe, served as a *speculator* in the Praetorian Guard for 14 years, he lived for 35. Titus Orfius, son of Gaius, of the Falernan voting tribe, his brother, and Maria Polla, daughter of Lucius, made this for him on account of his piety.

<sup>3715</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* XI 6125; *CLE* 986; Gori 1989: 160-161; photographs of this inscription. For photos of this inscription, see Gori 1989: 159, 161; EDR107371.

<sup>3716</sup> The word here is difficult to make out, and has been interpreted variously as *eff[icere]* (*CIL* XI 6125), *in[sp]icere* (*CLE* 986) and *et legere* (Gori 1989: 160). For the translation here, Bücheler's interpretation has been used, as the letters *IN* do appear to be on the stone, although a closer investigation of the stone would be needed to determine if this is the case.

<sup>3717</sup> Bücheler interpreted this as [*tibi c]aru[m]*, Gori as [*f]e[mina c]aru[m]*. In the translation here, Gori's interpretation has been used, as an *e* appears to be visible on the stone.

<sup>3718</sup> This translation of 'land' follows the interpretation of Bücheler, who presents this as [*t]e[r]r[ae]q[ue]*. Gori believed it to be [*asque*] (1989: 160).

You, too, who reads and gathers these flowers of the road, these pious verses,  
 guest, stop and read who I was.  
 The tomb for the spirits of the departed, for my brother and his wife,  
 is now entrusted to me, whom hostile death destroyed.  
 For I performed my duty to you, Rome, in hard work  
 for fourteen years, when the wicked Fates summoned wretched me.  
 Both my parents saw me leaving to the camps  
 and abandoning life for the advantage of military service.  
 These two saw me as their brother; the sweetest wife  
 of my brother is the one who gave this public inscription to me,  
 which you are able to inspect and show your  
 children, whose lives run through the years.  
 Say this: “Maria, may you be well, you, a woman who had  
 a dear brother-in-law and gave him to the land.”

**ET.30** = *CIL* V 938 = *CLE* 372 = *ILS* 2905 = *AE* 1972.194 = *InscrAqu* II 2823 = *AE* 2006.15  
 adn. = Masaro 2017.14 = EDR075311 = EDCS-01600215;<sup>3719</sup> (Aquileia, Venetia et  
 Histria/Regio XI, Italia; AD 1-70).

*L(ucius) Trebius T(iti) f(ilius) | pater. |*

*L(ucius) Trebius L(uci) f(ilius) Ruso | fieri iussit. |*

*Natus sum summa in pauperie. merui post classicus miles |*  
*ad latus Augusti annos septemque decemque |*  
*nullo odio sine offensa, missus quoq(ue) honeste. |*

*L(ocus) p(edes) q(uadratorum) XVI. |*

Lucius Trebius, son of Titus, his father.

Lucius Trebius Ruso, son of Lucius, ordered this to be made.

I had been born into great poverty. After I served as a soldier in the navy  
 on Augustus' flank for seventeen years,  
 with no hatred, with no offences, I was also honestly dismissed.

This place is 16 square feet.

**ET.31** = *CIL* V 3403 = Pais 1884.618 = *CLE* 1004 = Dexheimer 1998.166 = Masaro 2017.80  
 = EDCS-04202448;<sup>3720</sup> (Verona, Venetia et Histria/Regio X, Italia; end of the second-third  
 century AD).

*[D](is) M(anibus). |*

*P(ublio) Hostilio P(ubli) f(ilio) Pob(lilia) | Campano venatori. | P(ublius) Hostilius*  
*Tertinus de|curio Veron(ae) et Abidia | Maxima parentes fil(io) | pi(ent)issim(o) et sibi.*

*Qui vix<i>t | ann(os) XXV d(ies) XXV sine cri|mine vitae.*  
*florentes | annos mors ipsa eri|puit.*

<sup>3719</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* V 938; *ILS* 2905; *InscrAq* II 2823.

<sup>3720</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* V 3403; *CLE* 1004; Dexheimer 1998.166; photographs of this inscription. For  
 photos of this inscription, see EDCS-04202448; EDR142160.

*vivite felices. | moneo, mors omnib(us) | instat.  
ex{s}emplum | a nobis discite, qui | legitis.*

To the spirits of the departed.

For Publius Hostilius Campanus, son of Publius, of the Poblilian tribe, *venator*. Publius Hostilius Tertinus, *decurio* from Verona, and Abidia Maxima, his parents, [had this made] for their most pious son, and for themselves.

He who lived for 25 years and 25 days without reproach.  
Death herself snatched away the blossoming years of life.  
Live successfully! I warn you, death threatens to approach us all:  
learn from our example, you who read this.

**ET.32** = *CIL* V \*23,5 = *CIL* VI 2489 (cfr. p. 3369, 3835) = VI 32649 = *CLE* 991 = *CSL* 58 = *ILS* 2028 = EDR104260 = EDCS-18800425;<sup>3721</sup> (Rome, Italia; AD 29-50).

*D(is) M(anibus). |*

*Q(uintus) Caetronius | Q(uinti) f(ilius) Pub(lilia) | Passer | mil(es) coh(ortis) III  
pr(aetoriae) annis XVIII | missus duobus Geminis | sibi et | Masuriae M(arci) f(ilia)  
Marcellae. |*

5 *Vixi quod volui, semper bene | pauper honeste.  
fraudavi | nullum. quod iuvat ossa mea. |*

*In f(ronte) p(edes) XI(emis), in agr(um) p(edes) XIII(emis).*

To the spirits of the departed.

Quintus Caetronius Passer, son of Quintus, of the Publilian tribe, soldier of the *cohors III Praetoria*, was dismissed after 18 years, in the consulship of the two Gemini, [had this made] for himself and for Masuria Marcella, daughter of Marcus.

I lived as I wanted, always well, poor, honest.  
I cheated no one. This pleases my bones.

This monument is 11 and a half feet wide, 13 and a half feet deep.

**ET.33** = *EE* 8.1.334 = *CLE* 183 = EDR106380 = EDCS-31900256;<sup>3722</sup> (Nola/Napoli, Italia; second half of the first century AD).

*L(ucius) Mettius L(uci) f(ilius) | Cam(ilia) Maximus domo | Atria mil(es) coh(ortis) VIII  
| pr(aetoriae) hic situs est. vixit | annos XXVIII militavit | ann(os) XI.*

*Usurae vitae | sort'e m morti reddidit. |*

*In fronte ped(es) XII, | in agrum ped(es) XVI.*

Lucius Mettius Maximus, son of Lucius, of the Camilian tribe, from Atria, soldier in the *cohors VIII Praetoria*, lies here. He lived for 28 years, he served for 11 years.

<sup>3721</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* VI 2489; *CLE* 991; *CSL* 58; *ILS* 2028.

<sup>3722</sup> This edition has been created using *EE* 8.1.334; *CLE* 183; photographs of this inscription. See EDR106380 for photos of this inscription.



He returned to death the lot that is the interest of life.

This monument is 12 feet wide, 16 feet deep.

**ET.34** = *CIL* V 5824 = *CLE* 537 = *Habitus* 58 = EDR124141 = EDCS-05100979;<sup>3723</sup>  
(Mediolanum/Milan, Italia; AD 197-300).

*D(is) M(anibus).* |

*L(uci) Comagi Firmi | milit(is) leg(ionis) II Parth(iae) | qui vixit ann(os) XXVII  
m(enses) II d(ies) V.* |

5 *Parcae te miseris rapuere parent(ibus) urna, |  
spectantes animo tuae gloriae cursum. |  
fletus in perpetuo miserae reliq(uisti) dolore, |  
nec potuit corpus a sodalib(us) tradi sepulchre. |  
me decepisti, ni(mi)um horfanum tu reliquist(i).* |

*Nigidia Firmina | mater infeliciss(ima) filio pientissimo.*

To the spirits of the departed.

For Lucius Comagius Firmus, soldier of the *Legio II Parthia*, who lived for 27 years, 2 months, and 5 days.

The Fates seized you in an urn from your wretched parents,  
who were watching the passage of your glory in their mind.  
You left your wretched mother behind, weeping in perpetual grief,  
nor could your body be entrusted to a tomb by your comrades.  
You deceived me; you left me completely orphaned.

Nigidia Firmina, unluckiest mother, made this for her most pious son.

**ET.35** = *CIL* VI 3191 (cfr. pp. 871, 3384, 3843) = *CLE* 1460 = *ILS* 2205 = *IDRE* I 50 = Dobó 1975.626 = Ricci 1993 Da3 = Speidel 1994b.603 = Cenati 2023.C289 = EDR152523 = EDCS-18900444;<sup>3724</sup> (Rome, Italia; AD 193-300).

*D(is) M(anibus).* |

5 *Aurel(io) Antonio curat(ori) eq(uitum) sing(ularium) d(omini) n(ostri) tu[r(ma)] |  
Herodes Kastr(is) Prior(ibus). nat(ione) Dacus, allect(us) ex | ala Gallor(um) vix(it)  
ann(os) XXXX me(n)s(es) V dies XXV, | mil(itavit) ann(os) XXI. Aur(elius) Curia  
tur(ma) Rufiniani et Aur(elius) | Leo libert(us) eius hered(es) b(ene) m(erenti)  
f(aciendum) c(uravit).* |

*Optamus cuncti sit tibi terra levis.* |

For the spirits of the departed.

For Aurelius Antoninus, *curator* of the *equites singulares* of our lord, from the *turma* of Herodes, in the *Castra Priora*. Of Dacian nationality, selected from the *ala Gallorum*, he lived for 40 years, 5 months and 25 days; he served for 21 years. Aurelius Curia,

<sup>3723</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* V 5824; *CLE* 537; *Habitus* 58.

<sup>3724</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* VI 3191; *CLE* 1460; *ILS* 2205; Speidel 1994b.603; Cenati 2023.C289.

from the *turma* of Rufinianus, and Aurelius Leo, his freedman, the heirs, had this made for him, [for whom it was] well deserved.

We all hope that the earth may be light for you.

**ET.36** = *CIL* VI 3308 (cfr. p. 3843) = *CLE* 1460 = *ILS* 2210 = Dobó 1975.120 = Speidel 1994b.659 = *RHP* 195 = Ricci 2009: 30 = Cenati 2023.C276 = EDR153478 = EDCS-18900561,<sup>3725</sup> (Rome, Italia; AD 193-300).

*D(is) M(anibus) |*

*Ulp(i) Titi eq(uitis) sing(ularis) Aug(usti) n(ostri) | tur(ma) Emeriti. nat(ione) Boius, vix(it) | ann(os) XXXV, mil(itavit) ann(os) XVI. al|lect(us) ex ala I Thr(acum) ex Pann(onia) | Sup(eriore). Ulp(ius) Felicio pat(er) et | her(es) et Septim(ius) Provincia|lis et Marcellinus Verus | her(edes) b(ene) m(erenti) f(e)cerunt. curant(e) C(aio) Cestio | Severo vet(erano) Aug(usti) n(ostri). |*

*Optamus cuncti sit tibi terra levis. |*

To the spirits of the departed

of Ulpius Titus, *equites singularis* of our Augustus, from the *turma* of Emeritus. Of Boian nationality, he lived for 35 years, he served for 16 years. He was chosen from the *ala I Thracum* from Pannonia Superior. Ulpius Felicio, his father and heir, Septimus Provincialis and Marcellinus Verus, his heirs, made this for him, [for whom it was] well deserved. Gaius Cestius Severus, veteran of our Augustus, oversaw the process.

We all hope that the earth will be light for you.

**ET.37** = *CIL* XI 3209 = *CLE* 2216 adn. = EDR158088 = EDCS-22400123;<sup>3726</sup> (Nepes Etruria/Nepi, Italia; AD 150-170)

*Diis | M(anibus). ||*

*Q(uinto) A(l)bio Q(uinti) f(ilio) Hor(atia) | Felici. | qui v(i)xit annis XIX | et mensibus VIII. |*

*Piissimus erga parentes | suos quem subito iniqua) | Fata rapuere parenti.*

*Q(uinto) Albio [Q(uinti) f(ilio) Hor(atia)] | Parvi[---]. | perdidit[---] | magist[r] ---] | linton[---] | Fale[r---]. | Q(uinto) Albio [Q(uinti) f(ili)] | vix(it) [a(nnos) ---]. ||*

*Q(uintus) Albius Felix pater fecit in fundos [---]*

To the spirits of the departed.

For Quintus Albius Felix, son of Quintus, of the Horatian tribe. He lived for 19 years and 8 months.

A son most pious to his parents, he whom the jealous Fates suddenly seized from his father.

<sup>3725</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* VI 3308; *CLE* 1460; *ILS* 2210; Speidel 1994b.659; *RHP* 195; Cenati 2023.C276.

<sup>3726</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* XI 3209.

For Quintus Albius Parvi[...], son of Quintus, of the Horatian tribe. He was lost [...] a *magister* [...] a canvas maker (?) at Falerii. For Quintus Albius, son of Quintus, who lived for [...] years [...]

Quintus Albius Felix, their father, made [this] on his own estate [...].

**ET.38** = *CIL* XIV 2298 = *CLE* 990 = *ILS* 1949 = Courtney 1995.25 = *AE* 2011.62 adn. = EDR138163 = EDCS-05800264;<sup>3727</sup> (Rome, Italia; AD 20-50).

*M(arcus) Aurelius Cottae | Maximi l(ibertus) Zosimus | accensus patroni. |*

*Libertinus eram, fateor, | sed facta legetur |*

*patrono Cotta nobilis umbra mea, |*

*qui mihi saepe libens census donavit | equestris,*

5 *qui iussit natos | tollere, quos aleret, |*

*quique suas commisit opes | mihi, semper et idem*

*dotavit | natus ut pater ipse meas, |*

*Cottanumque meum produxit | honore tribuni,*

*quem fortis | castris Caesaris emeruit. |*

10 *quid non Cotta dedit? | qui nunc | et carmina tristis*

*haec dedit | in tumulo conspicienda meo. |*

*Aurelia Saturnia Zosimi. |*

Marcus Aurelius Zosimus, freedman of Cotta Maximus, attendant of his patron.

I was a freedman, I confess, but one will read that  
my shade was made famous by my patron Cotta,  
he who often freely gave me wages equitable to a man of equestrian class,  
he who ordered that he would bring up my children, he would raise them,  
and who always entrusted his wealth to me and that same man  
provided my daughters with a dowry just as if he himself were their father,  
and he presented my Cottanus with the rank of tribune,  
which he bravely served as in the camps of Caesar.  
What did Cotta not give? Now he, melancholy, also gave me these  
verses to be seen on my tomb.

Aurelia Saturnia, wife of Zosimus.

**ET.39** = *CIL* VI 1975 (cfr. p. 3233, 3822) = *CLE* 441 = *CSL* 1172 = *ILS* 7737 = Courtney 1995.176 = *AE* 2009.115 adn. = *DM* pp. 392-395 c. 61c = EDR032796 = EDCS-18100795;<sup>3728</sup> (Rome, Italia; AD 117-183).

*Innocuus Aper ecce iaces non virginis ira,*

*nec Meleager | atrox perfodit viscera ferro.*

*mors tacita obrepsit subito fecitq(ue) | ruinam*

*quae tibi crescenti rapuit iuvenile(m) figuram. |*

<sup>3727</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* XIV 2298; *CLE* 990; *ILS* 1949; Courtney 1995.25; photograph of this inscription. For a photo of this inscription, see EDCS-05800264; EDR138163.

<sup>3728</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* VI 1975; *CLE* 441; *CSL* 1172; *ILS* 7737; Courtney 1995.176; photographs of this inscription. See *DM* pp. 392-395 c. 61c; EDCS-18100795; CensusID 158897 <https://database.census.de/detail/158897>, last accessed 8/4/2024; EDR032796; for photos and drawings of this inscription.

5 *T(ito) Statilio Vol(tinia) Apro mensori | aedificior(um). vixit ann(os) XXII m(enses) VIII d(ies) XV. | T(itus) Statilius Vol(tinia) Proculus | accensus velatus et Argentaria | Eutychia parentes filio optumo et | Orciviae Anthidi uxori eius sibi(ue) et suis | libertis libertabus posterisque eorum. |*

Look, Aper, you are innocent; you do not lie here because of the wrath of the virgin,  
nor did fierce Meleager pierce your entrails with a sword.  
Silent death suddenly snuck in and brought about a ruin  
which seized your youthful frame from you as you were growing up.

For Titus Statilius Aper, of the Voltinian tribe, surveyor. He lived for 22 years, 8 months and 15 days. Titus Statilius Proculus, of the Voltinian voting tribe, light armed reserve troop, and Argentaria Eutychia, his parents, made this for the best son, and for Orcivia Anthides, his wife, and for themselves and their own [family], their freedmen and women and their descendants.

**ET.40** = *CIL* VIII 212 (cfr. p. 925, 2353) = VIII 11300b = *CLE* 1552a = *ILTun* I 331 = *AE* 1993.1714 adn. = Courtney 1995.199 A = *AE* 2008.150 adn. = *CLEAfr* I p. 79 = EDCS-14900166; = *CIL* VIII 213 (cfr. p. 925, 2353) = 11300c = *CLE* 1552b = *ILTun* I 331 = *AE* 1991.1632 = *AE* 1993.1714 adn. = Courtney 1995.199 B = *AE* 2008.150 adn. = EDCS-14900167;<sup>3729</sup> prose = *CIL* VIII 211 (cfr. p. 925, 979, 2353) = 313 = 11300a = *CLE* 1552 = *AntAfr* 1973.133 = *AE* 1993.1714 adn. = *CLENuovo* p. 134 = *CIL* VIII 214 (cfr. p. 925, 2353) = 11300d = *AE* 1993.1714 adn. = *CIL* VIII 215 (cfr. p. 925, 2353) = 11300e = *AE* 1993.1714 adn. = *CIL* VIII 216 (cfr. p. 225, 2353) = VIII 11300f = *AE* 1993.1714 adn.,<sup>3730</sup> (Colonia Flavia Cicilium/Tunisia, Africa Proconsularis; second century AD).

5 *T(itus) Flavius Se|cundus filius | fecit. | T(ito) Flavio Secun|do patri pio | mil(itavit) an(nis) XXXIII | vix(it) an(nis) CX h(ic) s(itus) e(st). | Flaviae Urbanae | matri piae vix(it) | an(nis) CV h(ic) s(ita) e(st). | Fl(aviae) Secundae so|rori p(iae) v(ixit) an(nis) XX h(ic) s(ita) e(st). | T(ito) Fl(avio) Marcello fra|tri p(io) v(ixit) an(nis) XX h(ic) s(itus) e(st). | T(ito) Fl(avio) Martiali fratr|i mil(itavit) a(nnis) XIII v(ixit) a(nnos) XXXV h(ic) s(itus) e(st). | Fl(aviae) Speratae soro|ri p(iae) v(ixit) a(nnos) XXXVI h(ic) s(ita) e(st). | Aemiliae Sex(ti) fil(iae) | Pacatae uxori piae | flaminicae perpe(tuae) | vix(it) an(nis) LIII h(ic) s(ita) e(st). | T(itus) Flavius T(iti) filius | Pap(iria) Secundus ipse | flamen perp(etuus) vix(it) | an(nis) LX h(ic) s(itus) e(st). | Fl(aviae) T(iti) filiae Pacatae fla|minicae perp(etuae) col(oniae) The|lept(ensis) fil(iae) piae, Fl(avia) Libera ma|ter statuam posuit, | v(ixit) an(nis) XV m(ensibus) X h(ic) s(ita) e(st). | F(lavia) Libera T(iti) Fl(avii) Secundi | uxor pia vix(it) an(nis) LXXXVIII | h(ic) s(ita) e(st). ||*

10 *Fl(avia) Faustina | pia vix(it) an(nis) | XXXVIII h(ic) s(ita) e(st). | T(itus) Fl(avius) Faustinus | et Fl(avia) Victori|a parentes po|suerunt. ||*

15 *Fl(avia) Libera pia | vix(it) an(nis) XVI m(ensibus) VI. | T(itus) Fl(avius) Faustinus et | Fl(avia) Victoria | parentes po|suerunt. h(ic) s(ita) e(st). ||*

<sup>3729</sup> The verse part of this edition has been created using *CIL* VIII 212-213; *CLE* 1552; Lassère 1993: 66, 68, 70; Courtney 1995.199A and B. For photos of this inscription, see EDCS-14900166; throughout the volume of Slim et al. (1993) on this monument (for photos and drawings). The photos are, unfortunately, insufficient for making an edition.

<sup>3730</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* VII 211, 214-216; Lassère 1993: 61-63.

*T(itus) Fl(avius) Pap(iria) Receptus | aedilicius q(uaestor) ae|rari(i) decurio |  
col(oniae) Thelept(ensis) pius | vix(it) an(nis) XXXVI | h(ic) s(itus) e(st). | T(itus)  
Fl(avius) Faustinus | et Fl(avia) Victoria | parentes posu|erunt. ||*

**a**

*Sint licet exiguae fugientia tempora vitae, |  
parvaq(ue) raptorum cito transeat hora dierum, |  
mergat et Elysiis mortalia corpora terris |  
adsidue rupto Lachesis male conscia penso. |  
5 iam tamen inventa est blandae rationis imago |  
per quam prolatos homines in tempora plu[ra]. |  
longior excipiat memoratio, multaq(ue) servet, |  
secum per titulos mansuris forties annis. |  
ecce recens pietas omni placitura favor |  
10 ingentem famae numerum cum laude meretur, |  
exemplo iam plena novo, quam Flavius alto |  
more Secundus agens patrio signavit honore. |  
quis non iam pronis animi virtutibus adsit, |  
quis non hoc miretur opus fusasq(ue) videndo |  
15 divitias stupeat, tantos se cernere census, |  
per quos aetherias surgunt monimenta per auras? |  
haec est fortunae melius laudanda facultas, |  
sic sibi perpetuas faciunt impendia sedes, |  
sic immortales scit habere pecunia mores, |  
20 aeterno quotiens stabilis bene figitur usu. |  
viderit ille furor nimio qui ducitur auro, |  
quem trahit argenti venalis sanguine candor, |  
viderit et fusae vanis in amoribus errans |  
gloriae luxurias. peregrinas quaerere magno |  
25 quae didicit vestes gemmasq(ue) nitore placentes, |  
aut ab Aeruthraeo venientia munera fluctu, |  
quam laedunt gentes vario certamine rerum, |  
Graecia cum pueris, Hispania Pallados usu, |  
venatu Libyae tellus, Orientis amomo, |  
30 Aegyptos Phariis levitatibus, artibus actis |  
Gallia semper ovans, dives Campania vino. |  
haec cito deficiunt et habent breve munus amoris |  
momentis damnata suis. set si quis ad omnes |  
respiciat vitae casus hominemque laboret |  
35 metiri brevitae sua, tunc credere discet |  
nil aliut melius fieri nisi viribus aevi |  
quot possit durare diu, sub honore deorum. |  
nunc ego non dubitem tacitis Acherontos in umbris, |  
si post Fata manent sensus, gaudere parentem |  
40 saepe Secunde tuum reliquas et spernere turmas, |  
quod sciat hic tantam faciem superesse sepulchri |  
perpetua novitate sui, s[i]c stare nitentes |*

consensus lapidum, sic de radice levatos |  
 in melius crevasse gradus, ut et angulus omnis |  
 45 sic quasi mollitae ductus sit stamine cerae. |  
 mobilibus signis hilaris scalptura n[ou]a[t]ur |  
 et licet atsidue probet hos vaga turba [dec]ores, |  
 lucentes stupeat pariter pendere columnas. |  
 quit cum militiae titulus, ipsumque parentem |  
 50 numinibus dederis? haec gaudia saepe videntem |  
 quae quondam dedit ipse loco, dum munera Bacchi |  
 multa creat, primasq(ue) cupit componere vi[te]s |  
 et nemus exornat revocatis saepius undis. |  
 permittant mihi [Fa]ta loq[ui, n]octisq(ue) timendae, |  
 55 regnator Stygius. sic immortalis haberi |  
 iam debet pater ecce tuus Ditisque relictis |  
 tristem deservisse domum, dum tempore toto |  
mavolt haec monumenta sequi, scriptisq(ue) per aevom |  
 [vi]vere nominibus, solitis insistere lucis, |  
 60 [adsi]due patrias hinc cernere dulciter arces, |  
 quosq(ue) dedit natis prope semper habere Penates. |  
 fortisan haec multi vano sermone ferentes |  
 venturae citius dicant praesagia mortis, |  
 si quis dum vivit ponat monimenta futuris |  
 65 temporibus. mihi non tales sunt pectore sensus, |  
 set puto securos fieri quicumque parare |  
 aeternam voluere domum certoque rigore |  
 numquam lapsuros vitae defigere muros. |  
 Fatis certa via est, neque se per stamina mutat |  
 70 Atropos, ut primo coepit decurrere filo, |  
 crede Secunde mihi pensatos ibis in annos. |  
 set securus eris, set toto pectore dives, |  
 dum nulli gravis esse potes nec plena labore |  
 testamenta facis, tuus hoc dum non timet heres, |  
 75 ut sic aedificet. iam nunc quodcumq(ue) relinques |  
 totum perveniet tua quo volet ire voluntas. |  
 sed revocat me cura operis celsiq(ue) decores. |  
 stat sublimis honor vincinaq(ue) nubila pulsat |  
 et solis metitur iter. si iungere montes |  
 80 forte velint oculi, vincuntur in ordine colles. |  
 si videas campos, infra iacet abdita tellus. |  
 non sic Romuleas exire Colossos in arces |  
 dicitur, aut circi medias obeliscus in auras, |  
 nec sit sistrigeri demonstrat pervia Nili |  
 85 dum sua perspicuis aperit Pharos aequora flam(m)is. |  
 quid non docta facit pietas? lapis ecce foratus |  
 luminibus multis hortatur currere blandas |  
 intus apes et cerineos componere nidos, |

90        *ut semper domus haec thymbraeo nectare dulcis |*  
          *sudet florisapos, dum dant nova mella, liquores. ||*

**b**

*Huc iterum Pietas. venerandas erige mentes |*  
          *et mea quo nost<r>i carmina more fove. |*  
          *ecce Secundus adest iterum, qui pectore sancto |*  
          *non monimenta patri sed nova templa dedit. |*  
5        *quo nunc Calliope gemino me limite cogis, |*  
          *quas iam transegi rusus adire vias? |*  
          *nempe fuit nobis operis descriptio magni |*  
          *diximus et iunctis saxa polita locis, |*  
          *circuitus nemorum, currentes dulciter undas, |*  
10        *atque reportantes m[ell]a frequenter apes? |*  
          *hoc tamen hoc solum [n]ostrae puto defuit arti, |*  
          *dum cadis ad multos ebria Musa iocos. |*  
          *in summo tremulas galli non diximus alas, |*  
          *altior extrema qui puto nube volat. |*  
15        *cuius si membris vocem natura dedisset, |*  
          *cogeret hic omnes surgere mane deos. |*  
          *et iam nominibus signantur limina certis |*  
          *cernitur, et titulis credula vita suis. |*  
          *opto Secunde geras multos feliciter annos |*  
20        *et quae fecisti tu monimenta legas. ||*

Titus Flavius Secundus, son, made this: for Titus Flavius Secundus, his pious father. He served in the military for 33 years, he lived for 110, here he lies. For Flavia Urbana, his pious mother. She lived for 105 years, here she lies. For Flavia Secunda, his pious sister. She lived for 20 years, here she lies. For Titus Flavius Marcellus, his pious brother. He lived for 20 years, here he lies. For Titus Flavius Martialis, his brother. He served in the military for 13 years, he lived for 35 years, here he lies. For Flavia Sperata, his pious sister. She lived for 36 years, here she lies. For Aemilia Pacata, daughter of Sextus, his pious wife, *flaminica perpetua*. She lived for 53 years, here she lies. Titus Flavius Secundus, son of Titus, of the Papirian tribe, a *flamen perpetuus* himself, lived for 60 years, lies here. For Flavia Pacata, daughter of Titus, *flaminica perpetua* of *colonia* Thelepta, his pious daughter. Flavia Libera, her mother, put up her statue. She lived for 15 years and 10 months, and lies here. Flavia Libera, pious wife of Titus Flavius Secundus, lived for 88 years, lies here.

Flavia Faustina, pious, lived for 38 years, lies here. Her parents, Titus Flavius Faustinus and Flavia Victoria, put [this] up [for her].

Flavia Libera, pious, lived for 16 years and 6 months. Her parents, Titus Flavius Faustinus and Flavia Victoria put [this] up [for her]. Here she lies.

Titus Flavius Receptus, of the Papirian tribe, *ex-aedile*, *quaestor aerari*, *decurio* of *colonia* Thelepta, pious, lived for 36 years, lies here. His parents, Titus Flavius Faustinus and Flavia Victoria put [this] up [for him].

