



# TYCHE

## Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte Papyrologie und Epigraphik

Herausgegeben von

Gerhard Dobesch, Bernhard Palme  
Peter Siewert und Ekkehard Weber

Band 22, 2007

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HOZHAUSEN



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**H O L Z H A U S E N**

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P É T E R K O V Á C S

A Pisidian Veteran and the First Mention of Pannonia

Tafel 1

On the acropolis near the ancient site of Prostanna (modern-day Eğridir)<sup>1</sup> in Pisidia four inscriptions were found including a statue base<sup>2</sup>. The statue was erected to Emperor Nero by a veteran *signifer* of a Pannonian legion. The inscription was published decades ago (SEG XVIII 566 = AE 1961, 22) but its importance in connection with the Roman province Pannonia has not been examined yet.

Marble block, broken below. Lines 3 and 9 are centred, line 4 remained empty. The inscription must have been continued on a second block to the right.

Date: 54–68 A.D.

Find-spot: Acropolis, South-east of building C, re-used in a rough wall.

Height: 70; width: 29; thickness: 78 cm. Letter size: 2 cm.

Bibliography: M. H. Ballance, *The site of Prostanna*, *Anatolian Studies* 9 (1959) 128, Nr. 3; SEG XVIII 566; AE 1961, 22; J. Robert, L. Robert, *Bulletin Épigraphique*, REG 74 (1961) 241, Nr. 733; Á. Dobó, *Inscriptiones extra fines Pannoniae Daciaeque repertae ad res earundem provinciarum pertinentes*, Budapest 41975, 114, Nr. 590; M. P. Speidel, *Legionaries from Asia Minor*, in: ANRW II.7, Berlin, New York 1980, 734, Nr. 18, 735.

Completing the name of the emperor allows us to determine the width of the second block and of the inscription as thus. In the original publication M. Ballance completed the lower part of inscription only *exempli gratia* as follows:

- 1 Νέρωνα Κλαύδ[ιον Καίσαρα Σεβασ-]
- 2 τὸν Γερμανικὸ[ν Αὐτοκράτορα νέ-]
- 3 ον Ἴηλιον θεὸν ἐπιφανῆ]
- 4 Μᾶρκος Σέιος [Ἰουλιανὸς σημι-]
- 5 ἀφόρος λεγεῶ[νος γ' Γεμίνης στρα-]
- 6 τευσάμενος [ἔτη τριάκοντα καὶ]
- 7 πέντε εἰς Παν[νονίαν ἐκ τῶν ιδίων]
- 8 ἀναλωμ[άτων ἀνέστησεν].

<sup>1</sup> E. Kirsten, *Prostama*, RE 23 (1957) 899; M. H. Ballance, *The Site of Prostanna*, *Anatolian Studies* 9 (1959) 125–129. The drawing was prepared by Nóra Dávid.

<sup>2</sup> Ballance, *Prostanna* (note 1) Nr. 1–4.

First of all, it is clear that the completion is more than hypothetical. The cognomen of the *signifer*, the legion where he served and the length of his service (25 or 35 years) are absolutely uncertain. Despite such uncertainty, almost everybody followed this reading, which is why we have to examine the pure facts.

Marcus Seius [---] was a veteran *signifer* of a legion, he served 25 or 35 years and was by all likelihood stationed in Pannonia. The participle στρατευσάμενος is evidence enough to say that he surely was a veteran. His cognomen is unknown. The damaged place-name ΠΑΝ[ ] can only be completed as *Pan[nonia]*. Here by all probability the correct form of the province name Παννονία was used since this is the only form that can be found in the early inscriptions before the middle of the second century. Plutarch was the first who used the forms Paeonia-Paeones (Pomp. 41; earlier only Ovid, Ep. ex Ponto II.2.75). This conscious change became widely used in the works of Appian (cf. Illyr. 14.40)<sup>3</sup> and later authors δι' εὐφωνίαν καὶ φυγὴν βαρβαρισμοῦ as Ioannes Lydus put it (De mag. 184.1; Dio XLIX.36.6). Later it was used in inscriptions as well: AE 1948, 51; ILS 8868 = IGRR III 1420; IG IX<sup>2</sup> 1135; CIGP CatNr. 91 = AE 2001, 1691 (from Aquincum): κέϊμε δ' ἐν Πα[ ]ισσι<sup>4</sup>. All the Greek inscriptions that mention Pannonia before the middle of the second century use the correct form (e.g. IG V 1, 37; II<sup>2</sup> 10042; IGRR IV 862; IApollonia 187; SEG XIV 737; IEphesos 736; 2061.I; 3046).

