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Eagle-Bearer and Trumpeter

The eagle-standard and trumpets of the Roman legions illustrated by three tombstones recently found at Byzantion

Byzantion, midway station and seaport on the trunk road between Rome's European and Asian frontiers, was chosen capital of the empire because of its role as the strategic pivot in the defense of these frontiers. Yet until recently no material evidence from the first three centuries of our era had come to light to document this role. Three exceptionally large and richly carved tombstones (fig. 1-3), recently acquired by the Istanbul Archeological Museums, have now redressed the balance to some extent. Found in 1964 during excavations in the Beyazit (Forum Tauri) area outside the Severan walls, they were published with a short archeological commentary assigning them their just place as a special group among the funeral stelae of Byzantion¹.

The beautifully detailed reliefs of these stones will warrant a special study, for together with their inscriptions they inform us in a welcome way about the legionary recruitment and troop movements between Danube and Euphrates, and in particular they shed a unique light on the eagles and the trumpets of the Roman army. Their contribution in this respect is all the more valuable since tombstones, as a rule, are more reliable in significant detail than historical reliefs or coins, and since these monuments date from the time of Caracalla when historical reliefs fail us altogether.

Finally, these stones may vindicate for the Greek or 'Illyrian' tombstones their position as an outstanding source for the history of the dress and equipment of the Roman army. Indeed, the value of the military tombstones of the Rhine area

¹ N. Firatli, *Annexe au livre sur les stèles de Byzance gréco-romaine*. *Annu. Arch. Mus. of Istanbul* 13-14, 1966, 186 ff.; esp. nos. 257-259. In Firatli's main work, *Les stèles funéraires de Byzance gréco-romaine* (Paris 1964) there are no Roman military tombstones except, perhaps, the doubtful numbers 184; 189; 214; 218. By contrast, neighbouring Perinthos has furnished a fair number of such stones (see below). An example of a rearward army communications center is described by J. Keil, *Ephesus und der Etappendienst zwischen der Nord- und Ostfront des Imperium Romanum*. *Anz. Österr. Akad. Wiss. Phil.-Hist. Kl.* 1955, 159 ff.; cf. *AE* 1972, 595. - Of the stelae presented here I have studied the first two in the original. Information about the other I owe to the generosity of N. Firatli of the Archeological Museums of Istanbul.

for our knowledge of the Roman army in the first century A. D. is equalled by these eastern tombstones for the second and third centuries A. D.².

The Three Tombstones

1. The aquilifer-stele (fig. 1)

A marble slab 2.57 m. high, 0.98 m. broad and 0.18 to 0.12 m. thick, tapering somewhat towards the top, the stele is adorned with a pediment carrying palmettae on its right and left cornices, each with three big outward and one inward turned leaves. A disc adorns the tympan in a place where similar stones show a shield. Below, in a rectangular, 0.06 m. recessed field, a relief shows a bearded, mustached soldier in full frontal view, his head slightly turned to the right, his weight resting on his right leg. The man is wearing the camp dress of the third century A. D.: the long-sleeved tunic and the military belt (*cingulum*) with the ring-shaped buckle then in fashion. His coat (*sagum*), clasped with a large, round fibula on his right shoulder, is draped over the left shoulder and forearm, ending in the usual fringes. His shoes (*caligae*) are of the low type, reaching only to below the ankle without straps bound above. They seem to be closed shoes, bound along the upper side of the foot as indicated by two ridges, slowly opening towards the leg³.

In his right, outstretched arm the man holds a rectangular object, hardly a scroll (*rotulus*), because it is angular, but perhaps a folding tablet (*tabula cerata*) representing his will, or else a cloth (*mappa*) used in sacrifices⁴.

With his left hand the soldier holds an eagle-standard the shaft of which ends in a ram's head and seems to be fastened to a strap coming down from the man's left shoulder. On a rather high, square basis, suitable by its size and its specially smoothed surface to carry a painted inscription, there stands a massive eagle, the wings slightly lifted and the head turned to the left. Its beak is curved, its neck feathers are marked by thin, curved grooves. Heavier feathers on breast and legs give it a powerful, ferocious look. Strangely, the bird perches not in the center but towards the right edge of the basis, perhaps in order to balance the turn of its head.

The small, round shield on the ground to the left does not even reach to the knees of the soldier. Its raised buckle lacks a metal rim. The shield is painted dark red which, however, needs not be taken to be its actual color, for on two comparable reliefs from nearby Herakleia Pontika, now in the same museum⁵, red is used not

² It is to be hoped that the valuable 1969 Vienna dissertation by H. Ubl, *Waffen und Uniform des römischen Heeres der Prinzipatsepoche nach den Grabreliefs Noricums und Pannoniens* will soon be available to scholars in printed form. I would like to express my thanks to H. Ubl for his generous help both with the substance of this paper and with the plates.

³ For the different kinds of military shoes, especially closed ones, see A. L. Busch, *Die römischen Schuh- und Lederfunde der Kastelle Saalburg, Zugmantel und kleiner Feldberg*. Saalburg-Jahrb. 22, 1965, 158 ff. and plates 1-40.

⁴ For scrolls on funeral reliefs see now F. Brein, *Bücher auf Grabsteinen*. Röm. Österreich 1, 1973, 1 ff.

⁵ G. Mendel, *Catalogue des sculptures 3* (Istanbul 1914) nos. 891 and 892.



1 Tombstone of T. Flavius Surillio from Byzantion.
Archeological Museums Istanbul.

only for the shield but also for the eyes, the lips, the hem of the garments, etc: apparently that color simply was to provide contrast. No other traces of color are visible and should the basis for the eagle once have carried a painted inscription it has now altogether vanished.

The *aquilifer's* wavy, curled hair is all combed towards his forehead. His beard is given in fine curls. The eyes with their bored and circled pupils and the slightly drooping mouth give him a quiet, pensive dignity.

The inscription, beginning above the pediment and continuing below the relief, reads

d(is) m(anibus) / T(ito) Fl(avio) · Surillioni · aquilifero / leg(ionis) · II ·

*adi(utricis) · p(iae) · f(idelis) · militavit / annos XVIII vixit annos XXXX / posuit
Aur(elius) · Zanax · aqu/ilifer leg(ionis) eiusdem colle/g(a)e bene merenti.*

'To the spirits of the dead. For Titus Flavius Surillio, eagle-bearer of the second loyal faithful Adiutrix legion. He served 18 years and lived 40 years. Put up by Aurelius Zanax, eagle-bearer of the same legion, for his colleague'.

The text given here differs from its first publication in that Surillio's *praenomen*, written in a ligature 'F', is added; also the ending of the *cognomen* clearly is an I, not an E. Of palaeographical interest is the fact that the Z of Zanax has an upward hook at its beginning and a downward hook at its end, assimilating it to a lower case Greek zeta which shows that the stone mason was a Greek. On most lines one can still see the fine grooves along the upper and lower border of the letters that served as a layout for the inscription.

2. The bucinator-stele (fig. 2)

In many respects similar to the preceding one, this stele of Proconnesian marble, 2.40 m. high, 0.95 m. broad and 0.13 m. to 0.10 m. thick, also tapering somewhat towards the top, shows the same horizontal upper end, the same pediment with palmettae inscribed in a circular line with one shoot protruding, and the same disc in the tympan. The remarkable difference are the two pillars with 'Corinthian' capitals supporting the pediment and framing the 0.05 m. recessed field of the relief.

The soldier, standing in full frontal view, his head turned slightly to the left, his weight resting on his left leg, also wears the long-sleeved tunic held by the military belt with ring-buckle, but his cloak, fastened on his right shoulder by a small, round fibula, is spread open, covering his entire back down to the calves and it is not rimmed with fringes. Whether his shoes are open sandals or closed shoes cannot be seen, but they, too, end below the ankle. It is unfortunate that the bearded face was mutilated during the excavation, for to judge from the supple elegance with which the folds of his tunic are carved, his will have been a very fine face. The fact that his hair is picked and not given in curls shows rather convincingly that a stone mason different from that of the aquilifer-stele was at work here.

In his left hand the *bucinator* holds a long, straight trumpet with the lower part of the mouthpiece broken off. In his right hand he holds a *hasta*, the type of spear which by the third century A. D. had largely replaced the earlier, heavier *pilum*. The blade of the *hasta* is broken but one can still see that it had the shape of a rhomboid, not of a triangle. A long sword (*spatha*) with a pommel in the form of a half globe topped by a nipple hangs on a baldric (*balteus*) running from the man's right shoulder to high on his left side. The clasp on the sheath of the sword fastening it to the inside of the baldric is very long and sharply pointed⁶. According

⁶ Such clasps are collected and published by H. J. Hundt, *Eiserne römische Schwertriemenhalter*. Saalburg-Jahrb. 18, 1959-60, 52 ff.



2 Tombstone of Aurelius Surus from Byzantion.
Archeological Museums Istanbul.

to first century regulation only centurions and some standard-bearers had worn their swords on the left but this had changed by Severan times⁷ (fig. 3 and 4).

On the ground to the right stands a large oval shield reaching to the thighs of the soldier. That, apparently, was standard size to judge from the shield on the third stele discussed below. Oval shields had by this time almost universally replaced the earlier rectangular *scutum* of the legions.

To the left lies a helmet with a pointed front guard and an outward curving neck guard. The impression given by the photograph of an anatomically modelled visor

⁷ See e. g. G. Webster, *The Roman Imperial Army* (London 1969) 130 ff. For standard-bearers of the first century A. D. see e. g. A. v. Domaszewski, *Die Fahnen im römischen Heere*. Abhandl. Arch.-Epigr. Sem. Universität Wien, H. 5 (Wien 1885). Reprinted in: *Aufsätze zur römischen Heeresgeschichte* (Darmstadt 1972) 1 ff., fig. 4.

resembling the ceremonial parade helmets of the Roman cavalry is misleading: inspection of the stone itself reveals a standard legionary helmet with heavy cheek pieces, bulging out below the eyes and under the mouth to join around the chin. Between the cheek pieces a gaping hole shows the hollow space inside the helmet. It is the same type of helmet as the one shown below (fig. 5)⁸. The inscription below the relief reads

*d(is) m(anibus) / Aurel(io) ϕ Suro ϕ quoϕ / ndam ϕ bucinaϕ / tori ϕ leg(ionis)ϕ
 Ī ϕ ad(intricis) ϕ p(iae) f(idelis)ϕ / stip(endiorum) ϕ XVIII ϕ vixit a/nnis ϕ XL
 ϕ D ϕ F ϕ Suria ϕ / Sept(imius) ϕ Vibianusϕ heresϕ / et collega eiiusϕ / ϕ b(ene)
 m(erenti) ϕ f(aciendum) c(uravit)ϕ*

'To the spirits of the dead. For Aurelius Surus, ex-trumpeter of the first loyal and faithful adiutrix legion. He served 18 years, lived 40 years. From Syria (?). Septimius Vibianus his heir and colleague had this made for the well deserving'.

Line six reads *DF Suria*, not *DE Suria* as read in the first publication. The meaning of this abbreviation is hard to ascertain. Since stops are placed in the text intermittently, more in the beginning than towards the end, but always in meaningful places such as at the end of words and lines, the stop between the D and the F does not recommend the reading *de Suria* (with E for F), but the reading *d(e)f(unctus in) Suria* is also difficult to accept, for then why was this tombstone not put up in Syria or Pannonia? Since one would expect at this place the soldier's origin one may read the D for *d(omo)* and the F perhaps for *F(oenicia)*, i. e. the man hailed from Syria Phoenicia⁹. The first two letters of *heres* are written in ligature.

3. Stele of an unknown soldier (fig. 3)

Fragments of a third tombstone, also of Proconnesian marble, were found on the same spot. 1.20 m. high, 0.90 m. broad and 0.14 m. thick it resembles the stelae of the eagle-bearer and the *bucinator* in all important details: the horizontal upper end, the pediment crowned by three-leaved palmettae in a circle segment, the disc in the tympan, the pillars with 'Corinthian' capitals supporting the pediment and framing the sides of the recessed relief field.

Of the inscription nothing survives. An apparent M on the right pillar to which a D on the left pillar might have corresponded, producing the formula *dis manibus*, seems to be rather part of some palmettae.

The inscription further down, now lost, must have given the stele a total height of about 2½ meters, similar to that of the other two stelae: in Roman terms they would have measured ½ by 3 by 8 feet.

Like the eagle-bearer and the *bucinator*, the unknown soldier is also portrayed in full, frontal view. His head is turned slightly to the left. He wears the same long-sleeved tunic held by the military belt with ring buckle. His cloak, likewise fastened with a round fibula on his right shoulder, falls over his left arm and covers

⁸ Cf. H. Robinson, *The Armour of Imperial Rome* (London 1975). Presumably Robinson's 'Imperial Italic' type.

⁹ Cf. CIL VI 3216 (Rome): - - - *domo Thracia*.



3 Tombstone of an unknown soldier from Byzantion.
Archeological Museums Istanbul.

his back down to the calves, ending in fringes. The spear in his right, a thick *basta*, ends in a triangular blade on a metal tube which is set off from the wooden shaft. His sword, a *spatha* with a huge round pommel, its lower end broken off, hangs inside the baldric at the height of the belt, i. e. at a much lower point than that of the *bucinator* – in this it conforms more to other reliefs of third century soldiers. The oval shield with its strongly raised buckle is even larger than that of the *bucinator*. On the lower left, now broken away, a helmet may have been depicted. The relaxed but determined stance, the well proportioned facial features, the carefully groomed hair, beard and mustache, and the pensive eyes give this soldier like the eagle-bearer a noble, aristocratic look, eloquent testimony for the fact that the army by the third century A. D. had become the empire's leading social class.

