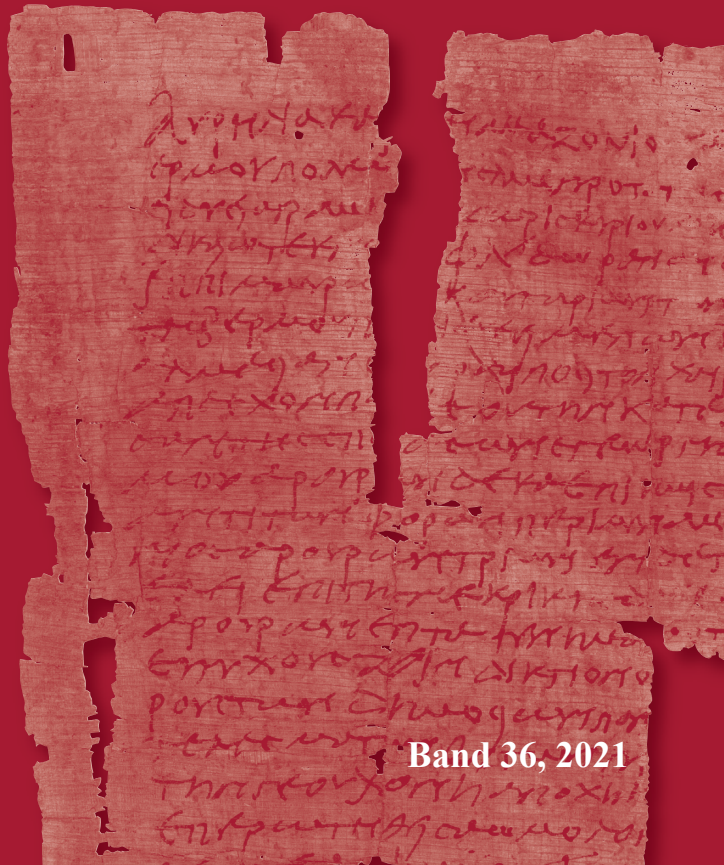


# TYCHE

Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte  
Papyrologie und Epigraphik



**HOLZHAUSEN**

Der Verlag

Band 36, 2021

## I N H A L T S V E R Z E I C H N I S

Christer B r u n: Commodus and/or Marcus Aurelius in a Double-Sided Inscription from Ostia ( <i>ScO</i> XI, C 115): Yes and No (Taf. 1).....	1
Chiara C e n a t i — Victoria G o n z á l e s B e r d ú s — Tina H o b e l — Peter K r u s c h w i t z — Denisa M u r z e a: Defragmenting Apulum: A Re-Examination of <i>IDR</i> III/5.2.586 (With a Digression on <i>IDR</i> III/5.2.622+626).....	11
Bram F a u c o n n i e r: Euergetism as a Political Strategy: The Case of Iason versus Moles .....	27
Alexander F r e e: A New Epitaph from Aphrodisias (Taf. 2–5).....	47
Nikolaos G o n i s: Caracalla’s Titulature, Geta’s Murder, and Egypt. Some Chronological Considerations .....	57
Nikolaos G o n i s: From Theadelphia to Philadelphia (PA): Two New Papyri from the Dossier of Aurelius Sakaon (Taf. 6–7) .....	63
Nikolaos G o n i s: Letters of Wessely to Bell .....	71
Alan J o h n s t o n: The Re-Emergence of <i>IG</i> XII,9 1196 (Taf. 8–10).....	79
Aikaterini K o r o l i: A Greek Receipt for the Payment of <i>diagraphe</i> from the Dossier of Ioulios (Taf. 11) .....	83
Sophie K o v a r i k: Aus Zwei mach Eins: SB XVIII 13997 und P.Vindob. G 21154. Ein arsinoitischer Teilpachtvertrag über Weinland (Taf. 12–13) .	87
Adam Ł a j t a r: <i>Peripoloi</i> and the god Medaurus in a newly-discovered Greek inscription from Rhizon (Taf. 14–15).....	97
Donato M a r a z z i: Contratto di lavoro per un muratore salariato (Taf. 16– 17).....	109
Federica M i c u c c i †: A Hermopolite Sale on Delivery in Vienna and London (Taf. 18–21) .....	115
Amphilochios P a p a t h o m a s — Eleni T s i t s i a n o p o u l o u: Der Gebrauch von Gnomén, Proverbien und Apophthegmata in den griechischen Privat- und Geschäftsbriefen der byzantinischen und früh-arabischen Zeit (5.–8. Jh. n. Chr.).....	121
Amphilochios P a p a t h o m a s — Athanassios V e r g a d o s: An Oxy- rhynchon Deed of Surety for a Registered Sailor from the Dossier of Flavia Anastasia (Taf. 22–23) .....	131
Linda P u t e l l i: Ein neuer Papyrus des Flavius Johannes, <i>comes</i> <i>consistorianus</i> (Taf. 24–25).....	139
Peter S i e w e r t: Spätarchaisches Gesetz über Landwirtschaft aus Olympia (BrU 10) (Taf. 26).....	149
Marianna T h o m a — Amphilochios P a p a t h o m a s: The Use of Threat as a Rhetorical Strategy in Women’s Papyrus Letters.....	163