Marcus Seius erected the base to Emperor Nero and refers to him as *neos Helios theos epiphanes*. This fact allows us to date the base between 54 and 68 A.D. It is also a well-known fact that Nero identified himself with the Sun God (Sen. Apoc. 4.1) as the episode with his statue later called Colossus in Rome clearly shows (Suet. Ner. 31.1; Vesp. 18; Plin. Nat. hist. XXXIV.45; Dio LXVI.15.1)<sup>5</sup> and he was worshipped in the East as *Neos Helios*<sup>6</sup>. On some late coins (dated after 64 A.D.) Nero appears with a radiate crown (RIC I<sup>2</sup> 44–47, 185, 192, 197) and some inscriptions where the emperor was mentioned as *Neos Helios* (Sagalassos: IGRR III 345; Acraephia: ILS 8794 = SIG<sup>3</sup> 814<sup>7</sup>; Aphrodisias: SEG XXXI 919 = XXXV 1082 = AE 1982, 892d

<sup>3</sup> M. Šašel-Kos, *Appian and Illyricum* (Situla 43), Ljubljana 2005, 108–110.

<sup>4</sup> A. Mócsy, *Pannonia*, RE Suppl. 9 (1962) 520; P. Kovács, *Summary*, in: P. Kovács, B. Fehér (eds.), *Fontes Pannoniae antiquae I. Early Roman Geographers – The Period of the Roman Conquest (to AD 54)*, Budapest 2005, 193; P. Kovács, *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum Pannonicarum. Editio maior*, Debrecen 2001, 100–101.

<sup>5</sup> S. B. Platner, Th. Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, London 1929, 130–131; C. Lega, *Il Colosso di Nerone*, BullCom 93 (1989–1990) 339–378; *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* I, 295–298; M. Bergmann, *Der Koloß Neros, die Domus Aurea und der Mentalitätswandel im Rom der frühen Kaiserzeit* (13. Trierer Winckelmannsprogramm), Mainz 1993.

<sup>6</sup> O. Neverov, *Nero-Helios*, in: M. Henig, A. King (eds.), *Pagan Gods and Shrines of the Roman Empire*, Oxford 1986, 189–194; M. Bergmann, *Die Strahlen der Herrscher. Theomorphes Herrscherbild und politische Symbolik im Hellenismus und in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Mainz 1998, 133–229; M. T. Griffin, *Nero: The End of a Dynasty*, London, New York 2000, 215–220; E. Champlin, *Nero*, Cambridge Mass. 2003, 116–121, 126–132, 227–229.

<sup>7</sup> Bergmann, *Strahlen* (note 6) 202; M. Bergmann, *Hatte Nero ein politisches und/oder kulturelles Programm? Zur Inschrift von Akraiphia*, in: J. M. Croisille, Y. Perrin (eds.),



[relief presenting Nero and Helios together]<sup>8</sup>) or Neos Apollo (Athens: AE 1929, 75; 1971, 435; 1994, 1617) show this fact as well. The basis from Prostanna belongs to the former group<sup>9</sup>. All of these inscriptions can by all likelihood be dated to the end of the reign of Nero. The ILS 8794 = SIG<sup>3</sup> 814 inscription is the well-known *edictum* of the emperor issued in Corinth, 28. November 66 or 67 (cf. Suet. Ner. 24.2; Plut. Flam. 12.8; Paus. VII.17.3). On the other hand, it is also known that Nero was identified with Helios as early as 53 (Anth. Pal. IX.178). At the beginning of his reign he rejected gold and silver statues of himself and excessive honours offered in Egypt (Tac. Ann. XIII.10) and he never accepted being worshipped in Rome, in Italy and in the West (Ann. XV.74.3). It seems to be much more probable that the new name of the emperor (and probably his statue bases) can be dated to the latest period of his reign and it can probably be connected with his long journey in Greece (66–67)<sup>10</sup>. On the basis of these data we can date the statue base from Prostanna more exactly (between 64–68 A.D.).

