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SOME PUBLISHED, BUT NOT VERY WELL KNOWN LATIN INSCRIPTIONS

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It is my aim in this article to point out the existence of some Latin inscriptions of more than average interest which have been published even in widely known journals and monographs (as contrasted with publications of a more local nature and interest, likely to be ignored by many scholars) but in spite of this do not seem to have received the attention they might deserve. In most cases the reason for this is that these inscriptions have for some reason been overlooked by the editors of the *Année épigraphique* (henceforth *AE*). Of course it must be noted that the non-inclusion of an inscription in the *AE* may have its reasons; in the early volumes, the editors do not seem to have been too keen on including simple funerary texts, especially if they came from Africa (note R. Cagnat referring to African funerary inscriptions as "la plaie de l'épigraphie africaine", *AE* 1888, p. 33), and it has always been the policy of the *AE* not, or at least not necessarily, to include inscriptions which were published within corpora or similar publications. One can of course see the point of this, but as a result many inscriptions may remain unnoticed by those who, as many scholars do, approach the epigraphical evidence simply by checking the indexes of the *CIL* volumes on the one hand and, in order to cover the more recent finds, of the *AE* volumes on the other, at this point assuming – incorrectly – that the *AE* will have on offer all or at least most of the texts that were not yet included in *CIL*. Of course this problem is mitigated by some factors. Especially the more recent *AE* volumes often do include also inscriptions published within corpora, especially the more important ones,¹

* Thanks are due to Professors A. R. Birley and Werner Eck, who have been kind enough to read the manuscript and to furnish me with some observations and addenda.

¹ Of course, the importance of an inscription depends somewhat on the point of view of the editor. Observe, e.g., that it is announced in *AE* 2011, 1681 that this *AE* volume will include texts

or at least informative references to them. There is also the fact that a normal corpus as a rule includes many inscriptions published in various journals, and as such ending up in the *AE*, before the publication of the corpus in question (e.g., before being published in 2010 in the *Tituli Aquincenses* as no. 643, an inscription from Aquincum = Budapest had already been published elsewhere, ending up in *AE* 2004, 1141 and 2009, 1168). This means that these inscriptions can be approached at least through their presence in *AE* volumes antedating the corpus. Moreover, there are of course nowadays also various epigraphical databases of which the Clauss-Slaby database certainly does cover a very wide range of published inscriptions. However, although epigraphical databases are extremely useful, the problem is that in order to use them one needs to know exactly what one is looking for, namely one or at the most two keywords – a name, a certain expression, etc. However, there are many phenomena that cannot be located simply by searching for the attestations of a particular keyword, and this is where the indexes of epigraphical publications can be of use. Those studying, for instance, all possible expressions or phrases used to describe children or wives or husbands or other relatives in inscriptions simply must turn to epigraphical indexes (e.g., the section "Épithètes ; termes laudatifs" in the *AE*). Moreover, some inscriptions are published in corpora in an unsatisfactory way and thus, as editors of databases are not necessarily expected to correct the readings of the inscriptions they are adding to the database, risk ending up in epigraphical databases as originally published. For instance, in the volume published by M. A. Byrne and G. Labarre, *Nouvelles inscriptions d'Antioche de Pisidie d'après les Note-books de W. M. Ramsay* (2006), there is, as no. 176, the votive inscription addressed to *L(una)* of a certain *M(arcus) Oppius Sp(urius) f(ilius) Col(lina) Gemellus, "prae(fectus) co(hortis)"*. Unfortunately, this particular inscription is not among the four inscriptions cited from this book in *AE* 2006, 1495–98, but it is included in the Clauss-Slaby database on the basis of the original publication. On its way from the *editio princeps* to an item in the database, the inscription has received two modifications, namely the correction of *Sp(urius)* to *Sp(uri)* and that of *L(una)* to *L(unae)*, a dative rather than a nominative being required in this dedication, but even here the man still appears as the prefect of an unnamed cohort. But *prae(fectus) co(hortis)* is cer-

from the corpus of Z. B. Ben Abdallah & L. Ladjimi Sebäi, *Catalogue des inscriptions latine païennes inédites du Musée de Carthage* (2011), but only "les textes principaux". However, at least nos. 98–104 and 107–13 have not been included in *AE* 2011, although nos. 98ff. seem to be fragments of inscriptions honouring senators and equestrians (note, e.g., no. 98 with the mention of *[Laurentium L]avinatium*, no. 99 with the mention of the legion *II Trai[ana]*, etc.).

tainly not a plausible abbreviation of *praefectus cohortis*, and what one reads in Ramsay's drawing of the inscription (which by the way according to the commentary still exists)² is not *PRAE·CO* but *PRAECO*, the result being that the man is simply a *praeco*, which of course suits well his tribe *Collina*. Persons referred to as *praecones* not being that common, and *praecones* attested outside Italy being of especial interest, it is in a way sad that the only possibility of stumbling upon this particular *praeco* is to read through the pages of the *Nouvelles inscriptions*.

In any case, with the exception of inscriptions published in large corpora, it has always, and especially in the more recent volumes, been the policy of the editors of the *AE* to try to include in the *AE* volume of a particular year all inscriptions of some importance published during that year. However, seeing that so many inscriptions are published every year, it is no wonder that the editors of the *AE* might have now and then missed an inscription or two and sometimes even a whole publication. It is surely only by an oversight that the editors of *AE* 1920, who say on p. 41 that they have taken into account the 1919 volume of the *Notizie degli Scavi* and who do quote and refer to inscriptions published in this volume on pp. 199ff. (no. 97) and on pp. 212ff. (nos. 98ff.), say nothing of the inscriptions from Volsinii (Bolsena) published by G. Bordinelli on pp. 206–9, among which there is (p. 207 no. 1) a "lastra rettangolare di marmo ... m. 0.90 x 0.37", the letters being 6.2 cm, dedicated *Tulliae P. f. Marsillae Quentinae Ros-siae Rufinae Rufiae Proculae c(larissimae) f(eminae)*. Surely this inscription, the only source for the existence of this senatorial woman (illustrating for her part P. Tullius Marsus cos. 206, attested in a diploma published only in 1993)³ and of the nomen *Quentinius*, would have merited an inclusion in the *AE*, although it must at the same time be admitted that this woman can be found in reference works such as the *PIR* and in the Claus-Slaby database (but not yet in the EDR).⁴

But whatever the reason for this omission, the fact is that quite a few other inscriptions which could be of interest at least to some scholars have shared the same or even a worse fate. Let me illustrate this with some instances of inscrip-

² One thus wonders whether the authors could not have added a photo not only of Ramsay's drawing of the inscription, but also one of the inscription itself.

³ *AE* 1993, 1789 = *RMD* III 189.

⁴ See *PIR*² T 396 (with further references). However, the advantage of the possibility of checking a particular text via the *AE* is illustrated by the fact that the *PIR* entry for this woman does not mention the fact that she had the filiation *P. f.* which establishes a connection with the consul of 206 (taken to be her father by F. Chausson in Id. [ed.], *Occidents romains* [2009] 241) and with other P. Tullii (for whom see Chausson *ibid.* 237–46).

tions published since the 1980s which for some reason have not been included in the pages of the *AE* and in some cases not even to any epigraphical database.⁵

There is a small collection of antiquities in Falcognana on the Via Ardeatina south of Rome. The material was published by P. Brandizzi Vittucci in 1983 in *La collezione Lanza nella tenuta di Falcognana* (Roma 1983). Although the collection includes some inscriptions, apparently mainly from the same area, this publication seems to have been disregarded by the editors of *AE* 1983. Some of the inscriptions do appear in other volumes of the *AE* in which they have ended up from other publications (e.g., from G. M. De Rossi, *Tellenae* [1967, in the series *Forma Italiae*]; thus no. 184 = *AE* 1967, 67; no. 185 = *AE* 1967, 57), but there are also inscriptions which do not, as far as I know, figure in any printed publications. Of these two, nos. 182 and 186, may well deserve to be better known. They are not in the *AE* and do not appear in the Clauss-Slaby database, but there is a "scheda" of no. 182 – but only of no. 182 and not also of no. 186, which to me seems mysterious – by A. Ferraro and based on the publication of Brandizzi Vittucci, in the EDR database (as no. 103223, without a photo). However, this inscription has not been rendered correctly, for line 2, with the cognomen of the first man, has been omitted altogether and line 4 has been interpreted incorrectly. The correct reading of this inscription, which I would date to the first half of the first century AD, goes as follows: *C. Volumnius C. Col. (sic) / Philargyrus, / Volumnia C. l. Lais uxor, / C. Volumnius C. f. Col. Paetus, / Sex. vac. C. f. Col. Veiento, / C. Volumnius C. (et mulieris) l. Salvius, / Occia Acte Salvi uxor*. We thus have here a couple, their two sons, the elder having his father's praenomen, and in addition a freedman with his wife. There are some interesting things here, namely the fact that the indication *filius* or, preferably (thus correctly Brandizzi Vittucci), *libertus* has been omitted before the tribe in line 1 (the point must have been not to stress the man's libertine status),⁶ and that the nomen has not been repeated in l. 4 when the younger son is mentioned. This is misrepresented in EDR, where this

⁵ From the 1970s one could note the publication by H. Solin, *Epigraphische Untersuchungen in Rom und Umgebung* (Helsinki 1975), which was not covered by *AE* 1975 (some of the inscriptions appear in the *AE* from other publications, e.g. no. 67 = *AE* 1974, 198, no. 122 = *AE* 1983, 161), although there are many interesting new texts (e.g., no. 50 with *mili[ti ---] questionari[o]*; no. 52, a *vestiarius de Cermalò minuscul(o)*; no. 111, the senatorial cursus of a certain [*Q. Mar*]cius *Q. f. Q[uir. Victor?] Faustinia[nus]*, referred to in *PIR*² M 232). However, the texts do appear in the Clauss-Slaby database, and many also in the EDR database (but some seem to have been omitted, e.g., nos. 50, 55).