Pannonian Legions on Expeditions to the Orient

1. The date of the tombstones: A. D. 214

The three monuments described not only were found on the same spot but resemble each other in so many details that they must belong together. Thus their structure, decoration and measurements are virtually identical: while the *aquilifer* stele is 0.17 m. taller, its rough socle is that much longer, so it will have been standing to exactly the same height above ground as the *bucinator* stele. The sides

and the back of the stelae are picked rough and an angular recess has been carved out along their upper and lower back ends which suggests that they had been fastened to some wall, conceivably to the same military tomb structure. Moreover, the two known soldiers come from neighbouring legions, *legio I adiutrix* being stationed at Brigetio (Szöny) in Lower Pannonia and *legio II adiutrix* being its downstream neighbour at Aquincum (Budapest) in the same province. The three stones, therefore, were erected at more or less the same time and at an occasion when Pannonian troops were staying at Byzantion.

The name of Septimius Vibianus, derived from that of the Emperor Septimius Severus, dates the stelae to a time after A. D. 193, with which the style of the reliefs accords perfectly.

An even more precise dating may be possible. The deceased trumpeter is of Syrian origin as is suggested not only by the words *d(omo?) F(oenicia?) Suria* but also by his name *Surus* which he will have obtained when enlisting in a non-Syrian unit. The second half of the second century A. D. being one of local recruitment, Syrians hardly joined Pannonian legions except when the latter came to the Orient. One such occasion was the revolt of Avidius Cassius in A. D. 175, and indeed 18 years later, in A. D. 193 a Danubian army was besieging Byzantion. Perhaps our eagle-bearer and trumpeter died during that prolonged siege. Two reasons, however, make this possibility less likely: first, Moesian rather than Pannonian troops besieged Byzantion, being closer to the scene¹⁰. Secondly, Septimius Vibianus who because of his name will not have been recruited before April 9 A. D. 193, the date of the accession of Septimius Severus, would hardly be made trumpeter while still a raw recruit, for it is known that *bucinatores* had to spend a certain time as apprentices – *discens bucinatorem*¹¹ – before they could take up that responsible function.

It seems more likely, therefore, that Aurelius Surus joined *legio I adiutrix* in Syria in A. D. 193–196 during the war against Pescennius Niger and his allies. If he enrolled in A. D. 196, he will have died – after 18 years of service – in A. D. 214, i. e. when Caracalla was wintering with a Danubian army on the Straights¹² and when parts of the *adiutrices* legions may have been quartered at Byzantion. Moreover, there are other Orientals recruited into the Danubian legions in A. D. 196.

2. Oriental recruits for the Pannonian legions in A. D. 196

Coming from Syria in A. D. 196 Septimius Severus with his victorious legions marched through Asia Minor to the Danube, proclaiming his son Caracalla *Caesar* at Viminacium in Moesia. Shortly thereafter, on his way to Pannonia, he must have

¹⁰ CIL VI 1450 = D. 2935: --- *duci exerciti Mysiaci apud Byzantium*. Cf. E. Ritterling, RE XII 1311 and 1398 s. v. Legio. A. Birley, Septimius Severus (London 1971) 172 ff. Also see G. Alföldy, *Fasti Hispanienses* (Wiesbaden 1969) 43 ff. on the *dux exercitus Illyrici Ti. Claudius Candidus* of CIL II 4114 = D. 1140, commanding the Pannonian armies.

¹¹ CIL VIII 18086 (Lambaesis): *d(i)s(cens) buc(inatorem)*, to be dated before A. D. 219, because the same man appears as *duplarius* on CIL VIII 2564.

¹² Ritterling *l. c.* (note 10) 1321.

reached Singidunum (Belgrade). There, oriental recruits dedicated an altar to his well-being, the correct text and explanation of which is due to H. Nesselhauf¹³. The inscription reads

I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) Cilices pro salute ddd(ominorum) nnn(ostorum) posuerunt [co]nt[i]rones [D]extro et Prisco co(n)s(ulibus).

The recruits from Cilicia may have put up the altar in Singidunum because they were to stay in that fortress as members of *legio IV Flavia*¹⁴. Whether they had joined a detachment of that legion already in Cilicia, or whether they had come as a special battalion of recruits¹⁵, their enrollment shows that Septimius Severus in A. D. 196 strengthened the Illyrian legions with oriental recruits to account for their losses in the many recent campaigns and transfers to the new praetorian guard.

The case of the *bucinator* Aurelius Surus, thus may parallel that of the Cilician recruits, and indeed the two *Adiutrix* legions apparently received a fair number of oriental recruits around this time. Some of them can be discerned from the indication of their origin, others from their oriental names¹⁶. The latter seems also to be the case of the eagle-bearer Flavius Surillio.

Surillio could be explained as a Celtic name but in other cases it definitely points to Syria¹⁷. It derives from the slightly deprecativ names given to people after their country of origin, such as *Gallio*, *Britannio*, *Germanio*, *Dacio*, *Afrio*, *Surio* diminutives of which are e. g. *Tuscillio*, *Maurilio*¹⁸, *Surillio*. Considering that Flavius Surillio served for 18 years, exactly as the *bucinator* Aurelius Surus and thus, like him, was recruited either in A. D. 175 or in 196, and considering further that A. D. 196 was a year when numbers of oriental recruits enrolled in the Illyrian legions, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that *Surillio* here denotes Syrian origin. The eagle-bearer, therefore, very likely belonged to the same wave of oriental recruits in the Illyrian legions as the *bucinator* Aurelius Surus. By contrast Septimius Vibianus bears a Celtic *cognomen* well-known in Pannonia¹⁹ and thus was locally recruited, whereas the name Zanax seems not to be known anywhere else, which leaves the ethnic origin of its bearer in the dark.

¹³ H. Nesselhauf, Zwei Inschriften aus Belgrad. *Živa Antika* 10, 1960, 190 ff.

¹⁴ Thus H. Nesselhauf *l. c.* (note 13).

¹⁵ For comparable cases see M. Speidel, A Thousand Thracian Recruits for Mauretania Tingitana. *Antiqu. Africanas* 11, 1977, forthcoming. For recruiting into detachments of legions on expeditions see e. g. G. Alföldy, Thrakische und illyrische Soldaten in den rheinischen Legionen. *Epigr. Stud.* 4 (Köln 1967) 26 ff.

¹⁶ *Legio I Adiutrix*: e. g. CIL III 11221 (Cilix); III 11030 (Iconium); III 15188.4 (Surus); AE 1967, 366 (Stratonice); AE 1972, 438 (Ancyra). – *Legio II Adiutrix*: CIL III 3301 (Hemesa); III 11076 (Hierapolis); III 10497 and 10499 (Ancyra); AE 1906, 108 (Aparamea, for the date see J. Fitz, Les Syriens à Intercisa [Brussels 1972] 13); AE 1971, 341 (Malchianus); AE 1971, 347 (Ancyra). See also L. Bar-kóczy, The Population of Pannonia from Marcus Aurelius to Diocletian. *Acta Arch. Hung.* 16, 1964, 257 ff.

¹⁷ A. Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* 1–3 (Leipzig 1894–1916) s. v.; but cf. CIL III 7693.

¹⁸ For these names see I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* (Helsinki 1965) index. Another T. Fl(avius) Surilio serving in A. D. 212 as *st(ator) praef(ecti) al(ae) I Cannanef(atium)* in Upper Pannonia may belong to the same group of recruits (AE 1972, 444).

¹⁹ E. g. CIL III 10458; 10517; 14348 to name but legionaries from Aquincum.

3. *Legio II adiutrix* – a mobile elite unit

Until A. D. 214 *legio II adiutrix* was the only legion in lower Pannonia and as such stood under the direct command of the provincial governor at Aquincum. Hence E. Ritterling rightly observed that until this time whenever the legion is found having a commander (*legatus*) of its own, it will have gone to war as a complete unit, not just with a detachment²⁰. This was demonstrably the case in the Parthian war of Lucius Verus and in the Marcoman war of Marcus Aurelius²¹. The entire legion was in Septimius Severus' second Parthian war until A. D. 202 if an inscription recently found at Aquincum is correctly restored reading - - - *L(ucius) Baeb(ius) Caecilianus, [le]g(atus) Augg(ustorum) pr(o) pr(aetore) [ob re]duc(tam) leg(ionem) II adi(utricem)*²². Now the presence of two of the legion's eagle-bearers at Byzantion in A. D. 193 or 214 gives positive proof that then, too, the whole unit had left Aquincum for the Orient²³.

At a time when it became more and more customary for legions not to leave their permanent camps but to send only selected detachments when troops were needed elsewhere²⁴, *legio II adiutrix* thus has an impressive record. One may ask, therefore, whether it was considered a special mobile elite unit, differing from other, more stationary legions, prefiguring, perhaps, the division of the later Roman army into field units and frontier units. Our new example of the absence of the entire legion from Aquincum in the Severan period tends to confirm that hypothesis and its as yet unproven corollary, that the neighbouring *legio IIII Flavia* of upper Moesia left so many documents at Aquincum because it functioned as a permanent reserve legion for the more mobile *II adiutrix*, filling in whenever the latter went abroad²⁵.

4. *Legio I adiutrix* at Perinthos

Very likely not the entire expeditionary forces of both *adiutrices* legions will have been placed for winter quarters into the one city of Byzantion, as this might place too great a strain on the citizens. Two monuments of *legio I adiutrix* found at Perinthos, the neighbouring capital of Thracia, may therefore belong to the same year A. D. 214. Since one of these has been found only recently and has been published rather insufficiently²⁶ – the legion was not recognized – it may be pre-

²⁰ E. Ritterling, RE XII 1452.

²¹ D. 8977; CIL III 13439.

²² M. Nemeth, Budapest Regisegei 24, 1976, forthcoming. – Various inscriptions show soldiers of this legion to have died abroad, cf. E. Ritterling, RE XII 1449. M. Mirkovic, Dva Nova Natpisa. Živa Antika 12, 1962, 319 ff.

²³ Cf. Dio 40, 18: ἀετὸς . . . οὐδαμῶσε ἐκ τῶν χειμαδίων, πλὴν εἴ ποι σύμπας ὁ στρατὸς ἔξιοι, κινεῖται. Thus there may be some truth in Herodian's words (2, 15, 5) τὸ τε Ἰλλυρικὸν στρατεύμα σὺν αὐτῷ πᾶν εἶχε and (3, 1, 1) ἄγων πάντα ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸ Ἰλλυρικὸν στρατόν.

²⁴ E. Ritterling, RE XII 1303 ff.; R. Saxer, Untersuchungen zu den Vexillationen des römischen Kaiserheeres von Augustus bis Diokletian. Epigr. Stud. 1 (Köln 1967) 124 ff.

²⁵ E. Ritterling, RE XII 1544 f. Á. Mócsy, Pannonia and Upper Moesia (London 1974) 99 and 183. *Legio IIII Flavia*, however, sent also detachments to the East under Septimius Severus, see Ritterling *l. c.* and AE 1948, 147.

²⁶ Z. Taşlikiöglü, Trakya 'da Epigrafya Araştırmaları 2 (Istanbul 1971) 108 f. and plates 76–77. Another



4 Tombstone of Iulius Firminianus from Perinthos.
Parc of Marmara Eriglizi.

sented here (fig. 4). A pediment stele with cornices, it shows in a recessed relief field a soldier standing in full frontal view, his weight resting on his left foot, his head turned slightly to the left. He wears the standard outfit of the time, the long-sleeved tunic held by the military belt with ring buckle, a coat clasped with a round fibula on his right shoulder and falling over his left shoulder and arm, spreading out behind his back and ending in fringes. In his left hand he holds a large oval shield with raised round buckle, in his right a *hasta* with a rhomboid blade. His shoes are open on top of the foot but are bound below the ankle. The sword with a round *Dosenortband* carries a second round decoration at the height of the belt. Even though the baldric is not shown crossing the sword one may assume that in reality it did so, as swords were fastened to the inside of the baldrics. The stubby proportions of the man and the uncouth facial features betray the difference between Perinthos and Byzantium: apparently at Perinthos there were only third rate artists available for tombstones. The inscription, still complete when the stone was found, but now partially lost, reads:

*D(is) m(anibus) / Iul(ius) Firminianus, mi(les) le(gionis) I adiut(ricis) / coh(ortis) VI
vixit annos XXX mi/l(itavit) annos VI posuerunt bene / merenti heredes Ael(ius)
Procu/lus Aelius Macrinus et Au/rel(ius) Iustus.*

text, published there p. 84 f. and recognized by W. Eck, *Die Claudische Kolonie Apri in Thrakien*. *Zeitschr. Papyrologie u. Epigr.* 16, 1975, 295 ff. as referring to a veteran of *legio II adiutrix*, does of course not relate to a campaign of that legion.

The editor had read *MIL ET Adiut(or)*, yet not only are there parallels for the unusual abbreviation *mi(les) le(gionis)*²⁷ but another tombstone, also from Perinthos, mentioning the same cohort of the same legion, removes all doubts about the correct reading:

*D(is) M(anibus) Aur(elius) Marcellus, mil(es) leg(ionis) I adiutri(cis) coh(ortis) VI S T v(ixit) ann(os) XXX, militavit ann(os) VI, Ael(ius) Iustinus et Aur(elius) Taurus et Sep(timius) Sabinianus heredes posuerunt benemerenti. M EX*²⁸.

