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The Roman Riders: Ethnicity and Iconography on Roman Cavalrymen Tombstones

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ABSTRACT

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The funerary grave *stelae* of the Roman cavalrymen are large, impressive monuments set apart from their military counterparts by the ornate relief carvings which they exhibit. The two most common motifs featured on these tombstones are the rider relief motifs and the *totenmahl* motifs. Aspects of both the reliefs and the inscribed epitaphs are distinctly characteristic of the Roman military. Throughout the history of the Roman Empire, men in the auxiliary cavalry units were recruited from non-Roman allied tribes. These recruits brought with them foreign languages, customs, and beliefs. Through a comparative study of Roman cavalry tombstones found in Great Britain, Germany, and Syria, I have attempted to identify iconographic and epigraphic elements that are evidence of the ethnic origins of the cavalrymen who are commemorated on these funerary monuments.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AE   *L'Année Épigraphique*
CIL   *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
E   *Recueil Général des Bas-Reliefs de la Gaule Romaine: Gaul Germanique*
Lupa   *Picture Database of Antique Stone Monuments*
RIB   *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*
RID   *Römische Inschriften Datenbank 24*

1 | INTRODUCTION

The Roman military is considered by many archaeologists and historians to be one of the most successful armed forces in human history, yet relatively little is known about the ethnic origins of its Imperial Provincial Legions, including its famous cavalry contingents.[1] Between the sixth and second centuries B.C.E., Rome's Latin armies were involved in absorbing all of the diverse tribal and Etruscan regions of Italy. Rome then faced the Phoenician colony of Carthage in North Africa--the major rival power for control of naval trade in the Mediterranean Basin. After Rome's victory over Punic Carthage in 146 B.C.E., Roman troops were subsequently sent out to conquer and incorporate other foreign lands. In doing so, the military played a critical role in the evolution of Rome as a Republic to Rome as an Imperial Empire. By the late first century C.E., Rome's Imperial Legions had burgeoned into a seemingly indomitable force based on advanced military technologies and highly trained soldiers from multiple ethnic origins.[2] By the second century C.E., Rome had established provinces across a geographical expanse that reached from Great Britain in the North of Europe to Syria and Mesopotamia in the East, and from North Africa in the South to as far west as the Iberian Peninsula.[3] Initially, during the early period of the Roman Republic, beginning in 509 B.C.E., the military was comprised of conscripted

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[1] Nigel Pollard, *Soldiers, Cities, and Civilians in Roman Syria* (University of Michigan Press: An Arbor, 2000), 106.
[2] Adrian Goldsworthy, *The Complete Roman Army*, (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2008), 7; Valerie M. Hope, "Trophies and Tombstones: Commemorating the Roman Soldier," *World Archaeology* 35, (2003): 79.
[3] Goldsworthy, *The Complete Roman Army*, 14-15.

Roman-Latin male citizens who served for specific lengths of time without fixed pay.[4] In order

to maintain a dominant military presence in the expanding foreign provinces, Rome began to

recruit soldiers from a variety of ethnic groups who were enticed into service by specified

salaries, booty, and the promises of earning Roman citizenship and a comfortable retirement.[5]

These changes eventually led to the creation of native provincial auxiliaries that served the

legions of Rome throughout the expanse of the Empire.[6] Every man who was recruited into the

army from a non-Latin ethic group was given a Roman Latin name. After 25 years of service,

soldiers were granted Roman citizenship and the right to marry.[7] In some cases, a soldier was

also given a plot of land, often in a foreign province in order to further enable the

'Romanization' of regions conquered or absorbed for Rome. Every recruit, no matter his origins,

was identified by his new Latin name, even on his tombstone. Thousands of Roman military

tombstones are still extant today in the archaeological record and are found primarily in Wales,

England, Scotland, Syria, Italy, and Germany.[8] The predominantly Latin inscriptions, combined

with specific formulaic wording styles, particularly on tombstones erected outside of Roman

Italy, often identify these grave *stelae* as originating from the Roman military.[9] Significantly,

the tombstones of Roman cavalrymen can often be differentiated from other military examples,

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[4] John Rich, "Warfare and the Army in Early Rome," in *A Companion to the Roman Army*, ed. Paul Erdkamp (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2011) 11.

[5] Lawrence Keppie, *The Making of the Roman Army* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1984), 25.

[6] Dexter Hoyos, "The Era of International Wars: Recruiting the Men," in *A Companion to the Roman Army*, ed. Paul Erdkamp (Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2011), 64.

[7] Lawrence Keppie, *Understanding Roman Inscriptions* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1991), 80.

[8] Alastair Anderson, *Roman Military Tombstones* (United Kingdom: Shire Publications Ltd, 1984), 7.

[9] Karen R. Dixon and Pat Southern, *The Roman Cavalry: From the First to the Third Century AD* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 107.

as most of these types exhibit a man-and-horse motif in carved relief on stone.

Though both foot soldiers and cavalrymen were required to adopt a very pervasive Roman military lifestyle and culture, my study specifically addresses the question of whether or not the native ethnic identity of cavalrymen in the Roman military can be discerned through a more in-depth study of *stelae* iconography and epigraphy. It is important to understand that Roman cavalry *stelae* present a unique subset of funerary tombstones within the larger general categories of Roman military monuments. Their distinct visual presentation makes them a logical starting point for addressing the difficult topic of 'ethnicity' in a Roman context by addressing extant evidences in the archaeological record. Additionally, historical accounts from the Classical Era document a number of ethnic groups specifically associated with expertise in horse training and cavalry talents including the Thracians (favored by Alexander the Great) whose presence at major cavalry training centers in Syria is well documented into the Roman Period.[10] Roman cavalry funerary *stelae* are thus particularly well suited for my inquiry due to these two factors.

Previous archaeological and epigraphic studies have given scholars an overarching narrative of the Roman military that tells of its creation, development, organization and tactics, even at times providing us a glimpse into the lives of individual soldiers. Material remains and written records demonstrate the existence of a 'military culture' that functioned as an important subset of the overall Roman identity. Roman military service was a lifelong commitment. The life of a Roman soldier, down to its smallest details, was controlled by military mandate. Because of the nature of war and the patrolling of far-flung provinces, death for soldiers was

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[10] Andrew M. Smith, *Roman Palmyra: Identity, Community, and State Formation* (New York: Oxford University, 2013), 7.

obviously prevalent and often imminent. Roman military funerary *stelae* were erected across the Empire and are evidence of a planned and relatively standardized set of burial practices.[11] Numerous historical records note that the Roman military organized burial funds, similar to the function of modern day insurance plans.[12] Soldiers put money in a fund in the event they were killed in battle, or died from other causes while in the service of Rome. Their comrades then oversaw a deceased soldier's burial, the deceased's particular wishes with relation to their burial rituals, as well as the final erection of a military funerary stela.

Given the above, the goals of this thesis are the following: 1) to compile a comprehensive compendium of funerary Roman cavalry *stelae* from archaeological sites and museum collections from across the Roman Empire including examples from Great Britain, Syria, and Germany via personal on-site field research wherever possible; 2) to create a catalog of these artifacts that will include individual images, and each tombstone's specific attributes. These attributes will also be discussed in a descriptive format in my thesis text, and, 3) to utilize this compendium to ascertain if the physical attributes of these specific types of cavalry *stelae* may indicate the ethnicity of the deceased. This process necessitates that I must first determine and differentiate between Roman definitions of 'ethnicity,' versus how this term is utilized in modern scholarship. Additionally, a major contribution of my thesis is my assessment of what aspects inherent in Roman cavalry *stelae* must be considered when trying to accomplish the above mentioned task. Examining and identifying the physical aspects of cavalry funerary *stelae*

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[11] Richard P. Saller and Brent D. Shaw, "Tombstones and Roman Family Relations in the Principate: Civilians, Soldiers and Slaves," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 74 (1984): 124.

[12] Anthony Birley, "A New Tombstone from Vindolanda," *Britannia* 29 (1998): 300; Michael Ginsburg, "Roman Military Clubs and Their Social Functions," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 71 (1940): 151.

including their iconography is crucial in identifying which of these visible attributes are indicators of the ethnic origins of the deceased versus which aspects are reflective of a centralized superimposed Roman military culture. This study attempts to identify the characteristics of each of these two divergent aspects of Roman funerary displays for individuals serving in the Roman cavalry.

As far as I have been able to determine, it appears that no previous scholar has attempted to distinguish the ethnic identity of Roman cavalrymen through a comprehensive comparative analysis of their funerary *stelae* versus the other types of Roman military tombstones known from the archaeological record. In Chapter 2, I include an overview of the general organization of the Roman military as well as the styles of Roman military funerary *stelae* extant from the archaeological record, with a special focus on those of cavalry personnel serving in the provincial legions of Rome. In Chapter 3, I address the complex subject of ethnic identity (ethnicity) as it is understood by modern scholars versus how ancient Romans may have viewed the diversity of cultures and peoples serving in the military. I also discuss the archaeological and epigraphic evidences associated with attempting to establish ethnicity from current sources. I introduce the specific data set utilized for my study in Chapter 4. Many of these examples were gathered from my on-site field research in Great Britain. The Syrian examples from Apamea were supplied by Cynthia Finlayson's work on that site from 2007-2010. This chapter also consists of detailed descriptions and images of each tombstone in the data set. In Chapter 5, I discuss semiotic theory and its applications in archaeology as well as to my analysis process. Theorists such as Robert Preucel and Daniel Chandler have attempted to interpret and understand symbols in cultural contexts. There are some aspects of semiotics that will assist the iconographical analysis of my thesis. There are also limitations in applying this theoretical

structure to my analysis that will also be addressed. Chapter 6 will encompass the analysis

process, my conclusions gathered from the analysis, and the application of appropriate

theoretical perspectives. Based on this analysis, I will develop a detailed list of the attributes of

Roman cavalry *stelae* that must be considered in attempting to ascertain the ethnicity of the

deceased. It is hoped that this study will add new and needed perspectives regarding the

importance of the archaeological record of the Roman Empire to questions of ethnicity and

funerary practice.

2 | A HISTORY OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE ROMAN ARMY

In the very early years of their history, between the fourth and third centuries B.C.E., the Romans established a militia system that consisted of citizens who were required to serve no more than sixteen years, or for specific legislated campaigns, especially those required by the Republic.[13] Polybius, a Greek historian, gives one of the most detailed descriptions of the organization of the Roman army as it had evolved by the mid-2nd century B.C.E.[14] The organization of the army had probably changed very little from the previous century.[15] As part of their political duties, men elected to the position of 'consul' were given command of a military legion. A full consular army was a hierarchical system which can be broken down as follows: two legion units, two *ala* units, and two cavalry units (fig.1). In all, it consisted of 4,200 infantrymen and 300 cavalrymen. A legion consisted of 3,000 men divided into 20 *maniples* of 120 men and 10 *maniples* of 60 men. When positioned for battle, a legion was divided into three rows, the first two had 10 maniples of 120 men each, and the 10 maniples of 60 men were in the back row. Two legions were usually positioned side by side during battle.[16]

Figure 1. Full consular army positioned for battle. Adapted from Goldsworthy, 2003:26.

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[13] Goldsworthy, *The Complete Roman Army*, 26.
[14] Polybius, *The Histories,* trans. Robin Waterfield (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 385-402.
[15] Goldsworthy, *The Complete Roman Army*, 26.
[16] Goldsworthy, *The Complete Roman Army*, 26.

Next to each legion was an *ala*. Because of the lateral flanking position of these groups, they were given the name *ala* which is Latin for "wing." The *alae* consisted of infantrymen who were non-Roman citizens. In the second century B.C.E., they were most often recruited from other Latin tribes surrounding Rome. There were typically 600 men in each *ala*, and, when positioned for battle, an *ala* was on each side of the legions. Capping off the ends were two groups of cavalry men, each consisting of approximately 150 men on horses.[17] Assigned to command each legion were two centurions. Each centurion was in charge of one half of a legion. Also assigned to each legion were two standard bearers. The standard bearers carried a staff which displayed the ensign of each individual legion. This was considered an important and honorable position. Both the centurions and the standard bearers were posted just in front of the legion when the army was deployed for battle.

It is important to note that during the second century B.C.E., no one in the army was a paid professional. In 396 B.C.E., it was recorded that the Rome did provide their soldiers with monetary compensation, but it was barely sufficient to cover living costs and could not have been a sustainable source of income.[18] Many of the men were recruited, and many volunteered. Wealth played an important role in determining the post given to a soldier. The wealthiest citizens were given positions in the cavalry due to the expense required to maintain horses and the cultural associations of prestige linked with the equestrian ranks.[19] The legions were typically organized so that the youngest men were positioned in the front line, middle-aged or prime men were positioned in the second row, and older, most experienced soldiers were placed in the last row. Military advisers assumed that the younger men were inexperienced and

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[17] Goldsworthy, *The Complete Roman Army*, 28.
[18] Goldsworthy, *The Complete Roman Army*, 33.
[19] Keppie, *Understanding Roman Inscriptions*, 72.

therefore expendable, and the more experienced men were better protected in the back. Thus, it was difficult for the opposing army to defeat such a force because the longer enemy soldiers fought, moving through the Roman ranks, the more of a challenge it became. Age and experience were not the only factors contributing to the strategy of Roman field organization. The poorest citizens were sometimes positioned with the youngest men in the front row.[20] It was not always the case that leadership positions were assigned according to experience or training. It was considered a privilege to serve in the army, and those who enrolled were rewarded according to their financial success and standing in society. Polybius notes that though many of the higher ranking positions were assigned to the more wealthy citizens, centurions were selected from the men who were good leaders and capable of being in command of such a large group of men.[21]

It is difficult to pinpoint when exactly Rome's military militia transitioned into a professional army. It was a seemingly gradual process. As Rome began to conquer and expand across greater distances, a more permanent army became essential. The commander Caius Marius has been credited by some scholars for initiating these changes in the Roman army during the mid-second century B.C.E.[22] Rome needed to greatly increase its military numbers and could no longer afford to only select soldiers from among its elite citizens. Eventually, fighting in the army became a lifelong profession. In 107 B.C.E., it is recorded that Caius Marius conscripted numerous volunteers of poor citizens to fight in Africa.[23] This eventually became standard practice for the army. The end of the reign of Emperor Augustus came in 14

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[20] Keppie, *The Making of the Roman Army,* 34.
[21] Polybius, *The Histories*, 386.
[22] Goldsworthy, *The Complete Roman Army*, 44; Keppie, *Making of the Roman Army*, 25.
[23] Goldsworthy, *The Complete Roman Army*, 44.

C.E., along with the end of the militia style army. A professional army, the Imperial Roman Army, was in full use when the Principate era began in 27 B.C.E.[24]

Much of the structure of the army remained the same during the Principate, but there were significant changes to the numbers of men and their military tactics. The military became more standardized in that soldiers were provided with clothing, armor, and weapons.[25] Legions were now made up of ten cohorts. Each cohort consisted of six centuries. One century was approximately 80 men. Thus, there were 4800 men in one legion.[26]

The auxiliary units (those units made up of foreign soldiers) also became more professional and standardized during the Principate. The auxiliary developed into three groups: the cavalry, the infantry, and a combination group. The auxiliary cavalry was organized similarly to a legionary cohort in that there were about 480 men divided into six centuries. In written records, when referring to a cavalry *cohort*, the term *ala*(e), or "wing" was used instead.[27] The organization of the infantry groups and the combination groups were similar, but there were slight variations. During the era of the Roman Republic (509-27 B.C.E.), the cavalry *alae* were overseen by a centurion, as were the legions. Later, in the Principate (27 B.C.E-476 C.E.), the auxiliary units were commanded by equestrian soldiers.[28] Through the practice of recruiting only the wealthiest members of society into the military, there were still many high ranking positions that were filled by men of means, particularly commanding positions in the cavalry. There are some military records that would suggest that the men in cavalry leadership positions often

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[24] Goldsworthy, *The Complete Roman Army*, 55.
[25] Goldsworthy, *The Complete Roman Army*, 47.
[26] Keppie, *Understanding Roman Inscriptions*, 80.
[27] Keppie, *The Making of the Roman Army*, 30.
[28] Keppie, *The Making of the Roman Army*, 35.

started serving at the age of 30.[29] Many of these men had influential connections or patrons in Roman society, or they had already served in some governmental capacity. Goldsworthy has noted that "Many centurions do appear to have been directly commissioned and to have come from the wealthier families and local aristocracies. This may well have been the most common practice."[30] There is evidence that some centurions in the auxiliary units were promoted to the rank of centurion. It was not common for non-citizens to be promoted. It was more common that a wealthy Roman citizen would be assigned the commanding position. Goldsworthy has also noted that evidence suggests that many of the men in the auxiliary units were illiterate and thus would not have been fit for promotion to any kind of leadership position. "Promotion was possible, but required a level of education and influence which many recruits may have lacked."[31] It is also important to note that during the Principate, auxiliary units were garrisoned in a number of foreign provinces. It eventually became customary to leave the governing of the province to centurions and other high ranking officers of the auxiliary. This practice was very rare prior to the Principate, most likely because the auxiliary units consisted of non-Roman, non-wealthy citizens. It was not uncommon, however, for legionary centurions to be given governance of the foreign providence in which they were stationed.[32]

The emergence of a professional army had numerous advantages for Rome. Because a legionnaire was a lifetime occupation, training and skills were preserved through generations. Recruiting from the poorer populations meant that many of the soldiers were trained with specific skills that were helpful to the agendas of Roman social and political organizations.

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[29] Pat Southern and Karen R. Dixon, *The Late Roman Army* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1996), 15.
[30] Goldsworthy, *The Complete Roman Army*, 73.
[31] Goldsworthy, *The Complete Roman Army*, 77.
[32] Keppie, *The Making of the Roman Army*, 22.

Many men were recruited to the army because of their knowledge of construction, engineering, metalworking, and other crafts, or they acquired these skills through their military service. Thracian men, for example, were conscripted to the cavalry regiments because of their equestrian skills. The Thracians had also been favored by Alexander the Great, and he utilized cavalry units exclusively of Thracian origins.[33] Though Rome had created a powerful legion, there were still not sufficient populations within Italy alone from which the army could strengthen the lighter infantry and the cavalry, thus they relied heavily on their allies and the conquered foreign populations for recruiting and other military needs.

It was during the Principate that the Roman Empire reached its greatest geographical extension. The emperor Augustus is credited with laying the foundation for the organization of a Roman military that was key in creating one of the largest empires in the history of the world. Most modern scholars agree the only way that the Roman Empire was able to expand was due to the military recruiting local men from foreign territories to build their legions. Rome developed a system of recruiting that offered cultural and political prestige, which ultimately provided a rationale for local foreign recruits.

The Roman army offered volunteers a number of incentives that appealed particularly to people of poorer communities. Through service in the Roman army, a provincial could obtain the basic necessities that might not come so easily otherwise. Roman soldiers were given food, clothing, and access to medical care. More importantly, they were offered a regular wage. The stability that the military could provide was an attractive offer to a poor individual without any social connections or guaranteed income. Soldiers were expected to serve a minimum of twenty-

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[33] Pollard, *Soldiers, Cities, and Civilians*, 141; Nora Dimitrova, "Inscriptions and Iconography in the Monuments of the Thracian Rider," *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 71 (2002): 211.

five years in the army which gave them the opportunity to possibly receive promotions in rank.

Soldiers were not allowed to be married, though many were, before they entered the service. Some soldiers married (though not legally) while in the army and also had children. Their marriage would not be considered legal while they were in the employ of the army, and therefore, their children would not be considered heirs in the eyes of the law.[34] If the soldier lived to serve the full 25 years, the army would grant acknowledgment of an existing marriage upon discharge.[35] Though soldiers underwent grueling training, lived in harsh conditions, and followed strict daily regimes, to many, their lifestyle was a fair exchange for the benefits provided them by the Roman army. The completion of service was acknowledged with a bronze military diploma (fig. 2). The diploma consisted of two bronze plates hinged together and inscribed with the name of the soldier, the date of discharge, the unit he served with, the names of his commanding officers, the names of the soldier's family, and the names of the witnesses.[36] This diploma served as the official documentation that the soldier had been relieved from active duty and that he and his family were granted Roman citizenship. In many cases, the men were given a plot of land. Men could use these diplomas as proof of their status "so that they could claim the privileges awarded to veterans."[37]

Just as it is with the United States military today, recruits needed to fulfill a set of requirements in order to be enlisted. They needed to be in good health, and in some instances, be a certain height and weight. According to Vegetius, those who volunteered for the cavalry

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[34] Keppie, *The Making of the Roman Army*, 55.
[35] Keppie, *Understanding Roman Inscriptions*, 84.
[36] Keppie, *Understanding Roman Inscriptions*, 84.
[37] Dixon and Southern, *The Roman Cavalry*, 111.

Figure 2. Part of a bronze Roman military diploma dated to 122 C.E., British Museum. Photo credit: author.

needed to be between 5' 8" and 5' 10".[38] The military usually accepted all those who were

eligible to enroll, but those who met special requirements of the army were highly favored. For

example, the army preferred to recruit men who had worked in farming communities because

they were conditioned to work hard in harsh environments.[39] Those recruits who had been

educated to some degree were also favorable to the army. Vegetius also notes that many of the

soldiers were either in their late teens or early twenties when recruited.[40]

The Roman army recruited men from most of the provinces as they expanded the empire.

According to extant written records, there were legions with auxiliary units from across the

empire. "Wherever possible, the army recruited from the nearest available sources of

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[38] Flavius Vegetius Renatus, *The Military Institutions of the Romans* (Harrisburg: The Military Service Publishing Company, 1944), 30.

[39] Goldsworthy, *The Complete Roman Army*, 30.

[40] Vegetius, *The Military Institutions of the Romans*, 50.

manpower."[41] Most of the auxiliary units were given a name that reflected the region or ethnic

background of the unit when it was first formed. However, with the movement of a unit from

one region to another, the ethnic backgrounds became mixed over time.[42] As evidenced by

written records and archaeological remains, a large number of legions existed throughout the

Roman Empire, but they were significantly reduced or modified when Augustus was made

emperor in the beginning of the first century C.E. Augustus eventually disbanded around 50

legions, leaving about 28 main legions in operation during the majority of the Principate.[43]

Scholars have gathered information from ancient historical records along with archaeological

remains and have been able to ascertain where and when many of the legions were formed as

well as their movements over time.[44] If a particular legion was stationed in more than one area

for an extended period of time, it is likely that men were recruited to it in those regions.

The Late Roman Army

The period of the Late Roman Army began during the rule of Diocletian in 284 C.E.

During this time, the Roman government was undergoing constant change and turmoil. Each

new emperor often obtained his position through bribery or murder, and each had his own ideas

of how the Empire should be run and who should hold power under him, especially in the

wealthier provinces. During this troubled third century, there began to be an increase in the

number of civil wars due to government corruption and abuse of local populations. Additionally,

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[41] Goldsworthy, *The Complete Roman Army*, 80.

[42] Goldsworthy, *The Complete Roman Army*, 80; Pollard, *Soldiers, Cities, and Civilians*, 134.

[43] Goldsworthy, *The Complete Roman Army*, 80.

[44] Goldsworthy, *The Complete Roman Army*, 51; Keppie, *The Making of the Roman Army*, 95; Graham Webster, *The Roman Imperial Army of the First and Second Centuries A.D.*, (London: Black, 1969), 15.

the Empire was under attack from raiding Gauls, Goths, and Germanic tribes as well as waves of the plague.[45] Uprisings became common in the foreign provinces, and many of the legions became divided, with their loyalties lying with the commanders who could provide them wages and steady support rather than with the centralized government in Rome that was slowly losing its grip over the Empire.

Just as the names and numbers of legions changed in the Imperial army during the Principate, similar changes occurred during the Dominate era (284-476 C.E.). There were some changes to ranks and titles, but overall functions remained the same. During the Principate, there was a clear distinction between the legions and the auxiliaries. The soldiers in a legion were, for the most part, Roman citizens. The auxiliaries were made up solely of natives from foreign provinces. In the fourth century, the army no longer distinguished Roman citizens from non-Roman recruits.[46] The legions now consisted of infantrymen of mixed statuses. The legion's supporting auxiliary units still contained infantrymen and cavalrymen of differing statuses with relation to Roman citizenship. The men in leadership positions were no longer always selected according to their military experience, their previous careers within in the government, or wealth. This change of practice may have been done in order to minimize civil uprisings and reduce the possibility of rebellion against the emperor among the senior officers of the army.

The Roman army was eventually divided into two kinds of units; a unit referred to as a field army and a unit called a garrison that would be stationed permanently in a foreign province. This was not common practice until the beginning of the Dominate, but a similar organization was created under the rule of Septimius Severus (193-211 C.E.) in the second century, and again

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[45] Dixon and Southern, *The Late Roman Army*, 4-38.
[46] Keppie, *The Making of the Roman Army*, 141.

by Gallienus (253-268 C.E.) in the third century.[47] Both of these emperors established strong armies in selected provinces outside of Rome in order to deal with rising foreign threats to the far-flung regions of the empire.

Military Funerary Clubs

Just as the military provided food, clothing, and wages for its soldiers, they also provided burial services. There were a several ways that soldiers could provide both a funeral and a gravestone for themselves if they died before completing their term of military service. Michael Ginsburg mentions that the Roman military often organized a banking service similar to a savings account.[48] When a soldier was given his wages, a portion was kept by the soldier's unit in a special fund. A soldier would only have access to this fund after he had served the required twenty-five years in the army. If the soldier died during service, his fund would be distributed as stated in the will of the soldier. Oftentimes the money was given to the father of the soldier.[49] Some men requested that funds be put towards more elaborate funerary services. Though the military did cover the costs of such services, it provided only very modest rites for the deceased.

The military also established a funerary club. This club functioned much like insurance does today. "The soldiers made payments to a special fund which functioned in every legion as a mutual burial society for the rank and file."[50] When a soldier was killed, a set amount of money was used to cover his burial expenses, or the money was given to family members for their use in carrying out the funerary services.

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[47] Karl Strobel, "Strategy and Army Structure between Septimius Severus and Constantine the Great," in *A Companion to the Roman Army*, ed. Paul Erdkamp (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2011), 270.

[48] Ginsburg, "Roman Military Clubs," 150.

[49] Ginsburg, "Roman Military Clubs," 151.

[50] Ginsburg, "Roman Military Clubs," 151.

During times of war, hundreds and thousands of men were killed in battle. In these circumstances, it was common practice for the army to perform a mass cremation accompanied by a funerary service.[51] The types of funerary services varied depending on the different religions practiced by the deceased soldiers. It seems the most common funerary service for an individual consisted of a funeral procession and the carrying of the body of the deceased out of the city to the burial grounds. The soldier was buried, and the mourners participated in a funeral banquet at the site of the burial. As is typical in many ancient cultures, the Romans believed that cemeteries should be located outside the main city or, in the case of a field army, outside the fort or camp. Unlike common funerary practices today, the Romans did not make a mass memorial for soldiers killed in battle, in cemeteries or in the towns. "Towns did not have war memorials as such where the dead in a particular war or campaign were remembered. Victories in Roman times were marked by the erection on the battlefield of a trophy of captured arms and equipment, often suspended from a tree."[52] Thus, very few archaeological remains have been discovered as evidence of this practice, but depictions of such memorials occur on Roman artifacts such as the Gemma Augustae. This cameo engraved gem displays one of these memorial scenes and dates to the early first century C.E. Another memorial scene is depicted on Trajan's column in Rome. The column dates to the early second century C.E. and was erected in commemoration of Trajan's victory in the Dacian Wars fought from 101-102 C.E. and 105-106 C.E.

According to ancient historians, Roman society greatly honored members of the Roman military.[53] For many men, the army became part of their identity. Elaborate tombstones still extant today throughout the extent of the Roman Empire are evidence that soldiers were proud of

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[51] Dixon and Southern, *The Roman Cavlary*, 107.
[52] Keppie, *Understanding Roman Inscriptions*, 85.
[53] Vegetius, *Military Institutions*, 6; Polybius, *The Histories*, 399.

their military service. Higher ranking officers in the army often set aside extra funds that were to be put towards an elaborate tombstone that would depict their association with the army. These tombstones commemorated their great service to Rome through both inscriptions and visual imagery.

Military Grave Monuments

Honoring fallen soldiers was important to the Roman army. As previously noted, the army established a club, or insurance system, that would ensure that a soldier would receive proper burial and funerary services. Also extant in the archaeological record are many tombstones belonging to soldiers who were not killed in battle but died as veterans. During times of war, the army could only afford to perform mass cremations accompanied by a funeral. Thus, not all those who set aside funding for specialized tombstones could receive them. "The Roman military cemetery was the product of peacetime rather than conflict. For soldiers killed in combat all their saving and planning may have counted for naught."[54] Military cemeteries were usually established outside the compound or fort where a legion was either permanently or temporarily stationed. The army would only be able to establish cemeteries during times of peace when specific units were stationary in postings that were semi-permanent or permanent, to which they regularly returned after military maneuvers. An excellent example of this is the cavalry post at Apamea, Syria, that acted as one of Rome's major training centers for campaigns against Parthia and later Sassanian Persia.[55] Military tombstones that have been recovered from across Europe and Asia are often small, simple in style, and display minimal text. It took considerable funds to afford a monumental tombstone with relief carving and extensive inscriptions. A wide

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[54] Hope, "Trophies and Tombstones", 80.
[55] Pollard, *Soldiers, Cities, and Civilians*, 66.

variety of styles and designs have been found, in and out of cemeteries. Some scholars have identified the different styles of military tombstones as well as some of the elements which make a tombstone identifiably set up for a member of the Roman military.[56] These style variations will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

Wealth and Social Status

During the Late Roman era, the higher military ranks were no longer necessarily filled by men of high social status or those with connections within the government. Eventually, even soldiers in the auxiliary armies were able to receive promotions and fill leadership positions.[57] Those auxiliary officers who were literate and displayed a particular skill were most likely to receive such promotions.[58]

There exists an ongoing debate among modern historians about the effectiveness of auxiliary officers leading the auxiliary troops. Some have argued that auxiliary groups were more cohesive and willing to follow a leader who shared their same native heritage, as opposed to being led by a Latin Roman. Though Goldsworthy gives an example of a rebellion against the army by a group of natives who were commanded by a native, there are also other examples where auxiliary (or legionary) groups rebelled because the commanding officer was in disagreement with other officers within a legion.[59] There are thus examples of rebellions occurring in both circumstances where the high-ranking officer was either a non-Roman citizen or a Roman citizen. It is therefore difficult to say whether allowing auxiliaries to command was

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[56] Anderson, *Roman Military Tombstones*, 15; Jean Charles Balty and Wilfried Van Rengen, *Apamea in Syria: the Winter Quarters of Legio II Parthica*, trans. Walter E.H. Cockle (Bruxelles: VUBPRESS, 1993), 11; Hope, "Trophies and Tombstones," 84.