**a**

It is the natural law that the time of brief life is fleeting,  
and the short hours of the days that are seized [from us] pass by quickly,  
and Lachesis, aware that she maliciously breaks  
her thread, continually, buries mortal bodies in Elysian land.  
Now, however, the semblance of a beguiling system has been found  
through which men may exist, prolonged throughout the ages.  
Longer shall their memory exist, and much of it be preserved,  
with them in inscriptions which shall remain, sturdier, throughout the years.  
Look! A recent act of piety, that will win favour with everyone,  
deserves great amount of fame, with praise;  
now it has been completed from a new precedent, which Flavius Secundus,  
acting in the manner of his father, marked in his honour.  
Who stops here now without favourable *virtus* in their mind,  
who shall not admire this work and be astonished, looking at  
such expense poured [into this monument], to see such wealth,  
through which the monument surges upwards into the air in the ether?  
This is the most praiseworthy way of [expressing one's] fortune,  
in this way, these expenses make his final resting place eternal for him,  
in this way, money knows that it has an immortal purpose,  
as it is well and firmly fixed with an eternal use.  
It is up to others to see<sup>3731</sup> that madness which is led by too much gold,  
what the beauty of silver takes with a bribe of blood,  
and it is up to others to see the error of pride poured out  
in extravagance to false lovers. This learnt to seek, for a vast  
sum of money, clothes from far off lands and gems delightful in their sparkle,  
or gifts obtained from the waves of the Indian Ocean,  
which the people of the world have wounded one another for in various combats,  
Greece with boys, Spain with the skill of Pallas,  
the land of Libya for hunting, cardamom from the East,  
Egyptian lands with frivolous people from Pharus, Gaul always  
rejoices in its skill in art, Campania rich in wine.  
These gifts are quickly forsaken and are condemned for their a brief moment  
of pleasure. But if anyone who shall look back at  
all the misfortunes of life and be troubled by man's  
brief existence, will then learn to believe  
that nothing will be better unless that which can endure for a long time  
in the strength of the living, in honour of the gods.  
Now I, I do not doubt that, amongst the silent shades in Acheron,  
if feelings remain after death, your father, Secundus,  
is joyful and spurns the rest of the crowd,  
because he shall know that such an appearance of a tomb survives  
in its perpetual novelty, in this way the stone stands, bright,  
in harmony, in this way the steps, rising up  
from the foundations, ascend more correctly, and it is as if every edge

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<sup>3731</sup> See Courtney 1995: 335 for this translation of *viderit*.



had been made in this way, shaped by soft wax.  
 The cheerful statue is innovative with mobile designs  
 and the wandering crowd rightly continually approves of the decorations,  
 they are equally astounded to contemplate the shining columns.  
 What about when you gave to the divinities inscriptions of his military service  
 and your father himself? He often observed these delights  
 which he once gave to this place, while it created plentiful  
 gifts of Bacchus and he wanted to lay out the first vines  
 and supply the grove more frequently with diverted streams.  
 The Fates and the ruler of the Styx, of the night that must be feared,  
 permit me to speak: in this way, look, now your father  
 ought to be considered immortal, and to have abandoned and deserted  
 the gloomy house of Dis, when, for the whole of time,  
 he prefers to follow this monument and to live forever  
 in his inscribed name, to pause in the groves he was accustomed to,  
 to continually see the stronghold of his homeland, sweeter to him, from here,  
 and to have the household gods he gave to his children always nearby.  
 Perhaps many, in empty words, talk about  
 how those who speak prematurely of their death will come to it faster,  
 if anyone while he lives shall put up a monument for future  
 events. There are no such feelings in my heart,  
 but I think whoever wants to make an eternal home, in the surety  
 and rigidity of life, prepare and establish worry-free walls that never fade away.  
 The road of Fate is fixed, nor can Atropos change it  
 with her thread: as she begins to traverse the first thread, believe me,  
 Secundus, you will go through the years that have been weighed out for you.  
 But you will be worry-free, rich in your whole heart,  
 when you can be neither a burden nor make wills filled  
 with work, when your heir need not be afraid,  
 as you will have built it in this way. Already now whatever you leave behind  
 will arrive in its entirety where your will wishes it to go.  
 But attention to the work, and the lofty beauties, call me back.  
 This honourable duty stands tall and beats against the nearby clouds  
 and it measures out the journey of the sun. If by chance one's  
 eyes wish to span the mountains, their hilly forms are conquered one after another;  
 if you shall see the plains, the earth lies hidden below.  
 It is said that, in this way, the Colossus does not rise above the Romulean  
 hills, or the obelisk of the Circus into the middle of the wind,  
 nor in this way does Pharos expose the entrance of the sistrum-rattling Nile  
 while it reveals its waters with clear flames.  
 What does this skilled act of piety not do? Look, the stone, which has been bored  
 with many openings, encourages charming bees  
 to hurry inside and make waxy nests,  
 so that this home shall always exude flower-scented liquid,  
 sweet with thyme nectar, while they make new honey.

**b**

Come here again, piety! Encourage ideas that must be revered  
 and foster my verses in your manner!  
 Look! Secundus addresses you again, he who, from his virtuous breast,  
 did not give a monument to his father, but a new temple.  
 Now why, Calliope, do you limit me to a double boundary,  
 to approach again roads I have already gone down?  
 Surely, I have described my great work  
 and I have spoken about the polished stones, joined together, in this place,  
 the groves around it, the sweetly running streams  
 and the bees that frequently bring back their honey?  
 However this, this alone, I think, is missing in my work of art,  
 while you fall, inebriated Muse, to many jovialities:  
 I have not spoken about the trembling wings of the cock on the top,  
 which flies higher, I think, than the last cloud;  
 if nature had given a voice to its limbs,  
 it would compel all the gods to rise in the morning.  
 And now the entrance is marked with the assured names  
 and life sees the truth in these inscriptions.  
 I hope, Secundus, you will live successfully for many years  
 and you, you shall read the monument which you made.

**ET.41** = *CIL* XIII 6858 = *CLE* 373 = *CSIR D* II 8, p. 65 = *ERBeturi* 53c = *AE* 2012.1029 adn.  
 = *AE* 2014.48 adn. = Gómez-Pantoja & Javier Castillo Sanz 2014.3 = Hernández Guerra 2017  
 1.8 = EDCS-11000912;<sup>3732</sup> (Mogontiacum/Mainz, Germania Superior; AD 42-70).

[*T(itus) Caecilius T(iti) f(ilius) | Ga|le(ria) Aus[oni(us)] | mil(es) leg(ionis) IIII*  
*[Mac(edonicae)] | (centuria) Munati a[nno(rum)] | XXXVII aer(um) X[VII] | hic situs*  
*est. L(ucius) Se[mpr]|onius Aus(one) o(ptio) (centuriae) Iuli M[ar]|tialis ex{s}*  
*te[s]tame[n]to | fe[c]it.*

5 *Vivite felic[es] quibus est | data vita fruen[d]i.*  
*n'a`m mi[hi] | non fato datum est felice | morari.*  
*hic ego nunc iac[eo], | fatis compostus [in]iqu[is]. |*  
*crudeles superi, ni[si me] | fortuna iniqua ---, |*  
 10 *mea iam [---] | a++[---]*  
*++[---]*

Titus Caecilius Ausonius, son of Titus, of the Galerian voting tribe, soldier of the *Legio III Macedonica*, of the century of Munatus, lived for 37 years, served for 17, lies here. Lucius Sempronius, from Auso, *optio* of the century of Iulus Martialis, made this from his will.

Live successfully, you to whom a life of enjoyment has been given!  
 For fortunate Fate did not give me a lingering life.  
 Here, I, I now lie, laid to rest by the unjust Fates.  
 Cruel gods! Unless unjust Fortune [...] me,

<sup>3732</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* XIII 6858; *CLE* 373; *AE* 2012.1029 adn.; photographs of this inscription. See Hernández Guerra 2017 1.8: 394; EDCS-11000912 for photos of this inscription.

my [...] now [...]  
[...]

**ET.42** = *CIL* XIII 7234 = *CLE* 1005 = *AE* 1961.215 adn. = *CSIR D* 2.5.79 = *CLENuovo* p. 168  
= Gómez-Pantoja & Javier Castillo Sanz 2014.1 = EDCS-11001322;<sup>3733</sup> (Mogontiacum/Mainz,  
Germania Superior; first century AD, pre-AD 43)

*C(aius) Iulius C(ai) f(ilius) Vol(tinia) | Carc(asone) Niger mi|les leg(ionis) II annor(um)*  
*| XXXXV aer(orum) XVII | h(ic) s(itus) e(st). |*

*Hospes ades paucis et perlege ver|sibus acta.*

*aeternum patriae hic | erit, ipsa domus,*

5 *hic erit inclusus tumu|lo, hic Iulius ipse,*

*hic{s} cinis ex caro cor|pore factus erit.*

*cum mea iucunde | aetas florebat ab annis*

*advenit fatis | terminus ipse meis.*

*ultimus ipse fuit | XXXXV annus,*

10 *cum mihi fatalis ve|nit acerba dies.*

*hic ego nunc cogor | Stygias transire paludes,*

*sedibus aeter|nis me mea Fata tenent.*

*me memini Gal|lia natum caroq(ue) pare|nt]e,*

*et miles collo | fortiter arm[a t]uli.*

15 *Gallia crudelis tri|buit mihi [f]un[us ---],*

*[---] cultos artus ter|ra cinisqu(e) P[---].*

*[---]TO Gnatus | miles leg(ionis) II P[---]AT heres | eius est.*

Gaius Julius Niger, son of Gaius, of the Voltinian tribe, from Carcaso, soldier of the 2<sup>nd</sup>  
legion, lived for 45 years, served for 17, lies here.

Guest, approach and read through [the life] performed in these few verses.

Here he will be in his homeland forever, in this house,

here he will be enclosed in a tomb, here will Julius himself be,

here also his ashes will have been made from his dear body.

When my life was delightfully flourishing, the end

of Fate itself came from my years.

My final year was my 45<sup>th</sup>,

when that fateful, harsh day came for me.

Here, now I, I am compelled to cross the Stygian marshes,

my Fate holds me in this eternal abode.

I remembered that I had been born in Gallia and to my dear father,

and, as a soldier, I bravely bore arms around my neck.

Cruel Gallia bestowed destruction [...] on me,

[... turned?] my protected limbs to earth and ashes.

[...] Gnatus, soldier of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Legion, his heir, had [this monument put up for him].

<sup>3733</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* XIII 7234; *CLE* 1005; <https://mappola.eu/index.php/2021/05/17/nobody-puts-the-mainzer-steinhalle-in-a-corner/>, accessed 1/5/2024; photographs of this inscription. See EDCS-11001322; Lupa 15914; Arachne 2295549 for photos of this inscription.

**ET.43** = *CIL* II 3871 (cfr. p. 967) = *CIL* II<sup>2</sup>/14 347 (cfr. p. 1025) = *CLE* 978 = *CSL* 733 = *ELST* 83 = *AE* 1987.716 = *AE* 1989.481 adn. = *AE* 1999.913 adn. = *HEp* 1999.584 = *IRSAT* 95 = *PELCatalans* V 4 = *CLENuovo* p. 117 = *HEp* 2011.546 = EDCS-09100381,<sup>3734</sup> (Saguntum/Sagunto, Hispania Citerior; first half of the first century AD).

*M(arcus) Acilius L(uci) f(ilius) | Fontanus. |*

*Eripuit nob̄eis undevincensumus annus |*

*ingressum iuenem militiam cupide. |*

*Parcae falluntur Fontanum quae rapue[ru]||nt, ||*

*cum sit perpetuo fama futura viri. |*

5

Marcus Acilius Fontanus, son of Lucius.

The nineteenth year snatched away

that young man who had begun his military service eagerly.

The Fates who seized Fontanus were disappointed,

since this man's fame will continue into the future for eternity.

**ET.44** = *CIL* II 4137 = *CIL* II<sup>2</sup>/14 1009 = *CLE* 245 = *RIT* 161 = *PELCatalans* T 20 = EDCS-05503169,<sup>3735</sup> (Terraco/Terragona, Hispania Citerior; AD 211-222).

*D(is) M(anibus). |*

*L(ucio) Alfidio Urbano trib(un)o mil(itum) | leg(ionis) VII G(eminae) P(iae) F(elicis)*

*Antoniniana | homini in vita sua optimo | ex testamento eiusdem | arbitrio Corneli*

*Rusti|ci soceri. (vac.)*

*Vive laetus, | qui<s>que vivis. vita parvo(m) mu|nus est,*

*mox exorta est, sen|sim vigescit, deinde sen|sim deficit.*

5

To the spirits of the departed.

For Lucius Alficius Urbanus, military tribune of the *Legio VII Gemina Pia Felix Antoniniana*, the best man in his own lifetime, according to his will, by the judgement of his will, his father-in-law, Cornelius Rusticus.

Live happily, you who are living! Life is an insignificant gift,

soon it begins, gradually it acquires strength, then gradually it decays.

**ET.45** = *CIL* VIII 9048 = *CLE* 1610 = *CLEAfrigue* 153 = *AE* 2012.1814 adn. = Kruschwitz 2020b: 150-151 = EDCS-23200056;<sup>3736</sup> (Auzia/Sour El-Ghozlane, Mauretania Caesariensis; third century AD).

*D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum). |*

*Atro dolore, | percussus ab ini|quissima Fortu|na, erepto*

*mihi | horum solacio. | cohibui lacrimas, | quas tempus*

*'d`e|tu<l>it, cives, et `t`i`t`u|los fixi. nam du|os una dies*

<sup>3734</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* II 3871; *CIL* II<sup>2</sup>/14 347; *CLE* 978; *CSL* 733; *AE* 1987.716; *AE* 1999.913; *HEp* 1999.584; *HEp* 2011.546; *PELCatalans* V 4; photographs of this inscription. For photos of this inscription, see EDCS-09100381; HispaniaEpigraphica Online Database 13315; Gómez Pallarès 2023 on *CLEO* V4.

<sup>3735</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* II 4137; *CIL* II<sup>2</sup>/14 1009; *CLE* 245; *PELCatalans* T 20.

<sup>3736</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* VIII 9048; *CLE* 1610; *CLEAfrigue* 153; Kruschwitz 2020b: 150-151.

*et pes|tis acerba abs|tulit hos pue|ros.*

*hi Clemen|s et Vincentia su|nt coepto nobis | flore subrepti. |*

*his Geminius | Clemens [a] mil(itiis) | col(oniae) pat(ronus) cum | Placentina con|iuge  
fili(i)s fecit | d(e)d(icavitque). Clemens | vix(it) an(nos) VI me(nses) VI die(s) | XXIII.  
Vincentia | [-----]*

Sacred to the spirits of the departed.

When coal-black grief came, I was beaten by most unjust Fortune, since their comfort had been snatched away from me. I held back tears, which time brought, citizen, and I shaped them into inscriptions. For one day and a bitter plague stole these two children away.

These [children], Clemens and Vincentia, were stolen away when they were beginning to blossom.

For them, Geminius Clemens, *a militis*, patron of the colony, with his wife Placentina made children and dedicated [this] for their children. Clemens lived for 6 years, 6 months, and 23 days. Vincentia [...]

**ET.46** = *CIL* VIII 4504 = VIII 18642 = *CLE* 1457 adn. = *RAA* p. 134 = *Saturne* 2 p. 339 = *PCV* 55 = *AE* 2011.1773 = *EDCS*-23100336;<sup>3737</sup> (Guigba/El Guigba, Numidia; third century AD).

*D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum). |*

*L(ucius) Caecil(i)us Cretic(us) | sa(cerdos) Sa(turni). patri car(issi)mo I(?) | A(ulus)  
Ianuarius<sup>3738</sup> m(iles) leg(ionis) III Au[g]u[st(ae)] | et Cn(aeus) Methun patri b(ene)  
meren|ti memoria(e) p[o]suerunt. v(i)x(it) | a(nn)is XXXXV.*

*Et tu praeteriens | [di]c, prec<or>, “sit tibi terra levis”.*

*H(ic) s(itus) e(st).*

Sacred to the spirits of the departed.

Lucius Caecilius Creticus, priest of Saturn. For the dearest father. [...] Aulus Ianuarius, soldier of the *Legio III Augusta*, and Gnaeus Methun, put this up for the memory of their father, [for whom it was] well deserved. He lived for 45 years.

And you, passing by, I pray, say: “may the earth be light for you”.

Here he lies.

**ET.47** = *CIL* VIII 3109 = *CLE* 1457 adn. = *CSL* 178 = Chausa Sáez 1997.73 = *CLEAfrigue* 112 = *PCV* 35 = *EDCS*-21100110;<sup>3739</sup> (Lambaesis, Numidia; third century AD).

*D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum). |*

<sup>3737</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* VIII 4504; *PCV* 55; *AE* 2011.1773.

<sup>3738</sup> There is contention about what it says here, as the line is difficult to read (see the debate in Arena 2011: 272-274, as well as *AE* 2011.1773). It once read one of the names of Creticus' sons; the name of this son is understood from and based on Arena's presentation of the debate.

<sup>3739</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* VIII 3109; *CSL* 178; *CLEAfrigue* 112; *PCV* 35.

*Valeriae Manili|ae carae adq(ue) dul|cissimae mulieri et | incomparabili | adfectu  
meren|ti coniugi quae v(ixit) a(nnos) | XXXVIII. Fl(avius) Impe|tratus vet(eranus)  
mari|tus eius ex (sestertium) mille | n(ummum) fec(it).*

5 *Et si qui | praeteriens le|geris, peto dicas, |  
“Manilia dulcis, | sit tibi terra | levis.”*

Sacred to the spirits of the departed.

For Valeria Manilia, dear, sweet and incomparable woman and wife, deserving of affection. She lived for 38 years. Flavius Impetratus, a veteran, her husband, had [this] made with a thousand sesterces.

And if you, anyone passing by, read this, I ask that you will say:  
“Sweet Manilia, may the earth be light for you.”

**ET.48** = AEA 1993/98.289 = AEA 2008.23 adn. = AE 2008.1099 = AEA 2009.22 = AE 2009.1049 adn. = AEA 2011/12.43 adn. = AEA 2013/14.18 adn. = AE 2016.1229 adn. = AEA 2016/17.6 adn. = EDCS-48900589;<sup>3740</sup> (Carnuntum/Bad-Deutsch-Altenburg, Pannonia Superior; second half of the first century AD).

*L(ucius) Cominius | T(iti) f(ilius) Romil(ia) | Firmus lixa | annor(um) XXV | h(ic) s(itus)  
e(st). | T(itus) et C(aius) Comini | fratri posuerunt. |*

5 *Cominius hic iaceo, | sed morte peremptu[s]. |  
[optab]am in patriam [---] | [---] cum fratribus. |  
[ve]rte quos liqui et | morti debita fata dedi. |  
o utinam Italiae poti|us mea Fata dedissent, |  
quam premeret cine[res ---].*

Lucius Cominius Firmus, son of Titus, of the Romilian tribe, a *lixa*, lived for 25 years, lies here. Titus and Caius Cominius, put up [this monument] for their brother.

I, Cominius, lie here, but I have been destroyed by death.  
I hoped that [...] with my brothers [...] in my homeland.  
I made it clear to them and I gave my debted fate to death.  
Oh! If only my Fates had rather given me to Italy,  
than [...] which [...] presses [my] ashes [...].

**ET.49** = CIL IX 2114 = CLE 187 = ILS 8155 = CSL 1151 = EDR186922 = EDCS-12401625;<sup>3741</sup> (Beneventum/Benevento, Italia; 30 BC – AD 14).

*P(ublius) Clodius P(ubli) f(ilius) Ste(latina) Pius leg(ionis) XX[X]. |*

*Dum vixi, vixi quomodo | condecet ingenuom,  
q[u]od comedi et ebibi tantum meu(m) est. |*

Publius Clodius Pius, son of Publius, of the Stellatinan tribe, of the 30<sup>th</sup> legion.

While I lived, I lived in a manner becoming of a freeborn:  
what I ate and drank was mine alone.

<sup>3740</sup> This edition has been created using AE 2008.1099; AEA 2009.22.

<sup>3741</sup> This edition has been created using CIL IX 2114; CLE 187; ILS 8155; CSL 1151.

**ET.50** = *CIL* VIII 23417 = *CLE* 2186 = *ILTun* 540 = M'Charek 1982 1.3 = *CLEAfrigue* 22 = EDCS-24502105;<sup>3742</sup> (Mactaris/Mactar, Africa Proconsularis; first century AD).

*Arruntia Sperata veter(ani) | f(ilia). (h)unc titulu(m) de silic(e) | factum Arruntiu<s> | pater fecit merito. |*

*Sit tibi ter(r)a leveis. | quod ego speravi te m(ih)i | facere.*

*V(ixit) a(nnos) XX d(ies) X. h(ic) s(ita) e(st). |*

Arruntia Sperata, daughter of a veteran. Arruntius, her father, had this inscription made out of stone, made deservedly.

May the earth be light for you. I, I hoped that you would make this for me.

She lived for 20 years and 10 days. Here she lies.

**ET.51** = *CIL* VIII 21031 = *CLE* 479 = *Epigraphica* 2009.280 = *CLEAfrigue* 170 = *AE* 2011.1780 adn. = EDCS-26500099;<sup>3743</sup> (Caesarea/Cherchell, Mauretania Caesariensis; first half of the first century AD [prose]; fourth-fifth century AD [verse]).

*M(arcus) Furius Herennus Papiri(a) | Astigita(e) veterani f(ilius) hic situs est. |*

*Baetica me genuit tel<l>us, cupidus | Libuae cognoscere. (vac.) |*

*(vac.) cognoscere fines Caesar<e>ae | veni cupidus.*

*Fata me rapuere mea | et me iacio +++us<sup>3744</sup> ignotis.*

5 *vix{s}i an|nis L. vivere dum liquit carus me|is*

*et pius vix{s}i et in omnia sollers. | ite mei,*

*sine me ad meos ite. (vac.) dic, | rogo, praeteriens hos 'pe's,*

*"sit t(i)bi t(erra) | levis et mol<l>iter ossa quiesc<a>nt." |*

Marcus Furius Herennus, of the Papirian tribe, from Astigi, son of a veteran, lies here.

Baetican land bore me, [I went], keen to get to know [the borders] of Libya.

I went, keen to get to know the borders of Caesarea.

My Fates seized me and I lie safe at rest in unknown [...].

I lived for 50 years. While I was allowed to live, I lived, dear

and pious to my loved ones and I was skilled in everything. Go, my family,

go without me to my [remains]. Say, I ask, passing by guest:

"May the earth be light for you, and your bones rest gently".

**ET.52** = *CLEAfr* II 262 = *AE* 1937.44 = EDCS-15900384;<sup>3745</sup> (Thanaramusa/Berroughia, Mauretania Caesariensis; first half of the second century AD).

*[---] dec(urio) coh(ortis) | II | Brittonum | hic sistet. | vixit an(nos) | XXXXII.*

<sup>3742</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* VIII 23417; *CLE* 2186; *CLEAfrigue* 22.

<sup>3743</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* VIII 21031; *CLE* 479; *CLEAfrigue* 170 and photos and squeezes of this inscription. See EDCS-26500099 for a squeeze and photos of this inscription; *CIL* website for squeezes of this inscription.

<sup>3744</sup> Suggested as *fidus* in *CLEAfrigue* 170. Given what remains of the letters and the context, this seems the best suggestion, although the letters are degraded and difficult to make out. This interpretation has been used in the translation here.

<sup>3745</sup> This edition has been created using *AE* 1937.44.

*Opto | tibi terra leve. m(a)e|reris<sup>3746</sup> anima can|dida.*

[...] decurion of the *cohors II Brittonum*, lies here. He lived for 42 years.

I hope the earth [may be] light for you. You are mourned by a bright soul.<sup>3747</sup>

**ET.53** = *AE* 1999.1230 = Sanader 2000: 229-231, figs. 4 and 6 = Kurilić 2006.118 = Sanader, Bradač & Demicheli 2010: 484 nr. 1 = *Legio VII* 1 = *CLEDalm* 2 = Massaro 2023.1 = EDCS-14800171;<sup>3748</sup> (Tilurium/Vojnić, near Trilj, Dalmatia; AD 1-41).

*L(ucius) Ancharenus Q(uinti) f(ilius) | Ser(gia) Laranda mil(es) | leg(ionis) VII ann(or)um XL stip(endiorum) XXI | h(ic) s(itus) e(st). |*

*Q(uintus) Ancharenus haec tan[quam] | posuit tibi  
dona frater, quia | longe a patria te  
cecidisse dolet. | optaram vivo potius  
dare vin[a] | me tibi, non obito care ferenda |  
tuo. si quicquam sentire potes, | [pro t]e<m>pore  
nostro damus haec | os[ss{u}a?], “sit tibi terra levis.”*

*Frater | fratri posuit.*

Lucius Ancharenus, son of Quintus, of the Sergian tribe, from Laranda, soldier of the 7<sup>th</sup> legion, lived for 40 years, served for 21, lies here.

Quintus Ancharenus put this up as gift  
for you, brother, because it pains him that you were killed  
far from your homeland. I would rather be serving  
wine to you, alive, my dear, not as an offering that must be brought  
to you when you have died. If you are able to feel anything, for the occasion,  
we shall give these bones [the wish]: “may that earth be light for you.”

A brother put [this monument] up for his brother.

**ET.54** = *CIL* XI 117 (cfr. p. 1228) = *CLE* 102 = *Alumnus* 281 = EDCS-20000016;<sup>3749</sup>  
(Ravenna, Italia; unknown).

*[-----] | class(is) s(uprae) s(cryptae) et | Spedia Prisc[a l(iberta)] | alumno kariss(imo)  
| b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuerunt). |*

*O Fata brevia | contrariaq(ue) mihi, |  
quae me levastis | parvolae vitae meae, |*

<sup>3746</sup> This could be from *mereo/mereor*, and the *a* not be missing but, given the context, *maereo* seems the more appropriate verb intended here, as the person hoping that the passer by will say “[sit] tibi terra leve”, i.e. conduct an act of (public) mourning that is often requested on epitaphs.

<sup>3747</sup> Alternatively, it could be, *mereris anima<e> candida<e>*, meaning, ‘you are worthy of your bright soul’, or even, if *mereris* is being used in with a military meaning here, *mereris anima candida*, meaning ‘you served with a bright soul’. The ‘you’ here is different to that of the passer by (i.e. the one saying “may the earth be light for you”). This ‘you’ refers to the decurio of the *cohors II Brittonum*, i.e. ‘you [the decurion] are mourned by a bright soul [i.e. by someone who is living, the passer by]’/‘you [the decurion] are worthy of your bright soul’/‘you [the decurion] served with a bright soul’.

<sup>3748</sup> This edition has been created using *AE* 1999.1230; Sanader 2000: 229-231; *Legio VII* 1; Sanader et al. 2010: 484; Massaro 2023.1; photographs of this inscriptions. See Sanader 2000: fig. 4 (fig. 6 is a drawing); Sanader et al. 2010: 484, nr. 1, fig. 1; *Legio VII* p. 22, fig. 1; EDCS-14800171 for photos of this inscription.

<sup>3749</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* XI 117; *CLE* 102; *Alumnus* 281.



5 *ut hoc venire[m] | annis plenus XI. |*  
*nam omnia fecerunt | quorum alumnus, fui. |*

[...] of the fleet, written above, and Spedia Prisca, a freedwoman, put up [the monument] for their dearest foster child, [for whom it was] well deserved.

O, Fate, brief and harmful to me,  
 you who alleviated me of my insufficient life,  
 so I could come to this [tomb] when my eleventh year was complete.  
 For they did everything for their foster child, who was me.

**ET.55** = *CIL* VIII 1359 = VIII 14883 = VIII 25870 = *ILTun* 1299 = *CLE* 521 = *CLEA*frique 66  
 = EDCS-17701230;<sup>3750</sup> (Testour/Tichillia, Africa Proconsularis; 138 – 160 AD/first half of the third century AD).

[-----] | [-----] | [-----] | [---]IN[-----] |  
 [---]N[-----] | [-----] | [-----] | S[---] |  
 [---] *pro*[batus in] | *armis* [---]. |  
*occidit* [in] | *bello Num*[id]|*um, veri*[tatis]<sup>3751</sup> | *amator* (vac.) |  
 5 *hos patr*[ ---] | *inscripsi v*[er]|*sus dictante* | *dolore* (vac.)  
*Fortuna*(m) *incu*|*sans quod* | *non mihi ta*[lia] | *natus* (vac.) |  
*composuit C+++* | *+++*<sup>3752</sup> | [---] *'t* *'riste* | *dicavit.* (vac.) |

[two lines missing]  
 [...] proven in arms [...]  
 Killed in the Numidian war, a lover of truth [...]  
 I, the father, wrote these verses with my grief as their composer [...]  
 Accusing Fortune because my son did not compose such [...] for me  
 [...] he, mournful, did [not] dedicate them.