It is highly unusual for legionaries to indicate the serial number of their cohort, therefore the fact that this is here done twice is indeed surprising. It may have to do with the selection of the men for this campaign – each cohort contributing a set number of men – and the detachment of the sixth cohort being in garrison at Perinthos over the winter. Nor may it be due entirely to chance that both men were in their sixth year of service, for when detachments were formed for a campaign or some other task at a distant place, it was customary to take soldiers from the same age group. Thus the men of *cohors XX Palmyrenorum* who escorted Elagabal to Rome had mostly served five years, while transfers from the *alae* to the *equites singulares Augusti* were mostly made after four to five years of service, etc. *Principales*, of course, might be older²⁹.

Again, the presence of a Septimius makes it less likely that the occasion of the detachment's stay at Perinthos was the war of 193 immediately after Septimius Severus' proclamation. The two monuments may therefore very well date to the same time as the Byzantion stones³⁰.

The Art of the Tombstones

1. Tombstones depicting standing infantrymen

The funeral stele showing a standing infantryman in full figure together with his weapons may have originated in sixth-century Athens as suggested by the grave-stone of Aristion in the National Museum in Athens. A hellenistic example, the painted stele of Salamodes from Sidon, now in the Archeological Museum in Istanbul, depicts such a soldier in full, frontal view under an ornamental pediment. By the time of Augustus this type of stela had migrated to northern Italy whence recruits for the Rhine army brought it to Germany. There, reliefs of soldiers in

²⁷ E. g. CIL III 12764.

²⁸ CIL III 7396. After the cohort the centuria seems to be indicated simply with the initial of the centurion. For the letter S to denote centuria in Perinthos see e. g. Mendel *l. c.* (note 5) 107, no. 890. The last three letters of the text are explained in the CIL as *m(onumentum) ex(ternum) [heredem non sequetur]*.

²⁹ Cf. Saxer *l. c.* (note 24). Speidel *l. c.* (note 39).

³⁰ Cf. E. Ritterling, RE XII 1398. A slightly later date can of course not be excluded, but CIL III 14207, 6, a tombstone of a soldier of *legio III Italica Antoniniana*, found in Perinthos and clearly dating to Caracalla's Parthian War, also suggests A. D. 214.

arms and armour flourished greatly, producing a first-class source about the Roman soldier during Julio-Claudian and Flavian times. In the wake of troop movements offshoots of this art came even to Britain and Pannonia, but by the end of the first century A. D. such reliefs had gone out of fashion in the western provinces of the empire³¹.

Fortunately, the Greek areas from Achaia to the Black Sea retained the custom to show the dead in full figure on tombstones and hence soldiers, too, continued to be thus depicted. (See fig. 4, 5, and 9.) Indeed, this 'oriental' type, characteristically showing the soldier in the camp-dress consisting of tunic, belt and coat, but without armour, began to spread again westward to Pannonia (fig. 5) and to Rome itself³².

To this tradition we owe the Byzantion tombstones. They stand out as by far the best of their kind, combining, as they do, Greek artistical skill with Roman emphasis on realistic detail. Belonging to the third century A. D. they constitute a very valuable source of information on the Roman army for a period when western reliefs of soldiers and even triumphal monuments are no longer available.

2. A Pannonian type of stelae?

No other pediment stelae with horizontal upper end are found among the more than 250 funeral stelae from Byzantion³³. They are also exceedingly rare in the neighbouring provinces: among the several thousand monuments of Thrace and Lower Moesia there are only five or six such stelae, none of them showing a standing figure³⁴. In Upper Moesia some pediment stelae with horizontal upper end are known, but they derive from Pannonian workshops and disappear at an early time³⁵. By contrast such stelae are well represented in Lower Pannonia, the home province of the two *Adiutrix* legions, and there they continue deep into the third century A. D.³⁶ Perhaps, then, the soldiers of these legions asked the Byzantion stone masons to provide them with stelae of a type familiar to them from back

³¹ A. Schober, *Die römischen Grabsteine von Noricum und Pannonien*. Sonderschr. Österr. Arch. Inst. Wien 10 (Wien 1923) 188 ff. P. Noelke, *Römische Infanteristengrabsteine der Rheinzone*. Das Rhein. Landesmuseum 6/1972, 85 ff. H. Gabelmann, *Die Typen der römischen Grabstelen am Rhein*. Bonner Jahrb. 172, 1972, 65 ff.

³² H. Hofmann, *Die römischen Militärgrabsteine der Donauländer* (Wien 1905) 68 ff. For monuments of the city of Rome see e. g. M. Durry, *Les cohortes prétoriennes* (Paris 1938) 250, pl. 10. The monuments of the *equites singulares Augusti* from Rome, if published, would provide excellent material for comparison.

³³ Firatli *l. c.* (note 1).

³⁴ IGBulg. 829; 1845; both with a relief of the Thracian rider; E. Kalinka, *Antike Denkmäler in Bulgarien*. Schr. Balkankommission, Antiqu. Abt. (Wien 1906) 410, without a figure. See also Taşliklioglu *l. c.* (note 26); M. Alexandrescu-Vianu, *Contributions à une classification des stèles funéraires de la Mésie inférieure*. *Dacia* 17, 1973, 217 ff., classifies this type ('type VIII', see also 'type IV') as distinctly 'Danubian', not Greek, and reflecting Danubian military influence.

³⁵ Á. Mócsy, *Gesellschaft und Romanisation in der römischen Provinz Moesia Superior* (Amsterdam 1970) 128; 136; 148; 102.

³⁶ Cf. L. Barkóczi, *Brigetio*. Diss. Pann. Ser. 2, 22 (Budapest 1944). The same details as on the Byzantion stelae are found on a number of the Brigetio stelae: palmettae on the corners, a disc in the center of the tympanon, the presence (or absence) of 'Corinthian' pillars, etc.



5 Tombstone of M. Aurelius Avitianus from Brigetio.
Hungarian National Museum Budapest.

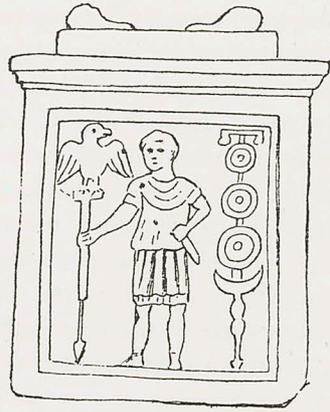
home. A similar process seems to have occurred at other cities of the area where Danubian troops spent some time during this period, thus at Perinthos³⁷ and Herakleia Pontika³⁸.

If so, we may observe here the process whereby the full-figure soldier relief of Greek tradition merged with the Pannonian pediment stele into a new type of tombstone which afterwards found its way back, together with the troops, to Pannonia where it is exemplified by the stele of M. Aurelius Avitianus from Brigetio (fig. 5)³⁹.

³⁷ Taşliklioğlu *l. c.* (note 26) 108 f. and plate 76. F. Kalinka, *Jahresh. Österr. Arch. Inst.* 1, 1898, Beibl. 116 f. Mendel *l. c.* (note 5) 544 no. 1336 (stele of Equester Paulus). There is, however, a civilian such stele, too: Kalinka *l. c.* no. 2.

³⁸ Mendel *l. c.* (note 5) 892 p. 109 (cf. no. 891). For the *adiutrices* legions in Pontus see E. Ritterling, *RE* XII 1399.

³⁹ Figure 5 = Barkóczi *l. c.* (note 36) VII 3. For another example see V. Hoffiler u. B. Saria, *Antike In-*



7 Tombstone of an eagle-bearer from Verona. Current location unknown.

6 Tombstone of Cn. Musius from Mainz. Mittelrheinisches Landesmuseum Mainz.

The Eagle-Standard

1. The eagle with lowered wings

The eagle carried by Surillio lifts its wings only very slightly – the tips still touch the basis on which he sits – and its neck is strongly bent to the left. In both these points it stands in direct contrast to most other legionary eagles with their wings raised straight up and their heads turned forward (e. g. fig. 6). Indeed, so uniform is this latter posture on tombstones, historical reliefs, and coins that it has been described as the fixed, standard type of the legionary eagle which by sympathetic magic created the good omen of Iuppiter's bird flying ahead of the legions⁴⁰.

schriften aus Jugoslawien 1 (Zagreb 1938) 10 with plate. For the definition to types of stelae see Gabelmann *l. c.* (note 31) 65 ff. A similar transmission of a stela type by troops is the bringing of the stela with the Thracian rider and the funeral banquet from the lower Danube to the city of Rome by the *equites singulares Augusti*, see M. Speidel, *Die Equites Singulares Augusti*. *Antiquitas* 1/11 (Bonn 1965) 78 ff.

⁴⁰ Domaszewski *l. c.* (note 7) 34; Josephus, *Jewish War* 3, 123; *Serv. Aen.* 9, 561; H. G. Horn, *Ein römischer Bronzeadler*. *Jahrb. RGZM* 19, 1972, 63 ff., esp. 69 ff., with extensive literature about eagles represented in Roman art.

There are, however, exceptions to this rule: scenes LXI and CVIII of Trajan's Column show legionary eagles with lowered wings from which already C. Cichorius concluded that they may belong to a particular legion⁴¹ – perhaps, we may now say, to *legio II adiutrix*. If so, this would be another example of the outstanding correctness in detail and narrative of Trajan's Column⁴². On a tombstone from Verona (fig. 7) there is a legionary eagle with lowered wings as well. Finally an eagle with nearly folded wings is found on the so called 'praetorian' relief now in the Louvre; because of the square basis on which it sits that bird should be taken for a legionary eagle as the eagles on Trajan's Column sit on such bases, and now, when compared with the eagle of *legio II adiutrix*, it appears even more decidedly legionary – together with the rest of the relief⁴³.

There is evidence that when eagles, once consecrated, suffered any damage they were not melted down or replaced but repaired again and again⁴⁴. Surillio's eagle thus is likely to be the same as the one made at the foundation of the unit in A. D. 69 and mentioned by Tacitus the year after: *illa primum acie, secundanos nova signa, novamque aquilam dicaturos*⁴⁵. Hence if there was a change in the style for legionary eagles it will have occurred between the time of the late Republic and A. D. 69. Rather than flying ahead to the offensive, the menacing posture of the bird – if any such thing may be read into it – might reflect the defensive spirit of Vespasian, crusher of rebellions and builder of *limites*. More likely, the legionary eagle was now given the shape in which it was most widely venerated and familiar to the artists: as the bird sitting next to statues of Iuppiter, turning its head towards the god, awaiting his command to fly off⁴⁶.

2. The decoration of eagle-standards and the emblems of *legio II adiutrix*

Of all known reliefs of legionary eagle-standards and eagle-bearers Surillio's is the latest in date, which adds to its significance. It is particularly important to see that even in this late period a legionary eagle is lacking all the crowns, discs, busts, *vexilla*, moon sickles, wreaths and ship's prows found on other military *signa*. It seems that while an eagle of the first century A. D. shows a wreath over its wings (fig. 6) and while Trajan's Column shows a wreath around the base on which an eagle sits, in general legionary eagles were decorated sparingly or not at all⁴⁷.

⁴¹ C. Cichorius, *Die Reliefs der Trajanssäule* 2. *Röm. Mitt.* 2 (Leipzig 1927) 193. See also *ibidem* 1, 34.

⁴² Cf. M. Speidel, *Die Schluß-Adlocutio der Trajanssäule*. *Röm. Mitt.* 78, 1971, 167 ff.

⁴³ Cf. Durry *l. c.* (note 32) 222. Mistakenly adduced again for praetorians by M. Grant, *The Army of the Caesars* (London 1974) fig. 3.

⁴⁴ Thus the eagle from Perrich as described by Horn *l. c.* (note 40). By comparison with the eagle of *legio II adiutrix* the Perrich eagle seems now more likely to have been part of a Roman standard, although a convincing decision as to its function is unlikely ever to be reached.

⁴⁵ Tacitus, *Histories* 5, 16.

⁴⁶ Horn *ibidem*.

⁴⁷ Domaszewski *l. c.* (note 7) 34 recognizes also a mural crown around an eagle's wing on Trajan's Column, Scene IV. Coins show frequently decorated eagle-standards but there is no knowing how reliable they are. G. Veith in: J. Kromayer u. G. Veith, *Heerwesen und Kriegführung der Griechen und*

Perhaps one should infer from this that decorated eagle-standards are rather praetorian or legionary *signa* than *aquilae legionis*, e. g. the ones near the base of the Arch of Constantine or on a relief from San Marcello, Rome⁴⁸.

Contrary to our expectations⁴⁹, there are two emblems on the shaft of the eagle of *legio II adiutrix*, one just below the base on which the bird sits, and one on the bottom end. The one above is an animal's head, but whether lion, bull, or boar cannot be made out. Coins of Gallienus show the boar as an emblem of *legio II adiutrix* which has been declared a mistake⁵⁰, – perhaps the mistake was only in the mind of the beholder. The animal head below clearly is a ram's head and the ram thus is to be added to the known emblems of *legio II adiutrix*, the Pegasus and the boar; there is nothing surprising in this as many legions had several emblems⁵¹.