[57] Goldsworthy, *The Complete Roman Army*, 65; Keppie, *The Making of the Roman Army*, 42; Dixon and Southern, *The Late Roman Army*, 37.

[58] Goldsworthy, *The Complete Roman Army,* 66.

[59] Goldsworthy, *The Complete Roman Army*, 70.

more beneficial than having Roman commanders of Latin or Italian ethnic status.

It is important to note that no matter the rank, wealth or social status of the soldier, when it came to their tombstones, they had to pay extra money if they wanted anything different from the most basic style and design. This being the case, one might expect to find that the most ornate and elaborate tombstones were erected for the soldiers highest in rank and wealth, but this was not always the case. "Status and wealth are reflected in tomb expenditure with, in general, those at the top levels of society paying more, but there are exceptions."[60] Some soldiers spent many years in military service and thus were able to save enough money to purchase a much more elaborate tombstone. "Strong individual piety might result in a common soldier paying almost as much for his tomb as a less religious, or perhaps less cautious, centurion, despite an enormous difference in pay levels between the two."[61]

However wealthy the soldier, it was also important that he have heirs or family members who could take care of the funerary services for him. If killed in battle, the army would take care of these arrangements, but, as discussed earlier, the soldier might not receive the tombstone or services that he had paid for if this occurred. If the soldier died as a veteran, it was the responsibility of his heirs to see to funerary arrangements. If killed in battle, it was still possible that his family would take care of funerary arrangements, but it was necessary that wives and children be officially recognized by the Roman government as legitimate family or heirs, which was only possible if the soldier completed his twenty five years of service. "It was the responsibility of a man's heirs to make the funeral arrangements, although in the Roman world there were professional undertakers to whom they could turn."[62] In the case of a family not

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[60] Anderson, *Roman Military Tombstones*, 13.
[61] Anderson, *Roman Military Tombstones*, 13.
[62] Anderson, *Roman Military Tombstones*, 14.

granted citizenship, there was an alternative option: professional undertakers could oversee burial arrangements.

Tombstone Types

The variation in military tombstone shapes, sizes, designs, and materials is extensive. There are many causes for this variation, some being personal wealth, the abilities and preferences of the sculptor, local or personal religious beliefs, and the traditions of an individual military unit, just to name a few. Often, Romans would leave specific construction and design instructions for their tombstones in their wills, which could also contribute to the variation based on the personal preferences and wishes of the deceased.[63] Though it is improbable that all the reasons for individuality among military tombstones can be identified, many scholars tend to agree that geographic location was also a major influence.[64] Additionally, funerary traditions were very different from the center to the edges of the Empire. The local traditions and skills of sculptors were also significant influences in tombstone design, and the types of materials used for tombstones were determined by their availability within a region. For the purposes of this thesis, it is thus critical to establish the many distinguishing characteristics of a cavalry tombstone as distinct in significant ways from other forms of Roman funerary markers. This was the first step towards the identification of certain design elements or other physical characteristics that may be the result of ethnic influences versus the characteristics influenced by the other factors noted above.

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[63] Anderson, *Roman Military Tombstones*, 25.
[64] Anderson, *Roman Military Tombstones*, 12; Balty and Van Rengen, *Apamea in Syria*, 20; Goldsworthy, *The Complete Roman Army*, 56; Keppie, *Understanding Roman Inscriptions*, 84.

The identification of pertinent design elements within cavalry *stelae* versus other funerary types also allows for the classification of elements which are distinctly military. The Roman army had, in a way, its own culture, including funerary rites. It is not likely that as the army continued to move into foreign provinces, the soldiers would entirely abandon their own customs and religious practices, and fully adopt the customs and beliefs of local foreign civilians. This does not mean however, that other cultures and religions went unrecognized by the Roman army. An excavation of an army barracks called the Old Fort in Rome, uncovered the "noble hall" which housed a large assemblage of Roman army altars. "Altars to such un-Roman gods as the Celtic Toutates Meduris, the Arab Beellefarus, and the Syrian Dolichenus, placed next to the official altars of each year's veterans, show that the Roman army honored all its soldiers' gods."[65] There is other archaeological evidence that exhibits a mixing of culture and religions, including images and inscriptions on some Roman military tombstones. "Even more important was the dissemination throughout the Empire of Graeco-Roman techniques and styles, which in some cases blended with local fashions to produce unique forms but more often tended to introduce a uniformity of convention to tombstone design, particularly in the western provinces."[66] Thus, there are elements of design, including specific inscriptional formulas, which qualify a tombstone as belonging to a veteran of the Roman military system. These elements will be discussed in detail in later chapters.

Tombstone Shapes

Several shapes of military tombstones can be found across the expanse of the Roman Empire. The shape of the tombstone, however, is rarely exclusive to the military *stelae*. Romans

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[65] Michael P. Speidel, *Riding for Caesar: the Roman Emperors' Horse Guards* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1994), 140.

[66] Anderson, *Roman Military Tombstones*, 25.

often used upright stones and altars to display inscriptions. For example, soldiers would often

erect altars with inscriptions dedicated to religious deities (fig. 3). Archaeologists have also

found building dedications inscribed on stones that relate information about the building,

including when it was built, which emperor or other military leader it was constructed under, and

occasionally the names of the architects. Since stone shapes of both these types of dedications

are similar, tombstones are identified by their inscriptions as well as their iconography.

Figure 3. Altar erected by a soldier to the deity of his emperor.
Altar dates to the first century C.E. Roman Baths Museum.
Photo credit: author.

The most common shape of military tombstone found throughout the Empire was a

simple inscription on a rectangular, flat stone that was sometimes found in a wall of a communal

monument erected at a battle site (fig. 4).[67] Similar funerary stones have also been found in

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[67] Hope, "Trophies and Tombstones", 223.

cemeteries, and in the case of some from Great Britain, many they have been found along both

Hadrian's Wall and the Antonine Wall. Many of these tombstones were subsequently utilized in

antiquity as building materials. Archaeologists have found parts and sometimes whole

tombstones plastered into the walls of buildings.[68] These tombstones are often the simplest in

form and required the least amount of effort to produce. The design is usually very basic and

this style was overall the most cost efficient. This was likely the most common type provided by

the military as well.

Free-standing tombstones, though fairly numerous, are not as common. This is likely due

to the cost and labor required to have them made. They are typically a narrow slab of stone with

either a flat top or a pedimental top. These tombstones also tend to display more elaborate

decoration and ornamentation. There are many still extant today and are found most frequently

in Great Britain and Central Europe.

Figure 4. Flat tombstone belonging to a Roman soldier. National Roman Legion Museum. Photo credit: author.

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[68] Keppie, *Understanding Roman Inscriptions*, 80.

Less popular are the altar tombstones. The altar shape is a short, square, pillar-like stone with a flat top. Some altars have what is a termed a *pyramidion* on top. One example, the tombstone of a soldier from Spain, has engravings on all four faces of the altar.

Jean Charles Balty has done extensive archaeological work and research in the Near East. In 1993, he and Wilfried Van Rengen published a book based on their research of the Roman military camp in Apamea, Syria, titled, *Apamea in Syria: The Winter Quarters of Legio II Parthica.*[69] The book focuses on the military gravestones that were recovered from a Roman cemetery outside the city. This collection is significant since Apamea had previously served as one of the most important cavalry training centers for the Hellenistic Seleucid Dynasty before its capture by Rome.[70] Apamea continued to be a major cavalry training center for Rome in the East. The authors created a typology of the tombstones that were found. According to Balty and Van Rengen, there are three common shapes of tombstones in this region of the Empire: *cippi*, altars, and *stelae*. All three are free-standing monuments. *Cippi* are rectangular in shape and typically have a protruding base. They also have a frieze on top (fig. 5). These funerary markers exhibit fairly simple decoration, although some tombstones have a soldier represented in a relief carving. The altars found in Apamea are similar to the altars found across the empire (fig. 6). They are rectangular and horizontal, but thicker in the body. "Some have a circular hollowed recess on the top, probably to receive libation offerings to the dead."[71] The *stelae* are also rectangular in design, but much narrower than the *cippi* or the altars (fig. 7). There is a wider variety of *stelae* styles, as well as decoration, and it has been suggested that they could be divided into subcategories. The *stelae* often have pediments carved in relief on the top half with

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[69] Balty and Van Rengen, *Apamea in Syria*, 10-11.
[70] Pollard, *Soldiers, Cities, and Civilians*, 25.
[71] Balty and Van Rengen, *Apamea in Syria,* 11.

other decorative carvings inside the pediment. Unlike the *cippi* and the altars, the *stelae* are

typically only worked on a singular face. "These patterns served for soldier's funerary

monuments throughout the Roman Empire from the British Isles to the Danube, from North

Africa to Egypt to Asia Minor."[72]

One of the most well-known subtypes of military *stelae,* as well as the focus of this

thesis, are the rider motif tombstones. There were several examples found in the cemetery in

Apamea, but there are many more spread across central and western Europe.[73] These *stelae* are

ornate and exhibit complex relief carvings. Most often, the cavalryman is pictured on or with his

horse, usually posed in mid combat. "These rider reliefs undoubtedly constitute the most

animated and uniform serious of funerary monuments in the north-western provinces."[74]

Because these monuments depict a soldier in battle uniform, often in mid-combat, it is probable

that this design was exclusive to tombstones of deceased soldiers as opposed to civilians. It
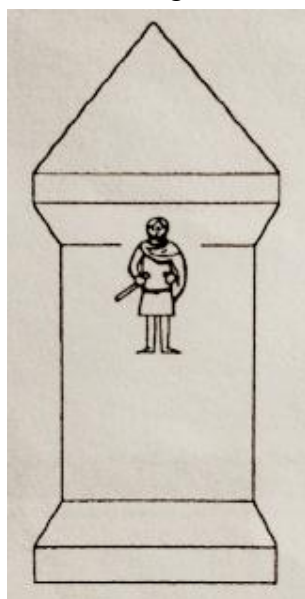
Figure 5. Cippi monument. Image Credit: Balty and Van Rengen, Apamea in Syria, 11.
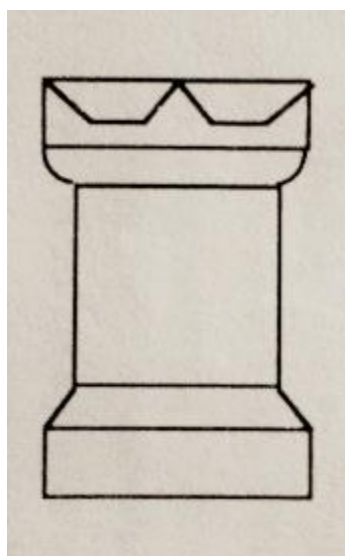
Figure 6. Altar monument. Image credit: Balty and Van Rengen, Apamea in Syria, 11.

Figure 7. Stele monument. Image credit: Balty and Van Rengen, Apamea in Syria, 11.

[72] Balty and Van Rengen, *Apamea in Syria,* 12.
[73] Balty and Van Rengen, *Apamea in Syria,* 12.
[74] Anderson, *Roman Military Tombstones*, 18.

difficult to determine their origin or even identify earlier tombstone styles or additional factors that perhaps influenced the development of the rider relief tombstones. Legions were often moved from one army camp to the next and the stone carvers that accompanied them could possibly have added local design styles to their repertoire. [75] It should be noted that not all tombstones were carved by military stone carvers. Local carvers were commissioned to carve the stones as well. Archaeological evidence seems to indicate that the horse-and-rider tombstones were exclusively military, however, within that grouping there are notable variations in details of tombstone styles and decorative carvings. It is part of the aim of this thesis to identify the characteristics on individual cavalryman tombstones with relation to their potential association with the ethnicity of the riders they portray.

Tombstone Inscriptions

In addition to a Roman military tombstone's shape and imagery, one of the dominant elements was its inscription. An inscription was not just important in providing information about the deceased. Such inscriptions are primary examples of Roman military epigraphs extant today. Many funerary inscriptions have been destroyed in the past because they were written on perishable materials, such as wood. Though there are rare samples of wooden tombstones that have survived at archaeological sites such as Vindolanda in northern Britain, the most common surviving funerary samples were engraved in stone. "The most frequently surviving category of military inscriptions is of gravestones from the now permanent or semi-permanent bases of the legions. The tombstones were largely of men of the resident garrisons who died in harness."[76]

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[75] Anderson, *Roman Military Tombstones*, 28; Keppie, *Understanding Roman Inscriptions*, 83.

[76] Keppie, *The Making of the Roman Army*, 80-81.

Tombstone inscriptions, as with the organization of the army, and the styles of the tombstones, changed over time. The format of the tombstone, the iconographic components, the inscriptional abbreviations, and the ligatures (the combination of two or more letters into a single character) all changed throughout the existence of the entire Roman Empire. Despite these changes, funerary epitaphs tend to include information such as the soldier's Roman-Latin name, his regiment, his length of service, and occasionally his age at death. Often the epitaph concluded with reference to the soldier's heirs or those responsible for the construction of his funerary monument. Lawrence Keppie, who has published numerous works on Roman inscriptions, has determined that many military epitaphs follow a pattern (some more loosely than others).[77] Typically the inscription would begin with *Dis Manibus* or DM, which translated means, "to the spirits of the departed."[78] This would be followed by the name of the soldier, then his father's name. If the soldier was a Roman citizen, his voting tribe would also be included. Listed after this was the soldier's military rank, the name of the legion in which the soldier served, and the number of years he was in service. Some epitaphs also list the name of the centurion under which the soldier served. Very rarely does the inscription include the date of discharge from military service. There is a great deal of important information that can be obtained from the inscriptions, but in order to do this it is necessary to be familiar with the Roman naming system, the abbreviations for names and for ranks, and ligatures. For example, Roman citizens commonly had three names: the *praenomina*, the *nomen gentilicium*, and the *cognomen*. If one or more of the names is missing, these omissions could pinpoint the time period in which the tombstone was likely erected as these inscriptions and formulas were often

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[77] Keppie, *Understanding Roman Inscriptions*, 45.
[78] Keppie, *Understanding Roman Inscriptions*, 46.

characteristic of specific eras of Roman military history. One example is that non-Roman citizens who served in the early auxiliary units were not given a full Roman name. In cases like this, only one or two names were displayed in the inscription. "For example, in Britain in the absence of a *cognomen* on a legionary tombstone may indicate a very early date while a missing *praenomen* may suggest a later date as the use of the *praenomina* became increasingly rare in the third century."[79] Closely examining the style and the pattern of epitaph will be helpful in determining crucial information about the soldier and his ethnicity, even if it is not clearly stated in the inscription itself.

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[79] Anderson, *Roman Military Tombstones*, 24.

3 │ IDENTITY AND ETHNICITY

Grave *stelae* have been erected for thousands of years as a way to commemorate and remember the deceased. They are, in a way, a means of both social and religious identification and serve in many societies as a focal point for commemorating the deceased's memory as well as serving as mnemonic devices. As stated before, the intent of this study is to determine what must be present in the material remains of Roman cavalry funerary *stelae* in order to identify the ethnic group to which a deceased soldier might have belonged. To accomplish this task, it is necessary to discuss identity and ethnicity, their definitions, and their relationship. These two terms are used often in anthropological and archaeological studies, but they are problematic. It is probably safe to say that there is no overarching definition for either term which is agreed upon by the modern anthropological and archaeological scholarly communities. Researchers have attempted to provide definitions, many of which share similar elements. It is important to have an understanding of the two terms in the present, as well as an understanding of how ethnicity and identity were viewed by the ancient Romans themselves. This chapter seeks to discuss the difficulties posed by the terms 'identity' and 'ethnicity,' to examine the relationship between the two terms, and to determine how they can still be relevant in archaeological studies.

What is 'Identity' vs. 'Ethnicity'?

Many accept identity to be that set of characteristics by which an individual person or

persons is recognized.[80] Archaeologists and anthropologists had attempted to define the

"identity" of a group or culture. "One early anthropological approach to group identity was to

identify 'culture areas': complexes of cultural traits common to inhabitants of a particular

environmental zone."[81] This approach had many difficulties, but it was only the beginning.

Approaches eventually evolved into attempts at defining a culture, and then identifying groups

within a culture, and eventually the individuals who make up the group. Renfrew and Bahn

discuss a different method, referred to as the "bottom-up" approach. In reference to this

approach, they state that, "the questions that arise in this 'bottom-up' perspective are about the

way such important social constructs as gender, status, and even age are constituted – for

increasingly archaeologists are coming to realize that these are not "givens," that is they are not

unproblematic cross-cultural realities but constructs specific to each different society."[82]

Andrew Gardner has done extensive research on the role of identity in archaeology.

Gardner discusses the many difficulties one encounters when trying to infer identity from

material remains. [83] One of the primary difficulties is that individuals have more than one

identity. Some of the varying identities include but are not limited to ethnicity, gender, rank or

class, language, religion, and age. Over an individual's lifetime, he or she may be associated

with many different identities. This being the case, archaeological remains may not always

represent all the active identities associated with one individual. For example, a tombstone may

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[80] Andrew Gardner, *An Archaeology of Identity: Soldiers and Society in Late Roman Britain* (California: Left Coast Press, 2007), 19.

[81] Geoff Emberling, "Ethnicity in Complex Societies: Archaeological Perspectives" in *Journal of Archaeological Research* vol. 5, no. 4 (1997): 297.

[82] Colin Renfrew and Paul Bahn, *Archaeology: Theories, Methods and Practice* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2012), 220.

[83] Gardner, *An Archaeology of Identity*, 19.

indicate a male's association with the army, but this is not his only identity. In many situations, an individual may choose the identities with which he or she wishes to be associated.[84] At the same time, a society may impose an identity (or identities) upon an individual that are beyond the individual's powers of choice or control.

One of the important aspects of identity is that it varies both in type and in scale. Gardner divides the various types of identity into three, overlapping categories. The largest category is what he calls "institutional" identities.[85] These include identities that are controlled by large social structures. For example, an individual may be called "Roman" because he or she fulfills the requirements set by Rome. Or alternatively, a non-Roman population would perceive invading Roman forces as consisting of "Romans" even though soldiers might vary ethnically. Another example that fits Gardner's "institutional" category is the Roman military. The military, in this case, was a large social structure consisting of numerous sub-identities like rank, class, and ethnicity.

Gardner's second category includes identifiers such as profession, religion, gender or kin-group.[86] His third category is the individual.[87] The individual's identity is often affected by many of the identities in the first two categories. "All of the categories listed in the main part of the diagram have both 'individual' and 'institutional' qualities…"[88] Thus, it is understood that there are multiple types of identities that range from a local to a global scale, but there is no concrete boundary between the categories.

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[84] Siân Jones, *Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present*, (New York: Routledge, 1997), 84.
[85] Gardner, *Archaeology of Identity,* 240.
[86] Gardner, *Archaeology of Identity,* 241.
[87] Gardner, *Archaeology of Identity,* 241
[88] Gardner, *Archaeology of Identity,* 240.

Multiple scholars have argued that identity is a fluid concept, rather than a fixed one.[89] Over time, individuals, beliefs, actions, and interactions can affect the identities with which one is associated. Renfrew and Bahn state that "it is certainly possible to argue that the purposes, meanings and intentions are themselves always already structured within historical trajectories, but the notion of agency allows for the ability of individuals to transform the structures in concrete situations."[90] Not only do people change the identities with which they associate themselves, but the individual identities change. Just as humans and their behaviors morph and change over time, the characteristics that distinguish one identity from another change. As Gardner states, "they (identities) embody the traditions of their class, their unit, and their home, in different mixes and in different degrees as they move or as they stay put."[91] This reinforces the importance of understanding how the ancient Romans, particularly the military, viewed identity and how they chose to distinguish its different characteristics.

What is Ethnicity?

There are a variety of possible ways to approach a term as ambiguous and susceptible to such varied uses as "ethnicity." One is to avoid discussing the term. After all, everyone uses the term, so we must all know generally what we mean by it.[92]

Authors who have attempted to define the term "ethnicity," particularly in an anthropological or archaeological setting, acknowledge the difficulty of this task.[93] Some even maintain that it is impossible to do. [94] Thus, it would seem that using the term ethnicity in an

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[89] Emberling, "Ethnicity in Complex Societies," 303.
[90] Renfrew and Bahn, *Archaeology*, 241.
[91] Gardner, *Archaeology of Identity*, 19.
[92] Emberling, "Ethnicity in Complex Societies", 300.
[93] Gardner, *Archaeology of Identity*; Jones, *Archaeology of Ethnicity*.
[94] Emberling, "Ethnicity in Complex Societies," 300.

academic study would be useless. This raises the question, "Why, then, is this term still used by so often?"[95] The most general definition of the term must encompass several aspects that researchers find important to study and are pertinent to the "ethnicity" definitions in the following pages.

Renfrew and Bahn provide a basic definition of ethnicity: "The existence of ethnic groups, including tribal groups. Though these are difficult to recognize from the archaeological record, the study of language and linguistic boundaries shows that ethnic groups are often correlated with language areas."[96]

Other scholars from multiple disciplines, specifically those within the human sciences, have attempted to study and define ethnicity. Sian Jones references a study that was conducted by Isajiw where sixty-five studies of ethnicity were compared. [97] According to Isajiw, only thirteen studies attempted to provide a specific definition of ethnicity. It was also observed that the definitions typically fell into one of two categories. The first category had to do with the perspective on which the definition is based. Either they were "subjectivist" or "objectivist" definitions. Objectivist refers to those definitions which were formulated based on the researcher's observations. Subjectivist refers to the definitions which include the observations made by the people who are being studied. The second category includes definitions that were either too vague, or too specific. She states that they vary "…between generic definitions which are considered to be too broad to be of any analytical use in the analysis of particular cases, and definitions that are so narrow that their comparative potential is minimal and their principal

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[95] Emberling, "Ethnicity in Complex Societies," 301.
[96] Renfrew and Bahn, *Archaeology*, 581.
[97] Jones, *Archaeology of Ethnicity*, 85.

function is descriptive."[98] From this study, it would appear that no overarching definition has ever been published. [99] Given the diversity of human nature and behavior, the difficulty of describing ethnicity is not so surprising.

Ethnicity was not always seen as a valued aspect of human behavior to be studied. Many scholars think that ethnicity is not something that can truly be determined by studying the material remains found by archaeologists.[100] Not long after the emergence of the so-called New Archaeology, Fredrik Barth published a book titled, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference*.[101] Though his work was not widely popular at first, it influenced an eventual shift in the way anthropologists and archaeologists approached the study of ethnicity. Barth felt that the study of ethnic groups should be focused more on the boundaries between groups; the aspects that made one group different from another. He also took a more emic approach and assumed that "ethnic groups are categories of ascription and identification by the actors themselves."[102] Before Barth published his book, other anthropologists such as Edmund Leach, Daniel Moerman, and Franz Boas had also taken similar positions on the subject.[103]

More recently, despite the on-going difficulties of clarity, a few anthropologists have again attempted to provide a definition for ethnicity. Jones has made the distinction between "ethnicity," "ethnic groups," and "ethnic identity."[104] She views ethnicity as a process rather

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[98] Jones, *Archaeology of Ethnicity*, 85.
[99] Smith, *Roman Palmyra*, 8.
[100] Emberling, "Ethnicity in Complex Societies," 300.
[101] Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, 10.
[102] Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, 10.
[103] Emberling, "Ethnicity in Complex Societies," 298.
[104] Jones, *Archaeology of Ethnicity*.

than the identity itself and states, "As a process ethnicity involves a consciousness of difference, which, to varying degrees, entails the reproduction and transformation of basic classificatory distinctions between groups of people who perceive themselves to be in some respect culturally distinct."[105] She sees ethnicity as a system in which different ethnic groups interact with and distinguish themselves from each other. Jones defines ethnic groups as "any group of people who set themselves apart and/or are set apart by others with whom they interact or co-exist on the basis of their perceptions of cultural differentiation and/or common descent."[106] She goes on to state that these groups are based on a shared expression of culture and common descent. This expression is usually in the form of language, religion, or physical characteristics. Lastly, Jones defines ethnic identity as "that aspect of a person's self-conceptualization which results from identification with a broader group in opposition to others on the basis of perceived cultural differentiation and/or common descent."[107] There are two key elements that make up Jones's definitions: the distinctions between different ethnic groups are, in part, formed by the individuals or group themselves, and that they share common descent.

It is important to note that ethnicity can be problematic, much like identity in that a person can claim multiple ethnicities.[108] The lines that separate one group from another are not concrete, but often blur and overlap. Characteristics that are associated with one ethnic group, such as language or religion, are also subject to change over time. For example, in the early Roman period, the people practiced numerous pagan religions. [109] In the later Roman era, much

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[105] Jones, *Archaeology of Ethnicity*, xiii.
[106] Jones, *Archaeology of Ethnicity*, xiii.
[107] Jones, *Archaeology of Ethnicity*, xiii.
[108] Greg Woolf, "Beyond Romans and Natives," in *World Archaeology* 28, no. 3 (1997): 339.
[109] Gardner, *Archaeology of Identity,* 200.

of Rome had converted to Christianity and, therefore, significantly changed one of the defining elements of being a Roman.

An individual may choose to have a dominant ethnicity (as well as identity) by which he/she is recognized. This idea is particularly relevant to the analysis of the tombstones. If a soldier had requested a specific style, design, symbols or inscription, he had chosen how he would be remembered and identified.

As mentioned above, one of Jones's key elements of the definition of an ethnic group and an ethnic identity is that the identity is "culturally ascribed."[110] It is not just the opinion of the observer that distinguishes one ethnicity from another. Thus, it is necessary to establish which characteristics the ancient Romans believed qualified them as "Roman." Equally important, is the need to identify some of the distinctions among those in the Roman military.

What Made a Roman a Roman?

As previously discussed, to be able to ascertain the ethnic identity of an individual, it is necessary to know what qualified a person as 'Roman' and to be able to determine the differences which qualified a person as a 'non-Roman.' "Romanness, even for those who reached this goal, did not cancel regional and ethnic identities."[111] Even if a non-Roman cavalryman adopted Roman customs, languages, religions, and eventually received Roman citizenship, he still retained some of his original ethnic identity. Just as there is no simple modern definition of ethnicity, there was no specific explanation of the concept of ethnic identity in the Roman era. This does not mean that the Romans had no notion of the concept. Extant

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[110] Jones, *Archaeology of Ethnicity*, 85.

[111] Walter Pohl, "Introduction" in, *Strategies of Distinction: The Construction of the Ethnic Communities 300-800,* Walter Pohl and Helmut Reimitz, eds., (Brill, Netherlands, 1998), 1.

records written by the early Greek and Roman historians provide the best evidence for ascertaining their perception of ethnicity. It must be acknowledged that these histories do not provide a solid, overarching definition. The historians who wrote these records had their own biases and opinions about the culture of the time. No doubt their own personal experiences had a significant effect on how they chose to portray certain events and people. Researchers have found that though there are many differences between histories, there are still some pieces of information that are, for the most part, in agreement.[112] Gardner references two historians, Ammianus and Zosimus, who wrote very different records about the Roman Empire. Their reasoning for the fall of the empire was quite different, but both made reference to Roman citizens and members of the military. Both authors also identified those who were not Roman, and they did so using certain markers. "From such accounts, we can start to pick up on some of the ways that particular traditions were defined as key parts of Roman culture by some Romans, although...this is only a partial perspective."[113] Zosimus, for instance, often characterized foreigners based on their citizenship, customs, religion or language.[114] Military practices discussed above may also have expressed how the military distinguished Roman citizens from non-citizens. Not long after the military began to expand to other countries, it recruited the locals into the army. The army was organized so that Roman citizens with high social status, those who held jobs in the government, were given higher ranking leadership positions. The local recruits were kept separate in the auxiliary troops.[115] It was clearly important to the military that a distinction was made between the citizens of Rome and the foreigners. "Each

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[112] Gardner, *Archaeology of Identity,* 226.
[113] Gardner, *Archaeology of Identity*, 226.
[114] Gardner, *Archaeology of Identity*, 227.
[115] Goldsworthy, *The Complete Roman Army*, 55.

people's complex of traits, along with geographical boundaries, became determining factors in Roman ethnic classification."[116] These traits are addressed in extant epigraphic material; ancient historians gave clues as to what made a Roman, Roman. The historians emphasize the distinctions between Romans and non-Romans by comparing different traits. Strabo, in his work *Geography*, distinguished Roman identity through the concepts of civilized and uncivilized.[117] Poverty, simplicity, and frugality were, according to Strabo, characteristics of an uncivilized society, the opposite of Roman society. Many historians use the term "barbarian" to identify non-Romans. Other historians such as Polybius and Tacitus specified different ethnicities and identities through characteristics such as language, warfare tactics, weapons, character, political systems, and history. Tacitus authored several works, *Germania* being one of his better known works. This is an ethnographic text written c. 98 C.E., describing the different Germanic tribes outside the Roman Empire. Tacitus often uses language to classify certain tribes as Germanic. Polybius' *The Histories*, is a multi-volume work written in the second century B.C.E. detailing Rome's rise to power. Polybius describes a battle between the Romans and the Gauls, and notes specifically that the Gauls were particularly intimidating due to the many horns, and battle chants. The Gauls also wore very little in battle and were bedecked in golden *torques* and *armillae*.[118] The Roman soldiers were well protected with large shields, helmets, and chainmail, quite the opposite of the Gallic soldiers. Polybius also describes the Gallic swords and their inferiority to those of Roman make. The character of a group of people was often identified.

