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AUXILIARIA

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AUXILIARIA*

The first two of the four short notes presented here investigate auxiliary cohorts whose names have not been satisfactorily identified. The other two are concerned with fragmentary tombstones of auxiliary cavalrymen.

Cohors (quingenaria) Canprag

In the third volume of *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* among inscriptions with no secure findspot from the province of Pannonia Superior there was published the following altar (III 3668):

Dis patris Ma/nalpho et Thean/drio pro sal / dd[[n]] nn[[n]] / Cl Victorinus/ eq coh Ð .a.sro /D CI Maxim..s an / dom Cam v s l l

Variant readings were offered, those for lines 6–8 were as follows:

eq coh Ð Ca[]fro / e CI Max[i]m[u]s fil / dom Cand v s l l l

The following letters were reported as ligatured:

1 *Ma*; 2 *nal, et*; 5 *us*; 7 *im*

According to Mommsen the most likely findspot was Carnuntum and he published a corrected version in *Ephemeris Epigraphica* (EE II 722):

Dis patris Ma/nalpho et Thean/drio pro sal / dd nn /Cl Victorinus / eq coh Ð Canprag /et CI Maximus fil / dom Can v s l l

He reported the following ligatures:

1 *Ma*; 2 *nal, et*; 5 *us*; 6 *np, ra*; 7 *et, us*

Essentially this version was reproduced by Dessau in *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* but with the variants *Manapho* in lines 1–2 and *Canprac* in line 6 (ILS 4349). The uncertainty of the reading presented in CIL has given rise to suggestions that the unit was *cohors (quingenaria) Maurorum* because it was a known unit.¹ The altar though is still in existence in the Museum in Bratislava albeit with the suggested letters of the inscription painted in red to the detriment of pursuing variant readings. It has been republished in this state together with a photograph of an early squeeze, a further reading, and a suggested date of AD 209/211 for the altar's dedication²:

Dis patris Ma/napho et Thean/drio pro sal / dd[d] nn[n] / Cl Victorinus/ eq coh Ð Canprg(?) / et CI Maximus fil / dom Can v s l l

The following ligatures are recorded in this version:

1 *Ma*; 2 *na, et*; 5 *nus*; 6 *np, ra*; 7 *et, mu*

The photograph of the squeeze reveals the damage to the surface of the stone especially line 6 where the name of the unit is located. The part of the line which is reasonably clear is *COH Ð CAN*, but what comes after is not certain. The last letter of the line is curved and could be C or O or G. The suggested ligatures on the N and the reported R are not at all apparent.

* I should like to thank Prof. A. Birley and Dr. M. M. Roxan for reading an earlier version of this paper. Graham Sumner provided the two reconstruction drawings.

¹ C. Cichorius, *Cohors*, RE IV, 1900, col. 315. Whence W. Wagner, *Die Dislokation der römischen Auxiliarformationen in den Provinzen Noricum, Pannonien, Moesien und Dakien von Augustus bis Gallienus*, Berlin 1938, 117.

² J. Ceška, R. Hošek, *Inscriptiones Pannoniae Superioris in Slovacia Transdanubiana asservatae*, Brno 1967, no. 12.

It has been suggested that the unit should be restored as *cohors (quingenaria) Can(athenorum)* which would suit the Arabian origin of the gods named.³ This suggested unit has the merit of relating to a known location in Syria from which auxiliaries were recruited although it does not attempt to solve the problem of identifying the letters at the end of line 6. However, it would allow the origin specified in line 8 to be completed as *dom(o) Can(athenus)*. This suggested identification of the cohort is now supported by the recent discovery of a tombstone at Carnuntum.⁴ The text inscribed on it commemorates Aurelius Silvanus, a signifer of *coh(ors) (quingenaria) Cana(thenorum)*, who came from Damascus. This demonstrates that there was definitely such a unit in existence in the early third century at, or near, Carnuntum. Given the uncertainty of the cohort name on the altar set up by Claudius Victorinus because of the damage to the key part of the relevant line two new readings can be suggested. One is that there are two letters after CAN, a P rather than R and then a C giving the epithet *p(ia) c(onstans)*. The other is that there are three letters after CAN, an S (as in III 3668), an A and a G giving *sag(ittariorum)*. The latter would be more appropriate because a *cohors I Flavia Canathenorum milliaria sagittariorum* was already in existence. It was stationed in Raetia by AD 116 (RMD III 155, AE 1995, 1185) and remained there throughout the second century. Therefore the cohort in which Claudius Victorinus served as a cavalryman can be named as *cohors (quingenaria) Can(athenorum) sag(ittariorum) (equitata)*. The text of the altar can be read as:

Dis patris Ma/napho et Thean/drio pro sal / dd[d] nn[n] / Cl Victorinus / eq coh Ð Can sag / et Cl Maximus fil / dom Can v s l l

Cohors Fisil

An altar found at Čačak in modern Yugoslavia was first published in CIL III with this reading (III 6320):

Dianae / Aug / T Statius / Crispinus / dec eq / cohors Fisil

The location of the site is in the eastern part of the province of Dalmatia close to the border with Moesia Superior. A. von Domaszewski in a subsequent visit to the area sought in vain for the inscription. He did, however, suggest that the name of the unit should be amended to *cohors (tis) I Del(matarum)*.⁵ The wisdom of such an amendment has been doubted but another altar was found there which had first been reported in CIL III with a corrupt text as follows (III 6321):

IOM / et genio loci / sacro dica/vit Liv imer/nus col XIII / vot / Paterno et rps

Von Domaszewski, on his visit to the area, had rediscovered this altar and he republished it with the following reading (III 8336):

IOM / et genio loci / sacro dica/vit L. Iul. Mater/nus 7 coh VIII/ Vol. / Laterano et Ruf cos

This rereading has been accepted and appears in G. Alföldy's article on the auxiliary troops in Dalmatia.⁶ He also accepted the identification of *cohors I Delmatarum milliaria* at Čačak proposed by von Domaszewski.⁷ He also cited the discovery of an altar set up by a tribune of the cohort at Užice some

³ A. Salač, Zwei vorislamische Gottheiten auf einer römischen Inschrift des Museums von Bratislava, *Archiv Orientální* XXIV, 1956, 564–567 esp. 567.

⁴ *JÖAI* 59, 1989, Beiblatt 24–25.

⁵ A. von Domaszewski, *Studien zur Geschichte der Donauprovinzen I*, *AEM* XIII, 1890, 129–154 esp. 132 note 16. His amendment was reprinted as CIL III 8335.

⁶ G. Alföldy, *Die Auxiliärtruppen der Provinz Dalmatien*. In: *Römische Heeresgeschichte: Beiträge 1962–1985*, Amsterdam 1987, 239–297, *Inschriftenkatalog* 18/37.

⁷ G. Alföldy (n. 6) *Inschriftenkatalog* 12/8.

miles to the west to support the argument (III 8353).⁸ But there is another unit which could be identified with *cohor Fisil* and it is recorded at Čačak. This is *cohors II milliaria Delmatarum*. It has been plausibly restored on an altar found there in more recent times⁹:

Serapi et Isidi Cn Pomp Politianus trib coh II [mil.Delm.]

Thus rather than *cohor Fisil* it is possible to read *cohor II Del* in the relevant line of the Crispinus altar. The proposed amendments would be FI = II; a damaged S = D; and IL = EL rather than von Domaszewski's F = I; IS = D; IL = EL. The full name of the unit would therefore have been *cohors II Delmatarum milliaria equitata*. The lost inscription would then have read as follows:

Dianae/ Aug / T Statius / Crispinus / dec eq / cohor II Del

An Inscription from Egypt

Amongst the surface debris cleared during the excavations of the tomb of Hetepka at Saqqara in Egypt were found four fragments of a Latin inscription. These were first published as¹⁰:

*Q Aebutius Q f Quir I[...] NAT[alae]
Apriana(e) decurio a[lae? miss]us hon[e]
sta missione vixit [annos] VIII [...]
et eum TO[...]OMMON[...]
RIS VA[...]
CO[...]*

However, the drawing of the fragments does not support this reading. As reconstructed the end of line 2 of the text in fragment c only lacks one letter and this is certainly correct. Thus line 1 should only have one letter missing at the end and the commentary in *L'Année Epigraphique* therefore proposed to read [*eques i]n al[a]* (AE 1980, 896). The parallel cited reads:

*... C Iulius Dexter vet mil in ala eq cur turmae armor custos signifer tur milita annos XXVI dimis
emer honesta missione ...*

(ILS 2518, Bir-um-Ali near Theveste)

There is also a group of texts commemorating citizens who served in *ala I Pannoniorum* in Africa and Numidia which provides further suitable parallels:

- A) *M Licinius M f Gal Lug Fidelis milit eq in leg III Aug ann
XVI fact dupl in ala Pann mens III vix ann XXXII h s e ...*
(AE 1969–70, 661, Ammaedara)
- B) *... T Flavius Quir Breucus veteranus acceptarius militavit
in ala I Pannoniorum dec et princeps an XXVI ...*
(AE 1915, 68, Cuicul)
- C) *... ex testamento M Anni M f Quir Martialis mil leg III Aug
duplic alae Pann dec al eiusdem 7 leg III Aug et XXX Ulpiae
Victric missi honesta missione ...*
(VIII 2354, Thamugadi)

⁸ G. Alföldy (n. 6) *Inschriftenkatalog* 12/7.

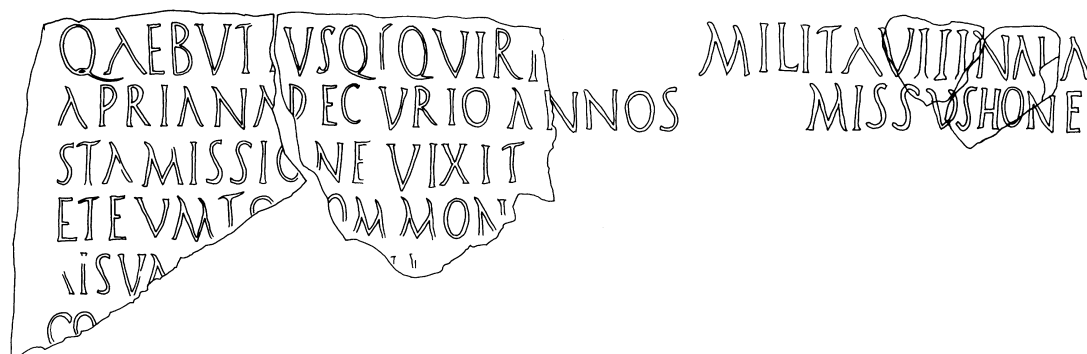
⁹ *Spomenik* 98, 1941–48, 251, nr. 494 as restored by Alföldy (G. Alföldy (n. 6) *Inschriftenkatalog* 13/3).

¹⁰ J. J. Wilkes, *Latin texts*. In G. T. Martin, *The tomb of Hetepka and other reliefs and inscriptions from the sacred animal necropolis, North Saqqara 1964–1973*, London 1979, 121–123. Size of the fragments: fragment a - 30 cm. by 38 cm.; fragment b - 28 cm. by 30 cm.; fragment c - 14 cm. by 12 cm.; fragment d - 11 cm. by 10 cm.

The cumulative evidence from these inscriptions enables a different reconstruction of the text to be made which takes fully into account the fact that none of the words which survive complete on the conjoined fragments a and b are abbreviated. The sole exception is probably the name of the voting tribe to which Aebutius belonged. This most likely was inscribed as *Quir* although the surviving part of the letter following is an upright which might suggest an I and hence *Quirina* in full. Normally, however, the name of the tribe was abbreviated as in the case of T. Flavius Breucus (example B above) even though most of the other words in his inscription are not shortened. After the missing *cognomen* of the deceased comparison with the other texts suggests that there would have been the words *militavit in* and nothing else. This is substantiated by the letters preserved on fragment d. What has been interpreted as the numeral *VIII.* on this fragment is inscribed in letters which are the same size as those in line 1.¹¹ Therefore they should belong to this line. In fact the top left of the N in line 1 of fragment c is preserved on the right edge of fragment d demonstrating that these two fragments conjoin. The new reading of the end of line 1 is therefore *]vit in al[a]/* with the top of the T very small as is the case with the one in Aebutius. In line 2 the letter tops of fragment d can be interpreted as the top of the second S and the V in *]mis]sus*.