Inhaltsverzeichnis

Bemerkungen zu Papyri XXXIV (<Korr. Tyche> 989–1094) .....	177
Adnotationes epigraphicae XII (<Adn. Tyche> 119–122) .....	211
Tafeln 1–26	

CHRISTER BRUUN

Commodus and/or Marcus Aurelius  
in a Double-Sided Inscription from Ostia  
(*ScO* XI, C 115): Yes and No\*

Plate 1

The two surviving pieces of a marble plaque from Roman Ostia preserve texts on both sides. Unfortunately, neither inscription survives in its entirety, and much remains unclear about both. On one side, which is not of concern in this contribution, the emperor Commodus is undoubtedly being honoured. As for the inscription on the other side, in the past scholars have suggested that it intended to honour either Commodus or his father Marcus Aurelius. The present contribution discusses these two alternatives and ends up rejecting them both, suggesting instead that the inscription, erected by the *corpus lenunculariorum traiectus Luculli*, intended to honour a local dignitary. This professional association of Tiber boatmen took its name from the *traiectus Luculli*, a toponym which presumably designated a place where the Tiber was crossed by a ferry service. The *lenuncularii* operated boats which mainly served in the harbour area and on adjacent water ways.<sup>1</sup>

In 1992 Alfredo Marinucci published two fragments of a so-called opisthographic marble plaque (a plaque carrying inscriptions on both sides) from Ostia, one of which had been found reused in the Terme del Foro. One fragment was known already to Hermann Dessau, the editor of *CIL* XIV, and was included as no. 451 in that volume. The other and larger part came to light in 1940 and was published for the first time by Antonio Licordari only a few years before Marinucci presented the texts on both sides

---

\* For convenience, the abbreviation *ScO* XI followed by the letter C and a number will often be used to refer to inscriptions published in the work by Alfredo Marinucci cited below in note 2. The research which led to this contribution was carried out some years ago while I enjoyed an Insight Grant awarded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRCC), which is acknowledged with gratitude. I am grateful to the two anonymous referees and to the Editorial Board of *Tyche* for helpful suggestions.

<sup>1</sup> On *traiectus*, see A. Lonardi, *La cura riparum et alvei Tiberis. Storiografia, prosopografia e fonti epigrafiche* (BAR Int. Ser. 2464), Oxford 2013, 70–76, esp. 75–76, who discussed several previous views in detail and basically agreed with R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*, Oxford <sup>2</sup>1973, 297, who translated *traiectus* as “passage across the river”. On the *lenuncularii* and their *lenunculi*, see J. Le Gall, *Il Tevere fiume di Roma nell’antichità* (updated transl. of his *Le Tibre fleuve de Rome dans l’antiquité*, Paris 1953, by C. Mocchegiani Carpano and G. Pisani Sartorio), Rome 2005, 262–83.

of the two surviving fragments, accompanied by neat drawings and useful photographs.<sup>2</sup>

There was agreement between the two scholars that both texts mentioned members of the *domus Augusta*. Both scholars held that the emperor Commodus was mentioned on the side which they considered to have been inscribed last, usually referred to as side (b).<sup>3</sup> This inscription will not be discussed in any detail here, although it may deserve attention on another occasion, since most of the preserved text refers to professional associations.