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[116] Patrick Geary, "Barbarians and Ethnicity" in *Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Past*, Glen Warren Bowersock, Peter Brown, and Oleg Grabar, eds., (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 107.
[117] Strabo, *Geography*, 2.5.26.
[118] Polybius*, The Histories*, 99:29.

Ammianus, in his work *Res Gestae*, describes a particular battle against a group of Romans. He describes that "they gnashed their teeth hideously and raged beyond their usual manner, their flowing hair made a terrible sight, and a kind of madness shone from their eyes."[119] Polybius comments on the character of the Celtic people: "… absolutely everything the Gauls did was dictated by passion rather than reason."[120] He implies that this characteristic of the Gauls negatively interfered with their own battle tatics. Tacitus classifies two tribes seemingly Germanic tribes as Roman based solely on the fact that they payed tribute to Rome. This is rather significant in that it shows the importance of the political system to the Romans. Polybius dedicated an entire book to description of the Roman government and political system and the comparison of that political system with those of Sparta, Crete, Mantinea, and Carthage.[121] These ancient historians have, in their attempt to record history, also described in multiple ways how Romans differentiated themselves from non-Romans.

After the discussion of identity and ethnicity, it is apparent that these concepts can be problematic when used in an analytical context. It may be impossible to accurately identify the ethnicity of an individual through the information extracted from his tombstone. What Gardner and Jones both make clear, however, is that there are different types of identity, one of which is ethnicity. There are also different levels of identity. Therefore, it is my aim, following the definition provided by Jones, to determine which elements of the cavalryman tombstones can be used to infer perhaps not the ethnic identity of the individual, but the ethnic group to which he was associated.

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[119] Ammianus Marcellinus, *History: Books 14-19*, trans. J.C. Rolfe, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950), 283:36.
[120] Polybius, *The Histories*, 103:35
[121] Polybius, *The Histories*, 402-411.

4│ROMAN CAVALRYMEN TOMBSTONES

Thousands of Roman military tombstones have been recovered across the Old World. It is impressive that so many are extant today. When the Roman military built fortresses, they often built them near civilian settlements. If no settlement existed previously, one would soon develop and grow. This turned out to be a very successful strategy for the Roman military in expanding their empire in foreign lands. As previously discussed, soldiers erected funerary monuments in cemeteries that were located outside fortresses or nearby cities. It was common that when a military base was abandoned, the civilians would take over the use of the buildings.[122] Oftentimes, stones, wood, and even tombstones were taken and reused as building materials. There are several instances in which tombstones have been discovered in foundations and walls of buildings that were constructed hundreds of years later than the era of the original Roman grave *stelae*. Many tombstones have survived the ravages of time and are now preserved in museums across the world. A relatively small number of these surviving tombstones were erected in memory of Roman cavalrymen and exhibit relief carvings. The elaborate, carved funerary stelae were expensive, so only the wealthy, or those who saved their money, could afford them. Therefore, there are fewer of these types of tombstones in existence. Even more rare are the tombstones displaying the rider motif. As part of my research for this thesis, I traveled to Great Britain, Europe, and the Near East and gathered data on Roman cavalrymen

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[122] Keppie, *Making of the Roman Army*, 92.

tombstones. In this chapter, I will describe the tombstones to be used in this study, as well as a

brief history of the Roman military presence in the regions in which the tombstones were found.

Britain

A large number of cavalry tombstones have been found all over Great Britain, notably

near forts along Hadrian's Wall and the Antonine Wall.[123] Fifteen of the tombstones in my data

set were discovered in Great Britain. Not all the tombstones originated from Roman towns or

military bases that are well researched, so a brief history will only be provided for select regions.

Emperor Claudius appointed Aulus Plautius, a politician and general, to lead the army in

the invasion of Britain in C.E. 43.[124] The Romans quickly began to organize permanent

settlements among the native tribes. Plautius ordered a cavalry troop to fight in the raid of the

town Camulodunum, known today as Colchester.[125] The Romans were successful in seizing the

British capital and constructed a legionary fortress in C.E. 49.[126] The city remained one of

Roman Britain's principal cities for several years. It was near the fortress that the tombstone of

Longinus Sdapeze (see fig. 18, catalog no. 11) was discovered.

Cavalrymen Dannicus (see fig. 11, catalog no. 9) and Sextus Valerius Genialis (see fig.

12, catalog no. 10) both had tombstones erected in the town of Cirencester. The Roman name of

the town was Corinium and the army built a fort there around 44 C.E., but it was abandoned

around 30 years later.[127] Despite the army leaving, Corinium grew to be the second largest

settlement in Roman Britain by the fourth century C.E.

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[123] Anderson, *Roman Military Tombstones*, 12.

[124] Graham Webster, *Roman Invasion of Britain* (London: Routledge, 1993), 103.

[125] Webster, *Roman Invasion of Britain*, 103.

[126] Julian Bennett, *Towns in Roman Britain* (Oxford: Shire Publications, 2001), 9.

[127] R.F.J Jones, "A False Start? The Roman Urbanization of Western Europe," in *World Archaeology* 19, no. 1 (1987): 48.

Gloucester was once the Roman colony Glevum, which was founded by Emperor Nerva around 90 C.E.[128] A larger fortress was built at Glevum and many legionary veterans were settled here and it was later given over for civilian use.[129] There was a cemetery outside the fortress in Gloucester. There was found the tombstone of cavalryman Rufus Sita (see fig. 20, catalog no. 13) who was a trooper of the sixth cohort of Thracians.

The town of Coria (modern day Corbridge) was established around 75-79 C.E. The military built a fort nearby but ten years later built another fort about half a mile away. Around 160 C.E., the Romans built another fort on top of the last fort.[130] It was at this fort that detachments from Legion XX Valeria Victrix and Legio VI Victrix were garrisoned for some time.[131] In 1881, the tombstone of Flavinus (see fig. 12, catalog no. 14) was discovered in the foundation of Hexam Abbey. There is no way to know exactly where it originated, many agree it is likely that it was taken from near the fort at Corbridge.[132] The remaining tombstones from Great Britain were found in several different regions including Cumbria, Bath, Chester, and Mayfair.

Bath

The tombstone of Lucius Vitellius Tacinus was found in the "Old Market Place" region of Bath in 1736.[133] The tombstone is now preserved in the Roman Baths Museum (fig. 8, catalog no. 1). This tombstone was found in two pieces and is missing a large portion on the top,

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[128] Bennet, *Towns in Roman Britain,* 9.
[129] Bennett, *Towns in Roman Britain*, 66.
[130] Bennett, *Towns in Roman Britain,* 16.
[131] Bennett, *Towns in Roman Britain,* 16.
[132] Anderson, *Roman Military Tombstones*, 56.
[133] R.G. Collingwood and R.P. Wright, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 52, no. 159.

Figure 8. Tombstone of Lucius Vitellius Tacinus c. 74 C.E. Roman Baths Museum. Photo: author.

but the bottom half of the carved relief, as well as the inscription, still remains. It stands at 1.6 meters tall and is rectangular in shape. The relief depicts the rider on the horse, with the horse facing to the viewer's right, trampling a foe on the ground. Though the relief is severely corroded, it is apparent the carving is somewhat crude in that the rider is disproportionately large in comparison to the horse. The fallen enemy is very small, but this could have been done with some intention. The scene is depicted in profile, and clearly the carver attempted to imitate the correct perspective. Faint outlines of decoration on the back of the horse can be seen. Some part of the soldier's uniform can be seen near his upper leg.

The inscription is located below the carved relief (fig. 9). Its border consists of three lines, each carved progressively deeper in to the stone. Though some areas are missing or eroded, the inscription remains in fairly good condition. It is in Latin and reads as follows (back slashes represent a new line):

Figure 9. Inscription on tombstone of Lucius Vitellius Tacinus, c. 74 C.E., Roman Baths Museum. Photo: author.

L(ucius) Vitellius Ma / ntai f(ilius) Tacinus / cives Hisp(anus) Caurie(n)sis / eq(ues) alae Vettonum c(ivium) R(omanorum) / ann(orum) XXXXVI stip(endiorum) XXVI / h(ic) s(itus) e(st)[134]

"Lucius Vitellius Tacinus, son of Mantaius, a tribesman of Caurium in Spain, trooper of the cavalry regiment of Vettones, Roman citizen, aged 46, of 26 years' service, lies buried here."

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[134] *RIB* 159.

Dating tombstones can be difficult and imprecise. In the inscription, it says, "Roman citizen" which is an honorific title not given until after 69 C.E. Thus, the tombstone likely dates to the Flavian dynasty, circa 74 C.E.[135] According to the inscription, Lucius was from Caurium in Spain, but was granted Roman citizenship as he belonged to the Spanish wing (*ala*) of Vettones (a Hispanic tribe), which consisted of Roman citizens.

Also found at the Roman Baths Museum is the tombstone of an unknown rider (fig. 10, catalog no. 2). Though it is only a fragment measuring .69m x .74m x .18m, it is still significant.

Figure 10. Remains of an unknown rider's tombstone at the Roman Baths Museum first century C.E. Roman Baths Museum. Photo: author.

What remains of the tombstone is the top portion, broken just below the head of the horse. The relief is a profile of the rider on the horse with the horse facing to the right. The soldier is mostly in profile, but his head is turned slightly towards the front, making it easier to see his face. Even though the bottom half is missing, it is very likely that the horse was trampling an enemy. The soldier is in an action position with his right hand back behind his head holding a spear as if ready to throw it.

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[135] Anderson, *Roman Military Tombstones*, 57.

The tombstone is topped with a pediment. Extending from the pediment are three ornamental flourishes, one at the top center and one on each bottom corner of the pediment. The left decoration has broken off. Filling the center of the pediment is a large rosette surrounded with leaves. The rosette is very common motif on funerary *stelae*. It represents many things, including prosperity for the next life, as well as the believed transformation that takes place when the soul leaves the body.[136] Although there is no inscription, based on other epigraphic and archaeological evidence, the tombstone likely dates to the first century C.E.

Cirencester

Just to the northeast of Bath is the city of Cirencester where, in 1835, the tombstone of the cavalryman Dannicus (fig. 11, catalog no. 9) was discovered. The tombstone dates to approximately 70 C.E.[137] It is a large, rectangular stela with a triangular gabled top. Carved into the niche on the top half of the monument is a rider on his horse, trampling the barbarian on the ground. It is a profile view with the horse facing to the right. The rider is twisted slightly so that the head and torso are facing the viewer. The man being crushed underfoot is also twisted at the waist so that the torso and head are facing forward. The carving itself is somewhat crude, with the rider disproportionately large to the horse. The horse is rather short, making it appear that the rider is able to pin down his assailant with his foot while still seated on the horse. Despite the corrosive effects, it clear that the soldier was wearing a special helmet. There is a portion of the soldier's right hand missing, but it is still possible to see that he is holding a spear, ready to thrust it into his enemy. Also visible, attached at the soldier's side, is a small dagger called a *pugio*.[138]

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[136] Anderson, *Roman Military Tombstones*, 33.
[137] *RIB* 109.
[138] Dixon and Southern, *The Late Roman Army*, 112.

Figure 11. Tombstone of Dannicus, found in
Cirencester c. 70 C.E. Corinium Museum. Photo:
Carol Reddato.

The face of the horse is quite corroded, but it is still possible to see the reins and saddle

cloth. Many of the cavalrymen sometimes appear to have little to no details depicting their

clothing. The stone carver may have intentionally left out some of these details because they

would be added later with paint. [139]

The inscription, still in relatively good condition reads:

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[139] Anderson, *Romany Military Tombstones*, 26.

*Dannicus eq(u)es alae / Indian(ae) tur(ma) Albani / stip(endiorum) XVI cives
Raur(icus) / cur(averunt) Fulvius Natalis it (!) / Fl[av]ius Bitucus ex testame(nto)
/ h(ic) s(itus) e(st)*[140]

"Dannicus, a cavalryman of the *ala* Indiana, from the troop of Albanus, who
served 16 years, a tribesman of the Raurici. Fulvius Natalis and Flavius Bitucus
set this up according to the will. He lies here." [141]

Unlike many other inscriptions, this inscription was not given any special decorative border or
carved into a shallow niche, but rather the inscription was carved into the stone remaining flush
with the border of the relief.   Dannicus belonged to the *ala Indiana Gallorum*, which consisted
of recruits from Gaul and was named after the commanding officer Julius Indus. Because only
one name is given, it is likely that Dannicus did not serve long enough to receive Roman
citizenship. The inscription also states that he is a tribesman of the Raurici, which was in
reference to the Roman province Augusta Raurica, or modern-day Augst, Switzerland.[142] The
tombstone is now preserved in the Corinium Museum.

Another important piece in the Corinium Museum's collections is the funerary stela of
Sextus Valerius Genialis (fig. 12, catalog, no. 10), originally discovered near the tombstone of
Dannicus in Cirencester in 1836.[143] It too is a large gabled tombstone. The soldier died young at
age 40, having spent half of his life in service of the military. He did possess the funds,
however, to have an elaborate monument erected after his death. The tombstone was discovered
in very good condition with many of the carving details well preserved. Genialis is depicted in
action atop his horse with a spear held in his right hand, aimed at the barbarian being trampled

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[140] *RIB* 108; *Lupa* 8474.
[141] Valerie M. Hope, *Death in Ancient Rome: A Source Book* (New York: Routledge,
2007), 157.
[142] Hope, *Death in Ancient Rome*, 157.
[143] *RIB* 109.

Figure 12. Tombstone of Sextus found in Cirencester, 60-68 C.E.
Corinium Museum. Photo: Armatura Press.

beneath the horse. The relief is laid out as a profile, but as with previously mentioned reliefs, the

soldier is twisted slightly in the torso so that the face and shoulders are facing forward. The

horse's head is also slightly tilted towards the front.

Unlike the previous reliefs, this relief displays impressive details. One can easily see the outlines of the soldier's uniform, even the lines on the trim of the shirt sleeve. The details of the face are no longer distinguishable, but he is clearly wearing a special helmet. There are even lines on the soldier's hand to distinguish the fingers. Sticking out on the far side of the soldier, just behind the horse's head is the legion's standard. The horse he is riding also has significant detail. The decorative dressing on the horse is well defined, including the saddle blanket, reins and bridle. The sculptor added groves in the mane and tail to represent individual sections of hair, he also added lines on some of the legs to emphasize the musculature. Of the many cavalry tombstones found in Britain, this tombstone is one of the best preserved and most detailed.

The pediment above the relief has a large rosette carved in the center with leaves filling the remaining space. The only other decor outside the relief are two small floral motifs under the pediment, one on each side of the niche.

The epitaph has been inscribed beneath the carved relief, surrounded by a rectangular border like that seen on the tombstone of Lucius Vitellius Tacinus.

> *Sextus Vale / rius Genialis / eq(u)es alae Thraec(um) / civis Frisiaus tur(ma) / Genialis an(norum) XXXX st(ipendiorum) XX / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) (h)e(res) f(aciendum) c(uravit)*[144]

> "Sextus Valerius Genialis, a cavalryman of the Thracian wing, a citizen of the Frisiavones, from the turma of Genialis. Forty years old with twenty years' service. He lies here. The cavalry were responsible for the making [of this memorial]."[145]

Even though Genialis was originally a citizen of Frisia (lower Rhine region in Germany), he was granted Roman citizenship given that he has three names in the inscription. He likely joined the

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[144] *RIB* 109.
[145] *RIB* 109.

first Thracian wing after it was transferred to Cirencester, or Corinium as it was known to the Romans, during the Neronian period.[146] Thus, this tombstone possibly dates somewhere between 60 C.E. and 68 C.E.

Chester

Over 100 miles to the north of Cirencester and just east of the Wales border lies the city of Chester. Around 74 C.E., a legion was sent to establish a military base in Chester.[147] Several cavalrymen funerary *stelae* have been recovered near Chester, all dating to the late first century C.E. Most of these tombstones are now preserved in the Grosvenor Museum in Chester.

The tombstone of Aurelius Lucius (fig. 13, catalog no. 3) was discovered in the nearby town of North Wall in 1887.[148] It was in two pieces, together measuring 137 cm x 71 cm. The top half of the stela depicts Lucius at a funeral banquet, reclined on a couch. The funerary banquet motif is commonly referred to as the *totenmahl* style. It was a common theme in Greek art and was later adopted by Roman artists into Roman funerary art, including military funerary art.[149] The carving on this tombstone is rather crude, but his facial features still remain, and he shown with a mustache, beard, and with a somewhat spiky hairdo. This was not a typical Roman style, so it is likely that he came from a 'barbarian' or Celtic background.[150] The image in profile with Lucius turned at the waist so that his head and shoulders are facing forward. In his right hand he holds a goblet and is leaning on his left arm. In his left hand he holds a scroll which is most likely his will or possibly his Roman citizenship document. Several tombstones

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[146] Anderson, *Roman Military Tombstones*, 55.
[147] Keppie, *The Making of the Roman Army*, 72.
[148] *RIB* 522.
[149] Hope, "Words and Pictures," 253.
[150] *RIB* 522.

Figure 13. Tombstone of Aurelius Lucius found in Chester, dating to
late first century C.E. Grosvenor Museum. Photo: author.

have shown the deceased holding their wills in a similar manner.[151] On the right side of the

relief niche is his cavalry helmet with a plume and his sword. At the bottom right, just

underneath the couch, there is a small head, likely that of a servant. To the right of the head is

the top of a three-legged table depicted as if looking down on the table. Even though the table is

depicted from a bird's eye view, it is likely a *mensa delphica*. It is a table shaped after a tripod,

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[151] Anderson, *Roman Military Tombstones*, 29.

or a three-legged structure.

The bottom half of the stela contains the feet of the servant and to the left, the head of an enemy. It is likely that the servant is holding the head by the hair. This display of victory is different from many of the other banquet style cavalry tombstones. The other banquet style tombstones examined in this study also have a horse depicted in some manner. The servant holding the enemy's head rather than a horse trampling the enemy may be another indication that the soldier was of a Celtic background.

The inscription is not separated by a border like on other tombstones. It is also incomplete. The following is what remains:

(Dis) M(anibus) / Aureli Luci / equitis / h f c

"To the spirits of the departed, Aurelius Lucius, cavalryman. His heir had this made."

The craftsmanship of this relief carving is less refined, particularly in comparison with the tombstone of Sextus Valerius Genialis. The carvings on the tombstones found at Chester are similar to this more primitive style.

In 1891 the tombstone of Sextus Similius (fig. 14, catalog no. 4) was discovered in North Wall near Chester.[152] It was found in several pieces and restored at the Grosvenor Museum. It was carved from a cream colored sandstone is rectangular in shape and measures 110 cm x 71 cm x 20 cm. The soldier is uniquely portrayed in the relief carving. At the top of the stela, the soldier's bust is carved inside a small niche in the center, and flanking either side of the bust is a portrait view of a lion. The lions' mouths are wide open with tongues sticking out. The front paws are resting on top of a ram's head. The ram's heads are a shown in profile, with one facing

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[152] *RIB* 538.

to the right and the other facing to the left. Lions are commonly portrayed on Roman

tombstones, and not just those of the military. Lions were believed to represent how quickly

death can come.[153]

Beneath the bust and lions, in a shallow square niche, the soldier is presented on his horse

with a servant or groom walking in front of the horse carrying the soldier's shield. There is very

Figure 14. Tombstone of Sextus Similius found in Chester, now at the Grosvenor
Museum, dated to c. 200 C.E. Photo: author.

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[153] Anderson, *Roman Military Tombstones*, 37.

little detail or definition in this lower relief. The horse is facing to the left and wearing a long saddle blanket. All three figures are shown in profile view.

Only a portion of the inscription was salvaged:

Sextus Sexti Filius / Fab Brix(ia) …. / Simil….

"Sextus Simil(ius), son of Sextus, of the Fabian voting tribe, from Brixia."[154]

Not much about the soldier can be gleaned from this fragmentary inscription, but it is apparent that the cavalryman was from Brixia, which today is Brescia in northern Italy.

Also on display at the Grosvenor Museum is a tombstone of a standard bearer (fig. 15, catalog no. 5) found in North Wall in Chester in December of 1890.[155] Only a portion of the tombstone remains, measuring 194 cm x 81 cm x 20 cm. This particular standard bearer carried the dragon standard and was known as a *draconarius*. The dragon was introduced into the army by the Sarmatians in the late second century C.E.[156] The Sarmatians only joined the Roman army due to the loss of a battle in 175 C.E. Five and a half thousand Sarmatian soldiers were obtained by the army and sent to Britain by Marcus Aurelius.[157] If this soldier is indeed a Sarmatian, this tombstone would most likely date to the late second or early third century C.E.

The rider is sitting on the horse, with the horse facing to the right. The rider's face is turned toward the viewer and simple facial features such as the brow, eyes, nose, and mouth still remain. He wears a simple, conical helmet that was commonly worn by Sarmatian soldiers and a

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[154] Francis Haverfield, *Catalogue of the Roman Inscribed and Sculptured Stones in the Grosvenor Museum, Chester*, (Chester: Castle Printing Works, 1900), 69.

[155] Haverfield, *Roman Inscribed and Sculptured Stones*, 69.

[156] Dixon and Southern, *The Roman Cavalry*, 61.

[157] Dixon and Southern, *The Roman Cavalry*, 158.

cape flows out behind him.[158] The only weapon visible is part of small dagger worn at his side.

Even though the dragon head is missing from the tombstone, the standard is still identifiable as

the dragon because of its unique design. The dragon head hosted a wide, open mouth and holes

in the eyes. Attached to the back of the dragon's head is a long tubular tail made of fabric. It

was designed in this manner so that when the rider held up the standard while galloping on a

horse, the wind would blow through the mouth, eyes, and tail of the dragon, causing a loud

whistling or shrieking noise.[159] The distinctive tail is clearly visible on the top portion of the

tombstone as well as the pole being held by the rider.

Very little of the horse still remains. A rough outline of the horse's head is visible, with

more definition around the mouth and nostril. The stone is broken just to the left of the rider's

Figure 15. Unknown standard bearer at Grosvenor Museum, found in Chester, dated to the late second century C.E. Photo credit: author.

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[158] Goldsworthy, *The Complete Roman Army*, 126.
[159] Dixon and Southern, *The Roman Cavalry,* 61.

leg, so only the front two legs of the horse remain. The horse's left leg is lifted to imply motion. Unfortunately, no inscription was ever recovered.

Another tombstone belonging to an unknown rider (fig. 16, catalog no. 6) was discovered in November, 1890 in North Wall, Chester.[160] Only the upper portion of the stela remains and measures about 92 cm x 92 cm. It has rectangular body with a triangular gabled top. The top of the triangle is missing. It was found in multiple pieces and restored by the Grosvenor Museum.

This tombstone follows the more traditional style of the rider on the horse, trampling the enemy. Once again, the carving is less refined but some details are still clearly visible. The rider, proportionately larger than the horse, sits on the horse with his right arm raised behind his head.

Figure 16. Tombstone of unknown rider at Grosvenor Museum, found in Chester, dated to early second century C.E. Photo: author.

It is most likely that the rider was originally holding a spear in his hand. The soldier appears to

[160] Collingwood, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, 550.

be wearing a long chain mail shirt that reaches just above the knee. Though the sword is not pictured, the belt can be seen strapped across his chest.

The horse is depicted in action, facing to the right, with its front two legs in the air, just above the barbarian lying on the ground. Some of the details on the horse, though subtle, can still be identified. For example, the strap of the bridle is apparent on the horse's face and the saddle blanket is also shown. Shallow lines were carved into the horse's mane and tail in attempt to mimic the movement of the hair. The enemy being trampled on the ground is lying face down and naked and is grasping on to an oblong shield. Just below the relief, the only part of the inscription remaining is:

D(is) M(anibus)

"To the spirits of the departed."

Figure 17. Tombstone of unknown rider trampling foe at Grosvenor Museum. Tombstone was found in Chester and dates to the early second century C.E. Photo credit: author.

The last cavalryman's tombstone from the Grosvenor Museum in this study also belongs to an unknown rider (fig. 17, catalog no. 7). It was discovered in North Wall, Chester, in 1891 and measures approximately 189 cm x 74 cm. The relief carving on this fragment was more thoroughly executed; there are more details and they are more refined. What remains is the bottom portion of the relief. It is another example of a cavalryman on his horse, trampling the foe. Unfortunately all that is left is the fallen enemy and the legs of the horse.

Though a much more impressive carving, the barbarian is still disproportionate with very short legs and small feet. As is common on many cavalry tombstones, he is lying naked on the ground. Unlike some of the tombstones previously discussed, this barbarian was given well defined musculature over his entire body. His face is depicted in profile with his head tilted up as if looking toward the soldier. He has a full beard and longer hair, which is not typical of Roman soldiers.[161] Also visible is his sword-belt strapped across his chest. Leaning back on his left arm, he still grips a six-sided shield in his left hand. Just to the right of his head is the horse's front right leg. In between the horse's front two legs, you can see the enemy's spear snapped in half. Clearly the barbarian is trapped with no hope of escaping the Roman soldier.

The inscription is almost entirely missing except for the "D" of "Dis Manibus" and part of the soldier's name: …LIVS…. It appears that the inscription was probably enclosed within a simple, single line border.

Colchester

On the southeast coast of Britain, Claudius had a legionary fortress constructed not long after the arrival of the Roman army in Colchester in 43 C.E.[162] Only six years later, it was

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[161] Dixon and Southern, *The Late Roman Army*, 89.
[162] Julian Bennett, *Towns in Roman Britain*, (Oxford: Shire Publications, 2001), 9.

Figure 18. Tombstone of Longinus Sdapeze found in
Colchester, dated to 47-49 C.E. Colchester Castle Museum.
Photo credit: The Armatura Press.

modified for use as a civilian settlement. It was largely populated by military veterans. In 1928,

not far from the historic main entrance to the town, Balkerne Gate, the tombstone of Longinus

Sdapeze (fig. 18, catalog no. 11) was discovered.[163]

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[163] Collingwood, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, 201.

The stela was well preserved, carved in oolite limestone and measures 72 cm x 240 cm x 28 cm. It is rectangular with an arched top. This tombstone is somewhat unique in that there are additional carvings on top of the arch. In the center is the image of a winged sphinx and on either side is a lion, forward facing. In between each lion and the sphinx is a snake. The tail of the snake is held down by one of the lion's front paws.

In an arched niche is the relief of the cavalryman. Longinus sits on a horse, facing to the right. The entire image is depicted in profile, except for the rider's head, which is facing forward. The horse's head is also tilted slightly towards the viewer. Longinus wears a helmet and scaled armor. Though it is missing, he likely held a sword in his right hand. The cavalryman's face was missing when the tombstone was originally discovered. Sixty-eight years later in 1996, an excavation of the find spot uncovered the face as well as other small pieces that were missed when ground workers first unearthed it.

The horse is shown with the traditional equipment. The bridle and reins can clearly be seen. Fine lines were added as details to the horse's mane and tail. There is even a small patch of hair in between the horse's ears. The sculptor also defined the hair on the legs, just above the hooves. Also clearly visible is a fringed saddle-cloth. The fringed saddle-cloth is not as commonly depicted on tombstones as a plain saddle-cloth.[164] The horse is standing above a cowering Briton, with the front left leg lifted.

Longinus' victim lies in the fetal position atop an oval shield. Like many of the trampled enemies, he has features that are proportionately small including his feet. He is naked, with minimal muscular definition. His hair and beard are long, most likely to identify him as a barbarian.

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[164] Dixon and Southern, *The Roman Cavalry*, 75.

When the tombstone was discovered, it was pulled up in two pieces. It has since been restored and the crack runs visibly through the center of the inscription. The epitaph is engraved in a shallow rectangular niche surrounded by a simple single-line border.

> *Longinus Sdapeze / Matygi duplicarius / ala prima T(h)racum pago / Sardi(ca) anno(rum) XL aeror(um) XV / heredes exs testam(ento) [f(aciendum)] c(uraverunt) / h(ic) s(itus) e(st)*[165]

> "Longinus Sdapeze, son of Matycus, duplicarius from the first cavalry regiment of Thracians, from the district of Sardica, aged 40, of 15 years' service, lies buried here; his heirs under his will had this set up."[166]

Longinus came from Sardica, which is now modern day Sofia, Bulgaria. The cavalryman belonged to the *ala I Thracum*, one of several cavalry units that were sent to invade Britain in 43 C.E. Neither his name nor his father's name indicate that their family was granted Roman citizenship.

Cumbria

To the North, the relief carving of a cavalryman tombstone (fig. 19, catalog no. 12) was found in the area of modern day Kirkby Thore in Cumbria, approximately 30 miles from the border of Scotland. It is one of three tombstones found at Kirkby Thore and each are badly damaged. The carving on this particular tombstone is rough and corroded, so if there were any fine details, they no longer exist. The carving sits in a rectangular niche with an arched top. It appears that there were additional, carved decorations on top of the arch but have since broken off.

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[165] *RIB* 201.

[166] Anderson, *Roman Military Tombstones*, 54.

Figure 19. Tombstone of unknown rider found Kirkby Thore, now in the British Museum. The stone possibly dates to the third century C.E. Photo: author.

The rider is carved in an action position with his right arm raised behind his head, thrusting a spear into the enemy on the ground. It is difficult to discern, but he may be wearing a helmet.

The horse is also depicted in action, reared up on his hind legs with his front legs coming down on top of the barbarian lying on the ground. There are a few subtle details that are still visible on the horse. Part of the rein can be seen by the horse's face as well as small scores in the stone on the top of the mane.

The enemy on the ground is shown in profile and his left arm appears to be missing. It is possible to see his spear broken in half, lying at his feet. There may have been some sort of

border around the niche as well. This tombstone likely dates to somewhere in the second century C.E.

Gloucester

Gloucester is located in the southwestern region of England and partially borders Wales. Gloucester was one of the new communities established after Claudius invaded Britain. Similar to Cirencester, a disused military fortress was repurposed circa 90 C.E. for the use by a civilian community consisting mostly of military veterans.[167] The tombstone of cavalryman Rufus Sita (fig. 20, catalog no. 13) was discovered in 1824 and measures 81 cm x 145 cm. The lower portion of the stela, the section which was buried in the ground, has broken off.

The relief carving sits within a niche that is rectangular with a short triangular top. Above the relief, in the center carved in the round, is a Sphinx. Lions, also carved in the round, are on each side of the Sphinx.