⁶ In inscriptions of soldiers, *filius* is sometimes omitted in filiations (especially in inscriptions from Carnuntum in Pannonia Superior), but this is not quite the same phenomenon.

line is rendered as follows, "*Sex(tus) [+4?+] C(ai) f(ilius)*" etc., implying that the (abbreviated) nomen would be missing. However, the fact is that the nomen was never inscribed, the blank space between the praenomen and the filiation being meant to indicate that the nomen *Volumnius* would have to be supplied here from the preceding line in a way which is especially common in Aquileia.⁷ It is also interesting to note that we have here a freedman's son with the cognomen *Veiento*, which one would expect to have been considered "noble";⁸ one wonders whether this could point to a connection of sorts of this family with Veii (for a freedman C. Volumnius in Veii in the time of Augustus note *CIL* XI 3782).

But the other inscription in this collection, no. 186, is perhaps even more interesting. As mentioned above, this text, unlike no. 182, has not been included in the EDR database, and, being absent also from the other epigraphical databases, is practically untraceable. What we find here is a marble statue base (130 x 70 x 60 cm, with letters varying between 4.5 and 8 cm) with *urceus* and *patera* on the two sides. The text runs as follows: *C. Iulio / Erucio / Gemino / lictori / III decuria/rum*. Lictors not being very commonly mentioned in inscriptions,⁹ any new attestation is surely welcome, but I think that the main interest of this inscription lies in the fact that this lictor must, to judge from his names, be somehow connected with a senatorial family, namely that of C. Iulius Erucius Clarus cos. 193 (*PIR*² E 97),¹⁰ although the exact nature of this connection must remain unknown. What can be said is that it would be most remarkable if this man were a freedman of the consul in 193 (or of this consul's father, cf. n. 10) and had as such been able to secure not only the main nomen *Erucius* of his patron but also his secondary nomen *Iulius*.

In 1985, M. S. Bassignano published in the *Atti e Memorie dell'Accademia Patavina di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* vol. 97 (1984–85), Parte III, pp. 139–50, a fragmentary inscription found in the Chiesa di Ognissanti in Padua and pertaining to a senator. What is left of the inscription is the middle part of it, a limestone fragment (96 x 75 x 20, with letters varying from 3.2 to 7.8 cm) clearly belonging to an impressive monument. The reading is given (on p. 139) as [--- Po]mponiano [--- / ---]ç̄o Ducenio P[--- / c]o(n)s(uli) (vac.) / [--- XV]vir(o) sacr(is)

⁷ See C. Zaccaria, *AAAd* 35 (1989) 133–49.

⁸ But note a freedman called *Veiento* in *CIL* VI 7813.

⁹ Cf. N. Purcell, *PBSR* 51 (1983) 148–52.

¹⁰ Perhaps already this man's father, the consul of 170, had the same two nomina *Iulius* and *Erucius* (cf. my *Adoptive and Polyonymous Nomenclature* [1992] 104).

fac(iundis), sod[al(i) --- / ---]tr(icis) p(iae) f(idelis) et VII Gem(inae) fid(elis), pra[et(ori) --- / --- X]viro stlitib(us) iudicand(is), [--- / ---]ni ex a[ere conlato]. In the commentary, the author says (in addition to many other things) that the first legion mentioned in line 6 (the man having been the legate of two legions) must be the *VI Victrix*, and that this man may well be identical with the senator appearing in the dative in another fragment from Padua, *CIL V 2824* (apparently seen by Mommsen), with the text [---] *C. f. Fab. Sa[rdo ---]/do P. Cesti[o --- / --- Su]brius Dextro / Ducenio [--- / --- proco(n)]s(uli) provincia[e --- / ---]+[---]*, and in the nominative in the fragmentary inscription *CIL V 7447*, copied in the 16th century in Quargnento (just NW of Alessandria) in the territory of Forum Fulvii Valentia (and thus pretty far from Padua), which has the following text: [--- *Po]mponianus Secundus P. Cest[ius --- / ---]ius¹¹ Priscus Ducenius Proc[ulus --- / --- leg(atu)s Imp(eratoris) Ca]es(aris) Nervae Traiani Aug(usti) legion[is ---, / --- sevir eq(uitum) R(omanorum)] turm(ae) VI, tribun(us) milit(um) legion(is) XXI Ra[pacis ---]*. The result is that the man – if indeed we are dealing with the same man – seems to have been called [*C. Asconius*] *C. f. Fab. Sa[rdu)s Po]mponianus Secun]dus P. Cesti[us --- Sex. Su]brius Dexter Cornelius Priscus Ducenius Proculus*. Surely all this would have merited a presentation in the *AE*, but this publication seems to have escaped the editors of *AE 1985*.¹² Luckily it did not escape the editors of the *PIR*, for one can find this inscription being referred to in *PIR*² P 685, in an entry dedicated initially to the senator known from *CIL V 7447* (see above), of whom it is said (following Bassignano) that he seems to be identical with the man honoured in the inscription from Padua published by Bassignano and perhaps ("fortasse") also with the man mentioned in *CIL V 2824*. However, in order to be able to locate this man and the offices included in his career, one must be able to trace this particular entry in the *PIR*, for otherwise the inscription from Padua has not left many traces. The inscription has not been

¹¹ It is not correct to conflate *Cest[---]* and [---]*ius* into *Cest[ius* (thus L. Lastrico in EDR010414), for from the descriptions of this inscription it emerges clearly that something is missing both after *Cest* in line 1 and before *ius* in line 2.

¹² The same goes for the other inscription published by Bassignano (pp. 135–8), found in the same church, a "stele funeraria centinata ... in trachite grigia" measuring 171 x 60 x 24.5 cm, with letters varying between 3.5 and 6.3 cm.: *P. Terentio C. f., / L. Terentio C. f., / [---]iae matri, / C. Moenio C. l. / Ciloni / Secunda Terentia C. f. sibi et fra/tribus et viro / fecit* (as for line 2, Bassignano thinks that the reading could have been [*Cass]iae*). This early imperial inscription is ignored by all epigraphical databases known to me and is thus in practice untraceable, but is of some interest, mentioning as it does a freeborn woman with a female praenomen married to a freedman who has the extremely rare nomen *Moenius*.

included in the EDR database, but does appear in that of Claus-Slaby – but in a peculiarly truncated form as "[Po]mponiano [3]co Ducenio" (and thus without the consulate and the other offices), the source of this information being given as *AE* 1993, 772. The explanation of all this must be relegated to a footnote.¹³

In 1988, I published an article consisting of four sections, all of an epigraphical nature (*Arctos* 22 [1988] 113–32). Only section 4 was registered in *AE* 1988 as no. 626, whereas sections 1, 2 and 3 were apparently ignored. In my view, at least section 1 (pp. 113–20) would have merited inclusion in the *AE* volume, as this is the publication of the preserved part (the upper right side, consisting of several fragments) of an impressive marble slab (97 x 79 x 13 cm in its present state, with letters varying between 6 and 12.5 cm) now kept in two different locations in Sermoneta between Cori and Sezze south of Rome, but originating, as Heikki Solin tells me, from Campoverde di Aprilia belonging to the territory of Antium. The text goes as follows: [---]ano / [proc(uratori) Imp(eratoris) ---]ani Aug(usti) / [--- prov(inciae) Hi]span(iae) citerior(is), / [---- praef(ecto) ala]e I Cannan(efatium) (these four lines are followed by three further lines with only a few letters left). In the commentary, I discuss the career of the man and observe, e.g., that the emperor mentioned in line 2 must be someone from the series starting with Vespasian and ending with Hadrian. As mentioned above, there is no trace of any of this in *AE* 1988, but the inscription, mentioning as it does an *ala* stationed in Pannonia, appears in the book of B. Lőrincz, *Die römischen Hilfstruppen in Pannonien während der Prinzipatszeit I* (2001) on p. 302 as no. 500, from where it ended up in the Claus-Slaby database (as no. 18300385).¹⁴ However, although

¹³ The story goes like this. *AE* 1993, 772 was devoted to the presentation of two allegedly unpublished inscriptions from Padua not published, but mentioned by C. Morello in *Bull. Mus. Civico di Padova* 81 (1992) pp. 60f. The first one, that of "une famille de *Terentii*", is identical with the inscription quoted in n. 12, the second inscription is said to be the "Cursus sénatorial d'un [---] Aponianus [---]us Ducenius" (only the right part of the *M* in *Po]mponiano* is visible and was taken by Morello to represent an *A*). I had a look at this *AE* volume at its manuscript stage and observed, giving the reference, that the inscription had in fact already been published and that Bassignano had correctly read the name in l. 1 as *Po]mponiano*. Rather than just pointing out the correction of the name, my aim was of course that the *AE* entry should be modified to reflect the original publication with all its details. However, although the original publication is mentioned in *AE* 1993, 772, it was clearly not consulted, the result being that the entry only mentions, as an addendum, that I had pointed out that the reading of what is left of the name is in fact *[Po]mponiano [---]co Ducenio*; and only the erroneous reading *Aponianus* has been mentioned in the index of cognomina (p. 597), where also the nomen *Ducenius* has been deposited (p. 601), leaving the index of nomina without *Ducenii*.

¹⁴ The number of this text in Lőrincz's book is, however, mistakenly given in the database as

the existence of this inscription has been registered in these two places, it could be said that it is more or less unknown. This is surely the reason for the fact that, although mentioning a procurator of Hispania Citerior, this inscription seems to be referred to absolutely nowhere in the most recent exposition of the administration of this particular province, namely that of P. Ozcáriz Gil, *La administración de la provincia Hispania Citerior durante el alto imperio romano* (2013), which has a section on procurators on p. 185–200.

In 1990, P. J. Sijpesteijn published in *ZPE* 81 (1990) 243f. (with a photo in Tafel VII) the left side of a small bronze tablet (5.7 x 9.5 cm, weight 59 g.) kept in a Dutch private collection, the owner of which claims to have himself seen (*sic*) how the tablet was found somewhere "near Rome" (to me this seems a pretty questionable assertion). According to Sijpesteijn, the tablet was subjected to something called atom absorption analysis ("Atomabsorptionsanalyse"), the exact meaning of which escapes me, but which is said to show that the object does date to the "Roman period". The tablet contains (the left part of) an inscription in five lines, the letter forms of which, especially the *P* in line 3, leave the general impression of being archaic. A "colon" (:) is used as interpunct, this also pointing to an early date;¹⁵ Sijpesteijn thinks that the plate could be dated to the 3rd or 2nd century. The inscription was published by him as follows (I reproduce his orthography with *U* instead of *V*):

AN:MATELIU[S]
 V:SEMINIAI:F *vacat* A:V[
 TRIBUNEI:PLEBE[I
 QU:QUAS:EIS:FE[
 MAGISA:TE

TE in l. 5 seems to be followed by a blank space indicating that the inscription, or at least this particular word, ended here. When this inscription was published, I assumed that a lively discussion would follow; but the inscription did not appear in *AE* 1990, and it seems that it has been all but ignored in the sequel (however, it can be found in the Claus-Slaby database as no. 51100442, with a photo). I

499 instead of 500.

