

# ARCTOS

ACTA PHILOLOGICA FENNICA

**VOL. XLIII**

HELSINKI 2009

## INDEX

EUGENIO AMATO	<i>Note esegetico-testuali a Dione di Prusa V: Sull'abito (or. LXXII)</i>	9
LUIGI ARATA	<i>Breve storia del tecolito, con particolare riferimento alla medicina greca</i>	21
MIKA KAJAVA	<i>A Further Greek Hymn from Signia</i>	31
TUA KORHONEN	<i>Christina of Sweden and Her Knowledge of Greek</i>	41
PETER KRUSCHWITZ & VIRGINIA L. CAMPBELL	<i>What the Pompeians Saw: Representations of Document Types in Pompeian Drawings and Paintings (and their Value for Linguistic Research)</i>	57
LAURA NISSINEN	<i>Cubicula diurna, nocturna – Revisiting Roman cubicula and Sleeping Arrangements</i>	85
JANNE PÖLÖNEN	<i>Hiberus quidam in Dig. 8,2,13 pr: (M. Antonius) Hiberus (PIR<sup>2</sup> H 168)?</i>	109
OLLI SALOMIES & ZBIGNIEW FIEMA	<i>Latin Inscription from the Ridge Church at Petra</i>	108
KAJ SANDBERG	<i>Isis, the Pomerium and the Augural Topography of the Capitoline Area</i>	141
HEIKKI SOLIN	<i>Analecta epigraphica CCLII-CCLVIII</i>	161
KAIUS TUORI	<i>Dig. 34,2,33: the Return of the Cross-Dressing Senator</i>	191
STEPHEN EVANS	Review Article: <i>Dusting the Mythological Cobwebs</i>	201
	<i>De novis libris iudicia</i>	217
	<i>Index librorum in hoc volumine recensorum</i>	313
	<i>Libri nobis missi</i>	319
	<i>Index scriptorum</i>	337

## LATIN INSCRIPTION IN THE RIDGE CHURCH AT PETRA\*

OLLI SALOMIES – ZBIGNIEW FIEMA

This article concerns a Latin inscription found in the so-called Ridge Church, probably of late 4<sup>th</sup> century date, in Petra, Jordan. The inscription was inscribed on a sandstone block (locus 123), which was later reused as one of three steps leading from the porticoed entrance to the church proper. The block was inserted in the stairs in the way that the inscription is visible (i.e. facing west) but is placed upside down. The block appears to have been trimmed from its original size on the top and the two sides, probably when it was lifted from the original location, in anticipation of its reuse as a step. The bottom of the block (now the tread) appears to be original, i.e., not altered. The inscribed area measures 22 x 66.5 cm; the individual letters are 4 cm high (the *P* in the beginning of line 2: 5.4 cm.).<sup>1</sup> For more details on the monument, see below, Section 6.

### 1. Constitution of the Text

What is left of the inscription, broken at the top but otherwise complete, is as follows:

---

\* This contribution was written for a volume on the Ridge Church to be published by Patricia M. Bikai and Megan Perry. However, the contribution turned out to be too detailed for a volume focusing on the 4<sup>th</sup> century church, and so, with the permission of the editors, the full version is published here and a shortened version will be provided for the Ridge Church volume. Sections 1–5 are by O. Salomies, sections 6–8 by Z. Fiema.

<sup>1</sup> Note on the palaeography (ZF): More recently, the lettering of the Latin inscription from the Ridge church was compared to the Latin dedication to Jupiter Ammon, found in Humayma (ancient Hawara/Hauarra), several kilometers south of Petra. The authors of the publication noted that while the letters of the Petra inscription are cut much deeper into the stone, both inscriptions are comparable with regard to the style, except for the letters A which, in the Petra inscription, feature crossbars. The Humayma inscription lacks the date but the contents suggest a date in the first half of the third century (Oleson et al. 2002: 113, note 49).

[ ----- ]  
*bis torquatae in Dacia Porolis(sensi)*  
*praef(ecto) alae II Ulp(iae) Auriana[e]*  
*in Cappadocia dec(uriones) alae eiusdem*  
*ob merita per Lucium signiferum.*

When the inscription was first made known in 1996 by P. M. Bikai in *ADAJ* 40 (1996) 484, only a photo was published, accompanied by the observation (based on information furnished by Z. T. Fiema) that this was an inscription set up by the signifer Lucius in honour of a praefectus of the *ala II Ulpia Auriana*, a unit stationed in Cappadocia. Although the inscription was technically speaking still unpublished, the text was reproduced by M. Sartre in the *L'Année épigraphique* vol. 1996 (1999), as no. 1630. However, by this time the inscription had acquired two new lines in the beginning, based on restoration:

[*M. Ulpio M. f. Andromacho*  
*praef(ecto) alae I Silianae c(ivium) R(omanorum)*]

In the commentary, it is said that the *ala (II) Auriana* is attested in another inscription from Petra, referred to as *IGLJord* [= *IGLS IV*], IV, 49. What had happened, then, was that Sartre, who had edited the inscriptions of Petra in *IGLS IV* in 1993, had observed that the honorand must be identical with M. Ulpianus Andromachus, prefect of the same *ala II Auriana*, who was honoured by the decurions of this very unit with a Greek inscription using the dative instead of the normal accusative, published in 1968 by Starcky & Bennett 1968, 57–59 no. xi (a statue base, 36.5 x 91 x 60+) = *AE* 1968, 528 = M. Sartre, *IGLS IV* no. 49 (with measurements 35 x 93 x 59):

Μ. Οὐλπίῳ Ἀνδρομάχῳ Οὐλπίου  
 Διογένους υἱῷ, ἐπάρχῳ εἵλης Β' Αὐριανῆς  
 δεκ(ά)δαρχ(οι) τῆς προγεγ(ραμμένης) εἵλης.

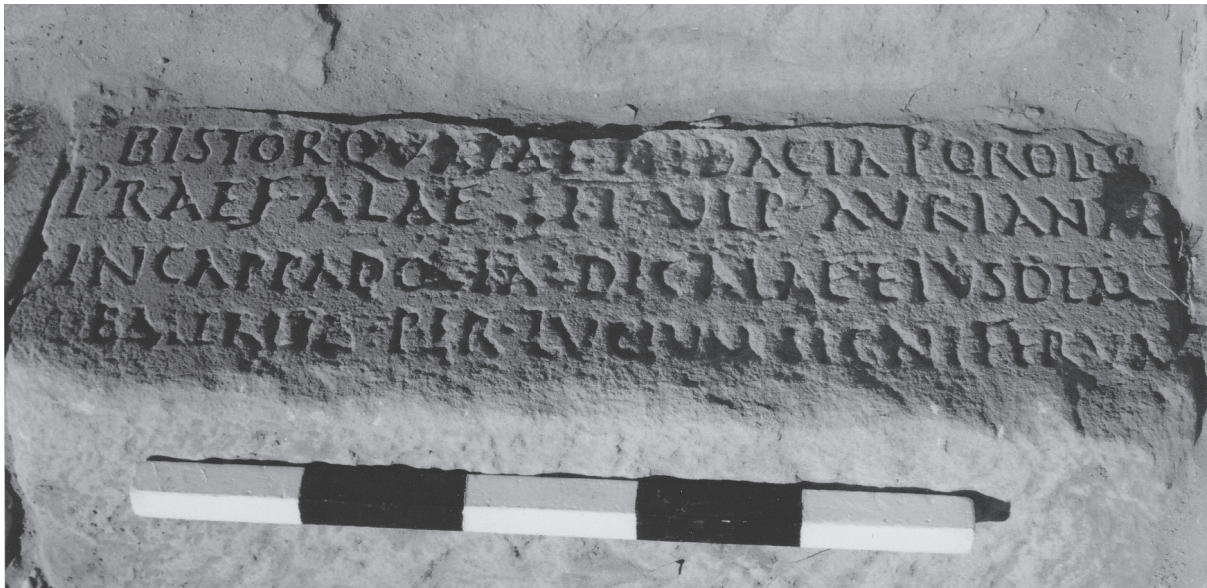
The identification is no doubt correct, as we must be dealing with monuments set up in the hometown of the honorand, not with monuments set up where the unit was stationed (cf. below; if the *ala II Auriana* were stationed in Petra, things would obviously be otherwise). The question of the identity of the honorand having been settled, there remained the question of the identification of the *ala* of which only the remainder of the name survives: *bis torquatae in Dacia Porolis(sensi)*. As Sartre, who had supplied [*praef(ecto) alae I Silianae c(ivium) R(omanorum)*]

in the line preceding *bis torquatae* etc., observes in *AE* 1996, 1630, "la première unité se déduit de son titre et de sa localisation." This is quite correct; the title *bis torquata*, attested only in the case of four *alae* (Maxfield 1981, 221; that a cohort cannot be considered is clear from the fact that we are dealing with the *next* appointment of the honorand, following on the prefecture of the *ala II Auriana* [cf. below]: a prefect of a cavalry unit obviously cannot be promoted to a prefecture of a cohort), and the fact that the unit was stationed in Dacia Porolissensis, to which province it moved at some point between AD 119 (*AE* 2003, 2041, still in Pannonia Inferior) and 128 (*ZPE* 170 [2009] 207ff., the earliest attestation of the *ala Siliana* in Dacia Porolissensis; cf. below) clearly show that only the *ala Siliana* can be meant (note also that, because of the name *Ulpus*, this text can in any case not be earlier than from the time of Trajan or perhaps rather Hadrian, cf. below). This, then, settles the question of the restoration of what comes between the name and the preserved part of the inscription. (It might be observed at this point that no more than the names of one unit can be restored, as we no doubt have here a combination of the previous and the next appointments, not a *cursus*; cf. below.)