As for side (a), Licordari suggested that the poorly preserved first lines referred to the emperor Marcus Aurelius while he was still a prince (*Caesar*) and could be dated to after he received the *tribunicia potestas* in 146 CE.<sup>4</sup> Marinucci's restoration of text (a) was different. He was able to read some additional letters, and he suggested that it was Commodus who was mentioned on side (a) as well as on (b). His proposal, presented next, will initially be the subject of the discussion. Only Marinucci's drawing can give a proper idea of the surviving two fragments (see plate 1).

- I.1 *M. A[urelio]*  
 I.2 *C[ommodo]*  
 -----  
 II.1 *[Germ.] ma[x. ---]*  
       *[Br]it. trib. p[ot. ---]*  
       *[A. Egr]ilius Faustu[s ---]*  
       *[sev.] Aug. idem q[q. qq. corp.]*  
 II.5 *[tra]iectus L[uculli]*  
       *[---] A. Egrili[o ---]*  
       *[---]iano [---]*  
       *corp[ori]*  
       *[lenu]ncul[ariorum]*  
 II.10 *[tra]iectus [Luculli]*

Among the noteworthy features that Marinucci commented upon is the fact that when the marble plaque was inscribed on the back side, it was rotated by ninety degrees to the left. This means that it can never have been the intention that both sides should be legible at the same time. The carving and exhibition of the new text would undoubtedly

<sup>2</sup> See A. Licordari, *I lenuncularii traiectus Luculli ad Ostia*, *Miscellanea Greca e Romana* 12 (1987) 149–161, esp. 159–161 no. 7 (= *AE* 1987, 176a); A. Marinucci, *Iscrizioni*, in: P. Cicerchia, A. Marinucci (eds.), *Le Terme del Foro o di Gavio Massimo* (Scavi di Ostia XI), Rome 1992, 163–228, esp. 225–226 no. C 115.

<sup>3</sup> This traditional chronology is in agreement with the fact that in text (a) appears one [A. Egr]ilius Faustus. The same man, or a homonym, appears in *CIL* XIV 246 (the *album* of a group of *corporati* intent on building a temple) as *quinquennalis* in 151 CE.

<sup>4</sup> Licordari, *I lenuncularii* (above n. 2) 159–161. Note that Marcus Aurelius is now considered to have received the *tribunicia potestas* in December 147 CE; see D. Kienast, W. Eck, M. Heil, *Römische Kaisertabelle. Grundzüge einer römischen Kaiserchronologie*, Darmstadt 2017, 131.

have had as a consequence that the older inscription could no longer be viewed. Both inscriptions mention professional associations, and if indeed Commodus as co-ruler or ruler were mentioned in both texts, one wonders why it would have been necessary to carve a new inscription in his honour so soon after the first, which was removed from sight.

With opisthographic inscriptions there is normally no connection between the topics of the two texts, and a certain period of time has elapsed before the plaque is reused and the second text is inscribed, thus making the first inscription obsolete. Had the *corpus lenunculariorum traiectus Luculli* (the professional association which appears in both text (a) and text (b)) wanted to add a commemoration of Commodus, one would expect them to have invested in a new plaque on which to inscribe the new text, instead of appropriating and removing from view one that had been commissioned only a few years earlier. Another Ostian opisthographic inscription is a testimony to this practice. A marble plaque found reused in the Terme del Foro contains on one side a dedication to Septimius Severus and Caracalla from 203 CE, and on the other side a tribute to the emperor Gallienus in occasion of his *decennalia*, i.e., dating to 262/263 CE and inscribed some sixty years after the first (*ScO* XI, C 13 = *CIL* XIV 5330, 5334).<sup>5</sup>

This conundrum is resolved when one realizes that text (a) does not in fact refer to Commodus at all, as will be made clear in the next paragraph. This opens up the possibility that text (a) predates (b) by several decades.