¹⁵ R. Zucca, "Sui tipi di interpunzione nelle iscrizioni latine dall'età più antica alla fine della repubblica", *MGR* 18 (1994) (123–150) 137 says that this type is attested only until about 200 BC.

referred to it in a shortish article a long time ago,¹⁶ but the text has now secured the interest of Michael Crawford, who has included this inscription in a discussion of "tribunes in Italy";¹⁷ hopefully this will arouse new interest in this text. As for its interpretation, according to the photo there is an interpunct also between *SEMINI* and *Ai* in line 2, and the reading must surely be *Semini(us)* followed by the filiation *Ai(-) f(ilius)* (see n. 16). *Seminius*, apparently not otherwise known, must be identical with *Siminius* attested, e.g., in Rome, Puteoli and Pompeii.¹⁸ But if this nomen is abbreviated in this way (an abbreviation one would in any case expect to have been used in an inscription of – say – c. 200 BC), one would expect the first nomen to have been abbreviated in the same way. That is why I wonder whether one could not assume that an interpunct was omitted in l. 1 and that one should read not *Mateliu[s]* but *Mateli(us)*, this being followed by the filiation *V. [f.]* (note that *V(ibius)* is the praenomen of Seminius in l. 2). In any case, *Matelius* does not seem to be otherwise attested, but could perhaps be regarded as a variant of *Matilius*.¹⁹ To come back to line 2, the name of the first person is followed by *A:V*, the text breaking off in the middle of the *V*. Clearly we have here another person with the praenomen *A(ulus)* and a nomen beginning with a *V*. As Crawford observes, the letters in line 1 are larger than in line 2, and thus it

¹⁶ *Arctos* 29 (1995) 155–61, where I suggest that the reading in l. 2 could be *V(ibius) Semini(os) Ai(-) f(ilios)*, observing at the same time that according to the Capitoline *fasti* for 315 BC (*Inscr. It.* XIII 1, 36), Q. Aulus Cerretanus, master of the horse in that year, was the grandson of someone with the praenomen *Ai(-)*, which I suggested could be the same praenomen.

¹⁷ M. Crawford, in G. Rocca (ed.), *Atti del Convegno Internazionale Le lingue dell'Italia antica (Ἀλεξάνδρεια/Alessandria. Rivista di glottologia* 5 [2011]), 46. It cannot of course be assumed that we are dealing with tribunes in Rome, although Sijpesteijn seems to think of this possibility.

¹⁸ R. Friggeri & C. Pelli, in *Miscellanea (Tituli* 2, 1980), 130 n. 40 (Rome); *CIL* X 2960 (Puteoli); *NSA* 1898, 500 (Pompeii); cf. perhaps *Simnius* in *CIL* IX 5772 and XI 6449 (adduced by Friggeri and Pelli in the commentary). For the variation of <e> and <i> in the same position cf. *Simonius* = *Semonius* (cf. the senator D. Simonius Proculus Iulianus [*PIR*² S 748] being called *Semonius Iulianus* in *CIL* XV 7528).

¹⁹ For *Matilius* see *CIL* I² 195f. (Praeneste); *CIL* VI 17533A; *CIL* XIV 4569, dec. XV, A, 15. If the *i* in *Matilius* is short (and this may well be indicated by the existence of the nomen *Matlius* [*AE* 1992, 137 from Rome; *CIL* XIV 3167 = I² 197 from Praeneste], apparently the same name with syncopated short *i*), the orthography *Matelius* could perhaps receive illustration by, e.g., the fact that *Vergilius* is written *Vergelius* in *AE* 1982, 295 (Falerii Novi), *Tutilius* (for the short *i* see W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen* [1904 and later editions] 248) *Tutelius* in *CIL* VI 26500, or that *Caecilius* is often written *Καικέλιος* in older Greek inscriptions (thus in inscriptions of various Caecilii Metelli, e.g., *IG* VII 3490, *IG* IX 2, 37, *IG* X 2, 1, 1031; *I. Delos* 1604bis, *I. Olympia* 325, etc.).

seems that line 1 contained only one name, line 2 two names, as a result of which "it looks as if we have a board of three [tribunes]" (Crawford). In line 3, we have the title *tribunei plebe[i]*²⁰ possibly originally followed by something, but the rest, in lines 4 and 5, remains a mystery, except for the letters *FE* at the end of line 4, where Sijpesteijn and Crawford plausibly assume that this a form of the verb *facere* (thus probably *fe[cerunt]* or perhaps rather *fe[cere]*).

All the inscriptions mentioned above have been taken into consideration in at least one publication not identical with the original publication or at least in one database. But let us proceed to some inscriptions apparently from Alsium (in S. Etruria) and its environs published in 2001 which do not seem to have been observed by anyone, or at least not by anyone with epigraphical interests. The publication of F. Enei, *Progetto Ager Caeretanus. Il litorale di Alsium. Ricognizioni archeologiche nel territorio dei comuni di Ladispoli, Cerveteri, e Fiumicino* (Santa Marinella 2001) contains on pp. 301–4 "Appendice 2: iscrizioni latine nel Castello Odescalchi di Palo". The inscriptions published here are known from a source which cannot be regarded as typical, namely from a single piece of paper found among "numerosi altri documenti, relazioni e disegni di vario tema e provenienza" on a "banco occasionale di Porta Portese" in Rome. This paper has the heading, written in very clear capitals, "Nel castello Odescalchi a Palo"; this is followed by facsimiles, clearly drawn by the same person with utmost care, of sixteen inscriptions, all of them fragmentary except for the last one at the bottom of the page (fig. 1). One fragment (no. 4) is described as being "in tufo"; this must mean, as assumed by Enei (p. 301), that the other stones are of marble or perhaps of limestone. Enei goes on to observe that it is not possible to enter the castle (which must mean those parts of the castle which contain the epigraphical collection, for the castle does have a homepage – <http://www.castelloodescalchi.com> – and invites reservations for "matrimoni, eventi, meetings, aste, sfilate di moda"), as a result of which this sheet of paper is "l'unica testimonianza relativa all'esistenza di iscrizioni antiche all'interno del complesso". Although a piece of paper coming from the market at Porta Portese saying that it contains inscriptions from a castle in S. Toscana might raise some questions, even a quick look at the facsimiles shows that we must be dealing with copies of actually existing inscriptions, especially as one text is identical with an inscription seen by Bormann (cf. below).

²⁰ For *plebei* as the genitive of *plēbēs* (= *plebs*) see, e.g., M. Leumann, *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre* (1977) 444f. The genitive *plebei* is still found in some imperial inscriptions (*CIL* II 4110 = II² 14, 971 = *ILS* 2931; *CIL* III 254; *AE* 1908, 237, etc.).

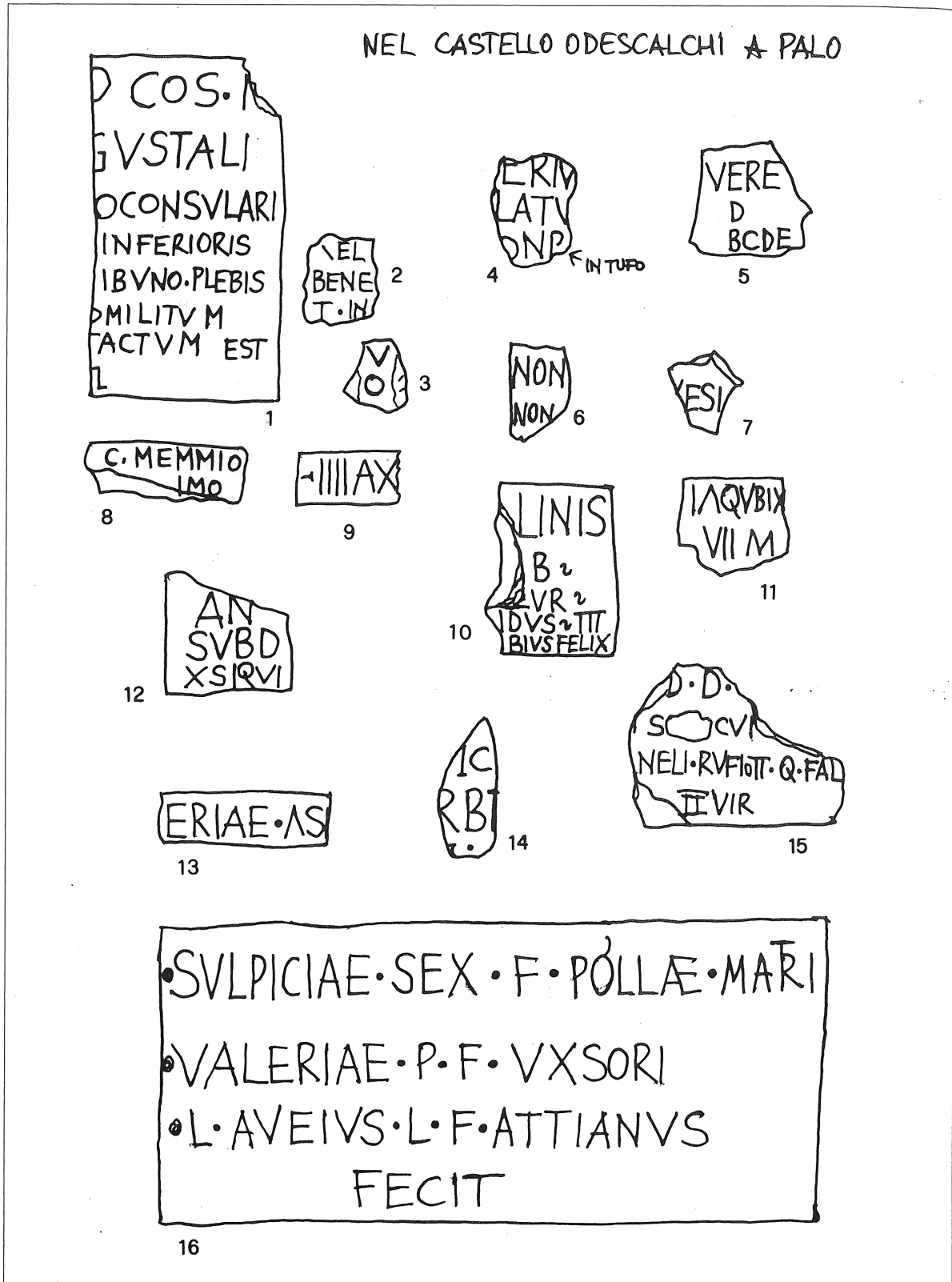


Fig. 1. Inscriptions in Castello Odescalchi, Palo. From F. Enei, Progetto Ager Caeretanus. Il litorale di Alsium (Santa Marinella 2001) 304, fig. 64.