It is, then, clear that the text, as reconstructed by Sartre, must be approximately correct. He was clearly right in not restoring a filiation imitating the one used in the Greek inscription and indicating the father by using his nomen and cognomen, since a filiation of this type (for the significance of which, cf. below) is more suitable in a Greek context. On the other hand, I am not sure whether a filiation of the more "Roman" type, *M(arci) f(ilius)* as restored by Sartre, is really desirable. From the second century onwards, instances of filiations in Latin inscriptions from the Greek East are not really numerous; in fact, the honorand's own praenomen might be omitted. Moreover, there is also the fact that if the filiation is omitted here, the honorand's name would fit better in the space available, especially as it does not seem unlikely that the letters in line 1 were a bit larger than in the other lines (cf. fig. 1–2). Therefore, my suggestion for line 1 of the inscription is *M. Ulpio Andromacho*, the suggested reading for the whole inscription being:

*[M. Ulpio Andromacho  
praef(ecto) alae I Silianae c(ivium) R(omanorum)]  
bis torquatae in Dacia Porolis(sensi),  
praef(ecto) alae II Ulp(iae) Aurianae  
in Cappadocia dec(uriones) alae eiusdem  
ob merita per Lucium signiferum.*

Concerning the interpretation of the inscription, note that *alae eiusdem* must refer to the unit just named, the *ala II Ulp(ia) Auriana*, not the *ala I Siliana* mentioned two lines earlier. This interpretation is not only obvious in itself but is also implied by the fact that decurions of the same *ala* also set up the Greek inscription referred to earlier. We can, then, conclude that decurions of the *alae II Ulp(ia) Auriana* set up, at different times (cf. below), two monuments in honour of their commander Ulpius Andromachus.



M·VLP·PIO·ANDROMACHO  
 PRAEFALAE I SILIANAE CR  
 BISTORQVATAE INDACIA POROLIS  
 PRAEFALAE II·VLP·AVRIANA  
 INCAPPOCIA DECALAE EIVSDEM  
 OBMERITA·PERLVCIUM SIGNIFERVA

## 2. The Career of the Honorand

As Ulpus Andromachus is known only from the two inscriptions from Petra, his career, which will have included a number of earlier posts, is known only as far as the two prefectures go. What is clear, however, is that the order of the posts must be, first the prefecture of the *ala II Auriana* and then the prefecture of the *ala I Siliana*. The first inscription, mentioning only the *ala II Auriana*, was probably set up at the time or, perhaps more probably, very soon after the time, that Ulpus Andromachus held the prefecture of the *ala II Auriana*. The second, Latin inscription published here must be a bit later, when Andromachus, probably residing or at least present in Petra at the time, had been nominated to the prefecture of the *ala I Siliana*, as the most convenient explanation is that this inscription belongs to the category of "Inscriptions indicative of impending or recent movements" (Birley 1979; for a more recent instance, note, e.g., *AE* 2005, 1559, an inscription from Apamea in Syria honouring a procurator about to leave the province in order to take up the post of prefect of the Ravennate fleet).

Ulpus Andromachus belongs, then, to the category of equestrian officers who twice held the prefecture of an *ala*, not, as would be normal, only once. As is well known, this group falls into two further categories; on the one hand, there are the prefects moving on from the prefecture of a normal *ala* to that of an *ala milliaria* (for instances, see Birley 1988, 353f.; Demougin 2000, 134), the latter command representing what was known as the fourth *militia*, the establishment of which is normally, and plausibly, attributed to about the time of Hadrian (e.g., Birley 1988, 159). On the other, there are prefects who held two prefectures of normal *alae*. As the *ala I Siliana* (Spaul 1994, 200–3) is not attested as a milliary unit, it follows that Andromachus belongs to the latter category, which is in fact fairly restricted. In her study of the *iteratio militiae* (dealing also with iterated tribunates, etc.), S. Demougin observes that an iterated prefecture of a (normal) *ala* is attested in the following five cases (Demougin 2000, 132):

- |                                      |                                |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Ignotus ( <i>I. Cemenelum</i> 44) | <i>PME</i> Inc. 93             |
| 2. M. Valerius Propinquus etc.       | <i>PME</i> V 30 and addenda    |
| 3. P. Valerius Priscus               | <i>PME</i> V 28 and addenda    |
| 4. T. Varius Priscus                 | <i>PME</i> V 52bis and addenda |
| 5. Ignotus ( <i>AE</i> 1992, 1792)   |                                |

This list does not include all of the cases appearing in the similar list in Degrassi 1967, 116, for Degrassi also included cases where the second command was not

as *praefectus* but as *praepositus* (e.g., T. Antonius Claudius Alfenus Arignotus, *PME* A 132), which is a different matter (cf. Demougin 2000, 125).

In any case, the list above does not seem altogether complete. First, one misses Ti. Claudius Helvius Secundus (*PME* C 143 from *AE* 1925, 44, Trajanic), who, in addition to having twice held prefectures of *alae* (the *ala Phrygum* and the *ala II Gallorum*), had also been twice prefect of a cohort and tribune of a legion (mentioned by Demougin 2000 on p. 125 and, as a man who had held the military tribunate twice, on p. 128). Then there is C. Iulius Ianua[r]ius (*PME* I 68). This man seems to have been left out by Demougin 2000 because she decided to consider only those cases where the military career is completely known. Be that as it may, the sepulchral inscription of this man, *CIL* V 4095 from Cremona (ca. Trajanic) mentions the prefectures of three *alae*, all of them quingenary (but nothing else). Finally, there is now Ulpus Andromachus. The list of those who twice held the prefecture of a quingenary *ala* should thus be continued as follows:

6. Ti. Claudius Helvius Secundus	<i>PME</i> C 143
7. C. Iulius Ianua[r]ius	<i>PME</i> I 68
8. M. Ulpus Andromachus	(see above) <sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> As for L. Iulius Vehilius Gr[at]us[us] Iulianus (discussed by Degrassi 1967, 116f.), praetorian prefect under Commodus (*CIL* VI 31856 = 41271 = *ILS* 1327; *PME* I 136; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> I 615; the second cognomen is corrected to *Ga[llus]* by G. Alföldy in *CIL* VI 41271, but, having inspected the inscription in the Museo Nazionale Romano, I must say that the second letter of the cognomen seems at least to me an *R* rather than an *A*), it may well be that he should be added to the list, as his career includes the appointments *praef(ectus) alae Herculanae* followed by *praef(ectus) alae Tampiana*, for, as Degrassi points out, the *ala Tampiana* is nowhere described as milliary. On the other hand, this Iulianus may be identical with a certain Iulius Iulianus in an inscription from Palmyra (*ILS* 8869 = *IGR* III 1037 = *AE* 1933, 208 = Delplace – Dentzer-Feydy 2005, 236, Annexe 4), who describes himself as prefect of the same *ala Herculana* (εἴλη Ἡρακλῆων[ή]) but does this after having said that he was τετειμημένος ... τετάρτης στρατείας, his next appointment, not mentioned, after the *ala Herculana* (stationed in Palmyra) thus being described as the man's *quarta militia*. This would be hard to explain unless the *ala Tampiana* had not been raised to a milliary unit at some point in the second century. In fact, this seems to be the normal assumption (e.g., E. Birley 1988, 158f., 354). But what if the Iulius Iulianus in Palmyra is not identical with the praetorian prefect but someone else with a similar name, also prefect of the *ala Herculana*? The man, who describes himself as εὐσεβῆς καὶ φιλόπατρις, does look very much like a local man from Palmyra, something which one probably cannot say of the praetorian prefect (normally thought of as an Italian, though not for any clear reason), and "Iulius Iulianus" is not a particularly distinctive name. On the other hand, there cannot have been so many prefects of the *ala Herculana*, and the praetorian prefect, whose abbreviated name was in fact "Iulius Iulianus" (and not, e.g., "Vehilius Gratus"), since he must be identical with the man who set up *CIL* V 4343 = *Inscr. It.* X 5, 129 (Brixia, the hometown of the honorand, not that of