If this hypothesis is true, Seius began his military service at the latest between 29 and 33 (or 39 and 43) A.D. because the length of his service was [---]5 years long, i.e. he had to serve 25 or 35 years. In line 7 there is enough room for the numeral *τριάκοντα*. This fact seems to make the completion as [3]5 years more probable. Several cases with similarly long military service are known from the first half of the first century<sup>11</sup>. The veteran, Marcus Seius, was obviously of Western or North-Italian origin<sup>12</sup> because his *gentilicium* is very rare in the East (TAM IV/1, 60; IKalchedon 72; AE 1995, 1356; G. B. Bean, T. B. Mitford, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia 1964–1968* [ÖAW, Phil.-hist. Klasse. Denkschriften 102], Wien 1970, 96, Nr. 73) but frequently appears in Italy and in the Latin provinces as well<sup>13</sup>. In Pannonia the name occurs three times (Carnuntum: CIL III 4438; 120317; AE 1929, 213: used as cognomen; river Save: CIL III 14099 [helmet with the name of a centurio, called Seius Lucretius])<sup>14</sup>. The most important one is the gravestone of Quintus Valerius Seius

---

*Neronia VI. Rome à l'époque néronienne. Institutions et vie politique, économie et société, vie intellectuelle, artistique et spirituelle. Actes du VI<sup>e</sup> Colloque International de la SIEN (Rome, 19–23 mai 1999)* (Collection Latomus Volume 268), Bruxelles 2002, 273–284.

<sup>8</sup> J. Reynolds, *New Evidence for the Imperial Cult in Julio-Claudian Aphrodisias*, ZPE 43 (1981) 324–325.

<sup>9</sup> Griffin, *Nero* (note 6) 296, n. 46; Champlin, *Nero* (note 6) 117, n. 11.

<sup>10</sup> H. Halfmann, *Itinera principum. Geschichte und Typologie der Kaiserreisen im römischen Reich* (HABES 2), Stuttgart 1986, 173–177; D. Kienast, *Römische Kaisertabelle. Grundzüge einer römischen Kaiserchronologie*, Darmstadt<sup>2</sup> 1996, 97.

<sup>11</sup> G. Forni, *Il reclutamento delle legioni da Augusto a Diocleziano*, Milano, Roma 1953, 142–143.

<sup>12</sup> W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte der lateinischen Eigennamen*, Berlin 1904, 93; G. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia* (Beiträge zur Namensforschung, Beiheft 4), Heidelberg 1969, 118–119; H. Solin, O. Salomies, *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum*, Hildesheim, Zürich, New York 1994, 166.

<sup>13</sup> B. Lőrincz, *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum IV*, Wien 2002, 62–63.

<sup>14</sup> A. Mócsy, *Die Bevölkerung von Pannonien bis zu den Markomannenkriegen*, Budapest 1959, 190; L. Barkóczi, *The Population of Pannonia from Marcus Aurelius to Diocletian*, Acta Archaeologica Hungarica 16 (1964) 303.