As noted by Enei, only one of the inscriptions seems to have been published, no. 15, which is identical with *CIL* XI 3721, an inscription seen by Bormann in the same castle in 1874 and said to have been found in the vicinity a few years earlier.²¹ A search in the Clauss-Slaby database indicates that Enei is right in asserting that the other inscriptions, some of them perhaps Christian,²² are unpublished. The majority are fragments which are difficult to interpret, although something can be made of some of the texts.²³ But there is an attractive fully preserved early imperial funerary inscription and another text which is clearly of great interest. As for the first one, it goes like this:

*Sulpiciae Sex. f. Póllae matri,
Valeriae P. f. uxori
L. Aveius L. f. Attianus
vac. fecit vac.*

In l. 1, *matri* has been inscribed with *T* and *R* in a ligature. That this is an early imperial text is obvious because of the archaic orthography *uxori* and because of the fact that this wife has no cognomen. These people are not necessarily of local origin; certainly this seems to be the first attestation of *Aveius* in Etruria, the attestations of this nomen concentrating on Central Italy.

But no. 1 is, of course, even more interesting. This inscription is clearly the right side of a *tabula*; on the basis of the drawing and the contents of the inscription one can conclude that the upper, right and lower borders have been preserved in their original form. It follows that the first line must have contained the whole

²¹ "princeps Ladislaus Odescalchi mihi narravit, se eam ante aliquot annos prope invenisse" (Bormann). According to the drawing, the letters *VB* (in *sub*) are no longer visible, and what was correctly read by Bormann as *IIII* in line 3 appears in the drawing approximately as "*oII*" (Enei seems to assume that this could in fact be the correct reading – no doubt with the *o* being interpreted as an interpunct – but I cannot see how the anonymous author of the drawing could be regarded as a more reliable witness to the text of the inscription than Bormann, and, moreover, apparently the same Cornelius Rufus is designated as *IIII viro* in *CIL* XI 3722).

²² Thus possibly no. 12, where the reading *SVBD*[---] in line 2 makes one think of *sub d*[ie ---] or perhaps *subd*[iacon-].

²³ No. 8 is dedicated *C. Memmio* / [*Max?*]*imo* / [---]; no. 10 clearly ends with (at least) two names in ll. 4–5, [---- *Cand?*]*idus III* / [---- *Fa?*]*bius Felix*, and begins with [----]*LINIS*, written with larger letters, in l. 1, which should probably be understood as [*Apol*]*linis*; no. 13 could be a dedication [*Val?*]*eriae Asi*[*ae?*] or perhaps *Asi*[*aticae*] (in which case one could, as pointed out to me by Professor Eck, think of a connection with the senatorial *Valerii Asiatici*).

nomenclature of the honorand, and this again means that the width of this inscription must have considerably exceeded the height. As also the left side has been drawn as a straight line, it seems that this part of the inscription was sawn off from a larger slab or that the original inscription was inscribed on several separate *tabulae*. According to the drawing, this particular fragment is undamaged with the exception of a part of the upper right corner which has been broken off, with one character having disappeared. The inscription is presented as follows:

[--]O·COS I[-]	i.e. [----]o co(n)s(uli) I[I]
[--]GVSTALI	[----] sodali Au]gustali
[--]OCONSULARI	[----] legat]o (?) consulari
[--]INFERIORIS	[----] Inferioris
[--]IBVNO·PLEBIS 5	[----] tr]ibuno plebis
[--]O MILITVM	[----] tribun]o militum
[--]+ACTVM EST	[----] +actum est
[--]+	[----] + (vac.)

According to the drawing, the letters in lines 1–2 seem to be almost twice as high as those in lines 4ff. In line 7, *ACTVM* is preceded by a part of an upper horizontal stroke which might belong to a *T* or an *F*; in line 8, the person who made a copy of the inscription seems to have tried to reproduce a letter looking like an *L*, but with an additional upper horizontal stroke pointing to the left (this might represent almost anything in the original; but *L* would in fact be plausible, cf. below). As for line 1, one character is clearly missing at the end of this line (cf. above),²⁴ and the only possible restoration is of course *co(n)s(uli) I[I]* (as the honorand must be a senator who held his first consulate after AD 106 – cf. below – it is not possible to assume that the drawing is not altogether accurate and that the restoration should in fact be *co(n)s(uli) I[II]*, for senators – as contrasted with emperors – who held the consulate three times are not attested after L. Iulius Ursus Servianus in AD 134, whose first consulate dates back to AD 90).

As pointed out above, the width of this inscription must have exceeded its height (for the implication of this see below). Unfortunately, it is not possible to say by how much, for everything depends on how many names the honorand had and on whether his filiation and tribe were mentioned or left out. As for the num-

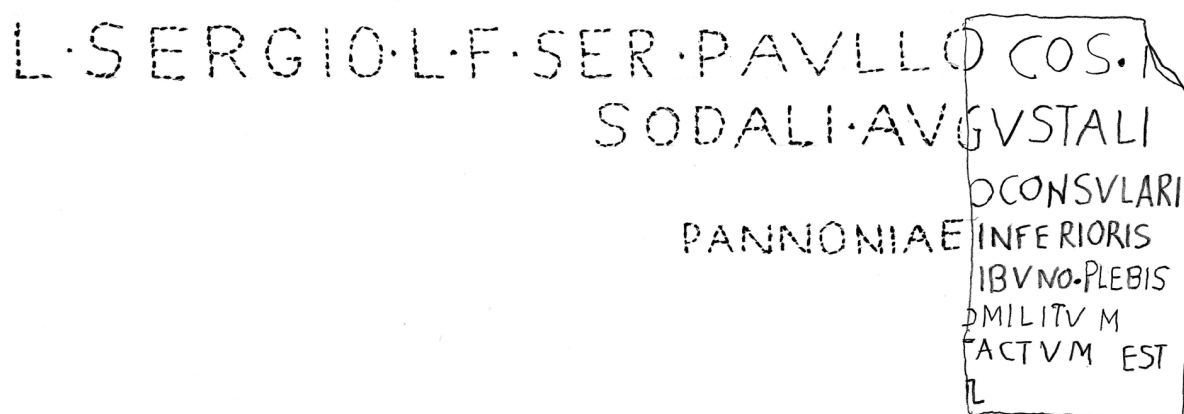
²⁴ And that one character is missing is, of course, also clear from the fact that the reading *co(n)s(uli) I* would be impossible, as a person who has held the consulate only once is referred to as *co(n)s(uli)*, not as *co(n)s(uli) I*.

ber of names, it is true that of the possible candidates for the identification of the honorand (see below), all but one are known to have had only one nomen and one cognomen (two nomina are attested for Clodius Pupienus Maximus). However, some of them may in fact have had a polyonymous nomenclature which is something that tends to be used mainly in detailed honorific inscriptions setting out the whole career, a category of inscriptions attested in the case of our candidates only for P. Cornelius Anullinus *cos. II* in 199.

But even if we assume that the honorand only had one nomen and one cognomen (at least in the case of Anullinus, we can be certain of that), the omission or mention of the filiation and the tribe and the possible use of abbreviated names have an influence on the reconstruction of the width of the original inscription; there is a difference between, say,

M·FL·APRO and
L·SERGIO·L·F·SER·PAVLLO

However, in an inscription in which almost everything seems to have been written out in full I would not assume that the nomen had been abbreviated, and as there clearly was no need to save space, I would assume furthermore that the filiation and the tribe were not omitted. Moreover, as observed above, the letters in line 1 with the name were, to judge from the drawing, about twice as high as the letters in lines 4 to 7. All this, and the fact that not a negligible number of offices must be accommodated in the lost beginning of line 5 after *Inferioris* at the end of line 4 and before *tribuno plebis* at the end of line 5, seems to point to the conclusion that the width of this inscription must have clearly exceeded the height.



L·SERGIO·L·F·SER·PAVLLO COS·M
SODALI·AVGVSTALI
PANNONIAE
OCONSVLARI
INFERIORIS
IBVNO·PLEBIS
DMILITVM
ACTVM EST

Fig. 2.

This again must mean, e.g., that another priesthood must have been mentioned in the beginning of line 2 and that the term *consulari* at the end of line 3 cannot be attached to *Inferioris* at the end of line 4 (cf. fig. 1).