There are undoubtedly many explanations for the assignment of the command of two *alae quingenariae* in succession to the same prefect. Some scholars seem to tend to imply that the the second prefecture could be interpreted as a recognition of sorts (thus Alföldy & Halfmann 1973, 372, who speak of the iterated prefecture of an *ala* as a "gewisse Rangerhöhung"; Šašel 1983, 179 = 216: "Weil er sich ausgezeichnet hat, erhielt er die *tertia militia iterata*"; Le Bohec 1989a, 30: "Ces cinq milices montrent que Priscus [the honorand of *CIL VI 3654*] connaissait bien les affaires militaires"; cf. Lassère 2005, 681, who says that a second prefecture of an *ala* is an "honneur" and that the command was of a quingenary *ala* only if no prefecture of a milliary *ala* happened to be vacant; similarly Degrassi 1967, 117). However, as a rule this seems at least questionable, although it is true that the number of the available posts fell from *militia* to *militia*, there being about 300 posts in *militia I*, about 190 in *militia II*, about 90 *militia III* and, and once it was established, only about 9 posts in *militia IV* (e.g., Devijver 1989a, 78 = 1992, 67). On the one hand, one would not *a priori* assume that two successive commands of units of the same status would be a distinction, especially as one observes so many prefects of *alae* moving on to procuratorships and the like, and on the other, at least in the military phase of their careers, the officers enumerated above do not seem to have left an impression of exceptional excellency. One observes, for instance, that three of the officers above also held other commands of the same level twice: Helvius Secundus also held two commands of a cohort and two tribunates of a legion (not exactly what one would expect to imply a glorious career; note also that no further employment in the form of procuratorships was offered to him after his second prefecture of an *ala*, something which may have also happened to Valerius Propinquus); Valerius Priscus was twice prefect of a cohort and the officer honoured in *AE 1992, 1794* held two legionary tribunates. I am not saying that this kind of advancement is unheard-of, but certainly it seems striking to observe this concentration of successive appointments on the same level in this group. One also observes that there is no trace of military decorations in this group of officers, although most of the officers enumerated above are known from documents which would have mentioned decorations if the honorands had received such.

I would, then, tend to agree with the conclusion of Demougin 2000, 136, that the command of two quingenary *alae* (or of two other equestrian posts) in succession indicates a modest, rather than a splendid, career (cf. also, e.g., Birley 1988, 361, on the two posts in the *militia secunda* of Sulpicius Felix *PME S 86*:

---

the dedicator), may have been an honorary citizen of Palmyra (thus Birley 1988, 158).

"his two posts ... imply that he was not judged worthy of early promotion to the *militia tertia* and beyond"). But it must be confessed that we know nothing of the details of these appointments which means that they may be due to special circumstances; observe the reconstruction, though of course speculative, by Alföldy – Halfmann 1973, 372f. of the scenario of the promotion of Valerius Propinquus to his second prefecture of an *ala*. Furthermore, it is also true that one of the officers, Varius Priscus, later rose to some eminence as the governor of provinces governed by equestrians, but he may have been gifted in civilian rather than in military matters; and the fact that he was the brother of a successful knight, T. Varius Clemens, who rose to procuratorships of provinces and other high equestrian offices (*PME* V 52), may also have played a role.

### 3. The Mention of a Province in Combination with an Office

In the case of both prefectures held by Ulpian Andromachus, it is specified in the new inscription in which province the unit in question was stationed: [*praef(ecto) alae I Silianae c(ivium) R(omanorum) bis torquatae in Dacia Porolis(sensi), praef(ecto) alae II Ulp(iae) Aurianae in Cappadocia*. Adding the province (or sometimes some other place, e.g., *Alexandriae* in *CIL* VIII 25846) where a military unit was stationed was clearly not the most common practice (the normal type is rather simply *tribunus militum legionis III Augustae*, etc.), but there are a number of instances of this in inscriptions from all around the Roman world. The point of adding the province is, of course, easy to understand since commands of military units are often mentioned in contexts – that is, in inscriptions listing someone's career – in which other offices are referred to where the name of a province (or some other territorial unit) is used to describe the office itself, e.g., *procurator provinciae Syriae*. Adding the mention of the province where a military unit was stationed makes the text more informative, and lets the reader of the text – say, a fellow-citizen of the honorand reading the inscription set up in the honorand's honour – realize how far the honorand had travelled. In any case, the phenomenon has been studied in a well-known article by H.-G. Pflaum of 1955 (Pflaum 1955) which includes, on pp. 128–146, a list, perhaps not very well organized, of all the instances known to the author at the time of writing (however, ordinary soldiers and veterans mentioning the province where they served are omitted; all of Pflaum's examples do not seem relevant, e.g., *CIL* XI 5632 = *ILS* 2735, quoted on p. 141, *praef(ecto) coh(ortis) II Fl(aviae) Britton(um) equitat(ae), electo a divo Hadriano et misso in expeditionem Britannicam*). Pflaum seems to attach

importance to the question of whether several, or only one, of the posts held by someone are furnished with the indication of a province, a distinction which to me seems of minor interest. In any case, after having enumerated inscriptions pertaining to senators and equestrians, and after having observed (p. 144) that the vast majority of the cases refer to equestrian "officiers supérieurs", only seven instances belonging to senators – not at all surprising since the numbers of senatorial military tribunes was minimal if compared to the numbers of equestrian officers – he goes on (p. 145f.) to list a few centurions and altogether four decurions who also mention in their inscriptions the provinces in which their units were stationed. His conclusion is that "[I]a rareté de ces témoignages [of those pertaining to centurions and decurions] prouve (sic!) que la mention de la province de garnison était sinon *de iure*, au moins *de facto* réservée aux membres des deux noblesses sénatoriale et équestre." To me this seems a rather questionable conclusion, as it is hard to see who exactly might have had something to say against, or wished to do something about, a centurion (or descendant of a centurion setting up his funerary monument) mentioning the province(s) where he had served. Mentioning the province was supplementary information which one could choose either to add or to leave out, a phenomenon normal in epigraphy. What is perhaps of some interest, however, is that although Pflaum's examples come from almost everywhere in the Roman world, there is one area which is not well represented, namely the area of *CIL X*, from where there is only one example, *CIL X 6015* from Minturnae (*praef(ecto) coh(ortis) Ubior(um) Moes(ia) infer(iore)*). From the area of *CIL IX*, there are seven instances, ten from the area covered by *CIL XI*; and also in the new material (cf. below), there is nothing from the area of *CIL X*, but two instances from both the area in *CIL IX* and that in *CIL XI*, the latter two from Pisaurum which, considering that also among the instances enumerated by Pflaum there is one from this city, *CIL XI 6344 = ILS 2693* (*praef. ... in Hispan(ia)*, cited on p. 140), makes one think that in some cases, the mention of the province may be due to imitation of other inscriptions from the same place, an observation already made by Pflaum p. 146 regarding inscriptions from the area of Cirta. At any rate, it seems that one might conclude that the habit of adding the province was not well established in the regions covered by *CIL X*.

Since Pflaum published his article, some new material has appeared and there are also inscriptions which Pflaum seems to have missed. Let us have a quick look at these cases (including those referring to centurions), which I shall list in geographical order, starting with Italy. (Like Pflaum, I shall leave out post-Diocletianic material, but cannot refrain from pointing out here the early fourth-century inscription of the soldier Aurelius Gaius from Cotiaeum, *SEG XXXI 1116*

= *AE* 1981, 777, with formulations such as ἰστρατ[εσόμε]νος ἰς λειγυῶναν [*sic* here and in other places] πρώτην Ἰταλ[ικὴν Μ]υσιατικῶν, ἐκλεχθεῖς ἰς ὀγδ[όαν Ἀὐ]γούσταν Γερμανικίαν etc.)

1. *CIL* VI 1557 cf. p. 4712 [*Cn. Ant*]on[io] (?) --- *F*]usc[o] (?) *Xviro stlitib]us iudica[ndis, trib(uno) mil(itum) leg(ionis) --- in Ge]rmania, q(uaestori), [trib(uno) pleb(is), praetori, p]raef(ecto) frum(enti) [dandi], etc.* Apparently from the period preceding the division of Germania ca. 85. The restoration of the name is due to G. Alföldy (in *CIL* VI p. 4712), who thinks that this man could be identical with *Cn. Antonius Fuscus*, cos. suff. in AD 109 (*Fasti Ostienses*; *RMD* 219).

2. *CIL* IX 3649 (*Epigrafia della regione dei Marsi* 2) = *AE* 1979, 197 = 1991, 565 (Cerfennia) [*M. (?) Vettio M. (?)f. ... n. ... pron. S]er. Scatoni III-viro [capitali, trib]uno militum in [Germania legio]nis IIII Macedon(icae), [quaestori] designato [Alfia . f.] Prima mater.* No doubt first century AD. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 244.