**ET.56** = *CIL* XIII 7002 (cfr. 4, p. 108) = *CLE* 1100 = *CSIR D* 2.8 p. 40 = EDCS-11001062;<sup>3753</sup>  
 (Mogontiacum/Mainz, Germania Superior; second century AD).

[---] ++ [---]  
*cum bis duodenos aetas* [c]om[pleverat annos], |  
*tum rapuit Fatis mors inimica suis.* |  
*ut rescit mater, planxit,* (vac.) *flevete sodales,* |  
 5 *flevisset genitor* (vac.) *occidit ipse prior.* |  
*cognati proprii longa regione relict,* |  
*hi pompam ornasent funeris usque mei.* |  
*qui posuit Proculus titulum nomenq(ue) sodalis* |  
*inscripsit maerens,* (vac.) *hic pietatis honos.* |  
 10 *sis felix, valeas et te tua servet origo,* |  
*et dicas Claro,* (vac.) “sit tibi terra levis.” |

*L(ucius) Valerius Proculus | commanipularis | d(e) s(uo) p(ecunia) c(uravit).* |

<sup>3750</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* VIII 1359; *CIL* VIII 25870; *CLE* 521; *CLEA*frique 66.

<sup>3751</sup> This is thought to read *virt[utis]* by the editors of *CIL* VIII 25870 and *CLEA*frique.

<sup>3752</sup> There is dispute about what these letters are, so their remains are simply denoted here.

<sup>3753</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* XIII 7002; *CLE* 1100; photographs and the drawing of this inscription. See EDCS-11001062 for photos and a drawing of this inscription.

[...]

When his life had completed twenty four years,  
then hostile death seized him from his Fate.  
As his mother learnt of this, she mourned him, his comrades wept,  
his father would have wept, he died before him.  
His own family, abandoned in a far off land,  
would have thoroughly prepared the procession of my funeral.  
It was Proculus who put up this inscription and, grieving, inscribed  
the name of his comrade: this is the honour of piety.  
May you be lucky, may you fare well and may your ancestry watch over you,  
and may you say to Clarus: “may the earth be light for you”.

Lucius Valerius Proculus, *commanipularis*, took care of this from his own money.

**ET.57** = *CIL* X 5371 = *CLE* 118 = *ILS* 7734 = *ILLRP* 120 = *AE* 1991.420 = *CLEiLAR* 1.4 = *EDR*178773 = *EDCS*-20401170;<sup>3754</sup> (Miturnae/Minturno, Italia; first century BC).

*Vivit | Q(uintus) Caelius Sp(uri) f(ilius) Vivi<us> | architectus navalis. |*  
*vivit | uxor Camidia | M(arci) l(iberta) | Ap'hr'odisia. |*

*Hospes resiste et, nisi m|olestust, perlege.*  
*noli | stomac(h)are suadeo, | caldum bibas.*  
*moriu|ndust. vale. |*

5

He lives. Quintus Caelius Vivius, son of Spurius, was a naval architect. His wife,  
Camidia Aphrodisia, freedwoman of Marcus, lives.

Guest, stop and, unless it is troubling, read through this:  
I advise you not to be annoyed, drink a warm drink.  
One must die. Farewell!

**ET.58** = *CIL* VIII 21032 = *CLE* 486 = *CLEAfrigue* 169 = *EDCS*-26500100;<sup>3755</sup>  
(Caesarea/Cherchell, Mauretania Caesariensis; second century AD).

*D(is) M(anibus). |*

*Gargiliae Honoratae Salditanae.*

5

*Vix[it ---] | annos sine crimine ullo.*  
*vivite mortu[les. ---] | omnibus instat. discite, qui legis.*  
*ego [---] | Herinnius Rogatus ses'q'uplicarius cla[ssis ---] |*  
*maritae meae (vac.) dignae et meritae.*  
*Gargi[lia, terra] | (vac.) tibi (vac.) levis (vac.) sit (vac.).*

To the spirits of the departed.

For Gargilia Honorata, from Saldae.

<sup>3754</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* X 5371; *CLE* 118; *ILS* 7734; *ILLRP* 120; photographs of this inscription. For photos of this inscription, see *EDCS*-20401170; *EDR*178773.

<sup>3755</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* VII 21032; *CLE* 486; *CLEAfrigue* 169; squeeze of this inscription. See *EDCS*-26500100; *CIL* website for a squeeze of this inscription.

She lived for [...] years without any reaproach.  
 Live, mortals! [Death/Fate?...] threatens to approach us all. Learn, you who reads this.  
 I [...], Herinnius Rogatus, *sesquiplicarius classis*,  
 [had this made] my worthy and deserving wife.  
 Gargilia, may the earth be light for you.

**ET.59** = *CIL* VIII 9142 = VIII 20742 = *CLE* 472 = *CSL* 503 = *CLEA**frigue* 155 = EDCS-23200150;<sup>3756</sup> (Auzia/Sour El-Ghozlane, Mauretania Caesariensis; third-fourth centuries AD).

(ad sinistram)

*D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum).* |

*Magnia Ancill'a' | et Gemi|nius Na|bor de | eorum | Sertiorus | et Ianuaria | fecerunt.*  
 ||

(ad dextram)

5 *Hic situs est iuvenis, primo qui flore | iuventae*  
*impavidus Martis. dum | <in>cautus<sup>3757</sup> iret in hostis,*  
*invida Par|carum sem<p>er sic prona volun|tas*  
*oppressit. memoran|de iaces Ianuari sepul|cro,*  
*sic felix quot | humo te mater mise|randa recondit. |*

10 *Geminus Victor fratri | carissimo fe|cit dedicavitque. | vix(it) an(nos) XXXXV. |*

(on the left)

Sacred to the spirits of the departed.

[On the land] of Magnia Ancilla and Geminus Nabor, Sertorius and Ianuaria had this made.

(on the right)

Here lies a young man, who, in the prime blossoming of his youth,  
 was fearless of Mars. While he heedlessly raged against the enemy,  
 the jealous will of the Fates, always this way inclined,  
 overpowered him. You lie, Ianuarius, in this memorable tomb:  
 in this way, you are lucky, because your wretched mother buried you under the earth.

Geminus Victor made and dedicated this for his dearest brother. He lived for 45 years.

**ET.60** = *CIL* IX 5401 = *CLE* 1514 = *CSL* 555 = *ZPE* 34 (1979) p. 71 = EDR015624 = EDCS-16100750;<sup>3758</sup> (Firmum Picenum/Fermo, Italia; second century AD).

[---] *Marcio Frugi* | [---] *Marciae L(uci) f(iliae) Cypare.* |

<sup>3756</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* VIII 9142; *CLE* 472; *CSL* 503; *CLEA**frigue* 155.

<sup>3757</sup> There is debate about what this says, but *cautus* seems to be the agreed upon interpretation now. The editors of *CIL* VIII 20742 where it is suggested that perhaps *incautius* was meant and, given the context and what has been presented in these various editions, *incautus* has been understood here.

<sup>3758</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* IX 5401; *CLE* 1514; *CSL* 555; *ZPE* 34 (1979) p. 71; photograph of this inscription. See EDR015624 for the photo of this inscription.

[N]on te qui properas viator ire, |  
 [tr]istes (h)endecasyllabi tenebunt. |  
 [q]uit credas homo tempori futur[o], |  
 5 [p]aucis hic tibi casus indicabit. |  
 [d]ulci pondere cum gravata | [m]ater  
 incluso utero decem k(alendas) |  
 [ga]udebat pueri ededissee partus, |  
 [vo]tis iamque pater deos rogabat  
 10 ut | [p]rimos pueri videret annos  
 mox cas|[t]ris iuvenem daret legendum,  
 For|[t]una dum magna studet aemulare. |

By [...] Marcius Frugi [...] for Marcia Cypare, daughter of Lucius.

Not you, the passer-by who is keen to go,  
 will mournful hendecasyllables hold.  
 What confidence you may have had in the future, man,  
 this misfortune will reveal to you in a few [words].  
 When a mother, pregnant with a sweet weight  
 confined to her womb for ten Kalends,  
 rejoiced in having given birth to a baby boy  
 and his father was already asking the gods in his prayers  
 that he would see the boy's first years  
 and soon permit the young man to be selected for the army life,  
 while Fortune is keen to emulate the greats.

**ET.61** = CIL VI 8991 (cfr. p. 3463, 3891) = CLE 101 = ILS 7741 = AE 2000.132 adn. = *SupplIt Imagines* - Roma II 2309 = EDR159630 = EDCS-18900058;<sup>3759</sup> (Rome, Italia; first half of the second century AD).

*L(ucius) Marius L(uci) f(ilius) | Vitalis | vixi ann(os) XVII d(ies) LV consummatus litter(is). |*

*Parentes suasi artefic(ium) | discerem.*  
*discessi ab | urbe in praetorio | Hadriani Aug(usti) Caesar(is), |*  
 5 *ubi, dum studerem, Fata | inviderunt mihi*  
*raptum|que ab arte tradiderunt | hoc loco. |*

*Maria Malchis mater | infelicissima filio sanctissimo.*

I, Lucius Marius Vitalis, son of Lucius, lived for 17 years and 55 days, and was accomplished in literacy.

I persuaded my parents that I would learn a practical profession.  
 I left the city [to go] into the service of the Praetorian Guard of Hadrian, Augustus  
 Caesar,

<sup>3759</sup> This edition has been created using CIL VI 8991; CLE 101; ILS 7741; photographs of this inscription. See EDCS-18900058; CIL website; Center for Epigraphical and Palaeographical Studies CIL 6.8991, <https://kb.osu.edu/items/6e18e4a9-6514-434b-a5eb-ecd256ab7c04>, last accessed 8/4/2024; Musei Vaticani Catalogo Online MV.7514.0.0, <https://catalogo.museivaticani.va/index.php/Detail/objects/MV.7514.0.0>, last accessed 8/4/2024, for photos and a 3D squeeze of this inscription.

where, while I studied, the Fates envied me and delivered me,  
once they had seized me away from my skill to this place.

Maria Malchis, unluckiest mother, to her most virtuous son.

**ET.62** = *CIL* VI 25531 (cfr. p. 3532) = *CLE* 1106 = *AE* 1997.87 adn. = *AE* 2007.170 adn. = *EDR*151303 = *EDCS*-13801781,<sup>3760</sup> (Rome, Italia; first half of the second century AD).

*Qui dum vita datast semper vivebat avarus*  
*heredi parcens, invidus ipse sibi. |*  
*hic accumbentem sculpi genialiter arte*  
*se iussit docta post sua fata manu, |*  
5 *ut saltem recubans in morte quiescere posset,*  
*securaque iacens ille quiete frui. |*  
*filius a dextra residet, qui castra secutus,*  
*occidit ante patris funera maesta sui. |*  
*sed quid defunctis prodest genialis imago?*  
10 *hoc potius ritu vivere debuerant. |*

(vac.) *C(aius) Rubrius Urbanus sibi et Antoniae* (vac.) | (vac.) *Domesticae coniugi suae*  
*et Cn(aeo) Domitio* (vac.) | (vac.) *Urbico Rubriano filio suo et libertis* (vac.) | (vac.)  
*libertabusque posterique eorum et M(arco)* (vac.) | (vac.) *Antonio Daphno fecit* (vac.).

He who, while life was given to him, always lived covetously  
tight on his heir, jealous of him himself.  
This man ordered [himself] to be sculpted jovially, as seen in art,  
lying down, by a learned hand, after his death,  
so that he, reclining, would be able to rest in death, at least,  
and, lying down, [he would be able] to enjoy an untroubled rest.  
His son sits on his right; he followed the camps  
and died before the mournful funeral of his father.  
But what benefit does a jovial statue have for the dead?  
They, rather, ought to have lived in this manner.

Gaius Rubrius Urbanus made this for himself and Antonia Domestica, his wife, and  
Gnaeus Domitius Urbicus Rubrianus, their son, and for their freedmen and women and  
their descendants, and for Marcus Antonius Daphnus.

**ET.63** = *CIL* V 7009 = *Habitus* 68 = Reuter 2012.46 = *EDR*144634,<sup>3761</sup> (Augusta  
Tauinorum/Torino, Italia; AD 161-200).

[-----] |  
[pr]imae in I[---] |  
anno non[o ---] |  
cum permisit [---] |  
5 sic me semper [---] |

<sup>3760</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* VI 25531; *CLE* 1106; photographs of this inscription. See British Museum, museum number: 2005,0927.46, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_2005-0927-46](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_2005-0927-46), last accessed 9/4/2024, and museum number: 2005, 0927.45, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_2005-0927-45](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_2005-0927-45), last accessed 9/4/2024, for drawings; see *EDCS*-13801781 for photos of this inscription. For both, see *EDR*151303.

<sup>3761</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* V 7009; *Habitus* 68.

*et mihi vitem deder[unt ---] |*  
*Ulpia legione missus [---] |*  
*tam probus piusq(ue) vixi [---] |*  
*qui gaudebant ordinat[ione ---] |*  
*hi mei miseri parente[s ---] |*  
*quo d' Tiburtinus fuerit [---] |*  
*[-----] |*

[...]  
 first in [...]  
 in his ninth year [...]  
 when he [...]  
 in this way always [...] allowed me [...]  
 and they gave the vine rod to me [...]  
 having been dismissed from the Ulpian legion [...]  
 I lived, such an honest and pious [man ...]  
 I who they rejoiced in my appointment [...]  
 they, my wretched parents [...]  
 because there are Tiburtine [...]  
 [...]

**ET.64** = *CIL* III 2835 (cfr. p. 1036) = *CLE* 992 = *ILS* 2257 = Massaro 2023.6 = EDCS-28300164;<sup>3762</sup> (Burnum.Ivosevci, Dalmatia; AD 9-42).

*T(itus) Cominius | C(ai) f(ilius) R[om]ilia | Ateste miles | leg(ionis) XI anno|rum XL*  
*stip(endiorum) XVI | h(ic) s(itus) e(st). frater | fratri posuit. |*

*Vix{s}i quad potui, sem|per bene pauper honest(vac.)e(vac.). |*  
*[fr]audavi nullum. nunc iuvat | [os]sa mea. |*

Titus Cominius, son of Gaius, of the Romilian tribe, from Ateste, soldier of the 11<sup>th</sup> legion, lived for 40 years, served for 16, lies here. His brother put this up for his brother.

I lived as I was able to, always well, poor, honest.  
 I cheated no one. Now this pleases my bones.

**ET.65** = *CIL* XIII 8655 = *CLE* 1006 = *CSIR D* 3 1.22 = Lehner 1918.657 = Krier 1981.39 = EDCS-11100749;<sup>3763</sup> (Colonia Ulpia Traiana/Xanten, Germania Inferior; second half of the second century AD).

*Silvano Loupi f(ilio) Trever(o) | eq(uiti) ala Vocont(iorum). an(norum) XXX |*  
*stip(endorum) XII, et vivis Primae | sorori eius hered(es) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt). |*

*Vos, rogitat, quaeso, soror unica | fratris amantis*  
*ni dissigilletis | nive violetis opus. |*

<sup>3762</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* III 2835; *CLE* 992; *ILS* 2257; Massaro 2023.6.

<sup>3763</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* XIII 8655; *CLE* 1006; Lehner 1918.657; Krier 1981.39. For photos and drawings of this inscription, see EDCS-11100749; Lupa 15531 (see also Lupa for drawings of this inscription); Krier 1981/39. The photos are, unfortunately, insufficient for making an edition.

For Silvanus Treverus, son of Loupus, *eques* of the *ala Vocontiorum*. He lived for 30 years, served for 12, and while they were still living, Prima, his sister, their heirs, had this made.

The only sister of a loving brother asks you, I beg you,  
neither unseal nor destroy this work.

**ET.66** = AE 1914.6 = RIU I 185 = *Legio XV Apo* 181 = *CLEPann* 13 = Massaro 2023.9 = EDCS-09900074;<sup>3764</sup> (Scarbantia/Sopron, Pannonia Superior; first half of the first century AD/second half of the first century-the beginning of the second century).

[*L(ucius)*] *Cotonius* | *C(ai) f(ilius) Pol(lia) Cam|panus vet(eranus)* | *leg(ionis) XV Apol(linaris)* | *magister lud(i)* | *an(norum) LXXVII* | *h(ic) s(itus) e(st)*. | *Coton(ia) Prima* | *l(iberta) coniugi et* | *sibi viva fecit*. | *Fortunatus Torq(uatus)* | *Servatus* +++ | *cur[a]ve[runt]* (vac.) | [---]

5 *Eruntque meliora* I+ +SE[---]ROS. | *vixi. servat me,*  
*securus, quoque.* | *nunc contegor hic tumulo.*

Lucius Cotonius Campanus, son of Gaius, of the Pollian voting tribe, veteran of the *Legio XV Apollinaris*, *magister ludi*, lived for 77 years, lies here. Cotonia Prima, his freedwoman, made this, whilst she was alive, for her husband and herself. Fortunatus Torquatus Servatus [and ...] took care of [this monument].

And they will be better [...] I lived. It preserves me,  
untroubled, also. Now I am concealed here, in a tomb.

**ET.67** = CIL VI 2938 (cfr. p. 3377) = CIL V 429\* 28 = CLE 1099 (cfr. p. 858) = *SupplIt Imagines - Roma* IV 4583 = MEFR 2007.183 = Aspetti pp. 59-60 = EDR132983 = EDCS-19000417;<sup>3765</sup> (Rome, Italia; second half of the first century BC-first half of the first century AD/AD 69-150).

*Sex(to) Naevio* | *L(uci) f(ilio) Pub(lilia)* | *Verecundo sign(ifero)* | *coh(ortis) XIII nato* | *Veronae*.

*Ossa* | *relata domum,* | *cinis hic adoperta* | *quiescit.*  
*heredes* | *titulum. versiculos* | *Cornelius epoi* | *conlegae et amico.* |

For Sextus Naevius Verecundus, son of Lucius, of the Publilian tribe, *signifer* of the 9<sup>th</sup> cohort, born in Verona.

My bones were sent home, here my covered ashes are at rest:  
my heirs made my inscription; I, Cornelius, made these verses for my colleague and friend.

**ET.68** = CIL XI 6507 = CLE 424 = EDR171709 = EDCS-23200803;<sup>3766</sup> (Sarsina/Sassina, Italia; AD 51-150).

<sup>3764</sup> This edition has been created using AE 1914.6; RIU I 185; CLEPann 13; Massaro 2023.9; photographs of this inscription. See EDCS-09900074; CIL website; HD027847; Lupa 3347 for photos of this inscription.

<sup>3765</sup> This edition has been created using CIL VI 2938; CLE 1099; Aspetti pp. 59-60; photographs of this inscription. See EDCS-19000417; CIL website; EDR132983 for photos and a squeeze of this inscription.

<sup>3766</sup> This edition has been created using CIL XI 6507; CLE 424; photographs of this inscription. See EDCS-23200803; CIL website for a photo of this inscription.

*D(is) M(anibus). |*

*L(uci) Vafrii L(uci) f(ili) | Clementis | vet(erani) coh(ortis) X pr(aetoriae). | Aelia  
Philete | coniugi desi|derantissim(o). |*

5 *Salve care mihi coniunx | dilecta propago, |  
condite perpetuis tumulis | sine lucis hiatu. |  
defleo te. puto nec satis est | decerpere crinis. |  
nunc neque te video, nec | amor satiatur amantis. |  
deflent et gemini, genito|ris imagine capti, |  
et coniunx misera | finem depono dolori. |*

To the spirits of the departed

of Lucius Vafrius Clemens, son of Lucius, veteran of the 10<sup>th</sup> Praetorian cohort. Aelia Philete made this for her husband, greatly missed.

Greetings, my dear husband, beloved shoot of our family tree,  
bury him in an everlasting tomb without an opening for light.  
I mourn you; I think that it is not enough to tear out my hair.  
Now I do not see you, nor is my love for my lover satisfied.  
Also the twins mourn you, captivated by the image of their father,  
and I, your wretched wife, beg for an end to my grief.

**ET.69** = *CIL* VIII 2885 = VIII 18155 = *CLE* 800 = *ILS* 8167 = *CSL* 711 = *CLEA*frique 111 = *PCV* 27 = EDCS-20800751;<sup>3767</sup> (Lambaesis, Numidia; second or the third century AD/beginning of the third century AD).

*D(is) M(anibus). |*

*M(arcus) Iul(ius) Alexander | veteranus leg(ionis) III | Aug(ustae) ex optione vix(it) |  
annis XLXV et di|xit, (vac.)*

*“Non fueras, | nunc es. iterum | nunc desines es|se.”*

5 *Hic situs est patri|ae. Q(uintus) Ventidi|us Afri|cus veter(anus) socro di||gnis|si|mo |  
fe|cit.*

To the spirits of the departed.

Marcus Julius Alexander, veteran from the rank of *optio* of the *Legio III Augusta*, lived for 55 years, and said:

“You did not exist, now you do. Now, again, you will cease to exist.”

Here he lies, in his homeland. Quintus Ventidius Africus, veteran, made this for his most worthy father-in-law.

**ET.70** = *CLE* 1896 = *ILS* 9061 = *AE* 1900.2 = *NSA* 1899: 262-263 = EDR112532 = EDCS-16900007;<sup>3768</sup> (Hadria?/Cerchiara, Italia; second century AD).

<sup>3767</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* VIII 2885; *CLE* 800; *ILS* 8167; *CSL* 711; *CLEA*frique 111; *PCV* 27; photograph of this inscription. See *PCV* 27; EDCS-20800751 for the photograph of this inscription.

<sup>3768</sup> This edition has been created using *CLE* 1896; *ILS* 9061; *AE* 1900.2; photograph of this inscription. For a photo of this inscription, see EDR112532.



*D(is) M(anibus). |*

*C(aio) Antistio | Severo | mil(iti) coh(ortis) VIII pr(aetoriae). | spe(culatori) militans ann(os) X. |*

5 *Decessit Faleris, | cuius cineres |*  
*Antistius Coraesus | ret{t}ulit pater. |*

To the spirits of the departed.

For Gaius Antistius Severus, a soldier of the 9<sup>th</sup> Praetorian cohort. He served as a *speculator* for 10 years.

He died in Faleri, whose ashes  
his father, Antistius Coraesus, brought back.

**ET.71** = *CIL* II<sup>2</sup>/7 287 = *CIL* II 2215 (cfr. p. 886) = *EE* VIII 2: 394 = *ILS* 8477 = *ILMMalaga* 23 = *HEp* 2002.141 = *AE* 2002.167 adn. = *CLEHisp* 19 = EDCS-09000304;<sup>3769</sup> (Corduba/Cordoba, Baetica; 50 BC-AD 30).

*T(itus) Acclenus T(iti) f(ilius) Qui(rina) cent[u(rio)]. | Annia T(iti) l(iberta) (vac.)*  
*Helena (vac.) uxor. |*

*Frugi summa qum probitate | fide magna.*  
*concordes indigne | morbo excrucianti morte obierunt. ||*

5 *D(ecimus) Vergilius Am̄rantus a(nnos) LXXX.*

Titus Acclenus, son of Titus, of the Quirinian tribe, a centurion. Annia Helena, freedwoman of Titus, his wife.

[A man and woman of good] virtue,<sup>3770</sup> with greatest propriety, with great loyalty.  
They died together undeservedly by an illness, in an excruciating death.

Decimus Vergilius Amarantus [lived] for 80 years.

**ET.72** = *CIL* III 4060 = III 10869 = Schober 1923.130 = *AIJ* 260 = *AE* 2010.1067 adn. = Šašel Kos 2016: 215 = *AE* 2016.1229 adn. = EDCS-26600462;<sup>3771</sup> (Poetovio/Ptuj, Pannonia Superior; AD 9-45).

*M(arcus) Petronius | M(arci) f(ilius) Arn(iensis) Classi|cus Marrucinus | (centurio)*  
*leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae). |*

*Hic est crematus. | ossa relata domi.*

*P(ublius) frater et con|lega pos[uit].*

Marcus Petronius Classicus Marrucinus, from the Arniensian tribe, centurion of the *Legio VIII Augusta*.

<sup>3769</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* II<sup>2</sup>/7 287; *ILS* 8477; *HEp* 2002.141; photographs of this inscription. See EDCS-09000304; *Hispania Epigraphica Online* 3894; *CIL* website (and squeeze); HD028229 for photos of this inscription.

<sup>3770</sup> See the commentary on this inscription in *HEp* 2002.141 for an explanation of this phrase.

<sup>3771</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* III 4060; Schober 130; *AIJ* 260; photographs of this inscription. See *AIJ* 260; EDCS-26600462; HD068550; Lupa 3102 for photos of this inscription.

He was cremated here. His bones were sent home.

Publius, his brother and colleague, put [this monument] up [for him].

**ET.73** = AE 1947.31 = AE 1953.125 = Zarker 1958.82 = AE 1977.634 = Courtney 1995.199 = RHP 451 = AE 2005.161 adn. = CLEPann 38 = CLENuovo p. 175 = TitAq II 512 = ZPE 184 (2013) p. 117 = AE 2014.1039 adn. = Massaro 2023.18 = EDCS-15000151,<sup>3772</sup> (Aquincum/Budapest, Pannonia Inferior; AD 222-235).

*Memoriae Q(uinti) [Ael(i) Apoll]oni mil(itis) coh(ortis) (milliariae) nov(a)e Suror(um) stip(endiorum) III | vix(it) ann(os) XX. Aelia Marcia mater filio dulcissimo et Aelia | (vac.) Apollonia soror eius faciendum curaverunt. |*

5 *Lubrica quassa levis fragilis bona vel mala fallax (vac.) |*  
*Vita data est homini, (vac.) non certo limite cretae, |*  
*Per varios casus tenuato stamine pende(n)s. (vac.) |*  
*Vivito mortalis dum{dum} dant tibi tempora Parc(a)e, |*  
*Seu te rura tenent urbes seu castra vel (a)equor (vac.). |*  
10 *Flores ama Veneris, Cereris bona munera carpe |*  
*Et Nysyi larga et pingua dona Minervae. (vac.) |*  
*Candida(m) vita(m) cole iustissima mente serenus. |*  
*Iam puer et iuvenis iam vir et fessus ab annis. (vac.) |*  
*Talis eris tumulo, superumque oblitus honores. |*

To the memory of Quintus Aelius Apollonius, soldier of the *cohors milliaria nova Surorum*. He served for 3 years, lived for 20. Aelia Marcia, his mother, and Aelia Apollonia, his sister, had this made for her dearest son.

Inconstant, battered, light, fragile, deceitful, good or bad,  
is the life that is given to man, with no defined line of chalk,<sup>3773</sup>  
hanging between various disasters on a dwindling thread.  
Live, mortal, while the Fates give you time,  
either the countryside or the cities or the camps or the seas hold you.  
Love the flowers of Venus, seize the good gifts of Ceres  
and the bounty of Bacchus and the fertile gifts of Minerva.  
Cultivate a bright life, cheerful with the fairest mind.  
Now a boy, and a young man, now a man, and tired by the years.  
You will be like this in a tomb, and forget the honours of the living.

**ET.74** = ZPE 184 (2013) p. 121 = AE 2013.1715 = EDCS-57300097;<sup>3774</sup> (Raphia/Rafa, Palestina; first half of the third century AD).

*[---]m|nas trib(unus). |*

*L[lubrica quas]sa levis fragilis bona vel mala fallax<x> |*  
*[Vita data est h]omini, non certo li[mi]te cret<ae>, |*

<sup>3772</sup> This edition has been created using AE 1947.31; AE 1953.125; Zarker 1958.82; Courtney 1995.199; RHP 451; CLEPann 38; TitAq II 512; Eck 2013: 117; Massaro 2023.18; photographs of this inscription. See TitAq II 512; Lupa 2908 for photographs of this inscription.

<sup>3773</sup> i.e. ‘finishing line’/‘finishing post’; see Courtney’s comments on this line (1995: 398).

<sup>3774</sup> This edition has been created using Eck 2013: 121; AE 2013.1715; photograph of this inscription. See Eck 2013: 120; EDCS-57300097 for the photo of this inscription.

5 *P[er varios c]asus tenuato sta[mine p]ende(n)<s>. |*  
*V[ivito mortal]is dum dant tibi [tempora Par]c(a)e, |*  
*Seu [te rura col]ens urbes vel castra vel (a)equor. |*  
*Flores ama Veneris, Cereris bona munera carpe |*  
*Et N'y's'y'i larga{s} et pingua dona Minervae. |*  
10 *Iam puer et iuvenis iam vir iam fessus ab annis. |*  
*Talis eris tumul'o',<sup>3775</sup> superumq(ue) oblitus <h>onore<s>. |*

*Aur(elius) Maximianus nepos eius de s(ua) p(ecunia) | instantibus contubernalibus.*

[...], a tribune.