3. The unique standard holder

Surprising and unknown from any other monument is the standard holder in which Surillio's eagle rests. One may at first doubt whether it is indeed a standard holder and whether the strap coming down from Surillio's left shoulder is not rather a misrepresented sword. That, however, seems to be excluded for several reasons. First, it comes down Surillio's side from the n e a r shoulder as no Roman sword does. Secondly, it shows neither hilt nor point and reaches straight to the tip of the standard. Thirdly, Surillio does not clasp the standard in the way necessary to hold it up (compare fig. 8). He just lays his hand on it so as to hold it in place: clearly it is held up by the strap. Possibly, the ram's head at the bottom of the shaft was a metal cup fastened to the strap in order to receive the shaft, but it could equally well be fastened to the standard and the whole standard somehow be hooked into the strap.

The standard holder allows Surillio to keep his eagle upright with just the left hand. On all other known tombstones of eagle-bearers (see fig. 6 and 7) and of most other standard-bearers as well, the men hold their standards with the right hand, which may be an artistic convention adopted from the portrayal of soldiers holding their spears in the right hand. On the march and in camp the standards apparently could be carried in any fashion. Historical reliefs depicting such scenes show standards held on the right side, in front, or on the left side of the bearers, mostly with both hands (fig. 8), yet occasionally also with only the left or the right hand. This may be so for artistic reasons but also because of the absence of any regulation preventing the bearers to shift their heavy burden from time to time.

Römer (München 1928) 403 goes so far as to exclude the eagle on the cuirass of the statue from Prima Porta from the legionary eagles because it is decorated with three discs.

⁴⁸ The former are considered praetorian by Durry *l. c.* (note 32); contra: Webster *l. c.* (note 7) 137. H. P. L'Orange, *Der spätantike Bildschmuck des Konstantinsbogens* (Berlin 1939) 116 may be right to see in them the signa of the new guard units in *sacro comitatu* that had perhaps adopted the *imagines* of the praetorian standards. For the relief from San Marcello see Webster *l. c.* (note 7) 80, plate 10 and p. 139. Spread-eagled wings and ship's prow point to a praetorian *signum*, but then the absence of an *imago* would be surprising against the theory of Domaszewski *l. c.* (note 7) 56 ff. and Durry *l. c.* (note 32) 197 ff.

⁴⁹ See Veith *l. c.* (note 47).

⁵⁰ Domaszewski *l. c.* (note 7) 56 followed by E. Ritterling, RE XII 1374.

⁵¹ E. Ritterling, RE XII 1373, contra Domaszewski *l. c.* (note 7) 56.

The fact that such a standard-holder is known from no other Roman relief may be due to its late invention and to the dearth of realistic reliefs made in the later third and fourth centuries. The invention must have been quite welcome, still being used as it is in modern armies. It alleviated the heavy burden of the standards which was such that when speed was of the essence they had to be loaded onto carts against all decency and regulation⁵². Moreover, the standard holder was a militarily sound device, for it freed the right hand of the bearer, allowing him to defend or protect himself in the thick of battle while moving the eagle. One wonders indeed why the device was not adopted already much earlier, for the formerly long shafts of the standards with points to stick them into the ground (fig. 6), even with bars at right angles below to sink them in, and with handles to pull them out again, had given way already on Trajan's Column and on the Adamklissi monument to short, mostly unpointed shafts (fig. 8), lending themselves to just such holders. Perhaps these short shafts were supplemented with a special point when they were to be stuck into the ground, that, at least, seems possible to judge from the Veronese tombstone (fig. 7) where the wooden shaft has an added long, metal point. A detachable point would also reconcile the short, unpointed shafts with Cassius Dio's statement a hundred years later: 'There is a small shrine, and in this there is an eagle of gold. Every legion on the army list has an eagle, and it never leaves the winter quarters unless the entire legion sets out. It is mounted on a large pole, which is tapered to a sharp point so that it may be fixed firmly in the ground, and it is carried by one man'⁵³.

4. The function of the eagle and the equipment of its bearer

Whether the eagle-bearer had a regular tactical function in battle, e. g. to indicate the position of the legionary commander for messengers, is disputed⁵⁴. Yet since the preservation of the eagle symbolized the legion's honor on the battlefield so much so that its loss to the enemy could entail the disgraceful disbandment of the entire unit⁵⁵, it certainly had a high tactical value. Thus the movement of the eagle into the enemy ranks could induce a legion to follow it regardless of the danger⁵⁶, and determined efforts would be made to prevent, or make good, the loss of the

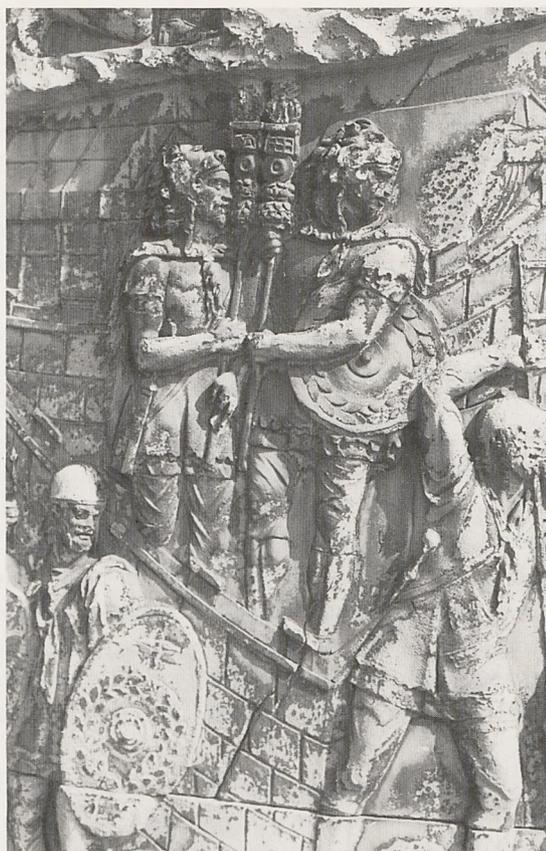
⁵² Suetonius, Caligula 43: *Iter - - - confecitque modo tam festinanter et rapide ut praetorianae cohortes contra morem signa iumentis imponere et ita subsequi cogentur*. Cf. Domaszewski *l. c.* (note 7) 50.

⁵³ Dio 40, 18. For the custom of sticking the eagles into the ground see also Val. Max. 1, 6, 11 *aquilarum altera vix convelli a primo pilo potuit, altera aegerrime extracta* . . . Lucan 1, 339 *deponere*. Florus 1, 22, 14 *aquilae prodire nolentes*.

⁵⁴ A. v. Domaszewski, RE II s. v. Aquila 317 f. D.'s argument that the staff of the commander is mounted, the eagle-bearer not, is not all too convincing. The fact that Cic. Phil. 14 a general himself could carry the eagle speaks for the notion. (Suetonius, Augustus 10.)

⁵⁵ See e. g. G. R. Watson, *The Roman Soldier* (London 1969) 128 f. H. M. D. Parker, *The Roman Legions* (Oxford 1928) 10, may be right that the decision whether or not a legion was disbanded after the loss of its eagle was a matter of expediency.

⁵⁶ E. g. Caesar, *Galic War* 4, 25: *qui decimae legionis aquilam ferebat, obtestatus deos ut ea res legioni feliciter eveniret, 'desilite' inquit 'commilitones', nisi vultis aquilam hostibus prodere*. But see W. Kubitschek, RE IIA, 2341 s. v. Signa.



8 Standard-bearers. Trajan's Column, scene CXII.

standard⁵⁷. That eagles were indeed carried right into the thick of battle is clear from the fact that eagle-bearers are known to have fallen in battles that were won⁵⁸.

The same is born out by their equipment. Figure 6 shows how eagle-bearers were armed and armoured in the early first century A. D. with sword (broken off), shield, and cuirass. To offset the heavy weight of the standard, however, they soon tended to wear lighter cuirasses: scenes XXVI and CVIII of Trajan's Column depict eagle-bearers in the light 'auxiliary' cuirass instead of the heavy legionary strip armor. Vegetius (2, 16) reports '*omnes antesignani vel signiferi, quamvis pedites, loricas minores accipiant et galeas ad terrorem hostium ursinis pellibus tectas*', and he is born out by the *lustratio* panel of Marcus Aurelius from the Arch of Constantine which shows an eagle-bearer wearing the bear-pelt over his head⁵⁹.

⁵⁷ Tacitus, *Histories* 2, 43. Legionary eagles in battle are shown on metopes 11 and 12 of the Adamklissi monument. (F. Florescu, *Das Siegesdenkmal von Adamklissi* [Bonn 1965]).

⁵⁸ E. g. Suetonius, *Augustus* 10 = *Florus*, 2, 15, 5. Cf. Tacitus, *Histories* 3, 22.

⁵⁹ I. S. Ryberg, *Panel Reliefs of Marcus Aurelius* (New York 1967) plate 27. The tombstone of Pintaius from Bonn (Domaszewski *l. c.* [note 7] 72, fig. 86) shows the helmet under the pelt.

It cannot be deduced from our relief that by the third century A. D. eagle-bearers had shed the cuirass and the helmet altogether, for all three Byzantion stones depict soldiers in the camp dress, i. e. without cuirasses, after the fashion of third-century tombstones, even though cuirasses were still worn at the time as is clear from a similar relief on which the sword and cuirass of a soldier are shown amongst the requisites at his side⁶⁰. By the fourth century, however, Vegetius (1, 20) has to combat a tendency of standard-bearers to go unarmoured into battle: *Quid ipsi draconarii atque signiferi, qui sinistra manu hastas gubernant, in proelio facient, quorum et capita nuda constant et pectora?*

Such a tendency was particularly lethal for standard bearers, since their shields had been made smaller and lighter by Trajan's time; in a scene on Trajan's Column (fig. 8) two *signiferi* are seen, one of them carrying a small, round shield under his arm, slung on a strap from his shoulder⁶¹. Surillio's small, round shield, not even reaching to his knees, now establishes the continuity of this usage of lighter equipment for standard bearers into the third century A. D. and at the same time confirms the detailed accuracy of the relief as well as that of Trajan's Column. Moreover, it explains Vegetius' worry (1,20) that bowmen and standard-bearers were particularly endangered when without helmet and cuirass: the former because they could not hold any shield at all, the latter because in battle they had to handle both, shield and standard at the same time with the left arm⁶². Obviously, it was for this reason that their shields were smaller and lighter and that the standard-holder was introduced.

The eagles as the symbols of the legions, *Romanae aves, propria legionum numina*, had a chapel of their own (*aedes aquilae*) in the legionary camp where watch was kept⁶³. Worshipped as godheads, they were the subject of special rites when anointed on festive days⁶⁴. During the march they were carried at the head of the legions⁶⁵. Eagle-bearers thus had a central role in the spiritual life of the legions which, together with their role on the battle-field, invested their position with high status⁶⁶. They commanded the respect of their comrades so much that after retire-

⁶⁰ Jahrb. DAI 48, 1933, 116, fig. 1.

⁶¹ See also the relief of the Salona-signifer: Hofmann *l. c.* (note 32) 73; cf. CIL XIII 5980. Photo RGA II Taf. 40 c.

⁶² For a soldier handling both, shield and standard with his left arm while fighting with the right see the tombstone of Q. Carminius Ingenuus from Worms (CIL XIII 6233 = Domaszewski *l. c.* [note 7] fig. 88); cf. CIL XIII 5980.

⁶³ Tacitus, Annals 2, 17; cf. Dio 40, 18, quoted above; Lact. inst. 1, 11, 19: *legionem, cuius insigne aquila est*; Vegetius 2, 6: *totius legionis insigne aquila*. – *Aedes*: P. Mich. 455 a verso (= Fink, Records 53, b) 15. For this papyrus see now R. W. Davies, A Report of an Attempted Coup. Aegyptus 54, 1974, 179 ff. Domaszewski, Religion (below, note 66) 11. – Watch: PSI XIII 1307 = Fink, Records 51.

⁶⁴ Suetonius, Caligula 14: *aquilas et signa Romana . . . adoravit*; Sil. 6, 37: *aquilae . . . adorans effigiem*. CIL III 7591: *dis militaribus Genio, Virtuti, Aquilae sanc (tae) . . .*; AE 1935, 98. Plinius, nat., 13, 23: *aquilae ac signa . . . unguuntur festis diebus*. For the worship of the eagles see now P. Herz, Honos Aquilae. Zeitschr. Papyrologie u. Epigr. 17, 1975, 181 ff.; Webster *l. c.* (note 48) 134 f.

⁶⁵ Tacitus, Histories 2, 89. Trajan's Column, Scenes IV; LI; XLVIII; LXI, etc. Josephus, Bellum Judaicum 3, 123 etc.

⁶⁶ There is no evidence that the *aquilifer* also administered the legionary savings bank, as suggested by A. v. Domaszewski, Die Religion des römischen Heeres. Westdt. Zeitschr. Gesch. u. Kunst 14, 1895, 1 ff., esp. 15 f. (reprinted in: A. v. Domaszewski, Aufsätze zur römischen Heeresgeschichte [Darmstadt 1972]); see below on the *discens aquiliferum*.

ment they could be entrusted with the care of their fellow-veterans (see below) and indeed they came to represent the rank-and-file in such decisions where the feelings of the common man were decisive. When the fourth legion at Mogontiacum threw off their allegiance to Galba, they sent an eagle-bearer as their representative to Cologne to report the rebellion to Vitellius and to induce him to take the purple⁶⁷. Conversely, they could, with the very eagles, express or sway the feelings of their comrades: when Furius Camillus Scribonianus rebelled against Claudius, somehow the eagles could not be adorned for the march nor the *signa* pulled up out of the ground, an omen so bad that the legions refused to march and the rebellion collapsed⁶⁸.