3. *AE* 1981, 291 (Alba Fucens) [*Q. He]renni[us] Q. f. Fab. Severu[s] evo(catus) Aug., don[is] dona(tus) ab I[mp(eratore) c]or(onis) [aur(eis) I] I, leg(ionis) I[I]I Aug(ustae) in Affrica, (centurio)] leg(ionis) X Freten[sis in] Sur[ia]* etc. "*Imp.*" would normally be taken to indicate Domitian (thus, following a suggestion of H. Halfmann, in the original publication, Devijver & van Wonterghem 1981). But Dabrowa 1993, 88f., suggests, on the basis that there were no wars (the existence of which he deduces from the mention of military decorations) in Africa under Domitian and that other emperors, too, could be referred to without a mention of the name (but of his examples, p. 88 n. 40, *ILS* 1385 and 2321 do refer to Domitian; *ILS* 2696 seems to refer to Claudius, 2648 to Nero, 2321 to a Julio-Claudian emperor who cannot be identified; cf. Maxfield 1981, 186, 204, 216), that the inscription should be dated to the earlier first century. Y. Le Bohec (Le Bohec 1989b, 208), on the other hand, thinks that the inscription, because of its "formulaire", must be later and suggests, assuming that "*I[mp]*." is indeed a reference to an emperor whose "mémoire a été condamnée" and not just an abbreviated form, either Commodus or Didius Iulianus (*sic*). However, the inscription (of which Le Bohec quotes only a part) is clearly much earlier and considering that some kind of warfare must have been going on all the time, I think that it is best to revert to the view that Domitian is meant.

4. *CIL* XI 6340 = Cresci Marrone – Mennella 1984 no. 51 (Pisaurum) [ --- ] *m in S[yria] --- ], tr(ibun) pl(ebis), p[r(aetori), --- ]*. Possibly [*tribuno mil-itu]m in S[yria] leg(ionis) --- ?* (cf. Cresci Marrone & Mennella: "ricordo di un incerto tribunato militare in Siria").

5. Bernardelli Calavalle 1983 no. 7 = *AE* 1983, 380 (Fanum or possibly Pisaurum) [*C. Cupp]ienus C. f. Pol. [Terminalis] praef(ectus) coh(ortis) III Bracarum [in Syr(ia) Pal]aes(tina) praef(ectus) fab(rum), archit(ectus)*

*signum m[armor(eum) ex v(oto) t]estam(ento) fieri poniq(ue) iuss(it) nomine suo et O[ctavia]e Pollae uxoris ex HS X etc. PME C 257bis (in Suppl. I). Dated to the mid-second century by Bernardelli Calavalle 1983 and (accordingly) in PME; however, to me the inscription seems earlier. The restoration of the nomenclature of the man is based on CIL XI 6126 and 6142.*

6. *AE 1983, 626 = IRCatalogne I 102 (cf. ibid. V p. 23, 24; Iluro in Hispania Tarraconensis) [ --- aed(ili), Ilvir(o), flami]ni Romae et A[ug(usti) (?), praef(ecto) fabrum,] in Germania [praef(ecto) coh(ortis) (?)] Ga[llorum equitatae, [trib(uno) mil(itum) leg(ionis) III (?)] Macedonic(ae). PME II (and Suppl. I, II) Inc. 9 (Suppl. II p. 2294: "in Germania spectat ad praefecturam cohortis et ad tribunatum legionis"). The inscription is dated by the editors and in PME to c. AD 60.*

7. *AE 1995, 891 (HEp 6, 599; Labitolosa in Hispania Tarraconensis) M. Clodio M. f. Gal. Flacco Ilviro bis, flam(ini), adlecto in quinq(ue) decurias ab Imp(eratore) Hadriano Caes(are) Aug(usto), trib(uno) militum leg(ionis) III Flaviae in Moesia superior(e) ex test(amento) Corneliae Neillae / heredes eius. PME C 199. In the other inscriptions in honour of this man from the same place (CIL II 3008 = 5837; AE 1995, 890), the province is not mentioned.*

8. *D'Encarnacao 1984 no. 235 (Pax Iulia in Lusitania; the lettering is said to belong to the time of Trajan) [. Mario ---] trib(uno) mil(itum) le[g(ionis) ---,] leg(ionis) [XXII Primi]geni[ae, praef(ecto) coh[ortium] [ --- in] Germ[ania ---] ... Marius [ --- ] lib(ertus) et h[eres] patrono o[ptimo]. PME M 33a (Suppl. II).*

[9. *CIL III 6097 = Rizakis 1998, no. 370 (an inscription seen in the 18<sup>th</sup> century in Nauplio [and thus not from Patra]) C. Serenus Pa[---] civ(is) Romanus, trib(unus) militum leg(ionis) XII in Ac(h)aia etc. This inscription may, however, not be genuine (cf. PME S, p. 736).]*

10. *AE 1966, 382 (cf. 1967, 454) = SEG 42, 475 = CID IV 143(bis) (p. 347) (Delphi) [Π. Μέμμιον Κρι]τολάου υἱὸν [Κριτόλαο]ν Θεοκλέα Δελφὸν καὶ Κ[ορίνθιον, χειλιάρχῃ]σαντα ἐν Γερμαν[ίαι] ὑπὸ Νόβιον Πρεῖσκον πρεσβευτῆ[ν] Αὐτοκράτορος Θεοῦ Οὐεσπα[σιανοῦ] λεγ[εῶ]νος F' Νεικηφόρου καὶ στρατη[γῆ]σαντα ἐν Κορίνθωι ... δό[γματι] Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ Δελφῶν Μεμμία Θεοκλέου θυγάτηρ Λεοντίς etc. PME M 40.*

11. *Fouilles de Xanthos VII (1981) no. 48 = AE 1981, 828 [--- χ]ε[ιλίαρχον] λ[ε]γιῶνος δευ[τέρ]ας [ἐν Βρι]ταννία, [δέ]κα ἄνδρ[α ἐπὶ τῶν] ὑπὸ δόρυ κρι[τη]ρίων, τα[μίαν ἐν] Γαλλία, δήμαρχ[ον], στρατη[γόν, πρ]εσβευτῆν [[Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρ]ος Σε[βα]σ[τοῦ] Γερμάνικου]] ἐν Συρία, Ξανθίων [ἡ βο]υλή καὶ ὁ [δῆμ]ος τὸν πάτρωνα [καὶ ε]ὐεργέ[την]. The career is quite similar to that of the senator L. Vettius Statura (CIL XI 6054 from Urvinum), and it may well be that the honorand of the inscription from Xanthos is the same man (A. Birley 2005, 277 with n. 6). The legateship "in Syria" is not mentioned in the inscription from Urbinum which ends with the praetorship. Statura may have been in Syria as the legate of*

a legion (Birley). Why he is honoured in Xanthos remains unclear. In any event, the mention in the inscription from Xanthos of Britain in connection with the military tribunate is obviously to be seen in the light of the fact that in the mentions of the other provincial offices the province in indicated is the same way instead of by the use of the genitive.

12. *I. Perge* II 289 = *AE* 2004, 1480 [ ---- τὸν κρά]τιστ[ον ταμίαν καὶ ἀν]τιστρ[άτ]ηγ[ον --- , τ]ριβοῦνον πλήβιν (sic), πρα[ί]τορα περεγρεῖνον, ληγάτον Παννονίας τῆς ἄνω λεγεῶνος δέκιμα (sic) Γέμινα (sic). The lettering of the inscription indicates a date in latter part of the second, or possibly even the third century (S. Şahin in *I. Perge*).

12. B. İplikçiöğlü, *AAWW* 143 (2008) 15 (Rhodiapolis in Lycia): [---] πρε{ρε}σ[β]ευτῆ Αὐτοκράτορος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Καίσαρος λεγιῶ[ν] ος γ' Γαλλικῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ, πρεσβευτῆ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπαρχειῶν Λυκίας Παμφυλίας [Ῥ]οδιαπολειτῶν ἢ βουλῆ καὶ ὁ δῆμος etc. According to İplikçiöğlü (p. 16), this might be C. Dillius Aponianus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> D 89).