Inconstant, battered, light, fragile, deceitful, good or bad,  
is the life that is given to man, with no defined line of chalk,<sup>3776</sup>  
hanging between various disasters on a dwindling thread.  
Live, mortal, while the Fates give you time,  
either the countryside or the cities or the camps or the seas is where you inhabit.  
Love the flowers of Venus, seize the good gifts of Ceres  
and the bounty of Bacchus and the fertile gifts of Minerva.  
Now a boy, and a young man, now a man, and tired by the years.  
You will be like this in a tomb, and forget the honours of the living.

Aurelius Maximianus, his grandson, upon the insistence of his tent-mates, [made this]  
with his own money.

**ET.75** = AE 1938.120 = Nesselhauf 1938.113 = AE 1939.281 adn. = AE 1940.116 adn. = Zarker 1958.113 = CSIR D II 6.30 = EDCS-11202235;<sup>3777</sup> (Mogontiacum/Mainz, Germania Superior; first half of the first century AD).

*Paulla Ti(berii) | Iuli S<e>lvani | ex c(o)hor(te) Sur(orum) | anno(s) XXIIIX | h(ic)*  
*s(ita) e(st). |*

5 *(H)ospes si vacu(u)m | est tumuli, cog|noscere cas{s}us, |*  
*perlege, nam mo|rtis [---] caus{s}a | dolenda fu{u}it. |*  
*dic, rogo, nu<n>c, "iue|nis, sit tibi terra | levis." (vac.).*

Paulla, wife of Tiberius Iulius Selvanus,<sup>3778</sup> from the *cohors Surorum*, lived for 28 years, lies here.

Guest, if you are free to know of the tomb's misfortune,  
read through [...] for the reason of her death must be grieved.  
Now, say, I ask: "youthful woman, may the earth be light for you."

<sup>3775</sup> This actually reads *tumul*us on the stone.

<sup>3776</sup> i.e. 'finishing line'/'finishing post'; see Courtney's comments on this line (1995: 398).

<sup>3777</sup> This edition has been created using AE 1938.120; Nesselhauf 1938.113; Zarker 1958.113; photographs of this inscription. See EDCS-11202235; Arachne 3460524; Lupus 16576; HD022227 for photos of this inscription. Identified as poetic by Nagy 1939: 122. See also Nesselhauf: 'die Verse, in denen der angekündigte Bericht über den Tod der Paulla fehlt, sind aus einem anderen Grabgedicht abgeschrieben, dessen Hauptteil für den vorliegenden Fall nicht verwendbar war' (1938.113: 86).

<sup>3778</sup> Zarker postulates that she is his daughter (1958: 216).

The inscriptions labelled **LL** (= *Light as Life*) in this data set have ‘*light as life*’ as their main theme, and are primarily discussed in Chapter 4.

**LL.1** = *CIL* II 4427 = *CIL* II<sup>2</sup>/14 1089 = *CLE* 542 = *RIT* 228 = *PELCatalans* T 11 = *AE* 2017.564 adn. = EDCS-05503460;<sup>3779</sup> (Terraco/Terragona, Hispania Citerior; AD 201-230).

[--- ve]t(erano) leg(ionis) | [----- pie]ntis[si]’m[o -----] | men(ses) IIII.

Manes si sap<i>rent, mise|ram me abducerent con|iugem,

vivere iam quo | me? lucem iam nolo vi|dere. (vac.) |

dulcem | carui lucem, cum te | amisi ego coniux.

5 has tibi | fundo dolens lac{h}rimas dulcis|sime coniunx.

lac{h}rimae si pro|sunt, visis te ostende,

videri. | haec tibi sola domus [---] |

semper in perpetuo vale mihi | carissime coniux. |

To [...] veteran of *Legio* [...] most pious. [He lived for ... and] 4 months.

If the Manes had understanding, they would take me, this wretched spouse, away,  
because what should I live for now? Now I don’t want to see the light.

I am missing the sweet light since I, I lost you, my husband.

I, grieving, shed these tears for you, my sweetest husband.

If these tears are of any use, reveal yourself in visions!

Come to me! This house alone [...] for you [...]

Farewell, for always and forever, my dearest husband.

**LL.2** = *CIL* III 14529 = *CLE* 2178 = *IMS* II 113 = *CBI* 588 = *CLEMoes* 49 = Massaro 2023.13 = EDCS-30200736;<sup>3780</sup> (Viminacium/Kostolac, Moesia Superior; AD 151-300).

Parvolus | hic situs est. | Ulp(ius) Iovinus | nomine qui vi|xit ann(os) V m(enses) VI |  
d(ies) XXIII.

Hic solus | pater hunc hu|mav[i]t parvolum, |  
cuius de[s]iderio | lumen intentus | dolet.

5 Ulp(ius) Vale|rianus b(ene)f(iciarius) leg(ati) pa|ter a quo sibi sperab(at). |

A little boy lies here. His name was Ulpus Jovinus, he who lived for 5 years, 6 months, and 23 days.

A lonely father buried this little boy here,  
whom he, contemplating life, regretfully grieves.

Ulpus Valerianus, *beneficiarius legatus*, his father, [to him] from whom he had hoped [for this] himself.

**LL.3** = *CIL* IX 6604 = *NSA* 1926.247 = *AE* 1927.120 = Zarker 1958.138 = *CLERegio* IV 5 = EDR073037 = EDCS-16200823;<sup>3781</sup> (Saepinum/Saepino, Samnium/Regio IV, Italia; first half of the second century AD).

<sup>3779</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* II 4427; *CIL* II<sup>2</sup>/14 1089; *CLE* 542; *PELCatalans* T 11.

<sup>3780</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* III 14529; *CLE* 2178; *IMS* II 113; *CLEMoes* 49; Massaro 2023.13.

<sup>3781</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* IX 6604; *NSA* 1926.247; *AE* 1927.120; Zarker 1958.123; photographs of this inscription. See *CIL* IX 6604; EDCS-16200823; EDR073037; HD025309 for photos of this inscription.

*D(is) [M(anibus) s(acrum)]. |*

*“Have Ner(ati) Iuste bene me(rens).” |*

5 *L(ucio) Neratio Iusto | mil(iti) c(o)hor(tis) X urb(anae). vixit | annis XXIII mens(ibus)  
VIII. | hic quo anno in praetor(ium) | transiret et barbas pone|ret, mors in 'hi' buit.  
infelici[s]imi parentes Neratius Libe|ralis et Vettia Hermione | pientissimo fil(io)  
sibique vivi | fecerunt, quod noluerunt. | (vac.) |*

*Mors inimica tibi Fato | data. (vac.) | liquis{s}ti miseros in luce |  
parentem. aetatem flo|res processus, apstulit una | (vac.) dies. (vac.)*

Sacred to the spirits of the dead.

Greetings to Neratius Justus, [he for whom this is] well deserved!

For Lucius Neratius Justus, soldier of the 10th Urban Cohort. He lived for 23 years and 8 months; in the year in which this man went into the *praetorium* and cut off his beard, Death hindered him. The unluckiest parents, Neratius Liberalis and Vettia Hermione, made this for their most pious son and for themselves when they were alive, which they did not want [to do].

An envious death had been given to you by Fate. You left your wretched parent in the light; having entered the prime blossoming of life, one day stole you away.

**LL.4** = *CIL* III 3397 = *CLE* 555 = *CBI* 412 = *AE* 1999.1261 = *CLEPann* 48 = *CLENuovo* p. 106 = *TitAq* II 1013 = Massaro 2023.20 = EDCS-26600595;<sup>3782</sup> (Campona/Nagytetengy, Pannonia Inferior; second half of the third century AD).

*+++ memoriae +++ [---]. |*

5 *Hoc iacet in lapide Aure(lia) Marcellina pien|tissima coniux,  
qu'a`m lapis ipse tegit rap|ta(m) de luce serena.  
huic aetas prima cum | florebat in annis,  
invida Fatorum genesis | mihi sustulit illam.  
superante genetrice | sua, quae se cupiebat ob illam  
ante morti dari, | qu<a>m sibi flebil(is) casus  
acciderit, filiu[s]|que permansit Innocentius,  
et quicumque | legis nostros tu, nosti dolores.  
10 sic at et | Elysias senior descendis ad auras. |*

*+ Iul(ius) Victorinus b(ene)(vac.)f[ic](iarius) co(n)s(ularis) f(aciendum) c(uravit), || et  
pater Aur(elius) | Eptala | p(vac.)ientiss(im)i.*

For [...] memory [...].

Aurelia Marcellina, a most pious wife, lies in this tomb,  
she whom this stone itself holds had been seized from the serene light.  
When her life was first blossoming in years,

<sup>3782</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* III 3397; *CLE* 555; *AE* 1999.1261; *CLEPann* 48; *TitAq* II 1013; Massaro 2023.20; photographs of this inscription. See *TitAq* II 1013; *CIL* website; EDCS-26600595; Lupa 2785 for photos of this inscription. The photographs, however, are very difficult to read, so much more reliance has been sought from the published editions than with other inscriptions in this study which have also had a photograph available.

the jealous horoscope of the Fates stole her away from me.  
 Surviving her mother, who wanted to give herself to death first  
 instead of her, whom a lamentable accident  
 cut down, and her son, Innocentius, perseveres,  
 as do you, anyone who reads my [words], grieve with me.  
 But, in this way, at least you descend to the Elysian breezes when you are older.

(Unknown *cognomen*) Julius Victorinus, *beneficiarius consularis*, had this made, and her father Aurelius Eptala for his most pious ones.

**LL.5** = *CIL* III 3351 = *CLE* 556 = *RIU* IV 1522 = *RHP* 192 = *EpPann* III 40 = *AE* 2004.1133 adn. = *CLEPann* 45 = Mander 2013.773 = *TitAq* IV 1899 = Massaro 2023.19 = EDCS-17800035;<sup>3783</sup> (Gorsium/Szabadbattyan, Pannonia Inferior; first half of the second century AD).

*D(is) [M(anibus)].* |

*Hic iacet in tumu|lo Aur(elia) Sabina (vac.) | pientissima coniux. | annor(um) XXV.  
 qu`a`m | lapis is`p`[e] tegit (vac.) | rapta[m d]e luce | serena.  
 q[uae] magis | debuerat fe[ss]os (vac.) | sepelire pare[n]tes. |  
 o dolor o pietas (vac.) | o funera tristia co[n]iugis.*

*Marcu(vac.)s Aur(elius) (vac.) | Attianus dec(urio) al(a)e I T`hr`[acum] et Aur(elia)  
 Sabinilla | filia eorund`e`m vivi | sibi faciundum curarunt.* |

To the spirits of the departed.

Here, in this tomb, lies Aurelia Sabina, a most dutiful wife. She lived for 25 years.  
 She whom this stone itself holds had been seized from the serene light.  
 She rather ought to have buried her tired parents.  
 O grief, o piety, o wretched funeral of my wife!

Marcus Aurelius Attianus, decurion of the *ala I Thracum*, and Aurelia Sabinilla, when they were alive, had this made for their daughter and for themselves.

**LL.6** = *CIL* VI 3608 (cfr. p. 3407) = *CLE* 475 = EDR166808 = EDCS-19700296;<sup>3784</sup> (via Appia, Rome, Italia; third century AD).

*D(is) M(anibus).* |

*Perlege cuncta, precor, cultor, pietate parentis | (vac.) |  
 cum simul et matre, quod nobis inane sepulch[rum] |  
 fecerunt, quanto in munere positum vide(s). |  
 quod, si fata mihi dedissent luce(m) videre, |  
 ista prius ipsis facerem, non ut poscerem vi[tam], |  
 munus inane quidem. terra nunc dividit ist[a] |  
 corpora nostra, nimis graviter parva advers[us] | vota parentum.  
 quod peto, si colitis Mane[s], | cuncti meo nomini semper  
 hac mihi terr[a] | leve optetis. vobis dii Fortuna beata |*

<sup>3783</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* III 3351; *CLE* 556; *RIU* IV 1522; *RHP* 192; *CLEPann* 45; *TitAq* IV 1899; Massaro 2023.19; photographs of this inscription. See *TitAq* IV 1899; EDCS-17800035; HD032164; Lupa 3587 for photos of this inscription.

<sup>3784</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* VI 3608; *CLE* 475.

*et semper honorata{m} pr(a)estent, suo numin[e]| sancto,  
ex qua possitis obiti bene linquere n[atos]. |*

15 *Iul(ius) Valens (centurio) leg(ionis) cum Vital(ia) Servanda | coniug(e) parentes fil(io)  
dulc(issimo) b(ene) m(erenti) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt). |*

To the spirits of the departed.

Read through everything, I pray, worshipper, with the piety of a father  
and at the same time of a mother, since they made my empty  
tomb; you see it has been put up in the guise of a great gift.  
Since, if the Fates had given the light for me to see,  
I would have made this empty gift for them first, not that  
I would demand a life. Now the land separates  
our bodies, more gravely against the insignificant prayers of my father.  
I ask this, if you worship the Manes, may you all, always  
hope that the earth will be light on my name. May the gods provide you,  
with their sacred divine will, with a blessed and always honoured fortune,  
with which you, when you have died, are able to leave your children well.

Julius Valens, centurion of a legion, with his wife Vitalia Servanda, his parents, had this  
made well, deservedly, for their sweetest son.

**LL.7** = *CIL* VI 32808 (cfr. p. 3385) = *CLE* 474 = *CECapitol* 252 = Speidel 1994b.596 =  
*CLENuovo* p. 157 = *Epigraphica* 2009.283 = Cenati 2023.C200 = EDR116404 = EDCS-  
22900184;<sup>3785</sup> (Rome, Italia; third century AD).

*Respice, praeteriens viator consobrini | pietate parata.  
cum lacrimis statui, quan|to in munere posto videtis.*

5 *Pannonia terra | creat, tumulat Italia tellus  
ann(is) XXVI. ut sibi | castris honorem a`d`quireret ipse,  
dolori ma[g]|no sustentavit tempore longo.  
postea, cum | sperans dolorem effugisse nefandam,  
ante | diem meritum hunc demersit at Styga Pluton. |  
quotsi Fata eo sinuissent luce(m) videre, (vac.) |  
ista prius triste munus posui dolori, repletus |  
10 *munus inane quidem. terra nunc dividit ista |  
oss{u}a sub titulo potius. tu opta viator  
cum pie|tate tua ipso terra leve nobis Fortuna beata, |  
ex qua tu possis obitus bene linquere natos. |**

15 *Val(erius) Antoninus et Aur(elius) Victorinus hered(es) | Ulpio Quintiano eq(uiti)  
sing(ulari) ben(e) mer(enti) posuer(unt). |*

Look, passer-by, walking past what the piety of a cousin has prepared.  
I set it up with tears, the gift which you see has been put up here.  
The land of Pannonia created him, the earth of Italy buries him  
when he was 26 years old. So he would acquire for himself the honour of army life,

<sup>3785</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* VI 32808; *CLE* 474; Speidel 1994b.596; Cenati 2023.200; photographs of this inscription. See Speidel 1994b.596; EDCS-22900184; EDR116404; CensusID #161281, <https://database.census.de/#/detail/161281>, last accessed 8/4/2024 for photos of this inscription.

he sustained a great pain for a long time.  
 Afterwards, when he hoped that he had escaped the abominable pain,  
 at last Pluto plunged that man into the Stygian waters before his deserved day.  
 But if the Fates had wound the light for him to see,  
 he, in pain, would have put up this mournful gift first, certainly  
 he would have completed the empty gift. Now the land rather divides his  
 bones under this inscription. You, passer-by, wish  
 with your piety that the earth may be light for this man and Fortune be blessed for us,  
 from which you, when you have died, are able to leave your children well.

Valerius Antoninus and Aurelius Victorinus, heirs to Ulpian Quintianus, *equites singulares*, put this up [for he for whom it was] well deserved.

*The inscriptions labelled **RI** (= Religious Inscription) in this data set have religion as their main theme, and are primarily discussed in Chapter 5.*

**RI.1** = *CIL* X 7257 = *CLE* 1525 = *ILS* 939 = *Epigraphica* 2013: 461-470 = *AE* 2013.636 adn. = Kruschwitz 2022b: 173 = EDR092733 = EDCS-22000842,<sup>3786</sup> (Mount Erice, Sicilia; early first century AD).

**RI.1a** (with lacunae)

[---]us VIIvir E[---] | (vac.) M (vac.) | [--- Vene]ri Erucinae (vac.) [d(onum)] d(edit)  
 (vac.). ||

i.

[--- procon]sule bella (vac.) |  
 [---]ius hostis (vac.) ||

ii.

5 *Felicem gladium* [---] |  
*Aproni effigiem* I[---] | [---] *duxque* |  
*hic idem fuit, hic* I[---] | [---] *e v<i>ctor* |  
*praetextae positae* [---] | [--- *re*] *sumptae* |  
10 *septemvir puer han*[c---] | [--- *r*] *o`q`arat* |  
*Caesar quam dederat* [t ---] | [--- *rel*] *i`q`ui<t>*. ||  
*L(ucio) Apronio* ||

iii.

*Divor*[um ---] |  
*mut*[ua ---] |  
15 *filius Aproni maio*[r ---] |  
*Gaetulas gentes q*[---] |

<sup>3786</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* X 7257; *CLE* 1525; *ILS* 939; *Epigraphica* 2013: 461-470; photographs of this inscription. It is now in fragments; we now only have one fragment, and, on this fragment, the poem appears to have been written in at least two columns. See EDCS-22000842 and Vacanti, Prag, Cummings, Chartrand, Vitale, Metcalfe, & Stoyanova (2022), 'I.Sicily 000537', <http://sicily.classics.ox.ac.uk> for photos of this inscription. See also the commentary on this inscription in Chapter 5 for the reasons for the decisions regarding the translations as presented here.



*effigiem cari genitor[is ---] |*  
*Aeneadum alma paren[s ---] |*  
*armaque quae gessit, scuto C[---] |*  
*quanta patet virtus, ens[is ---] |*  
*caedibus attritus consummatque [---] |*  
*qua cecidit 'f'os(s)u's' barbar[us ---] |*

iv.

*Quo nihil est utrique magis vener[---] |*  
*hoc tibi sacrarunt filius atqu[e ---]: |*  
*Caesaris effigiem posuit pe[---] |*  
*certavit pietas, su[---] ||*

[...] *septemvir* [...] gave this gift to Venus Erucina [...]

[...] by the proconsul [...] wars

[...] the enemy [...]

A lucky sword [...]

an effigy of Apronius [...] and this

same man was a commander [...] a victor

the *toga praetexta* having been laid down [...] receiving back

the boy [...] *septemvir* [...] he asked for

which Caesar gave [...] he leaves.

By Lucius Apronius.

Of the gods [...]

silent [...]

the son of Apronius, greater [...]

the Gaetolian people [...]

the effigy of his dear father [...]

caring mother of the people of Aeneas [...]

and the arms he bore: on his shield [...]

what *virtus* is evident, his sword [...]

worn out from killing and completes [...]

with which the barbarian was killed [...] having been stabbed [...]

For there is no more venerable [...] from both of them

than that which the son and [...] dedicated to you:

[...] put up an effigy of Caesar [...]

their piety was contested [...]

#### **RI.1b** (the expanded version offered in the *CIL*)

*[L(ucius) Apronius L(uci) f(ili) Caesian]us VIIvir[epulonu]m*  
*[--- Vene]ri Erucinae [d(onum)] d(edit).*

I.

*[A patre hic missus Libyae procon]sule bella*  
*[prospera dum pugnāt, cecidit Maurus]ius hostis.*

II.

5 *Felicem gladium [tibi qui patrisque dicavit]  
Aproni effigiem, [natus belli duce] duxque  
hic idem fuit, hic i[usto] certamine vi]ctor  
praetextae positae [causa pariterque re]sumptae  
septemvir puer han[c genitor quam rite r]o[g]arat,  
10 Caesar quam dedera[t, vestem tibi, sancta, rel]i[q]ui[t].*

III.

*Divor[um ---]  
mut[ua ---]  
filius Aproni maio[r quam nomine factis]  
Gaetulas gentes q[uod dedit ipse fugae],  
15 effigiem cari genitor[is, diva, locavit],  
Aeneadum alma paren[s, praemia iusta, tibi]  
armaque quae gessit, scuto [per volnera fracto]  
quanta patet virtus, ens[is ab hoste rubet]  
caedibus attritus, consummatque [hasta tropaeum]  
20 qua cecidit [f]os[s]u[s] barbar[us ora ferus].*

IV.

*Quo nihil est utrique magis vener[abile signum].  
hoc tibi sacrarunt filius atqu[e pater],  
Caesaris effigiem posuit p[ar cura duorum],  
certavit pietas, su[mma in utroque fuit].  
25 [Curante] L. Apronio [L(uci) l. ---]*

Lucius Apronius Caesianus, son of Lucius, *septemvir epulonum*, gave [this] gift to [...] Venus Erucina.

I.

Sent by his father, the proconsul of Libya, while  
he fights in prosperous wars, the Maurisian enemy has been killed.

II.

He who dedicates a lucky sword to you and an effigy  
of Apronius his father, born from a commander in war, and this same man  
was a commander, a victor in just combat,  
for the sake of laying down his *toga praetexta* and at the same time receiving it back,  
the boy *septemvir* leaves that garment to you, sacred goddess,  
which his father rightly asked for and Caesar gave to him.

III.

Of the gods [...] silent [...]  
the son of Apronius, greater in his deeds than in his name,

because he himself put the Gaetolian people to flight,  
 placed the effigy of his dear father, goddess,  
 caring mother of the people of Aeneas, a just bounty, to you  
 and the arms he bore: what *virtus* is evident through the  
 wounds on his broken shield, his sword, worn out from killing,  
 shines red from the enemy, and his spear that killed the wild barbarian,  
 who had been stabbed in the face, completes this trophy.

IV.

For there is no more venerable sign from both of them  
 than that which the son and the father dedicated to you:  
 the equal attention of both [made them] put up an effigy of Caesar.  
 Their piety was contested: it was greatest in both of them.

Looked after by Lucius Apronius, son of Lucius [...]

**RI.1c** (the expanded version offered in *CLE*)

[L(ucius) Apronius L(uci) f(ili) Caesian]us VIIvir [epulonu]m [--- Vene]ri Erucinae  
 [d(onum)] d(edit).

A

[A patre hic missus Libyae procon]sule bella  
 [dum miscet Numidis, prosternitur imp]ius hostis.

B

5      *Felicem gladium [tibi qui sacramque dicavit]  
         Aproni effigiem, [miles bonus, o dea,] duxque  
         hic idem fuit, hic i[usto certamin]e u[i]ctor,  
         praetextae positae [causa pariterque re]sumptae,  
         septemuir puer, han[c, genitor quam rite r]ogarat,  
 10      Caesar quam dederat, vestem tibi, sancta, rel]iquit.*

C

*Divor[um ---]  
         mut[ua ---]  
         filius Aproni maio[r quam nomine factis,  
         Gaetulas gentes q[uod dedit ipse fugae,  
 15      effigiem cari genitor[is, diva, locavit,  
         Aeneadum alma paren[s, praemia iusta tibi,  
         armaque quae gessit, scuto [per volnera fracto  
         quanta patet virtus, ens[is ab hoste rubet  
         caedibus attritus, consummatque [hasta tropaeum,  
 20      qua cecidit fos[s]u[s] barbar[us ora ferox.*

*Quo nihil est utrique magis vener[abile signum,  
         hoc tibi sacrarunt filius atqu[e pater,  
         Caesaris effigiem posuit p[ar cura duorum,  
         certavit pietas, su[mma in utroque fuit.*

*L. Apronio [--- curante? ---]*

Lucius Apronius Caesianus, son of Lucius, *septemvir epulonum* gave this gift to [...] Venus Erucina.

Sent to Libya by his father, the proconsul, while  
Numidia was thrown into confusion, he was destroyed as an impious enemy.

He who dedicates a lucky sword to you, goddess, and a sacred  
effigy of Apronius, this man was good soldier and a commander  
and this same man was a victor in just combat  
for the sake of laying down his *toga praetexta* and at the same time receiving it back,  
the boy *septemvir* leaves that garment to you, sacred goddess,  
which his father rightly asked for, and Caesar gave to him.

Of the gods [...]

silent [...]

the son of Apronius, more for his deeds than his name,  
because he himself put to flight the Gaetulian people,  
placed the effigy of his dear father, goddess,  
caring mother of the people of Aeneas, a just bounty, to you  
and the arms he bore: what *virtus* is evident in the  
wounds on his broken shield, his sword, worn out from killing,  
shines red from the enemy, and his spear that killed the ferocious barbarian,  
having been stabbed in the face, completes this trophy.

For there is no more venerable sign from both of them  
than that which the son and the father dedicated to you:  
the equal attention of both [made them] put up an effigy of Caesar.  
Their piety was contested: it was greatest in both of them.

Lucius Apronius [looked after this ...].

**RI.2** = *CIL* VIII 2581 (cfr. p. 954) = *CIL* III p. 285 = *CLE* 1527 = *ILS* 4881 = *Hygiae* p. 132 = *PCV* 19 = *AE* 2011.1769 = *AE* 2013.2147 adn. = *AE* 2014.1568 = *AntAfr* 2014.73 = *AE* 2016.1964 adn. = *AE* 2017.11 adn. = EDCS-20600032;<sup>3787</sup> (Lambaesis, Numidia; late second century AD).

*Moenia qui Risinni Aeacia qui colis arcem |*  
*Delmatiae, nostri publice Lar populi, |*  
*sancte Medaure domi, e<t> sancte hic `i`am. templa quoq(ue) ista |*  
*vise, precor. parva magnus in effigia |*  
5 *successus, laeva sonipes `c`ui surgit in auras, |*  
*altera dum `tel`um librat ab aure manus. |*  
*talem te consul iam designatus, in ista |*  
*sede locat, venerans ille tuus [---] |*  
*notus Gradivo belli vetus ac tibi Caesar |*  
10 *Marce, in primore rarus ubique acie. |*

<sup>3787</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* VIII 2581; *CIL* III p. 285; *CLE* 1527; *ILS* 4881; *PCV* 19; *AE* 2011.1769; *AntAfr* 2014.73.

*Adepto consulatu [---] |  
tibi, respirantem faciem patrii numinis, |  
hastam, eminus quae iaculat refreno ex equo, |  
tuus Medaure dedicat Medaurius. |*

You who live in the Aeacian walls of Risinnus, you who live on the summit of Dalmatia, the common Lar of our people,  
Medaurus, sacred at home, and now sacred here. Watch over this temple also, I pray. It is a great likeness, in a small statue, whose steed surges into the sky under his left hand, while the other hand hurls a spear from his ear.  
Now that the *consul designatus*, venerating you, places you, so great, in that seat, your [...]  
Formerly known to Mars of war, and you, Marcus Caesar, he, an exceptional soldier, always and everywhere in the front battle line.

Having acquired the consulship [...]  
To you, Medaurus, your Medaurian, the breathing likeness of the god of my homeland, dedicates the spear which he threw from a distance from a restrained horse.

**RI.3** = *CIL* XIII 8007 = *CLE* 20 = *ILS* 1195 = Lehner 1918.149 = *AE* 1999.95 adn. = EDCS-11100232,<sup>3788</sup> (Bonna/Bonn, Germania Inferior; early third century AD).

*I(uppiter) O(ptimus) M(aximus). |*

*Divum sodalis consul [ex] | verno die.  
et post Sicano[s] | postque Picentis v[iro]s |  
ac mox Hiberos Ce[lt]as | Venetos Delmatas,  
++ [---] +|na<sup>3789</sup> regna post feros Iapu|das  
Germaniarum con|sularis Maximus,  
paren[s] | adultae prolis gemina[e] | liberum,  
aram dicavit | [S]ospiti Concordi{ae} |  
[G]ranno Camenis Mar|tis et Pacis Lari  
qui[n] | [e]t deorum stirpe | genito Caesari.*

*[---] Fulvius G(aii) f(ilius) | Maximus leg(atus) | [A]ug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore).*

To Jupiter Optimus Maximus.

Companion of the gods, consul from a spring day.  
After he was among the Sicani, and afterwards the men of Picenum,  
and then soon amongst the Iberians, Celts, the Venetians, the Dalmatians,  
then in the kingdom of the Liburnians, after the fierce Iapydes,  
Maximus, provincial governor of Germany,  
as the father of twin adult offspring, his children,  
dedicated this altar to Favourable Concordia,

<sup>3788</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* XIII 8007; *CLE* 20; *ILS* 1195; Lehner 1918.149; photographs of this inscription. See EDCS-11100232 for photos of this inscription.

<sup>3789</sup> Often thought to read *Liburna*, which is how it is understood here.