5. Career, rank and number of the eagle-bearers

Considering their function, the career and rank of the eagle-bearers holds a great interest. To elucidate them, the cases known from inscriptions are set forth as follows⁶⁹:

Eagle-Bearers

Source	Name	Legion	Date	Earlier Positions	Years of Service	Later Positions
1. CIL V 2495 (Ateste)	C. Aebutius Rufus	<i>XI</i>				veteran (?)
2. CIL VIII 2782 (Lambaesis)	P. Aelius Hermias	<i>III Aug.</i>				
3. CIL VIII 2568 and 2796 (Lambaesis)	C. Aemilius Demetrianus	<i>III Aug.</i>		<i>discens signiferum; (signifer)</i>	c. 12	died as eagle-bearer, lived 32 yrs.
4. IGLSyr. 2796 = D. 2900 (Heliopolis)	M. Alfius Olympiacus	<i>XV Apol.</i>	c. A. D. 73			
5. CIL III 4231 (Scarbantia)	Aur. Cupitus	<i>I Adi.</i>				veteran
6. CIL VIII 18086 (Lambaesis)	L. Aur. Primus		before A. D. 219			
7. CIL V 899 = D. 2343 (Aquilaia)	M. Aur. Sosius	<i>IIII F. F.</i>				veteran
8. our no. 1 (Byzantion)	Aur. Zanax	<i>II Adi.</i>	A. D. 213			

⁶⁷ Tacitus, Histories, 1, 56: *aquilifer quartae legionis epulanti Vitellio nuntiat quartam et duoetvicesimam legiones, proiectis Galbae imaginibus, in senatus ac populi Romani verba iurasse*. See also Annals 1, 48: *aquiliferis signiferisque, et quod maxime castrorum sincerum erat*, etc.; Domaszewski, Religion (note 66) 96.

⁶⁸ Suetonius, Claudius 13.

⁶⁹ Rejected from this list as not reliable evidence are CIL VIII 18302 = 2988; XIII 1663; and AE 1967, 385 which, not being a *cursus*, certainly does not refer to an *aquilifer's* career.

Source	Name	Legion	Date	Earlier Positions	Years of Service	Later Positions
9. Pais, 514 (Ateste)	Mu. Caesius	<i>III Maced.</i>				veteran
10. CIL III 14995 (Burnum)	P. Carsidius Calvus	<i>III F. F.</i>			18	died as eagle-bearer
11. CIL XIII 6888 (Mogontiacum)	P. Cassius	<i>XIII Gem.</i>				
12. CIL III 6457 (Aquincum)	T. Claudius Martinus	<i>II Adi.</i>				
13. CIL VIII 2794 (Lambaesis)	P. Elius Vitalis	<i>III Aug.</i>				veteran? lived 45 yrs.
14. CIL XIII 6646 (Aschaffenburg)	P. Ferrasius Avitus	<i>I Adi.</i>	A. D. 191			centurion of legion VIII Aug.
15. CIL VIII 2868 (Lambaesis)	Flavius Ceprius	<i>VIII Aug.</i>				veteran? lived 50 yrs.
16. CIL II 266 (Olisipo)	Flavius Quadratus	<i>II</i>				veteran? returned home
17. our no. 1 (Byzantion)	T. Fl. Surillio	<i>II Adi.</i>	A. D. 213		18	died as eagle-bearer
18. CIL VIII 2904 = D. 2315 (Lambaesis)	Iulius Livianus	<i>III Aug.</i>	c. 222 –235			veteran
19. CIL III 5816 (Aug. Vindel.)	Iulius Clemens	<i>III Ital.</i>				
20. CIL VIII 2928 (Lambaesis)	Iunius Venustus	<i>III Aug.</i>			c. 10	died as eagle-bearer, lived 30 yrs.
21. CIL XIII 6901 = D. 2341 (Mogontiacum)	Cn. Musius	<i>XIII G.</i>	before A. D. 41		15	died as eagle-bearer
22. CIL XII 2234 = D. 2342 (Gratianopolis)	Sex. Sammius Severus		A. D. 50		1–13 ⁷⁰	centurion of legion I Germ.
23. CIL V 3375 = D. 2339 (Verona)	L. Sertorius Firmus	<i>XI Cl.</i>		<i>signifer?</i>		veteran, <i>curator</i> <i>veteranorum</i>
24. CIL V 5832 = D. 2338 (Mediolanum)	P. Tutillius	<i>V</i>	A. D. 29	<i>signifer?</i>		veteran, <i>curator</i> <i>veteranorum</i>
25. AE 1937, 97 (Novae)	C. Tullius Apollinaris	<i>I Ital.</i>				

⁷⁰ A different interpretation of Sammius Severus' career is given by R. Cagnat, *L'armée romaine d'Afrique 2* (Paris 1913) 186, no. 6, based on a very unreliable reading.

Source	Name	Legion	Date	Earlier Positions	Years of Service	Later Positions
26. CIL VIII 2568 and 2988 = D. 2344 (Lambaesis)	L. Tullius Felix	<i>III Aug.</i>		<i>discens aquili- ferum</i>	c. 5	died as <i>disc. aq.</i> , lived 25 yrs.
27. CIL VIII 2991 (Lambaesis)	P. Valerius Felix	<i>III Aug.</i>				veteran? lived 50 yrs.
28. CIL IX 5527 = D. 2340 (Firmum)	C. Vettius Tuscus	<i>IIII Mac.</i>				veteran? returned home?
29. CIL III 15005, 1 (Burnum)	L. Virius Verus	<i>XI Cl.</i>	A. D. 42 to 69		c. 22	died as eagle- bearer
30. CIL VIII 18311 (Lambaesis)	---iu-- Maximus	<i>III Aug.</i>			c. 15	died as eagle- bearer, lived 34 yrs.
31. CIL VIII 18085 (Lambaesis)	---itus	<i>III Aug.</i>				
32. CIL III 6180, 3, 2 (Troesmis)	----c	<i>V Mac.</i>				veteran
33. CIL XIII 6952 (Mogontiacum)		<i>XXX Ulp.</i>	2nd-3rd century A. D.			centurion of legion XIIIIG, served 45 yrs.

Surillio's 18 years of service might be taken as confirmation of the suggestion that eagle-bearers tended to be men nearing the end of their service⁷¹. Yet the evidence as set out above does not really support this. For not only is there the case of the man who was made *aquilifer* during his first year of service and that of a *discens aquiliferum* with five years of service⁷², but the list of known or inferred *stipendia*, i. e., 5, 10, 12, 15, 15, 18, 18, 22, gives only the years of service at death and must be plotted against a steeply rising mortality curve. In other words, since older men die more frequently, the years of service listed here are not representative of the average age of eagle-bearers, which will have been considerably lower. The same applies *a fortiori* to the numerous veterans. The factors at work when it came to promotions in the Roman army included not only seniority and demonstrated ability but also to a high degree bribes and special relations with influential men, resulting in often confusing and erratic promotions⁷³. Indeed, the most important insight to be gained from the above list is that it was possible to become eagle-bearer with less than one year of service.

⁷¹ G. R. Watson, *The Roman Soldier* (London 1969) 86.

⁷² Sex. Sammius Severus: CIL XII 2234 (= D. 2343); L. Tullius Felix: CIL VIII 2568 and 2988 (= D. 2344). The latter case is not doubtful as D. Breeze, *The Organization of the Legion*. *Journal Rom. Stud.* 59, 1969, 50 ff., esp. 53 suggests, for the title is spelled out in full on CIL VIII 2988.

⁷³ For promotions of NCO's see now D. Breeze, *The Organization of the Career Structure of the Immunes and Principales of the Roman Army*. *Bonner Jahrb.* 174, 1974, 245 ff.

While Sammius Severus was very likely made eagle-bearer directly from the position of a private, four other men had apparently held the position of *signiferi* before their promotion to eagle-bearers⁷⁴. Obviously, legionary standard bearer was a good preparation for becoming eagle-bearer. When the career structure of the imperial army had reached its highest level of sophistication, a special rank, *discens aquiliferum* provided a yet more specialized training and an unambiguous career tract⁷⁵. Surprisingly, no other positions are known to have been held by eagle-bearers before their appointment. This may be due simply to a gap in our knowledge; alternatively, it could mean that the position of *aquilifer* was reached early in the career of a man and then retained for the better part of his stay with the army, as in the case of Sammius Severus. The large number of veterans in the above list – thirteen out of 33 – is of course due to the fact that almost all of the inscriptions cited are from tombstones, yet it still shows that a good number of eagle-bearers retained their position up to retirement. Some, however – three on our list – moved on directly to the legionary centurionate, Sammius Severus after 13 years as *aquilifer*. That indicates a high rank for the position of eagle-bearer, yet it does not in itself justify to describe him as the highest ranking non-commissioned officer in the legion⁷⁶, for access to the centurionate was possible from a variety of posts⁷⁷. Still, a claim for greater seniority of the eagle-bearer may be based on the above mentioned incident during the rebellion of the German armies in A. D. 69, where the *aquilifer* obviously represented the rank and file, and on the *cura veteranorum*, for as centurions did not retire with the men, eagle-bearers may have been entrusted with the leadership of the group as the highest ranking amongst the veterans of their year.

Perhaps the fact that Aurelius Zanax who erected Surillio's tombstone calls him *collega* and was eagle-bearer of the same legion means that both men were eagle-bearers at the same time, for it seems difficult to imagine that one would call his predecessor *collega*. That a legion had several eagle-bearers at one and the same time is known only from the unreliable *vita Aureliani* in the Augustan History (31,7): *aquiliferi legionis tertiae* but it is likely enough in itself, for in war as well as in peace, turns must have been taken in carrying and in guarding the eagle, presumably not just by *discentes aquiliferum*. A very similar text mentions two *imaginiferi* in an auxiliary cohort, and a papyrus from Dura Europos shows four *vexillarii* in the same squadron⁷⁸: clearly, Roman standards were in the care of several stan-

⁷⁴ Our numbers 3, 23 and 24, and the soldier of the tombstone from Verona, fig. 1. There is a possibility that the expression *signifer aquilifer* of numbers 23 and 24 is a fuller terminology for *aquilifer* rather than the description of a career, cf. Thes. Linguae Latinae s. v. aquila, 372, 34 ff., yet our number 3 points rather to promotions in those cases as well.

⁷⁵ Domaszewski *l. c.* (note 66) assumed the *discens aquiliferum* had to learn bookkeeping for the regimental savings bank, but hardly all *discentes* would learn to read and write and to keep books, thus e. g. the *discens equitum* D. 2333.

⁷⁶ Veith *l. c.* (note 47) 516. Watson *l. c.* (note 71) 86. Breeze *l. c.* (note 73) 278. – Vegetius 2, 7 cannot be taken for listing the NCO's in order of rank, for he lists e. g. the *imaginifer* above the *signifer*, while D. 9107 puts him below that rank.

⁷⁷ Breeze *l. c.* (note 73) 271 f.

⁷⁸ CIL III 3256. P. Dura 100, XXIII 12 (= Fink, Records, no. 1); cf. Speidel *l. c.* (note 39) 39. See also Polybios 6, 24, 6: two *signiferi* for each maniple.

dard-bearers each, not the least the eagle, being made out of gold as it was⁷⁹ and of such a high religious, ideological and tactical value.

The Bucina-Trumpet

1. A straight trumpet. Vegetius' text restored

Nowhere on the many monuments of the Roman army has an identifiable *bucina* been found yet⁸⁰. This makes the tombstone of Aurelius Surus truly unique, for since he is qualified by the inscription as *bucinator*, there is no doubt that the instrument he holds in his left hand is a *bucina*. Indeed, since it is the characteristic attribute of the deceased, the instrument shown on the stone will be particularly accurate. We learn, therefore, for the first time, that the military *bucina* was a brass instrument with a long straight tube⁸¹.

Vegetius in his fourth-century *Epitoma Rei Militaris* seems to give an account of the *bucina* that would conflict with the evidence of Surus' tombstone. In a much-quoted passage (3, 5) he describes the signals given in the Roman army as vocal, semivocal, and mute. The text has been printed as follows:

*Semivocalia sunt quae per tubam aut cornu aut bucinam dantur; tuba quae directae est appellatur; bucina quae in semet aereo circulo flectitur; cornu quod ex uris agrestibus, argento nexum, temperatum arte spirituque canentis flatus emittit auditum*⁸².

'Semivocal signals are those given by the *tuba*, by the *cornu*, or by the *bucina*. The straight trumpet is called *tuba*, *bucina* the one that curves in a brass circle, *cornu* the one that is made from the horns of wild buffaloes, joined with silver and emitting audible winds under the skillful breath of its blower'.

It has long been seen that the horn here described is an archaic instrument, for the horns used by the Roman imperial army were made of brass, not of horn and silver⁸³. It was assumed, therefore, that Vegetius here made a mistake. Do we now have to assume that Vegetius committed yet another error when he called the *bucina* 'curving in a brass circle'? Not so, as a look at the *variae lectiones* will tell.

⁷⁹ Dio 40, 18. More cautious: W. Kubitschek, RE II A, 2340 s. v. Signa.

⁸⁰ Cf. A. v. Domaszewski, RE III 986 s. v. Bucina. Contra: F. Behn, Die Musik im römischen Heere. Mainzer Zeitschr. 7, 1912, 36 ff.; F. Behn, Musikleben im Altertum und frühen Mittelalter (Stuttgart 1954) esp. 140 f.; G. Wille, Musica Romana (Amsterdam 1967) 82; M. Klar, Musikinstrumente der Römerzeit, Bonner Jahrb. 171, 1971, 301 ff.