13. *AE* 1966, 495 = 1969/70, 612 = 1971, 476 = 1985, 829 cf. 1991, 1579 = Lehmann – Holum 2000 no. 4 *L. Valerio Valeriano p[roc(uratori) prov(inciae)] Syr(iae) Palaest(inae), provinc(iae) [---], praeposito summ(a) e [feliciss(imae) exped(itionis)] Mesopotamenaе adv[ersus Arabos]* (195 AD), *praepos(ito) vexil(lationis) feliciss(imae) [expedit(ionis)] urbic(ae) itemq(ue) Asianaе [adversus] hostes publicos* (193–4 AD) ... *proc(uratori) Cypri, praef(ecto) a[lae I Hispan(orum)] Campagonum in Dac[ia, trib(un) c(o)hort(is) I] mil(l)iariae Hemese[norum c(ivium) R(omanorum) in] Pannonia, praef(ecto) c(o)ho[r]tis --- in] Pannonia Mevius Romanus (centurio) [leg(ionis) VI Ferr(atae)] F(idelis) C(onstantis) Antoninianaе [strator(?)] eius viro i[n]compara]bili. *PME* V 43.*

14. *AE* 1947, 170 = Delplace – Dentzer-Feydy 2005, 153, IA. 04 T. Αἴλιο[ν — — — ἑπαρχον τῶν] ἐν Παρολι[σσοῦ τῆς ἀνωτέ]ρας Δακίας [κα]τε[ι]-λεγμένων τοξότων οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτο[υ] αὐτοῦ οὐξί[λλ]ου τειμῆς [χάριν]. *PME* A 18 (cf. Devijver 1986, 179 = 1989b, 343; the city is more often spelled *Porolissum*).

15. *IGR* III 1367 = Welles 1938, 393f. no. 42 [ὕ]περ τῆς τῶν Σεβαστῶν σωτηρίας [ ---- στρατευσάμενος ἐν Β]ρετεννία (sic) ἑκατονθάρχης (sic) ἐπανελθ[ὼν ---- ] ἐπέκτισεν να[ὸ]ν Διὸς Ἐπικαρπίου etc.

This list consists of much the same kind of material as that, much longer, presented by Pflaum; the majority of the cases belong to equestrian officers (nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 – but probably not genuine –, 10, 13), but there are also senators (nos. 1, 2, 4, 11, 12) and two centurions (nos. 3, 15). The province most often mentioned is Germania (nos. 1, 2, 6, 8, 10). Most of the inscriptions, which can be furnished with at least a tentative date, are or seem to be from the first century (nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 10, 11); two are from the earlier second century (7, 8) and one (12) from the earlier third century. Again, the material is so heterogeneous that it does not

seem useful or desirable to discuss it beyond this point. Instead, let me finish this section with some inscriptions of soldiers and veterans (not, as mentioned above, taken into consideration by Pflaum) mentioning the province along with (or in one case, instead of) their units.

1. *CIL VI 3560 = ILS 2266 L. Aelius Fab(ia) Brixia veteranus militavit legione XVI in Germania ann(os) XXII, vixit ann(os) XXX; P. Aelius Fab(ia) Brixia, idem frater, veter(anus) milit(avit) legion(e) XVI in Germania an(nos) XXII v(ixit) a(nnos) XX[ --- ]*. For many reasons clearly an early inscription.

2. *CIL IX 2593 = CBI 870 = Petrovitsch 2006, 288 no. R.09 (Terventum) D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum); P. Florio P. f. Vol. Praenestino mil(iti) legion(is) in Norico Ael(ia) Obilab(a), b(eneficiario) trib(uni); vixit annis XXIII Florius Prae<ne>stinus et Magia Spend[ --- ] filio piissim[o et sibi] v(ivi) [f(ecerunt)]*. As observed by Petrovitsch in the commentary, this must be a soldier of the legion *II Italica* founded by Marcus Aurelius in c. 165; the inscription shows that detachments of the legion, later stationed in Lauriacum, were originally stationed in Ovilava (*Wels*). This, combined with the wording of the inscription, with the name of the legion omitted, shows that the inscription must belong to the earliest period of the legion.

3. *CIL II<sup>2</sup> 14, 814 (HEp 12, 421; AE 1992, 1094; Dertosa in Hispania Tarraconensis) C. Aebutius Tardus, C. Aebutius Verecundus filius miles leg. VI in Suria* (etc.). Dated to the late first century AD in *CIL*.

4. Jimeno 1980 no. 86 = *AE 1983, 599 = AE 1987, 618b (HEp 2, 655; Uxama in Hispania Tarraconensis) D(is) M(anibus) T. Val(erio) Goliapae (?); mil(itavit) in Germ(ania) leg(ione) XIIX* (or perhaps *mil(iti) ... leg(ionis)*); *Octavia Elae marito optimo*. The 18th legion was destroyed in Teutoburg in AD 9; the addition of the province is thus more than justified in this case. However, because of its formulations and style, this inscription must be much later. One wonders, on the other hand, whether *XIIX* could not be an error for *XXII*.

5. *CIL XIII 8282 (B. & H. Galsterer 1975 no. 217) M(emoriae) aetern[ae; Clau]dio Victo[ri mil(iti)] leg(ionis) VII Ge[m(inae) P(iae) F(elicis) in] Hispania [citer(iore)], fact(o) fru[m(entario), benef(iciario)] trib(uni) leg(ionis) I [Min(erviae) P(iae) F(idelis)]; sepulchr[um] po]suit Mod[us] Max[imus] av(u)nc[ulo in]comparabili, et] Nice [lib(ertae)]*. This inscription seems approximately Severan.

6. *SEG 18, 566 = AE 1961, 22 (Prostanna in Pisidia, from the time of Nero) Μάρκος Σείος [ --- σημι]αφόρος λεγεῶ[νος γ' Γεμίνης, στρα]- τευσάμενος [ἔτη --- καὶ] πέντε εἰς Παν[νονία]ν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων etc.*

7. *CIL VIII 11428 (Mosser 2003 no. 161; Sufes) [--- Pu]denti (?) men[sori(?)] geometr[ae(?)] leg(ionis) XV [Apol(linaris) in P]annonia [ --- ] etc.* There is perhaps a mention of Trajan later in the text.

8. *CIL VIII 25740 = ILS 9084 (Thuburnica) D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum); C. Iulius Martialis veteranus leg(ionis) II Adiutricis Piae Fidelis quae habitat in Pannonia (sic) inferiore Acinco (= Aquinco). Note habitat (most striking) for tendit. The inscription must be later than the legion's move to Aquincum in c. 103/5 (Lörincz 2000, 163), perhaps quite some time later.*
9. *CIL VIII 27851 = ILS 3548 (Theveste) D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum); M. Iulius Istatianu[s] veteranus qui militavit in Pannonia in Prim(a) A<d>iu{i}tr<i>ce, qui pre(n)sus est ann(or)um XXV; Iulia [f]ilia Secura h(eres) ei(us) f[e]cit; h(ic) s(itus) e(st). Note the omission of the term legio. Clearly, this is not an early text.*
10. *AE 1938, 44 = 1969/70, 711 (Numidia) D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) T. Flavius Rog[atus] vet(eranus) probatus in [[l(egione)] III Aug(usta),] tra(ns)latus in II Adiutrice Pia Fi(deli) in Pannonia inferiore vixit annis LXXXVII; se vivo fecit ex s(estertium) mille nummis. Dated to the second century by Le Bohec 1989b, 291.*

#### 4. The Dedicants and Reason for the Setting up of the Monument

Both the new inscription and the Greek inscription in honour of the same man published in 1968 were set up by the decurions of the *ala II Auriana*, the new inscription adding that this was because of the honorand's *merita* (no doubt considerable, as the dedicators set up two monuments to the same man) and that Lucius the *signifer* had been in charge of the actual process. The fact that soldiers set up a monument in honour of their superior or ex-superior in a certain place can normally be explained in one of the following ways:

- (a) the place is where the unit is stationed;
- (b) the place is where the honorand comes from;
- (c) the place is where the honorand has a villa or some other residence of his own (e.g., in Rome); or
- (d) the place is a centre of sorts, e.g., a provincial capital and as such the residence, for the time being, of the honorand as the holder of a certain post.

Alternative (c) could be illustrated by inscriptions such as *CIL VI 1451*, set up in Rome, no doubt in the honorand's residence, by a *primuspilus* (or rather this man's son on the basis of his father's testament), *qui sub eo militaver(at)*, in honour of the Severan senator L. Marius Maximus, alternative (d) by inscriptions such as *CIL III 1464 = ILS 1370 = IDR III 2, 100*, set up in Sarmizegethusa by a centurion of the legion XIII Gemina, stationed in Apulum, in honour of a



procurator of Dacia Apulensis. However, soldiers setting up monuments in this category are most often not "normal" soldiers stationed in military camps but members of the honorand's *officium* and as such stationed close to him; e.g., *CIL* II 4114 = *ILS* 1140 = *RIT* 130 from Tarraco, set up for *Tib. Cl(audio) Candido ... leg(ato) Augg(ustorum) pr(o) pr(aetore) provinc(iae) H(ispaniae) c(terioris)* by *Silius Hospes hastatus leg(ionis) X Geminae, strator eius*; or *CIL* VIII 9990 = *ILS* 1352 = *IAM* II 5, set up in Tingis in honour of a procurator of Mauretania Tingitana by the *exacti exercitus*, i.e., members of the *officium* (note also the separation of members of the *officium* from regular soldiers in Erkelenz 2003, 70–3).