The problem with Marinucci's proposed interpretation and restoration is that as long as Commodus was a prince, he was not called Marcus. At first, beginning in 166 CE, he was Lucius Aurelius Commodus Caesar, while in 177, after becoming co-emperor with *tribunicia potestas*, he became Imp. Caes. L. Aelius Aurelius Commodus Aug. Only as sole ruler, from October 180 onward, did Commodus begin to use the *praenomen* Marcus as Imp. Caes. M. Aurelius Commodus Antoninus.<sup>6</sup> At that point, he would not be addressed simply as "M. Aurelius Commodus" in an honorific inscription.

In a more plausible fashion, Licordari's suggestion from 1987, presented next, restored the name of a different member of the *domus Augusta*:

- I.1 M. A[urelio]  
 I.2 C[aesari]  
 -----  
 II.1 [-----]  
 II.2 [---] trib. p[ot. ---]

This reading means that the honorand was M. Aurelius the future emperor. The restoration of the text makes him still a prince bearing the title Caesar, the date being

<sup>5</sup> A similar case is found in Marinucci, *Iscrizioni* (above n. 2), 169 (= *ScO* XI, C 14), an opisthographic plaque which on one side mentions L. Aurelius Augg. lib. Apolaustus Memphius, a successful pantomime who died in 189 or 190, and on the other side contains a dedication to Salonina Augusta, inscribed sometime during the period 253/268 CE.

<sup>6</sup> Kienast, Eck, Heil, *Kaisertabelle* (above n. 4), 140–141.

sometime after 147 CE when he received the *tribunicia potestas* after his adoption by Antoninus Pius. However, the impact of this sensible interpretation was reduced by Marinucci's publication of the same inscription five years later, and above all due to the latter's discovery of additional letters on lines II.1–2.<sup>7</sup> While previously it was easy to imagine that the two lines which Licordari envisaged between line I.2 and line II.2 contained, as is usually the case, a reference to Marcus' relationship to the emperor Antoninus Pius, Marinucci's reading made such a view untenable. If one follows his readings [*Germ.*] *ma[x.]* on II.1 and [*Br*]it(*annico*) on II.2, the person cannot be M. Aurelius Caesar, who never bore these distinctions. However, of the four letters that Marinucci thought he could identify, the only certain one is the A on line II.1; only the tiniest fragments survive of the other letters.

The question becomes, if it is possible to complete line I.3 (as we might call a now lost line between the two fragments) and lines II.1–2 in a way which *both* takes into account the letter "A" that Marinucci identified *and* agrees with the honorand's being M. Aurelius Caesar. If this is not possible, then the idea that a member of the imperial family was honoured must be given up. In that case, a different name needs to be inserted and a different explanation for the word TRIB must be found. It will be shown, in several stages (A to G), that there is no way that an imperial titlature fits on lines I.1–3 + II.1–2, while at the end of this contribution an alternative solution is presented.

(A) Before attempting to restore the text on the damaged lines, it is necessary to determine the width of inscription (a). The composition presented in *ScO* XI, Tav. XV, places the larger fragment much too directly under the upper left-hand corner (likely for typographical reasons). In reality — as a study of how the lines on the opposite side (b) relate to each other shows — the letters M A at the top must be placed to the left of any letters surviving on lines II.1–10, as now is the case in Fig. 1 (a revised version of Tav. XV in Marinucci, *Iscrizioni*, above n. 2). How much to the left the upper left corner needs to be placed is impossible to say, but by measuring the surviving portions of text one can estimate that the width of the inscribed field inside the frame was up to 50 cm: The two large letters on line I.1 take up circa 14 cm, and the width of the larger fragment, measured from the first preserved letter in [*trai*]ectus (l. II.5) to the end of Faust[us] (l. II.3), is circa 31 cm. This indicates a minimum width of circa 45 cm, and, as we shall see, the inscribed space undoubtedly continued beyond where *Faustus* ended, since *trib.* on the line above ought to have been followed by more text.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Some inkling of the impact can be had by consulting the online databases of Latin inscriptions. Currently (late April 2022), the EDCS presents Marinucci's reading, while EDH 009998 (from 2010) appears unaware of his contribution. EDR 080266 now acknowledges Marinucci; some changes appear to have taken place on 10 March 2021.