⁸¹ The non-military *bucina* was apparently a shell-trumpet: Ch. Daremberg u. E. Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités II (Paris 1887) 752 f. s. v. Bucina (E. Saglio). A tombstone from Köln (Inv. Nr. 30576) shows that even the *bucina* blown by a Tritone could be straight, see Klar (previous note) 322 f. with fig. 16.

⁸² Carolus Lang, Flavi Vegeti Renati Epitoma Rei Militaris (Leipzig 1885). This reading was accepted by Domaszewski, Behn, Wille, Klar (note 80), also Thes. Linguae Latinae s. v. bucina. 2231, 55 f.; B. Janda, Blechblasinstrumente des römischen Heeres. Listy Filologicke 96, 1973, 217 ff. Der Kleine Pauly (Stuttgart 1964) 962 s. v. Bucina (A. Neumann). F. Bömer, P. Ovidius Naso, Metamorphosen. Kommentar, Buch I-III (Heidelberg 1969) 52; etc.

⁸³ Behn, Wille ll. cc. (note 80).

The outstanding tenth-century *Codex Palatinus* 909 preserves the original punctuation when it reads⁸⁴:

Semivocalia sunt quae per tubam aut cornu aut bucinam dantur; tuba quae directa est appellatur bucina; quae in semet aereo circulo flectitur (appellatur) cornu quod ex uris agrestibus argento nexum temperatum arte spirituque canentis flatus emittit auditum.

'Semivocal signals are those given by the *tuba*, by the *cornu*, or by the *bucina*. The straight trumpet is called *bucina*. The trumpet that curves in a brass circle (is called) *cornu*, because (when) made from the horns of wild buffaloes, joined with silver, it gives audible winds under the skillful breath of its blower'.

The new reading not only agrees with Aurelius Surus' gravestone in depicting the *bucina* as a straight trumpet, it also explains why Vegetius here adduces an archaic *cornu*, namely to show why a brass instrument is called 'horn'⁸⁵. Hence, the word *tuba* in the second line of the above text does not denote a specific instrument, but brass instruments in general, a well-known usage of the word⁸⁶. The presence of the word *tuba* in that sense, however, made a description of the *tuba* proper (mentioned in the first line) rather difficult which may be why Vegetius, or his copiers, omitted it.

Confirmation of our reading, if needed, comes from another passage of Vegetius (2, 7) where he calls not the *bucina*, but the horn *aes curvum*:

Tubicines, cornicines et bucinatores qui tuba vel aere curvo vel bucina committere proelium solent.

Similarly, Ovid and Juvenal use the expression *aes directum* and *aes rectum* for straight trumpets in contrast with *aes flexum* for the *cornu* – obviously these were standard phrases⁸⁷. Hence, the *bucina* was according to Vegetius, too, a straight, not a curved trumpet. The evidence of Aurelius Surus' tombstone confirms Vegetius and Vegetius confirms the detailed accuracy of the tombstone relief.

2. *Tuba* and *bucina*

The passages quoted from Vegetius as well as inscriptions mentioning both, *bucinatores* and *tubicines* in the same text⁸⁸, make it plain that there existed besides the *cornu* two kinds of trumpets in the Roman imperial army: *bucina* and *tuba*, both with equally straight tubes. In what, then, did they differ from one another?

⁸⁴ Lang's codex II.

⁸⁵ Similarly Varro, de ling. 5, 117: *cornua quod ea quae nunc sunt ex aere, tunc fiebant bubulo e cornu*. Vegetius' precious choice of words betrays a literary, not a technical military source.

⁸⁶ Caper, GL 7, 99, 16 f.: *bucina erit tuba qua signum dat bucinator*; Gellius 5, 8, 8: *lituus auguralia tuba quae lituus appellatur*. Sallust, Histories, frg. 1, 135: *iussu Metelli Celeris cornicines occanuerunt tubis*.

⁸⁷ Ovid, Metamorphoses 1, 98; Juvenal 2, 118. I owe these references to G. Maurach of the University of South Africa to whom I am also grateful for sharing with me his expertise in textual criticism.

⁸⁸ CIL VI 31147; VIII 2564.



9 Tombstone of Aurelius Salvianus from Chersones. CIL III 782.
Museum of Fine Arts Moscow.

The length of the two instruments can hardly have differed significantly. The *tuba*, to judge from reliefs (fig. 9) and from actual finds of instruments (fig. 10) was about 1.40 m. long⁸⁹. The *bucina* on Aurelius Surus' tombstone appears somewhat shorter, but perhaps more for artistic reasons. Comparison with reliefs on tombstones of *tubicines* (fig. 11–13) shows beyond doubt that the *tuba* had a markedly conical bore over its entire length⁹⁰, while the *bucina* had a narrow, cylindrical bore flaring out only close to the bell. The sound of the *tuba* therefore was fuller, rounder, and more mellow⁹¹, while the sound of the *bucina* will have been shrill, piercer-

⁸⁹ D. Gabler, An Unpublished Stone Relic from Sopron. Some Musical Instruments of the Pannonian Army. Arrabona 1970, 59 ff., fig. 4. – There exist two more tombstones of *tubicines* with reliefs of the instruments: The stone of C. Vetienus Urbiquus from Köln which shows only the mouthpiece, and the stone of Ubasus, CIL X 7884 which according to Behn *l. c.* (note 80) shows two tubae of a form similar to that on fig. 9.

⁹⁰ Cf. also Cassiod. Psalm 150, 3: *tuba est corneis partibus adunatis aut aliquo metallo productus tubulus, a patulo circulo inchoans et desinens in angusto foramine. Haec spiritu retracto completa terribile personatione dilatatur, quae aut bellorum . . .* Cf. Wille *l. c.* (note 80) 79.

⁹¹ The *lituus* had the same conical shape as the *tuba*, producing the same mellow sound, cf. Behn *l. c.* (note 80) 138 referring to the instrument found in the Rhine (Klar *l. c.* [note 80] 305), now in the

ing, sharp, and penetrating. Moreover, it seems the *tuba* consisted of two or three parts (fig. 11–13); if so, that would constitute another difference between *tuba* and *bucina*.



10 Tuba from Zsámбек.
Hungarian National Museum Budapest.

3. Horns mistaken for *bucinae*

The *bucinator* stone from Byzantion will also help to explain two gravestones from Mainz and Remagen (fig. 14, 15) on which *bucinae* have wrongly been recognized. The identification was based on the error in the edition of Vegetius' text which would make the *bucina* a curved instrument, and on the unwarranted assumption that *tuba* and *cornu* were used at best exceptionally in the cavalry which would make the *bucina* 'the' instrument of the cavalry⁹². Yet not only are several *tubicines* attested in the Roman cavalry, but a stone from Gerulata/Pannonia (fig. 16) brings positive proof that the *cornu*, too, was used in the *alae*⁹³: it shows an unmistakable *cornu* carved on the tombstone of Flavius Attius, *eq(ues) al(ae) Cann(anefatium)*, and so now must be interpreted the instrument on the tombstone of Andes, *eq(ues) al(a) Claud(ia)* (fig. 14). Admittedly the shape of the *cornu* is here somewhat compressed, so much so that no one has yet maintained the instrument could have been used exactly as it is depicted: there is not room enough for the head of the player to reach to the mouthpiece. Apparently the artist tried

Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn: 'Der Ton spricht leicht an und hat trotz seiner Kraft und hohen Lage (der Lituus steht in a und enthält sechs Töne) einen ziemlich weichen, keineswegs gellenden Klang'. Against this testimony the literary passages, imprecise and full of poetic licence, adduced by Wille *l. c.* (note 80) 83, may be neglected. Because the *lituus* with its conical bore must have been rather similar to the *tuba*, it was perhaps blown by the *tubicines* of the army – at least no *liticines* are epigraphically known yet. CIL VI 33999 = D. 4968 is not military, cf. Th. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* 3 (Graz 1952) 287 ff.; Ammianus Marcellinus 14, 2, 16; 31, 13, 1 mentions the military *liticen* probably poetically, Vegetius (2, 22) does not. Cf. R. Grosse, RE XIII 776 s. v. *Liticen*. Cf. Wille *l. c.* (note 80) 92. Needless to say, the controversy whether the Bonn *lituus* might not be a *bucina* (Klar *l. c.* [note 80]) is now, with the new reading of Vegetius, decided in favor of *lituus*, not *bucina*.

⁹² Behn, Heer *l. c.* (note 80) 44; Wille *l. c.* (note 80) 99; Klar *l. c.* (note 80) 315, etc. The notion even entered the encyclopedias, see e. g. *Der Große Brockhaus* s. v. *Bucina*.

⁹³ *Tubicines* CIL VI 31147; 31149; 31151; 3176; 32797. Cf. Speidel *l. c.* (note 39) 37. Behn, Heer *l. c.* (note 80) knew of only one such *tubicen*, actually six of them are attested; his explanation that *tubicen* there actually meant *bucinator* is contradicted by CIL VI 31147 which lists both as different ranks in the same text. A. v. Domaszewski, *Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres*² (Köln 1967) 24 and 44 also assigns *cornua* to cavalry. Seen in this light CIL III 7651 (*Optatiana*) could just as well mean a *cor(nicen) alae* as *cor(nicularius) alae*.



11 Tombstone of Sibbaeus from Mainz. CIL XIII 7042.
Reiss Museum Mannheim.



12 Tombstone of C. Valerius from Carnuntum. CIL III 4483.
Schloss Traun, Carnuntum.

to fit Andes' horn into the space available at the expense of distorting its shape. On the other hand, not every *cornu* needed to be as circular as that of Flavius Attius. Andes' actual instrument may have looked very similar to the way it is portrayed on his tombstone. This is suggested by the Remagen stone (fig. 15) showing an instrument that has also been described as a *bucina* but which is obviously a *cornu*, even though not exactly circular.

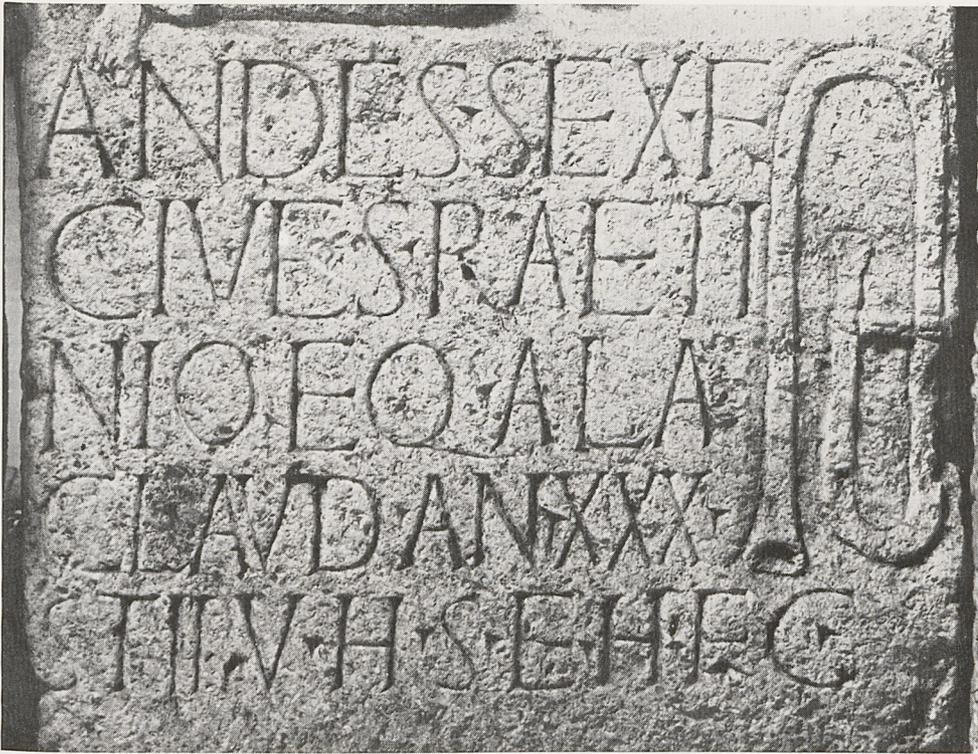
The presence of hornblowers (*cornicines*) in the cavalry is of some consequence. Vegetius (2, 22) reports: *cornicines quotiens canunt non milites sed signa ad eorum obtemperant nutum*. From this it has been deduced that to move the *signa* in stationary battles was the only task of the horns so that the presence of horn-



13 Tombstone of M. Praeconius Iucundus from Carnuntum. CIL III 14358/21a.
Museum Carnuntinum.

blowers in the auxiliary cohorts would denote a change of these cohorts from light to heavy infantry, no longer fighting in open lines but in well-controlled serried ranks like the legions. This, obviously cannot apply to the *alae* as cavalry cannot move in battle in the same controlled ways. The horn, therefore, must have had other uses as well, ceremonial ones, perhaps. It follows that the presence of *cornicines* in the auxiliary cohorts does not imply any change from light to heavy infantry, and that the increasing use of ethnic units (*nationes*, national *numeri*) is not caused by such a change⁹⁴.