Alternatives (c) and (d) probably do not come into question in our case and have, as far as I can see, not been taken into consideration by scholars dealing with Ulpius Andromachus. Whether Petra was the capital of Arabia for a few years in the early years of the province is debatable (for this view, see Haensch 1997, 238–42, 342; but cf. G. Bowersock, *ZRG* 117 [2000] 502f.). In any event, Petra always remained a significant place within the province, and would doubtless have attracted monuments belonging to a provincial, rather than local, level (cf. Fiema 2003; Gagos 2009); but there does not seem to be any good reason to assume that simple decurions of an auxiliary unit could have erected monuments in honour of their commander in Petra unless the unit was stationed there or the honorand originated from Petra. This leaves us with alternatives (a) and (b). Concerning alternative (a), it has in fact been thought possible that Petra might at some point have been a place where the *ala II Auriana* was stationed; this was the opinion of the original editors (Starcky and Bennett 1968, 58), and this possibility is not ruled out in the commentary (by H.-G. Pflaum?) on *AE* 1968, 528. However, in the same commentary it is said that it is also possible that the monument in question was set up not where the unit was stationed but in the honorand's hometown, and it is this latter solution which has been adopted, with more or less conviction, by all subsequent scholars (Speidel 1974, 936; Id. 1977, 707 = 1984, 249; Devijver 1986, 191 = 1989, 355; Id., *PME* U 5; M. Sartre on *IGLS* IV (1993) no. 49; Graf 1994, 302; Bikai 1996, 484, referring only to the new inscription, not to *AE* 1968, 528).

Now it is true that it is not unknown for soldiers to set up monuments in honour of their commanders in places where their unit was stationed; for example, we find several monuments of this kind in Bostra, set up by soldiers of the legion *III Cyrenaica* stationed there (e.g., the *tesserarii*, *AE* 2000, 1530; the *optiones (centuriarum)*, *IGLS* XIII 9079, 9072, etc. The scenario that the *ala II Auriana* set up the monument in Petra because it was stationed there does thus not seem to be *a priori* excluded. However, if this were so, one would expect the

*ala* to have left at least some traces of its presence in Petra; but there is absolutely nothing. (Note also that this *ala* is not mentioned among the *alae* of Arabia in the diploma of 142, *AE* 2004, 1925.) The only place for which we have certain evidence that this unit was stationed there is Dascusa in Cappadocia (not in Syria, as in Spaul 1994, 61; the place referred to as "Penga" or "Pingan" as the findspot of an inscription mentioning this *ala*, *CIL* III 6743 = *ILS* 2535, is, as older maps show, to the NW of Dascusa), just to the north of the Euphrates where it is joined by the river Arsanias. (In Arabia, there is possibly a trace of the *ala II Auriana* in Canatha, in the form of the inscription, of uncertain interpretation, of a decurion, *IGR* III 1231, cf. Spaul 1994, 61; but the name *Auriana* has not been preserved and the inscription can in any case only be used to show that the man may have come from the area). The fact that there are no traces of the *ala* in Petra is of course only an *argumentum ex silentio*, but there is more evidence to show that the only possibility here is alternative (b), namely that the honorand himself was from Petra. This evidence comes from the inscriptions themselves. On the one hand, one observes that the new inscription was set up by the decurions of the *ala*, but, as this was done *per Lucium signiferum*, it seems to follow that the decurions had had to send a representative to Petra to take care of the business, something which can only be explained if the *ala* to which the decurions belonged was stationed somewhere else. The phrase *per Lucium signiferum* thus corresponds to phrases (perhaps more common in the eastern parts of the Empire) such as *per legatos* and *διὰ πρεσβευτῶν* etc., which one finds so often in honorific inscriptions which were set up in some other city than where the dedicator(s) resided (e.g., *I. Ephesos* 713, the *βουλή* and the *δῆμος* of Neapolis Samaria setting up a monument in honour of the senator Pompeius Falco in Ephesos *διὰ πρεσβευτῶν καὶ ἐπιμελητῶν*, two names following; cf., e.g., *CIL* III 7282 and 7285 from Athens and in general on inscriptions set up in honour of senators in places where the honorands came from or had a residence, Navarro 1997).

On the other hand, there is also the fact that the decurions who set up the new text, later than the one published in 1968 (cf. above), not only say that they had to send a representative but also add that their unit was stationed *in Cappadocia*. This, I think, pretty much settles the question. The result is, then, that Ulpianus Andromachus was a native of Petra. On the one hand, this fits well with the imperial nomen and the Greek cognomina of Andromachus and his father; on the other, the assumption that Ulpianus Andromachus was honoured in his hometown by members of a military unit stationed somewhere else places Andromachus' inscriptions in a category represented by a good number of inscriptions. For an

*ala* setting up a monument in honour of its former prefect in his hometown, one could mention *AE* 1966, 124 from Verona (already quoted in the commentary on *AE* 1968, 528), for decurions honouring prefects in their hometown, one could adduce *CIL* III 5211 = *ILS* 1362 from Celeia in Noricum and *CIL* III 8660 = *ILS* 1364 from Concordia. As this is not an uncommon scenario, one could go on with further examples (cf. also, e.g., Erkelenz 2003, 306ff. no. 1220f., 1238, 1241, all inscriptions from the hometowns of the honorands), but this will no doubt be enough.

## 5. The Date

We have a *terminus post quem* both in the nomenclature of the honorand and in the fact that the *ala I Siliana* is said, in the new inscription, to be stationed in Dacia Porolissensis. The honorand and his father are Ulpīi; this means that the Roman citizenship in the family dates from the time of Trajan or rather, as we are dealing with persons from Arabia, from the time of Trajan after the establishment of the province in AD 106. One should probably imagine a local magnate from Petra being rewarded for his merits perhaps at the time of the annexation of Arabia. If it was the father Diogenes who was the first in the family to become a Roman citizen, members of his family receiving citizenship at the same time, his son's, our man Ulpīus Andromachus', *floruit* should probably be put in the later years of Hadrian, as one would not expect him have made it to the prefecture of an *ala* earlier. However, the first Roman citizen in the family may have an earlier ancestor of Ulpīus Andromachus; the name "Ulpīus" in any case furnishes only a *terminus post quem*.

As for the *ala I Siliana* in Dacia Porolissensis, this indicator is even more informative. Dacia Porolissensis, as a separate province governed by an equestrian procurator, is attested in diplomas between the years 123 (Thomasson 1984, 153 no. 26; add Pferdehirt 2004 no. 22) and 164 (Thomasson 1984, 153f. no. 30; add *RMD* 66, 116). But the earliest diploma mentioning the *ala Siliana* (still in Pannonia Inferior in 119, *AE* 2003, 2041) in Dacia Porolissensis is only from 128 (C. Ciongradi & al., *ZPE* 170 [2009] 207–14); in the diplomas of AD 123 it does not yet seem to appear. The unit must, then, have been transferred to Dacia Porolissensis at some point between AD 123 and 128. (There are inscriptions from Gilău where the *ala* was already stationed from the time of Hadrian: *AE* 1983, 859, cf. Isac 1983).

The separate province of Dacia Porolissensis is, as mentioned above, attested only up to AD 164. In the mid-sixties, the three provinces of Dacia Apulensis, Dacia Malvensis and Dacia Porolissensis were united as a single province known as the *tres Daciae*, its first governor M. Claudius Fronto being attested in 168 (Piso 1993, 82ff.; cf. also Eich 2005, 151f.). One could, then, assume that Ulpian's command of the *ala Siliiana* in Dacia Porolissensis should be dated between 123/128 and 164/168. This would fit admirably the style of the two inscriptions from Petra both of which are simple and without any features of a later period (laudatory expressions, etc.) and which one would *a priori* wish to date to about the middle of the second century or even earlier (within the limit offered by the nomen *Ulpianus*).

However, as observed by Piso 1993, 83, a military diploma of 179 (*RMD* 123) refers to P. Helvius Pertinax (who was governor of the whole of Dacia, i.e., the *Tres Daciae*: *HA Pert.* 2,10, *Daciae regimen*) as the commander of the troops of "Dacia Superior" (corresponding to Dacia Apulensis), and this cannot mean anything other than that the names of the former provinces, now only financial districts, were still used in some official documents as administrative units within a larger whole (Piso observes *ibid.* that the enumeration of all the *c.* 60 auxiliary units known in the *Tres Daciae* would not have been possible in a diploma). If military diplomas could use the term "Dacia Superior" even after the 160s, it is not impossible that Ulpian might have described the region where he commanded the *ala Siliiana* as "Dacia Porolissensis" even if he commanded the unit after the 160s. The *ala*, although (as far as I can see) not mentioned in diplomas after 164, was certainly still stationed in Gilău at least in the time of Caracalla, when we find it setting up a monument in honour of Iulia Domna (*AE* 1993, 1331; note also the inscriptions *CIL* III 847 and 847a = 7651, mentioning in Gilău soldiers of the *ala Siliiana* who are Aurelii without praenomina, and thus probably to be dated after 212).