<sup>8</sup> If the *tribunicia potestas* was referred to, at a minimum we have to accommodate *pot. II* or five letters. Marcus held his *trib. pot. I* for only nine days in 147, from 1 to 9 December, after which his second tribunician power lasted from 10 December 147 to 9 December 148; see Kienast, Eck, Heil, *Kaisertabelle* (above n. 4), 132.

If and when the first line held the text *M. Aurelio*, it seems possible to accommodate this text on a line with a width of between 45 and 50 cm, since the first two letters which required 14 cm are exceptionally wide.

(B) When honorific inscriptions celebrate M. Aurelius Caesar and have space to elaborate on the prince's position, one expects a reference to his adoptive father the emperor. This is the norm at Ostia, as the two best preserved examples clearly reveal. In an inscription from the Ostian *castra* of the *vigiles*, the name of Marcus is followed by *Imp. Caesaris T. Aeli Hadriani / Antonini Augusti Pii filio* on two lines (*CIL XIV 4366*).<sup>9</sup> In an inscription erected in a collegial context, the name of Marcus the Prince is followed by a very similar formula: *Imp. Ca[esaris T. Aeli] / Hadria[ni Antonini Aug.] / Pii [p. p. filio]* on three lines (*CIL XIV 5328 = ScO XI, C 25*).<sup>10</sup>

Assessing how many letters lines I.3 and II.1–2 can accommodate is not easy, since the letter size varies from line to line and nothing survives of line I.3. If the word *TRIB* on line II.2 is taken as a starting point and we assume that the same letter size was employed on all the three lines in question, there is space for some twenty letters on each line of circa 50 cm in width. Reserving two lines for Marcus' adoptive father produces a neat line division:

- I.3 [*Imp. Caes. T. Aeli Hadriani*] (20)  
 II.1 [*Antonini Aug. Pii p. p. filio*] (21)  
 II.2 [- - - c. 9 - - -]++ *trib. p[ot. II (?)]* (20)

(C) There are, however, two problems with this reconstruction. Fig. 1 clearly shows that the letter A appears above the letters RI in *trib.* on line II.2. In the reconstruction just seen, the letter A appears in ninth place on line II.1. There is no way that the above structure of the text, which assumes that two lines are devoted to naming the adoptive father Antoninus Pius, could achieve the A/RI pairing without some modification of the reconstruction.<sup>11</sup>

Second, a solution needs to be found for what was written at the beginning of line II.2, a portion now lost. Dedications to Marcus Caesar from Rome show that sometimes further ancestry is mentioned before the *tribunicia potestas* and the two consulships are listed. An inscription erected by the *Secundani Arausienses* from Gaul in honor of M. Aurelius Caesar names him as *filius* of Antoninus Pius in the form just seen, and it continues with *divi Hadriani nepoti divi Traiani pronepoti divi Nervae abnepoti trib. potestate IIII cos. II* (*CIL VI 40550*; cf. *AE 2011, 122*). A similar text from the following year, erected by the townspeople from Hippo (Regius) in North Africa, contains the

<sup>9</sup> *CIL XIV 4367* likewise pays tribute to M. Aurelius Caesar, and the reference to his father is very similar, although mostly restored.

<sup>10</sup> In *ScO XI, C 25* the first of these lines is wrongly restored in that *T. Aeli* is omitted.

<sup>11</sup> Such modifications would be, for instance, expanding some abbreviated words and dividing other words between lines, thereby deviating from what is the practice in such inscriptions. Examples are: *Imp. Caesar. T. Aeli Hadria-* (20) / *ni Antonini Aug. Pii p. p. fil.* (21) or *Imp. Caes. T. Aeli Hadriani* (20) / *Antonini Aug. Pii patr. p. f.* (21).



formulation *[divi]i Hadriani nep. divi [Traia]ni Parthici pronep. [divi N]ervae abnepoti [trib.]b. pot. V cos. II* (CIL VI 1010). Keeping this pattern in mind, one might suggest that one further ancestral generation was mentioned, followed by the tribunician power:<sup>12</sup>

- I.3 *[Imp. Caes. T. Aeli Hadriani]* (20 letters)
- II.1 *[Antonini Aug. Pii p. p. filio]* (21)
- II.2 *[divi Hadriani n.] trib. p[ot. II]* (22)