Such a reconstruction would retain the syntax of lines 1 and 2 suggested by the comparative inscriptions. It would also mean a monument of reasonable size rather than one which could have been nearly two metres wide if there were more letters per line. Thus the line lengths can be established with a fair amount of certainty, especially line 2 although the length of service cannot be established more specifically than at least 25 years since Aebutius had been honourably discharged. This means that the gap in line 1 would have contained about six letters which would have been the *cognomen* of the deceased. The upright stroke of the first letter survives. The facsimile of the inscription shows no trace of a horizontal stroke at its foot. Therefore the possible letters are F, H, I, K, M, N, P, R, T. Of the other lines of the inscription not enough survives to enable a coherent reading to be made.

The proposed restoration of the text based on the above suggestions is:



*Q Aebutius Q f Quir I[.... milita]vit in al[a]
 Apriana decurio a[nnos mis]sus hon[e]
 sta missione vixit [annos ...]
 ET EVM TO[..]OMMON[...]
 RIS VA[...]
 CO[...]*

¹¹ I owe to Graham Sumner the observation that the letters on fragment d were too tall to fit in line 3 as had previously been suggested.

A Tombstone from Pannonia Superior

A fragmentary tombstone of an auxiliary cavalryman has been published on a number of occasions as¹²:

... C]alvus
 [eques] alae F(rontoniana) ses
 [quip(licarius) a]lae I Arevac(orum)
 [stipendiorum ...] an(norum)
 [...]

The tombstone was first mentioned by A. Betz in 1935 without a findspot but he stated that it had been in the museum at Carnuntum for some time.¹³ The cemeteries around the fortress at Carnuntum do seem the most likely findspot. It has also been suggested that the fragmentary text mentions only *ala I Arevacorum*.¹⁴

These readings are sufficiently different to make it worthwhile to reassess the tombstone especially as a good photograph has now been published.¹⁵ This photograph helps to establish the date when the tombstone was set up. It has been shown that this particular type of monument with triangular gable in which there is often decoration in the form of a rosette belongs to the second half of the first century at Carnuntum.¹⁶ Such a date for the tombstone is when the majority of auxiliary cavalrymen were not citizens. Thus it could be expected that the deceased was represented by a *cognomen* and by the name of his father. The photograph of the monument supports this because the line lengths are shorter than previously indicated. This is because the midpoint of the gable with its rosette is preserved enabling the dimensions of the stone to be established. The first line has space for only two letters (See drawing). The only suitable names known which end in [--]alvus are Balvus and Calvus and they would have fitted only if the name had been indented.¹⁷ Line 2 lacks only three letters at most. Thus [eq] alae F(rontoniana) is still possible, but, at this date, no parallel can be found for the term *ala* inscribed in full accompanied by a severely truncated unit name.¹⁸ There are a few possible names based on the remaining letters [...]alae f and all are of Thracian origin. These are Disala, Dizala, Eptala and Mucla.¹⁹ A Thracian in a non-Thracian *ala* in Pannonia in the second half of the first century is certainly possible as many are known to have been recruited for service in Syria, on the Danube and the

¹² A. Betz, RLiÖ 18, 1937, 74 nr. 27b; F. Hild, Supplementum epigraphicum zu CIL III, unpublished Dissertation, Wien 1968, nr. 151 whence finally AE 1978, 619; J. M. Roldan Hervas, Hispania y el ejército romano, Salamanca 1974, 361 nr. 2; E. Vorbeck, Militärschriften aus Carnuntum. 2. Aufl., Wien 1980, no. 282; J. Spaul, ALA²: the auxiliary cavalry units of the pre-Diocletianic imperial Roman army, Andover 1994, 31–33, especially 33 note 5, and 123 note 2.

¹³ A. Betz, Die römischen Militärschriften in Österreich, JÖAI 29, 1935, Beiblatt 318 no. 384.

¹⁴ A. Radnóti & L. Barkóczy, The distribution of troops in Pannonia Inferior during the second century A.D., AArchHung 1, 1951, 195 note 32; A. Mócsy, Die Bevölkerung von Pannonien bis zu den Markomannenkriegen, Budapest 1959, 239 nr. 1; P. A. Holder, Studies in the auxilia of the Roman army from Augustus to Trajan, BAR International Series 70, Oxford 1980, 279 nr. 522.