It is true, however, that the two inscriptions set up in honour of Ulpian do leave the impression of being early rather than late (say, Severan or later). I would thus suggest that the most probable date for the command of the *ala I Siliiana* in Dacia Porolissensis is in the period when Dacia Porolissensis was a separate province, i.e., between 123/128 and 164/168, perhaps in the earlier years of this period. It may well be that Andromachus was already drafted into the Roman army under Trajan (thus Graf 1994, 302).

## 6. The Monument and its Original Location

It is unfortunately impossible to determine the exact original location of the inscription. However, there are some indicators which may help to propose a suggestion. At first, the Greek inscription of Andromachus was found during the clearance of the temenos of the Qasr el-Bint temple, i.e., in the very center of the ancient city. During that clearance, in addition to some Nabataean dedications, several dedicatory and honorific inscriptions were found. Some of these, dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> centuries, are among the most important for the history of Roman Petra, as these mention emperors, legates of Arabia and the Arabian legion *III Cyrenaica*.

Notably, the block (in two parts) carrying the Greek inscription of Andromachus is relatively long (91 cm) rather than high (36.5 cm). Furthermore, the block shows moulding at the top and it is relatively wide (60 cm), which prompted the authors to suggest that it might have been a base of a statue, perhaps an equestrian one (Starcky and Bennett 1968, 58). While the top of the Latin inscription of Andromachus is not preserved, the dimensions of the block and the longitudinal arrangement of the inscription are comparable with that mentioned above. It is then probable that the Latin inscription from the Ridge Church was originally a free-standing base of a statue.

Furthermore, one might suggest that the location of this monument was in the temenos of the Qasr al-Bint temple, just as that of the Greek inscription. This proposition may find support in the pattern of reuse of certain elements originally located in the temenos of or in the Qasr el-Bint temple and then reused in the construction of the Ridge and the Petra churches in the northern half of the city during the Byzantine period. For example, a fragmentary inscription on a block found reused in the Petra church, mentions Aurelius Themis (Vihonen and Fiema 2001, 343). The inscription, probably from the third century AD, might have come from the Aphrodeision of Petra, which probably can be identified with the Qasr el-Bint temple. Furthermore, the marble slabs which form the two steps up to the top of the chancel platform in the Petra church, seem to have originally served as steps in another structure such as the Qasr el-Bint temple. Most of the marble slabs which formed the monumental stairway to that temple were robbed out (Zayadine 1982, 376, pl. CXXVII.1), and the slabs remaining *in situ* would basically fit the description of these found in the church (Fiema 2001, 57).

Considering the postulated date (late 4th century?) for the construction of the Ridge Church, it is reasonable to assume that various architectural elements

which might have originated from the temenos of the Qasr el-Bint temple and which were later reused in the churches located in the northern part of the city, became available as the result of the disastrous earthquake of May 19, 363. That historically and archaeologically well-documented event affected many areas of Petra, including that of the Qasr el-Bint temenos (Russell 1980, 47–64).

In the overall perspective of provincial careers in the imperial service, that of M. Ulpus Andromachus may not strike one as a particularly illustrious one, although this may also be due to our fragmentary knowledge concerning this person. However, one notes that Andromachus was twice honoured by his fellow officers and in two languages. Even more significant is the fact that he, and apparently his family, held sufficiently high position and local esteem in the eyes of the city council to permit the establishment of two monuments honouring him in the most visible and frequented part of the city, among the dedications to Nabataean kings and Roman emperors.

## 7. Andromachus and the Garrison of Petra

While the annexation of the Nabatean kingdom in 106 may or may not have been peacefully accomplished (for full discussion, see Freeman 1996), the army of the province of Arabia consisted, between 106 and the 4<sup>th</sup> century, of a legion (three attested, with the *III Cyrenaica* becoming a permanent garrison), up to 10 *alae* and 6 *cohortes*, with the actual number of units present in the province fluctuating over time.

The epigraphic record indicates that during the early post-annexation period, the main population centers such as Bostra, Gerasa, Gadara and Philadelphia were garrisoned by the army units (cf. Freeman 1996). Undoubtedly, Petra was garrisoned as well. However, the only unit attested by several inscriptions is the *legio III Cyrenaica* (Sartre 1996, for all inscriptions), probably in the form of detachments (as the headquarters located in Bostra) and only temporarily. Only during the 5<sup>th</sup> century might Petra have been again garrisoned by military forces. The inscription relating to the conversion of the Urn Tomb into a church in 446 mentions a *numerus*, stationed permanently or temporarily in Petra.

Therefore, as mentioned above, the commentators on the Andromachus inscriptions are certainly correct in expressing doubts if the *ala II Auriana* was ever stationed in Petra or, for that matter, in *Arabia*. On the contrary, all extant records indicate that this unit was stationed in Cappadocia, and perhaps also in Syria (cf. above Section 4).

Accordingly, if M. Ulpius Andromachus was a native of Petra, his military career may also be reviewed from the point of view of the issue of Nabataeans serving in the Roman army. Trajan recruited six units, apparently from the former Nabataean army, which were formed into *cohortes Ulpiae Petraeorum*: probably all being *equitatae*, out of which two or three were milliary and at least one of these included *sagittarii* (Graf 1998, 23; Kennedy 2004, 47). None of these, however, are ever attested as stationed in *Arabia Provincia*. Similarly, there is no information suggesting that any of these units was commanded by a native Nabataean.

However, in this context, an interesting hypothesis was recently proposed by D. Graf. Concluding, on the basis of the Greek inscription, that Andromachus must have been a native of Petra (cf. above, Section 4), Graf postulated that he might have originally entered the army under Trajan and thus it is not unlikely that he initially served in one of *cohortes Ulpiae Petraeorum* (Graf 1994, 302). It might be of further interest that during Arrian's campaign against the Alans in 131, the *cohors III Petraeorum* served alongside the *ala II Auriana* (Arrian *Alan.* 1), Andromachus' later command.

*University of Helsinki*

## Bibliography

- Alföldy – Halfmann 1973 = G. Alföldy – H. Halfmann, "Anhang: Die Laufbahn des M. Valerius Propinquus Grattius Cerealis", *Chiron* 3, 369–73 (Appendix to the article "M. Cornelius Nigrinus Curvatus Maternus", *ibid.* 331–73)
- Bernardelli Calavalle 1983 = R. Bernardelli Calavalle, *Le iscrizioni romane del museo Civico di Fano*. Fano
- Bikai 1996 = P. M. Bikai, "The Ridge Church at Petra", *ADAJ* 40, 481–6
- Birley 2005 = A. R. Birley, *The Roman Government of Britain*. Oxford
- Birley 1979 = E. Birley, "Inscriptions indicative of impending or recent movements", *Chiron* 9, 495–505 (= Birley 1988, 130–40)
- Birley 1988 = E. Birley, *The Roman Army. Papers 1929–1986* (Mavors vol. IV). Amsterdam
- Caballos Rufino 1999 = A. Caballos Rufino, "Los caballeros romanos originarios de Hispania", in S. Demougin et al. (eds.), *L'ordre équestre. Histoire d'une aristocratie* (Collection EFR 257, 1999), pp. 463–512
- Cresci Marrone – Mennella 1984 = G. Cresci Marrone – G. Mennella, *Pisaurum I*. Pisa
- Dabrowa 1993 = E. Dabrowa, *Legio X Fretensis. A Prosopographical Study* (Historia Einzelschriften 66). Stuttgart
- Degrassi 1967 = A. Degrassi, "Epigraphica III", *MAL Ser. VIII*, 13, 1–53 = Id., *Scritti vari di antichità III* (Venezia-Trieste, 1967), pp. 89–153 (quoted from this latter publication; the edition of the inscription of Valerius Priscus, *AE* 1974, 226, on pp. 106–19)