As for the honorand, in order to be able to identify him one would need to find a senator who had been tribune of the plebs (and thus at least at that time a plebeian), legate of a province with the specification *Inferior, sodalis Augustalis* and twice consul, and whose (last) cognomen ended in *-us*.²⁵ As for the province, from the position of the mention of this particular province in line 4, just above line 5, which ends with the mention of the tribunate, and below line 3, which seems to end with the mention of a consular assignment, one surely has to conclude that this governorship is praetorian. This leaves us with just one province, Pannonia Inferior and with the *terminus post quem* of AD 106,²⁶ when Pannonia was divided into the two provinces of *Pannonia Superior*, which was consular, and *Pannonia Inferior*, which was praetorian (but at least in the earlier period normally governed immediately before the consulate).²⁷

As far as I can see, a senator who would fulfil all of these requirements is at least for the moment not known. It thus seems sensible to look for possible candidates by starting with senators whose first consulate can be dated after 106 and who are attested as having held the consulate for a second time, this being a category of persons of whom all are known.²⁸ Moreover, only senators either

²⁵ It is of course possible in theory that *cos. I[II]* was preceded not by a cognomen but by an office or priesthood ending in the nominative *-us*; but the fact is that an iterated consulship, a rare honour, is as a rule mentioned as the first office, following on the (last) cognomen, of twice consuls in inscriptions setting out the whole career; see, e.g., *CIL* VI 41140; *CIL* X 408. 3853. 8291; *CIL* V 6981ff.; *ILAfr.* 43; *AE* 1995, 355. Note, however, that in *AE* 1964, 223 *cos. II* is preceded by *c(larissimo) v(iro)*, in *CIL* VI 1410 by *praef(ecto) urb(i)*, *c(larissimo) v(iro)*, in *CIL* X 6764 by *c(larissimo) v(iro)*, *praef(ecto) urbi, pr[o]co(n)s(uli) provinciae Asiae II, proco(n)s(uli) prov(inciae) Africae* (these three inscriptions are all from the third century).

²⁶ F. Enei thinks (p. 301) that the inscription dates from the first century but does not give a reason for this dating.

²⁷ For 106 as the probable date of the provincial division see J. Fitz, *Die Verwaltung Pannoniens in der Römerzeit* II (1993) 371f.

²⁸ For senators labelled as *cos. II* but not attested as such, and who accordingly must have died before taking up the office, and for some uncertain or unplausible cases known from the *Historia Augusta* and other literary sources, see A. R. Birley, *ZPE* 116 (1997) 230–3. On second (and third) consulates in general between Augustus and Severus Alexander, see W. Eck, "Consules, consules iterum und consules tertium – Prosopographie und Politik", in G. Zecchini (ed.), *'Partiti' e fazioni nell'esperienza politica romana* (2009) 155–81. The evidence for C. Bellicius Torquatus *cos.* 143 (*PIR*² B 104) having been consul for the second time

attested as having been legates of Pannonia Inferior or who at least *could* have been legates of the province, and *not* attested as descendants of patricians or as aediles (instead of tribunes), and, to conclude this list, whose (last) cognomen ends in *-us* can be taken into consideration. As for twice consuls known to have been legates of Pannonia Inferior and otherwise meeting the above requirements, none seem to be known. Ti. Claudius Pompeianus (*PIR*² C 973), cos. I in 162,²⁹ cos. II in 173, is attested, exceptionally as consular, as governor of Pannonia Inferior in 167 (*CIL* XVI 123), but if, as G. Alföldy suggests with good reason, *CIL* VI 41120 is an inscription in his honour, he seems to have been an aedile rather than a tribune; and C. Octavius Appius Suetrius Sabinus (*PIR*² O 25), cos. I in 214 and II in 240, also attested as a (consular) governor of Pannonia Inferior in 217, can because of his attested priesthoods hardly be expected to have also been a *sodalis Augustalis*.³⁰ (Moreover, the inscription from Alsium does not leave the impression of being from the middle of the third century.)

It thus seems that we will have to look for twice consuls who *could* have been governors of Pannonia Inferior as well as meeting the other requirements. In order to do this, it seems best to have a look at governors of Pannonia Inferior who still seem to be unattested by studying the *fasti* of this province in order to find suitable periods for which a governor still seems to be unattested. Now if one combines the information available through the books of J. Fitz (n. 27) vol. IV (1995) p. 1464–6 and B. E. Thomasson, *Laterculi praesidium* I (1984) and I² (2009) and supplements this with some observations made by B. Lőrincz

(some manuscript *fasti* and an inscription from Serdica, to be contrasted with several Italian inscriptions *not* mentioning an iteration) is negligible (for the iterations, in most cases of no value at all, in the ms. *fasti* see *Arctos* 25 [1991] 107–20).

²⁹ That Pompeianus held his first consulate as early as in 162 is now attested by a diploma published in 2010 (*AE* 2010, 1854).

³⁰ As for Claudius Pompeianus, fragment b of the inscription *CIL* VI 41120 seems to refer to the aedileship in lines 6 (--- *cum aed]ilis fuiss[et ---*) and 7 (*aedil[---*). As Pompeianus held Pannonia Inferior exceptionally as a consular, he would per se be a good candidate for the honorand (assuming of course that he is *not* the honorand of *CIL* VI 41120, honouring an aedile), as his exceptional command could explain the stress laid on *consularis*. However, as mentioned above, because of the probable original width of the inscription it seems clear that *consulari* cannot be a definition of [*Pannoniae*] *Inferioris*. As for Suetrius Sabinus, the fact that he was both *pontifex* and *augur* at the same time and held, apparently as the earliest attested senator, two major priesthoods, seems to rule out the possibility that he also held the priesthood of the *sodales Augustales*, not mentioned in his inscriptions.

in 2004,³¹ and adds some new finds,³² one observes that there seem to be, or at least may be, be the following gaps between attested governorships of Pannonia Inferior:³³

– Perhaps between Cornelius Latinianus, attested in 119 (n. 33) and [---] anus, attested in 125/6 (n. 32).³⁴ However, the existence of this gap is not at all certain, as Latinianus' governorship may have extended to (say) 122/3, and the governorship of [---] anus (if at all to be distinguished from Latinianus, cf. n. 34) must have begun before 125/6, as his successor is attested in the province already in 127 (n. 32).

– Perhaps between [---] o, attested in 127 (n. 32) and Attius Macro (Thomasson no. 6), consul in 134, attested in Pannonia Inferior as *co(n)s(ul) des(ignatus)* and thus in 133/4. However, the first legate (who came to Pannonia only after 125/6, cf. above) might have stayed there for some years, whereas Macro must have come to the province some years before his consulate in 134, which means that he could in fact be the successor of the governor attested in 127.³⁵ In the years after Attius Macro, there do not seem to be any vacant governorships, as no less than nine governors of Pannonia Inferior are attested in the years between 135 and 157 or 158.³⁶

³¹ B. Lóricz, "Zur Statthalterliste der römischen Provinz Pannonia Inferior", in L. Ruscu & al. (eds.), *Orbis antiquus. Studia in honorem Ioannis Pisonis* (2004) 35–40. Not all of the suggestions made by the author are registered in Thomasson².

³² [---] anus in 125/6 (*AE* 2010, 1862); a governor whose cognomen ended in [---] o in 127 (*AE* 2009, 1830).

³³ There is perhaps no gap after Afranius Flavianus (Thomasson no. 3), attested in 114 (see now also *AE* 2010, 1860), for he cannot have been consul already in 115 (Fitz), and seems in fact to have held the consulate in 117 (see W. Eck, *ZPE* 185 [2013] 237f.). Whatever the exact status of Marcius Turbo (Thomasson no. 4) at the beginning of the reign of Hadrian, Cornelius Latinianus is in any case attested already in 119 (Thomasson² no. 8).

³⁴ But could we be dealing with the same man? In any case, W. Eck and A. Pangerl, when publishing the diploma *AE* 2010, 1862, observed that the only known consul with whom this legate could be identified is A. Egrilius Plarianus, consul in 128 (*Tyche* 25 [2010] 30).

³⁵ J. Fitz vol. IV p. 1465 dates his governorship to 130/1 – 133/4. Incidentally, one wonders whether it would be possible to assume that the governor with the cognomen ending in *o* could be identical with Macro, who would, then, have held the province for a period longer than normal; P. Weiß, *ZPE* 171 (2009) 240 does consider this possibility, but says that, as Macro's governorship would then have been exceptionally long, we would need to know special reasons for this, "die aber nicht zu erkennen sind" (but how *could* we normally know anything about the reasons behind a long or a short governorship?).

³⁶ Thomasson nos. 6a (M. Nonius Mucianus cos. 138, now attested in 135), 7, 9, 10 (M. Pontius

– Perhaps between 157/158 (cf. n. 36) and 162, Haterius Saturninus (consul in 164; Thomasson no. 16) now being attested on 25 August 162 (*AE* 2010, 1854. 1855).³⁷ After Haterius Saturninus there do not seem to be any gaps until the governorship of Ulpus Marcellus in c. 169–172.³⁸

– Possibly in the early seventies between Ulpus Marcellus (cf. above) and Vettius Sabinianus (Thomasson no. 19), whose career suggests that he must have governed Pannonia Inferior in the mid-seventies (c. 175 according to Thomasson, 173–175 according to Fitz).

– Perhaps in c. 175–178 after the governorship of Vettius Sabinianus and before the in my view fairly uncertain governorship in 178 of Quintilius Condi-anus (Thomasson no. 20).

– Apparently between c. 185 and c. 188, as Pomponius Bassus is now attested in 193 (Professor Eck assures me that the consular date should be attributed to this year, not to 192), and as Valerius Pudens must have been his predecessor (see Lőrincz [n. 31] 37f., who places Bassus' governorship in 192–194, Pudens' in 188–191/2).

– Between c. 194, the probable end of the governorship of Pomponius Bassus, and c. 197, the beginning of the governorship of Claudius Claudianus (Thomasson no. 26).

– Between c. 202 and 205 (or 208), after the governorship of Baebius Caecilianus (Thomasson no. 27) and before that of Iulius Septimius Castinus (*ibid.* no. 28). The diploma *AE* 1998, 1116, adduced by Thomasson (no. 27a) and Lőrincz (p. 39) as attesting perhaps the governorship of Egnatius Victor in this period, be-

Laelianus, now attested in 143), 11 (attested in 145 and 146), 12, 13, 14, 15 (C. Iulius Geminius Capellianus, attested on 6 December 157 by the diploma *AE* 2009, 1079 and probably on 27 December 158 by the diplomas *CIL* XVI 112 and 113; for their probable date see W. Eck, in W. Eck – B. Fehér – P. Kovács (eds.), *Studia epigraphica in memoriam Géza Alföldy* [2013] 79).

³⁷ His governorship is dated to 161–164 by Thomasson and Fitz.