¹⁵ CSIR Österreich, I,4, Wien 1972, nr. 565. Dimensions of the stone: 69 cm. by 48 cm. letter heights 7–6 cm.

¹⁶ H. Zabełlicky, Der Grabsteine eines Soldaten der XV. Legion aus Carnuntum und sein Typ. In: Römische Geschichte, Altertumskunde und Epigraphik: Festschrift für Artur Betz zur Vollendung seines 80. Lebensjahres. Herausgegeben von E. Weber und G. Dobesch, Wien 1985, 677–685.

¹⁷ A. Mócsy, Nomenclator provinciarum Europae Latinarum et Galliae Cisalpiniae cum indice inverso, Budapestini 1983, 396.

¹⁸ For this period no exact parallel exists with an auxiliary unit recorded in this way. The nearest are the examples of Troucleimarus a cavalryman of *ala T(hracum) I* from Traismauer in Noricum (AE 1950, 116) and Ti Claud[ius] Vanamiu[s] of *ala I H(ispanorum)* found at Mattersdorf in Upper Pannonia. In each instance there is a numeral to help identification and *ala* is abbreviated to *al(ae)*.

¹⁹ A. Mócsy (n. 17) 104, 116, 193.

Rhineland.²⁰ The last surviving line has only one letter missing which would have been the Q of *ses/[q(ui)pl(ici)arius]*.

Because there is no known *cognomen* to complete line 1 the possibility that the deceased had been granted citizenship by an Emperor but had not yet been discharged may be considered as a way for the gap to be filled. Given the most likely date of the tombstone the imperial name would have been Flavius. Indeed there are instances in Pannonia of tombstones of late first century date where the first two elements of the name have been abbreviated to T(itus) F(lavius).²¹ At this time the *praenomen* was invariably included in the name and so there would have been one letter too many for the available space on this inscription unless the two letters were ligatured. Because the V and A in *Arevac(or)um* are ligatured this cannot be ruled out. There is a nearly contemporary parallel of a patronymic following the *tria nomina* provided by T Flavius Bassus Mucalae f of the *ala Noricorum* who died at Cologne (XIII 8308). If the name of the deceased took this form then he may well have borne the *cognomen* Calvus which represents the physical attribute of baldheaded or hairless.²² Such names were commonly chosen by Thracian recruits to the Roman army.²³ His father's name may have been Disala/Dizala which is more common than Eptala and Mucala.²⁴ There are some traces of letters surviving on the line following the name of the *ala*. Normally this would give the origin of the deceased or his age or possibly the name of the *turma* in which he served but not enough survives to be certain.

On present evidence these proposals are not certain enough to be incorporated into the text therefore it seems best to restore the text as follows:



[..]alvus
 [...]alae f ses
 [q] alae I Arevac
 [...]AN/[...]

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²⁰ Syria: diplomas AD 88 (P. Weiß, *Neue Militärdiplome*, ZPE 117, 1997, 229–231, nr. 2); AD 91 (RMD I 5). The Danube: diploma AD 99 for Moesia Inferior (XVI 45). The Rhineland: inscriptions XIII 8304, 8308, 8311, 8312. There are also Thracians recorded in Spain in the reign of Vespasian (II 2984) and in Africa in the reign of Nero (AE 1930, 133). The main period for this recruitment is between AD 63 and AD 71. Note also Cusides Disal(a)e f of the *ala Frontoniana* who died at Intercisa in Pannonia Inferior probably at the end of the first century (RIU 1220).

²¹ Vienna: T F Draccus cavalryman of *ala I Flavia Domitiana Britannica milliaria cR* (III 15197); T F Verecund(us) *imaginifer* of *ala I Flavia Augusta Britannica milliaria cR* (III 4576). Budapest: T F Bonio cavalryman of *ala I Frontoniana* (III 3679).

²² I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, Helsinki 1965, 235.

²³ B. Gerov, *Epigraphische Beiträge zur Geschichte des mösischen Limes in vorclaudischer Zeit*, *AAntHung* 15, 1967, 85–105 esp. 102; P. A. Holder (n. 14) 53–54.

²⁴ D. Detschew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste*, Wien 1957, 133, 168, 328.