This completion of the text will still not bring a letter A above the RI of *trib.*, but that can be achieved if a rather unorthodox change in the abbreviations on line II.1 is carried out, as shown next, with the employment of capital letters only:

- ANTONINI AVG PII PATR P F (20 letters)
- DIVI HADRIANI N TRIB POT II (22)

(D) In this version, the third A on line II.1 is letter no. 16, while on line II.2 the R in *trib.* is no. 15. Therefore, this solution would seem to resolve the requirement that A must appear right above RI, but there are still two oddities to consider. First, *p. p.* is the standard abbreviation for *pater patriae* and one is hard pressed to find examples of the epithet spelled out in inscriptions in Italy. When it happens in the Greek East, both words are given unabridged, while above the unique formulation *patr. p.* had to be used so as to avoid overshooting the line.<sup>13</sup> Also not very convincing is that *filio* had to be drastically abbreviated, while it is a word that normally is spelled out in similar contexts.

Second, Marcus Aurelius was *cos. II* in 145 CE (while he did not hold his third consulship until 161, the same year when he became emperor). Therefore, when he first was given the tribunician power on 1 December 147 CE and received his second tribunician power on 10 December that same year, he was already *cos. II*, and as just seen in the honorific inscriptions from Rome, when the *tribunicia potestas* is mentioned, it is followed by *cos. II*. Adding the consular rank would add another five letters to line II.2 and would widen the inscribed space correspondingly, by over 10 cm. Now the three lines under discussion will be of unequal length, unless some abbreviated words on the first two lines are expanded, as the following reconstruction does:

- I.3 *[Imp. Caesaris T. Aeli Hadriani]* (24 letters)
- II.1 *[vac. Antonini Aug. Pii patr. p. fil. vac.]* (22)
- II.2 *[d. Hadriani n.] trib. p[ot. II cos. II]* (24)

<sup>12</sup> It must be admitted that the drawing by Marinucci, *Iscrizioni* (above n. 2), Tav. XV (for which see Fig. 1 here) rules out that an N could have appeared before *trib.*

<sup>13</sup> For a few cases of *pater patriae* written out in full, see CIL III 14147,1 (Egypt); AE 2013, 1423 (Achaia); AE 2013, 1424 (Achaia).

The addition of *cos. II* at the end of line II.2 makes it necessary to assume that the abbreviation *d(ivi)* was used. Assuming that the text on line II.2 was indented, it is still possible to end up with the pairing of A/RI.

(E) Having now reached, at least in theory, a solution for lines I.3 and II.1–2, it is time to take a holistic view of the first five lines of the inscription, which in this interpretation names M. Aurelius Caesar circa 148 CE.<sup>14</sup> The most recent addition to the length of lines I.3 and II.1–2 means that the width of the inscription has increased to circa 60 cm. In contrast, *M. A[urelio]* on l. I.1, which begins at the very left margin, requires less than 50 cm. On the line below, *C[aesari]* is indented and definitely occupied a space of the same size. If the width of the inscribed and framed space was around 60 cm, as the argument just presented gives reason to believe, this leaves much empty space to the right of *C[aesari]*, which seems like an odd solution by the stonemason. This situation provides grounds for revisiting the above restoration of the text.

(F) One additional way of estimating the width of the inscription is by studying the eight lines which follow after the initial part reserved for the honorand. Assuming that the last three lines (lines II.8–10) have been properly understood,<sup>15</sup> a restoration without using abbreviations gives the result shown next, with the single word on line II.8 clearly centered. The reconstruction leaves empty space both left and right:

CORPVS  
LENVNCVLARIORVM (15 letters)  
TRAIECTVS LVCVLLI (16)

This reconstruction suggests that the text at least on some lines was centered, with the centre coinciding roughly with the R in *corpus* on line II.8. If that was the case, we can also reconstruct where the centre on line II.2 ought to fall, namely, two letters to the left of *trib.*, in the following fashion:<sup>16</sup>

II.2 [*divi Hadrian // i n.*] *trib. p[ot. I cos. II]*

<sup>14</sup> Line II.3 clearly contains the name of a dedicator and it is inconceivable that the name of the honorand would have been allowed to continue on that line.