³⁸ Haterius Saturninus seems to have been followed by Q. Caecilius Rufinus Crepereianus (Thomasson no. 17), as P. Weiß must be right in assigning the diploma published by him in R. Haensch & J. Heinrichs (eds.), *Herrschen und Verwalten* (2007) 160–72 (this is another text which does not seem to have found its way into the *Année épigraphique*) to Pannonia Inferior and to the reign of Marcus and Verus (161–169) and in reading the name of the legate as *Caecilio Ru[fi]no*. Caecilius Rufinus is followed by Claudius Pompeianus, attested in 167 (Thomasson no. 18), who must again have been followed by Ulpus Marcellus (Thomasson no. 53), who is without any doubt identical with the legate of Britain (see, e.g., A. R. Birley, *The Roman Government of Britain* [2005] 165f.) and who must, then, have been in Pannonia Inferior in the early years of Marcus' sole reign (cf. Lőrincz [n. 31] 37, suggesting the years 169/170–172).

longs to a different period and context (see *RMD* V 405; *AE* 2006, 1184); and the suggestion of Fitz (vol. II, p. 544f. no. 326) of considering the inscription *CIL* XI 569* = V 486* as genuine and dating the governor Aur(elius) Victor to the period "205–208?" is to be firmly rejected, as the inscription is manifestly a fake. Even if it were genuine it would surely have to be dated much later.

– Perhaps in c. 210/212 between Castinus and L. Cassius Marcellinus (Thomasson no. 30). After this legate, there do not seem to be gaps in the list of governors until the end of the reign of Severus Alexander.

If we now compare these gaps with men attested as twice consuls, whose first consulates can be dated to the 120s or later, and who are in other ways suitable (not attested as aediles or as sons of patricians, etc.), we find the following senators:³⁹

³⁹ The following consuls II apparently cannot come into question: (1) Sex. Erucius Clarus cos. II 146, who seems to have held his first consulate already in 117 (see *PIR*² E 96; G. Alföldy, *Konsulat und Senatorenstand unter den Antoninen* [1977] 108); (2) L. Venuleius Apronianus cos. II 168, who was *sodalis Hadrianalis* and *Antoninianus Verianus* (*CIL* XI 1432f.) and moreover a patrician (below n. 46); (3) Cn. Claudius Severus (*PIR*² C 1024; H. Halfmann, *Die Senatoren aus dem östlichen Teil des Imperium Romanum* [1979] no. 101), cos. II in 173, who is attested in several inscriptions (only) as *pontifex* (C. Marek, *Stadt, Ära und Territorium in Pontus-Bithynia und Nord-Galatia* [1993] 136ff. no. 2 ff.), and who as the grandson and the son of consuls may well have been a patrician; (4) T. Pomponius Proculus Vitrasius Pollio (*PIR*¹ P 558), cos. II in 176, who was a patrician, *pontifex* and *sodalis Antoninianus* (J. Rüpke, *Fasti sacerdotum* II [2005] no. 2784); (5) P. Martius Verus (*PIR*² M 348), cos. I in 166, II in 176, fought in the Parthian war under Verus in the years preceding his first consulate and cannot thus be assigned a governorship in Pannonia Inferior in the same period; (6) C. Bruttius Praesens (*PIR*² B 165), cos. I in 153, II in 180 cannot come into question, as his career and priesthoods are known (from *ILS* 1117) and as both his main cognomen *Praesens* and his (last) secondary cognomen *Veiento* belong to the third declension; (7) C. Aufidius Victorinus, cos. I in 155, II in 183 was *fetialis*, *quindecimvir sacris faciundis* and *sodalis Antoninianus* (and later *Verianus Marcianus*) (*CIL* VI 41140; J. Rüpke, *Fasti Sacerdotum* II [2005] 793 n. 786); (8) M'. Acilius Glabrio, cos. I 173 (?), II 186, was a patrician; (9) P. Helvius Pertinax (*PIR*² H 73), cos. II in 192, has a cognomen not ending in *-us* and his career is known from his *vita* and from *AE* 1963, 52; (10) L. Fabius Cilo (*PIR*² F 27), cos. II in 204, cannot be considered, as the details of his career are known; (11) P. Septimius Geta (*PIR*² S 453) and (12) C. Fulvius Plautianus (*PIR*² F 554), cos. II in 203, cannot come into consideration as Geta's career is known, and as Plautianus was praetorian prefect before his consulate, which was regarded as his second only because of the *ornamenta consularia* awarded earlier; the same goes for (13) Q. Maecius Laetus (*PIR*² M 54), "cos. II" in 215, (14) T. Messius Extricatus (*PIR*² M 518 cf. *CIL* VI 41190–91), "cos. II" in 217, and also for (15) M. Oclatinus Adventus, cos. in 218 and (16) P. Valerius Comazon, cos. in 219, who are in some inscriptions referred to as consuls "II" (for these cases see B. Salway, in A. Kolb [ed.], *Herrschaftsstrukturen und Herrschaftspraxis* [2006] 121–3); (17) D. Caelius Balbinus (*PIR*² C 126), cos. II in 213, was a patrician; (18) P.

– Q. Iunius Rusticus (*PIR*² I 814), cos. I in 133, legate of Hispania Citerior under Pius (*AE* 2003, 960), cos. II 162;

– L. Sergius Paullus (*PIR*² S 530), cos. I probably at the end of the reign of Hadrian,⁴⁰ legate of Pannonia Superior in 139 (*AE* 2010, 1262 of July 1, 139) and 140 (see W. Eck & A. Pangerl, *ZPE* 188 [2014] 258 n. 9), legate of Syria in 144 (*Idd. ibid.* 255ff.; W. Eck, *RhM* 157 [2014] 221ff.), cos. II 168 (Professor Birley tells me that Paullus, a man with an eastern background, could be an attractive candidate, as the dedicator of the inscription could, then, also be an easterner which, again, could mean that *consularis* could be a translation of ὑπατικός, in Greek inscriptions sometimes used simply in the meaning 'governor'; however, this seems to be the funerary inscription of the honorand, and the formulations at the end of the inscription – cf. below – may be interpreted as implying that the honorand's son, whom I would not define as an 'easterner', is the dedicator of the inscription);

– M. Flavius Aper (*PIR*² F 209), cos. I perhaps between 155 and 160,⁴¹ cos. II in 176;

– P. Seius Fuscianus (*PIR*² S 317), cos. I probably in 151,⁴² II in 188;

– M. Servilius Silanus (*PIR*² S 599), cos. I in 152, II in 188;

– C. Domitius Dexter (*PIR*² D 144), legate in Syria in 183–5 and thus cos. I before that, cos. II in 196;

– P. Cornelius Anullinus (*PIR*² C 1322), cos. II in 199, governed an imperial praetorian province, the name of which has not been preserved in the inscription *CIL* II 5506 = *II*² 5, 623 = *ILS* 1139, before his first consulate in perhaps 175 (Alföldy [n. 41] 189f.);⁴³

Catius Sabinus (*PIR*² C 571), cos. II 216, was legate of Noricum before his first consulate just before 210; (19) Q. Tineius Sacerdos (*PIR*² T 229), cos. I in 192, II in 219, was a patrician; (20) L. Marius Maximus (*PIR*² M 308), cos. I in 198/199, II in 223, cannot be considered, as the details of his career are known, and the same goes for (21) Ti. Manilius Fuscus (*PIR*² M 137), cos. I in 195/196, II in 225; (22) Q. Aiadius Modestus Crescentianus (*PIR*² A 470), cos. II in 228 was legate of Arabia before his first consulate in c. 200, and there designated to the consulate.

⁴⁰ See W. Eck & A. Pangerl, *ZPE* 188 (2014) 258 on *CIL* VI 253; W. Eck, *RhM* 157 (2014) 223.

⁴¹ G. Alföldy, *Konsulat und Senatorenstand unter den Antoninen* (1977) 194.

⁴² Alföldy (n. 41) 159f.; there are still vacancies for at least two consuls in this year (W. Eck, in W. Eck, B. Fehér, P. Kovács [eds.], *Studia epigraphica in memoriam Géza Alföldy* [2013] 76).

⁴³ P. M. M. Leunissen, *Konsuln und Konsulare in der Zeit von Commodus bis Severus Alexander* [1989] gives the date of Anullinus' first consulate several times – e. g. pp. 60 n. 158, 113, 115,

- C. Iulius Asper (*PIR*² I 182), cos. II in 212;
- Ap. Claudius Iulianus (*PIR*² C 901), cos. II in 224;
- C. Aufidius Marcellus (*PIR*² A 1389), proconsul of Asia in 220/221 and thus cos. I around 205, cos. II in 226;
- L. Cassius Dio (*PIR*² C 492; *RMD* II 133), proconsul of Africa in c. 222 (Leunissen [n. 43] 219) or c. 223/224 (Thomasson 39:132) and thus cos. I around 205 (Leunissen 163), cos. II in 229;
- M. Clodius Pupienus Maximus (*PIR*² C 1179), cos. II in 234.

If we now compare these men with the gaps attested in the list of governors of Pannonia Inferior, it seems that we could conclude that the two consuls II in 188, Seius Fuscianus and Servilius Silanus, cannot come into question, as Silanus was cos. I in 152 and Fuscianus probably in 151, and as there seem to be no vacancies for previously unknown governors of Pannonia Inferior in the years preceding consulates in 151 and 152. As for the rest, all of them could, as far as I can see, in some way be accommodated; Iunius Rusticus or Sergius Paullus could be accommodated in the gap – assuming there is a gap – in the early thirties before Attius Macro; Flavius Aper, whose first consulship is only vaguely datable, could have been governor in the late 150s; Domitius Dexter could perhaps be accommodated in the gap in c. 175–178, and the same may go for Cornelius Anullinus; Aufidius Marcellus, if cos. I around 205, could be accommodated in the gap between c. 202 and 205 or 208, and one could perhaps say the same about Cassius Dio; and there are also Iulius Asper, Claudius Iulianus and Pupienus Maximus, of whose careers we know almost nothing and who could, then, be accommodated in the gaps attested under the Severans.