⁹⁴ Domaszewski, *Fahnen* (note 7) 6 ff., esp. 8, no. 5; *idem*, *Religion* (note 66) 29; *idem*, *Rangordnung* (note 93) 58, followed by H. T. Rowell, *RE XVII* 1327 ff. *s. v.* Numerus but contradicted by G. L. Cheesman, *The Auxilia of the Roman Imperial Army* (Oxford 1914) 130 f. Possibly *cornicines* in auxiliary cohorts: CIL XIII 6572; O. Tait II 2020,2 = Fink, *Records* 78,40.2. For the Gerulata-stone



14 Tombstone of Andes from Mainz. CIL XIII 7023.
Mittelrheinisches Landesmuseum Mainz.

4. The function of the *bucina*

The major function of the *bucina* was to sound the hours of the night for the watches⁹⁵. Moreover, since it could produce an exciting, nerving sound it was also blown before battle so that fighting fever would grip the men⁹⁶. It does not seem to have given tactical signals during battle⁹⁷ which may explain why the *bucinator* ranked lowest among the trumpeters (*aenatores*), after the *tubicen* and *cornicen*⁹⁸.

(fig. 16) see D. Gabler, *The Relics of Stone Plastics at Arrabona and its Surroundings*. Arrabona 10, 1968, 51 ff., esp. 68, no. 23. For the national *numeri* see now M. Speidel, *The Rise of Ethnic Units in the Roman Imperial Army*. *Aufstieg und Niedergang der röm. Welt*. Festschr. J. Vogt 2, 3 (Berlin 1975) 201 ff., esp. 207.

⁹⁵ *Thes. Linguae Latinae* s. v. *bucina*, 2232, 53 ff. Polybios 6, 35, 12: ὁ γὰρ ταύτης τάξιάρχος τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῖται τοῦ κατὰ φυλακὴν βουκανᾶν. Wille *l. c.* (note 80) 97. Loose terminology is obviously applied by Vegetius (3,8): *A tubicine omnes vigiliae committuntur et finitis horis a cornicene revocantur* – unlikely already for the reason that two different instruments should give the same signal. Correct is Vegetius 2, 7, quoted above.

⁹⁶ Verg. *Aeneis* 11, 474: *bello dat signum rauca cruentum bucina*; *Laus Pisonis* 175: *gravis obstreperet modulatis bucina nervis*. Sil. 5, 224: *feralique horrida cantu bucina lymphatas agit in certamina mentes*. Poetic licence in terminology, however, invalidates most pertinent literary sources.

⁹⁷ Servius, *Aeneis* 11, 474: *bucina insonans sollicitudinem ad bella denuntiat . . . proelium autem tubae indicant*. *Thes. Linguae Latinae* s. v. *bucina*, 2232, 25 ff. may be right to assess passages saying the *bucina* gave the sign for battle as derived from Servius' statement.

⁹⁸ See below, p. 160.

Apparently the *bucina* had a part in the *classicum*, the call to assemble⁹⁹ also sounded at ceremonial occasions¹⁰⁰. Polybios reports that the *bucina* joined the other trumpets in the curfew signal after dinner, when the watches had to be mounted¹⁰¹. That joint signal may have been the *classicum*¹⁰². No satisfactory explanation can be given to Vegetius' enigmatic statement (2, 22): *classicum item appellatur quod bucinatores per cornu dicunt*, but it, too, seems to connect the *bucina* with the *classicum*¹⁰³. Less difficult appears a passage from 'Hyginus' (*de mun. castr.* 21): *si (sc. castra) longiora fuerint, classica dicentur nec bucinum in tumultu ad portam decimanam facile potuerit exaudiri*. This may be translated 'if the camps are longer, the *classicum* will be sounded, but the sound of the *bucina* may be difficult to hear at the rear gate during the noise of a commotion'. That, again, could mean that the sound of the *bucina* was part of the *classicum*¹⁰⁴.

Its cylindrical shape may also betray the *bucina* on historical reliefs of the Roman state art, such as the Suovetaurilia scenes on Trajan's Column and the Aurelian Panels¹⁰⁵: there, in the presence of the Emperor, the *classicum* will have been sounded as the most ceremonial and festive music of the Roman army.

An interesting piece of information on the function of the *bucina* comes from a 'morning report' papyrus of A. D. 239, listing the nine men on watch at the standards of *cobors XX Palmyrenorum*, day after day. They include a centurion, three standard bearers, a priest, a *tesserarius*, a *bucinator* and two others¹⁰⁶. Clearly, the men were selected for their special functions: the centurion to command the watch, the standard bearers to guard the *signa*, and the priest to officiate at the *signa*; the *tesserarius* no doubt was included to stand ready to transmit orders (*tesseræ*) given by the commanding officer. Similarly the *bucinator* will have been present to sound signals, such as the routine barrack signals indicating the hours, etc., but also perhaps irregular ones for unexpected orders and activities. Confirmation of this comes from Ostia, where the *bucinatores* of the *vigiles* left graffiti in a room adjacent to the sanctuary of their unit¹⁰⁷.

⁹⁹ E. g. Isid. Origines 18, 4, 5: *classica sunt cornua quae convocandi causa erant facta*. Cf. Thes. Linguae Latinae s. v. *classicum*, 1278, 54 ff. Livy 5, 47, 7: *vocatis classico ad concilium militibus*; etc.

¹⁰⁰ Vegetius 2, 22: *hoc insigne videtur imperii, quia classicum canitur imperatore praesente vel cum in militem capitaliter animadvertitur*. Caesar, Civil War 3, 82, 1: *Pompeius suum cum Scipione honorem partitur, classicumque apud eum . . . cani iubet*. Suetonius, Vitellius 11. Cf. Fiebiger, RE III 2629 f. s. v. *Classicum*.

¹⁰¹ Polybios 14, 3, 6: ἔστι γὰρ ἔθος Ῥωμαίοις κατὰ τὸν τοῦ δείπνου καιρὸν τοὺς βυκανητὰς καὶ σαλπικητὰς πάντας σημαίνειν παρὰ τὴν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ σινηνὴν, χάριν τοῦ τὰς νυκτερινῶν φυλακῶν κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἴστασθαι κατὰ τοὺς ἰδίους τόπους.

¹⁰² Domaszewski, Fahnen (note 7) 9.

¹⁰³ For a discussion of this passage see e. g. G. Fleischhauer, *Bucina und Cornu*. Wissensch. Zeitschr. Halle, Ges. Sprachw. 9, 4, 1960, 501 ff., who, however, considers the *bucina* a curved instrument.

¹⁰⁴ Contra e. g.: A. v. Domaszewski, *Hygini Gromatici liber de munitionibus castrorum* (Leipzig 1887) 13; Fiebiger *l. c.* (note 100); Thes. Linguae s. v. *classicum*, 1278, 78 ff. – The passage from Ennodius, *Opusc.* 6, 11, quoted there, proves the opposite: that the *classicum* and the sound of the *bucina* are identical, at least in part: *nec pedem retorquet a classicis, cui bucinarum clangor et ministeria belli inter pacis blandimenta crepuerunt*.

¹⁰⁵ Scenes 8, 53 and 103 of Trajan's Column; the *lustratio* and the *triumphus* panels of Marcus Aurelius; scenes 6 and 30 of the Aurelian Column. On scenes 8 and 103 of Trajan's Column *cornua* are present as well.

¹⁰⁶ P. Dur. 89 = Fink, Records 50. See also the similar papyrus PSI XIII 1307 = Fink, Records 51.

¹⁰⁷ CIL XIV 4526 a and b. See Domaszewski, Religion (note 66) 94.



15 Cornu of a fragmentary tombstone from Remagen.
Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn.

Since the *bucinator* was the bugler for the camps it is not surprising to find him in all branches of service and types of units, even amongst the *vigiles* and the fleet, as shown by the list given below. It is instructive, though, to see that a legionary detachment of 75 men, i. e. in the strength of a *centuria*, in A. D. 155 comprised a *tubicen* and a *cornicen*, but no *bucinator*¹⁰⁸. Apparently it needed the tactical trumpets but was considered too small to have a *bucinator* of its own: perhaps the *tuba* or the horn filled in for the *bucina*.

¹⁰⁸ CIL III 7449 = Saxer *l. c.* (note 24) 265; cf. AE 1908, 25.

5. Career, rank, and numbers of the *bucinatores*The following *bucinatores* are known¹⁰⁹:

Bucinatores

Source	Name	Unit	Date (A. D.)	Description	Years of service	Remarks
I. Legions						
1. CIL XIII 11862 (Mogontiacum)	Novianus Honoratus	<i>XXII Pr.</i>		<i>bucinator</i>		heir
2. CIL III 11029 (Brigetio)	M. Ulpius Victor	<i>XIII g.</i>		<i>bucinat.</i>		heir
3. CIL III 6180 (Troesmis)	---quil	<i>V. Mac.</i>		<i>ex buc.</i>	veteran	
4. Our no. 2 (Byzantion)	Aurelius Surus	<i>I Adi.</i>	213	<i>bucinator</i>	18	
5. Our no. 2 (Byzantion)	Septimius Vibianus	<i>I Adi.</i>	213	<i>collega</i>		heir of the preceding
6. IGLSyr. 1371 (Apamea)	Septimius Andra	<i>II Parth.</i>	231/3	<i>imm. bucinator</i>		heir
7. IGLSyr. 1371 (Apamea)	Aurelius Mucianus	<i>II Parth.</i>	231/3	<i>im. bucinator</i>		heir
8. PSI XIII 1307, I 4 = Fink, Records 51 (Egypt)	Js	<i>XXII Dei.</i>	early 1st cent.	<i>bucina</i>		member of the watch
9. CIL VIII 2564 (Lambaesis)	Lurius Primus	<i>VIII Aug.</i>	219	<i>buc</i>		<i>duplarius</i>
10. CIL VIII 18086 (Lambaesis)	C. Iulius Quintianus	<i>VIII Aug.</i>	before 219	<i>d(i)s(cens). buc.</i>		
CIL VIII 2564 (Lambaesis)	Iulius Quintianus	<i>VIII Aug.</i>	219	<i>buc</i>		<i>duplarius</i>
II. Praetorian Guard						
11. CIL VI 2545 (Rome)	Sex. Pufius Quartus	<i>cob. IV</i>		<i>bucinatori</i>		died as <i>bucinator</i>
12. CIL VI 32515a; II 33 (Rome)	M. Fannius Velox		136	<i>buc.</i>	veteran	

¹⁰⁹ As not reliable evidence the following two documents are excluded from our list: CIL III 12437: *b(ucinator?)*; CIL VIII 18085: *IUC = buc(inator?)*; P. Oxy. 16, 1903. 8 records a sixth-century *bucinator*; Durry *l. c.* (note 32) mentions another one on a *laterculus* of the praetorians from Sta. Praxede (*non vidi*).

Source	Name	Unit	Date (A. D.)	Description	Years of service	Remarks
13. CIL VI 32520b; II 41 (Rome)	C. Mattius Secundus		158	<i>buc.</i>	veteran	
14. CIL VI 32638a, 19 (Rome)	C. Manilius Faustus		after 180	<i>buci.</i>		
15. CIL VI 32533b, 17 = 2385 (Rome)	M. Ulpius[		209	<i>buc.</i>		
III. <i>Equites singulares Augusti</i>						
16. CIL VI 3179 = D. 2200 (Rome)	P. Aelius Decimianus		2nd cent.	<i>bucinator</i>		heir
17. CIL VI 31147c, 17 (Rome)	P. Aelius Dignus		139	<i>buc.</i>	veteran	
IV. <i>Alae</i>						
18. CIL XIII 8523 (Durmomagus)	C. Amandinius Verus	<i>ala Norico- rum</i> (?) ¹¹⁰		<i>buc.</i>		dedicated a cult-relief to Mithra
V. <i>Cohorts</i>						
19. CIL CIII 10017, 307 (Fectio)	Crescens	<i>coh. II Britto- num</i> (?) ¹¹¹		<i>bu.</i>		owner's signs on a vase
20. CIL III 13187 (Gardun/Dalm.)	Aurelius Annianus	<i>coh. VIII Vol.</i>		<i>buc.</i>		dedicated an altar <i>Nymphis et Silvano</i>

¹¹⁰ The unit is deduced from the find-spot, a Mithraeum in which another soldier of the *ala Noricorum* made also a dedication, cf. G. Alföldy, *Die Hilfstruppen der römischen Provinz Germania inferior* (Bonn 1968) 183, no. 53.

¹¹¹ The unit is deduced from the find-spot, the *castellum* at Vechten. E. Ritterling, *Bemerkungen zu den 'Turma-Inschriften'*. *Germania* 6, 1922, 87 f. suggested *ala I Thracum*. However, J. E. Bogaers/Nijmegen informs me that both graffiti are from the Flavian period: Graffito a, now in the 'Verzameling van het Provinciaal Utrechts Genootschap' in Utrecht, inv. nr. 1567 on a terra sigillata plate Dragendorff 18 or 18/31 is stamped *Surdilli* and cited by F. Oswald, *Index of Pottery Stamps on Terra Sigillata* (Margidunum 1931) 309 as 'Flavian-Hadrian'. Graffito b, now in Leiden in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, is on a sherd with the stamp of *L. C. Viril(is)* CIL XIII 10010, 656/7, dd7, which, according to Oswald *l. c.* 89 ff.; 377 and 426, is distinctly Flavian. Thus the two graffiti predate the arrival of *ala I Thracum* at Fectio. They may belong to *cohors II Brittonum*, or to *cohors I Flavia Hispanorum equitata*. Cf. J. E. Bogaers, *Thracische Hulptroepen in Germania inferior*. *Oudheidk. Mededelingen* 55, 1974, 217 ff.; cf. also J. E. Bogaers and C. B. Rüger, *Der niedergermanische Limes* (Köln 1974) 62 ff. G. Alföldy, *Die Hilfstruppen in der römischen Provinz Germania inferior* (Bonn 1968) 50, no. 274, and p. 60, describes Fectio as a fleet-station, not as a *castellum* of any auxiliary unit: perhaps the *bucinator* belonged to the *classis Germanica*. For *bucinatores* in fleets see numbers 33–35.