from Vienna who was a soldier of the *legio XV Apollinaris* (AE 1929, 213). Another aspect that requires explanation is the fact that a legionary veteran from Pannonia erected this base in a Pisidian town. In my opinion, the most plausible reason is that the family of the *signifer* belonged to the citizens of the well-known Augustan veteran *colonia* of Pisidia (cf. Mon. Anc. XXVIII) as Antiochia, Olbasa, Comama, Cremna, Parlais and Lystra, and after his service he went home to Pisidia<sup>15</sup>. The veterans of the *legio V Alauda* and the *legio VII* were settled down here and several towns enjoyed the *ius Italicum*<sup>16</sup>. The most obvious possibility is that Seius' family lived in the neighbouring *colonia* Parlais near lake Eğridir<sup>17</sup>. Could Prostanna be another unknown colony with Italian veterans? The statue base does not allow us to rule out this possibility. We have no information on the status of the city, although provincial coins were minted here (cf. Ptol. V.5.7; J. F. Hill, *BMC Greek coins, Lycia*, London 1907, p. CVI), and its late importance as bishopric is proven by Hierocles (674.1). Tacitus (Ann. XVI.13) proves that under Nero (and probably earlier) Easterners were enrolled into the Illyrican army as well: *Eodem anno (sc. 65 A.D.) dilectus per Galliam Narbonensem Africamque et Asiam habiti sunt supplendis Illyrici legionibus, ex quibus aetate aut valetudine fessi sacramento solvebantur*<sup>18</sup>. The case of Seius can be one of the earliest epigraphic evidence.

There is not enough room for the name of another province in line 8, and the ending formula of the text seems to be sure ([ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων] ἀναλωμ[άτων ἀν-έστησεν]). On the basis of this fact we may deduce that the *signifer* was only ever stationed in Pannonia and may have served in the following legions that were garrisoned in Pannonia in the Tiberian-Claudian-Neronian period:

1. *Legio VIII* and *VIII Hispana*: The former legions of Pannonia were transferred to Britannia in 43 A.D. (*VIII Hispana*) and to Moesia (*VIII Augusta*) in 45 A.D.<sup>19</sup>.

2. *Legio XIII gemina*: Instead of the *VIII Augusta* the *legio XIII gemina* was transferred from Vindonissa to Poetovio in 45 where it was garrisoned to the end of the first century (Tac. Hist. III.1)<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> F. Vittinghoff, *Römische Kolonisation und Bürgerrechtspolitik unter Caesar und Augustus*, Wiesbaden 1952, 131–134; A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, Oxford 1971, 139–146, 142; B. Levick, *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor*, Oxford 1967; A. D. Macro, *The Cities of Asia Minor under the Roman Imperium*, in: ANRW II.7, Berlin, New York 1980, 674–675.

<sup>16</sup> Levick, *Colonies* (note 15) 56–67, 200–202.

<sup>17</sup> Levick, *Colonies* (note 15) 53–55.

<sup>18</sup> Forni, *Reclutamento* (note 11) 90–91, 166, 176; M. P. Speidel, *Legionaries from Asia Minor*, in: ANRW II.7, Berlin, New York 1980, 731–746, esp. 741–743 = *Roman Army Studies I* (MAVORS 1), Amsterdam 1984, 45–63.

<sup>19</sup> E. Ritterling, *Legio*, RE 12 (1925) 1647–1648, 1666; Mócsy, *Pannonia* (note 4) 613; B. Lőrincz, *Legiók*, in: A. Mócsy, J. Fitz (eds.), *Pannonia régészeti kézikönyve*, Budapest 1990, 71, n. 14–15; M. Reddé, *Legio VIII Augusta*, in: Y. LeBohec, C. Wolff (eds.), *Les légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire* (Collection du Centre d'Études Romaines et Gallo-Romaines, Nouvelle série, n° 20), Lyon 2000, 121.

<sup>20</sup> Ritterling, *Legio* (note 19) 1713–1716; Mócsy, *Pannonia* (note 4) 613; Lőrincz, *Legiók* (note 19) 71, Anm. 16; C. Wolff, *La legio XIII Gemina au Ier siècle*, in: LeBohec, Wolff (eds.), *Légions* (note 19) 202–203.

3. *Legio XV Apollinaris*: The legion was stationed in Pannonia from the occupation period onwards but it took part in the Eastern campaigns between 63 and 71 A.D.<sup>21</sup>. During this period it was replaced by the legions *X gemina* (62–68), *VII gemina* (68–69) (Tac. Hist. II.11,86) and *XXII Primigenia* (69–71)<sup>22</sup>.