Rufus Sita is mounted on his horse in action position, with a spear in hand, ready to impale the enemy soldier being trampled under the horse. Two of cavalryman's fingers are still intact. The rider is wearing a helmet and the top portion of his shield can be seen on the other side of the horse, just above his left arm. He has a long sword attached at his waist. The rider's lower left leg can be seen hanging down on the other side of the horse. There is nothing else to indicate the type of clothing or armor he was wearing, so these details were likely painted on the tombstone at a later time.

The horse is also in an action position facing to the right, reared up on his hind legs, with the front legs in the air just above the head of the barbarian. Many of the details of the horse are

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[167] Bennett, *Towns in Roman Britain*, 9.

Figure 20. Tombstone of Rufus Sita, discovered in Gloucester, now at the Gloucester City Museum. Stela dates between 50 and 80 C.E. Photo: The Armatura Press.

still in good condition. The locks of hair in the horse's mane and tail are well defined. The horn

of the saddle is just barely visible, but the saddle straps are clearly defined across the horse's

chest and rear. The sculptor defined the musculature of the horse's legs and chest. It is

interesting to note that the front hooves and the horse's tail extend out of the niche and into the surrounding border, almost as if the sculptor ran out of room for his entire visual composition.

The barbarian is strangely depicted with his head in profile and the rest of his body facing forward. He is lying flat with his legs straight, but pointed upward as if to emphasize his position under the horse. Similar to many of the other cavalrymen tombstones found Britain, the barbarian is naked and disproportionately small. He does have defined facial features and a longer hair style. He holds a dagger in his right hand as a feeble attempt to protect himself.

Beneath the relief, the epitaph is inscribed in a shallow, rectangular niche with a simple, double-line border. The inscription is this:

> *Rufus Sita eques c(o)ho(rtis) VI / Tracum ann(orum) XL stip(endiorum) XXII /*
> *heredes exs test(amento) f(aciendum) curaue(runt) / h(ic) s(itus) e(st)*[168]

> "Rufus Sita, trooper of the Sixth Cohort of the Thracians, aged 40, of 22 years'
> service, lies buried here. His heirs had this erected according to the terms of his
> will." [169]

The VI Thracum was a partially-mounted cohort. The horse riders in these types of cohorts were paid less than those belonging to a cavalry regiment. This is a good example of how some soldiers could save enough funds to provide for themselves a lavish tombstone.[170]

Hexham Abbey

Hexham Abbey is a church that was first built in 674 C.E. and has since been rebuilt and added on to multiple times. In the 12th century, during construction on the abbey, workers placed the large funerary stela of cavalryman Flavinus (fig. 21, catalog no. 14) face-up in the foundation of one of the cloisters and it was not rediscovered until 1881.

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[168] *RIB* 121.
[169] *RIB* 121.
[170] Anderson, *Roman Military Tombstones*, 62.

Figure 21. Tombstone of Flavinus, a signifier,
dates between 70 and 90 C.E. Housed at Hexham
Abbey. Photo: The Armatura Press.

The tombstone erected for Flavinus is very large measuring 94 cm x 264 cm and dates to

sometime in the first century C.E. No doubt due to its use as building material, the stela is fairly

worn, but many details are still intact. It is rectangular with a flat top. The relief carving of the

mounted soldier is set in an arched niche.

The rider is mounted on his horse and carries the standard for the legion. His outfit is

representative of a parade costume rather than the protective gear in battle. His helmet has large

plume feathers, one which extends into the border surrounding the niche. The features of the face are not distinguishable, but it is possible that he is wearing a mask. A long sword is strapped to the side.

The horse is facing to the right in an action position, reared up on his hind legs. The lower portion of the front legs are missing. The horse is also dressed in a parade style harness. An ornate bridle can be seen on the horse's head and the reins are also clearly visible. The sculptor carved out the special tack, as well as the saddle cloth. Additional straps across the horse's chest signify that they are a special decoration. The individual locks in the mane have been carved in relief, and it is interesting to note that the tail of the horse is not visible.

Again, the horse and rider are posed above the naked enemy on the ground. The man is huddled on the ground with his knees to his chest. Instead of his head facing toward the ground in a natural position, the sculptor chose to display the enemy's face, so his head is turned up facing the viewer, in a physically impossible position. He has a thick bushy beard and hair. In his right hand he holds a small dagger in a weak attempt at defense.

Just beneath the relief is the epitaph, enclosed in a simple border. It is as follows:

Dis Manibus Flavinus / eq(ues) alae Petr(ianae) signifer / tur(ma) Candidi an(norum) XXV / stip(endiorum) VII h(ic) s(itus est)

"To the spirits of the departed: Flavinus, trooper of the Cavalry Squadron Petriana, standard-bearer, from the troop of Candidus, aged 25, of 7 years' service, lies buried here."[171]

It is believed that the a*la Petriana* was housed at a large fort of the same name along Hadrian's Wall. Though the soldier has only one name in the inscription, it is believed

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[171] *RIB* 1172.

Figure 22. Tombstone of Insus son of Vodullus found in Lancaster dates between 75 and 120 C.E. Kept at Lancaster City Museum. Photo: Stephen Bull, Triumphant Rider, 24.

that the members of this cavalry unit were awarded Roman citizenship due to bravery on

the battlefield.[172]

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[172] G.L. Cheesman, *The Auxilia of the Roman Imperial Army* (Chicago: Ares Publishers, 1975), 170.

Lancaster

One of the most recent discoveries of a cavalry tombstone was made in 2005 at a building site in Lancaster. It was found in a ditch that once ran along an old Roman road into Lancaster.[173] It was fairly common practice to erect tombstones along the roads outside of town. The tombstone of Insus son of Vodullus (fig. 22, catalog no. 15) was found in several pieces and has since been restored at the Lancaster City Museum. It measures 176 cm x 92 cm and dates somewhere between 75-120 C.E.[174]

Insus is posed mounted on his horse within a rectangular niche with an arched top. He is not wearing battle attire but rather a more formal attire that was worn in parades and other celebrations. His head and torso are turned to face the viewer but the rest of his body is depicted in profile. The helmet has large plumed feathers sticking up from the top and the helmet's protective flaps extend down the sides of his face, just leaving the eyes, nose, and mouth visible. He wears a cape fastened with a small rosette. The arched top of his shield is just visible behind the horse's head. In his right hand he grasps a long sword along with the disproportionately small head of the enemy he just decapitated.

The horse, facing to the right, is reared up on its hind legs. The sculptor appears to have run out of room as the front legs are very disproportionately short and the hooves extend into the border surrounding the niche. Also dressed in formal riding attire, the horse is adorned with a fringed saddle cloth and saddle straps with tassels. The mane and tail are very detailed as well as the horse's facial features. His eye is wide open and his gums are pulled back, exposing both the upper and lower set of teeth.

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[173] Stephen Bull, *Triumphant Rider: The Lancaster Roman Cavalry Tombstone* (Lancaster: Carnegie Publishing, 2007), 4.
[174] Bull, *Triumphant Rider*, 4.

Under the belly of the horse lies the beheaded body of the enemy, shown in profile. He is kneeling down with his elbows resting on his knees. In his right hand, rested on the ground, he still grasps a sword. His left hand can be seen holding the shield that was useless in his defense.

Beneath the relief is the epitaph. It is not enclosed in any kind of border. It is interesting that the introductory phrase *Dis Manibus* was not abbreviated but instead spelled out.

> *Dis / Manibus Insus Vodulli / ivs cive Trever eques alae Aug… / Victoris curator domitia…*

> "To the shades of the dead, Insus son of Vodullus, citizen of the Treveri, cavalryman of the Ala Augusta, troop of Victor, Curator Domitia, his heir, had this set up."[175]

Insus was a citizen of the Treveri which was a Germanic tribe from the Trier area in western Germany. It is difficult to glean any information about the *ala* in which Insus served because there was more than one *Ala Augusta*, and the inscription does not give specifics. Some scholars believe he may have served in the *Ala Augusta Gallorum Proculeiana* while others believe it was more likely that he served in the *Ala Augusta Vocontiorum*.[176]

Ox Close

The tombstone of Marcus Aurelius Victor (fig. 23, catalog no. 8) was discovered around 1708 just south of the Chesters fort along Hadrian's Wall.[177] It measures 79 cm x 122 cm and is now preserved at the Great North Museum in Hancock, England.

The tombstone is rectangular in shape with a slightly arched top. It is possible that carvings once existed on the top of the stela. This funerary monument is quite worn, and the relief carving is very basic in terms of design and possibly the skill level of the sculptor. In the

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[175] Bull, *Triumphant Rider*, 4.
[176] Bull, *Triumphant Rider*, 14.
[177] *RIB* 1481.

top two corners, a sword has been etched into the stone. The relief is carved in an arch-topped

niche.

Victor sits posed upon his horse, with his head and shoulders facing the viewer. His right

Figure 23. Tombstone of Marcus Aurelius Victor found in Ox Close, now kept at
the Great North Museum in Hancock. Monument dates between 200 and 250 C.E.
Photo: The Armatura Press.

arm is raised back behind him, holding a sword in hand. No details of the rider's face or clothing

remain (and there may not have been many details to begin with). The horse faces right and is

posed in a running motion with one front leg lifted up slightly. The sculptor must not have been

very familiar with the anatomy of the horse, especially regarding the head. The horse's mouth is

strangely portrayed, looking more like the mouth of a dog rather than a horse. The eyes are abnormally large. The horse's mane looks as if it were either cut very short or the hair is lying on the other side of the neck.

A thick bar separates the relief caving from the inscription. The inscription is also somewhat rough, but still legible.

D(is) M(anibus) / M(arcus) Aurelius Vic / [t]or vixit an(nis) L.

"To the spirits of the departed: Marcus Aurelius Victor lived 50 years."[178]

It is difficult to tell if there is more to the inscription, but it is unusually basic, with no information about his position in the military or his years of service.

Wroxeter

Not far from the border of Wales is the town of Wroxeter, just outside the city of Shrewsbury. In 1783, the tombstone of cavalryman Tiberius Claudius Tirintius (fig. 24, catalog no. 16) was found in Wroxeter, not far from a blacksmith's shop. Only part of the tombstone was found, the top portion is still missing and there is extensive damage along the entire right side. The *stela* measures 102 cm x 64 cm x 18 cm, and likely dates to the last half of the first century C.E.[179]

At the top of the tombstone, the only part of the rider that can be seen is his right leg. He appears to be wearing knee-length pants. All that is visible of the horse are the back legs and the saddle-cloth. The horse's legs are strangely depicted side by side. Just below the horse's right hoof is the fallen barbarian's right foot. He lays strangely on his side with his legs bent at the

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[178] *RIB* 1481.
[179] Martin Henig, *Roman Sculpture from the North West Midlands: Part 4* (London: Oxford University Press, 2004), 47.

Figure 24. Tombstone of Tiberius Claudius Tirintius found in Wroxeter. Monument dates between 75 and 150 C.E. and is housed at the Shrewsbury Museum and Art Gallery. Photo: The Armatura Press.

knees. He has fallen on his shield while still holding his sword in his right hand. The oblong

shield suggests it is probably of Celtic origin.[180]

Along the bottom left side of the tombstone, part of a frame is visible. It likely bordered

the niche, but it appears that it was intentionally cut away on the left side to make room for the

horse's back legs. The inscription begins directly below the relief and reads:

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[180] Henig, *Roman Sculpture*, 47.

*Tib(erius) Claud(ius) Tiri / ntius eq(ues) coh(ortis) [...] / Thracum an[n] / orum
LVII sti[p] / endior(um) XX [...] h(ic) s(itus) [e(st)]*

 "Tiberius Claudius Tirintius, trooper of the … Cohort of Thracians, aged 57, of
… years' service, lies here." [181]

It would appear that Tiberius received Roman citizenship, according to the three names in the

inscription. Information about the Thracian cohort to which he belonged is difficult to

determine. There are numerous Thracian *alae* and cohorts and epigraphical evidence for the

history of every cohort is very rare. There are some military diplomas, however, that list the

First Cohort of the Thracians as being stationed at the auxiliary fort in Wroxeter. Thus, it is

likely that Tiberius belonged to this particular Thracian cohort.

Germany

It was during the last 20 years of the first century B.C.E. that the Roman military turned

their focus on expanding their northern frontier. Bringing the area of the Rhine under Roman

control was one of several military feats credited to Julius Caesar.[182] It was not an easy task and

required military action to maintain control.[183] Over a period of several years, the military

established several fortresses along the Rhine. Around 38 B.C.E., Agrippa, the most important

Roman general in the service of Julius Caesar, colonized an area off the bank of the Rhine with

people of the Ubii tribe. It was not until 50 C.E. that the region became an official Roman

colony. This area was located in what is now modern Cologne, Germany. [184]

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[181] *RIB* 291.
[182] H. Schönberger, "The Roman Frontier in Germany," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 59, no. 1/2 (1969): 144.
[183] Keppie, *The Making of the Roman Army,* 191.
[184] Anderson, *Roman Military Tombstones*, 59.

The Roman military also established one of the earliest fortresses in the town of Mogontiacum, where the modern city of Mainz, Germany is located. Though an exact date cannot be determined, it is believed that Rome permanently stationed legions in the area between 16 and 13 B.C.E.[185] Portions of the fortress were discovered by archaeologist Dietwulf Baatz during excavations in the late 1950s.[186] It was one of the more important military bases because of its ideal location. It was situated "at the junction of the Rhine and the Main, from which access could be gained to all of southern Germany."[187] Cologne and Mainz are just two of several well-known areas of Roman military occupation. Other monuments in this data set were discovered around the cities of Bonn and Worms. A brief history of the Roman military presence in these areas will be given in the following sections.

Bonn

Relatively little is known about the Roman military base at Bonn. It is believed to have originated around the same time as other military bases along the Rhine, between 19-13 B.C.E.[188] Several legions, and legion detachments, were known to have spent time there, and moved back and forth between these bases along the Rhine.[189] The emperor Augustus was determined to solidify the extension of the Roman Empire to include Germania. During the first couple decades of the first century C.E., troops were sent to battle the native tribes. This required more travel between bases.[190]

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[185] Schönberger, "The Roman Frontier," 144.
[186] Schönberger, "The Roman Frontier," 144.
[187] Keppie, *The Making of the Roman Army*, 161.
[188] Schönberger, "The Roman Frontier," 144.
[189] Keppie, *The Making of the Roman Army*, 160.
[190] Keppie, *The Making of the Roman Army*, 163.

The tombstone of C. Marius (fig. 25, catalog no. 17) was discovered in Bonn in 1873.[191] The large *stela* is carved from limestone and measures 177 cm x 78 cm x 30 cm. The relief carving is similar to other rider motifs in that it features the deceased soldier on his horse, but instead of his slain enemy under the horse, the soldier's military decorations are displayed.

The funerary *stela* is in fairly good condition but some of the finer details have not survived. It is rectangular in shape and the relief is framed inside an arched niche. In the top two corners, there is a pair of *torques*, which are metal rings of Celtic origin that are worn around the neck. The Romans adopted the *torques* as decorations and trophies of war but they were not displayed around the neck of the soldier.[192]

Marius is seated on his horse with his right hand back behind his head holding a spear. He appears to be wearing a long top that reaches just above his knees and a belt around his waist. His face is turned just slightly toward the viewer but the details are obscured. Though very faint, on his chest he wears a set of *phalerae*. A *phalera* is a metal disc, usually carved out of gold, silver or bronze and is worn on the soldier's breastplate during parades.[193] It is important to note that *phalerae* were not only used for military awards but also as ornate horse trappings, attached to leather straps. Many of the horses in this data set are depicted with these decorative metal discs.

The horse is reared up on its hind legs with the front legs high in the air. The saddle-cloth is visible just underneath the leg of the rider. Saddle straps can be seen across the chest,

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[191] Emile Espérandieu, *Recueil Général des Bas-Reliefs de la Gaule Romaine: Gaul Germanique* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1905), 8:235, no. 6248.
[192] Valerie Maxfield, *The Military Decorations of the Roman Army* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1981), 51.
[193] Maxfield, *Military Decorations*, 93.

Figure 25. Tombstone of C. Marius found in Bonn, currently at the Rhineland Museum. Monument dates to 41-68 C.E. Photo: The Armatura Press.

stomach, and rear. The horse's face is badly weathered but the reins can be seen draped around the neck and individual locks of hair are defined in the mane.

Beneath the horse, the sculptor has carved specific military awards and decorations. On the bottom right, there are nine metal discs (another set of *phalerae*).[194] To the left are two bracelets, referred to as *armillae*.

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[194] The *phalerae* were typically awarded in sets of nine. Maxfield, *Military Decorations*, 92.

The epitaph is in very good condition and reads as follows:

C(aius) Marius L(uci) f(ilius) Vol(tinia) / Luco Augusto eques / leg(ionis) I annor(um) XXX stipen(diorum) / XV h(ic) s(itus) e(st) Sex(tus) Sempronius / frater facien(dum) curavit

"C. Marius, son of Lucius, of the Voltina voting-tribe, from Lucca Augusta, cavalryman of Legio I, lived 30 years, served 15, he lies here. His brother Sextus Sempronius set this up."

The inscription tells us that Marius was a Roman citizen from the voting tribe Voltinia. This was a rural tribe located just outside of Rome.

In 1889 near Bonn, the partial grave stela of Niger Aetonis (fig. 26, catalog no. 18) was discovered and is now currently kept at the Rhineland Museum in Bonn. A large portion is missing from the upper left corner of the tombstone. The top of the stela is flat and in the right corner a palm frond lines the arch of the niche. Though it is missing, it is likely that another palm frond lined the arch of the niche on the left side, meeting at a floral motif at the top center. The *stela* measures approximately 142 cm x 76 cm x 21 cm. This tombstone likely dates to the late Julio-Claudian Era (30 B.C.E.-68 C.E.).

The horseman rides on his horse with the top half of his body turned to face the viewer. The man wears a helmet and a cuirass with tight fitting pants. The facial features are quite worn, but the eyes, nose and mouth can be distinguished and he is clean shaven. In his right hand he holds a large spear. In addition to this weapon, he has a sword in sheath hanging down on his right side. Just barely visible is the soldier's shield, held by his left hand. A curved line between the horse's head and the rider's head defines the edge of the oblong shield.

The horse, faced to the viewer's right, is raised in a riding motion with both front legs up in the air. Though the cavalryman is portrayed as being in battle, the horse is formally dressed. The individual wavy locks of the horse's mane are very distinct. The horse's bridle and reins are

Figure 26. Tombstone of Niger Aetonis found in Bonn and dates to 41-54 C.E. Monument is kept at the Rhineland Museum. Photo: Ubi Erat Lupa Image Database, www.ubi-erat-lupa.org.

also very detailed. Underneath the rider is the saddle cloth and the parade style saddle straps are

visible on the front of the horse as well as on the back.

Beneath the niche, the short inscription is outlined in a double beveled frame.

Niger Aetonis f(ilius) / Nemes ala Pomponi / ani anno(rum) L / aera XXV / h(ic)
s(itus) e(st)

"Niger son of Aetonis of the Nemetes voting-tribe, of the *ala* Pomponiani, aged 50 of 15 years' service, he lies here."

According to his epitaph, Niger was of the Nemetes voting-tribe. The Germanic Nemetes tribe occupied the area of modern-day Speyer in Germany, along the Rhine River. The *ala Pomponiani* originated in the Roman province of Germania Inferior, sometime in the late first century C.E. Records are not very clear on the history of this particular *ala*, but it would seem that it remained stationed in Germania Inferior for the majority of its existence.[195]

A partial gravestone belonging to the cavalryman Rectugnus (fig. 27, catalog no. 19) was discovered in 1891, not far from where the gravestone of Vonatorix was found. Rectugnus was also part of the *ala Longiniana*, along with Vellaunus and Vonatorix. The gravestone measures 131 cm x 79 cm x 28 cm and was carved in limestone.

Only a small portion of the relief carving remains. From what remains, it is clear that this stone carver did not have the same skill level as those who carved the tombstones for Vellaunus and Vonatorix. The tombstone is broken over halfway down the relief carving. The hind legs of the horse seem disproportionately short. The horse is reared up on his hind legs and the joint of one of the front legs is just visible below the break. The rider's right leg and both feet are crudely portrayed. A sword in a sheath hangs down to the left of the rider's leg.

The epitaph below is framed in a simple double beveled border. Unlike the top half of the tombstone, the bottom half is better preserved. The inscription is in relatively good condition and reads as follows:

Rectugnus Magilonis f (ilius) / Segontilie (n) ses eques wing / Longiniana ann (orum) Aer L (orum) XXII

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[195] Keppie, *The Making of the Roman Army*, 96.

Figure 27. Tombstone of Rectugnus discovered in Bonn, now at the Rhineland Museum. Monument dates to 41-54 C.E. Photo: The Armatura Press.

"Rectugnus son of Magilonis Segontilienses, trooper in the cavalry regiment Longiniana, lived 50 years, served 12 years."

It is interesting to note that the last part, "ann(orum) aer l (orum) XXII" is carved at a deeper level than the inscription and thus appears to have a rectangular border. It may be that the carver made a mistake and had to re-inscribe the text.

In 1892, the tombstone of Vellaunus (fig. 28, catalog no. 20) was found near Bonn and is currently maintained at the Xanten Archaeological Park. The large, uncut portion of the stone

which is buried in the ground, is still intact. This makes the stela measure at 221 cm by 74 cm by 34 cm. It is rectangular with a flat top.

Above the niche there is a pediment design with a flower in the center of the pediment. In the niche, the rider sits on his horse, slightly slouched with his upper torso turned toward the viewer. The stela has suffered significant damage on the surface, but it is still possible to make out the majority of the relief. In the horseman's right hand, he holds a standard, or *vexillum*. Part of the relief carving extends outside the niche and over the top of the pediment and other décor, making this relief somewhat unique. The top of the standard is now difficult to see, not only because of damage, but the pediment and other surrounding decorations make it difficult to distinguish the design. Ian Haynes has suggested that "The motif on the *vexillum* is generally interpreted as the head of a three-horned bull."[196] The three horned bull is also a Celtic religious symbol.[197] The rider wears a helmet, fitted pants, and visible on his upper leg is the hem of a long tunic. Hanging from his belt is a large sword. His right foot appears to be resting on a slab of stone, almost as if the stone carver did not finish the composition. It is possible that the stone was left there for structural support. The profile of the left foot is lightly outlined under the belly of the horse.

The horse faces to the right, dressed in formal equipment. He has a thick mane and the bridle is faintly visible on his face. The back and the front of the saddle can be seen on either side of the rider and the saddle blanket drapes down the side of the horse. The horse is also depicted with decorative saddle straps across the chest and hind legs. The horse is reared up on

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[196] Ian Haynes, "Introduction: the Roman Army as a Community," in *The Roman Army as a Community*, eds. Adrian Goldsworthy and Ian Haynes (Michigan: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1999), 10, fn. 6.

[197] Cheesman, *The Auxilia*, 40.

Figure 28. Tombstone of Vellaunus dates to 41-54 C.E.
and is in the custody of the Xanten Archaeological Park.
Photo: Hartman Linge.

its hind legs with both front legs up in the air. The front left leg is noticeably disproportionate and the back left leg is barely carved out of the stone; it is more like an outline.

Beneath the relief is a somewhat large and lengthy inscription. A beveled frame surrounds the epitaph on the sides and top and rough line along the bottom. It reads as follows:

Vellaunus Nonni / f(ilius) Biturix eques / ala Longiniana / turma L(ucii) Iuli(ii) Reguli / an(norum) XXXVIII stipendio / rum XVIII h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / ex [te]stamento factu / curarunt L(ucius) Iulius Reg / ulus decurio et Macer Aspadi / f(ilius) eiusde(m) turma(e)

"Vellaunus Nonni son of Biturix, trooper from the cavalry regiment Longiniana, in the squadron Lucius Iulius Regulus, lived 38 years and served 18 years, he lies here. According to his will, Lucius Iulius Regulus, Decurion and Macer son of Aspadi of the same squadron set this up."

The *ala Longiniana* was first raised in Gaul during the first century C.E. According to the soldier's name, he did not serve long enough to receive Roman citizenship. This epitaph is a good example of a soldier who likely contributed to a burial fund to pay for the erection of his gravestone. Two men from his squadron took care to carry out his wishes as stated in his last will and testament.

The tombstone of another cavalryman, Vonatorix (fig. 29, catalog no. 21), from the regiment Longiniana was found in 1891 at the corner of the roads *Colner Chaussee* and *Rosentalstrasse* in Bonn.[198] Similar to the tombstone of Vellaunus, it is large and rectangular, and the uncarved base remains intact. It measures approximately 218 cm by 92 cm by 27 cm. A simple floral and vine motif runs across the top of the stela. The horse-and-rider themed relief is carved in the square niche just below. The rider depicted on a horse, in action, is commonly found on cavalryman tombstones of the mid first century C.E. It is not until later that stone carvers started to show the rider's enemy being trampled under the horse.[199]

The stone carver added remarkable detail to the gravestone of Vonatorix. It is very well preserved other than part of the rider's right leg and sword, which are missing. Vonatorix sits on the horse with his torso turned to face the viewer, but his legs remain facing towards the viewer's right. The left foot is visible just under the belly of the horse. He appears to be sitting on a four-

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[198] *E* 6292.

[199] Anderson, *Roman Military Tombstones*, 53, pl. 14.

Figure 29. Tombstone of Vonatorix discovered in Bonn, now at the Rhineland Museum. Monument dates to 41-54 C.E. Photo: The Armatura Press.

horned saddle and three of the four horns are visible. Vonatorix is clearly wearing a chainmail shirt with a long tunic underneath. In his right hand he holds up a long spear in throwing position. As is similar to the tombstone of Vellaunus, the spear extends beyond the top of the niche and onto the decorative floral designs above. A large sword hangs in a sheath attached to the belt around his waist. He hold an oblong shield in his left hand, the outline is lightly visible to the right of the horse's head and also between the rider and the horse.

The details carved on the horse are quite impressive. The horse's mane is divided into many small wavy locks. The decorative straps and metal work of the bridle are prominently visible; the corner of the bit can be seen at the horse's mouth. Teeth, lips, nostrils and even wrinkles in the skin have been delicately carved out of the stone. The musculature of the horse is most defined the chest and the front legs. Successive arcs are used to indicate the wrinkles in the skin on the horse's neck and chest. Like many of the other horses on Roman grave *stelae*, this horse is wearing decorative saddle straps. The saddle cloth is not overly long, but it does have a fringed edge.

Beneath the relief, the epitaph is framed with a simple multi-level border. The inscription is crisp and well preserved.

> *Vonatorix Du/conis f(ilius) eques ala / Longiniana an/norum XLV stipen/diorum XVII h(ic) s(itus) e(st)*

> "Vonatorix, son of Duco, trooper of the cavalry regiment Longiniana, lived 45 years, served 17 years. He lies here."

Like Vellaunus, Vonatorix was also a cavalryman in the *ala Longiniana*. The inscription was well enough preserved that the small triangles in between each word or abbreviation can still be clearly seen.

Cologne

Several cavalry tombstones have been found in Cologne, less than 20 miles north of Bonn. The funerary monument erected for Longinus Biarta (fig. 30, catalog no. 22) was discovered in two pieces. The blocks were found in 1846 but at separate times, and were found at a site with several other cavalrymen tombstones. Due to the number of funerary monuments found at that site, it is possible it was owned by a small military association.[200] The top block

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[200] *RID* 307.

had been built into a garden wall. Despite having been reused, the stones remained in fairly good condition, although the bottom block was cracked down the middle. This limestone monument is quite large and measures 172 cm x 147 cm x 54 cm and dates between 80 and 90 C.E.[201]

This relief carving displays the funerary banquet (*totenmahl*) motif, with the soldier and servant in the upper relief, the inscription in the center and the groom and horse in the lower relief. Inside a double arched niche, Longinus reclines on a cushioned couch, draped in a robe and holding a cup in his right hand and scroll in his left hand. Directly in front of him is a three legged table with two cups sitting on top. At the foot of the couch, a small servant boy stands with his feet facing to the right but the rest of his body is turned almost fully forward, facing the viewer.

Just beneath the upper relief is the inscription:

Longinus Biarta Bisae f (ilius) / Bessus eq (ues) alae Sulp (iciae) an (norum) XXXXVI / d [e suo] f (aciendum) c (uravit)

"Longinus Biarta, son of Bisa, of the Bessus voting-tribe, a rider in the cavalry regiment Sulpicia, lived 46 years, this was set up with his own money."

It is unusual that epitaph does not include how many years Longinus was in military service. It is possible that he served the required 25 years, but it is still interesting that his service time was not noted. Longinus was Thracian, from the Bessi voting tribe. Because he served in the *ala Sulpicia*, it is possible he received Roman citizenship. This particular cavalry regiment was awarded Roman citizenship for valor in the field.

The bottom half of the stone is broken in half, down the center. A groom stands behind the horse, both facing to the right. The groom wears a helmet and a long tunic. In his left hand

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[201] Keppie, *Understanding Roman Inscriptions,* 83.

Figure 30. Tombstone of Longinus Biarta found in Cologne and dates to 80-90 C.E. Currently housed at the Roman Germanic Museum. Photo: copyright Brian J. McMorrow, Roman Germanic Museum.

he holds two spears and the horse's reins in his right hand. His left leg is carved in shallow relief. The horse is dressed in parade equipment. The facial features have been eroded, but the bridle straps and reins are clearly visible. The mane is very stylized with incised lines to define the locks of hair. Folds in the fabric of the saddle cloth have been emphasized and the large straps hanging from the bottom of the saddle cloth are faintly visible. Both the leather saddle straps and metal work are neatly defined across the chest and the hind legs. The soldier's shield

hangs behind the horse, half of it can be seen. The stone carver added many details to the horse, defining the joints in the legs, the hooves, musculature and even folds in the skin on the horse's neck.