<sup>15</sup> By every appearance the texts on sides (a) and (b) both involve an association of *lenuncularii* connected to a *traiectus*. That this was the *traiectus Luculli* is a plausible conjecture, since there is no clear evidence that would tie the *traiectus Rusticellii* to *lenuncularii*. In an isolated instance (*CIL* XIV 409, many decades earlier than our inscriptions) the association is exceptionally given a longer name: *corpus scaphariorum et lenunculariorum traiectus Luculli*. Much more commonly, in about half a dozen texts, only the *lenuncularii* of the *traiectus Luculli* are mentioned.

<sup>16</sup> One may note that the two letters to the left of the word *trib.* in line II.2 were vaguely seen by Marinucci and therefore were marked as “++” above in section (B). Now, to make the argument understandable, I include these letters within the square brackets while hypothetically restoring the text.

(G) However, placing the centre of the line in this way produces quite an uneven distribution of the text, with eleven letters to the left and fifteen to the right (in case *divi* is written in full, which was not the case in the version presented under (E) above; if the abbreviation *d(ivi)* is used, the asymmetry is even worse). If this is how the inscription was laid out, it would present a very uneven appearance, which is odd, since Roman stonemasons valued symmetry. This problem is resolved by deleting *cos. II* at the end of the line, and by abbreviating certain words in lines I.3 and II.1 so as to reduce the length of those lines correspondingly:

- I.3 [*Imp. Caes. T. Aeli Hadriani*] (20)  
 II.1 [*Antonini Aug. Pii patr. p. f.*] (20)  
 II.2 [*divi Hadriani n. trib. p[ot. II]*] (22)

#### An alternative solution

If this last attempt at presenting a plausible restoration of the three lines following the hypothetical text on the initial lines, *M. A[urelio] / C[aesari]*, is not convincing, the obvious alternative is to look for a different restoration of the first two lines. We must then assume that the name of a person who was not a member of the imperial family was inscribed on lines I.1–2. A survey of known Ostian *duoviri* during the period from Hadrian to Commodus produces the name combinations M. Aemilius, M. Antistius, M. Antius, and M. Antonius. Somewhat earlier a M. Acilius held that position, while a M. Annius was a *decurio*.<sup>17</sup> Among these men and their male family members, older and younger, there is clearly no lack of possible candidates for the person honored in our inscription, and the inscription can obviously refer to someone thus far unknown as well.

A dedication beginning *M. A[ntio M. f.]* (honorific inscriptions at Ostia frequently include filiation) would require precisely eight letters and would fit in the same space as *M. A[urelio]*. Writing instead *M. A[emilio M. f.]* results in ten letters and would require additional space, but only in case the filiation was included.

There is no point in speculating about what the first word on line I.2 might be; the rounding is visible, which means that only the letters C, G, O, or Q are possible. This fact is not likely to exclude many candidates, since not only the *cognomen* but also the *tribus* of the person may have been intended, and the *Quirina tribus* is the third-most common at Ostia.<sup>18</sup>

If therefore, as thus far seems possible, the honorand was not a member of the *domus Caesarum*, it remains to discuss what TRIB on line II.2 refers to. For both Licordari and Marinucci the solution was clear: they interpreted the expression as *trib(unicia) p[ot(estate)]*. Three alternative interpretations could fit the career of an Ostian political leader or an imperial official with duties in the harbour town. The senatorial office of *trib(unus) pl(ebis)/pleb(is)* is one possibility. The drawing shows nothing of the curvature

<sup>17</sup> Meiggs, *Roman Ostia* (above n. 1), 511–514.

<sup>18</sup> M. C  beillac-Gervasoni, F. Zevi, *Le trib  di Ostia*, in: M. Silvestrini (ed.), *Le tribu romane* (XVI<sup>e</sup> rencontre sur l' pigraphie), Bari 2010, 161–169, esp. 168.

of the P's head, but previous scholars were ready to read *p[ot.]*, which is why *p[leb.]* should be accepted as well. However, very few epigraphic tributes to senators are known at Ostia, except when members of the *gens Egrilia* were being honored, which clearly is not the case here.