Judging by this data the only possibility is the *legio XV Apollinaris*, because all the other legions were garrisoned elsewhere as well. The statue base mentions only Pannonia. In the case of the legions *VIII Augusta* and *VIII Hispana* the later garrisons were not mentioned that is why they must be ruled out. In the case of the *legio XIII gemina* Raetia would have preceded Pannonia in the inscription. According to the inscription the *signifer* was not garrisoned elsewhere before Pannonia. The problem is that in line 6 there is not enough room for the name of the legion and an abbreviation would have to have been used as e.g. 'Απολλι(ναρίας).

Summarily, we can come to the conclusion that Marcus Seius [---] was most probably the *signifer* of the *legio XV Apollinaris* and after his military service (he entered the army around 28 A.D.) he lived in (or near) his home-town in Pisidia where he erected a statue of the emperor and showed his loyalty towards Nero by identifying him with Helios. This fact also means that he and his family belonged to the wealthy social stratum of the town.

The most interesting part of the inscription is that he served in Pannonia. The most important thing to remember is that, as far as we know, this base is the earliest epigraphic mention of the province among the Greek and Latin inscriptions as well. The question of the division of Illyricum and the foundation of Pannonia and Dalmatia has been disputed for a long time<sup>23</sup>. The old hypothesis that the province of Pannonia

<sup>21</sup> Ritterling, *Legio* (note 19) 1747–1751; Mócsy, *Pannonia* (note 4) 612–615; Lőrincz, *Legiok* (note 19) 71; E. L. Wheeler, *Legio XV Apollinaris. From Carnuntum to Satala – and beyond*, in: LeBohec, Wolff (eds.), *Légions* (note 19) 270–278; M. Mosser, *Die Steindenkmäler der legio XV Apollinaris*, Wien 2003.

<sup>22</sup> Ritterling, *Legio* (note 19) 1630–1631, 1680, 1802; Mócsy, *Pannonia* (note 4) 613; Lőrincz, *Legiok* (note 19) 71.

<sup>23</sup> Th. Mommsen, CIL III p. 279, 415; A. Jagenteufel, *Die Statthalter der römischen Provinz Dalmatia von Augustus bis Diokletian*, Wien 1958, 9–10; Mócsy, *Pannonia* (note 4) 583; J. J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, London 1969, 81; T. Nagy, *Der Aufstand der panonisch-dalmatinischen Völker und die Frage der Zweiteilung Illyricums*, in: V. Miroslavljević, D. Rendić-Miočević, M. Suić (eds.), *Adriatica praehistorica et antica, Miscellanea G. Novak dicata*, Zagreb 1970, 459–466; A. Mócsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia*, London, Boston 1974, 39–40; E. Tóth, *Pannonia provincia kialakulásához – Zur Entstehung der Provinz Pannonien*, *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 103 (1976) 197–202 = ... *protulique fines Illyrici ad ripam fluminis Danubii*, *ArhVest* 28 (1977) 278–286; E. Tóth, *Megjegyzések Pannonia provincia kialakulásának kérdéséhez – Bemerkungen zur Entstehung der Provinz Pannonien*, *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 108 (1981) 13–33; M. Šašel-Kos, *Zgodovinska podoba prsotora med Akvilejo, Jadranom in Sirmijem pri Kasiju Dionu in Herodijanu – A Historical Outline of the Region between Aquileia. The Adriatic and Sirmium in Cassius Dio and Herodian*, Ljubljana 1986, 188–190; J. Šašel, *Die regionale Gliederung in Pannonien*, in: G. Gottlieb (ed.), *Raumordnung im Römischen Reich. Zur regionalen Gliederung in den gallischen Provinzen, in Rätien, Noricum und Pannonien*, München 1989, 57–60 = *Opera selecta* (Situla 30), Ljubljana 1992, 690–693; J. Fitz, *Die Verwaltung Pannoniens in der Römerzeit I*, Budapest 1993, 32–41; M. Šašel-Kos, *The End of the Norican Kingdom and the*