The tombstone of Lucius Crispi (fig. 31, catalog no. 23) is of the *totenmahl* style also. Lucius only lived to be 28 years old, but his heirs were able to provide him with an ornate funerary monument. The stone slab was discovered near the archbishop's palace in Cologne in the 1880s.[202]

It is interesting to note that in comparison with many of the other tombstones, these relief carvings appear to be shallower in depth. Within a double arched niche, Lucius reclines, draped in robes on a small couch. His facial features are quite worn, but it is possible to see that his hair is styled and he is clean shaven. In his right hand he appears to be holding his will or citizenship papers, and in the left hand, a cup. The stone carver chiseled out each of the individual fingers. In front of the couch is a three-legged table with two cups. A tall, cylindrical jug sits to the left of the table on the floor. A small, robed servant boy stands at the foot of the couch on the far left holding a ladle in his hands. His shoulders and head are missing. Apparently the tombstone suffered additional damage after its discovery. In Espérandieu's collection of Roman inscriptions, there is an image of the tombstone but the boy's head is intact.[203] A large crack runs from the top center of the stela down to the right and through the inscription on the very far right. Later pictures suggest that some restorative work has been done, but the servant boy's head was not recovered.

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[202] *E* 6454.
[203] *E* 6454.

Figure 31. Tombstone of Lucius Crispi which dates to 80-100 C.E. Housed at the Roman Germanic Museum. Photo: The Armatura Press.

The lower relief depicts a soldier guiding the horse in front of him. The soldier wears a

helmet and a long tunic with a fringed hem. Faint lines across his calves indicate he was wearing

tall boots. In his left hand he carries to spears or javelins which rest on his left soldier. In his

right hand he holds the reins of the horse. The horse is adorned with very ornate decorations. At

the top of the horse's head is a large metal disc. The reins and bridle gear are present. The bridle straps on the face appear to be lined with decorative tassels or pompoms. Higher up on the neck, it seems that the horse is wearing a collar. Espérandieu suggests that it is a necklace of large pearls or beads. The horse's mane is very stylized with very large wavy, almost curly, locks. A very long saddle cloth is draped over the horse's back and the saddle straps are very elaborate. Due to the life-like details of the horse's musculature and proportions, the stone carver must have been familiar with anatomy of a horse and adept at portraying it three dimensionally.

Like many inscriptions, the letters start out larger and grow smaller towards the end. This inscription is well preserved:

> *L (ucius) Crispi f (ilius) cives Marsacus, eq (ues) alae Affro(rum) turma Flavi ann (orum) XXVIII, stip (endiorum) VIIII, h (eres) f (aciendum) c (uravit)*

> "Lucius son of Crispi, citizen of Marsacus, trooper in the cavalry regiment Afrorum, of the squadron Flavi, lived 28 years, served 9 years, his heirs set this up."

Lucius was a citizen of Marsacus, or Marsi, which was a small Germanic tribe located in northwest Germany. The *Ala Afrorum* was first raised in Africa Proconsularis, the Roman province in Africa. The regiment was moved to Europe in the early first century C.E. and then was sent to Germania Inferior for support during the Batavian rebellion. It was most likely that Lucius was recruited to the regiment while it was stationed in Germania Inferior.

In 1902 the tombstone of Lucius Romanus (fig. 32, catalog no. 24) was found near *Gereonstrasse* in Cologne.[204] Only part of the tombstone remains. It is likely that it was originally a funerary banquet style tombstone, but only the inscription and bottom portion survived. A large portion of the right side is also presumably missing. It only measures 82 cm x 130 cm x 58 cm. A soldier wearing a helmet walks behind the horse, both facing to the right. His facial features are badly worn, almost indistinguishable. Like many of the other grooms or

Figure 32. Tombstone of Lucius Romanus, 80-90 CE. Housed at the Roman Germanic Museum. Photo: copyright Brian J. McMorrow, Roman Germanic Museum.

soldiers depicted in these types of reliefs, he carries two javelins in his left hand and they rest on his left solder. In his right hand he holds a whip to guide the horse. The lines on his arms and lower legs imply that he is wearing some type of clothing, but the details were most likely painted on. The horse is conspicuously disproportionate. His legs are quite short, while his neck and head are much larger. The neck is only slightly narrower than the body of the horse. A

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[204] *E* 6454.

saddle cloth is draped over the four-horned saddle, of which three of the four horns are visible. The saddle cloth is shorter, but has fringed edge with two thick straps that drop down beneath it. Behind the saddle, the oval shield floats in the background.

The inscription is just above the relief and reads as follows:

Romanus Atti f (ilius) Dar [danus] / eq (ues) al (ae) Afr (orum) ture (ma) at Firmani (Norum) XXX st [ip (endiorum) X?] / H (eres) t (estamento) f (aciendum) c (uravit)

"Romanus son of Attus, of the voting-tribe Dardan, trooper in the cavalry regiment Afrorum in the squadron Firmanus. He lived 30 years, and served … years. His heirs set this up according to his will."

Romanus was also a cavalryman in the *ala Afrorum*. He originally came from the voting tribe Dardani, which is classified as either an Illyrian tribe or a Thracian tribe. It has not been determined if Dardani was strictly Illyrian or Thracian. Romanus was probably conscripted when the regiment was stationed in Moesia. Due to damage, it is difficult to tell if there is a letter inscribed before the 'R' in Romanus. When Espérandieu published this relief in his book in 1907, he recorded the inscription without the 'L' before Romanus.[205] The inscription also appears without the 'L' in the CIL and the AE.[206] According to the notes in the RID, there is debate about whether there is enough of a marking on the stone to know for sure if there was indeed an 'L' initially present. The monument is currently kept at the Römische-Germanisches Museum in Cologne. Museum records have the inscription as beginning with an 'L'. It seems that for now, it is impossible to say which is correct.

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[205] *E* 6454.

[206] Otto Hirschfeld, Karl Zangemeister, Alfred von Domaszewski, Oscar Bohn, Émile Espérandieu, *Inscriptiones Trium Galliarum et Germanicarum Latinae* (Apud G. Reimerum, 1899), 3; R. Cagnat and M. Besnier, "Périodiques," *L'Ann*ée *Épigraphique* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1903), 65 n. 276.

The tombstone of M. Aemilius Durises (fig. 33, catalog no. 25) also has two relief carvings, one on the top and one on the bottom with the inscription in between. The top of the stela is flat with faint remnants of a floral pattern flanking the relief. The relief is framed in an arch pattern, but instead of a smooth arch, it is pinched slightly inward at the top center. In the upper carving, the cavalryman is posed lying on his left side on a cushioned couch. There is distinct definition of the hair on both the human figures as well as the horse. The clothing and the equestrian decorations are clearly illustrated. The soldier lies on his side, propped up on a pillow, and holds a cup in his left hand while his right hand rests on his knee. In front of the couch is a small three-legged table with two more cups displayed on the top. The perspective of the table is skewed as the top of the table is visible. Standing at the foot of the couch is a small servant boy, his hands clasped together in front. The details of his face are missing but the locks of hair and folds in his clothing are still visible. These reliefs were carved with noticeably intricate details. Much of the cavalryman's facial features still remain, including the ears. The figures have been carved disproportionately, with the soldier being the most prominent.

In the lower relief, a stable hand facing the viewer's right, walks behind the cavalryman's horse. Some sort of strap is visible under the chin of the stable hand, indicating he is wearing some type of helmet. In his left hand he holds a sword and in his right he holds the reins of the horse. The horse is faced to the right and is posed with the front left leg slightly lifted and the back left leg set forward, suggesting the horse is cantering. The horse is also dressed in formal parade equipment, including a mask on the face. The horse's mane is ornately carved and several medals hang from the saddle straps. An elegant cloth is draped over the saddle and two straps can be seen hanging down below. The soldier's oval shield appears to be floating above and behind the horse's back. Just as in the upper carving, the figures are disproportionate to each

other.

The inscription in between the two reliefs is not encased in a border like many of the other tombstones. It has been well preserved with the majority of it being easily legible. It reads as follows:

Figure 33. Tombstone of M. Aemelius Durises at the Roman Germanic Museum, originally discovered in Cologne. Monument dates to 81-96 C.E. Photo: copyright Brian J. McMorrow, Roman Germanic Museum.

M(arcus) Aemilius Durises eq(ues) al(ae) / Sulp(iciae) temperature(ma) to Nepotis(norum) XXXVI / stip(endiorum) XVI, heredes ex t(estamento) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt)[207]

"Marcus Aemilius Durises, a rider in the *ala* Sulpicia, in the squadron of Nepos, lived 36 years, and served 16 years. The heirs have set this up."[208]

Marcus was awarded Roman citizenship and served in the auxiliary *ala Sulpicia*. This cavalry regiment was first deployed in Germania Inferior during the late first century C.E.[209]

Figure 34. Tombstone of Marcus Sacrius, dates to the late first century C.E. and is now at the Roman Germanic Museum. Photo: The Armatura Press.

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[207] RID 306.

[208] RID 306.

[209] Cheesman, *The Auxilia*, 173.

In 1886, another partial tombstone, that of Marcus Sacrius (fig. 34, catalog no. 26) was found. It is also a funerary banquet type relief. Though a portion of the stela was missing from the top, some of the upper relief still remained. The break cuts off the head and shoulders of Marcus as well as the head and shoulders of the young servant on the left. It is still apparent that Marcus was posed on his side on the couch. In his right hand he holds a cup. There is a three-legged table with two, possibly three cups sitting on top. Next to the table on the floor is a tall cylindrical jug. To the left of the jug, one can see the body and the legs of the servant, standing with his hands clasped together in front.

The lower relief, carved in a square niche, depicts a soldier with two javelins in his left hand that he carries on his left shoulder. In his right hand he holds a rope to guide the horse. The horse is very similar to the horse on the tombstone of Lucius Crispi. The bridle equipment is very ornate and it seems that there are pompoms hanging from the straps. Higher up on the neck is a collar of beads. A metal disk is mounted at the top of the horse's head. His mane is very detailed and wavy. A long, fringed saddle cloth is draped over the saddle. As is similar to several other tombstones, both front and back left legs are carved in a very shallow relief.

The inscription was damaged somewhat on the left side, but it is still mostly legible:

Marcus Sacrius / Securi f(ilius) Primigenius / eques alae Noricor(um) tur(ma) / Patercli cives Remus ann(orum) / XXVI [s] tip (endiorum) XI. H (eres) f (aciendum) c (uravit)

"Marcus Scrius Primigenius, son of Securus, a trooper in the *ala* Noricorum, of the squadron of Paterclus, of the voting-tribe Remus, lived 26 years, served 11 years. He lies here."

Marcus, along with several other soldiers mentioned in this data set, served in the *Ala* I Noricorum. It appears, according to the *tria nomina* that he was granted Roman citizenship. He is originally from a Belgic tribe in northeastern Gaul. It is interesting to note the age of the

Figure 35. Tombstone of Oluper Cergaepuri from Cologne, now at the Romano-Germanic Museum. Monument dates to the late first century C.E. Photo: copyright Romano-Germanic Museum.

deceased. He died at 26 years old, but served in the army for 11 years. He is the youngest

soldier within this data set to be recruited into the army.

The tombstone of Oluper Cergaepuri (fig. 35, catalog no. 27) was found on *Geronstrasse*

(Geron Street) in Cologne in 1898.[210] Carved in the funerary banquet style, the limestone stela is well preserved and measures 230 cm x 92 cm x 30 cm. The top portion of the stone is broken off just above the head of the soldier. It appears the top of the relief carving would have been arched, judging by the curve of the top corners. Oluper wears a robe and sits reclined on a couch. The sculptor engraved many folds in the fabric of the robe from top to bottom. The sculptor has also carved the fine details of the cavalryman's hair and facial features, although the nose is no longer intact. Oluper leans on his left arm and holds a cup in his hand. His right hand is rested on his knee. In front of the couch is a small three-legged table. The perspective is skewed in that the top of the table is slanted in order to see its surface. Two handled cups or bowls are placed on the table. A large jug sits on the ground to the left of the table and at the feet of a young servant boy. The servant stands at the foot of the couch standing in three-quarters view. He is wearing a small tunic and stands with his hands clasped together in front. The sculptor has carved the folds in the fabric as well as the details of the hair and face.

The epitaph begins immediately beneath the banquet scene. In order to save space, or if the engraver has run out of room, letters were combined or carved over the top of one another. This inscription exhibits several instances of this practice.

> *Oluper Cergaepuri / f(ilius) eq(ues) alae afrorum / tur(mae) preci capitonis /*
> *ann(orum) XXXX stip(endiorum) XX / h(eres) ex t(estamento) f(aciendum)*
> *c(uravit)*[211]

> "Oluper son of Cergaepuri, trooper in the cavalry regiment Afrorum, of the
> squadron of Preci Capito, lived 40 years and served for 20 years. His heirs set this
> up according to his will."

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[210] *AE* 1903, 275; *E* 6455; T. Mommsen, O. Hirschfeld, A. Domaszewski, eds.
Inscriptiones Germaniae Inferioris vol. 13 of *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (Apud G.
Reimerum, 1907), no. 8304.
[211] *E* 6455

The limestone funerary stela of Titus Flavius Bassus (fig. 36, catalog no. 28) was found in two pieces in Cologne in 1886. It was found in the same general location as the tombstones of Lucius Crispi, Marcus Sacrius and Marcus Aemilius Durises.[212] Much like these three

Figure 36. Tombstone of Titus Flavius Bassus, 69-96 C.E. Monument was found in Cologne and is now housed at the Roman-Germanic Museum. Photo: The Armatura Press.

tombstones, that of Titus Flavius Bassus is well preserved, large, and complex in design and craftsmanship. When stacked, the limestone blocks measure 172 cm x 119 cm x 61 cm. This tombstone has one of the best preserved relief carvings of a Roman cavalryman still extant today.[213] Despite being removed from the ground in two pieces, the details are still numerous

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[212] *RID* 303

[213] Dixon and Southern, *The Roman Cavalry,* 39, fig. 7.

and sharp. The tombstone dates to the late first century C.E., and is now preserved in the Römisch-Germanisches Museum in Cologne.

It is a rectangular stela with a flat top. The upper corners are adorned olives and with leaves from the olive tree. An arched border surrounds the relief carving. The rider is depicted on his horse, trampling his foe underneath. Bassus and horse are both facing to the viewer's right. Bassus is equipped with a helmet, a spear in right hand, and a shield in his left, partially hidden behind the head of the horse. A long sword, or a *spatha*, hangs off a belt on his right side. Details on the sword's sheath and hilt are still visible. The sculptor even includes the fine elements of Bassus' clothing such as long tunic with short sleeves and slits at the hips and the rider is clearly wearing form-fitting leggings.

The horse is also elegantly dressed. The horse wears a decorative hackamore and necklace.[214] The view can also see that the straps of the harness have been embellished with lunar shaped pendants. A saddle cloth can just be seen to the left of the rider's leg. Lastly the horse is adorned with a decorative chest strap called a *peytral*.[215] As in other carvings previously described, this horse also has clearly defined musculature. There are even wrinkles in the skin on the neck.

Trapped between the front legs of the horse is the Roman's victim. He appears nude and sits on the ground making a futile attempt to protect himself. His right arm is raised and he holds a sword. With his left hand he holds an oblong shield, similar to those used by Celtic tribes in the first century C.E. The hair and facial features still remain.

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[214] Dixon and Southern, *The Roman Cavalry,* 39, fig. 7.
[215] Dixon and Southern, *The Roman Cavalry,* 39, fig. 7.

Less common in this "triumphant cavalryman" style carving, is the presence of a stableman. In this relief, he stands at the end of the horse, holding two spears in his right hand and a shield in left. All hair and facial features remain.

When engravers wished to save space, or ran out of room, they would combine letters, and in some cases, carve a few of the letters at half their size and place them between the larger letters.[216] This epitaph has several examples of this practice.

> *T(itus) Flavius Bassus Mucalae / f(ilius) Dansala eq(ues) Alae Nori/coru(m) tur(ma) Fabi Pudentis / an(norum) XXXXVI stip(endiorum) XXVI h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit)*
>
> "Titus Flavius Bassus, son of Mucalae, of the voting tribe Dansala, trooper in the cavalry unit Noricorum, in the Fabi Pudentis squadron, lived 46 years and served for 26 years. His heirs set this up."

Bassus also served in the *ala Noricorum* and received Roman citizenship. He was a Thracian, originally from the Dentheletae tribe. This inscription also exhibits the small triangles often used as a decorative way to distinguish between the end of one word and the beginning of another.

Kalkar

The tombstone of C. Iulius Primus (fig. 37, catalog no. 29) was found in 1831 approximately 100 miles outside of Bonn in Kalkar, Germany, and dates to the early second century C.E.[217] It measures 193 cm x 75 cm x 20 cm. This grave stela has a funerary banquet relief in addition to the horse relief. The relief carvings have suffered damage and erosion over time but the inscription has sustained comparatively little damage. The tombstone is currently in

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[216] Keppie, *Understanding Roman Inscriptions*, 90.

[217] F. and O. Harl, *Picture Database of Antique Stone Monuments*, www.ubi-erat-lupa.org, no. 15538.

the collections of the Xanten Archaeological Park.

At the top of the rectangular stela, the relief is carved in an arched niche. The deceased soldier is shown draped in robes, lying on a couch. At the end of the couch on the left side is

Figure 37. Tombstone of C. Iulius Primus was found in Kalkar and dates between 98-117 C.E. It is currently in the collections at the Xanten Archaeological Park. Photo: Ad Meskens.

boy, likely a servant. The details on both faces are obscured. The carving is very detailed, this is

particularly evident in the many folds in the fabric. In front of the couch near the soldier is a

large jug and three-legged table with what appear to be cups sitting on top. The soldier is lying

on his left side with his legs pointed toward the left side of the stela. In his left hand he holds a

rolled up parchment that contains his will. The details in this relief are impressive; the sculptor

has defined even the decoration on the foot of the couch.

At the bottom of the tombstone, a stable hand is walking behind the soldier's horse,

guiding him with the reins, facing to the viewer's right. The head of the stable hand is missing

and he does not appear to be wearing clothes. It is most likely that the clothes were painted on

after the carving was complete. The horse is ornately decorated in parade style dressing. He has

a long saddle-cloth with long, thick saddle straps that drape over the cloth. The thinner straps

that run across the chest and rear of the horse have decorative rosettes. The individual locks and

curls of the horse's mane and tail have been emphasized and the musculature of the horse is also

well defined.

The epitaph is inscribed between the two reliefs and is very legible.

*C(aio) Iulio Adari f(ilio) / Primo Trevero / eq(uiti) alae Noric(orum) / statori
an(norum) XXVII / stip(endiorum) VII h(eres) a(ere) s(uo) f(aciendum)
c(uravit)*[218]

"Caius Iulius son of Adarius of the Treveri voting-tribe, cavalryman of the *ala* I
Noricorum, lived 27 years, served 7 years, his heir set this up."
Unfortunately this soldier died young at the age of 27, having served for seven years in the army

in the *ala I Noricorum*. This *ala* was assembled in Noricum, which was an Alpine Roman

province.[219] The majority of the Alpine provinces were inhabited by Celtic-speaking peoples,

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[218] *E* 6589.
[219] Goldsworthy, *The Complete Roman Army*, 35.

thus many of the soldiers in the *ala I Noricorum*, at the time of its creation, were likely of Celtic origin. According to the inscription however, Iulius was of the Treveri voting tribe which was located near the Trier area of Germany.

Mainz

In 1804, the tombstone of Andes (fig. 38, catalog no. 30) was found in an ancient Roman cemetery.[220] The limestone stela measures 128 cm x 58 cm x 14 cm. Though many of the finer details no longer remain, it is still apparent that the relief was once very ornate. The carving is within a rectangular niche with a triangular top. The details of Andes' face no longer remain but he sits mounted on his horse, holding a spear in his right hand with his right arm raised. He wears a long sword on the belt at his waist. A faint outline, visible by the horse's mouth, may be the end of the shield that Andes holds with his left hand. Standing behind the horse, to the left of Andes is a stable boy. He holds an extra spear. The definition of his hair and the folds in the fabric of his shirt are still visible. Some of the facial features are visible as well.

The horse faces to the right, raised up on its hind legs. The stone carver added details such as the musculature in the legs and face. The mane and tail are stylized and individual locks of hair are highlighted. The reins are seen extending from the horse's mouth and draping over the back of the neck. The harness straps appear to be decorated with circular pendants. The saddle-cloth is faintly outlined and visible by the rider's leg. The horse wears a decorative chest strap as well.

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[220] *E* 5854; *CIL* XIII, 7023; *Lupa* 15812.

Cowering beneath the legs of the horse is cavalryman's enemy. He is lying on his knees and elbows, with his head turned to face the viewer. In his right hand he holds the hilt of a dagger. The man's facial features are still intact. His right foot drops down into the inscription, just barely in between the 'A' and the 'N' of "ANDES".

The inscription is beneath the relief but is not enclosed by any border or carved in a

Figure 38. Tombstone of Andes discovered in Mainz and dates to 70-75 C.E. Photo: Lupa, www.ubi-erat-lupa.org, 15812.

shallow recess. It is interesting to note that an image of a trumpet was carved down the right side of the epitaph, possibly suggesting that the cavalryman was also a trumpeter, or a *tubicen*.[221]

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[221] Hope, "Inscription and Sculpture," 164, fig. 6.2.

*Andes Sex(ti) f(ilius) / cives Raeti/nio eq(ues) ala / Claud(ia) an(norum) XXX /
stip(endiorum) V h(ic) s(itus) e(st) h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit)*

"Andes, son of Sextus, citizen of Raetia, cavalryman of the *ala* Claudia, lived 30
years with 5 years' service. He lies here. His heirs set this up."

Andes died before he had the chance to earn Roman citizenship, given that only one
name for the soldier was given in the inscription. He was a citizen of Raetia, which was a
Roman province located today in southern Germany and part of Switzerland. He also served in
the a*la Claudia*, although there are actually two *alae* with the name *Claudia*. He either served in
ala I Claudia Gallorum Capitoniana (raised in Moesia Inferior) or *ala I Claudia Nova
Miscellanea* (Moesia Superior).

The tombstone of C. Romanius Capito (fig. 39, catalog no. 31) was found in the same
Roman cemetery as that of Andes in 1804.[222] The rectangular stone measures 163 cm x 87 cm x
20 cm and it was discovered in very good condition. In the top corners are flowers and leaves.
A twisted rope design outlines the top of the arched niche. Within the niche, Capito is mounted
on his horse, holding a lance in his right hand and raised up near his face. He wears a helmet
with decorative flaps that protect the side of the face. Protective armor is visible on his shoulders
and he wears a sword on his belt. It is interesting that Capito has been portrayed without shoes;
the individual toes have been carved out on his right foot. To the left of the rider and behind the
horse stands a stable hand holding to extra spears. The hair, an ear, and eyes are visible but the
other features no longer remain.

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[222] *Lupa* 15806; *E* 5852; *CIL* XIII, 7029.

Figure 39. Tombstone of C. Romanius Captio, 54-68 C.E.
The monument was found in Mainz and is now kept at the
Landesmuseum. Photo: The Armatura Press.

The horse faces to the right and is up on its hind legs. Simple musculature has been

defined and much of the decorative details are still intact. The horse's mane and tail are styled

and the harness is decorated with several large *phalerae.* The saddle and saddle cloth are both

present.

Capito's supine victim is trapped beneath the horse. He wears a cloak on his upper body.

With his feet on the ground and knees bent, he reaches up with his right hand in an attempt to

defend himself with a sword. The horse's right front hoof appears to be directly on top of the man's head.

The inscription below reads:

C(aius) Romanius, eq(ues) alae Norico(rum), Claud(ia tribu), Capito, Celeia, an(norum) XL, stip(endiorum) XIX, h(ic) s(itus) e(st), h(eres) ex t(estamento) f(aciendum) c(uravit)

"Caius Romanius Capito, trooper of the cavalry *ala Noricorum*, from Celeia, of the Claudian voting tribe, lived 40 years with 19 years' service. He lies here. His heirs set this up for him, according to his will."

Caius was originally from Celeia, or modern-day Slovenia. The town received municipal rights during the mid-first century C.E. during the reign of Claudius, thus Caius was of the Claudian voting tribe. The *ala Noricorum* was first deployed between 54 and 68 C.E. This suggests that Caius may have already been a Roman citizen by the time he enlisted.

The tombstone of Flavius Proclus (fig. 40, catalog no. 32) was discovered in 1959. The *stela* is missing a portion of the top left corner and a large portion of the inscription has broken off at the bottom. It measures 105 cm x 76 cm x 16 cm. This relief carving, while still impressive is more basic compared to its counterparts in Cologne. The carving is within an arched niche and a small sea creature still remains in the top right corner. Flavius is depicted in action atop his horse, both are facing the viewer's right. The sculptor struggled with proportion in several areas. The rider is large compared to the horse and he also has an oversized right hand. All fingers on his right hand are clearly defined and are holding an arrow and pulling back on the string of a bow. The details on his face are no longer present and only a thin line at his hip indicates the trim of a shirt. The carver may have been confused about how a bow and arrow work. The bow is behind the horse's head but the string comes around in front, which would make it impossible for Flavius to release an arrow. Just behind the rider, the quiver full of arrows hangs down the side of the horse.

Figure 40. Tombstone of Flavius Proclus. Photo credit: Ubi Erat Lupa, www.ubi-erat-lupa.org.

Some of the decorative ornamentation can still be seen on the horse. The horse is portrayed with a stylized mane and is reared up on his hind legs. The reigns are still visible, as well as some of the straps on the harness. There are faint outlines of lunate shaped pendants hanging from the straps, both on the front of the horse and the back.

The majority of the inscription is still intact:

Flavius Proclus / eq(ues) sing(ularis) aug(usti) domo / (pi)lodelpia an(norum) xx / stip(endiorum) ... [h(eres) f(aciendum)] c(uravit)

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"Flavius Proclus, Mounted Guard to the Emperor, from Philadelphia, lived 20 years, of … years' service. His heirs had this erected."[223]

The inscription tells that Flavius was part of the mounted guard of the emperor and, as is characteristic of some other epitaphs, states that he was from Philadelphia (modern-day Amman). For now, it is impossible to say which of the Roman emperors Proclus would have served. Speidel has suggested that he may have served under Emperor Domitian.[224] Domitian recruited bowmen from the east, some from Philadelphia, to aid during the Danubian wars (85-6 C.E.). Three years later, he stayed for a prolonged period of time in Mainz. It seems more likely that a tombstone as elaborate as that of Flavius Proclus could only be erected if they regiment was stationed in one area for a longer period of time.

The tombstone of Maris son of Casitus (fig. 41, catalog no. 33) was found being used as a cover plate for a sarcophagus.[225] It is quite large at 210 cm x 90 cm x 28 cm. The relief is badly weathered, especially the body of Maris. The carving is within a rectangular niche with an arched top. Either side of both the inscription and the niche are flanked with a pilaster design. The top corners are decorated with a foliage motif.

It is difficult to tell what the cavalryman is wearing, but he sits mounted on the horse drawing back the string and arrow with his right hand and holding the bow with his left hand. To the left of the rider is a bag that hangs down from the saddle, possibly a quiver. Behind and to the left of the horse stands a stable hand. The bottom of the niche, instead of continuing straight across, drops down lower on the left where the feet of the stable hand are carved. It's possible that the stone carver had run out of room and so cut further down for the feet. The man wears a

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[223] Dixon and Southern, *The Roman Cavalry*, 54, fig. 23.
[224] Michael P. Speidel, *Riding For Caesar: The Roman Emperors' Horse Guards* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1994), 36.
[225] *Lupa* 15804.

Figure 41. Tombstone of Maris son of Capitus, currently housed at the Landesmuseum in Mainz and dates to 14-37 C.E. Photo: Lupa, www.ubi-erat-lupa.org, 15804.

short tunic, the drapes in the fabric are still clear. It is unclear, but in his right hand he appears to hold a single arrow. He holds up a small group of arrows in his left hand. The horse faces to the right and is reared up on its hind legs. The carver included the details of the musculature and the hooves are clearly defined. The stela dates to the first century C.E.[226]

Directly below the relief is the epitaph:

Maris Casiti f(ilius) anno(rum) L / stip(endiorum) XXX ala Part(h)o(rum) et / Araborum turma / Variagnis Masicates / frater et Tigranus / posierunt

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[226] Ian Haynes, *Blood of the Provinces: The Roman Auxilia and the Making of Provincial Society from Augustus to the Severans* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 288, fig. 18.1.

"Maris son of Casitus, lived 50 years with 30 years' service in the cavalry unit *Parthorum et Araborum*. Variagnis Masicates and brother Tigranus set this up."

Maris son of Casitus belonged to the cavalry unit *Parthorum et Araborum*, or the unit of

Parthians and Arabians. This *ala* spent time in Mainz during the mid-first century C.E.

Similar to the funerary monument of Maris, the tombstone of Quintus Voltius Viator (fig.

42, catalog no. 34) was also being used as a sarcophagus lid at the time of its discovery. It was

Figure 42. Tombstone of Quintus Voltius Viator was found in Mainz and is now at the Landesmuseum. Monument dates to 14-37 C.E. Photo: Lupa, www.ubi-erat-lupa.org, 16490.

found in 1888 during the expansion of the railroad tracks in Mainz.[227] It too, is large, measuring

275 cm x 75 cm x 30 cm.[228]

The relief on this tombstone is somewhat unique compared to those that have been

introduced thus far. Above the relief, in the center of the pediment is a winged sphinx. A

palmette is on both sides of the pediment. In a rectangular niche below, either the groom or the

deceased solider, stands between two horses. Both horses face the viewer's right, one horse is in

front of the man, while the other stands behind him. Along the bottom of the niche, a rectangular

section of stone was removed to accommodate the legs of the man, which would not have fit

inside the niche.

A large portion of the stela is missing. It was cracked off along the bottom, leaving only

the smallest portion of the inscription:

Q(uintus) Voltiu[s Q(uinti) f(ilius)] / Viator an(norum)

"Quintus Voltiu[s, son of Quintus] Viator, lived…"

Unfortunately only the name of the soldier remains. It is presumed that the name of the father

would have been included, if the inscription follows the typical pattern.