Of course one could say that some of the above consuls II are less, some more probable candidates. Flavius Aper was the son of an ordinary consul (in 130), and possibly the grandson of a suffect consul in 103,⁴⁴ and Iunius Rusticus seems to have been the grandson of Q. Iunius Arulenus Rusticus, consul in 92, and both may well have been patricians and as such less likely to have governed a province such as Pannonia Inferior (and could as patricians of course not have held a tribunate of the *plebs*). On the other hand, Sergius Paullus was a member of an ancient family that had been senatorial from at least the time of Claudius (*PIR*² S p. 214) and was surely, if not already patrician, at least a man of highly

134, 214 – as c. 174, but as "um 175 oder 178/9" on p. 347. D. Okon, in K. Twardowska & al. (eds), *Within the Circle of Ancient Ideas and Virtue. Studies in Honour of Professor Maria Dzielska* (Krakow 2014) 221, seems to follow Alföldy in suggesting "perhaps in 175".

⁴⁴ See L. Vidman, *Fasti Ostienses* (21982) 46.

regarded status, but is now attested as having, as consular, governed Pannonia Superior and Syria (see above). He could as such be a credible candidate also for the post of governor of Pannonia Inferior, as several governors of Pannonia Superior, in fact almost one third of them, are known to have previously governed Pannonia Inferior.⁴⁵ However, one could come to Pannonia Superior also via a praetorian province other than Pannonia Inferior, and even patricians are known to have held unexpected appointments.⁴⁶ It thus seems advisable not to speculate further on the question of the identity of the honorand and to conclude that we could be dealing with anyone on the following list (personally I would prefer one of the earlier candidates but cannot find a good reason for ignoring the later ones): Q. Iunius Rusticus cos. 133, II 162; L. Sergius Paullus cos. II 168; M. Flavius Aper cos. II 176, C. Domitius Dexter cos. II 196; P. Cornelius Anullinus cos. II 199; C. Iulius Asper cos. II 212; Ap. Claudius Iulianus, cos. II 224; C. Aufidius Marcellus cos. II 226; L. Cassius Dio cos. II 229; M. Clodius Pupienus Maximus cos. II 234. Let us thus go on with the discussion of the text.

In line 3, an office is referred to as having been *consularis*. The term *consularis* is as such of course not that rare,⁴⁷ but it is only extremely rarely found within a *cursus* enumerating the stages of a senatorial career. Here we can, I think, distinguish between two main scenarios. From about the time of Caracalla, we can observe the term *consul*, used previously to refer also to persons who had in fact already held the consulate, now and then being substituted by *consularis* or even *vir consularis*.⁴⁸ In these cases, it is the senator's consular status that is being stressed. But there is also another scenario, namely that in which the consular status not of the senator himself, but of a certain office within his career is being stressed (there is also the alternative that a function itself is called not

⁴⁵ See W. Eck & M. Roxan, in R. Frei-Stolba & M. A. Speidel (eds.), *Römische Inschriften – Neufunde, Neulesungen und Neuinterpretationen. Festschrift für Hans Lieb* (1995) 75 with n. 100; W. Eck, in A. K. Bowman & al. (eds.), *Representations of Empire. Rome and the Mediterranean World* (2002) 142.

⁴⁶ L. Venuleius Apronianus, cos. II in 168, had been legate of the legion *I Italica* (see Alföldy [n. 41] 327).

⁴⁷ Cf. H.-G. Pflaum, in *Recherches sur les structures sociales dans l'antiquité classique* (1970) 166–75; O. Salomies, *Arctos* 44 (2010) 206–9, with references also to work by M. Christol, B. Rémy and G. Camodeca.

⁴⁸ *Arctos* 44 (2010) 208f., where I cite (in n. 8) as an example *CIL* XIV 3900 = *ILS* 1182 = *Inscr. It.* IV 1, 102 (Tibur), *C. Caesonio ... Macro Rufiniano consulari, sodali Augustali, comiti Imp(eratoris) Severi Alexandri Aug(usti), cur(ator) r(ei) p(ublicae) Lanivino(r)um II, proco(n)s(uli) prov(inciae) Africae*, etc.

legatus etc. but *consularis*, but that is another story).⁴⁹ This scenario is attested in some inscriptions from the early second century. In the inscription from Nedinum in Dalmatia in honour of the jurist Iavolenus Priscus, *CIL* III 9960 = *ILS* 1015 (mentioning the proconsulate of Africa in c. 101),⁵⁰ the first two consular appointments, following on three praetorian offices, are equipped with the qualifier *consularis*, clearly in order to point out that the career, in which the consulate itself is not mentioned, had now entered the consular stage.⁵¹ At about the same time a somewhat different state of affairs is expressed in the inscriptions of A. Larcus Priscus cos. 110 (*PIR*² L 103), who had, as only quaestor of Asia, during an emergency in c. 97 been nominated legate of the legion *III Scythica* stationed in northern Syria probably in Zeugma⁵² and apparently simultaneously been appointed acting governor of the whole province of Syria. The fact that Priscus acts as a substitute for a governor who is in normal circumstances a consular is expressed in both of Priscus' inscriptions as *pro legato consulare provinciae Syriae*.⁵³

Q. Pompeius Falco's (cos. in 108, *PIR*² P 602) appointment in Judaea, previously a praetorian province, is described in two inscriptions in a striking way.⁵⁴ In the inscription *CIL* X 6231 = *ILS* 1035 (Tarracina), the governorship is rendered as *leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) provinc(iae) [Iudaeae e]t leg(ionis) X Fret(ensis)*; *CIL* III 12117 = *ILS* 1036 from Hierapolis Castabala offers a similar phrasing but concludes the formulation of the office with the term *consularis* as *leg(ato) Aug(usti) leg(ionis) X Fret(ensis) et leg(ato) pr(o) pr(aetore) [pr]ovinci-*

⁴⁹ I mean the type (attested from about the time of Marcus Aurelius) *consularis III Daciarum* (as an item of the career, e. g., in the inscription from Apulum in honour of L. Marius Perpetuus, *CIL* III 1178 = *ILS* 1165 = *IDR* III 5, 436), for which see Pflaum (n. 47) 170f.

⁵⁰ For the date see B. E. Thomasson, *Fasti Africani* (1996) 49 no. 57.

⁵¹ The career is rendered in this way: *leg(ato) leg(ionis) IV Flav(iae)*, *leg(ato) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae)*, *iuridic(o) provinc(iae) Britanniae*, *leg(ato) consulari provinc(iae) Germ(aniae) superioris*, *legato consulari provinc(iae) Syriae*, *proconsuli provinc(iae) Africae*, *pontifici*.

⁵² M. A. Speidel, in Y. Le Bohec (ed.), *Les légions de Rome* (2000) 330–2.

⁵³ *CIL* VIII 17891 = *ILS* 1055; *AE* 1908, 237. For a reconstruction of the events resulting in this appointment see G. Alföldy – H. Halfmann, *Chiron* 3 (1973) 331–73 (= G. Alföldy, *Römische Militärgeschichte* [1987] 153–201).

⁵⁴ The combination of Judaea and the legion *X Fretensis* stationed in Judaea also appears perhaps in *CIL* VI 41113 (but this inscription is very fragmentary) and certainly in the Greek inscription from Caunus *AE* 2003, 1706, but in this inscription the text is not preserved after the mention of the legion. In other inscriptions (*AE* 1957, 336 = *ISM* II 46; *I. Ephesos* 713) only Judaea and not the legion is mentioned.

ae Iudaeae consularis. Since this inscription does not mention Falco's consulate which must have followed on from the governorship of Judaea (or at least followed on from its beginning, as Falco may have held the consulate *in absentia*), it has of course been assumed that *consularis* is a mistake for *co(n)s(uli)* (thus Dessau on *ILS* 1036; *PIR*¹ R 68). However, the prevailing opinion nowadays seems to be that the expression has to be taken at face value, and the most convincing explanation for the use of this term at this point seems to me that of W. Eck, who assumes that Judaea became a consular province with two legions during Falco's governorship.⁵⁵ In my view, the main problem is rather this: can we accept the formulation *consularis*, or should it be corrected in *consulari{s}*? In the first alternative, *consularis* would have to be a genitive defining *[pr]ovinciae Iudaeae*, whereas the dative *consulari* would define *leg(ato)*. That this is a genitive is the opinion of W. Eck and other scholars (and there is of course the fact that the inscription does read *consularis*),⁵⁶ whereas A. R. Birley and some other

⁵⁵ See W. Eck, *BASP* 21 (1984) 55–67; cf. Id., *Rom und Judaea. Fünf Vorträge zur römischen Herrschaft in Palaestina* (2007) 112–5 and in O. Hekster & al. (ed.), *Ritual Dynamics and Religious Change in the Roman Empire* (2009) 218. Cf. also G. Labbé, *L'affirmation de la puissance romaine en Judée (63 a.C.–136 p.C.)* (2012) 413f., although I am not sure about the author's exact position on this question. In the inscription of Pliny the Younger from Comum (*CIL* V 5262 = *ILS* 2927) his mission in Pontus-Bithynia around 110 is described as *legat(us) pro pr(aetore) provinciae Pon[ti et Bithyniae pro]consulari potesta[t(e)]*, not *consulari*, cf. G. Alföldy, *AAntHung* 39 (1999) 21–44 (*AE* 1999, 747).