Grannus, the Camenae, the Lares of Mars and of Peace,  
and indeed to the lineage of gods born from the family of Caesar.

[Gaius] Fulvius Maximus, son of Gaius, *legatus Augusti pro praetore* [had this made].

**RI.4** = *CIL* VIII 17586 = *CLE* 874 = *ILAlg* I 3840 = Hamdoune 2016: 214 = *AE* 2016.1847 adn. = EDCS-13003258;<sup>3790</sup> (Bir Umm Ali/Bir Oum Ali, Numidia; AD 160s).

[Ha]nc [t]ibi | quam vo|vi, posui, | bone Iup|p[i]ter aram. |  
praef(ectus) coh(ortis) | nomine | Galloni|us.

This altar I vowed to you, good Jupiter, I put up.  
I, the prefect of the cohort, am called Gallonius.

**RI.5** = *CIL* V 6506 = *CLE* 262 = *ILS* 3205 = *MLNovara* p. 191 = *EaNovara* 19 = *SupIt* 31 p. 107 = EDR109084 = EDCS-05101671;<sup>3791</sup> (Novaria/Novara, Transpadana/Regio XI, Italia; first century AD).

Optatus Cassius | optionis f(ilius). |  
susceptum merito | votum tibi | [M]ercuri solvi, |  
ut facias hilares, | semper tua | templa colamus.

Optatus Cassius, son of an *optio*.<sup>3792</sup>  
I fulfilled my vow, undertaken deservedly, to you, Mercury,  
so that you will do this, and we will be always cheerful as we adorn your temples.

**RI.6** = *RIB* I 659 = *ZPE* 204 (2017) p. 24 = *AE* 2017.896 adn. = EDCS-07800942;<sup>3793</sup>  
(Eboracum/York, Britannia; mid first-early second century AD).

D[eo sancto] | Silva[no s(acrum)]. | L(ucius) Celerin<i?>us | Vitalis corni(cularius) |  
leg(ionis) VIII His(panae) | v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito).

et donum hoc donum |  
adpertiniat, cautum attiggam.

Sacred to the holy god Silvanus. Lucius Celerinius Vitalis, *cornicularius* of the *Legio VIII Hispania*, fulfilled his vow happily, willingly, deservedly.

And this gift, may the gift  
apply: I shall touch it with care.

**RI.7** = *CIL* VII 271 = *CLE* 25 = *ILS* 3929 = *RIB* I 725 = *CBI* 7 = *AE* 2005.23 adn. = *CLEBrit* I p. 145 = *CLEBrit* II 8 = *AE* 2014.781 adn. = *BritRom* 10.32 = EDCS-07801016;<sup>3794</sup>  
(Cataractonium/Catterick, Britannia; second century AD).

<sup>3790</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* VIII 17586; *CLE* 874; *ILAlg* I 3840; 2016: 214.

<sup>3791</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* V 6506; *CLE* 262; *ILS* 3205; *EaNovara* 19; *SupIt* 31 p. 107; photograph of this inscription. See *EaNovara* 19; EDCS-05101671; EDR109084 for the photo of this inscription.

<sup>3792</sup> Alternatively translated as ‘son of Optio’, which is often how this has been interpreted. See the discussion on this inscription in Chapter 5.

<sup>3793</sup> This edition has been created using *RIB* I 659; *ZPE* 204 (2017) p. 24; photograph and drawing of this inscription. See *ZPE* 204 (2017) p. 25; EDCS-07800942 for the drawing and photo of this inscription. For the drawing of this inscription, see *RIB* I 659.

<sup>3794</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* VII 271; *CLE* 25; *ILS* 3929; *RIB* I 725; Kruschwitz 2015b: 38; *CLEBrit* I p. 145; *CLEBrit* II 8; *BritRom* 10.32.

*Deo qui vias | et semitas com|mentus est.*

*T(itus) Ir|das s(ingularis) c(onsularis) f(ecit) v(otum) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito). |*

*Q(uintus) Varius Vita|lis ᵀᵇ(ene)ᵀᶠ(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) aram | sacram resti|tuit |  
Aproniano et Bra|dua co(n)s(ulibus).*

To the god who devised the roads and paths.

Titus Irdas, *singularis consularis*, made this vow happily, willingly, deservedly.

Quintus Varius Vitalis, *beneficiarius consularis*, restored this sacred altar in the consulship of Apronianus and Bradua.

**RI.8** = AE 1928.37 = Zarker 1958.25 = PCV 10 = *CLEAfr* II 101 = AE 2014.1555 adn. = AE 2015.54 adn. = EDCS-16200712;<sup>3795</sup> (Aquaе Flavinae/El-Hamma, Numidia; beginning of the second century AD).

*[O]ptavi Dacos tenere caesos, (vac.) tenui. |  
[opt]avi in sella pacis residere, (vac.) sedi. |  
[o]ptavi claros sequi triumphos, (vac.) factum. |  
optavi primi commoda plena pili, (vac.) hab[ui]. |  
optavi nudas videre Nymphas, (vac.) vidi. |*

I hoped that I would hold the Dacian slain: I held them.

I hoped that I would sit in a seat of peace:<sup>3796</sup> I sat in it.

I hoped that I would follow famous triumphs: I followed them.

I hoped that I would have the rich salary of a *primus pilus*: I had it.

I hoped that I would see the naked Nymphs: I saw them.

**RI.9** = *CIL* VII 998 = *CLE* 263 = *RIB* I 1228 = *CLEBrit* II 10 = AE 2014.781 adn. = *BritRom* 9.15 = EDCS-07900031;<sup>3797</sup> (Habitancum/Risingham, Britannia; second-third centuries AD).

*Somnio prae|monitus, | miles hanc | ponere ius|sit (vac.) |  
aram quae | Fabio nup|ta est Nym|phis vene|randis.*

Having been forewarned in a dream, a soldier ordered she who is married to Fabius to put up this altar to the venerable Nymphs.

**RI.10** = *CIL* VIII 2632 (cfr. p. 954, 1739) = *CLE* 1519 = *ILS* 3374 = Courtney 1995.136 = *CLENuovo* p. 130, 173 = PCV 20 = *GeA* 516 = AE 2016.1832 adn. = AE 2016.1952 adn. = EDCS-20600083;<sup>3798</sup> (Lambaesis, Numidia; third century AD).

*Alfeno Fortunato. |  
visus dicere somno, |  
L{e}iber Pater bima|ᵀᵇᵀᵘs,*

<sup>3795</sup> This edition has been created using AE 1928.37; Zarker 1958.25; PCV 10; *CLEAfr* II 101. See also the commentary on this inscription in Chapter 5 for reasons behind the translation given here.

<sup>3796</sup> i.e. a public post, such as a magistracy, presumably after his retirement as a soldier.

<sup>3797</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* VII 998; *CLE* 263; *RIB* I 1228; *CLEBrit* II 10; *BritRom* 9.15; drawings and the photograph of this inscription. See *BritRom* 9.15; EDCS-07900031 the photo of this inscription. See *RIB* I 1228 for the drawings.

<sup>3798</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* VIII 2632; *CLE* 1519; *ILS* 3374; Courtney 1995.136; PCV 20; *GeA* 516; squeezes of this inscription. For photos of the squeeze of this inscription, see EDCS-20600083; the *CIL* website. This is laid out following the pattern identified in its stress accent

5 *Iovis e fulmin[e] | natus,  
basis hanc no|vationem  
genio | domus sacrandam. |  
votum deo dicavi  
prae(fectus) | ipse castris.  
ades ergo | cum Panisco,  
10 memor | hoc munere nostro |  
natis sospite matre. |  
facias videre Romam |  
dominis munere hono|re  
mactum corona|(vac.)tumque (vac.).*

To Alfenus Fortunatus.  
Twice-mothered Liber Pater,  
born from Jupiter's lightning bolt,  
seemed to tell me in a dream  
that the renovation of the pedestal to the genius of my home  
must be consecrated.  
I, the prefect of the camp himself,  
dedicated this vow to the god.  
Therefore, may you be here, with little Pan,  
mindful of my gift to keep my sons,  
along with their mother, safe.  
May you make Rome see me  
glorified and crowned,  
with a gift and honour from the lords.

**RI.11** = *CIL* III 37 = *CIG* 4720 = *ILS* 8759d = *Memnon* 13 = Rosenmeyer 2018.13 = EDCS-21200096;<sup>3799</sup> (Thebes/Luxor, Aegyptus; AD 92).

(vac.) *Imp(eratore) Domitiano* (vac.) | (vac.) *Caesare Aug(usto) Germanico* (vac.) *XVI*  
*c[o(n)s(ule)]*, | *T(itus) Petronius Secundus* (vac.) *pr(aefectus) Aeg(ypti)* (vac.) | *audit*  
*Memnonem hora I pr(idie) Idus Mart(ias)* | *et honoravit eum versibus Graecis* (vac.) |  
(vac.) *infra scriptis*, (vac.) |

5 Φθέγξας, Λατοῖδα σὸν γὰρ μέρος ὧδε χάθηται |  
Μέμνων, ἀχτεῖσιν βαλλόμενος πυρίναις. (vac.) |

*curante T(ito) Attio Musa prae[f(ecto)] coh(ortis) II* | (vac.) *Thebaeor(um)* (vac.).

In the 16<sup>th</sup> consulship of Emperor Domitian Caesar Augustus Germanicus, Titus Petronius Secundus, prefect of Egypt, heard Memnon at the first hour on the day before the fifteenth of March and honoured him with the Greek verses written below:

You spoke, for, in this way, a part of you is seated here, Memnon,  
when struck by the fiery rays of Leto's son Apollo.

Looked after by Titus Attius Musa, prefect of the second Theban cohort.

<sup>3799</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* III 37; *ILS* 8759d; *Memnon* 13; Rosenmeyer 2018.13.



**RI.12** = *CIL* III 55 = *CLE* 272 = *Memnon* 14 = Courtney 1995.76 = *CLENuovo* p. 101 = *CLEOr* 39 = Rosenmeyer 2018.14 = EDCS-21200115;<sup>3800</sup> (Thebes/Luxor, Aegyptus; AD 117-166).

*Memnonis* [--- *vocem*] | *clarumque sonor[em]* |  
*exanimi inanimem mi[ssum]* | *de tegmine bruto* |  
*auribus ipse meis cepi*, | *sumsique canorum*, |  
*praefectus Gallorum al(a)e* | *praefectus item Ber(enices)*. |

5 *Caesellius Quinti f[il(ius) ---]* | *A(ulus?) Bararo* (vac.).

I experienced the [... voice] of Memnon myself and the clear  
animated sound, sent from an immovable, inanimate covering,  
with my ears, and I absorbed the song,  
the prefect of the *ala Gallorum*, likewise the prefect of Berenice.

Caesellius A[ulus] Bararo [?], son of Quintus [...]

**RI.13** = *CIL* II 2660 (cfr. p. 708, 912, 1040) = *CLE* 1526 = *ILS* 3259-60 = *IRPLeon* 17 = Courtney 1995.141 = Solana Sainz & Hernández Guerra 2000.148 = *ERPLeon* 32 = *HEp* 2002.317 = *AE* 2002.781 adn. = *CLENuovo* p. 131 = EDCS-34900794; **RI.13d** = *CIL* II 2660e = *CLE* 1526d = *IRPLeon* 18 = Crespo Ortiz de Zárate & Alonso Ávila 1999.125 = Crespo Ortiz de Zárate & Alonso Ávila 1999.128 = *Actes* 11.2 p. 193 = Solana Sainz & Hernández Guerra 2000.149 = *ERPLeon* 33 = *HEp* 2002.317 = *AE* 2002.781 adn. = *AE* 2005.161 adn. = *AE* 2009.598 adn. = EDCS-05502038;<sup>3801</sup> (Legio/Leon, Hispania Tarraconensis; AD 162-166).

### **RI.13a**

(in fronte)

*Dianae* | *sacrum* | *Q(uintus) Tullius* | *Maximus* | *leg(atus) Aug(usti)* | *leg(ionis) VII*  
*Gem(inae)* | *Felicitis*.

### **RI.13b**

(in tergo)

*Aequora conclusit campi* | *divisque dicavit* |  
*et templum statuit tibi* | *Delia virgo triformis* |  
*Tullius e Libya rector* | *legionis Hiberæ* |  
*ut quiret volucribus capreas*, | *ut figere cervos*, |  
5 *saetigeros ut apros*, ut | *equorum silvicolentum* |  
*progeniem*, ut *cursu certare*, | *ut disice ferri*, |  
*et pedes arma gerens* (vac.) | *equo iaculator Hiberno*. |

### **RI.13c**

(in dextro latere)

<sup>3800</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* III 55; *CLE* 272; *Memnon* 14; Courtney 1995.76; *CLENuovo* p. 101; *CLEOr* 39; Rosenmeyer 2018.14.

<sup>3801</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* II 2660; *CLE* 1526; *ILS* 3259-60; Courtney 1995.141; *HEp* 2002.317; *CLENuovo* p. 131; photographs of these inscriptions. See EDCS-34900794. EDCS-05502038; *Hispania Epigraphica Online* 8474; Del Hoyo 2023 on *CLEO* LE1-2023d for photos of these inscriptions; *CIL* website for squeezes and a photo. See also the discussion on this inscription in Chapter 5 for reasons behind the translations presented here.

*Dentes aprorum | quos cecidit |  
Maximus | dicat Dianae, |  
pulchrum vir|utis decus. |*

**RI.13d**

(in sinistro latere)

*Cervom altifron|tum cornua |  
dicat Dianae | Tullius, |  
quos vicit in pa|rami aequore |  
vectus feroci | sonipede.*

**RI.13e**

(in tabella marmorea)

*Donat hac pelli D[iana] | Tullius te Maxim[us] |  
rektor Aeneadum [---], | legio quis est se[ptima], |  
ipse quam detrax[it equo], | laude opima p[raeditus].*

**RI.13a**

(On the front)

Sacred to Diana, Quintus Tullius Maximus, *legatus Augusti* of the *Legio VII Gemina Felix*.

**RI.13b**

(On the back)

He enclosed the level plains and he dedicated them to the gods  
and he set up a temple to you, triple-formed Delian virgin,  
Tullius from Libya, governor of the Spanish legion,  
so that he could find swift roe deer; pierce the hide of stags,  
bristly boars, the forest-born offspring  
of horses; contend in races, with my cleaving weapon of iron;  
and carrying arms on foot, throwing a javelin from my Spanish horse.

**RI.13c**

(On the right side)

Maximus dedicates to Diana  
these boars', which he killed, tusks,  
a fine honour of his *virtus*.

**RI.13d**

(On the left side)

Tullius dedicates to Diana  
the antlers from a high-foreheaded stag,

which he overcame on the level barren plateau,  
having ridden there on his spirited steed.

**RI.13e**

(On a marble tablet)

Tullius Maximus gave this pelt to you, Diana.  
He himself the governor of Aeneas' [men?], to whom the seventh legion belongs,  
skinned [the horse], having been bestowed with a rich fame.

**RI.14** = AE 1995.1641 = *LibAnt* 1995.82 = Adams 1999: 111-112 = *Actes* 11.2 p. 367 =  
Saastamoinen 2010 480 = *CLEAfr* I 18 = *CLEAfr* II 5 = AE 2014.1476 adn. = AE 2016.1835  
adn. = *IRT* 1091 = EDCS-03300884;<sup>3802</sup> (Gholaia/Bu Njem, Numidia; AD 222).

*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) Aurelio [[Antonino Pio Felici Aug(usto) sacerdoti]] |*  
*amplissimo pontifici maximo trib(unicia) pot(estate) V co(n)s(uli) I[[III]] p(atri)*  
*p(atriae) et | [[M(arco) Aurelio Alexandr]]o nobilissimo Caes(ari) d(omini) n(ostris)*  
*[[Antoninio]] Aug(usto) [[fil(io)]] Aug(usti). |*

5 *Flavius Sossianus v(ir) e(gregius) vice praesidis Numidiae per vexillationem | leg(ionis)*  
*III Aug(ustae) P(iae) V(indicis) [[Antoniniana]] devotissimi numini [[---]]. |*

(column I)

*Portam vetustate conlapsam lapidi quadrato arco curvato restituit. |*

*Omnes praeteriti cuius labore vitabant |*

*Rigido vigore iuvenum Tertia Augustani fecerunt. |*

*Creto consilio, hortante Parato magistro, |*

5 *Iuncta virtus militum paucorum velocitas ingens. |*

*Usui compendio lapides de longe adtractos chamulco |*

*Sub arcata, militum virtus funib(us) cannabinis strictis. |*

*Iam nunc contendunt fieri cito milites omnes, |*

*Arta virtute sua opera aeternale fecerunt. |*

10 *Subsequentes stipendiis antecessorum (h)onestia bona sumebant. |*

*Urgente tempore hiemis, necumqua(m) cessaverunt. |*

*Celerius excelsae turres quater divisae, cum voce militum a terra venerunt. |*

*Torrens virtus [[leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) P(iae) V(indicis)]]<sup>3803</sup> |*

*Haec ut fierent, milites omnes sibi zelum tradebant, |*

(column II)

15 *Animadvertentes quod priores sibi vestigia fecissent, |*

*Nunc et ipsi titulis suis virtutis devotionis ornaverunt, |*

*Contententes si amplius esset athuc opera fecissent. |*

*Ex numero militum quidam amplius voluntatem suam dederit. |*

*Necumquam operam suam erupi exhibuerunt, |*

20 *Tantus fuit eius zelus magna, vir[---] |*

<sup>3802</sup> This edition has been created using AE 1995.1641; Adams 1999: 111; *CLEAfr* I 18; *IRT* 1091; photographs of this inscription. See EDCS-03300884 for photos of this inscription. The quality of the photos is not clear enough to use sufficiently for the second column.

<sup>3803</sup> These letters appear to have been re-carved into the inscription.

*Laetis temporibus, honoribu[s ---]. |*  
*Effecta opera gaudet aeterna militum virtus. |*  
*Gemma, ut auro cluditur, sic castram porta decorat. |*  
*Florida Tertia Augusta legio cum magna virtute, |*  
*Curavit faciendum devotionis suae honorem |*  
*Muneri, quoque dictatores strenue cesserunt, |*  
*Animosos duo contemnentes, residuum turpis oppresserat. |*  
*Capita versorum relegens, adnosce curantem. |*

For Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antonius Pius Felix Augustus, *sacerdos amplissimus, pontifex maximus*, with the *tribunicia potestas* for the fifth time, consul for the fourth time, *pater patriae*, and Marcus Aurelius Alexander, most noble Caesar, son of our lord Antoninus Augustus, Augustus [himself].

Flavius Sossianus, *vir egregius, vice praeses* of Numidia through the vexillation of the *Legio III Augusta Pia Vindex Antoniniana* to the most devoted divine will [...].

(column I)

He restored the gate, which had collapsed from old age, with a square stone in a curved arch.

All our predecessors avoided this work  
 until the Third Augusta carved it out with the strict vigour of a young man.  
 When the plan had been decided, encouraged by *magister* Paratus,  
 the great *virtus* of the military was joined with the swiftness of the few.  
 The stones, for brevity, had been dragged with a long *chamulus* for use  
 under the arches; the *virtus* of the military [is seen] in tightly drawn ropes.  
 Now already all the soldiers quickly compete to make it,  
 they make their works exist for eternity with their skill in *virtus*.  
 They, following, undertook, with good honesty, the pay of their predecessors.  
 When the time of winter was pressing upon them, they never gave up.  
 The lofty towers were divided into four: they rose more quickly from the ground with  
 the voice of the military.  
 Such rapid *virtus* of the *Legio III Augusta Pia Vindex*!  
 So that they would do this, all the soldiers gave themselves zeal,

(column II)

noticing that their forebears had made vestiges for themselves,  
 and now they themselves decorated it with an inscription devoted to their *virtus*,  
 asserting that they could have made this work even if there was still more.  
 From the *numerus* of the military a certain soldier, furthermore, gave his will.  
 Never did they allow their work to be taken away from them,  
 so great was their zeal, *vir*[...]  
 in happy times, with honours [...]  
 the eternal *virtus* of the soldiers rejoices in the completed work.  
 A jewel, enclosed in gold, decorates the gates of the camp in this way.  
 The Third Legion Augusta, decorated with such great *virtus*,  
 saw to it that it had the honour of its devotion  
 to the duty, also, the ones leading the project strenuously withdrew,

what remained two undaunted, disdaining men concealed as unsightly.

Rereading the start of the verse again, know who oversaw this.

**RI.15** = *CIL* VI 1208 (cfr. pp. 3778, 4336) = *CLE* 881 = *AE* 1952.160 = *AE* 1982.45 = *CLE*Nuovo p. 112 = EDR078375 = EDCS-17700497;<sup>3804</sup> (Rome, Italia; AD 150-160).

*Germanos Maurosque domas sub Marte Britan<n>os.*<sup>3805</sup> |  
*Antonine tua diceris arte Pius.*

You subdued the Germans and the Moors under Mars, and the Brittons:  
Antoninus, you were called Pius due to your skill.

**RI.16** = *CLE* 1960 = *ILS* 9142 = *AE* 1911.121 = *AE* 1911.124 adn. = *Koptos* 19 = *IDRE* II 420 = *AE* 1996.1647 = *CLE*Or 44 = EDCS-11700082;<sup>3806</sup> (Krokodilo/Al-Muwayh, Aegyptus; AD 98-117).

*Dida Damanai filius nationis Da<sup>c</sup>us, |*  
*eques alae Vocontiorum turma Maturi. |*  
*armatum feci stationi me(n)ses quinque. |*  
*pro salute{m} imperator<sup>i</sup>s<sup>i</sup> feliciter.*

Dida, son of Damanaus, of Dacian nationality,  
eques of the *ala Vocontiorum*, in the *turma* of Maturus.  
I served in the station under arms for five months.  
For the health of the emperor, successfully.

**RI.17** = *CLE* 1861 = *ILS* 8908 = *BSAA* 1902.91 = *AE* 1902.162 = *AE* 1905.131 = *AE* 1906.26 adn. = *AE* 1906.133 adn. = *IGRR* I 1207 = *IGL*Alexa 66 = Preisigke 1915: 307 nr. 4282 = *PanDeser* 87 = Bülow-Jacobsen, Cuvigny, Fornet, Gabolde, & Robin 1995: 104 = Courtney 1995.27 = *CLE*Or 40 = *AE* 2018.1826 = EDCS-12500245;<sup>3807</sup> (Thebes/Luxor, Aegyptus; AD 117-138).

*Pro salute imp(eratoris) Caesaris | Traiani Hadriani Aug(usti) | domini n(ostri).*

*Voto Serenus | aram inst[r]u[x]it Iovi.*  
*biduo | secutus Agriophagos nequ|issimos,*  
*quorum fere pars mai|or in pugna perit,*  
*neque vulnera|to nec relicto m[i]lite,*  
*praedam|que totam cum camelis apstulit.*

5

ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος | Τραιανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου |  
Σουλπίκιος υἱὸς Γναίου Κουρίνα | Σερηνὸς Ἀγριοφάγους δει[νοτά]το]υς ++++ANΣ+[-  
--]Σ+[-].

<sup>3804</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* VI 1208; *CIL* VI p. 3778; *CLE* 881; *AE* 1952.160; *AE* 1982.45; *CLE*Nuovo 112.

<sup>3805</sup> Various interpretations of this word have been offered, primarily *guitanos*. See, for example, *CIL* VI 1208, p. 3778; *AE* 1982.45; *CLE*Nuovo and the discussion on this inscription above for why *Britannos* has been understood here.

<sup>3806</sup> This edition has been created using *CLE* 1960; *ILS* 9142; *AE* 1911.121; *Koptos* 19; Bülow-Jacobsen et al. 1995: 104; *AE* 1996.1647; *CLE*Or 44; facsimiles and photographs of this inscription. For facsimiles and photos of this inscription, see Bülow-Jacobsen et al. 1995: 118-119, figs. 2-4.

<sup>3807</sup> This edition has been created using *CLE* 1861; *ILS* 8908; *BSAA* 1902.91; *AE* 1902.162; *AE* 1905.131; *AE* 1906.26; *IGRR* I 1207; *PanDeser* 87; Courtney 1995.27; *CLE*Or 40; *AE* 2018.1826; the photograph of this inscription. See EDCS-12500245 for the photo of this inscription. However, due to the quality of the photo, the published editions have been relied on more here.

For the health of the emperor Caesar Trajanus Hadrian Augustus, our lord.

Serenus ordered this altar [to be erected] in a vow to Jupiter.  
Having followed the vilest Agriophagi for two days,  
nearly all of them died in battle,  
with neither a soldier wounded nor abandoned,  
and he took away all their booty with their camels.

For the health of the emperor Caesar Trajanus Hadrian Augustus our master, Sulpicius Serenus, son of Gnaeus, of the Quirinian tribe, [...] the terrible Agriophagi [...].

**RI.18** = AE 1972.526 = *ILBulg* 272 = *ILNovae* 13 = *IGLNovae* 25 = *CLEMoes* 36 = *PLINovae* p. 117 = Lungarova 2012.309 = *GeA* 455 = Kolendo & Božilova 2015 = *SEGnes* 2017.57 = AE 2017.11 adn. = AE 2017.1221 = EDCS-13301371;<sup>3808</sup> (Novae/Swischtow, Moesia Inferior; AD 227).

(in fronte)

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | Depulsori (vac.) | [pr]o salute d(omini) n(ostri) | [[M(arci) Aurel(ii) Severi Ale|xandri]] Pii Felicis | Aug(usti). | G(aius) Baienius | G(ai) fil(ius) Clau|dia [I]anuarius Cele|ia p(rimus) [p(ilus)] leg(ionis) I Ital(icae) Seve|rianae ex voto posu|(vac.)it(vac.).*

(in dextro latere)

5 *Dedic(atum) III Non(as) Oct(obres) | Albino et Maximo c[o(n)s(ulibus)] | per L(ucium) Mantennium Sa|binum leg(atum) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) | et Servaeum Corne|lianum leg(atum) leg(ionis) (vac.). |*

(in sinistro latere)

10 *[A]diutrix legio prim[a] tirone | probat[o], |  
[--- c]aliga<sup>3809</sup> prima, cu[m] compare | cent[urio]ne, |  
[--- dele]cto, Baienium | [-----] |  
[---]AC[---]UMA felice | [---]pot[---]M |  
[---]DOM[--- R]omam misist[i] | [---] + [---] |  
[---]SA Iovi [--- prim]us pilus tibi | san[cto] |  
[ex v]oto posuit PO[--- Ia]nuarius | a[ram?]. |*

(on the front)

To Jupiter Optimus Maximus Depulsor, for the health of our lord, Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus. Gaius Baienius Ianuarius, son of Gaius, of the Claudian tribe, from Celeia, *primus pilus* of the *Legio I Italica Severiana*, put this up in fulfilment of his vow.

(on the right)

<sup>3808</sup> This edition has been created using AE 1972.526; *ILBulg* 272; *ILNovae* 13; *IGLNovae* 25; *CLEMoes* 36; *PLINovae* p. 117; *GeA* 455; Kolendo & Božilova 2015; AE 2017.1221; photographs of this inscription (now in fragments). For photos of this inscription, see Kolendo & Božilova 2015; *ILNovae* 13.

<sup>3809</sup> Debated between *[c]aliga* and *[It]alica*.

Dedicated on 5<sup>th</sup> October, in the consulship of Albinus and Maximus, by Lucius Mantennius Sabinus, *legatus Augusti pro praetore*, and Servaeus Cornelianus, *legatus legionis*.

(on the left)

Recommended to the First Legion *Adiutrix* as a *tiro*,  
when he first [conducted his life] in military boots, when he was equal to a centurion,  
[...] when he had been chosen, Baienius [...] and[?] [...] with luck [...] [...] you sent me to Rome, [...] [...] Ianuarius, *primus pilus*, put up this altar[?]  
In accordance with a sacred vow, for you, Jupiter.

*The inscriptions labelled AI (= Astronomical Inscription) in this data set have astronomy as their main theme, and are primarily discussed in Chapter 6.*

**AI.1** = CIL X 8131 = CLE 428 = CESTabia 4 = Stabiae 12 = AE 2001.786 adn. = EDR122237 = EDCS-23400078;<sup>3810</sup> (Stabiae/Castellammare di Stabia, Latium et Campania/Regio I, Italia; post AD 71).