- Delplace – Dentzer-Feydy 2005 = C. Delplace – J. Dentzer-Feydy 2005, *L'Agora de Palmyre*. Bordeaux
- Demougin 1996 = S. Demougin, "Un cursus équestre de *Segermes*", *Ktéma* 21, 213–22
- Demougin 2000 = S. Demougin, "Iteratio militiae", in G. Alföldy – B. Dobson – W. Eck (eds.), *Kaiser, Heer und Gesellschaft in der römischen Kaiserzeit. Gedenkschrift für Eric Birley* (HABES 31). Stuttgart. Pp. 121–38
- D'Encarnação, 1984 = J. D' Encarnação, *Inscrições Romanas do Conventus Pacensis*. Coimbra
- Devijver 1986 = H. Devijver, "Equestrian Officers from the East", in P. Freeman & D. Kennedy (eds.), *The Defence of the Roman and Byzantine East* (BAR Int. Ser. 297). Oxford. Pp. 109–225
- Devijver 1989a = H. Devijver, "Equestrian Officers in the East", in D. H. French – C. S. Lightfoot (eds.), *The Eastern Frontier of the Roman Empire* (British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, Monograph no. 11). Oxford. Pp. 77–111 (= Id. 1992, 66–100)
- Devijver 1989b = H. Devijver, *The Equestrian Officers of the Roman Imperial Army* (Mavors Vol. VI). Amsterdam
- Devijver 1992 = H. Devijver, *The Equestrian Officers of the Roman Imperial Army*. Vol. Two. (Mavors Vol. IX). Stuttgart
- Devijver – van Wonterghem 1981 = H. Devijver – F. van Wonterghem 1981, "Die Inschriften von Alba Fucens und die gens Herennia", *AC* 50, 242–257 (the edition of *AE* 1981, 291 on p. 253–7 no. 6)
- Domaszewski 1908 = A. von Domaszewski, *Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres* (reprints, with additions by B. Dobson, in 1967 and 1981)
- Eck 1999 = W. Eck, *L'Italia nell'impero romano*. Bari
- Eich 2005 = P. Eich, *Zur Metamorphose des politischen Systems in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Klio Beihefte 9). Berlin
- Erkelenz 2003 = D. Erkelenz, *Optimo praesidi. Untersuchungen zu den Ehrenmonumenten für Amtsträger der römischen Provinzen in Republik und Kaiserzeit*. Antiquitas. Reihe 1, Abhandlungen zur alten Geschichte. Bonn
- Fiema 2001 = Z. T. Fiema, "Reconstructing the History of the Petra Church: Data and Phasing", in Z. T. Fiema – Ch. Kanellopoulos – T. Waliszewski – R. Schick, *The Petra Church* (ACOR publication no. 3). Amman. Pp. 7–119
- Fiema 2003 = Z. T. Fiema, "Roman Petra (A.D. 106–363). A Neglected Subject", *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 119/1, 38–58
- Freeman 1996 = Ph. Freeman, "The Annexation of Arabia and Imperial Grand Strategy", in D. Kennedy (ed.), *The Roman Army in the East* (JRA Suppl. 18). Ann Arbor. Pp. 91–118
- Gagos 2009 = T. Gagos, "New inscriptional evidence and Petra's rôle in the province of Arabia", *JRA* 22, 381–9
- Galsterer 1975 = B. Galsterer – H. Galsterer, *Die Römischen Steininschriften aus Köln*. Köln
- Graf 1994 = D. F. Graf, "The Nabataean Army and the *Cohortes Ulpiae Petraeorum*", in E. Dabrowa (ed.), *The Roman and Byzantine Army in the East. Proceedings of a colloquium held at the Jagiellonian University, Krakow in September 1992*. Krakow. Pp. 265–309
- Graf 1998 = D. F. Graf, "Foederati on the Northern and Eastern Frontiers: A Comparative Analysis", in *The Roman Frontier at the Lower Danube 4<sup>th</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> centuries. The Second International Symposium (Murighiol/Halmyris, 18–24 August 1996)*. (Studia Danubiana. Pars Romaniae. Series Symposia I.) Bucharest. Pp. 17–31



- Haensch 1997 = R. Haensch, *Capita provinciarum*. Mainz
- Isac 1983 = D. Isac, "Die ala Siliana c. R. torquata et armillata in Dakien", *AArchHung* 35, 187–205
- Jimeno 1980 = A. Jimeno, *Epigrafia romana de la provincia de Soria*. Soria
- Kennedy 2004 = D. Kennedy, *The Roman Army in Jordan*. London: Council for British Research in the Levant
- Lassère 2005 = J.-M. Lassère, *Manuel d'épigraphie romaine*. Two vols. Paris
- Le Bohec 1989a = Y. Le Bohec, *Les unités auxiliaires de l'armée romaine en Afrique proconsulaire et Numidie*. Paris
- Le Bohec 1989b = Y. Le Bohec, *La troisième légion Auguste*. Paris
- Lehmann – Holum 2000 = C. M. Lehmann – K. G. Holum, *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Caesarea Maritima*. Boston
- Lörincz 2000 = B. Lörincz, "Legio II Adiutrix", in Y. Le Bohec (ed.), *Les légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire*. Lyon. Pp. 159–68
- MacMullen 1988 = R. MacMullen, *Corruption and the Decline of Rome*. New Haven – London
- Maxfield 1981 = V. Maxfeld, *The Military Decorations of the Roman Army*. Berkeley – Los Angeles
- Mosser 2003 = M. Mosser, *Die Steindenkmäler des legio XV Apollinaris*. Wien
- Navarro 1997 = F. J. Navarro, "Tituli honorarii: vínculos intensos entre senadores y comunidades en el imperio romano", *Veleia* 14, 255–293
- Oleson et al. 2002 = J. P. Oleson – M. B. Reeves – B. J. Fisher, "New Dedicatory Inscriptions from Humayma (ancient Hawara), Jordan", *ZPE* 140, 103–22
- Petrovitsch 2006 = H. Petrovitsch, *Legio II Italica*. Linz
- Pflaum 1955 = H.-G. Pflaum, "Une inscription de Castellum Arsacalitanum", *Recueil des Notices et Mémoires de la Société archéologique de Constantine* 79, 147–72 (= Id., *Afrique romaine. Scripta varia I* [Paris 1978], pp. 124–49)
- Pflaum 1960–61 = H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain*. Paris
- Pflaum 1976 = H.-G. Pflaum, "Une crux dans l'Ektaxis kata Alanôn de Flavius Arrianus", *BSAF* 1976, 34–9 (= Id., *La Gaule et l'Empire romain. Scripta varia II* [Paris, 1981] pp. 181–6)
- Pferdehirt 2004 = B. Pferdehirt, *Römische Militärdiplome und Entlassungsurkunden in der Sammlung des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums*. Mainz
- Piso 1993 = I. Piso, *Fasti provinciae Daciae* (Antiquitas, Reihe 1, vol. 43). Bonn
- PME = H. Devijver, *Prosopographia militiarum equestrium quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Galienum*. Six vols., 1976–2001. Leuven
- Rizakis 1998 = A.D. Rizakis, *Achaïe II. La cité de Patras: Épigraphie et histoire* (Meletemata 25). Athens
- Russell 1980 = K. W. Russell, "The Earthquake of May 19, A.D. 363", *BASOR* 238, 47–64
- Sartre 1993 = M. Sartre, *Pétra et la Nabatène méridionale du Wadi al-Hasa au golfe de 'Aqaba*. Inscriptions de la Jordanie, Tome IV (Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie, Tome XXI). Paris
- Šašel 1983 = J. Šašel, "[ ]arius [ ]iscus", *ZPE* 52, 175–182 (= Id., *Opera selecta* [Ljubljana 1992] pp. 212–8)

- Spaul 1994 = J. Spaul, *Ala*<sup>2</sup>. Andover  
Spaul 2000 = J. Spaul, *Cohors*<sup>2</sup>. Oxford  
Speidel 1974 = M. P. Speidel, "Exercitus Arabicus", *Latomus* 33, 934–9  
Speidel 1977 = M. P. Speidel, "The Roman Army in Arabia", *ANRW* II, pp. 687–730 (= Id. 1984, pp. 229–72)  
Speidel 1984 = M. P. Speidel, *Roman Army Studies Volume One*. Amsterdam  
Starcky – Bennett 1968 = J. Starcky – C.-M. Bennett, "Les inscriptions du téménos", *Syria* 45, 41–66  
Thomasson 1984 = B. E. Thomasson, *Laterculi praesidum*. Vol. 1. Göteborg  
Thomasson 1996 = B. E. Thomasson, *Fasti Africani*. Stockholm  
Vihonen – Fiema 2001 = J. Vihonen – Z. T. Fiema, "Greek and Latin Inscriptions", in Z. T. Fiema – Ch. Kanellopoulos – T. Waliszewski – R. Schick, *The Petra Church* (ACOR publication no. 3). Amman. Pp. 342–5  
Welles 1938 = C. B. Welles, "The Inscriptions", in C.H. Kraeling, *Gerasa. City of the Decapolis*. New Haven  
Zayadine 1982 = F. Zayadine, "Recent Excavations at Petra (1979–81) ", *ADAJ* 26, 365–93  
Zayadine – Farajat 1991 = F. Zayadine – S. Farajat, "Excavation and Clearance at Petra and Beidha", *ADAJ* 35, 275–311