The grave *stela* of Silius son of Attonis (fig. 43, catalog no. 35) was found just outside of

Dienheim in Mainz in 1834.[229] This banquet style monument has a large vertical crack that runs

down the center of the upper relief. Despite the damage, the relief carvings and inscription are

still intact. The bottom portion of the monument (the portion that was presumably beneath the

ground) remains, noticeably adding to the overall height. This gives us an extant visual example

of the intended height and presentation of these types of funerary *stelae* in their original

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[227] *Lupa*, 16490.
[228] *CIL* XIII, 7123.
[229] *CIL*, XIII 06277.

Figure 43. Tombstone of Silius, found in Mainz, dates to 69-96 C.E. It is now kept in the Landesmuseum. Photo: The Armatura Press.

complete form. It stands at 248 cm high, 85 cm wide, and 34 cm deep. In the spandrels above

the niche are rosettes with leaves carved on either side. The upper relief is carved within an

arched niche.

Silius reclines on a couch, resting on his left arm. The details of his face have broken off,

with the exception of an ear. The soldier's robe has numerous folds and drapes down the side of

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the couch on the right side. It is not possible to determine if Silius holds anything in his right arm because of the damage to the relief. Like many of the other reliefs of funerary banquet style, a three-legged table is carved in front of the couch. Only two of the three legs are visible, but a small portion of the third remains near the table top. Two small bowls or cups sit on the table with a goblet between them. At the foot of the couch, on the left side of the niche, is the servant boy. Though the face is gone, some of the hair and an ear have survived. The boy wears a draped tunic with numerous folds which falls just below his knees.

Beneath the inscription, in a rectangular niche, is the groom and horse. The groom stands to the right of the horse, holding a lance or a spear in his left hand, and the horse's reins in his right hand. The details of the face are gone, but he appears to be wearing a helmet. He is also wearing a *sagum*, which is military style top which drapes across the chest where it is pinned together at the shoulder. In this relief, the bottom of the *sagum* is hemmed with a fringe. The horse, facing to the right, stands with its front left leg lifted, as if in mid-trot. The horse's mane and tail are stylized, and the saddle straps and bridle are both decorative. Decorative medals are on the upper region of the horse's back right leg, as well as on the horse's chest. Though the stone is heavily pitted, it is still possible to see the saddle and the saddle cloth. Behind the horse, a portion of the soldier's shield is visible.

The inscription is between the two reliefs, with no decorative border. The inscription is short with most of the words abbreviated.

> *Silius Attonis f(ilius) / eq(ues) alae Picent(ianae) / an(norum) XLV stip(endiorum) XXIV / h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit)*

> "Silius son of Attonis, cavalryman of the ala Picentiana Gallorum, lived 45 years and served 24 years. His heirs set this up."

The cavalrymen in the *ala Picentiana* were recruited from central Italy but were attached to the Gallorum legion which consists mainly of men from numerous Gallic tribes. According to a military diploma dated in 74 C.E. and 82 C.E., the unit spent time in Germania Superior.[230] Though an exact date cannot be determined, it is possible that this tombstone dates to the late first century C.E.

Worms

Approximately 30 miles to the south of Mainz, is the city of Worms. During medieval reconstructions in the northern necropolis of the Roman town Vangiones (near Worms) in 1666, several Roman military tombstones were found in the wall outside Saint Martin's gate.[231] One of these funerary monuments belonged to the cavalryman Argiotalus (fig. 44, catalog no. 36). The limestone monument measures 136 cm x 59 cm x 36 cm.[232]

The stela is rectangular with an arched top. There are badly worn remains of decorative palmettes on the either side of the arch as well as at the top. The niche shape mimics the outer edge of the monument and is rectangular with an arched top. The design behind the soldier is different than that of any other tombstone in this data set. It is a simple set of lines that create a clam shell shape. The lines on the shell meet at the top center of the arch. The body of Argiotalus is badly worn but is clearly seated on the horse with his legs facing forward and his body turned at his torso to face the viewer. No details of his face or attire remain, and he is missing his right foot. He holds a sword in his right hand, which is raised slightly, as if ready to strike. His shield is just visible behind his left shoulder.

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[230] Cheesman, *The Auxilia*, 65.
[231] *Lupa*, 16777.
[232] *CIL* XIII, 06232.

Figure 44. Tombstone of Argiotalus, 14-37 C.E.
Monument found in Worms and is currently at the
Museum of the City of Worms. Photo: Lupa, www.ubi-
erat-lupa.org, 16777.

The horse is reared up on his hind legs, and his head is angled downward. Both the mane

and the tail appear to be stylized and there is a faint outline of the reins draped across the horse's

neck. A very small portion of the saddle is visible, as well as a portion of a decorative saddle

cloth.

The inscription area is larger than the relief above, and the stela is broken horizontally across the inscription. The larger letter size prevents the crack from rendering the inscription illegible. It reads:

> *Argiotalus / Smertulitani / f(ilius) Namnis equ(es) / ala Indiana / stip(endiorum) X anno(rum) / XXX h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / (h)eredes posue/r unt*

> "Argiotalus son of Smertulitanus, Namnete cavalryman in the *Ala* Indiana, served ten years and lived 30 years. He lies here. His heirs have erected this monument."

The inscription tells that the rider is from Nantes, France. After the area was conquered by Julius Caesar in 56 B.C.E., the area inhabited by the Namnetes was renamed Condevincum. In the third century C.E. it was again renamed to Portus Namnetum. The unit was stationed in Worms under Tiberius between 31 and 43 C.E. and thus it is estimated that this tombstone likely dates during that time span.[233]

The tombstone of Leubius (fig. 45, catalog no. 37) was discovered in 1899 in Worms, in the *Hochstraße*, or high street. The rectangular, sandstone monument measures 192 cm x 61 cm x 33 cm and is now kept by the Museum Adreasstift.[234]

Above the relief carving, the spandrels are filled with a decorative floral motif. The niche is surrounded by a rectangular border with a triangular top. The niche itself is rectangular with a rounded arch top. The rider sits on his horse with his body at a three-quarters view. He appears to be wearing a helmet and his head is disproportionately large compared to his body. Leubius holds a lance in his right hand, raised up above his shoulder, and hanging from his belt is a *spatha*. The hem of the rider's top is just visible on his upper leg and a faint line indicates the sleeve on his right arm. No other part of the military uniform, if originally present, remains.

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[233] Cheesman, *The Roman Auxilia*, 65.
[234] *Lupa*, 16780; *CIL* XIII, 11709; *AE* 1899, 00191.

Figure 45. Tombstone of Leubius, 54-68 C.E.,
found in Worms. The stone is now at the
Museum of the City of Worms. Photo: Lupa,
www.ubi-erat-lupa.org, 16780.

The soldier's shield is visible behind the horse's head and neck. Standing behind the rider and

the horse is the groom. He wears a tunic and holds a lance in his right hand. The facial features

of both rider and groom have worn away.

The horse, facing to the viewer's right, has many details still intact. The musculature is

well defined as well as the hair in the mane and tail. The bridle and reins are clearly visible.

Part of the saddle and saddle cloth are visible beneath the legs of the rider. The saddle straps are

decorated with large medals with a rosette on each. Beneath the horse's trampling hooves lies

the Roman enemy, supine, on the ground. The facial details have broken off but remains of the

hair and ear are present. The majority of the fallen warrior's body is covered by an elongated,

hexagonal shield with a circular symbol in the center. His right arm is raised, holding a small

blade in his hand in attempt to defend himself.

The inscription is directly beneath the relief carving, and is not enclosed in a border.

Beneath the inscription is the section of stone that was buried underground at the time of its

erection.

> *Leubius Claupi / f(ilius) eq(ues) missicius / ala Sebosiana / an(norum) LXXV h(ic)*
> *s(itus) e(st) / Gratus f(ilius) miles / ex t(estamento) f(ecit) // Monumentum*

> "Leubius son of Claupus, retired cavalryman of the ala Sebosiana, lived 75 years.
> He lies here. His son Gratus, a soldier, set up this monument according to his
> will."

This is the only tombstone in this data set to represent a retired cavalryman. He served in the *Ala*

Sebosiana regiment. There is not a lot of information about this regiment, but it is believed to

have been first deployed in Germania Inferior.

The tombstone of Licinius Clossi (fig. 46, catalog no. 38) was one of the monuments

found in a wall at Saint Martin's gate in 1666.[235] It is a rectangular, limestone monument with a

triangular top and measures 218 cm x 75 cm x 31 cm. It appears that there was originally more

decorative carving on top of the triangular pediment but has since broken off. A double inward

bevel serves as a border along the top of the pediment. In the center, above the niche is a small

rosette. The niche is rectangular with a round arched top. A braided rope design borders the

arch of the niche. The relief carving has been eroded over time, making details difficult to

distinguish. The rider sits on his horse with his right arm raised up, holding a lance in his hand.

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[235] *Lupa*, 5930; *CIL* XIII, 06234.

Figure 46. Tombstone of Licinius Clossi found in Worms, now at the Museum of the City of Worms. The monument dates to 41-54 C.E. Photo: Lupa, www.ubi-erat-lupa.org, 5930.

A small blade hangs down at his waist. The soldier's shield is visible both below and above the horse's head.

The horse, facing the viewer's right, is reared up over the top of a fallen Roman enemy. His mane and tail are stylized and the musculature is well defined. The bridle and reins are still visible on the horse's face and neck. Small portions of the saddle are visible on either side of the rider and the saddle straps are clearly represented.

The fallen enemy lies on the ground, supine, with his knees bent and feet on the ground. In an attempt to protect himself from the horse and the soldier, he has raised his shield to cover his body. It is an elongated shield with a circular symbol in the center, like many of the shields on tombstones with similar motifs.

The monument suffered damage to bottom right portion of the stone, slightly obscuring parts of the inscription. However, the majority of the inscription can be transcribed:

> *Licinius Clossi / f(ilius) Helvetius ann(orum) / XLVII eques ala I / Hisp(anorum)*
> *stip(endiorum) XXVI h(ic) s(itus) [e(st)] / Tib(erius) Iul(ius) Capito h(eres)*
> *[p(osuit?)]*

> "Licinius son of Clossus, of the Helvetii tribe, lived 47 years and served 26 years
> as a cavalryman in the *ala I Hispanorum*. He lies here. His heir Tiberius Iulius
> Capito set this up."

The inscription is enclosed in a double inward bevel, but the stone carver was unable to fit the entire inscription within the border. One line, the name of the heir, is just beneath the border. It is also possible that the decision to add the last line was made later.

The tombstone of Quintus Carminius Ingenuus (fig. 47, catalog no. 39) was also found with those of Licinius Clossi and Argiotalus in the wall at St. Martin's gate in 1666.[236] Ingenuus was not only a cavalryman, but a signifier also. Like the two latter monuments, this *stela* suffered significant damage to the relief carving and the inscription, if not more so. It is also rectangular with a pediment style top. It is carved from limestone and measures 237 cm x 96 cm x 42 cm. Additional ornamentation once existed on the outside corners of the pediment, but only rough stone protrusions remain. The decoration in the pediment is too eroded to accurately determine the original design. The niche is rectangular with a round arch top.

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[236] *Lupa*, 16778; *CIL* XIII, 06233.

Figure 47. Tombstone of Quintus Carminius Ingenuus found in Worms, now at the Museum of the City of Worms. This tombstone dates to 14-37 C.E. Photo: Lupa, www.ubi-erat-lupa.org, 16778.

Within the niche, the rider sits on his horse, turned just slightly at the waist toward the viewer. He holds a lance, with his right hand up near his face, ready to thrust the lance at his enemies below. He wears a military tunic, the hem can be seen on his upper right leg. The hem

of the sleeve is also visible on his right arm. Ingenuus is clearly wearing a belt with a *spatha* attached, hanging down at his side. In his left hand he holds his shield and the unit's sign.

The horse, facing the viewer's right, is reared up on his hind legs and in the process of trampling two Roman enemies. This is the only relief in this data set that has depicted more than one enemy being trampled under the horse. The horse wears a bridle, with a decorative medal on his jaw. Medals displaying rosettes run along the strap that comes across the horse's chest. Another medal is visible next to the soldier's sword, on the horse's upper back leg. The musculature is softly defined and the mane and tail are stylized.

The two men beneath the horse appear to be naked with only their shields to protect themselves. Both men carry oblong hexagonal shields with circular symbols in the center. One man is upside down, facing the viewer. He lies balanced on his head and right arm. To the left of his head is his shield. The lower half of his body is not in view. The second man sits on the ground with his back towards the viewer and his head in profile to the left. His right arm leans against the ground while he uses his left arm and hand to hold his shield above him.

The inscription is beneath the relief carving and is surrounded by a narrow, double beveled border. The monument was broken into two pieces, horizontally through the inscription. This obscures portions of the inscription but this is what is still legible:

> *Q(uinto) Carminio In/ge[n]uo [eq]uit[i ala I(?)] / Hispanorum a[nn(orum) ---] / stip(endiorum) XXV signifero / Sacer Iulius h(eres) e(x) t(estamento)*

> "Quintus Carminius Ingenuus, cavalryman and signifier of the ala I (?) Hispanorum, lived [---] years and served 15 years. His heir Sacer Iulius set this up according to his will."

In 1885, the tombstone of Valerius Maxantius (fig. 48, catalog no. 40) was discovered near Worms.[237] The monument is rectangular and carved from sandstone, measuring 142 cm x 72 cm x 24 cm. This tombstone is simpler in its design and more crudely carved than many of

Figure 48. Now in the Museum of the City of Worms, the tombstone of Valerius Maxantius was originally discovered in Worms and dates to the late third century C.E. Photo: Lupa, www.ubi-erat-lupa.org, 16784.

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[237] *Lupa*, 16784; *CIL* XIII, 06238; *AE* 1899, 00191.

the other tombstones from Germany in this data set. Carved in the spandrels are an "M" and "D." It is unique in the fact that the "M" is carved on the left side and the "D" is carved on the right side, and the "D" is also backwards. Typically the "D" would be on the left side, since it is meant to be read from left to right. The niche is simple, rectangular with a rounded top, and without any border or decoration.

Valerius sits on his horse and is turned at the waist to face the viewer. The details are badly eroded, but it is clear that the rider is holding a spear in his right hand. His right leg and foot are extremely small compared to the rest of his body and almost cartoon like. His left foot can be seen next to his right foot, but instead of being carved in relief, a simple outline has been incised in the stone. The top of his shield is visible just above the horse's head.

The soldier's horse is facing to the right and exhibits minimal detail. The reins drape across the neck of the horse and saddle straps are visible across the chest of the horse as well as the right hind leg. Like the foot of the soldier, the left legs of the horse are more incised rather than carved in relief. The horse wears a fringed saddle cloth and the mane and tail are both stylized.

The inscription is directly beneath the carving and has no border. The letters are not as neatly arranged or carved as many inscriptions discussed previously. The entire inscription reads as follows:

> *M(anibus) D(is) // Val(erius) Maxantius / eq(ues) ex numero / kata(fractariorum) vix(it) an(n)is / XXXII me(n)s(ibus) VI / Val(erius) Dacus fr(ater?) / fec(it)*

> "To the divine Manes! Valerius Maxantius, a horseman of a division of mailed cavalry, lived thirty-two years and six months. His heir Valerius Dacus erected the tombstone."[238]

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[238] Bunnell Lewis, "Roman Antiquities in the Rhineland," *The Archaeological Journal* 60 (1903): 333.

There are a few unique elements in this inscription compared to others in this data set. For example, the word "numero" is used to reference cohorts, regiments, or wings of the cavalry during the late Empire.[239] This might suggest that the stone dates to the early fifth century C.E. The *equites cataphractarii* were a special unit of cavalrymen who were heavily armored. The inscription does not specify in which unit Maxantius served. It has been posited that the poor quality of the relief carving is evidence of the decline of art during that time period. The use of the "K", as well as the backwards "D" is likely a good indication that the stone carver was not as familiar with inscribing Latin. The need for that particular skill was in decline.

Syria

The Roman military was a major presence throughout Syria for several hundred years. Many cities in Syria were affected by or home to legions of the Roman army. Some cities served as military bases for legionary or auxiliary garrisons such as Cyrrhus, Apamea, and Palmyra.[240] Seven cavalryman tombstones have been found in Apamea. It is difficult to say when exactly the Roman military first made a significant appearance in Apamea, but there is ample evidence for their presence in beginning in the early second century C.E. [241] According to military tombstones, *Legio II Parthica* spent several winters garrisoned at Apamea. *Ala I Ulpia Contariorum* and *ala I Flavia Britannica* also spent time in Apamea.

The tombstones of the cavalrymen found at Apamea are considerably different in style than those from Germany or England. The relief designs are simpler and the craftsmanship is of

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[239] Lewis, "Roman Antiquities," 334.

[240] Pollard, *Soldiers, Cities, & Civilians in Roman Syria*, 38.

[241] Jean Ch. Balty, "Apamea in Syria in the Second and Third Centuries A.D.," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 78 (1988): 91-104. Balty discusses both archaeological and epigraphical evidence of the effects of the Roman military in Apamea.

a lesser quality. They also tend to be shorter and narrower than those found in other parts of the Empire.

The funerary stela of Atilius Crispinianus (fig. 49, catalog no. 41) is also on display at the Apamea Museum.[242] Though the entire monument is badly weathered, the right side has

Figure 49. Tombstone of Atilius Crispinianus, found in Apamea and kept at the Apamea Museum. The monument likely dates to the late third century C.E. Photo: Lupa, www.ubi-erat-lupa.org, 3908.

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[242] *Lupa*, 3908; *AE* 1993, 01591.

suffered the most damage. Very few details remain in the relief carving. The majority of the inscription below is legible, but some letters are missing. It is average in size, measuring 161 cm x 70 cm.

At the top, inside a triangular niche, are two seated lions, facing each other. Each lion has one paw raised and resting on the unidentified object between them. A rectangular niche is carved directly below the lions. Here the deceased is portrayed on his horse. He holds a long spear, a *contus*, in his right hand. This weapon was common among soldiers in the Near East and Persia.[243] The rider's right leg and foot is still visible. The horse faces to the viewer's right and is posed in mid canter. His front left leg is raised above the ground. No fine details on the horse or rider remain.

Beneath the relief, the epitaph is inscribed in the recessed surface and surrounded by a thin, single line border. The "D" of "DM" is still intact, but is located at the top of the stela. The "D" is to the left of the lion motif and the "M" was probably originally to the right.

> *D(is) M(anibus) / Atil(ius) Crispi/nianus du/plic(arius) ale I U[l]/p(iae) Cont(ariorum) sti/p(endiorum) XXII Cl(audius) Vi/ator dup/[li]c(arius…*

> "To the Divine Manes. Atilius Crispinianus, cavalry duplicarius of *ala I Ulpia Contrariorum*, served 22 years. Claudius Viator, cavalry duplicarius…"[244]

Unlike many of the tombstones found in Germany, the Syrian inscriptions can be hard to read. The letters are not a uniform size and the spacing between letters, words and lines is not uniform. This is common on many of the *stelae* from Syria as well as a few from Great Britain.

The tombstone of Aurelius Disas (fig. 50, catalog no. 42), the horn blower for the cavalry regiment, measures 143 cm x 52 cm and is a *stela* type monument, according to Balty's

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[243] Dixon and Southern, *The Late Roman Army*, 25.
[244] Balty and Van Rengen, *Apamea in Syria*, 48, pl. 22.

Figure 50. Tombstone of Aurelius Disas found at Apamea and housed at the Apamea Museum. The monument dates to the late third century C.E. Photo: Lupa, www.ubi-erat-lupa.org, 3906.

categorization.[245] The pediment style top is flanked by a rosette on either side.[246] The relief

carving sits in a square niche with a triangular top (following the outline of the pediment). In the

niche, the rider sits on springing horse, facing to the right. There are no distinct facial features or

other small details. The horse and rider are very simplistic. It is apparent though, that the rider

holds a semi-circular horn in his right hand. The stone surface is comparatively rough, due most

likely to stone type and surface erosion.

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[245] Balty and Van Rengen, *Apamea in Syria*, 11.

[246] *Lupa*, 3906; *AE* 1993, 01595.

Beneath the relief is the inscription. It is surrounded by a thick border on the sides and bottom. The letters are not as clear or neat as many of the others previously described but still very legible.

> *Aurelius Disas co / rnicen ale I Flavi / e Brittanice stip (endiorum) / XI vixit annis / XXXII Aurelius / Pimetaica(?) secu / ndus heres eius / titulum posuit / college suo*

> "Aurelius Disas, horn blower of *ala I Flavia Britannica*, with 11 years' service, lived 32 years. Aurelius Pimetaica, his second heir, erected this stone for his colleague."

There are some slight variations in the epitaph patterns. For instance, the tombstones in Germany listed the name of the father.

The stela type tombstone of Aurelius Dolens (fig. 51, catalog no. 43) is similar to that of Aurelius Disas in terms of crude relief and inscription, but the type of relief is slightly different.[247] At the top of the stela, there is a pediment with a rosette in the center. Instead of a soldier riding on his horse, a stable boy stands with the deceased's horses on either side. Faint lines denote the clothing of the young man, but it is difficult to tell what type of clothing he wears. The stone carver may have run out of room because there is a small arch carved out of the bottom border of the pediment to make room for the man's head. One horse faces to the left with the right front leg slightly lifted. The other horse faces to the right with the left front leg slightly lifted. The left side of the stela suffered more damage than the right. The back two legs of the horse on the left are only barely noticeable and it appears the tail is missing. The depictions of the horses are very simple, merely basic figures with no decorative detail. It is always possible that more details were painted on the stone.

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[247] *Lupa*, 3904; *AE* 1993, 01590.

Figure 51. Tombstone of Aurelius Dolens discovered in Apamea and housed at the Apamea Museum. The monument likely dates to the late third century C.E. Photo: Cynthia Finlayson.

The inscription is carved inside a rectangular niche. The borders of the niche are beveled slightly inward. The "M" of "D M" (*Dis Manibus*) is carved above in inscription niche on the right, near the rear legs of the horse. It is very likely that initially there was a "D" carved on the opposite side, but it no longer remains. The epitaph indicates that Dolens was a *duplicarius*, a cavalryman who received double the basic pay.[248] It is also mentioned that both his heirs were *duplicarii*.

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[248] Goldsworthy, *The Complete Roman Army*, 215.

[D(is)] M(anibus) / Aurel(ius) Dolens dupl(icarius) / Ale Contar(iorum) stip(endiorum) XXVI / ann(orum) L hopitus domo / Tracia memoriam in / stituer(unt) Iul(ius) Avitianus / dupl(icarius) et Aurel(ius) Robus/tianus dupl(icarius) here / des

"To the spirits of the departed, Aurelius Dolens, cavalry duplicarius of the *ala* Contariorum, served 26 years. He died aged 50. He was born in Thrace. Iulius Avitianus, Aurelius Robustianus both duplicarii, his heirs, had this stone erected in his memory."[249]

Figure 52. Tombstone of Aurelius Mucatralis found in Apamea and housed at the Apamea Museum. The monument likely dates to the late third century C.E. Photo: Cynthia Finlayson.

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[249] Balty and Van Rengen, *Apamea in Syria*, 47, pl. 21.

The funerary *stela* of Aurelius Mucatralis (fig. 52, catalog no. 44), on display at the

Apamea Museum in Syria, was found in 1986 near a city wall.[250] The *stela* likely dates between

242 C.E. and 252 C.E. The limestone monument stands at 139 cm x 61 cm.

Like the many other funerary *stelae* found in Apamea, this stone is badly eroded and the

relief carving is modest and coarse. The rectangular stela has a relatively flat top, but it is

possible it was originally styled with a triangular top. The basic carving depicts a galloping horse

in profile, with the horse facing to the right. The rider, seemingly large, appears to be turned at

the waist, towards the viewer. The rider's right leg is nearly touching the ground and the top of

his head is about equal with that of the horse. Faded carvings on the rider's face only hint at a

pair of eyes, a nose and a mouth.

The epitaph is inscribed into a recessed surface beneath the carving of the cavalryman.

Aur(elius) Mucatralis tu / bice(n) al(a)e Brittanic(a)e / <turmae?> Dionis st(i)pendior / u(m) dece(m) felicissima i /n espeditone hori / [e]ntale<m> rebo? nat / ura(e) solvit annos / vicsit triginta / et cinqu<e> Aur(elius) Pas/ser cornice(n) collega / memoria(m) possit (=posuit) / Mucatrali colle/ gi posuit[251]

"Aurelius Mucatralis, trumpeter of the *ala Britannica*, from the turma of Dio, served ten years and died during the successful eastern campaign. He lived 35 years. Aurelius Passer, horn blower, his colleague, had this stone erected to the memory of his colleague Mucatralis."[252]

According to the studies of Lindley Richard Dean, the cognomen Mucatralis is of

Thracian origin.[253]

Despite its poor condition, the tombstone of Aurelius Octavianus (fig. 53, catalog no. 45)

still has the remnants of a relief carving and the inscription is still legible. It measures 119cm

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[250] *Lupa*, 3907; *AE* 1993, 01594.
[251] Jean Charles Balty and Wilfried Van Rengen, *Apamea in Syria: The Winter Quarters of Legio II Parthica*, trans. Walter E.H. Cockle (Bruxelles: VUBPRESS, 1993), 51, pl. 25.
[252] Balty and Van Rengen, *Apamea in Syria*, 51, pl. 25.
[253] Lindley Richard Dean, *A Study of the Cognomina of Soldiers in the Roman Legions* (Lancaster: Intelligencer Print, 1916), 90.

Figure 53. Tombstone of Aurelius Octavianus found in Apamea and housed at the Apamea Museum. It dates to the late third century C.E. Photo: copyright Balty and Vanrengen, *Apamea in Syria*, 49.

high by 45cm wide. Like the tombstone of Aurelius Dolens, this stela also features the stable boy holding the reigns of the deceased's horses, one on each side. The relief is badly damaged but it is still possible to make out that the stable boy has proportionally small arms. The stone carver also attempted to carve all four legs on the horses (the right side is badly damaged and only one of the legs is visible, but it is likely that it originally had 4 legs). Due to limited space, the horses have unnaturally short bodies.

The epitaph is inscribed in a shallow, rectangular niche and reads:

Aur(elius) Octavian[us] / sesq(uiplicarius) alae I Ulp[(iae) Co]/nt(ariorum)
an(norum) XXXI / st<i>p(endiorum) XI Soli(us) Vic[to] / rinus et Iul(ius)
Li[be]/ralis f(ecerunt) b(ene) m(erenti)

139

"Aurelius Octavianus, sesquiplicarius of Ala I Ulpia Contrariorum, died aged 31 with 11 years' service. Solius Victorinus and Iulius Liberalis erected this stelae, as was the dead man's due."

Like the epitaph on Dolens' stela, it mentions that he was more than an entry-level cavalryman.

A *sesquiplicarius* received one and a half times the regular pay.[254]

Discovered in 1986, the funerary stela of Ignius Viatorianus (fig. 54, catalog no. 46) has survived the elements better than some of the other tombstones at Apamea. It was found near tower 15 of the city wall in Apamea.[255] The stone measures 104 cm by 69 cm and is rectangular with a triangular top. The top corners arc downward and meet at the edges of the pediment. The relief carving of Viatorianus presents him mounted on his horse, holding a long spear in his right hand. It is a crude carving and not many of the details remain.

The horse faces to the right and like many of the other tombstone depictions, the horse is more stylized, with rounded features. Rather than portraying a leg bending at angles at the joints, the leg is shown in a narrow continuous arc. It is still possible to see the reigns beginning at the horse's mouth and continuing on top of the neck. Also still visible is the horse's eye.

The epitaph is in a rectangular niche below the relief carving and is enclosed in a thin single-line border. The inscription continues at the bottom, outside of the thin border, possibly indicating that the engraver ran out of room.

> *D(is) M(anibus) / Ignius Viatori/anus stator A<l>e I Ul/p(iae) Contariorum dict/ane? annorum XXXXI m/ilitavit anno<s> XXII? / positrunt Cl(audius) Varus? / M(arcus) Aelius Crescentinu/s Avius? Iunianus / contubernali*

"To the Divine Manes. Ignius Viatorianus, stator of Ala I Ulpia Contariorum died aged 41 with 22 years' service. Claudius Varus, Marcus Aelius Crescintinus, and Avius Iunianus had this stone erected for their contubernalis."[256]

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[254] Balty and Van Rengen, *Apamea in Syria*, 49, pl. 23.
[255] *Lupa*, 3910; *AE* 1993, 01593.
[256] Balty and Van Rengen, *Apamea in Syria*, 50, pl. 24.

Figure 54. Tombstone of Ignius Viatorianus found in Apamea and housed at the Apamea Museum. This monument dates to the late third century C.E. Photo: Lupa, www.ubi-erat-lupa.org, 3910.

According to the inscription, Viatorianus was a *stator*, which was a military policeman. It is likely that several men were appointed as *statori* within each *ala*.

The tombstone of Iulius Valerianus (fig. 55, catalog no. 47) was found around the same time in the same place as that of Viatorianus. It measures 112 cm x 45 cm. The *stela* is simple, but well preserved. Like the other tombstone reliefs, this one too exhibits simplified figures.

Figure 55. Tombstone of Iulius Valerianus at the Apamea Museum. The stone was found in Apamea originally and dates to the late third century C.E. Photo: Cynthia Finlayson.

Inside a rectangular niche with a triangular top, Valerianus is posed on top of his horse. His body is turned at the waist so his head faces the viewer. The eyes, nose and mouth are still visible. The arms are awkwardly positioned with both hand resting on his right thigh. The horse is facing to the right and oddly proportioned. The back end of the horse is very high in relation to its neck and head. The legs have little shape but flare slightly outwards to indicate where the

hooves begin. One of the front legs is raised up, as if captured in mid step. On the left side of the relief is a 'D' and on the right side is an 'M'.

A shallow, rectangular niche contains the inscription below the relief carving. The stone carver did not keep the inscription entirely within the niche. At least one letter is carved outside the niche on the right side and on almost every line of text.