5 “A, male Parcarum dura de lege sororum, |  
raptus, in his iaceo telluris sedibus atrae. |  
bis septem minus ante dies quam quinque per orbes |  
solis eoigenae complerem parvolus annos.” |  
10 nomine Longinius praenomine Gaius olim |  
cui Proculus cognomen erat. nunc umbra nec umbra |  
subter humum positus. “mortis tegor ecce sepulchro |  
nec minus et contra genetricis fratre creatus.” |  
quattuor hic annis ex{s} quadraginta diebus |  
10 maior in aeternam mersit sua lumina noctem. |  
“hic meus ut frater Stabiano litore mecum |  
conditur in tenebris, Acheronti labitur undis.” |  
nunc tibi ne grave sit felix quicumque viator |  
dicere, si sapiunt aliquid post funera Manes, |  
15 “Antoni et Proculi molliter ossa cubent.” |  
G(aius) Longinius Priscus pater | trierarc(hus) cl(assis) pr(aetoriae) Mis(enensis) et |  
Licinia Procilla mater | filio dulcissimo. |

“Ah! I have been wickedly seized by the harsh law of those sisters,  
the Fates: in these abodes of the coal black earth I lie.  
I, a small boy, completed twice seven years, minus five days  
before, during the rotations of the eastern rising sun.”  
He had the *nomen* Longinius, once the *praenomen* Gaius,  
his *cognomen* was Proculus; now a shade, but he, not as a shade,

<sup>3810</sup> This edition has been created using CIL X 8131; CLE 428; photographs of this inscription. See EDCS-23400078; CIL website; EDR122237 for photos of this inscription.

has been placed under the earth. “Look, I am buried in a tomb of death also, opposite, the son of his mother’s brother.”

This one lived for four years and forty days

older, he plunged the light of his life into the eternal night.

“This one, as my brother, is buried with me in death

on the Stabian shore, he sinks into the waves of Acheron.”

Now lest this is painful for you, fortunate passer-by, whoever you are, say, if the Manes understand anything after death:

“may the bones of Antonus and Proculus lie gently.”

Gaius Longinius Priscus, father, trierarch of the praetorian fleet at Misenum, and Licina Procilla, mother, for their sweetest son.

**AI.2** = *CIL* IX 4756 (cfr. p. 685) = XI 4188 (cfr. p. 1366) = XI \*98b2 = *CLE* 409 (cfr. p. 855) = Courtney 1995.172 = *CLERegio* IV 82 = *Epigraphica* 1999.209 = *AE* 1999.577 = *SupplIt* 19 2002: 57 = EDR130570 = EDCS-14805824;<sup>3811</sup> (Interamna Nahars/Stroncone, Umbria/Regio VI, Italia; late first century AD?).

*L(ucius) Licinius Priscus et Fabia Euplia | L(ucio) Licinio Severo filio pientissimo |*  
*(vac.) parentes. (vac.) |*

*De genitore mihi domus Umbria de genetrice |*

*Ostia, Tybris ibi vitreus Nar hic fluit albus. |*

5 *ille ego qui vixi bis deno circi n̄ e solis. |*

*flore genas tenero vernans et robore pollens, |*

*miles eram. sum deinde cinis de milite factus. |*

*nec solum hoc quia me rapuit Fatum male fecit, |*

*quod pater et mater plangunt, hoc plus male fecit. |*

10 *actu(m)st, excessi. Spes et Fortuna valete. |*

*nil iam plus in me vobis per s(a)ecla licebit. |*

*quod fuerat vestrum, amisi, quod erat meum, hic est. |*

Lucius Licinius Priscus and Fabia Euplia, parents, for their most pious son, Lucius Licinius Severus.

From my father home, for me, was Umbria, from my mother

Ostia; there is glassy Tiber, here flows the white Nar.

I, I am that man who lived for twenty rotations of the sun;

blooming with the tender down of youth on my cheeks and strong in my vigour,

I was a soldier. Then I, from a soldier, have been made into ashes.

Not only was Fate wrong because it seized me,

but because my father and mother lamented loudly, that made it even worse.

It has passed, I have died. Hope and Fortune, farewell!

Now you will not be allowed to do any more to me through the ages.

What was yours, I have lost; what was mine, is here.

**AI.3** = *AE* 1929.7 = Zarker 1958.21 = *AE* 1987.993 adn. = *AE* 1995.1641 adn. = Adams 1999: 110-111 = *AE* 1999.1760 = *AfrRom* II 227 = *Hygiae* p. 44 = Saastamoinen 2010.547 = *CLEAfr*

<sup>3811</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* IX 4756; *CIL* IX p. 685; *CIL* XI 4188; *CIL* XI p. 1366; *CIL* XI \*98b2; *CLE* 409; *CLE* p. 855; Courtney 1995.172; *Epigraphica* 1999.209.



I 90 = GeA 488 = *CLEAfr* II 4 = AE 2014.1476 adn. = AE 2016.1834 adn. = *IRT* 918 = *IRT* 919 = EDCS-06000943;<sup>3812</sup> (Gholaia/Bu Njem, Numidia; AD 202/203).

*Quaesii multum quot | memoriae tradere |*  
*Agens prae cunctos in | hac castra milites |*  
*Votum communem pro|que reditu exercitus, |*  
*Inter priores et fu|turos reddere. |*  
5 *Dum quaero mecum dig|na div<sup>r</sup>u<sup>m</sup> nomina, |*  
*Inveni tandem nomen | et numen deae, |*  
*Votis perennem qu<sup>r</sup>a<sup>m</sup> | dicare in hoc loco. |*  
*Salutis igitur quan|dium cultores sient, |*  
10 *Qua potui, sanxi nomen, | et cunctis dedi |*  
*Veras Salutis lymphas, | tantis ignibus |*  
*In istis semper ha|renacis collibus, |*  
*Nutantis Austri solis | flammis fervidas, |*  
*Tranquille ut nando | delenirent corpora. |*  
15 *Ita tu, qui sentis mag|nam facti gratiam, |*  
*Aestuantis animae | fucilari spiritum. |*  
*Noli pigere laudem | voce reddere |*  
*Veram qui voluit | esse te sanum tib[i], |*  
*Set protestare vel | Salutis gratia. |*

(in altera tabula)

*centurio | //leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) //*<sup>3813</sup> *| faciendum | curavit. |*

I, leading all the soldiers in the camp,  
 have often sought to hand down to memory  
 the common vow [made] on behalf of the return of the army,  
 to impart it among past and future [readers].  
 While I considered in my mind the worthy names of gods,  
 at last I found the name and divine will of the goddess,  
 to she whom is perpetually in my prayers, to consecrate in this place.  
 Therefore, as long as there shall be worshippers of Salus,  
 as much as I could, I made her name inviolable, and to everyone I gave  
 the true waters of Salus, in those great fires  
 on those always sandy hills from the raging flames  
 of the swaying southern sun,  
 so that they might soothe their bodies with calming swimming.  
 In this way you, you who feels great gratitude for this deed,  
 the breath of your burning life-giving soul is refreshed;<sup>3814</sup>  
 do not be ashamed to return true praise  
 with your voice to he who wants you to be healthy,  
 but rather testify your gratitude to Salus.

<sup>3812</sup> This edition has been created using AE 1929.7; Zarker 1958.21; Adams 1999.110; *CLEAfr* I 90; GeA 488; *IRT* 918; *IRT* 919; photographs of this inscription. See EDCS-06000943; *IRT* 918-919 for photos of this inscription.

<sup>3813</sup> These letters were later re-carved onto the inscription.

<sup>3814</sup> See the discussion in Chapter 7 for these translations of *spiritus* and *anima*.

(on another tablet)

The centurion of the *Legio III Augusta* had this made.

**AI.4** = *CIL* X 3757 = *CLE* 18 = *ILS* 137 = Courtney 1995.24 = *AE* 2002.360 = *CLE*Nuovo p. 96 = Engfer 2017.4 = EDCS-17700016;<sup>3815</sup> (Acerrae/Acerra, Latium et Campania/Regio I, Italia; 2 BC-AD 2).

*Templum hoc sacratum her[edibus]<sup>3816</sup> ---]. | quod ger[unt]  
Augusti nomen felix [---] | remaneat,  
stirpis suae laetetur u[t ---] | parens.  
nam quom te Caesar tem[pus] | exposcet deum  
caeloque, repetes sed[em, ---] | mundum reges.  
sint hei tua quei sorte ter[rae] | huic imperent,  
regantque nos felicibu[s] | vot{e}is su{e}is.*

*L(ucius) Aurelius L(uci) f(ilius) Pal(atina) Rufu[s] primopilaris l(eg(ionis)) | XVI  
militans st[atuum ---] | imp(eratoris) Caesaris | [-----]*

This temple has been dedicated to your heirs [...]; let those who bear the name of Augustus remain blessed [...], so that the father may rejoice [...] of his family. For when you, Caesar, pray to the gods and heaven for time, you will return to your seat, [...] you will rule the universe. They are those who shall be the rulers of this land by your lot, and they shall rule us with their own blessed vows.

Lucius Aurelius Rufus, son of Lucius, of Palatinan tribe, serving as *primopilaris* of the 16<sup>th</sup> Legion, [put up this] statue of Emperor Caesar [...].

**AI.5** = *CIL* VII 154 = *CLE* 806 = *RIB* I 292 = *AE* 1959.158 = *AE* 1995.997 = *CSIR* GB 1.9.147 = *CLE*Brit II 1 = *AE* 2014.781 adn. = *BritRom* 2.11 = EDCS-07800541;<sup>3817</sup> (Viroconium/Worxeter, Britannia; AD 43-61/62).

*[T(itus) Fl]aminus T(iti) f(ilius) Pol(lia) Fa[v(entia)] | [ann]orum XXXXV  
stip(endiorum) XXII mil(es) leg(ionis) | [XII]II Gem(inae). militavi aq(uilifer) nunc hic  
s[u]m. |*

*[---] legite et felices vita plus min[us] e[ste]. |  
[d]i uva vini et aqua prohibent ubi | Ta[r]tar(a) aditis.  
vivite, dum si[dus] | vitae dat tempus, honeste. |*

Titus Flaminus, son of Titus, of the Pollian tribe, from Faventia, lived for 45 years, served for 22 as a soldier in the *Legio XIII Gemina*. I served as an *aquilifer* and now here I am.

<sup>3815</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* X 3757; *CLE* 18; *ILS* 137; Courtney 1995.24; *AE* 2002.360.

<sup>3816</sup> See the discussion on the debate on whether this read *heredibus* or *heroibus* in Chapter 6.

<sup>3817</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* VII 154; *CLE* 806; *RIB* I 292; *AE* 1959.158; *CLE*Brit II 1; *AE* 1995.997; *BritRom* 2.11; drawing and photographs of this inscription. See EDCS-07800541; *RIB* 292 (see also for the drawing); Schumacher 2023c for photos of this inscription.

Read [...] and be more or less fortunate in life.  
 The gods forbid the wine grape and water when you enter Tartarus.  
 Live, while the star of life gives you time, honestly.

**AI.6** = *CIL* VI 40638 = VI 1080 (cfr. p. 2879, 3071, 3777) = VI 31236 = *CLE* 274 = *AE* 1966.15 = *AE* 1996.90 = *AE* 2002.39 adn. = EDR074497 = EDCS-00900360;<sup>3818</sup> (Rome, Italia; AD 211).

*[Pro Salute et V]i[cto]ria(?), deo Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) Aurel[io] | [divi Septimi Severi f(ilio) o]ptimo Antonino Pio sideribu[s] | [--- T]onitratori Aug(usto) orbis terrarum [---] | [--- domino] maximo.*

*Providens imperi sui mai[estat](-)*

5 *[---] ampliavit, largam gloriam pac[e ---], |*  
*[--- la]urea dextra manu signum Victor[iae ---], |*  
*[---]R curiae sacro urbis ut in aeternum [---]. |*  
*[--- f]elicia tempora quatt<u>or in[se]quantur [---] |*  
*[--- s]ancto die nativitatis tuae. ga[ud](-) [---] |*  
 10 *[--- s]uscipias sanctis, manibusque suis O[---] |*  
*[--- l]anugin<e>i flores digna sunt vota [---]. |*  
*(vac.) |*  
*[--- s]ui, "Nox dea fit lux.' sic dic mea v[ota]." |*

*[Corpus piscatorum] et urinatorum sua p(ecunia) p(osuit) primiceri[o ---]. |*

15 *[--- h(-) loc(-)] urbis, qui Nymphas accipit omnes*  
*e[---] |*  
*[--- corpo]ri toto, octie<n>s denis circu[m] `datus annis,*  
*grate m[---]. |*

For Health and Victory; the god Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius, best son of the deified Septimius Severus, [...] from the stars [...]; Thunderer Augustus, [...] of the lands of the earth, to the greatest lord.

He, in his foresight, extended the majesty  
 [...] of his empire, [...] the bountiful glory [...] with peace,  
 of laurel [...] with his right hand, [...] the statue of Victory,  
 [...] in the *curia*, the sacred place in the city, so that [...] for eternity.  
 [...] four fortunate times [...] may follow  
 [...] on the sacred day of your birth. You may receive  
 [...] joy with these sacred [...], and with their hands [...]  
 [...] flowers of *languo* are worthy votive offerings.  
 [...] of his [...]: “Goddess Night becomes light! Say my vows in this way!”

The Corporation of Fishermen and Divers paid for this monument with its own money, from the chief [...].

<sup>3818</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* VI 40638; *CIL* VI 1080; *CIL* VI p. 2879, 3777; *CIL* VI 31236; *CLE* 274; *AE* 1996.90; drawings, a squeeze and photographs of this inscription. See *CIL* VI 40638; EDCS-00900360, EDR074497; Center for Epigraphical and Palaeographical Studies *CIL* 6.1080, <https://kb.osu.edu/items/96bc2d76-5dbf-4725-86b9-fd6c4a21d739>, last accessed 8/4/2024 (for the squeeze); *CIL* website for photos and drawings of this inscription.

In that place of the city, which treats all Nymphs  
[...]  
In the whole of his body, enclosed in eight decades,  
gratefully [...].

**AI.7** = *CIL* VII 759 = *CLE* 24 = *RIB* I 1791 = *CCCA* V 500 = Courtney 1995.164 = *CLE*Nuovo p. 96 = *CLE*Brit I 12 = *GeA* 49 = *CLE*Brit II 8 = *AE* 2014.781 adn. = *BritRom* 12.86 = EDCS-07900602;<sup>3819</sup> (Magnis/Carvoran, Britannia; Severan date).

*Imminet Leoni Virgo caeles|ti situ (vac.)*  
*spicifera iusti in|ventrix urbium conditrix,*<sup>3820</sup> |  
*ex quis muneribus nosse con|tigit deos. (vac.)*  
*ergo eadem mater divum | Pax Virtus Ceres (vac.)*  
5 *Dea Syria | lance vitam et iura pensitans. |*  
*in caelo visum, Syria sidus edi|dit, (vac.)*  
*Libyae colendum, inde | (vac.) cuncti didicimus. (vac.) |*  
*ita intellexit numine inductus | tuo (vac.)*  
*Marcus Caecilius Do|natianus militans (vac.)*  
10 *tribunus | in praefecto dono principis. |*

Ear-bearing Virgo, in her position, is near to heavenly  
Leo, inventress of the law,<sup>3821</sup> foundress of cities;  
from these gifts she touched knowledge of the gods.  
Therefore the same one, the mother of the gods, Peace, Virtus, Ceres,  
the Goddess Syria, weighs out life and laws with her scales.  
Syria begat the constellation,<sup>3822</sup> seen in the sky,  
that must be worshipped in Libya; we all were taught from that.  
In this way, introduced by your divine will, Marcus  
Caecilius Donatianus, serving as a tribune  
in the post of a prefect as a gift of the emperor, understood.

**AI.8** = *CIL* XIV 4488 = *AE* 1929.139 = *AE* 1930.18 adn. = *IPOstie* A 125 = Zarker 1958.58 = *ISIS* 223 = EDR073120 = EDCS-11900203;<sup>3823</sup> (Portus/Fiumicino, Latium et Campania/Regio I, Italia; AD 117-161).

*D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum). |*

*Q(uintus) Gargilius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Iu[li]|[a]nus qui et Semeliu[s] | miles vixit ann(os)*  
*XXIII[I?] | mens(es) III d(ies) XIII. |*

<sup>3819</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* VII 759; *CLE* 24; *RIB* I 1791; *CCCA* V 500; Courtney 1995.164; *CLE*Brit I p. 114; *GeA* 49; *CLE*Brit II 8; Kruschwitz 2015b: 14; *BritRom* XII 86; Kruschwitz 2018: 18; photographs and drawing of this inscription. See *RIB* I 1791; *CLE*Brit II 8 p. 119; *BritRom* p. 373; Schumacher 2023d; EDCS-07000602 for photos of this inscription. The quality of the photos, however, has meant that more reliance has been sought from the published editions.

<sup>3820</sup> The *hedera* after *conditrix* is clearly of punctual significance as well as signifying the end of the line, as there is not enough space to indicate this with a gap. It also indicates a separation from the previous sentence, hence why line two has been edited to end with a semi-colon, and not a comma, or some other punctual continuation, as it is usually interpreted (see, for example, Courtney 1995: 156; Kruschwitz 2015b: 14) in the translation of this line

<sup>3821</sup> Literally 'inventress of what is right'.

<sup>3822</sup> See Lewis & Short (1945: 1695) for *sidus* meaning 'constellation'. See also the discussion on *sidus* in Chapter 4.

<sup>3823</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* XIV 4488; *AE* 1929.139; *IPOstie* A 125; Zarker 1958.58; *ISIS* 223; photograph of this inscription. See *ISIS* 223; EDCS-11900203 for the photo of this inscription.

[?H]unc Karthago lubens pue[rum] | et suo nomine Parcae |  
 [c]aelesti monstrante dea pe[r] | caerula ponti |  
 Tyrrhenum per iter placid[a] | labante karina |  
 [I]talia[m] misere. huic suo | n[on] o[mn]ine laeto, |  
 castrorum decus ac virtu[tum] nobile munus |  
 [R]oma aeterna potens | tribuit. post talia dona |  
 [---] ++ [---] + [---]

Sacred to the spirits of the departed.

Quintus Gargilius Iulianus, son of Quintus, also called Semelius, a soldier who lived for 24(?) years, 3 months, and 13 days.

Carthage, willingly, and the Fates, with their divine power, sent him, a boy,  
 while the heavenly goddess showed him across the cerulean sea  
 along the Tyrrhenian way in a calm, teetering boat,  
 to Italy. When he delighted in his name,  
 powerful, eternal Rome bestowed the glory of the army life  
 and *virtus*, that noble gift, on him. After such gifts  
 [...]

**AI.9** = *CIL* VIII 2756 = *CLE* 1604 = *CSL* 175 = *CLEA*frique 116 = *PCV* 41 = *AE* 1998.1585 =  
*AE* 2017.1671 adn. = EDCS-20800620;<sup>3824</sup> (Lambaesis, Numidia; third century AD).

Quae fuerunt praeteritae | vitae testimonia nunc decla|rantur  
 hac scri|p|tura postre|ma. haec sunt enim  
 mortis | solacia, ubi continetur nom[i]|nis  
 vel generis aeterna memo|ria. Ennia hic sita est  
 5 Fructu|osa karissima coniunx cer|tae pudicitiae  
 bonoque obse|quo laudanda matrona. |  
 XV anno marit|ae nomen acce|pit, in quo  
 amplius quam XIII | vivere non potuit. quae, non | ut meruit,  
 ita mortis sortem | retulit. carminibus  
 10 defi|xa, iacuit per tempora mu|ta, ut eius  
 spiritus vi | extorqueretur, quam | naturae  
 redderetur. | cuius admissi vel Ma|nes vel  
 Di Caelestes e|runt sceleris vindices. |  
 Aelius haec posuit Procu|linus ipse maritus legio|nis tantae III Augustae | (vac.)  
 15 tribunus. (vac.)

This is proof of the life that has gone, now revealed  
 in this last inscription, for this is  
 the consolation of death, where the eternal memory of a name  
 or lineage is continued. Ennia Fructuosa lies  
 here, dearest wife of unerring chastity  
 and a respectable woman who must be praised for her good obedience.  
 She received the title ‘wife’ at the age of fifteen, but in which she was not able  
 to live for more than thirteen years. She who repaid the lot of death

<sup>3824</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* VIII 2756; *CLE* 1604; *CSL* 175; *CLEA*frique 116; *PCV* 41.

not as she deserved, but as follows: having been bewitched in verses, she lay silent for a long time, so that her spirit was wrenched out by force rather than be returned to nature. The Manes or the heavenly gods/*Di Caelestes*<sup>3825</sup> will be the avengers of the crime which has been committed.

Aelius Proculus put up this [monument] himself, her husband, tribune of the great *Legio III Augusta*.

**AI.10** = *CIL* VIII 1540 = VIII 26671 = *CLE* 1880 = Cholodniak 1904.994 = Poinssot 1909: 492 nr. 665 = Poinssot 1911: 268 nr. 928 = *ILTun* 1446 = Thieling 1984: 75 = Pikhaus 1994: 89 nr. A107 = Vössing 1997: 288 nr. 1063 = *MAD* 1190 = EDCS-16400160;<sup>3826</sup> (Thugga/Dougga, Africa Proconsularis; unknown).

*T[e]r[e]n[t]ius Fortu|natus vir armis | ingenio et animo | maximo qui cum | [Lati]nis  
et Graecis | (vac.) [op]timis h(oc) l(oco) t(itulum) p(osuit). |*

*[-----] | [-----] |*

*[-----] | [-----] |*

5 *vixitque laetos duos | zozimos Iovis.*

*P(ius) v(ixit) XXIII. | h(ic) s(itus) e(st). |*

Terentius Fortunatus, a man of great fortitude in arms, character and mind, who [was learned] in the greatest Latin and Greek [works], put up [this] inscription in this place.

[two lines of verse missing]

and he lived for two prosperous revolutions of Jupiter.

He lived dutifully for 24 years. Here he lies.

*The inscriptions labelled NW (= Natural World) in this data set have the natural world as their main theme, and are primarily discussed in Chapter 7.*

**NW.1** = *CIL* V 923 = *InscrAqu* II 2842 = *CLE* 1320 = *ILS* 2671 = *IEAquil* 100 = *Epigraphica* 2009.277 = Masaro 2017.13 = *Epigraphica* 2018.224 = *AE* 2018.724 adn. = EDR144860 = EDCS-01600201;<sup>3827</sup> (Aquileia, Venetia et Histria/Regio X, Italia; AD 168-193).

*Hic situs est iusti iu|dex | laudator et aeq[ui]. |*

*Sassina quem genuit, | nunc Aquileia tenet. |*

*[s]eptimae qui cohortis | centuriam reguit. |*

*praetoriae fidus non | barbaricae legion[is]. |*

5 *C(aius) Manlius hic Valeri|anus nomine dictus. |*

*Sentilius fratri, quia | meritis, posuit. |*

Here lies the judge of the just, and praiser of the fair;

Sassina begat him, now Aquileia holds him.

<sup>3825</sup> See the discussion on this inscription in Chapter 6.

<sup>3826</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* VIII 1540; *CLE* 1880; Poinssot 1909: 492, 665; Poinssot 1911: 268, 928; Thieling 1984: 75; Pikhaus 1994: 89 nr A107.

<sup>3827</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* V 923; *InscrAqu* II 2842; *CLE* 1320; *ILS* 2671; *IEAquil* 100; Masaro 2017.13; *Epigraphica* 2018.224; photographs of this inscription. See *InscrAqu* II 2842; Masaro 2017.13; EDCS-01600201; Lupa 13588.

He was the one who commanded a century of seven cohorts.  
 He was loyal to the Praetorian Guard, not a barbarian legion.  
 This man was called Gaius Manlius Valerianus.  
 Sentilius put this up for his brother, because he deserved it.

**NW.2** = *CIL* XIII 6823 (cfr. 4, p. 108) = *CLE* 407 = *CSIR D* II 5.11 = *Epigraphica* 2009.279 = *CBI* 133 = EDCS-11000872;<sup>3828</sup> (Mogontiacum/Mainz, Germania Superior; late first century AD).

*D(is) M(anibus) | et bon(a)e memoriae. |*

*Quid stas et [---] | [-----] | [-----] | [-----] | [-----] | [-----] | [-----] | situs. (vac.) |*  
*mil(itavit) ann(os) XXIII. prob'a' tus hic in leg(ione) VII Cl[audia], | lectus in*  
*praetor[io], | factus eq(ues) promot[us (centurio)] | ex b(ene)f(iciario)*  
*praefectoru[m]. (vac.) |*

5

*Natus provincia M[oe]sia Superiore, reg[io]ne Scupi n'at'(ione).*  
*Da(r)dan[ia] | me genuit, tenuit G[erma]nia colonum.*

*C(aius) O[---] | Ser(gia) Valens primus [he]|res et consobrinus [---].*

To the spirits of the departed and his good memory.

Why do you stand, and [...] [here he] lies. He served for 24 years. This man, having proven himself, in the *Legio VII Claudia*, was chosen to be in the Praetorian Guard, made an *eques*, promoted to the rank of centurion from *beneficiarius praefectorum*.

I was born in the province of Moesia Superior, originating from the region of Scupi. Dardania begat me, a German *colonus* held me.

Gaius O[...] Valens, of the Sergian tribe, his primary heir and cousin, [had this made for him].

**NW.3** = *CIL* VIII 702 = VIII 12128 = *CLE* 522 = *ILS* 2380 = *ILTun* 582 = *Aspetti* p. 210 = *MEFR* 2007.186 = *CLEAfrigue* 33 = EDCS-15400826;<sup>3829</sup> (Kasra/Chusira, Africa Proconsularis; late first century BC-late first century AD).

*Iulius Ingenu(u)s obiit in Gallia morte. |*  
*coniunx patriae gremio mandat Virula corpus. |*  
*Germaniae meruit specula[t]or et cornicul[ar]ius |*  
*legionis. initium vitis vitae fuit finis. |*

Julius Ingenuus met his death in Gaul.  
 His wife, Virula, commits his body to the bosom of his homeland.  
 He served as a *speculator* and *cornicularius* in the German Legion; the beginning of the centurionate was the end of his life.

<sup>3828</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* XIII 6823; *CLE* 407.

<sup>3829</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* VIII 702; *CIL* VIII 12128; *CLE* 522; *ILS* 2380; *Aspetti* p. 210; *CLEAfrigue* 33; squeeze of this inscription. The photograph of the squeeze is available at the *CIL* website; EDCS-15400826.

**NW.4** = SEG 48.1315 = SEG 51.1480 = AE 2001.1691 = CIGP 91 = CLENuovo p. 77 = TitAq II 722 = Massaro 2023.17 = EDCS-24500526;<sup>3830</sup> (Aquincum/Budapest, Pannonia Inferior; late second-early third centuries AD).

(in fronte)

*D(is) M(anibus).*

*C(aio) Val(erio) Papirian[o] trib(un)o leg(ionis) II Ad(iutricis). ||*

*Urbe Pal<a>estina genitum. [m]e | (vac.) militiae res (vac.) |*

*transtulit huc SPER[---]. tamd[i]uq(ue) | tribunus*

5 *insont[e]m v[--- s]o|lvi. duo pignora [---]*

*[---] a[n]tiq(ui). sume ac ben[e] v[ive [--- vi]a[tor]]. |*

*C(aius) Valeri(us) Turbo et L(ucius) [Val(erianus) ---]us fil(ii) eius | (vac.) eq(uites) R(omani). (vac.) |*

(in tergo)

10 Πατρίς ἐμοὶ Συρίας δάπεδον | πόλεως Καπετωλιάδαο. (vac.) |  
κεῖμε δ' ἐν Πα[ί]οσι κενὸν ὄρ|γανον ἀνθρώποισι. λεγεῖ|ωνος  
ἀρχηγὸς γεγὼνός (vac.) | ὃ τοῦνομα Παπειριανὸς ὑπάρχει. |

(vac.) Υἱοὶ ἱππικοὶ β' πατρὶ χρη (vac.) στῶ.

(on the front)

To the spirits of the departed.

For Gaius Valerius Papirianus, tribune of the *Legio II Adiutrix*.

I was born in the city of Palestine. Military matters brought me here, hoping,<sup>3831</sup> and for so long, as a tribune, I passed [...] innocent [...]. Two [...] children [...] old [...]. Grab hold of life and live well, [...] passer-by!

Gaius Valerius Turbo and Lucius Valerianus [...], his sons, Roman *equites*, [had this monument made for their good father].

(on the back)

My fatherland was Syria, the land of the city of [Colonia Aelia] Capitolina. He died in the land of the Paeonians, a body empty of humanity. He had become the tribune of a legion, to whom the name Papirianus pertained.

His sons, *equites*, [had this monument made] for their good father.

<sup>3830</sup> This edition has been created using SEG 48.1315; SEG 51.1480; AE 2001.1691; CIGP 91; CLENuovo p. 77; TitAq II 722; Massaro 2023.17; photographs of this inscription. See TitAq II 722; Lupa 294 for photos of this inscription.

<sup>3831</sup> *sper[antem]* is often conjectured.