Source	Name	Unit	Date (A. D.)	Description	Years of service	Remarks
21. CIL III 8522 = D. 2583 (Stobreč/Dalm.)	Ulpius Nepos	<i>cob. VIII</i> <i>Vol.</i>		<i>bucin.</i>	10	died as <i>bucinator</i>
22. CIL III 14935 (Gardun)	]LIO[	<i>cob. III</i> <i>Alp.</i>		<i>bucin[ator</i>	15	died as <i>bucinator</i>
23. CIL III 3352 = D. 2591 (Intercisa)	Flavius Rufinus	<i>cob. I. Alp.</i>		<i>eq. buc.</i>		heir
24. P. Dur. 101 XIII 31 = Fink, Records 2 (Dura-Europos)	Aurelius Priscus	<i>cob.</i> <i>XX Palm.</i>	222	<i>buc[</i>	8	with angle bar denoting <i>principales</i> present at HQ.
P. Dur. 89, I 2. 9 = Fink, Records 50	Aurelius Priscus	<i>cob.</i> <i>XX Palm.</i>	239	<i>buc</i>	25	still in <i>service</i>
VI. Vigiles						
25. CIL VI 221 = D. 2160 (Rome)	M. Nonius Probus	<i>cob. V.</i>	113	<i>buc in</i> <i>c(enturia)</i>		<i>principalis</i>
26. CIL VI 1057 (Rome)	Cn. Statilius Severus	<i>cob. V</i>	205	<i>buc</i>		
27. CIL VI 1057 (Rome)	Ant[o]nius Secundus	<i>cob. V</i>	205	<i>buc sup[</i>		<i>supernumera-</i> <i>rius?</i> (in the same <i>centuria</i> as the one above)
28. CIL VI 1057 (Rome)	T. Grasidius Severus	<i>cob. V</i>	205	<i>buc</i>		
29. CIL VI 1057 (Rome)	M. Pompeius Felix	<i>cob. V</i>	205	<i>bu</i>		
CIL VI 1058 (Rome)	M. Pompeius Felix	<i>cob. V</i>	210	<i>buc</i>	more than 5 years	
30. CIL VI 1057 (Rome)	L. Modius Saturninus	<i>cob. V.</i>	205	<i>bucc</i>		
CIL VI 1058 (Rome)	L. Modius Saturninus	<i>cob. V.</i>	210	<i>buc</i>	more than 5 years	
31. CIL VI 1057 (Rome)	C. Iulius Valentinus	<i>cob. V</i>	205	(private)		
CIL VI 1058 (Rome)	C. Iulius Valentinus	<i>cob. V</i>	210	<i>buc</i>		promoted within his own <i>centuria</i>

Source	Name	Unit	Date (A. D.)	Description	Years of service	Remarks
32. CIL XIV 4526a (Ostia)	M. Mirenius Iulius	<i>cob. VII</i>	late Severan	<i>bucinator</i>		with the detachment at Ostia
33. CIL XIV 4526b (Ostia)	Iulius Faustin[		late Severan	<i>mil.</i> <i>buchin[</i>		with the detachment at Ostia
VII. Fleet						
34. AE 1896, 21 (Seleucia Pieria)	C. Iulius Demetrius	<i>vexillatio</i> <i>clas. pr. Mis.</i> <i>triere Virtute</i>	166	<i>bucinator</i> <i>pri[n]cipalis</i>		witness
35. CIL XI 6735 (Ravenna)	M. Antonius Florus	<i>clas. pr. Rav.</i> <i>triere Neptuno</i>		<i>bucina[</i>		died as <i>bucinator</i>
36. CIL VI 33019 IGUR 312 (Rome?)	M. Cornelius Pr[			<i>bu]cinator</i> <i>p[r?</i>		died as <i>bucinator</i>
VIII. Unknown units						
37. CIL XIII 11711 (Aquae)	Valerius Aprilis			<i>buc.</i>		dedicated an altar I. O. M.
38. CIL III 11180 (Carnuntum)	Va[			<i>k. buc</i>		probably <i>k(andidatus)</i> , perhaps candidate for <i>duplarius</i>
39. CIL III 10302 = 3326 (Intercisa)	Antonius			<i>bucinator</i>		made a dedication to Asclepius
40. IGBulg. III 884 = 1890 (Philip- popolis)	Aurelius Alexander		after 217	βουκινάτωρ		on the staff of the governor of Thrace?
41. BGU I 344 (Faiyum)	Sempronius		2nd/ 3rd cent.	βουκερ ¹¹²		
42. BGU I 344 (Faiyum)	Marinus		2nd/ 3rd cent.	βουκ ¹¹³		

¹¹² While the original publication reads βουκερ, R. Cavenaile, *Prosopographie de l'armée Romaine d'Égypte d'Auguste à Diocletien*. Aegyptus 50, 1970, 213 ff., no. 1, 901 reads *buc(cellarius)*, and so does N. Criniti, *Supplemento alla prosopografia dell' esercito romano d'Egitto da Augusto a Diocleziano*. Aegyptus 53, 1973, 93 ff., esp. 153. Yet *bucellarii* occur first around A. D. 400, see R. Grosse, *Römische Militärgeschichte* (Berlin 1920) 287.

¹¹³ The same considerations apply here as for the preceding number, only that the office is abbreviated in the standard form and that neither Cavenaile nor Criniti expanded the abbreviation in any way at all.

As the list shows, no promotion to or from *bucinator* is known yet. That, however, may be no more than a gap in our knowledge. It was possible to rise in one's own *centuria* from private to *bucinator* (no. 31) and at least by the turn of the second century A. D. the post was preceded by the position *d(i)s(cens) buc(inatorem)* (no. 10), proof for the technical importance of the signals and for the army's thoroughness in training and ranking the soldiers. Aurelius Surus' 18 years of service compare with two other men's 10 and 15 years of service, but they may best be explained by the career of a soldier who was already *bucinator* with 8 *stipendia* and still held the same post, with 25 years of service (no. 24). Perhaps it is true for all units what M. Durry observed about the praetorian trumpeters: one reached these posts fast, in apparently less than five years; and once trumpeter, one remained it to the end¹¹⁴. Admittedly, the evidence is slim, but the suggestion in itself is plausible and Aurelius Surus' high number of *stipendia* may be taken as additional confirmation. At least four of the men listed became veterans when still *bucinatores*.

The *bucinator* ranked as *principalis*¹¹⁵ as did all specialists of the imperial army: a title that involved a certain honor but no known privileges. By the second century A. D. the term *immunis* denoted those soldiers and ranks that were free from the heavier chores of the common soldier. In this context it is interesting to see that two *bucinatores* (nos. 6 and 7) add the term *immunis* specifically to their rank which may indicate that not every *bucinator* was *immunis*¹¹⁶. Like other ranks and privates, a *bucinator* could be promoted to *duplarius*, i. e. receiver of double pay or rations (nos. 9 and 10)¹¹⁷, and perhaps while he was scheduled to become *duplarius* he was known as *k(andidatus duplarius)* (no. 38). In itself, however, the position ranked comparatively low, in the lower third of the *principales*¹¹⁸ and below the *tubicen* and *cornicen*¹¹⁹, obviously because it demanded no special courage, knowledge, or leadership ability.

A list of the *principales* of the Watch in the city of Rome qualifies in A. D. 113 a *bucinator* as *in centuria*, i. e. different from other men on the same list who serve on the staffs of various officers. This has been taken to mean that each *centuria* then had its *bucinator*¹²⁰. A hundred years later, however, two complete lists of several *centuriae* of the Watch show the *bucinatores* spread unevenly: one *centuria* had two, several others had none at all¹²¹. It seems to follow that the expression *in centuria* meant no more than that the man served with the troops as opposed to serving on a staff. If so, the *bucinator* was not a necessary member of each *centuria*, even though the *vigiles*

¹¹⁴ Durry *l. c.* (note 32) 101.

¹¹⁵ Nos. 24; 25; 34. Vegetius 2, 7.

¹¹⁶ Dig. 50, 6, 7. Cf. Speidel *l. c.* (note 39) 24 ff. Different: Watson *l. c.* (note 71) 92.

¹¹⁷ Watson *l. c.* with note 236.

¹¹⁸ CIL VI 221; 1058.

¹¹⁹ CIL VIII 2564.

¹²⁰ CIL VI 221; Domaszewski *l. c.* (note 93) 13; P. K. Baillie-Reynolds, *The Vigiles of Imperial Rome* (Oxford 1926) 87.

¹²¹ CIL VI 1057 and 1058. The second *bucinator* in the first *centuria* may, however, be styled *buc(inator) sup(ernumerarius)*. See CIL VI 32638, 5. 30. 32 where three *tubicines* are found in one praetorian *centuria*. CIL VI 32520 a. 2. 57. 61 shows two *cornicines* in one *centuria*. Cf. Domaszewski *l. c.* (note 93) 24.



16 Tombstone of Flavius Attius from Gerulata. CIL III 4391.
Győr Museum, Hungary.

may have comprised a higher number of such buglers than other units so they could supply their different stations in the city and in Ostia. Lists of trumpeters of *legio VIII Augusta* in Lambaesis count 38 *tubicines* and 35 *cornicines*, the distribution of which over cohorts, maniples, *centuriae*, *vexilla equitum*, and staffs, is a matter of hopeless conjecture¹²². Since the preserved inscriptions generally mention fewer *bucinatores* than other trumpeters¹²³ one may assume their total number was about 20 per legion, unless, of course, they moved more frequently on to other posts and thus appear less often in the lists and tombstones of veterans. In the *auxilia* so few of them are known that there can hardly have been more than two or three, perhaps even only one per

¹²² Cf. Domaszewski *l. c.* (note 93) 44 and J. Kubitschek, RE II A, 2348 ff., esp. 2353 s. v. Signifer.

¹²³ CIL VIII 2564; Speidel *l. c.* (note 39) 37; Durry *l. c.* (note 32) 100 f.

unit¹²⁴: obviously, they sounded the signals for entire camps, not just for individual *turmae* and *centuriae*.

Aurelius Surus has in the fashion of the third century, and like Surillio the eagle-bearer, a *collega* as his heir, a soldier holding the same position. To judge from this and from the *collegia* of the *tubicines* and *cornicines* at Lambaesis it seems likely that the *bucinatores* of each legion likewise formed a *collegium* the members of which saw to the burial of their colleagues either as a group or as individuals: perhaps that Lambaesis one day brings to light the statutes of its *collegium bucinatorum*¹²⁵.

Conclusion

The stones discussed here yield new insights into the history of the Roman army over a considerable range of topics such as strategy, art, music and signals, symbols, equipment, recruitment, and organization. In this they are worth a great deal of attention. Yet they do not stand alone. With the stele of Claudius Maximus from Philippi, rivalling one of the high points of Trajan's Column¹²⁶, with the magnificent Mikkalos relief from Perinthos, reaching into the heights of Roman state art¹²⁷, and others¹²⁸, they join those already known like the Sewastopol *tubicen* (fig. 9) and the Vibius Gallus altar from Amastris with its unique representation of military decorations and its battle scene¹²⁹ to form a splendid array of Roman military tombstones from the East, presenting in word and image some of the most informative aspects of the Roman army.

It would be well worth to collect these 'Greek' tombstones and to study them as a specific group, together with the more strictly 'Illyrian' stones. That would multiply the information to be derived from them, would establish them as a first-rate source, and would acquaint us in a new and impressive way with the social class that more than any other changed, even scourged, and yet preserved the Roman empire as the foundation of Europe.

¹²⁴ Is it for this reason that Tarruntenius Paternus, Dig. 50, 6, 7 mentions all the other *immunes* in the plural but the *praeco* and the *bucinator* in the singular?

¹²⁵ CIL VIII 2557 = D. 2354; D. 9096. Cf. J. Šašel, *Bellum Serdicense*. Situla 4, 1961, 3 ff. for such *collegia*.

¹²⁶ M. Speidel, *The Captor of Decebalus. A New Inscription from Philippi*. *Journal Rom. Stud.* 60, 1970, 142 ff. *Idem*, *Die Schluß-Adlocutio der Trajanssäule*. *Röm. Mitt.* 78, 1971, 167 ff.

¹²⁷ To be published by N. Firatli in *Istanbuler Mitt.*, forthcoming.

¹²⁸ E. g. the magnificent tombstone of *C. Valerius C. f. Quir. Valens* from Corinth to be published by M. Koć.

¹²⁹ CIL III 13648; 14187. 3.

Abbreviations:

AE	L'année épigraphique
BGU	Berliner griechische Urkunden. Ägyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin (Berlin 1895 ff.).
Caper, GL	Caper, Grammatici Latini, hrsg. H. Keil (Leipzig 1880).
D.	H. Dessau, Inscriptiones Latinae selectae 1-3 (Berlin 1892-1916).
Fink, Records	R. O. Fink, Roman Military Records on Papyrus (Cleveland 1971).
IGUR	L. Moretti, Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae 1-2 (Rom 1968-1973).
Pais	E. Pais, Corporis inscriptionum Latinarum supplementa Italica (Rom 1884).
PSI	Papiri greci e latini. Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto (Florenz 1912 ff.).

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7	A. v. Domaszewski (above, note 7) fig. 6.
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9	F. Behn (above, note 80) 179.
10	D. Gabler (above, note 89) 66, fig. 4.
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