was still established under Augustus (based on Velleius Paterculus who mentioned M. Valerius Messala Messalinus as *praepositus Illyrico* in 6. A.D. [II.112.1–2] but according to him C. Vibius Postumus was *praepositus Delmatiae* in 9 A.D. [II.116.2]) has correctly been refuted several times<sup>24</sup>. The best evidence is that the Augustan date (before 9 A.D.) cannot be taken into consideration because the Pannonian-Dalmatian revolt was mentioned by Suetonius Tib. 16.1 as *bellum externum* and the Breucian Bato was accepted by the Romans as *rex* in 8 A.D. (Dio LV.34.4). Earlier it was thought that the first mention of Pannonia could be dated to the Vespasian period, because L. Tampius Flavianus was his *legatus Aug. pr. pr. Pann[oniae]* (CIL X 6225 = ILS 985). On the other hand, C. Ummidius Durmius Quadratus was *eg. divi Claudii in Illyrico* (CIL X 5180; 5182). In the case of military diplomas from the year 61 A.D. (CIL XVI 4; AE 1998, 1056 = RMD IV 202) the word *Illyricum* was used, and the first mention of Pannonia in diplomas can be dated to 80 (CIL XVI 26; RMD 138). On the basis of these data J. Šašel and M. Šašel-Kos suggested that it was not until the reign of Vespasian that the division of *Illyricum* happened (and the civil administration of Pannonia was organized)<sup>25</sup>. Another hypothesis is that the first known governor of the province was Palpellius Hister whom Tacitus Ann. XII.29.2 described as *qui Pannoniam praesidebat* around 50 A.D. when Vannius and his followers fled to Pannonia<sup>26</sup>. Another possibility is that the Danubian provinces were formed during the same period under Tiberius<sup>27</sup>. It is also based on a passage in Velleius Paterculus II.39.3: *At Ti. Caesar, quam certam Hispanis parendi confessionem extorserat, parem Illyriis Delmatisque extorsit. Raetiam autem et Vindelicos ac Noricos Pannoniamque et Scordiscos novas imperio nostro subiunxit prouincias*<sup>28</sup>. Another convincing passage is the *Naturalis historia* III.146 of Pliny the Elder where Scarbantia (today Sopron: later a Flavian *municipium*) along the Amber route between Savaria and

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*Formation of the Provinces of Noricum and Pannonia*, in: B. Djurić, I. Lazar (eds.), *Akten des IV. Internationalen Kolloquiums über Probleme des provinzialrömischen Kunstschaffens* (Situla 36), Ljubljana 1997, 21–42; J. Fitz, *Probleme der Zweiteilung Illyricums*, *Alba Regia* 29 (2000) 65–73; Kovács, *Summary* (note 4) 209–225.

<sup>24</sup> Jagenteufel, *Statthalter* (note 23); Nagy, *Aufstand* (note 23).

<sup>25</sup> Šašel, *Gliederung* (note 23); Šašel-Kos, *End* (note 23).

<sup>26</sup> Tóth, *Pannonia* (note 23); Fitz, *Probleme* (note 23).

<sup>27</sup> H. Braunert, *Omnium provinciarum populi Romani ... fines auxi. Ein Entwurf*, *Chiron* 7 (1976) 207–217; A. Mócsy, *Illyricum északi határa Claudius elött – Die Nordgrenze Illyricums vor Claudius*, *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 106 (1979) 177–186; Kovács, *Summary* (note 4).

<sup>28</sup> R. Rollinger, *Raetiam autem Vindelicos ac Noricos Pannoniamque et Scordiscos novas imperio nostro subiunxit prouincias. Oder: Wann wurde Raetien (einschließlich Noricums und Pannoniens) als römische Provinz eingerichtet? Eine Studie zu Vell. 2,38f. (mit einigen einleitenden Bemerkungen zur ‚provinzialrömischen Geschichte‘ im wissenschaftlichen Oeuvre Franz Hampls)*, in: R. Rollinger (ed.), *Althistorische Studien im Spannungsfeld zwischen Universal- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte. Festschrift für Franz Hampl zum 90. Geburtstag am 8. Dezember 2000*, Stuttgart 2001, 267–315; A. Schaub, *Die förmliche Provinzkonstitution Raetiens unter Tiberius nach dem Zeugnis des Velleius Paterculus*, *Germania* 79 (2001) 391–400.