**NW.5** = Ferrua 1970.145 = Speidel 1989: 119-122 = *AE* 1989.91 = Speidel 1992: 353-356 = Speidel 1994b.692 = Panciera 2006: 1415-1417 = EDR081242 = EDCS-12200664;<sup>3832</sup> (Rome, Italia; second century AD).

[D(is)] M(anibus). |

[--- nat(ione) P]ontico ab [--- | --- puer]o. Aurelius San[ctinus] | dec(urio) de se bene merit[o]. |

[--- du]o sunt iuvenes positi, C[---] |

5 [---]RE in illo, diversisque lo[cis ---]. |

[---] ibi, qui prior est posit[us, ---] |

[---] Oceanique Marsa[ciorum ---]. |

[--- P]ontus Achillea gē[nuit ---]. |

[---] ac si fraterna sti[rpe, ---] |

10 [aeq]uali Tiburti ponde[re ---]. |

[Aur(elius)] Sanctinus de s[(ua) p(ecunia) ---]. |

To the spirits of the departed.

[...] for the [...] boy who originated from the region of Pontus. Aurelius Sanctinus, *decurio*, [made this] for he who deserved it well.

[...] two youths have been placed, [...]

[...] in that one [...], and born in different places.

[...] this one, he who had been buried first, [...]

[...] and [was] from Ocean, of Marsacan [land].

The Black Sea begat [that one], on Achillean [land]<sup>3833</sup>.

[...] as if they were brothers,

they are buried under the same weight of Tiburtine [stone]<sup>3834</sup> ...].

Aurelius Sanctinus [paid for this] from his own money.

**NW.6** = *CIL* VI 32755 (cfr. p. 3842) = *CLE* 1264 = *ILS* 2167 = *CEACelio* 385 = *SupplIt Imagines* - Roma II 3121 = EDCS-22500770 = EDR033548;<sup>3835</sup> (via Ferruccio, Esquiline, Rome, Italia; second century AD).

[-----] |

qui quondam situs | est

prata | per I'l'lyr|ici litora | Danuvii.

patrono et | L(ucio) Popilio | Securo (vac.) vex<i>llario | coh(ortis) III Vig(ilis) | fratri

5 | L(ucius) Popilius | Eutychnus fecit.

<sup>3832</sup> This edition has been created using Ferrua 1970.145; Speidel 1989: 119-122; *AE* 1989.91; Speidel 1992: 353-356; Speidel 1994b.692; Speidel & Panciera 2006: 1415-1417; photographs of this inscription. See Speidel 1989: 120 fig. 1; Speidel 1992: 354 fig. 1; Speidel 1994b.692; EDCS-12200664 for photos of this inscription.

<sup>3833</sup> Speidel and Panciera suggest *humus*, which makes sense in this context, although it could have been *terra* or another synonym for 'earth'/'land' (Speidel & Panciera 1989: 121; Speidel 1992: 355; Speidel & Panciera 2006: 1416; see also *AE* 1989.91; Speidel 1994: 378).

<sup>3834</sup> Speidel and Panciera suggest *tecti*, although any synonym of 'stone' has to be the only logical interpretation here (Speidel & Panciera 1989: 121; Speidel 1992: 355; Speidel & Panciera 2006: 1416; see also *AE* 1989.91; Speidel 1994: 378).

<sup>3835</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* VI 32755; *CLE* 1264; *ILS* 2167; *CEACelio* 385; photographs of this inscription. See EDCS-22500770; EDR033548; *CIL* website for photos of this inscription.

[...]

He who once lay  
on the meadow grass of Illyricum, on the banks of the Danube.

Lucius Popilius Eutychus made [this] for his patron, Lucius Popilius Securus, who was also his *frater*, [who served] in the vexillation of the *Cohors III Vigiles*.

**NW.7** = Lavagne & Gschaid 1996: 1261 = AE 1996.1185 = AE 2005.1147 = AE 2005.1148 = ZPE 153 (2005) p. 99 = AE 2006.961 = AE 2007.1070 = CLENuovo pp. 71-72 = GeA 248 = Dietz & Fischer 2018: 14 = EDCS-03000719;<sup>3836</sup> (Castrum Regina/Raetia, Noricum; late second century-early third century AD).

**NW.7a**<sup>3837</sup>

5        [Deo L]ari et Larundae  
         [Vind]elicis sacellum  
         [hosp]itibus dicavit  
         [en]siferi tribunus  
         [m]iliti[s i]n Liburno  
         [s]atus A[po]ni medentis  
         olente [m]aria limo  
         Marcus Ateste prisc[i]  
10       [A]emilius rebitens  
         [tu]rrigeras ad arces.

Den vindelikischen Göttern Lar und Laruna, den gastfreundlichen, hat der Tribun der schwertragenden Soldaten Marcus Aemilius, geboren im Liburnerland des Aponus, der dort mit salzig riechendem Schlamm Heilung bringt, die Kapelle gestiftet, ab er zur türmetragenden Burg des uralten Ateste zurückkehrte.

**NW.7b**<sup>3838</sup>

5        [Deo M]arti et Larundae  
         [Vind]elicis sacellum  
         [mi]litibus dicavit  
         [vic]e tert(iae) tribunus  
         militi[ae i]n Liburno  
         [n]atus [Ap]oni medentis  
         [o]lente [m]aria limo  
         Marcus Ateste prisc[o]  
10       [A]emilius rebitens  
         [tu]rrigeras ad arces.

Marcus Aemilius, né dans la terre liburnienne qui sent la mer, d'Aponus le guérisseur, tribune en lieu et place de sa troisième malice, revenant de l'antique Este vers la ville

<sup>3836</sup> See the discussion in Chapter 7 for why there are two alternative versions presented (Raith's and Lavagne & Gschaid's) before the author's edition here (**NW.7c**).

<sup>3837</sup> This is Raith's edition and translation of the inscription (2005: 99).

<sup>3838</sup> This is Lavagne & Gschaid's edition and translation of the inscription (1996: 1261).

ornée de tours, a dédié ce sanctuaire au dieu Mars et à Larunda, en faveur de ses soldats Vindélices.

NW.7c<sup>3839</sup>

[Deo L]ari et Larundae | [Vind]elicis sac<e>llum |  
[hos]pitibus dicavit, | [en]s[i]feri tribunus |  
[m]iliti[s i]n Liburno, | [n]atus [Apo]ni medentis, |  
[o]lente [m]aria limo, | Marcus Ateste prisco |  
[Ae]milius rebitens | [tur]rigeras ad arce[s]. |

He dedicated this little altar to the god Lar  
and Larunda, their Vindelician garrisoners,  
the tribune for the sword-bearing soldiers  
in Liburnia, born by the mud that smells  
like the sea, in healing Aponus, Marcus Aemilius, formerly  
from Ateste, upon his return to the arched turrets.

NW.8 = AMN 2015.47 = AE 2015.1186 = EpRom 2015.35.5 = CERom XXXVI 1909 = AE 2019.1146 adn. = Fortunatae 2020.427 = AE 2020 1057 adn. = CERom XL 2187 = EDCS-71200587,<sup>3840</sup> (Germisara/Cigmau, Dacia; AD 183-185).

Sunt Getici fontes divina n[y]m'ph'a creati, |  
cui formo{n}sus ager vicin[u]s Germisarae est, |  
cui miles Brittannicus soll[e]mni(a) annua ducit, |  
ex voto referens, solvitque vota priora |  
temporis excessi, et ru<r>sum suscipit ipse, |  
cui cristatus apex procumbit vortice summo. |  
hinc undas mil[es(?) ---] videre SUL+++, |  
unde et pu+++[--- li]quor inde salutis |  
ex+[---] +iunt [---] quantus +++ |  
virt[(-) ---] +++ |  
[---] in anno[s] |  
[---]que vovera[t] ++tu+ |  
[---]us praepositus hunc tibi OVOM |  
[---]RE cingeris vite comati, |  
[---]++++ nata dono circumdata uvis. |  
te, precor, Odrysia donum terrena(?) recondas. |

Νῦμφαι Γερμισαρῶν ὑπ+++++++ γὰρ ἀπέφονα[v]· |  
νῆμα τόσον προνοίᾳ θεοῦ Ἀσκληπίειε δῶρα. |  
ἃ κλῆζουσιν βροτοὶ ἄνδρες θεραπείᾳ χρησάμενοί πε[ρ]· |  
ἐλθόντες κυλλοὶ ὀρθοποδοῦντες δαὶ ἱκανὸν (vac.) |  
εὐξάμενοι πάλιν ἦλθον πανακέῃ δῶρα φερόντες· |

<sup>3839</sup> Therefore, after consulting AE 1996.1185; Lavagne & Gschaid 1996: 1261; Raith 2005: 99; CLENUovo p. 72; GeA 248; photographs of this inscription, the following interpretation, and translation, is presented here. See Lavagne & Gschaid 1996: 1254, fig. 2; EDCS-03000719; Lupa 6563 for photos of this inscription.

<sup>3840</sup> This edition has been created using AMN 2015.47; AE 2015.1186; EpRom 2015.35.5; CERom XXXVI 1909; Fortunatae 2020.427. See AMN 2015: 53-54, figs. 3-5, CERom XXXVI 1909: 199, figs. 1-2 (drawing and a photo); EDCS-71200587 for photos of this inscription. However, the degraded state of the inscription makes it difficult to make out the letters, especially in photos, so a heavier reliance has been sought on the published editions for this inscription.

25 λουτροῖσιν χρηστοῖσιν ἀγαλλόμενοι χαρι<σ>τήρια |  
 δῶκαν κηπαία θύρια [φερ]όντες πότιμον ὕδωρ· |  
 Ἄρτεμιδέι πη κυναγέτει καρπήσια δῶρα |  
 [---] εὐξάμενοι ἀπέδωκαν τάς τε ἑορτάς |  
 σήρανγ[ι] θυσίας καὶ ἐπανῆλθαν ὁ[δ]ὸν ἑαυτῶν. |  
 Εἰ οὕς τείνεις Βριττανεικῶν (vac.) | ἡγήτωρ τόνδε ἀνέθηκεν (vac.) |  
 30 Ὕπνον λαμπροτάτου ἐπὶ Καν (vac.) | δίδου ἀρχῆς. (vac.) |

*C(aius) Sentius Iustinus (centurio) l<e>g(ionis) | V Mac(edonicae) agens per  
 terr(itorium) Lucanum.* (vac.)

The Getic springs are created by the divine nymph,  
 to whom the neighbour of Germisara is the beautiful countryside,  
 to whom the British soldier leads yearly festivals,  
 repaying her with his vow, and he fulfilled his former vows  
 of a time long gone, and he himself takes them up again,  
 to whom the crested peak bends down at the greatest whirlpool.  
 From here, soldier [...] to see [...] the waves,  
 and from where [...], from there the healthy waters  
 from [...] they [...] so great [...]  
*virtus* [...]  
 [...] in years [...]  
 [...] and he vowed [...]  
 [...] the commander [...] that [...] for you [...]  
 [...] be crowned with a leafy vine,  
 [...] having been born [...] surrounded [...] with a gift of grapes.  
 You, I pray, you, Thracian soil, bury the gift.

The nymphs of Germisara were, in essence, of a sleepy nature;<sup>3841</sup>  
 their gifts are under the divine providence of the god Asclepius.  
 Indeed, wanting mortal men celebrate the gifts of medical treatment in song:  
 the disabled come, returning walking upright.  
 As you promised, come back bearing gifts of panacea;  
 they, glorifying in the useful baths, gave  
 thank offerings, bearing drinking water to the garden door;  
 however, to Artemis, the goddess who hunts with dogs, gifts of fruit.  
 But you, praying [...], celebrate the feast  
 and offering in the cave and return to the road.  
 As you listened to this, the prefect of the Britons set up this  
 Hypnos as a votive gift in the magistracy of Candidus.

Gaius Sentius Iustinus, centurion of the *Legio V Macedonica*, leading the Lucanian  
 territory [put this up].

<sup>3841</sup> This is understood from Piso's interpretation of ὑπ++++++ as ὑπνώδεις, which makes sense in this poem, and nicely  
 balances out the beginning Greek verse lines with the end, and so it is understood here for the English translation.

**NW.9** = *CIL* VI 1207 (cfr. p. 3071, 3778, 4335, 4340, 4351) = VI 31263 = VI 36890 = *CLE* 895 = *AE* 1998.145 adn. = EDR112718 = EDCS-17700496;<sup>3842</sup> (Rome, Italia; first century AD?).

[---] *ad divortia Rheni*  
*pervasi. hostiles depopulator agro[s]. |*  
*dum tibi bella foris aeterna(e)q(ue) sudo troph[a]ea,*  
*Hister | pacatis lenior ibit aquis. |*

[...] I passed through towards where the Rhine  
separates. I laid waste to enemy lands.  
Whilst I sweat in wars abroad for you and for eternal trophies,  
the Danube shall flow more calmly with pacified waters.

**NW.10** = *CIL* III 3676 = *CLE* 427 = *ILS* 2558 = *AE* 1958.151 adn. = Kuntić Makvić 1976.9 = Courtney 1995.126 = *AE* 2005.14 adn. = *AE* 2005.161 adn. = *CLEPann* 59 = *CLENuovo* p. 104 = *AArchHung* 69 pp. 311-320 = *AE* 2018 1305 adn. = EDCS-26600590;<sup>3843</sup> (Sora, Italia; AD 117-138).

Ille ego Pannoniis quondam notissimus oris.  
inter mille viros primus fortisque Batavos  
(H)adriano potui qui iudice vasta profundi  
aequora Danuvii cunctis transnare sub armis,  
5 *emissumq(ue) arcu dum pendet in aere telum*  
*ac redit ex alia fixi fregique sagitta.*  
*quem neque Romanus potuit nec barbarus umquam*  
*non iaculo miles non arcu vincere Parthus.*  
*hic situs, h' o' c memori saxo mea facta sacravi.*  
10 *viderit anne aliquis post me mea facta sequ[a]tur.*  
*exemplo mihi sum, primus qui talia gessi.*

I, I am that man who was once so well known across the Pannonian lands.  
I was the preminent and brave man amongst a thousand Batavian men and  
I am he who, with Hadrian as a judge, was able to swim across the, so vast  
they are sea like, waters of the deep Danube in full armour,  
and I hit and broke an arrow, fired from a bow,  
whilst it hung in the air and came back down, with another arrow.  
I was the man whom neither a Roman nor barbarian was ever able  
to conquer, not a soldier with a javelin, not a Parthian with a bow.  
Here I lie, in this rock, which I had made for my memory, which I immortalised.  
Time will tell if someone shall follow my deeds after me.  
I am an example for myself: I was the first man who carried out such skills.

**NW.11** = *CIL* III 6306 = III 8153 = *CLE* 273 = *AE* 1958.246 = *AE* 1973.470 = *IMS* I 48 = *ZPE* 56 (1984) p. 231 = *ILJug* I 20 = *AE* 1987.852 = Courtney 1995.39 = *AE* 2003.1535 adn. =

<sup>3842</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* VI 1207; *CIL* VI 31263; *CIL* VI 36890; *CLE* 895.

<sup>3843</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* III 3676; *CLE* 427; *ILS* 2558; Courtney 1995.126; *CLEPann* 59; *AArchHung* 2018.3.

CLENuovo p. 102, p. 172 = CLEMoes 20 = EDCS-27800788,<sup>3844</sup> (Singidunum/Belgrade, Moesia Superior; AD 222-235).

Alma lavacrorum de sa[xis deci]do lympha |  
 Et sunt ex lapide perfec[tae ---]e<sup>3845</sup> pulchrae, |  
 Laetis inque locis natus la[cus. ---] tamen ipsis |  
 Tunc cum sospes erat coniux s[acravi]t in usum |  
 5 Emeritis, quondam Alexand[re]o] nomine dignae. |  
 Raucisoni lapidoso cadunt [--- fon]te liquores. |  
 Tam laudati operis dominus ve[---] et auctor |  
 In suae memoriam voluit consec[rare] maritae. |  
 Ut tamen et lector nomen [cognosce]re possis, |  
 10 Singulae declarant exordia [lit]t[er]ae primae. |  
 Aelia cum Tertia subole de coniuge [ca]sta. |

I, the nourishing water of the baths, fall down from rocks  
 and the beautiful bathing pools were made from that stone,  
 as the cistern is also born in this joyous place. However, [...] then a wife,  
 when she was safe and sound, formerly dedicated this to the use  
 of the veterans [who served] under the worthy name of Alexander.  
 The hoarse-sounding waters [...] fall over the stoney spring.  
 The [...] master and author of such an excellent work  
 wanted to dedicate it in memory of his wife.  
 However, so that you, the reader, are able to know his name,  
 the first individual letters at the beginning [of each line] reveal it.  
 With Aelia Tertia, the chaste child [he had] with his wife.

The inscriptions labelled **RD** (= Relationship Dynamics) in this data set have family and relationship dynamics as their main theme, and are primarily discussed in Chapter 8.

**RD.1** = CIL III 1653 (cfr. p. 1021) = III 8143 = CLE 2162 = CSL 768 = IDR III 1.1a = IMS II 325 = AE 2002.1217 adn. = CLEMoes 2 = AE 2012.72 adn. = Massaro 2023.11 = EDCS-26600712,<sup>3846</sup> (Viminacium/Kostolac, Moesia Superior; late first-early second century AD).

L(ucio) Valerio Sex(ti) f(ilio) Vol(tinia) Serano | (vac.) Luco (centurioni) leg(ionis) IIII  
 F(laviae) F(elicis). (vac.) | L(ucius) Valerius Privatus et | L(ucius) Valerius Martialis |  
 liberti et heredes | (vac.) a se f(aciendum) c(uraverunt). (vac.) |  
 non fui mari<t>us et r'e'l<i>qui liberos. (vac.)  
 5 servi | dominis. (vac.) mac<t>e tu, (vac.) vale. (vac.) |  
 Valerius Secundus (vac.) Valerius Ge[me]l[lin(us)] l[i]b(erti) | Valerius Cerdo  
 l[i]b(ertus) (vac.) Valerius A[p]rio l[i]b(ertus) | Valerius Cresces l[i]b(ertus) (vac.)

<sup>3844</sup> This edition has been created using CIL III 6306; CIL III 8153; CLE 273; AE 1973.470; IMS I 48; ZPE 56 (1984) p. 231; AE 1987.852; Courtney 1995.39; CLEMoes 20; photograph of this inscription. See IMS I 48; EDCS-27800788 for the photo of this inscription.

There is much dispute in the literature about some of the interpretations of the missing words.

<sup>3845</sup> See the discussion on this inscription in Chapter 7 for reasons behind the translation of this line presented here.

<sup>3846</sup> This edition has been created using CIL III 1653; CIL III 8143; CLE 2162; CSL 768; IMS II 325; CLEMoes 2; Massaro 2023.11; drawing of this inscription. See IDR III 1.1a; IMS II 325; EDCS-26600712 for the drawing of this inscription.

*Va[l]leria Aprodisia l[i]b(erta) | Valerius Verecund(us) l[i]b(ertus) Valerius Amp[l]iatus | (vac.) h(eres) lib(ertus). |*

For Lucius Valerius Seranus, son of Sextus, of the Voltinian tribe, from Luc, centurion of the *Legio IV Flavia Felix*. Lucius Valerius Privatus and Lucius Valerius Martialis, his freedmen and heirs, took care of this himself.

I was not married and I did not leave children behind.  
I served my masters. You, be well, and farewell!

Valerius Secundus, Valerius Gemellinus, his freedmen, Valerius Cerdo, his freedman, Valerius Aprio, his freedman, Valerius Cresces, his freedman, Valeria Aphrodisia, his freedwoman, Valerius Verecundus, his freedman, Valerius Ampliatus, his heir, his freedman.

**RD.2** = *CIL* XIII 5383 (cfr. 4, p. 71) = *CLE* 455 = *CLE* 2214 adn. = *ILCV* 400 adn. = *CAG* 25/90 p. 247 = *AE* 1999.1125 = EDCS-10800788;<sup>3847</sup> (Vesontio/Besancon, Germania Superior; second or third decade of the third century AD).

*[Vi]rginia<sup>2</sup> Marius Vitalis coniunx (centurio) leg(ionis) | et Marius Nigidianus fil(ius) q(uaestor).*

*matri e lon|ginquo adportatae et hic conditae.  
sex et | triginta ann(os) vixit. inculpata marito  
ob|sequio raro solo contenta marito. |*

Marius Vitalis, her husband, centurion of a legion, and Marius Nigidianus, her son, a *quaestor*, [made this] for Virginia.

For a mother brought from a remote land and buried here.  
She lived for six and thirty years. She was blameless to her husband,  
rare in her obedience, content with only her husband.

**RD.3** = *CIL* XIII 1856 = *CLE* 841 = *CBI* 31 = *CAG* 69.2 p. 613 = Bérard 2015.27 = *CLEGall* 68 = *SEBarc* 2020.136 = *AE* 2020 80 adn. = EDCS-10500811;<sup>3848</sup> (Lugdunum/Lyon, Lugdunensis; AD 231-270).

*D(is) M(anibus). |*

*T(ito) Flavio Floro | domo Philippopoli | ex prov(incia) Thracia | veter(ano) leg(ionis)  
I Min(erviae) P(iae) F(idelis) | ex b(ene)f(iciario) proc(uratoris).*

*Qui sep|ties denos animam | sine crimine pertu|lit annos.*

5 *Threptius | Val(erius) Primus Viperius | et T(itus) Fl(avius) Protus her(edes) | et sibi  
f(aciendum) c(uraverunt) et s(ub) a(scia) d(edicaverunt). |*

To the spirits of the departed.

<sup>3847</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* XIII 5383; *CLE* 455; photographs of this inscription. See EDCS-10800788 for photos of this inscription.

<sup>3848</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* XIII 1856; *CLE* 841; *SEBarc* 2020.136; photographs of this inscription. See EDCS-10500811; Fernández Martínez 2017 on *CLEO* L010; Fernández Martínez 2020: 137 fig. 1 for photos of this inscription.

For Titus Flavius Florus, who originated from Philippopolis, from the province of Thracia, veteran of the *Legio I Minerva Pia Fidelis, ex beneficiario procuratoris*.

Who lived for seventy years without blame.

Valerius Primus Viperius, his foster son, and Titus Flavius Protus, his heirs, both took care of this for him and dedicated it under the axe.

**RD.4** = *CIL* XIII 1891 = *CLE* 841 adn. = *CAG* 69.2 p. 614 = Reuter 2012.134 = Bérard 2015.69 = *CLEGall* 69 = *SEBarc* 2020.139 = *AE* 2020.80 adn. = EDCS-10500846;<sup>3849</sup> (Lugdunum/Lyon, Lugdunensis; first half of the third century AD).

*D(is) M(anibus). |*

*L(uci) Sept(im)i Muciani m(issi) h(onesta) m(issione) | ex leg(ione) XXX U(lpia) V(ictrice) P(ia) F(ideli) dom(o) | Philippopoli.*

*Qui sexsies | denos animam sine | crimine pertulit anno<s>. |*

5 *L(ucius) Sept(imius) Peregrinus fil(ius) et | Secundinia Iusta uxor | her(edes) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt) et s(ub) a(scia) d(edicaverunt). |*

To the spirits of the departed.

For Lucius Septimius Mucianus, honestly dismissed from the *Legio XXX Ulpia Victrix Pia Fidelis*, originating from Philippopolis.

Who lived for sixty years without blame.

Lucius Septimius Peregrinus, his son, and Secundinia Iusta, his wife, his heirs, took care of this for him and dedicated it under the axe.

**RD.5** = *ILJug* III 1303 = *IMS* III/2 46 = *CLENuovo* pp. 73-74, pp. 162-163 = *CLEMoes* 18 = Massaro 2023.29 = EDCS-11301551;<sup>3850</sup> (Timacum Minus/Ravna, Moesia Superior; end of the second-beginning of the third century AD).

*D(is) M(anibus). |*

*T(itus) Iul(ius) Satur|nin(us) vet(eranus) ex dec(urione) | coh(ortis) II Aur(eliae) Dar(danorum) | sibi viv<o> et Ovi|diae Pudentil|lae coniugi ka|rissimae.*

*Cum | qua conubio | stabili quin|quagint(a) an|nos, (vac.)*

5 *sine | sece(vac.)s(vac.)su, | dulciter | egit. |*

To the spirits of the departed.

Titus Iulius Saturnunius, veteran from the rank of *decurio* of the *cohors II Aurelia Dardanorum*, [had this made] for himself whilst he was alive and for Ovidia Pudentilla, his dearest wife.

<sup>3849</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* XIII 1891; *CLE* 841 adn.; Reuter 2012.134; *SEBarc* 2020.139; photographs of this inscription. See EDCS-10500846; Fernández Martínez 2016 on *CLEO* L011; Fernández Martínez 2020: 141-143 figs. 2-4 for photos of this inscription.

<sup>3850</sup> This edition has been created using *IMS* III/2 46; *CLEMoes* 18; *CLENuovo* pp. 73-74, pp. 162-163; Massaro 2023.29; photographs of this inscription. See *IMS* III/2 46; EDCS-11301551; Lupa 29848 for photos of this inscription.



With whom he sweetly passed forty years,  
without separation, in a steadfast marriage.

**RD.6** = *CIL* III 3572 (cfr. p. 1691) = *CLE* 558 = *CSL* 24 = Kuntić Makvić 1976.7 = *AE* 2006.135 adn. = *CLEPann* 37 = *TitAq* II 745 = Massaro 2023.21 = EDCS-28600032;<sup>3851</sup>  
(Aquincum/Budapest, Pannonia Inferior; first half of the third century AD).

*Hic sita sum, matrona genus nomen|que, Veturia  
Fortunati coniux. de patre Vetu|rio nata,  
ter novenos misera et nupta bis octo | per annos.  
unicuba uniuga, quae post | sex partus, uno superstite obii. |*

5 *T(itus) Iulius Fortunatus (centurio) leg(ionis) II Ad(iutricis) P(iae) F(idelis) | coniugi  
incomparabili et insigni in se pietate.*

Here I lie, a married woman by birth and by name: Veturia,  
wife of Fortunatus. Born of Veturius, my father,  
left wretched after twenty seven years, and married for twelve.  
I am she who lay only with one man, was married only once; after having six children,  
I died with only one surviving.

Titus Julius Fortunatus, centurion of the *Legio II Adiutrix Pia Fidelis*, [had this made]  
for his incomparable wife, who was also distinguished in her piety to him.

**RD.7** = *CIL* III 10716 = *CLEPann* 66 = *CIGP* 97 = *TitAq* III 1371 = EDCS-29900738;<sup>3852</sup>  
(Aquincum/Budapest, Pannonia Inferior; third century AD).

(column I)

*Bato cura. |*

(column II)

*Grate qui fotues | Gr(a)e`c`a(m) ancilla(m) Lupi |  
optionis (vac.) | legionis secund`ae`, (vac.) | quae est in domo  
vestra, | et malo tuo est (vac.). | per illa(m) a`d` nil  
perduces | parentes tuos (vac.) | quottidie. |*

5

(underneath)

*Aurelius. |*

*[---]imo*

*ΖΟΠΠΕΟΛΖΣΟΥΚΟΠ. |*

(column I)

Bato, take care!

<sup>3851</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* III 3572 (p. 1691); *CLE* 558; *CSL* 24; Kuntić Makvić 1976.7; *CLEPann* 37; *TitAq* II 745; Massaro 2023.21; photographs for this inscription. See *TitAq* II 745; EDCS-28600032; *CIL* website; Lupa 3019 for photos of this inscription.

<sup>3852</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* III 10716; *CLEPann* 66; *CIGP* 97; *TitAq* III 1371; drawing of this inscription. See *CIL* III 10716; *TitAq* III 1371; EDCS-29900738; for the drawing of this inscription.

(column II)

Gratus, may you fuck Graeca, the slave girl of Lupus,  
*optio* of the second legion, she who is in your  
house, and she will bring you harm; but through her you bring  
your parents to nothing every day.

(underneath)

Aurelius.

[...]

[... unknown Greek graffito ...].

**RD.8** = *CIL* III 3241 (cfr. p. 1040) = *CLE* 1208 = Schober 1923.280 = Mirković 1971.34 = Kuntić Makvić 1976.1 = Dautova 1983.5 = *CLEPann* 50 = Mirković 2017.48 = Massaro 2023.15 = Weber 2024: 93-96, nr. 2 = EDCS-28600225;<sup>3853</sup> (Sirmium/Sremska Mitrovica, Pannonia Inferior; second-third century AD).