> *D(is) M(anibus) / Ilulius Valerianus / eques alae I Ul<p>iae con/tariorum stip(endiorum) XXIII / vixit annis XXXXVI / Ulp(ius) Ingen<u>us dupl(icarius) / alae eiusdem here/s posuit b(ene) m(erenti)*
>
> "To the Divine Manes. Iulius Valerianus, cavalryman of *ala I Ulpia Contariorum*, served 23 years. He lived 46 years. Ulpius Ingenuus, cavalryman with double pay of the same unit, his heir, had (this stone) erected, as was the dead man's due."[257]

These Roman cavalrymen tombstones are each unique in their design but also have many similar qualities. The difficult task ahead is to determine which elements of the tombstones are important for this study. In the next chapter, I will present said elements and discuss the methods and theory that helped narrow down which of the physical elements would be necessary for determining the ethnic group of a deceased soldier.

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[257] Balty and Van Rengen, *Apamea in Syria*, 46 pl. 20.

5 │ A SEMIOTIC APPROACH

Semiotics is the study of signs. This includes the study of the complex processes by which humans create and comprehend signs. Though semiotics was initially a literary theory, some postprocessual and cognitive archaeologists (as well as scholars from other disciplines) have adapted this theory as a way to interpret meanings of material objects.[258] Finding the meaning behind material culture became increasingly important to archaeologists during the 1970s as a reaction to the emergence of New Archaeology. That is not to say that archaeologists were not concerned with meaning before. Many attempted to determine the function of material culture emphasizing that function itself is a kind of meaning. It was not until later that archaeologists felt it important or possible to infer intent or thought from material remains.[259] They started questioning the reasoning behind behavior. "There is thus an inherent semiotic dimension to the study of material culture since, as a product of human activity, material culture must always signify something other than itself."[260] Semiotics as a theoretical approach may provide a way to interpret the Roman cavalryman tombstones and find meaning that goes beyond function, rather the intent of the individuals who created these stone monuments. This chapter thus explores the potential strengths and applications of semiotics to my research agenda as well as the weaknesses of semiotics with regard to my topic.

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[258] Robert Preucel, *Archeological Semiotics* (Massachusetts: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 3.
[259] Preucel, *Archaeological Semiotics*, 3.
[260] Preucel, *Archaeological Semiotics*, 4.

The development of semiotics is often credited to the work of Ferdinand de Saussure. During the early 1900s, Saussure extensively studied Indo-European languages and language structure. His revolutionary research is considered a major addition to the field of linguistics. His major works on semiotics were not published until after his death in 1913. Scholars Charles Bally and Albert Sechehaye edited a compilation entitled, *Cours*. It consists of notes taken by Saussure's students during his lectures.[261] It was first published in 1916. This publication was a compilation Saussure's pioneering ideas about the structure of language.

As semiotics is the study of signs, it is important to provide a definition of "sign." A sign, generally defined, is "something that stands for or refers to something other than itself."[262] According to Saussure, the sign is made up of two components, the signifier and the signified. The sign is a process rather than a mere representation. Saussure describes it as a relationship. The signified refers to a concept, or a mental image, and signifier refers to a sound pattern. It is the relationship between a concept and a sound pattern that constitutes a sign.[263] Saussure illustrated this relationship in a visual diagram (fig. 56). "The arrows emphasize that the two elements of the sign relation are mutually determined and symmetrical."[264] Thus, if one aspect of the sign is present, it is possible to determine the corresponding aspect. It should be noted that a sign has no intrinsic meaning. Something is not a sign until one interprets it as such. A cavalryman *stela*, as a whole, is a sign, but it also consists of many individual signs. Though

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[261] Preucel, *Archaeological Semiotics*, 24.
[262] Daniel Chandler, "Semiotics for Beginners," (1994), url: http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/Documents/S4B/, accessed September 19, 2014.
[263] Preucel, *Archaeological Semiotics*, 28.
[264] Preucel, *Archaeological Semiotics*, 28.
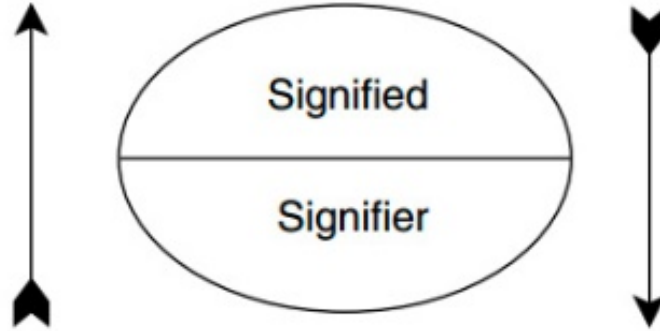
Figure 56. The sign relationship. Image from Preucel, Archaeological Semiotics, 28.

Saussure based his studies on language, the sign system can still be applied to the physical world.

For example, one possible sign within some Roman cavalry *stelae* is the image of a groom on a

funerary monument. The signifier in this case is the physical, carved image of the groom. Both

soldiers and civilians knew that an individual who had a groom in their employ, was a person of

means and wealth.[265] Upon seeing the image of the groom, a soldier or a civilian could receive a

message: "the deceased soldier employed a groom, therefore he must have been a wealthy man."

The message is the signified. Therefore, the sign is not just the image of the groom but rather an

individual seeing the groom (the signifier) and understanding it to mean wealth (signified).

According to Saussure, language is a structure composed of a series of relationships, that

is to say, of multiple signs. It is a "signification system composed of discrete elements where the

value of any one sign depends on the simultaneous coexistence of all others."[266] Saussure also

created a diagram to visually represent the structure of a language (fig. 57). In between each

sign is a two-way arrow. These, in essence, imply that language is a series of signs which are

codependent on one another. "The value of a word is determined not only by its meaning, but

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[265] Southern and Dixon, *The Roman Cavalry*, 37.
[266] Preucel, *Archaeological Semiotics,* 30.
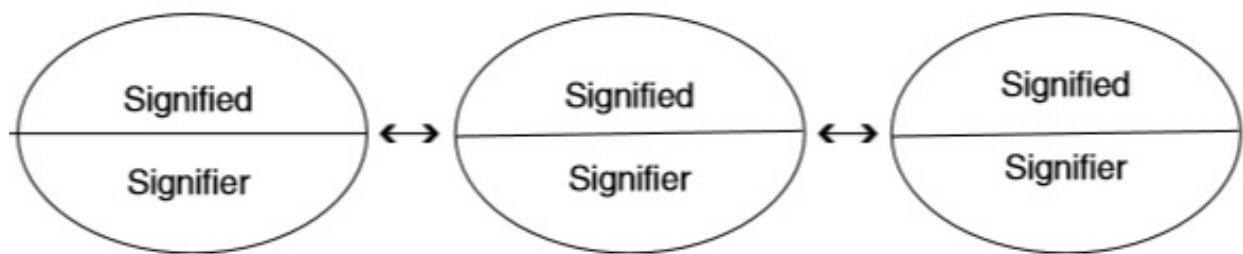
Figure 57. The language system. Image from Preucel, Archaeological Semiotics, 30.

also by its contrast with other words as elements within a system."[267] All people are able to find

examples of words in their respective languages and see that the definition has changed over

time. The definition of a word can change from one generation to the next, or even multiple

times within a single generation. Saussure described language as being affected by two

elements: past and present. Language is something that is inherited, but humans in the present

make changes to the language.

The individual signs on a tombstone, both signs and words, send individual messages or

have individual meanings. The whole tombstone can be compared to a language system. Thus,

different meanings or messages can be derived from a specific combination of signs on a single

tombstone.

The relationship between the signified and the signifier is arbitrary. For example, a word

(written or verbal), does not resemble or relate to its assigned meaning; there is no direct

relationship between the word and its meaning. As the sign relationships are accepted by a

society over time, they eventually become conventions. The rider motif is an example of

convention. One cannot exchange the horse for an elephant and expect to portray the same

meaning.

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[267] Preucel, *Archaeological Semiotics,* 30.

Charles Sanders Peirce, another scholar interested in the study of signs, contributed significant philosophical ideas and theories to the field of science. He was frequently invited to lecture on his theoretical work at several prestigious universities. Later in his career, he was hired as a professor at John Hopkins University in Baltimore. Through his many lectures and classes, Peirce introduced his theoretical research. Like Saussure, his work was beneficial to multiple disciplines. He is probably best known for the research which was the basis of pragmatism.

Peirce's sign theory is particularly appealing to archaeologists. While Saussure was contributing semiotic research to the field of linguistics, Peirce was also researching aspects of semiotics. "The *semeiotic* of Charles Sanders Peirce – his 'general theory of signs' – and his descriptions of the categories of phenomena are very relevant for interpreting human identity through the artefactual record."[268] Peirce's definition of the sign differed significantly from that of Saussure. Peirce was not interested solely in linguistic signs, but rather in all types of signs.[269] Saussure argued that the synchronic aspect of the sign relationship should be the main focus for linguists. Peirce, on the other hand, saw the sign relationship as a triadic structure and focused on the continuity or semiosis of the sign relationship.[270]

Peirce's sign structure is made up of three main elements: the *representamen* (often referred to as the sign), the *object*, and the *interpretant*. The representamen is similar to the signifier as described by Saussure. It represents something and is anything that can be interpreted. In other words, it is the form which the sign takes.

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[268] V.P. Lele, "Material Habits, Identity, Semeiotic," *Journal of Social Archaeology* 6, no. 1 (2006): 49.

[269] Lele, "Material Habits, Identity, Semeiotic," 50.

[270] Lele, "Material Habits, Identity, Semeiotic," 50.

The object "existed in the world as either a physical presence or general regularity and through which signs become palpable, or experienceable to human minds."[271] It is the subject matter of the representamen and the interpretant. The object is also something to which the sign refers and is also known as the sign vehicle.

The interpretant is described as the meaning that is formed in the mind of the interpreter, it is the sense that is made of the sign. Peirce explains that the interpretant is itself a sign, it is a new sign, created as a result of interpretation. This is how Peirce's sign relationship is semiotic in nature. A sign can never exist alone; it is always connected to other signs. "Signs have the capacity to generate new signs since the interpretant of one sign relation can become the object for another sign relation and so on in a process of endless semiosis."[272] To illustrate the three parts of Peirce's sign relationship, I will again refer to the example of the groom. The representamen in this sign relationship is the physical carved image of the groom. The object, or sign vehicle, is the groom, a man who works with horses. The interpretant is the meaning formed by the interpreter: the deceased soldier was a wealthy man.

As mentioned earlier, elements of the sign relationship change; that is, the values of those sign elements change. Signs also have more than one meaning or interpretation. How the signs are used is determined by convention. "…for material culture as well, all participants of culture engage in 'entextualization', and that our ability to make interpretations and understand meanings – in other words, to 'know' – is contingent upon the patterns of entextualization we recognize and use."[273] The idea that a groom can symbolize wealth is also an example of

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[271] Preucel, *Archaeological Semiotics*, 55.
[272] Preucel, *Archaeological Semiotics*, 55.
[273] Alexander A. Bauer, "Is What You See All You Get? Recognizing Meaning in Archaeology," *Journal of Social Archaeology* 2, no. 37 (2002): 47.

convention. Today, an individual is not likely to see an image of a groom and interpret it to mean wealth. Our society has not established this as convention.

To better understand the semiotic relationship of the sign, Peirce further identified relationships between the three elements of the sign. These are the sign-object, the sign-sign, and the sign-interpretant relationships. Each of these relationships can be broken down further into additional relationships. One of the most frequently discussed relationships is the sign-object relationship. There are three types of sign (representamen)-object relationships: *icon*, *index*, and *symbol*.

An *icon* is a sign that contains iconic characters. Icons "refer to an object by virtue of its characteristics."[274] Icons are imitative in nature, such as a diagram or painting.

> The problem of the icon is that its interpretation is based on iconic similarities which the interpreter establishes. Nothing in the object demands that such an iconic connection should be established. Therefore, the iconic sign gives the interpreter the possibility to be creative and to find different associative connections with the objects which do not need to have anything to do with each other.[275]

Some of the riders represented in relief on Roman tombstones could be considered iconic. The unique facial features may have been intended to resemble those of the deceased soldier. An *index* is a sign that identifies the object based on the effectual relationship between the object and the sign. "The sign vehicle represents its object by virtue of an actual or physical connection."[276] A common example of this sign type is the weathervane. The weathervane is an index of the wind because it is physically effected by the wind. A *symbol* is a type of sign which is connected to the object by way of convention or rules. Languages are based on symbols. For instance, a

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[274] Preucel, *Archaeological Semiotics*, 56.

[275] Mikko Louhivuori, *Understanding Neolithic Southern Levant: Case Studies of Archaeological Semiosis in Action* (Finland: Åbo Akademi University Press, 2010), 32.

[276] Vincent M. Colapietro, *Glossary of Semiotics* (New York: Paragon House, 1993), 118.

written word has no connection to its meaning. A reader sees the word and can interpret its

meaning based on the rules of the language and the context in which the word appears. Signs do

not always fit neatly in one category or the other. The rosette is a common decorative feature on

many tombstones. It can be iconic in that it was carved to look like a specific flower. It can also

be symbolic in that it represents rebirth. The signs on the tombstones are examples of all three

types. In the next chapter I discuss how the sign theory was applied to the analysis, as well as

the results of the analysis.

6 │ ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

"Whether a dyadic or a triadic model is adopted, the role of the interpreter must be accounted for – either within the formal model of the sign, or as an essential part of the process of semiosis."[277] Though Saussure did not formally acknowledge the interpreter in his model of the sign, the interpreter is crucial to the sign system as a whole. Saussure's work on the analysis of sign systems greatly influenced the structuralist models developed by European theorists.[278] He emphasized the importance of identifying the individual parts (signs) of a language system, their relationship within the system, and how they function as a whole.

A key aspect of structural analysis is to identify the smallest units that make up a particular system, i.e., its signs in the forms of icons, indices, and symbols. Through my analysis, I have attempted to identify the signs that are carved on each Roman cavalry tombstone in my data set with relation to their possible associations with either ethnicity and/or identity. The signs from each tombstone will be compared to one another in order to identify similarities and differences between the tombstones, through time and across geographical space. As part of my analysis, the signs on each tombstone will be compared both geographically and chronologically. I will then look for patterns of similarities and differences. Examining why specific signs were used on individual tombstones may shed some light on the roles of ethnicity or personal identity in the construction of these specific stone monuments meant to commemorate an individual within Roman funerary paradigms.

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[277] Chandler, *Semiotics for Beginners*, Signs.
[278] Chandler, *Semiotics for Beginners*, Signs.

However, it must be noted at the very beginning that there are difficulties with attempting this analysis given this methodological approach. A number of factors likely affected the design and construction of each Roman cavalry tombstone. The first factor was money. As previously discussed, these ornate monuments were costly, so the design and (potential) absence of particular elements may be exclusively due to a lack of funds. Another factor is the stone carver. Some of the monuments appear to have been carved by someone with far less stone working experience than others. The skills varied from one carver to the next and from one geographic location to the next. Additionally, there were vast differences in cultural paradigms between stone carvers from within the Roman military itself versus carvers from local non-Roman communities and cultural contexts. It would be very difficult, if not impossible, to determine which elements were the result of "artistic license" or expressly requested by the soldier himself. Lastly, those responsible for commissioning the tombstone may have had influence on the design of the monument. If a soldier did not specify exactly how he wanted his funerary monument to look, the heirs or fellow soldiers commissioned to oversee the erection of the monument may have decided for him. Despite the challenges it is still possible to make plausible assumptions about identity and ethnicity based on the style and the content of the tombstones.

The first step I took in this analysis was to identify signs on the tombstones. The signs were chosen because they exhibited the greatest amount of both variation and consistency from one tombstone to the next. Some of the key signs were: type of monument, size of monument, relief type, decorative motifs, horse position, soldier position, soldier's weapons, inscription, cavalrymen names, military rank, and military regiment. A comparative catalog with all tombstones and signs can be found in Appendix I.

Many signs are represented on the tombstones, and the tombstone as a whole is also a sign. Before the signs can be analyzed, it is necessary to understand in what type of context they are to be interpreted. Chandler explains that there are certain rules for interpreting signs in order for effective communication to take place.[279] For example, one may see a lion on a tombstone and interpret it either as iconic or symbolic. Perhaps the lion was a favorite animal of the soldier, or maybe it was meant as a symbol of protection. Lions are found on tombs and in other funerary art throughout the Europe and the Near East. Without any context, there are too many interpretations, making it impossible to determine what message was actually intended by the maker of the sign. I have attempted to find potential meanings of signs in this analysis within a Roman military funerary context. Though this does not make it possible to accurately interpret every sign, the context narrows down the number of possibilities.

After identifying the signs on the tombstones, I compiled a list of monuments with inscriptions that state the origin of each deceased soldier (table 1). Of the forty-seven tombstones, only nineteen tombstones exhibit inscriptions which list the origin (or voting tribe, which also indicates a region of origin) of the deceased. I compared the signs of the nineteen tombstones and did not find major patterns. The soldiers originally came from Hispania, Italia, Gallia (Germania Superior, Germania Inferior, Sardica, Belgica, and Celtica), Arabia Petraea, Raetia, Thrace, and Noricum. The majority of the relief types on the nineteen tombstones are of the rider motif. Some scholars have posited that the rider motif originated in Thrace.[280] The Thracian hero or rider relief was found in both funerary and non-funerary contexts throughout Thrace. "The rider is called 'Thracian' because he appears on more than 2,000 reliefs from at

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[279] Chandler, *Semiotics for Beginners*, Signs.
[280] Haynes, *Blood of the Provinces*, 265.

#	Soldier Name	Monument Date	Monument Find Location	Full or Partial Monument	Relief Type	Decorative Motifs	Horse Pose	Groom Location in Relief	Location of Enemy	Name of Soldier's Father	Soldier's Voting Tribe	Soldier's Native Region	Cavalry Unit
1	Lucius Vitellius Tacinus	74 CE	Bath, England	Partial	Rider	N/A	Reared up on hind legs	Not present	Beneath the horse, supine	Mantaius	Caurium	Caurium, Spain	Vettones
4	Sextus Similius	200 CE	Chester, England	Partial	Rider	Bust of deceased carved in top center flanked by lion heads	Walking	To the right of horse	Not present	Sextus	Fabian	Brixia	Not present
9	Dannicus	70 CE	Cirencester, England	Full	Rider	N/A	Reared up on hind legs	Not present	Beneath the horse, head at the right, lying on left side facing viewer	Not Present	Raurici	Augusta Raurica (Augst, Switzerland)	Indian
10	Sextus Valerius Genialis	60-68 CE	Cirencester, England	Full	Rider	Columns topped with palm leaves flank the nich, a large rosette and leaves fill the center of the pediment	Reared up on hind legs	Not present	Beneath the horse, supine	Not Present	Frisiavones (Germania Inferior)	Frisiavones (Germania Inferior)	I Thracum
11	Longinus Sdapeze	47-49 CE	Colchester, England	Full	Totenmahl	Relief above depicts a winged sphinx and snakes and lions on either side	Standing with Front left leg raised	Not present	Beneath the horse, prone with arms and legs tucked under body, head facing viewer	Matycus	Sardica	Sardica (Sofia, Bulgaria)	I Thracum
15	Insus son of Vodullus	75-120 CE	Lancaster, England	Partial	Rider	Sun (or head of Medusa?) at the apex of the monument, laurel and oak leaves?	Reared up on hind legs	Not present	Beneath the horse, on hands and knees, beheaded	Vodullus	Treveri	Treveri (Trier, Germany)	Augusta
17	C. Marius	41-68 CE	Bonn, Germany	Full	Rider	A *torque* in each spandrel	Reared up on hind legs	Not present	Not present	Lucius	Voltina	Lucca Augusta	Not Present
18	Niger Aetonis	41-54 CE	Bonn, Germany	Partial	Rider	Palm frond bordering niche on top right	Reared up on hind legs	Not present	Not present	Not Present	Nemnete	Celtica (Germany)	Pomponiani
22	Longinus Biarta	80-90 CE	Cologne, Germany	Full	Totenmahl	N/A	Walking with front right leg lifted	To the left of the horse	Not present	Bisa	Bessus	Thrace (Bulgaria)	Sulpicia
24	Lucius Romanus	80-90 CE	Cologne, Germany	Partial	Totenmahl	N/A	Walking with front left leg lifted	To the left of the horse	Not present	Attus	Dardan	Illyria/Thrace	Afrorum
26	Marcus Sacrius	Late 1st century CE	Cologne, Germany	Partial	Totenmahl	N/A	Walking with front left leg lifted	To the left of the horse	Not present	Securus	Remus	Belgica (France)	Noricorum
28	Titus Flavius Bassus	69-96 CE	Cologne, Germany	Full	Rider	Rosette and leaf motif in each spandrel	Reared up on hind legs	Far left, behind horse	Beneath the horse, Prone, head in profile	Mucalae	Dansala	Thrace (Bulgaria)	Noricorum
29	C. Iulius Primus	98-117 CE	Kalkar, Germnay	Full	Totenmahl	Decorative columns flanking niche sides	Walking with front left leg lifted	To the left of the horse	Not present	Adarius	Treveri	Belgica (Germany)	Noricorum
30	Andes	70-75 CE	Mainz, Germany	Full	Rider	Trumpet or similar instrument beneath carving, right of inscription	Reared up on hind legs	Far left, behind horse	Beneath the horse, on hands and knees in profile, but with head facing viewer	Sextus	Not Present	Raetia (S. Germany, Switzerland)	Claudia
31	C. Romanius Capito	54-68 CE	Mainz, Germany	Full	Rider	Flower and leaf motif in each spandrel	Reared up on hind legs	Far left, behind horse	Beneath the horse, supine, in profile	Not Present	Claudian	Noricum, Celeia (Slovenia)	Noricorum
32	Flavius Proclus	69-96 CE	Mainz, Germany	Partial	Rider	Aquatic creature in right spandrel	Reared up on hind legs	Not present	Not present	Not Present	Not Present	Arabia Petraea: Philidelphia (Jordan)	Not Present
36	Argiotalus	14-37 CE	Worms, Germany	Full	Rider	Palmettes on either side and on the top center	Reared up on hind legs	Not present	Not present	Smertulitanus	Not Present	Celtica: Nantes (France)	Indiana
38	Licinus Closi	41-54 CE	Worms, Germany	Full	Rider	Rosette in center of pediment, rope motif along arch of niche	Reared up on hind legs	Not present	Beneath the horse, prone	Clossus	Helvetii	Celtica (Switzerland)	I Hispanorum
43	Aurelius Dolens	Late 3rd century CE	Apamea, Syria	Full	Multiple horse	Rosette in center of pediment	Standing with one front leg raised	Not present	Not present	Not Present	Not Present	Thrace	Contariorum

Table 1. List of soldiers with known regions of origin.

least 350 locations in Thrace, its neighboring territories, and other places characterized by

Thracian presence."[281] The motif depicted a rider mounted on a horse and aiming a spear at a boar or other animal at the feet of the horse. Others have found this theory, for the most part, to be incorrect.[282] Sculptural evidence suggests that the rider theme was already known in Italy. "In origin the design was influenced by Greek prototypes such as the Dexileos memorial but it came to represent the ideal of the Roman victor and Hero triumphing over his enemy."[283] It is believed, however, that the Thracian Hero motif influenced the reliefs on Roman cavalry tombstones during the second and third centuries C.E. in the Danubian provinces.[284] Given the presence of known Thracian cavalry at Apamea, Syria, the rider type stelae at this location may have also been influenced by the geographical origins of the deceased.

The funerary banquet motif was also common in Greek funerary art. A *totenmahl* motif was frequently found on Roman civilian funerary sculpture. The motif was recognized as a symbol of wealth and prestige. The Roman cavalry adopted both these motifs and modified them for military purposes. For instance, the early Thracian rider reliefs did not depict riders wearing armor, this was an element added by the military. Also, the cavalry adopted the funerary banquet motif on their tombstones, but it was always accompanied by an additional relief of a horse and groom.

Both the rider combined with funerary banquet motifs make these type of cavalrymen tombstones easily recognizable, and yet there is still considerable variation in the design, layout, and inscription from one tombstone to the next. For example, in one relief, a soldier aims a spear

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[281] Nora Dimitrova, "Inscriptions and Iconography in the Monuments of the Thracian Rider," *Hisperia* 71 (2002): 210.
[282] Haynes, *Blood of the Provinces*, 265; Mathilde Schleiermacher, *Römische Reitergrabsteine: Die Kaiserzeitlichen Reliefs des Triumpherenden Reiters* (Bonn: Bouvier, 1984), 63.
[283] Hope, "Words and Pictures," 252.
[284] Haynes, *Blood of the Provinces*, 265.

at his enemy on the ground, while in another relief, the rider wields a sword and there is no enemy present. Even with these variations, the reliefs can clearly be identified as rider reliefs. It is the differences in these details, the meanings of the individual signs, which may or may not reflect an ethnicity of the soldier. In the following section, the signs of each tombstone are compared geographically. The major similarities and differences between signs and the potential meanings will be discussed.

Geographical Comparison

When I organized the table by regions, I found several consistencies as well as variations between signs. It appears that most of the tombstones in each geographical region date to a relatively similar time period. There are also identifiable trends in relief type and relief contents.

Syria

The most noticeable number of similarities were found among the tombstones from Apamea, Syria (table 2). They all are dated to the same time period, and the styles are all very similar. The horses and soldiers are all very simple in design. If any details like clothing, armor, weapons, or decorations on the horse were present, they were painted on, rather than carved. Only one of the seven from Apamea, the tombstone of Ignius Viatorianus, had more carved details, such as a weapon and a helmet. The layout of the inscriptions is remarkably similar as well. Every inscription lists both the name of the cavalry unit and the specific names of the persons responsible for erecting the monument. Though not all of the inscriptions give the age at death, they all include the number of years' military service.

All seven cavalrymen belonged to one of two cavalry units: the ala *I Ulpia Contariorum* and the ala *I Flavia Britannica*. Evidence for the specific cavalry units stationed at Apamea during the second and third centuries C.E. is incomplete. However, there is sufficient epigraphic

#	Soldier Name	Monument Date	Inscription	Monument Find Location	Full or Partial Monument	Relief Type	Decorative Motifs	Horse Pose	Groom Location in Relief	Location of Enemy	Name of Soldier's Father	Soldier's Voting Tribe	Soldier's Native Region	Cavalry Unit
41	Atilius Crispinianus	Late 3rd century CE	To the Divine Manes. Atilius Crispinianus, cavalry duplicarius of Ala I Ulpia Contariorum, served 22 years. Claudius Viator, cavalry duplicarius…	Apamea, Syria	Partial	Rider	Two lions seated facing each other with a raised front paw in center of pediment, paws rest on unidentified object	Reared up on hind legs	Not present	Not present	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	I Ulpia Contariorum
42	Aurelius Disas	Late 3rd century CE	Aurelius Disas, horn blower of Ala I Flavia Britannica, with 11 years' service, lived 32 years. Aurelius Pimetaica, his second heir, erected this stone for his colleague.	Apamea, Syria	Full	Rider	Undetermined	Reared up on hind legs	Not present	Not present	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	I Flavia Britannica
43	Aurelius Dolens	Late 3rd century CE	To the spirits of the departed, Aurelius Dolens, cavalry duplicarius of the ala Contariorum, served 26 years. He died aged 50. He was born in Thrace. Iulius Avitianus, Aurelius Robustianus both duplicarii, his heirs, had this stone erected in his memory.	Apamea, Syria	Full	Multiple horse	Rosette in center of pediment	Standing with one front leg raised	Not present	Not present	Not Present	Not Present	Thrace	Contariorum
44	Aurelius Mucatralis	Late 3rd century CE	Aurelius Mucatralis, trumpeter of the Ala Britannica, from the turma of Dio, served 10 years and died during the successful eastern campaign. He lived 35 years. Aurelius Passer, horn blower, his colleague, had this stone erected to the memory of his colleague Mucatralis.	Apamea, Syria	Full	Rider	N/A	Reared up on hind legs	Not present	Not present	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	Britannica
45	Aurelius Octavianus	Late 3rd century CE	Aurelius Octavianus, sesquiplicarius of Ala I Ulpia Contariorum, died aged 31 with 11 years' service. Solius Victorinus and Iulius Liberalis erected this stelae, as was the dead man's due.	Apamea, Syria	Partial	Multiple horse	N/A	Standing with one front leg raised	Not present	Not present	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	I Ulpia Contariorum
46	Ignius Viatorianus	Late 3rd century CE	To the Divine Manes. Ignius Viatorianus, stator of Ala I Ulpia Contariorum died aged 41 with 22 years' service. Claudius Varus, Marcus Aelius Crescintinus, and Avius Iunianus had this stone erected for their contubernalis.	Apamea, Syria	Full	Rider	Two *paternae* (offering dishes), one on either side of the pediment	Galloping	Not present	Not present	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	I Ulpia Contariorum
47	Iulius Valerianus	Late 3rd century CE	To the Divine Manes. Iulius Valerianus, cavalryman of Ala I Ulpia Contariorum, served 23 years. He lived 46 years. Ulpius Ingenuus, cavalryman with double pay of the same unit, his heir, had (this stone) erected, as was the dead man's due.	Apamea, Syria	Full	Rider	N/A	Standing with front left leg raised	Not present	Not present	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	I Ulpia Contariorum

Table 2. Comparison of signs on tombstones from Apamea, Syria.

documentation of the military base and some of the legions that were stationed there long term,

specifically *Legio II Parthica*.[285] The cavalry units *I Ulpia Contariorum* and *I Flavia Britannica*

were brought over to Apamea during the mid-third century C.E. to assist during a particularly

troublesome time in the region which was characterized by increased conflicts wih the Persian-

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[285] Balty, "Apamea in Syria in the Second and Third Centuries A.D."; Balty and Van Rengen, *Apamea in Syria*; Pollard, *Soldiers, Cities and Civilians*.

Sassanians who were famous horsemen.[286] The Roman cavalry unit *I Ulpia Contariorum* was a special unit comprised of *equites cataphractarii*.[287] The *equites cataphractarii* were the most heavily armored cavalry in the Roman army. These men and horses wore more protective armor than those in standard cavalry units. Both cavalry units were raised in Pannonia, the Roman province just to the east of Italia. The region of Pannonia included what is now parts of Hungary, Croatia, Serbia, Austria, Slovenia, Slovakia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina. There is a possibility that these cavalrymen were recruited from Pannonia, but unfortunately there is no way to verify where exactly the men in these units originated. Significantly, of the seven stelae in the Apamea data set, five were cavalrymen from the *I Ulpia Contariorum* unit.