Much more common are military charges such as *trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis)* or *trib. mil. coh(ortis)*.<sup>19</sup> The units in which these officers held their command are almost always mentioned, which is why we can expect to find a phrase such as *trib. m[il. leg. I]* (while the name of the legion may perhaps be omitted). This adds a minimum of six letters to the right, an addition which would clearly overshoot the word *Faust[us]* on the line below and would increase the width of the inscribed text impossibly much. However, while rare, it is not unheard of that Roman officers only provided a general reference to their rank with the brief expression *trib. mil.* An example occurs in the Ostian honorific inscription citing the career of P. Lucilius P. f. P. nep. P. pron. P. abnep. Gamala, albeit in a text of much earlier date, from the Augustan period (*AE* 1959, 254); other examples can be cited as well.<sup>20</sup>

There is also the office of *viator tribunicius*, one of the positions held by the Roman *apparitores*. The men in this group of “civil servants” were engaged in social ascent, as shown in Nicholas Purcell’s classic article, and they sometimes reached clear distinction.<sup>21</sup> At Ostia, two men are found holding this position. Pothus Nymphodoti libertus is quite early and belongs to Augustus’ reign.<sup>22</sup> The second inscription, incompletely preserved, is from Trajan’s reign and undoubtedly mentions a *viator tribu[nicius]* who remains anonymous (*CIL* XIV 4486a).

Certainty cannot be reached in this case, except for establishing that Commodus is not the honorand of the inscription on the (a) side of *ScO* XI, C 115. If we are dealing with a member of the imperial family, he must be M. Aurelius Caesar, presumably soon after having received the *tribunicia postestas*. There are, however, reasons emanating from the layout of the text which weaken this hypothesis considerably (such as the strangely short text on lines I.1–2, the awkward abbreviation of *pater patriae*, and the omission of *cos. II*; features which appear to be necessary assumptions). The alternative is to envisage a dedication to someone who was of importance to the *lenuncularii traiectus Luculli*, either an influential member of the Ostian community or possibly an imperial official. This solution requires us to either accept that a military tribuneship

<sup>19</sup> In Marinucci, *Iscrizioni* (above n. 2) I can see nothing, either in the drawing of the inscription (Tav. XV) or in the photo of it (Fig. 152), which precludes that the first letter after *trib.* could be an M.

<sup>20</sup> For a discussion of the identity and the date of this person, see C. Bruun, *Some Local Dignitaries and Emperors in Inscriptions from Roman Ostia*, SEBarc (forthcoming); previously M. C  beillac-Gervasoni, M. L. Caldelli, F. Zevi, *Epigrafia latina. Ostia: cento iscrizioni in contesto*, Rome 2010, 104–106 with Fig. 11.2; F. Coarelli, *Ostia repubblicana*, Rome 2021, 350–352. Some other examples of the plain “*trib. mil.*” are *CIL* III 6612 (Alexandria), *CIL* V 47 (Pola), *CIL* XI 712 (Bononia), and *AE* 1992, 626 (Veleia).

<sup>21</sup> N. Purcell, *The Apparitores: A Study in Social Mobility*, *PBSR* 51 (1983) 125–173.

<sup>22</sup> See F. Marini Recchia, *Nuove ricongiunzioni epigrafiche ostiensi: il Macellum di Nymphodotus e Pothus*, *MEFRA* 126 (2014) 69–82 for several inscriptions mentioning Pothus; the combined evidence makes it certain that he was a *viator tribunicius*.

was rendered in an abbreviated form, as *trib. mil.*, or to consider the possibility that the honorand, among other duties, had held the position of *viator tribunicius*. Lastly, it is easier to understand how the plaque could be reused on side (b) for a dedication to Commodus, if the honorand was not an earlier member of the same imperial dynasty, indeed Commodus' father.

Department of Classics  
University of Toronto  
125, Queen's Park  
Toronto, Ontario M5S 2C7, Canada  
christer.bruun@utoronto.ca

Christer Bruun



ScO XI, C 115, with the two fragments spaced wider apart  
 (after the drawing in Marinucci, *Iscrizioni* [above n. 1], Tav. XV).  
 On the yardstick in the lower right-hand corner, 10 cm and 20 cm are indicated.