Carnuntum was mentioned as *oppidum Scarabantia Iulia*. The settlement could only have received this imperial 'Beiname' under Tiberius<sup>29</sup>.

At this point it seems appropriate to examine what the data of the inscription from Prostanna means to this field of research. On the basis of the well-known inscription CIL III 1741 = ILS 938 from Epidaurum it is generally accepted that the Augustan province Illyricum was divided into Illyricum Superius and Inferius. The honorary inscription was erected to P. Cornelius Dolabella (governor of Dalmatia or Illyricum between 14–20 A.D.) by the *civitates Superioris provinciae Illyrici*<sup>30</sup>. The division Superius-Inferius is not attested elsewhere (see below), but it has to be mentioned that the official name of the Illyrian *portorium* was *publicum portorium Illyrici utriusque et ripae Thracicae* in the second century (AE 1928, 153; 1934, 107). The statue base from Prostanna can explain the absence of the names Superius/Inferius; now it is sure that the province was officially called Pannonia (and Dalmatia) at the latest under Nero. Another fact also seems to be sure on the basis of the inscription from Prostanna: there is no doubt that the province of Pannonia existed before the reign of Vespasian and the hypothesis of J. Šašel and M. Šašel-Kos can be excluded. What does the inscription mean in connection with the Tiberian and Claudian date? If our hypothesis is correct, the *signifer* served in the *legio XV Apollinaris* from the reign of Tiberius (around 28 A.D.) onwards, and the Tiberian or the Claudian date has to be the correct one. Seius served in the *legio XV Apollinaris* in Pannonia, which means he must surely have been aware of the name of the province. He did not mention Illyricum or Illyricum Inferius either. If the name of the province changed during his service, he would only be using the later name of the province, i.e. Pannonia. This means that on the basis of this inscription the Claudian date cannot be ruled out. On the other hand, the other data concerning the Tiberian date confirm the former possibility. Several road buildings were constructed under the governorship of Dolabella in Dalmatia. Road-building inscriptions are known from Salona dated to 16–20 A.D. (CIL III 3198a = 10156a = ILS 5829 + III 3200 = 10158; CIL III 3201 = 10159 = ILS 5829a + CIL III 3198b = 10156b = ILS 263 = AE 1964, 12 = ILJ 263; CIL III 3199 = 10157)<sup>31</sup>. In 16–17 two roads were completed: the first was the *via Gabiniana* from Salona to Andertium (later Burnum). The second one ended after 167 MP [*ad fin[e]s provinciae Illyrici [---]*]. On the basis of the inscription two things seem to be sure: the slab was cut into two and at least one line is missing. The inscription cannot be an evidence for the undivided Illyricum because it can be completed as *provinciae Illyrici [Superioris ---]* as well. It is also clear that the 167 MP (= approx. 250 km)-long road could not reach Italia (shortest distance: approx. 300 km air distance), Macedonia/

<sup>29</sup> P. Kovács, *Oppidum Scarabantia Iulia*, *Antik Tanulmányok* 46 (2002) 147–192.

<sup>30</sup> I. Bojanovski, *Ad CIL III, 1741, Obod kod Cavtata (Epidaurum), Arheološka istraživanja u Dubrovniku i dubrovačkom području*, Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva 12 (1988) 101–110.

<sup>31</sup> M. Abramić, *O novim miljokazima im rimskim cestama Dalmacije – Sur quelques nouvelles borne milliaire et routes romaines en Dalmatie*, *VHAD* 49 (1926–1927) 139–155; G. Alföldy, *Eine römische Strassenbauinschrift aus Salona*, *Acta Archaeologica Hungarica* 16 (1964) 247–256; I. Bojanovski, *Dolabelin sistem cesta u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji – Dolabellae systema viarum in provincia Dalmatia*, Sarajevo 1974, 41–51.