⁵⁶ W. Eck, *BASP* 21 (1984) 58 and in an article on the administration of Judaea not yet published (cf. below); L. Vidman, *PIR*² P 602 (the command in Judaea being "valde insolitum", this may be the reason why "provincia quoque consularis appellatur"; however, Vidman himself admits that he had once interpreted *consularis* as pertaining to Falco himself: "De legato consulari, id est praeside provinciae qui consularis nuncupatur, cogitabam quondam ipse, in: Studi in honore di C. Sanfilippo 1 (1982) 661 sq." – this book has not been available to me); G. Labbé, op. cit. (n. 55) 413 ("*consularis*, venant qualifier un poste"). The exact position of those scholars who quote the full title in the nominative as *leg(atus) ... Iudaeae consularis* (thus G. Alföldy, *FBW* 8 [1983] 61 = Id., *Römische Heeresgeschichte. Beiträge 1962–1985* [1987] 400; B. Rémy, *Les carrières sénatoriales dans les provinces romaines d'Anatolie au Haut-Empire* [1989] 295) or who just write *leg.* (Thomasson 34:22) must remain uncertain. In the still unpublished article (cf. above), Professor Eck writes that if the legion *II Traiana* was sent to Judaea in c. 108 (i. e. at about the time of Falco's consulate *in absentia*), Judaea now becoming a province with two legions (and thus "consular"), this uncommon scenario could have been referred to by describing the province as *Iudaea consularis*. However, I am still worried about the complete lack of parallels for the expression *provincia consularis* during the empire. Professor Eck reminds me of the fact that, in the inscription from Hierapolis, *consularis* is attached to the name of the province, whereas in the inscriptions of Iavolenus Priscus and Larcus Pricus the expression is attached to *legatus*. However, in my view there is not necessarily a difference between the

scholars assume that the dative should be understood.⁵⁷ As Pompeius Falco is not my subject in this paper, I shall not deal with this question at length, but let me observe that in my view, the genitive would be quite out of the place here, whereas the dative *consulari* would be just right. During the Roman Republic, a *provincia* as a general term could be designated as *consularis*, and there is even an instance of *consularis* being attached not to the term *provincia* but to the name of a province.⁵⁸ But during the empire, the expression *provincia Iudaea consularis* would be without a parallel (the *provinciae consulares*, as opposed to *provinciae proconsulares*, in *HA* Aur. 22.8, are based on the author's imagination). Instead, we have seen that there are a couple of examples of a legate being designated as *consularis* (and the inscription from Alsium must, I think, be added to them), and correcting *consularis* to *consulari{s}* and understanding *leg(ato) pr(o) pr(aetore) [pr]ovinciae Iudaeae consulari* has the advantage of furnishing this inscription with a fairly exact parallel, namely the inscription of Iavolenus Priscus mentioned above. Both in the inscription of Priscus and in *ILS* 1036 pertaining to Falco the mention of the consulate itself is omitted,⁵⁹ but the appointments of consular status are designated as such. The only difference is that in the inscription of Iavolenus Priscus, both consular governorships in imperial provinces are designated as such, whereas in Falco's case this is indicated only in the case of his first consular assignment. Finally, the interpretation *consulari{s}* may

formulations *legatus consularis provinciae xyz* and *legatus provinciae xyz consularis*, the latter formulation, with hyperbaton, only perhaps being a little more elegant.

⁵⁷ A. R. Birley, *The Roman Government of Britain* (2005) 115 ("[sic]" being added to *consularis* in quoting the text), 117 (Falco's consulate perhaps held *in absentia*); in an e-mail of Dec. 9, 2014, Professor Birley assures me that he still thinks that *consularis* is a slip for *consulari*. That *consularis* defines Falco rather than Judaea also seems to be the opinion of L. Maurizi, *Il cursus honorum senatorio da Augusto a Traiano* (2013) 117. For L. Vidman's opinion in 1982 see n. 56.

⁵⁸ Cic. *Tull.* 15, *a consulari Macedonia et Asia*, cited in *TLL* IV 572, 44; see *ibid.* 37–45 for *consularis* being applied to *provincia*.

⁵⁹ In *ILS* 1035, the consulate is mentioned at the beginning of Falco's career. In the Greek inscription *I. Ephesos* 713, there is no reference to the consulate, but this is a striking text with a rather impressionistic résumé of Falco's career including an obscure reference to "several other commands" (not named). *AE* 2003, 1706 from Caunus does not mention the consulate in the beginning of the inscription, but may have mentioned it in the part now lost, as the text, clearly mentioning (in this order, which is the same as in *ILS* 1036) both the legion *X Fretensis* and Judaea, now breaks off after the mention of the legion. The fact that the praetorship is in this inscription rendered not as στρατηγός but as στρατηγικός makes one wonder if the consulate could not similarly have been rendered as ὑπατικός = *consularis*.

perhaps receive some support from the fact that in *AE* 2003, 1706 from Caunus (and thus another inscription from Asia Minor), the praetorship is rendered not as στρατηγός but strikingly as στρατηγικός which may mean that in this inscription, too (the end of which is now lost), the consulate could have been rendered as a translation of *consularis* (see n. 59). Of course, taking Falco, rather than the province of Judaea, to have been referred to as consular must mean that Falco (consul in 108) had in fact held the consulate which again must mean that he had held it *in absentia* during his governorship in Judaea, but exactly that is, as far as I can see, the unanimous assumption of scholars dealing with Falco (for A. R. Birley, see n. 57).

Coming back to the inscription from Alsium, in what is left from the text the term *consulari* is preceded by an *O*. The most probable supplement is surely *legat]o consulari*. Other supplements seem less plausible, as there are not good parallels for the term *consularis* being inserted in the middle of the description of a cursus (as contrasted with the beginning as in *ILS* 1180, 1182, *AE* 2008, 434, or the end, as in *CIL* II 4115 = II² 15, 978) in some other way. There is an inscription in which (*vir*) *consularis* appears in the middle of a cursus (*EE* IX 593 = *ILS* 8979 from Lavinium),⁶⁰ but it would be rather strange if the author of the inscription from Alsium, who had mentioned the honorand's iterated consulate – an unusual honour – in the inscription's first line, had returned to the subject of the honorand's – as contrasted with an office's – consular status two lines later. Again, although one can observe titles of the type *consularis III Daciarum* used in the beginning of a cursus (thus at least *CIL* III 1178 = *ILS* 1165 = *IDR* III 5, 436), I have not been able to trace instances of titles of this type *within* a cursus, which is understandable inasmuch as this type is more informal than the solemn denomination of the type *legatus Augusti pro praetore III Daciarum* (used in the inscriptions of P. Septimius Geta, see Thomasson 21:45). Of course this does not mean that something like this would be impossible, but perhaps this observation could be taken to imply that *legat]o consulari* may indeed well be the correct supplement in the inscription from Alsium. Unfortunately this does not take us very far, for taking into account the (very few) parallels which were discussed above, the use of the term could be meant to point out either that a command was by definition consular (as in the inscription of Iavolenus Priscus) or that the command,

⁶⁰ Note that Dessau in *ILS* 8979 did not take into account his own addendum in *EE* IX p. 706, according to which one has to read not *a]uguri* but *c.] v., cur*. Incidentally, I am pretty sure that in this inscription one has to read *viro cons]ulari ordinar(io)* rather than just *cons]ulari ordinar(io)*.

normally or at least previously praetorian, was (or became) in this particular case consular (as in the inscription of Falco). This latter alternative would at least in my view *a priori* seem to be the more probable one, and there was (as mentioned above) a moment when I thought that Claudius Pompeianus, consular legate of Pannonia Inferior, would have been a likely candidate. However, the fact that he seems to have been aedile rather than tribune (cf. above) rules him out, not to speak of the fact that *consulari* clearly cannot be combined with *[Pannoniae] Inferioris*, as the layout of the text, as observed above, shows that the width of the inscription must have been considerable, this resulting with *consulari* necessarily referring to something mentioned in the lost beginning of line 4, not to something mentioned in the end of the same line. Perhaps, then, we could assume that, as in the inscription of Iavolenus Priscus, *consulari* was used to point out that the office following on the governorship of Pannonia Inferior was the honorand's first consular appointment.

As for the last two lines which offer us the possibility of identifying the context of this inscription, in line 7 the reading must, I think, be *factum est*, as *tactum est* (cf. phrases of the type *de caelo tactum est* in references to objects struck by lightning) and *actum est* (common in deeds of sale, etc.) would require quite a different scenario. Now in an earlier version of this paper, I thought, keeping in mind inscriptions such as *CIL VI 562 = ILS 202 Pietati Augustae ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) quod factum est D. Haterio Agrippa C. Sulpicio Galba co(n)s(ulibus)* etc.,⁶¹ that one could think of a supplement of the type *[ex d(ecurionum) d(ecreto) quod] factum est*, followed in the next (and last) line, taking the letter seen in this line as an *L*, by the date ending in *[--- Apri]l(es)* or *[--- Iu]l(ias)* or *[--- Apri]l(ibus)* or *[--- Iu]l(iis)*; in this case we would be dealing with a monument set up by the local *ordo*. But Professor Eck reminds me of the fact that the format of the inscription, the width of which must have exceeded the height, very much points to a funerary context, also indicated by the findspot Alsium, and that, moreover, the phrase *factum est* is indeed attested (also) in this context, mentioning *AE 1990, 74* from Rome as an instance; the text of this inscription ends with the formulation *hoc sepulcrum factu(m) est ex testamento arbitrato A. Histumenni A. l. Philomusi*. There are, moreover, several inscriptions with similar formulations.⁶² Taking

⁶¹ Cf. also *ILGN 419* (Nemausus); *CIL VIII 26588* (referring to a *senatus consult(um)* of the local senate).

⁶² Cf. *CIL VI 33855*, *arbitratu heredum hoc monumentum factum est*; *CIL IX 3739* (Marruvium), *monument(um) ex testamento factum est arbitrato libertorum*; *AE 1968, 180* (Rome), *[m]onumentum factum est ex testimonio* (sic!) *Rufi, Chilonis, Luperci*; *CIL VI 27023* (cf. <http://>

this into account, it thus seems preferable to see the inscription as belonging to the tomb of the honorand, perhaps (as also suggested by Professor Eck) set up by the honorand's son. In this case, the original text could have run, e. g., as follows: *[monumentum ex testamento] factum est / [arbitratu --- fi]l(ii)*.

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archeoroma.beniculturali.it/ParoleDiPietra/epigrafi_6nice.htm), *iussit monumentum HS [--- fieri] ... ; factum est HS etc.; maesoleum (sic): CIL VIII 2841 = ILS 8097, maesoleum Romae in praedis suis ex HS L m(ilibus) n(ummum) factum est*. Without a mention of the monument: CIL VI 14616, *Q. Caulius Q. l. Philoxenus, Salvidena C. l. Statia; eiusde(m) arbitratu factum est* (this being followed by several further names); *AE 2009, 1256 = U. Ehmig – R. Haensch, Die Lateinischen Inschriften aus Albanien* (2012) 150, *Urbica ... hic sita est ...; de eius peculi[o] permissu dominae factum es[t]; ILS Alg. I 3121 (Theveste), exs testamento ar[bi]tratu Fulviae Saturninae f[actu]m est*.