*D(is) M(anibus).* |

[-----] | *XXXVII. Salvio ann(or)um XXXIII frum(entario) leg(ionis) II Adi(utricis).* |  
*Iul(ius) Asclepiades caris suis.*

*Hunc titul(um) | posui miserabile munus  
non satis | ut meruistis.*

5 *quattor amissis, te quin|tum Salvi flere necesse est  
adsiduae, | dum mea Fata resistant.*

*te nunc amis|so, domus inclinata recumbit.*

*depon<am> | luctus cum te sequar care per umbr<as>.* |

*“dulce(m) meum Salvium,” liceat mihi dic<e>r<e> | semper.*

10 *optaver<am> tumul(um) tu mihi ut facer<es>.* |  
*tot bona tum carui. merit<o> te care requiro.* |

To the spirits of the departed.

[...] 37. For Salvius, who lived for 33 years, and who served as a *frumentarius* of the *Legio II Adiutrix*. Julius Asclepiades, for his dear ones.

I put up this inscription, a wretched gift,  
it is not enough as you deserve.

Having lost four, I must weep for you, Salvius,  
the fifth, continually, while my Fates stay behind.

Now you are gone, my house, falling, subsides,

I shall set aside my grief when I will follow you, my dear, through the shades.

May I always be allowed to call you, “Salvius, my sweet boy.”

I had hoped that you would make a tomb for me.

Then, I was bereft of so many good things; I, rightly, miss you, my dear boy.

<sup>3853</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* III 3241; *CIL* III p. 1040; *CLE* 1208; Schober 1923.280; Kuntić Makvić 1976.1; *CLEPann* 50; Mirković 2017.48; Massaro 2023.15; Weber 2024: 93-96 nr. 2; photographs of this inscription. See Schober 1923.280; Weber 2024: 94, fig. 2; EDCS-28600225; Lupa 4005 for photos of this inscription.

**RD.9** = *CIL* VI 3452 (cfr. p. 3395) = *CLE* 476 = *CSL* 60 = *Epigraphica* 2009.284 = *SupplIt Imagines – Roma* V 5091 = Cenati 2023.C437 = EDR165001 = EDCS-19600252;<sup>3854</sup> (Rome, Italia; second century AD).

*D(is) M(anibus). |*

*H`i`c sita est (vac.) Paterna post annos VIII et XX |*

*sanctae casta fide (vac.) post pignora certa. (vac.) |*

*gnatum memoriae statuit haec prima | cubil`e`.*

5 *coniugis (vac.) obsequio, (vac.) meruit (vac.) | in munere functae (vac.)*

*sep{h}ulc(h)rum (vac.) | dignum pro meritis a coniuge amante{m}, |*

*perciperet titulum suo nomine testans. |*

*me Germana creat tellus (vac.) m`i`seram, |*

*qu`a`m nunc hic (vac.) Fabia terra (vac.) tegit. (vac.) |*

10 *nunc rogo, si colitis Manes, cuncti | meo nomini tantum*

*terra(m) leve(m) optetis. | vobis nunc dii fortuna beata{m} (vac.) |*

*et semper ho<no>rata{m} (vac.) praestent (vac.) | suo numine (vac.) sancto libentes (vac.) |*

*ex qua possitis obiti bene linquere natos.*

15 *M(arcus) Aurel(ius) Diascentus vet(eranus) Aug(usti) n(ostri) | cum M(arco) Aur(elio) Antiochiano fil(io) coniu|gi inco`m`parabili b(ene) m(erenti) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt). |*

To the spirits of the departed.

Here lies Paterna, after 29 years,

with the chaste fidelity of a virtuous woman, after her [survives] an unerring assurance of her affection:

this woman first had a son in memory of her marriage.

Obedient to her husband, she deserved a tomb, acting as a gift,

worthy of her merits, from her loving husband,

an inscription that would secure her name, testifying it.

German land created me, she whom,

wretched, Fabian land now buries here.

Now I ask, if you worship the Manes, so you all may hope

that the earth will be light on my name. May the gods willingly vouch

for you, with their sacred divine will, with a blessed and always honoured fortune,

with which you, when you have died, are able to leave your children well.

Marcus Aurelius Diascentus, veteran of our Augustus, with Marcus Aurelius Antiochianus, his son, had this made for his incomparable wife, [for whom it was] well deserved.

**RD.10** = *CIL* III 21 (cfr. p. 967) = III 6625 = *CLE* 270 = *ILS* 1046a = Le Bohec (ed.) 1994: 725 = Courtney 1995.74 = *CLEOr* 35 = EDCS-21200080;<sup>3855</sup> (Giza/Al Jizah, Aegyptus; second century AD).

<sup>3854</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* VI 3452; *CLE* 476; *CSL* 60; Cenati 2023.C437; photograph of this inscription. See EDCS-19600252; EDR165001 for the photo of this inscription.

<sup>3855</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* III 21; *CIL* III p. 967; *CIL* III 6625; *CLE* 270; *ILS* 1046a; Courtney 1995.74.

*Vidi pyramidas sine te dulcissime frater, |  
et tibi, quod potui, lacrimas hic m'a`esta profudi |  
et nostri memorem luctus hanc sculpo, querelam. |  
sit nomen Decimi Gentian{n}i pyramide alta, |  
pontificis comitisque tuis Traiane triumphis, |  
lustra sex intra censoris consulis esse[t]. |*

5

I saw the pyramids without you, dearest brother,  
and to you, because I can, I shed tears here in my grief,  
and I, mourning, carve my grief into this record of your memory.  
The name of Decimus Gentianus shall be on the great pyramid,  
that *pontifex* and attendant in your triumphs, Trajan,  
holder of the post of *censor consulis* before he was thirty.

**RD.11** = *CIL* VIII 4524 = *CLE* 574 = *CSL* 889 = *CLEAfrique* 135 = *PCV* 56 = *EDCS-*23100355;<sup>3856</sup> (Zarai/Zraia, Numidia; second-third century AD).

*C(aius) Iul(ius) Martialis vet(eranus).*

*Has sedes genitor, dum vita [---] |  
pietat[iq]ue simul persanctae coniugis ipse. |*

*Iuliae Victor[inae ---] | ann(is) L[---] [---]II diebusque et Iuliorum Rogati et Quintae  
lib[erorum. ---] | praeuentis constituit cum Iuliis Martiale Caninia [---] | simul depensa  
sexis et XX (millia) n(ummorum). |*

5

*ann(os) agens vitae bis quadra[ginta ---]. |*

Gaius Julius Martialis, veteran.

The father [created] these eternal abodes, while life [...]  
and at the same time for his piety and his most sacred wife.

For Julia Victorina, [... she lived] for 50 (something) years and [...] days, and Julius Rogatus and Julia Quinta, their children, who left before them [...], he built this with Julius Martialis and Julia Caninia [...], at the same time he paid a total of 26,000 sesterces.

Having led a life eighty years long, [...].

**RD.12** = *CIL* VIII 2401 (cfr. p. 1693) = *CLE* 573 = *CSL* 1313 = *CBI* 787 = *CLEAfrique* 107 = *PCV* 13 = *EDCS-*20100227;<sup>3857</sup> (Thamugadi/Timgad, Numidia; late second century AD).

*[D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum)]. |*

*[C(aius) Ael(ius) Extri(?)]catus h[ic] | situs est. |*

*Qui, post | tantum o|nus multos | crebrosq(ue) | labores, |  
nunc silet | et tacito | contentus sede | quiescit. |*

<sup>3856</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* VIII 4524; *CLE* 574; *CSL* 889; *CLEAfrique* 135; *PCV* 56.

<sup>3857</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* VIII 2401; *CIL* VIII p. 1693; *CLE* 573; *CSL* 1313; *CLEAfrique* 107; *PCV* 13.

*C(aius) Ael(ius) Tertiolus, | b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) leg(ionis) VI Vict(ricis), | patri (vac.) pientissimo. |*

Sacred to the spirits of the departed.

Gaius Aelius Extricatus lies here.

He who, after so many frequent burdens and labours,  
is now still and rests, content, in his silent eternal abode.

Gaius Aelius Tertiolus, *beneficiarius consularis* of the *Legio VI Victrix*, [had this made] for his most pious father.

**RD.13** = *CIL* VI 3221 = VI 32784 = *ILCV* 1509 adn. = *AE* 1973.67 = Speidel & Panciera 1989: 119-122 = *AE* 1989.30 = *AE* 1991.233 = Speidel 1992: 353-356 = Speidel 1994b.691 = *AnalEpi* p. 349 = Panciera 2006: 1415-1417 = EDR075392 = EDCS-18900473;<sup>3858</sup> (Rome, Italia; second half of the second-third century AD).

*D(is) M(anibus). |*

*Militi s(uo) nat(ione) Marsac(o). | vix(it) ann(os) XVIII ob|audientiss[i]mo ac | fideliss(imo). T(itus) Aurelius | Sanctinus dupl(icarius) sing(ularium) | Imp(eratoris) n(ostri) optim(o) ac pien|tissim(o) | mihi fac(iendum) cur(avit). |*

*Frater Flave, commen[do] | tibi delictum  
nostr[um] | Militem. si sunt aliq<uid> infer[i, ---]. |*

To the spirits of the departed.

For Miles, of Marsacian origin. He lived for 19 years, most obsequious and faithful. Titus Aurelius Sanctinus, *duplicarius singularis* of our Emperor, had this made for me, best and most pious.

Brother Flavius, I commend my darling  
Miles to you, if something as the infernal shades exist [...]

**RD.14** = *CIL* IX 3158 (cfr. p. 697, 1409) = *ILS* 2682 = *CLERegio* IV 30 = EDR177461 = EDCS-14804166;<sup>3859</sup> (Corfinium/Corfinio, Italia; first half of the first century AD).

(column I)

*[-----] | Nigri annos XXXVIII.*

*U[n]i | nupta viro, summa cum |  
concordia ad ult<sup>i</sup> mum | diem pervenit,  
tres ex [e]o | superstites reliquid  
libero[s]. | unum maximis municipi  
honorib(us) | iudiciis August<i>  
Caesaris. usum | alterum castre<n> sibus  
eiusdem | Caesaris August<i> summis*

<sup>3858</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* VI 3221; *CIL* VI 32784; *AE* 1973.67; Speidel & Panciera 1989: 119-122; *AE* 1989.30; *AE* 1991.233; Speidel 1992: 353; Speidel 1994b.691; Panciera 2006: 1415; photograph of this inscription. See Speidel 1994b.691 for the photo of this inscription.

<sup>3859</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* IX 3158; *ILS* 2682; photographs of this inscription. See *CIL* IX p. 1409; EDCS-14804166; EDR177461; *CIL* website for photos of this inscription.

[eq]u[es]|tris ordinis honoribus,  
 et iam | superiori destinatum ordini. |  
 filiam sanctissimam probissimo |  
 viro coniunc[t]am et ex ea duos, ||

(column II)

[-----] |  
 [-----] |  
 [-----] |  
 [-----] |  
 [-----] |  
 [-----] |  
 [-----] |  
 [-----] |  
 [-----] |  
 [-----] |  
 dedit [---] | quas [---] | rep[---] |

For [...] Niger, who lived for 39 years.

Married to one man, she went to her final  
 day in the greatest harmony,  
 she left behind three surviving children  
 from him. One was given the greatest  
 honour of the *municipium* by the judgement of Caesar  
 Augustus. The other one the highest  
 honours of the *ordo equestris*  
 in the camps of the same Caesar Augustus,  
 and he had already been intended for a higher rank.  
 The most virtuous daughter, married  
 to a most excellent husband, and her two [children]  
 [10 lines missing]  
 [...] gave whom [...]

**RD.15** = *CIL* V 2501 = *ILS* 2243 = *SupplIt* 15 p. 59 sg. ad nr. = Buchi 2005: 216, nr. 22 = Gregori 2014: 205 = *AE* 2015.467 adn. = *AE* 2016.452 adn. = EDR130574 = EDCS-04201553,<sup>3860</sup> (Ateste/Este, Italia; 27 BC-AD 14).

*M(arcus) Billienus, M(arci) f(ilius), | Rom(ilia), Actiacus, | legione XI.*

*Proe|lio navali facto, | in coloniam de|ductus.*  
*ab ordi|[n]e decurio allec|[tus. ho]mo f'rug[i] | [-----]*

Marcus Billienus Actiacus, son of Marcus, of the Romilian tribe, [served in] the 11<sup>th</sup> legion.

<sup>3860</sup> This edition has been created using *CIL* V 2501; *ILS* 2243; Gregori 2014: 205; photograph of this inscription. See Gregori 2014: 213, figs. 1-2; EDCS-04201553 for the photo of this inscription.

After he had been in a naval battle, he was settled in a *colonia*,  
he had been selected as a *decurio* by the council. He was a temperate man [...].

## Bibliography

All abbreviations of Latin authors follow the *Thesaurus linguae Latinae* (ThLL) and of Greek authors Liddell-Scott-Jones (LSJ). All journal abbreviations follow *Année Philologique*.

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| <i>AEA</i>      | <i>Annona Epigraphica Austriaca</i> , (1979-).                                                                                                                              |
| - 1993          | <i>Akten des 7. Österreichischen Althistorikertages</i> (2001), Vienna, 49-127.                                                                                             |
| - 2001          | (2002), <i>Tyche</i> , 17, 205-240.                                                                                                                                         |
| - 2003          | (2003), <i>Tyche</i> , 18, 233-254.                                                                                                                                         |
| - 2005          | (2005), <i>Tyche</i> , 20, 217-258.                                                                                                                                         |
| - 2006          | (2007), <i>RÖ</i> , 30, 153-170.                                                                                                                                            |
| - 2007          | (2008), <i>Tyche</i> , 23, 181-225.                                                                                                                                         |
| - 2008          | (2009), <i>Tyche</i> , 24, 163-214.                                                                                                                                         |
| - 2009          | (2010), <i>Tyche</i> , 25, 185-204.                                                                                                                                         |
| - 2010          | (2011), <i>Tyche</i> , 26, 259-287.                                                                                                                                         |
| - 2011/12       | (2013), <i>RÖ</i> , 36, 349-378.                                                                                                                                            |
| - 2013/14       | (2014/15), <i>RÖ</i> , 37/38, 195-208.                                                                                                                                      |
| - 2016/17       | (2018), <i>RÖ</i> 41, 161-188.                                                                                                                                              |
| <i>AfrRom</i>   | <i>Africa Romana</i> .                                                                                                                                                      |
| <i>AHB</i>      | Mesihović, S., (2011), <i>Antiqui homines Bosnae</i> , Elektronski izdanje: Sarajevo.                                                                                       |
| <i>AIJ</i>      | Hoffiller, V., & B. Saria, (eds.), (1938), <i>Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslawien. 1: Noricum und Pannonia superior</i> , Hakkert: Zagreb.                                   |
| <i>Alumnus</i>  | Brancato, N. G., (2015), <i>Una componente trasversale nella società: gli alumni; inscriptiones latinae ad alumnus pertinentes commentariumque</i> , Ed. Artec-onlus: Rome. |
| <i>AMN</i>      | <i>Acta Musei Napocensis</i> .                                                                                                                                              |
| <i>AnalEpi</i>  | Solin, H., (1998), <i>Analecta Epigraphica 1970-1997</i> , Rome.                                                                                                            |
| <i>AntAfr</i>   | <i>Antiquités Africaines</i> , (1967-).                                                                                                                                     |
| <i>Arachne</i>  | iDAI.objects arachne, the central object database of the German Archaeological Institute and the Archaeological Institute of the                                            |



University of Cologne, administered by R. Förtsch,  
<https://arachne.dainst.org/>, last accessed 8/4/2024.

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- BritRom* Tomlin, R. S. O., (2018), *Britannia Romana. Roman Inscriptions and Roman Britain*, Oxbow Books: Oxford.
- CAG* *Carte archéologique de la Gaule*.
- 25/90 (2003), *Doubs-Territoire de Belfort*, Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres: Paris.
  - 69-02 (2002), *Strasbourg*, Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres: Paris.
- CBI* Schallmayer, E., K. Eibl, J. Ott, G. Preuss, & E. Wittkopf, (1990), *Der römische Weihebezirk von Osterburken I: Corpus der griechischen und lateinischen Beneficiärer-Inschriften des Römischen Reiches*, Stuttgart.
- CCCA V* Vermaseren, M. J., (1986), *Corpus cultus Cybelae Attidisque (CCCA), V, Aegyptus, Africa, Hispania, Gallia et Britannia*, Brill: Leiden.
- CEACelio* Gregori, G. L., (2001), *La collezione epigrafica dell'Antiquarium Comunale del Celio: inventario generale – inediti – revisioni – contributi al Riordino*, Ed. Quasar: Rome.
- CECapitol* Panciera, S., (1987), *La collezione epigrafica dei musei Capitolini*, Ed. di Storia e Letteratura: Rome.
- CERom* *Cronica epigrafica a României*.
- XXXVI, 2016 Petolescu, C. C., (2017), *Cronica epigrafica a României*, XXXVI, 2016, SCIVA, 68(1-4), 191-212.
  - XL, 2020 Petolescu, C. C., (2021), *Cronica epigrafica a României*, XL, 2020, SCIVA, 72(1-4), 209-256.
- CEStabia* Camodeca, G., & M. Magalhaes (2002), *La collezione epigrafica dell'antiquarium di Castellammare di Stabia*, Nicola Longobardi Editore: Castellammare di Stabia.
- CIG* *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, (1828-1877), Reimer: Berlin.
- CIGP* Kovács, P., (2007), *Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum Pannonicarum*, University of Debrecen: Debrecen.
- CIL* *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL)*, (1893-), de Gruyter: Berlin
- CLE* Bücheler, F., E. Lommatzsch, & P. Cugusi, (1895-2023), *Carmina Latina Epigraphica*, 4 vols., Teubner: Leipzig.
- CLEAfr I* Cugusi, P., & M.T. Sblendorio Cugusi, (2012), *I Carmina Latina Epigraphica non-Bücheleriani delle province africane*, Pàtron: Bologna, Italy.

|                 |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
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| CLEAfrigue      | Hamdoune, C., (ed.), (2011), <i>Vie, mort et poésie dans l'Afrique romaine d'après un choix de Carmina Latina Epigraphica</i> , Brüssels.                                                                                                                                                       |
| CLEBrit I       | Schumacher, M., (2012), <i>Die Carmina Latina Epigraphica des römischen Britannien</i> , PhD thesis, Universität Berlin: Berlin, published online: <a href="https://refubium.fu-berlin.de/handle/fub188/13698">https://refubium.fu-berlin.de/handle/fub188/13698</a> , last accessed 16/4/2024. |
| CLEBrit II      | Cugusi, P., (2014b), 'Carmi latini epigrafici della Britannia', <i>Epigraphica</i> , 76, 355-407.                                                                                                                                                                                               |
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| CLEGall         | Cugusi, P., & M.T. Sblendorio Cugusi, (2019), <i>Carmina latina epigraphica non-Bücheleriani delle Galliae</i> , Editrice Stilgraf: Cesena.                                                                                                                                                     |
| CLEHisp         | Cugusi, P., (2012), <i>Carmina Latina Epigraphica Hispanica post Buechelerianam collectionem editam reperta cognita (CLEHisp)</i> , Faenza.                                                                                                                                                     |
| CLEiLAR 1       | Morelli, A. M., (2020), <i>Le iscrizioni metriche del Latium adiectum. Carmina Latina Epigraphica in Latio Adiecto Reperta, Band 1</i> , Edizioni Tored: Tivoli.                                                                                                                                |
| CLEMoes, CLEThr | Cugusi, P., & M. T. Sblendorio Cugusi, (2008), <i>Carmina Latina Epigraphica Moesia, Carmina Latina Epigraphica Thraciae</i> , Pàtron Editore: Bologna.                                                                                                                                         |
| CLENuovo        | Cugusi, P., (2007), <i>Per Un Novo Corpus dei Carmina Latina Epigraphica</i> , Bardi: Rome.                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| CLEO            | <i>Carmina Latina Epigraphica</i> , <a href="https://institucional.us.es/cleo/?lang=es">https://institucional.us.es/cleo/?lang=es</a> , last accessed 16/4/2024.                                                                                                                                |
| CLEOr           | See Cugusi, P., & M. T. Sblendorio Cugusi, (2011), 'Carmina Latina Epigraphica delle Province Greco-Orientali (CLEOr)', <i>Epigraphica</i> , 73, 161-245.                                                                                                                                       |
| CLEPann         | See Cugusi, P., & M. T. Sblendorio Cugusi, (2007), <i>Studi sui carmi epigrafici: Carmina Latina Epigraphica Pannonica</i> , Pàtron Editore: Bologna.                                                                                                                                           |
| CLERegio IV     | Buonocore, M., (1997), 'Carmina Latina Epigraphica Regionis IV Augusteae. Avvio ad un censimento', <i>Giornale italiano di filologia</i> , 49, 21-50.                                                                                                                                           |

- CSE Kruschwitz, P., (2002), *Carmina Saturnia Epigraphica. Einleitung, Text und Kommentar zu den saturnischen Versinschriften*, Franz Steiner Verlag: Stuttgart.
- CSIR D *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani. Deutschland.*
- 2 5 Boppert, W., (1992), *Corpus signorum imperii Romani. Corpus der Skulpturen der römischen Welt. Deutschland, 2, 5. Germania Superior. Militärische Grabdenkmäler aus Mainz und Umgebung*, Mainz.
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- CSL Cholodniak, I. I., (1904), *Carmina sepulcralia latina, Collegit Johannes Cholodniak, edition altera emendate et aucta*, Birkenfeld: Petrópolis.
- DM Tedeschi Grisanti, G., & H. Solin, (2011), *Dis Manibus, pili, epitaffi et altre cose antiche di Giovannantonio Dosio*, Ed. ETS: Pisa.
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| EpPann III | Alföldy, G., (2004), ‘Epigraphica Pannonica III’, <i>SpecNova</i> , 18, 1-48.                                                                                                             |
| EpRom      | <i>Epigraphica Romana.</i>                                                                                                                                                                |
| ERBeturi   | Canto, A. M., (1997), <i>Epigrafía Romana de la Beturia céltica</i> , UAM Ediciones: Madrid.                                                                                              |
| ERPLeon    | Rabanal Alonso, M. A., & S.M. García Martínez, (2001), <i>Epigrafía romana de la provincia de León: revisión y actualización</i> , Universidad de León: León.                             |
| FeRA       | <i>Frankfurter elektronische Rundschau zur Altertumskunde.</i>                                                                                                                            |
| GeA        | Schmidt Heidenreich, C., (2013), <i>Le glaive et l’autel: camps et piété militaires sous le Haut-Empire Romain</i> , Presses Université de Rennes: Rennes.                                |
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| Habitus    | Franzoni, C., (1987), <i>Habitus atque habitudo militis: monumenti funerari di militari nella Cisalpina Romana</i> , “L’Erma” di Bretschneider: Rome.                                     |
| HD         | <i>Epigraphic Database Heidelberg</i> , <a href="https://edh.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/">https://edh.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/</a> , last accessed 8/4/2024.                                       |
| HEp        | <i>Hispania Epigraphica</i> , (1995-2014), <i>HEp 1989-2011</i> , vols. 1-20.                                                                                                             |
| Hygiae     | Benseddik, N., (2010), <i>Esculape et Hygie en Afrique</i> , de Boccard: Paris.                                                                                                           |
| IDR III 1  | Russu, I. I., (1977), <i>Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae: Dacia Superior 1: Pars occidentalis</i> , Acad. RSR: Bucharest.                                                                    |
| IDRE       | Petolescu, C. C., (1996-), <i>Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae. Inscriptiones extra fines Daciae repertae</i> , Bucharest.                                                                    |
| IEAquil    | Lettich, G., (2003), <i>Itinerari epigrafici Aquileiesi: guida alle epigrafi eposte nel Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Aquileia</i> , Editreg Srl: Triest.                               |
| IG         | <i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> , (1877-), BBAW: Berlin.                                                                                                                                     |
| IGLAlexa   | Breccia, E., (1911), <i>Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée d’Alexandrie</i> , Imprimerie de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale: Cairo.                        |
| IGLNovae   | Kolendo, J., (1997), <i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de Novae (Mésie Inférieure)</i> , Ausonius: Bordeaux.                                                                            |

- IGRR(P)* Cagnat, R., (1906/1927), *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes*, E. Lehoux: Paris.
- IGUR* Moretti, L., (1968-1990), *Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae*, Istituto Italiano per la Storia Antica: Rome.
- IKoeln* Galsterer, B., & H., (2010), *Die Römischen Steininschriften aus Köln: IKöln<sup>2</sup>*, Zabern: Mainz am Rhein.
- ILAlg* *Inscriptions latines d'Algérie*, (1922-), Paris.
- ILBulg* Gerov, B., (1989), *Inscriptiones Latinae in Bulgaria repertae*, Univ. "Kliment Ohridski": Sofia.
- ILCV* Diehl, E., (1925-1967), *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres*, Weidmann: Berlin.
- ILJug* Šašel, A., (1986), *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCM I et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt*, Narodni Muzej: Ljubljana.
- ILLRP* (1991), 'Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae', *Epigrafia. Actes di colloque international d'épigraphie latine en mémoire de Attilio Degrassi*, Rome, 241-491.
- ILMMalaga* Serrano Ramos, E., & R. Atencia Páez, (1981), *Inscripciones latinas del museo de Málaga*, Ministerio de Cultura, Dirección General de Bellas Artes, Archivos y Bibliotecas, Patronato Nacional de Museos: Madrid.
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- ILTun* Merlin, A., (1944), *Inscriptions latines de la Tunisie*, Presses Univ. de France: Paris.
- ILS* Dessau, H., (ed.), (1892-1916), *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, 3 vols., Weidmann: Berlin.
- IMS* *Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure*, (1976-1995),
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- IPOstie* Thylander, H., (1952), *Inscriptions du port d'Ostie*, Gleerup: Lund.
- IRPLEon* Diego Santos, F., (1986), *Inscripciones Romanas de la Provincia de León*, Institución Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: León.

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| IRSAT        | Correll, J., (2002) <i>Inscriptiones romanes de Saguntum y el seu territori</i> , Valencia.                                                                                                                                                              |
| IRT          | Reynolds J. M., & J.B. Ward-Perkins, (1952), <i>The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania</i> , British School at Rome: Rome, online <a href="https://irt2021.inslib.kcl.ac.uk/en/">https://irt2021.inslib.kcl.ac.uk/en/</a> , last accessed 16/4/2024.     |
| IScM         | <i>Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris Graecae et Latinae</i> , (1980-), Bucharest.                                                                                                                                                                           |
| - II         | Stoian, I., & A. Suceveanu, (1987), <i>Tomis et territorium</i> , Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România: Bucharest.                                                                                                                            |
| - V          | See Doruțiu-Boilă, E., (1980).                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| - VI 2       | Avram A., (2018), <i>Tomis et son territoire</i> , Editura Academiei Române: Bucharest.                                                                                                                                                                  |
| ISIS         | Helttula, A., (2007), <i>Le iscrizioni sepolcrali latine nell'Isola sacra</i> , Institutum Romanum Finlandiae: Rome.                                                                                                                                     |
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|                |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
|----------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| RSK            | Galsterer, B., & H., (1975), <i>Die Römischen Steininschriften aus Köln</i> , Cologne.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| Saturne        | Le Glay, M., (1966), <i>Saturne africain</i> , 2 vols., Arts et Métiers Graphiques: Paris.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| SCIVA          | <i>Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche și Arheologie</i> .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| SEBarc         | <i>Sylloge Epigraphica Barcinonensis</i> , (1994-), Barcelona.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| SEGnes         | <i>Studia Europaea Gnesnensia</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
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| SupplIt Images | <i>Supplementa Italica – images: supplementi fotografici ai volume italiani del CIL</i> .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| TitAq          | <i>Tituli Aquincenses</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|                | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Kovács, P., &amp; Á. Szabó, (2009), <i>Tituli Aquincenses I: Tituli Operum Publicorum et Honorarii et Sacri</i>, eds. Á. Szabó, P. Kovács, B. Fehér, B. Lörincz, Z. Mráv, &amp; M. Németh, Pytheas: Budapest.</li> <li>- Kovács, P., &amp; Á. Szabó, (2010), <i>Tituli Aquincenses II: Tituli Sepulcrales et Alii Budapestini Reperti</i>, assisted by B. Fehér, eds. L. Borhy, B. Fehér, P. Kovács, B. Lörincz, Z. Mráv, M. Németh, Á. Szabó, &amp; E. Tóth, Pytheas: Budapest.</li> <li>- Fehér, B., (2011), <i>Tituli Aquincenses III: Tituli Instrumenti Domestici</i>, Pytheas: Budapest.</li> <li>- Alföldy, G., P. Kovács, Á. Szabó, &amp; B. Fehér, (2020), <i>Tituli Aquincenses IV: Pars Septentrionalis Agri Aquincensis</i>, eds. G. Alföldy, B. Fehér, P. Kovács, B. Lörincz, Z. Mráv, Á. Szabó, &amp; E. Tóth, Pytheas: Budapest.</li> </ul> |

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