Moesia (shortest distance: approx. 360 km air distance) or the northern border of the undivided Illyricum, i.e. the Danube (shortest distance: approx. 320 km air distance). The road must have lead to the border between Dalmatia and Pannonia. It has been suggested that the end-point of the road can be identified with the road-station *Ad fines* or stretched only as far as the river Save<sup>32</sup>. There were two *stationes* with the same name in this region, the former one can be found along the road Aquileia-Senia-Siscia (ItAnt 274, 6), the latter one was placed along the road Sirmium-Salona (Tab. Peut. IV. seg. and Rav. Geog. 220, 14). Looking at these facts it becomes clear that the road construction under Dolabella was executed only in the territory of Dalmatia and only the Dalmatian legions or their vexillations took part in it (*legio VII* and *XI*), i.e. Dalmatia and Illyricum were divided under his governorship. Another fact is also sure: the famous passage of Plinius Nat. hist. III.146 (*Noricis iunguntur lacus Pelso, deserta Boiorum; iam tamen colonia Divi Claudii Savaria et oppido Scarbantia Iulia habitantur*) can only mean that the *deserta* (i.e. the area inhabited by the Boii<sup>33</sup>) and the lake Pelso and the cities of Savaria (the Claudian colonia) and Scarbantia (see above) are neighbouring with the Norici. This passage does not mean that the whole of western Pannonia earlier belonged to the Regnum Noricum as it was earlier thought<sup>34</sup>. Scarbantia and Savaria were the part of Pannonia in the Tiberian-Claudian period.

All these facts bring us to the conclusion that the statue base from Prostanna is the earliest inscription that mentions Pannonia, and by all likelihood the correct form Παννονία was used in this case as well. The mention of Pannonia in the inscription together with the other Pannonian data concerning the early history of the area show that the province organisation of Pannonia and the change of the name Illyricum Inferius to Pannonia probably happened before Claudius' reign, i.e. Pannonia became a Roman province under a *legatus Augusti* during the reign of Tiberius. The Pisidian veteran and his legion, by all probability the *XV Apollinaris*, were garrisoned in this new province. The study of the Greek inscriptions from the Oriental provinces, esp. from Asia Minor can also help us to better understand the early history of Pannonia. For example, in the Sebasteion of Aphrodisias among the statues of the people conquered by Augustus the Pannonian tribes can be found as well (e.g. Andizetes, Pirustae: SEG XXXV 1082)<sup>35</sup>.

After all my considerations the inscription may be read as followed (Fig. 1):

<sup>32</sup> Abramić, *Miljokazima* (note 31), 153 but see J. J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, London 1969, 452–453.

<sup>33</sup> See I. Borzsák, *Die Kenntnisse des Altertums über das Karpatenbecken* (DissPann I.5), Budapest 1936, 31, Anm. 1.

<sup>34</sup> Tóth, *Pannonia* (note 23) and Fitz, *Probleme* (note 23), but see Kovács, *Scarbantia* (note 29).

<sup>35</sup> P. Kovács, *The Sebasteion of Aphrodisias and Pannonia*, in: Gy. Németh, P. Forisek (eds.), *Epigraphica III. Politai et cives. Studia sollemnia in honorem Geysae Alföldy doctoris honoris causa Universitatis Debreceniensis* (Hungarian Polis Studies 12), Debrecen 2006, 171–179.

- 1 Νέρωνα Κλαύδ[ιον Καίσαρα Σεβασ-]  
 2 τὸν Γερμανικὸ[ν Αὐτοκράτορα νέ-]  
 3 ον Ἴλιον θ[εὸν ἐπιφανῆ]  
 4 *vacat*  
 5 Μᾶρκος Σείος [ - - - σημι-]  
 6 ἀφόρος λεγεῶ[νος ἐξ Ἀπολλι(ναρίας)? στρα-]  
 7 τευσάμενος [ἔτη - - - καὶ]  
 8 πέντε εἰς Παν[νονίαν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων]  
 9 ἀναλωμ[άτων ἀνέστησεν].

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