The name Aurelius is potentially significant regarding Roman citizenship. In 212 C.E., Emperor Caracalla passed the law *Constitutio Antoniniana* which granted citizenship to free men in the Roman Empire. Pollard points out that several men had the name *Aurelius*, "which indicates recent acquisition of citizenship, probably the result of the *Constitutio Antoniniana* of A.D. 212."[288] Of the seven soldiers represented at Apamea, four have the name Aurelius.

Since there was a military presence at Apamea for several hundred years, it is more than likely that the Roman military commissioned local stone masons to carve tombstones. This might provide an explanation for the similarity of the carving style. During the third century C.E. there was a decline in the production of military tombstones. With a decline in production, stone masons were less likely to need the skills or knowledge of carving military tombstones. This also may have resulted in the simplification of the relief carvings.

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[286] Balty, "Apamea in Syria in the Second and Third Centuries A.D.," 102.
[287] Dixon and Southern, *The Roman Cavalry*, 76.
[288] Pollard, *Soldiers, Cities, and Civilians*, 128.

One popular interpretation of the rider motif, is that it represented a heroic victory over death.[289] The horse itself is potentially symbolic of wealth, prestige, and the special status accorded members of the Roman cavalry. Each inscription on the stones from Apamea emphasized the man's role as a soldier in the cavalry by listing the name of the unit in which he served, how many years of service he dedicated to military and the names of his heirs who were likely fellow soldiers. The combination of these signs sent a message to soldiers and civilians about the deceased: that they were heroic cavalrymen in the Roman army who achieved wealth and high social status through their service.

Great Britain

The group of tombstones from Great Britain (table 3) show considerably more variation between signs on individual tombstones. One obvious similarity is the relief type. Only two out of the sixteen tombstones exhibit the *totenmahl* motif. The *totenmahl* motif is thus noticeably more common on tombstones found in Germany. This phenomenon will be discussed below.

There are several tombstones found in Chester that exhibit the *totenmahl* theme, but the majority of them belong to civilian women.[290] The two cavalrymen tombstones are poor imitations of the funerary banquet reliefs found in Germany. They were very likely carved by someone who adopted the theme without understanding the purpose of it and without the necessary skills or training.[291]

There are approximately six different types of decorative motifs surrounding the carvings

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[289] Dimitrova, *Monuments of the Thracian Rider*, 212; Hope, "Trophies and Tombstones," 252; Schleiermacher, *Römische Reitergrabsteine*, 60-65. Dimitrova and Schleirmacher further discuss this particular interpretation, as well as potential origins of the rider motif.
[290] Hope, "Words and Pictures," 252.
[291] Anderson, *Roman Military Tombstones*, 27.

#	Soldier Name	Monument Date	Monument Find Location	Full or Partial Monument	Inscription	Relief Type	Decorative Motifs	Horse Pose	Groom Location in Relief	Location of Enemy	Name of Soldier's Father	Soldier's Voting Tribe	Soldier's Native Region	Cavalry Unit
1	Lucius Vitellius Tacinus	74 CE	Bath, England	Partial	Lucius Vitellius Tacinus, son of Mantaius, a tribesman of Caurium in Spain, trooper of the cavalry regiment of Vettones, Roman citizens, aged 46, of 26 years' service, lies buried here.	Rider	N/A	Reared up on hind legs	Not present	Beneath the horse, supine	Mantaius	Caurium	Caurium, Spain	Vettones
2	Unknown Rider from Bath	1st century CE	Bath, England	Partial	N/A	Rider	Rosette in pediment above niche	Unknown	Not present	Not present	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
3	Aurelius Lucius	Late 1st century CE	Chester, England	Partial	To the spirits of the departed, Aurelius Lucius, cavalryman. His heir had this made.	Toten mahl	N/A	N/A	Not present	Next to servant, only the servant's head is depicted	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	Not present
4	Sextus Similius	200 CE	Chester, England	Partial	Sextus Simil(ius), son of Sextus, of the Fabian voting tribe, from Brixia.	Rider	Bust of deceased carved in top center flanked by lion heads	Walking	To the right of horse	Not present	Sextus	Fabian	Brixia	Not present
5	Standard Bearer	Late 2nd century CE	Chester, England	Partial	N/A	Rider	N/A	Walking	Not present	Not present	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
6	Unknown Rider 1	Early 2nd century CE	Chester, England	Partial	To the spirits of the departed.	Rider	N/A	Reared up on hind legs	Not present	Beneath the horse, prone	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
7	Unknown Rider 2	Early 2nd century CE	Chester, England	Partial	To the…[?]	Rider	N/A	Standing with Front left leg raised	Not present	Beneath the horse, sitting, facing the viewer's left	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
8	Marcus Aurelius Victor	200-250 CE	Ox Close, England	Full	To the spirits of the departed: Marcus Aurelius Victor lived 50 years.	Rider	One sword in each Spandrel	Standing with front left leg raised	Not present	Not present	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	Not Present
9	Dannicus	70 CE	Cirencester, England	Full	Dannicus, trooper of the Indian Wing in the turma of Albanus, with 16 years service, a citizen of the Raurici. Fulvius Natalis and Flavius Bitucus organised [this memorial] as stipulated in his will. He lies here.	Rider	N/A	Reared up on hind legs	Not present	Beneath the horse, head at the right, lying on left side facing viewer	Not Present	Raurici	Augusta Raurica (Augst, Switzerland)	Indian
10	Sextus Valerius Genialis	60-68 CE	Cirencester, England	Full	Sextus Valerius Genialis, a cavalryman of the Thracian wing, a citizen of the Frisiavones, from the turma of Genialis. Forty years old with twenty years service. He lies here. The cavalry were responsible for the making [of this memorial].	Rider	Columns topped with palm leaves flank the niche, a large rosette and leaves fill the center of the pediment	Reared up on hind legs	Not present	Beneath the horse, supine	Not Present	Frisiavones (Germania Inferior)	Frisiavones (Germania Inferior)	I Thracum
11	Longinus Sdapeze	47-49 CE	Colchester, England	Full	Longinus Sdapeze, son of Matycus, duplicarius from the first cavalry regiment of Thracians, from the district of Sardica, aged 40, of 15 years' service, lies buried here; his heirs under his will had this set up.	Toten mahl	Relief above depicts a winged sphinx and snakes on either side	Standing with Front left leg raised	Not present	Beneath the horse, prone with arms and legs tucked under body, head facing viewer	Matycus	Sardica	Sardica (Sofia, Bulgaria)	I Thracum
12	Unknown Rider 3	3rd century CE	Cumbria, England	Partial	N/A	Rider	N/A	Reared up on hind legs	Not present	Beneath the horse, supine	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
13	Rufus Sita	50-80 CE	Gloucester, England	Partial	Rufus Sita, trooper of the Sixth Cohort of the Thracians, aged 40, of 22 years' service, lies buried here. His heirs had this erected according to the terms of his will.	Rider	Sphinx in center flanked by two lions	Reared up on hind legs	Not present	Beneath the horse, supine, arms above head	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	Not Present
14	Flavinus	70-90 CE	Hexham, England	Full	To the spirits of the departed: Flavinus, trooper of the Cavalry Squadron Petriana, standard-bearer, from the troop of Candidus, aged 25, of 7 years' service, lies buried here.	Rider	Spiral columns, possible leaves in spandrels	Reared up on hind legs	Not present	Beneath the horse, crouched on arms and legs, head facing viewer	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	Petriana
15	Insus son of Vodullus	75-120 CE	Lancaster, England	Partial	To the shades of the dead, Insus son of Vodullus, citizen of the Treveri, cavalryman of the Ala Augusta... Victor Curator Domitia…	Rider	Sun (or head of Medusa?) at the apex of the monument, laurel and oak leaves ?	Reared up on hind legs	Not present	Beneath the horse, on hands and knees, beheaded	Vodullus	Treveri	Treveri (Trier, Germany)	Augusta

Table 3. Comparison of signs on tombstones from Great Britiain.

of the funerary reliefs from Great Britain. Just over half of the tombstones from this region have

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decorative motifs around the relief. Many of the decorations present on the tombstones in this

data set do have known symbolic meanings, specifically in Roman funerary, and Roman military

funerary contexts. The tombstone of the unknown rider from Bath (fig. 10, catalog no. 2) has a

rosette in the center of the pediment above the relief. The rosette and other floral and leaf motifs

are some of the most common decorative signs on the funerary *stelae*. They can symbolize

apotheosis or rebirth, as well as prosperity to be enjoyed in the afterlife.[292] The tombstone of

Sextus Similius from Chester (fig. 14, catalog no. 4) has a unique relief at the top. The bust of

the deceased is in the center and flanked by lions. Lions are frequently found in funerary art

across the Roman Empire. They have multiple symbolic meanings. Lions were seen as

guardians, protecting the deceased from evil spirits. They also "epitomise the sudden approach

of death."[293] Lions were also popular symbols used in Mithraism, a mystery religious cult.

Scholars believe many Roman soldiers practiced this religion, as evidenced by remains of

Mithraic temples and inscriptions in Romanized Britain.[294] The lion represented one of the

phases of initiation in Mithraism. The tombstone of Longinus Sdapeze (fig. 18, catalog no. 11)

has an intricate relief at the top of the monument depicting a winged sphinx, flanked by lions and

snakes. Like the lions, the sphinx was seen as a guardian and a protector against evil spirits. It

was also believed to be a messenger of divine justice and inescapable death.[295] At the top of the

tombstone of Insus son of Vodullus (fig. 22, catalog no. 15) is either a sun or the head of

Medusa. Scholars cannot be sure if it is distinctly one or the other.[296] Both the sun and medusa

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[292] Anderson, *Roman Military Tombstones*, 33.
[293] Martin Henig, *Religion in Roman Britain* (London: Routledge, 1984), 189.
[294] Henig, *Religion in Roman Britain*, 189.
[295] Henig, *Religion in Roman Britain*, 34.
[296] Bull, *Triumphant Rider*, 19.

are common in funerary contexts. The sun could be interpreted iconically, as a stylized sun, but it can also be interpreted symbolically, as a symbol of the god Mithras. A sun was frequently used to symbolize Mithras.[297] Another possible interpretation of this sign is that it represents the head of medusa. Romans utilized the head of medusa in funerary contexts as a way to ward off the evil eye.[298]

Despite being mostly partial tombstones, those found in Chester share more similarities with each other, particularly regarding the quality and style of the relief carvings. Chester served as a Roman military base from the mid-first century C.E. well into the fourth century C.E. It is more than likely that a stone carving workshop existed within the Roman camp itself, or that a local stone mason's workshop was frequently commissioned for engraving tombstones. This might explain the similarities of the carving technique and style. The relief carvings are simple with fewer details, but not nearly as simple as those found at Apamea. The stone carver seems less skilled at portraying accurate proportions and perspective for both the cavalrymen and the horses. This is an indication that the stone worker was likely a local, non-Roman craftsman. A Romanized craftsman would probably be more familiar with the proportional body styles and motifs he was trying to replicate and with the skills needed to do so.

There is a distinguishable similarity within the inscriptions on the tombstones from Britain (see table 3). With the exception of the tombstones from Chester (these stones have partial or missing inscriptions) and the tombstone from Ox Close, the name of the cavalry unit is listed in the inscription (figs. 13-17, 23, catalog nos.3-8). It was thus seemingly important to the

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[297] Henig, *Religion in Roman Britiain*, 189.
[298] Henig, *Religion in Roman Britiain*, 189.

cavalryman that his monument inform viewers not only of his military service, but specifically his service as a cavalryman in a specific unit.

The style and skill of the carver has created significant variation between the tombstones in Britain, and variation between those in Britain and those in Syria. In spite of these differences, the tombstones are easily identified as Roman cavalry tombstones, and much like those in Syria, they send the message to the viewer that the deceased soldier was hero, and through his service as a cavalryman, he attained wealth and membership in high society. It should be acknowledged that signs of the lions, the sphinx, and the sun, and their symbolic connection to Mithraism, may have hinted at more than a military identity. Though there is no way to be sure, it is possible that those signs were an indication of a religious affiliation.

Germany

The group of cavalry funerary monuments from Germany is the largest of the geographical groups with twenty-four tombstones. This larger number of tombstones leaves room for greater variation between signs. However, patterns of similarity between signs are more easily detected with the smaller sub-regional groups within Germany.

The tombstones found in Bonn (table 4) have more similarities between signs than differences. At first glance, there are certainly variations in the style and skill of the carver, but there are many other duplicated elements or signs from one tombstone to the next. All monuments date to the era of Claudius, between 41 and 54 C.E. All five tombstones (catalog nos. 17-21) display the rider relief, but none of them exhibit the fallen enemy being trampled underneath the horse.

Each of the riders has been depicted with a long chainmail tunic with short sleeves and four of the five riders have a *spatha* in a sheath hanging at his side. The inscriptions have only

#	Soldier Name	Monument Date	Inscription	Monument Find Location	Full or Partial Monument	Relief Type	Decorative Motifs	Horse Pose	Groom Location in Relief	Location of Enemy	Name of Soldier's Father	Soldier's Voting Tribe	Soldier's Native Region	Cavalry Unit
17	C. Marius	41-68 CE	C. Marius, son of Lucius, of the Voltinan voting-tribe, from Lucca Augusta, cavalryman of Legio I, lived 30 years, served 15, he lies here. His brother Sextus Sempronius set this up.	Bonn, Germany	Full	Rider	A *torque* in each spandrel	Reared up on hind legs	Not present	Not present	Lucius	Voltina	Lucca Augusta	Not Present
18	Niger Aetonis	41-54 CE	Niger son of Aetonis of the Nemete voting-tribe, of the ala Pomponiani, aged 50 of 15 years' service, he lies here.	Bonn, Germany	Partial	Rider	Palm frond bordering niche on top right	Reared up on hind legs	Not present	Not present	Not Present	Nemnete	Celtica (Germany)	Pomponiani
19	Rectugnus	41-54 CE	Rectugnus son of Magilonis Segontilienses, trooper in the cavalry regiment Longiniana, lived 50 years, served 12 years.	Bonn, Germany	Partial	Rider	N/A	Reared up on hind legs	Not present	Not present	Magilonis Segontilienses	Not Present	Not present	Longiniana
20	Vellaunus	41-54 CE	Vellaunus Nonni son of Biturix, trooper from the cavalry regiment Longiniana, in the squadron Lucii Iuliii Regula , lived 38 years and served 18 years, he lies here. According to his will, Lucius Iulius Regulus, Decurion and Macer son of Aspadi of the same squadron set this up.	Bonn, Germany	Full	Rider	Pediment with Rosette in center, niche flanked with columns, acanthus leaves and taeniae fill the spandrels	Reared up on hind legs	Not present	Not present	Biturix	Not Present	Not present	Longiniana
21	Vonatorix	41-54 CE	Vonatorix, son of Duco, trooper of the cavalry regiment Longiniana, lived 45 years, served 17 years. He lies here.	Bonn, Germany	Full	Rider	Rosette and vine pattern across top	Reared up on hind legs	Not present	Not present	Duco	Not Present	Not present	Longiniana

Table 4. Comparison of signs on tombstones from Bonn, Germany.

little variation, but four of the five list the name of the cavalry *ala*. There are some notable

differences in this set of tombstones. The style of carving that adorns the area outside the relief

niche displays a different decorative motif (or none at all). Also unique to the individual stone

belonging to C. Marius is the manner in which the decorative military medals are displayed.

Often metal *phalerae* are shown attached to the saddle straps of the horse, but in this relief, there

is a set of nine of them depicted beneath the horse. Next to the *phalerae* are two *armillae* and in

each spandrel at the top of the monument is a *torque*.

All seven of the tombstones found at Cologne date to approximately the same time

period, 69-96 C.E., during the rule of the Flavian emperors (table 5). Only one of the tombstones

has a rider style relief, the rest are *totenmahl*, or funerary banquet style. The tombstone of

Lucius Romanus is only partial, and missing the upper portion. The components of the upper

relief on the banquet style monuments are almost identical with only minute variation (e.g. some

have a jug on the floor while others do not). The soldier reclines on a couch, leaning on his left

#	Soldier Name	Monument Date	Inscription	Monument Find Location	Full or Partial Monument	Relief Type	Decorative Motifs	Horse Pose	Groom Location in Relief	Location of Enemy	Name of Soldier's Father	Soldier's Voting Tribe	Soldier's Native Region	Cavalry Unit
22	Longinus Biarta	80-90 CE	Longinus Biarta, son of Bisa, of the Bessus voting-tribe, a rider in the cavalry regiment Sulpicia, lived 46 years, this was set up with his own money.	Cologne, Germany	Full	Totenmahl	N/A	N/A	Walking with front right leg lifted	To the left of the horse	Not present	Bisa	Bessus	Thrace (Bulgaria)
23	Lucius Crispi	80-100 CE	Lucius son of Crispi, citizen of Marsacus, trooper in the cavalry regiment Afrorum, of the squadron Flavi, lived 28 years, served 9 years, his heirs set this up.	Cologne, Germany	Full	Totenmahl	N/A	N/A	Walking with front left leg lifted	To the left of the horse	Not present	Marsacus	Not Present	Not present
24	Lucius Romanus	80-90 CE	Romanus son of Attus, of the voting-tribe Dardan, trooper in the cavalry regiment Afrorum in the squadron Firmanus. He lived 30 years, and served … years. His heirs set this up according to his will.	Cologne, Germany	Partial	Totenmahl	N/A	N/A	Walking with front left leg lifted	To the left of the horse	Not present	Attus	Dardan	Illyria/Thrace
25	M. Aemilius Durises	81-96 CE	Marcus Aemilius Durises, a rider in the ala Sulpicia, in the squadron of Nepos, lived 36 years, and served 16 years. The heirs have set this up.	Cologne, Germany	Full	Totenmahl	Unknown remnants; columns?	N/A	Walking with front left leg lifted	To the left of the horse	Not present	Not Present	Not Present	Not present
26	Marcus Sacrius	Late 1st century CE	Marcus Scrius Primigenius, son of Securus, a trooper in the ala Noricorum, of the squadron of Paterclus, of the voting-tribe Remus, lived 26 years, served 11 years. He lies here.	Cologne, Germany	Partial	Totenmahl	N/A	N/A	Walking with front left leg lifted	To the left of the horse	Not present	Securus	Remus	Belgica (France)
27	Oluper Cergaepuri	Late 1st century CE	Oluper son of Cergaepuri, trooper in the cavalry regiment Afrorum, of the squadron of Preci Capito, lived 40 years and served for 20 years. His heirs set this up according to his will.	Cologne, Germany	Partial	Totenmahl	N/A	N/A	Walking with front left leg lifted	To the left of the horse	Not present	Cergaepuri	Not Present	Not present
28	Titus Flavius Bassus	69-96 CE	Titus Flavius Bassus, son of Mucalae, of the voting tribe Dansala, trooper in the cavalry unit Noricum, in the Fabi Pudentis squadron, lived 46 years and served for 26 years. His heirs set this up.	Cologne, Germany	Full	Rider	Rosette and leaf motif in each spandrel	N/A	Reared up on hind legs	Far left, behind horse	Beneath the horse, Prone, head in profile	Mucalae	Dansala	Thrace (Bulgaria)

Table 5. Comparison of signs on tombstones from Cologne, Germany.

arm and holding a cup or a bowl. There is a three-legged table with two cups or bowls on top.

This table is likely a *mensa delphica*. It is a table shaped after a tripod, or a three-legged

structure. These types of tables were typically made out of fine metals, marble, or costly

varieties of wood and exhibited ornate craftsmanship. These tables where typically used for

drinks and placed next to a reclinging couch.[299] Only the wealthy could afford this type of

luxury furniture. Portraying the deceased soldier at his funerary banquet, reclining on a couch

and taking drink from such an extravagant piece of furniture was likely meant to emphasize the

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[299] Anthony Rich, *A Dictionary of Roman and Greek Antiquities: Life of the Greeks and Romans* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1890), 235.

the soldier's desire for wealth and a high quality lifestyle in the afterlife.[300] In almost all cases the servant boy stands to the far left, at the foot of the couch. In the bottom relief, the horse is portrayed in the same position and the groom is standing to the left of the horse.

In these types of funerary monuments, the inscriptions are always between the two reliefs. It is significant that in six of the seven inscriptions on the tombstones from Cologne, the name of the soldier's father is present. Geneology obviously held major import among these soldiers as the name of the soldier's father is prevalent in Roman cavalry tombstone inscriptions across the Empire. The name of the father can also be a clue to the ethnic identity of the soldier. Although there is no guarantee that the father and son shared an ethnic group, it may be possible to identify the region these men came from by determining the geographical locations to which any non-Latin names are connected. The tombstones that belong to soldiers who have fathers with non-Latin names send an interesting message to their viewers about identity. Those soldiers likely did not share a common language, culture, or religious beliefs with the Romans when they first entered the Roman army. Yet they chose to change their identity by commissioning the erection of a stone memorial that family, friends, and members of the local society would associate with a cavalryman in the Roman army.

Also included in the inscription is the name of the cavalry unit. Regarding the inscriptions from Cologne, all seven included the name of the unit. Between the seven tombstones, soldiers represented three different *alae*: the *Sulpicia*, the *Afrorum*, and the *Noricorum*. The inclusion of the unit name in the inscription possibly emphasizes how important his service in the Roman army was to the soldier (or in some cases, to those who were in charge

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[300] Peter Thonemann, "Phrygia: an Anarchist History, 950 BC-AD 100" in *Roman Phrygia: Culture and Society*, ed. Peter Thonemann, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 14.

of erecting the tombstone). When the legions were first raised, they (some) were named after the

region in which they were created. At the time of their initial creation, they consisted mostly of

soldiers from that local region. The legions later traveled across the empire and recruited

soldiers along the way. Though it would be very difficult to determine the cavalryman's exact

ethnic group, one may be able to curtail the possibilities with further research into the history and

movement of the cavalry unit to which he belonged. Knowing the region where the cavalryman

may have been recruited could hint at his ethnic origin. The inclusion of the unit name in the

inscription can also be symbolic in that it reinforces the soldier's commitment to the Roman

army. Being a soldier in the Roman army often elevated one's social status. Identifying their

connection to the Roman army could have been a symbol of their pride in their position.

#	Soldier Name	Monument Date	Inscription	Monument Find Location	Full or Partial Monument	Relief Type	Decorative Motifs	Horse Pose	Groom Location in Relief	Location of Enemy	Name of Soldier's Father	Soldier's Voting Tribe	Soldier's Native Region	Cavalry Unit
30	Andes	70-75 CE	Andes, son of Sextus, citizen of Raetia, cavalryman of the ala Claudia, lived 30 years with 5 years' service. He lies here. His heirs set this up.	Mainz, Germany	Full	Rider	Trumpet or similar instrument beneath carving, right of inscription	Reared up on hind legs	Far left, behind horse	Beneath the horse, on hands and knees in profile, but with head facing viewer	Sextus	Not Present	Raetia (S. Germany, Switzerland)	Claudia
31	C. Romanius Capito	54-68 CE	Caius Romanius, of the Claudian voting-tribe, from Celeia, cavalryman of the ala Noricorum, lived 40 years with 19 years' service. He lies here. His heirs set this up for him, according to his will.	Mainz, Germany	Full	Rider	Flower and leaf motif in each spandrel	Reared up on hind legs	Far left, behind horse	Beneath the horse, supine, in profile	Not Present	Claudian	Noricum, Celeia (Slovenia)	Noricorum
32	Flavius Proclus	69-96 CE	Flavius Proclus, Mounted Guard to the Emperor, from Philadelphia, lived 20 years, of … years' service. His heirs had this erected.	Mainz, Germany	Partial	Rider	Aquatic creature in right spandrel	Reared up on hind legs	Not present	Not present	Not Present	Not Present	Arabia Petraea: Philidelphia (Jordan)	Not Present
33	Maris son of Casitus	14-37 CE	Maris son of Casitus, lived 50 years with 30 years' service in the cavalry unit Parthorum et Araborum. Variagnis Masicates and brother Tigranus set this up.	Mainz, Germany	Full	Rider	Columns flank the niche with taeniae, or decorative ribbons in the spandrels and top of niche	Reared up on hind legs	Far left, behind horse	Not present	Casitus	Not Present	Not present	Parthorum et Araborum
34	Quintus Voltius Viator	14-37 CE	Quintus Voltius, son of Quintus Viator lived…	Mainz, Germany	Partial	Multiple horse	Winged sphinx in center of pediment, palmette on bottom corners of pediment	Standing with front left leg raised, second horse standing behind groom	Standing between two horses	Not present	Quintus Viator	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
35	Silius	69-96 CE	Silius son of Attonis, cavalryman of the ala Picentiana Gallorum, lived 45 years and served 24 years. His heirs set this up.	Mainz, Germany	Full	Totenmahl	Columns flank the niche with a rosette and leaf motif in each spandrel	Stading with front left leg raised	To the right of horse	Not present	Attonis	Not Present	Not present	Picentiana Gallorum

Table 6. Comparison of signs on tombstones from Mainz, Germany.

There is far more diversity between signs on the tombstones found at Mainz than those from Cologne or Bonn. Monuments are dated to periods throughout the first century C.E. There is significant variation in the relief types as well. Four out of the six monuments are of the rider style (figs. 38-41; catalog nos. 30-33), one is of the funerary banquet style (fig. 43, catalog no. 35), and the last is of the multiple horse style (fig. 42, catalog no. 34). The multiple horse relief type is seen on two of the monuments found at Apamea, but the layout is different. Those at Apamea depict a horse on either side of the groom (one facing left and one facing right). The tombstone of Quintus Voltius Viator at Mainz displays a groom or the soldier standing between two horses, but both are facing to the right, and one is in front of the groom and the other is behind him. On the tombstone of Andes (fig. 38, catalog no. 30) there is a trumpet-type instrument carved next to the inscription. The tombstone of Aurelius Disas (fig. 50, catalog no. 42) from Apamea also depicts an instrument, but the soldier is holding it. Three of the rider reliefs from Mainz depict the groom to the left, behind the horse, carrying additional weapons. Having a groom present in the rider relief type seems to be a geographically isolated practice. The one *totenmahl* style relief is very similar to those found in Cologne with one noticeable exception: the groom in the secondary relief is to the right of the horse instead of the left.

Of the five monuments found in Worms, all but one date from the early to the mid-first century C.E. (table 7). The tombstone of Valerius Maxantius (fig. 48, catalog no. 40) has been dated to the late third century C.E.[301] This tombstone has a number of distinct variations, particularly in the relief and the layout of the tombstone. The practice of carving stone monuments was fading towards the end of the third century C.E. which might explain the crude carving of this particular stone. The rider and horse are noticeably out of proportion. The most

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[301] *Lupa*, 16784.

#	Soldier Name	Monument Date	Inscription	Monument Find Location	Full or Partial Monument	Relief Type	Decorative Motifs	Horse Pose	Groom Location in Relief	Location of Enemy	Name of Soldier's Father	Soldier's Voting Tribe	Soldier's Native Region	Cavalry Unit
36	Argiotalus	14-37 CE	Argiotalus son of Smertulitanus, Namnete cavalryman in the ala Indiana, served ten years and lived 30 years. He lies here. His heirs have erected this monument.	Worms, Germany	Full	Rider	Palmettes on either side and on the top center	Reared up on hind legs	Not present	Not present	Smertulitanus	Not Present	Celtica: Nantes (France)	Indiana
37	Leubius	54-68 CE	Leubius son of Claupus, retired cavalryman of the ala Sebosiana, lived 75 years. He lies here. His son Gratus, a soldier, set up this monument according to his will.	Worms, Germany	Full	Rider	Palmette designs and *taeniae* in each spandrel	Reared up on hind legs	Far left, behind horse	Beneath the horse, prone	Claupus	Not Present	Not present	Sebosiana
38	Licinus Closi	41-54 CE	Licinius son of Clossus, of the Helvetii tribe, lived 47 years and served 26 years as a cavalryman in the ala I Hispanorum. He lies here. His heir Tiberius Iulius Capito set this up.	Worms, Germany	Full	Rider	Rosette in center of pediment, rope motif along arch of niche	Reared up on hind legs	Not present	Beneath the horse, prone	Clossus	Helvetii	Celtica (Switzerland)	I Hispanorum
39	Quintus Carminius Ingenuus	14-37 CE	Quintus Carminius Ingenuus, cavalryman and signifier of the ala I (?) Hispanorum, lived [---] years and served 15 years. His heir Sacer Iulius set this up according to his will.	Worms, Germany	Partial	Rider	Columns flanking niche	Reared up on hind legs	Not present	Two men beneath the horse, one on head, the other seated with back facing viewer	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	I Hispanorum
40	Valerius Maxantius	Late 3rd century CE	To the divine Manes! Valerius Maxantius, a horseman of a division of mailed cavalry, lived thirty-two years and six months. His heir Valerius Dacus erected the tombstone.	Worms, Germany	Partial	Rider	N/A	Standing with front left leg raised	Not present	Not present	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	Not Present

Table 7. Comparison of signs on tombstones from Worms, Germany.

obvious difference between this stone and any of the other tombstones in this data set is that the "D M" carved at the top of the stone is backwards. The letter "D" is also backwards. This further indicates the stone carver's lack of familiarity with Latin. It is interesting to note that on the tombstone of Argiotalus (fig. 44, catalog no. 36), there is a shell decoration within the relief, rather than around the relief. This is not an altogether unfamiliar practice. The shell motif within the niche is utilized on some tombstones of legionary soldiers.[302] The shell, along with other aquatic themed motifs often represented the journey across the ocean into the afterlife.[303] The rider relief on the tombstone of Quintus Carminius Ingenuus (fig. 47, catalog no. 39), signifier, is very similar to the other rider reliefs found in Germany. It is unique however, that instead of a single fallen enemy beneath the horse, there are two men being trampled. Three of

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[302] Anderson, *Roman Military Tombstones*, 34.
[303] Henig, *Religion in Roman Britain*, 189.

the five inscriptions on stelae from Worms are incomplete, making it difficult to properly compare them, but four out of the five inscriptions list the name of the cavalry unit.

Though there is an extensive amount of variation between signs on individual tombstones in this data set, there are numerous similarities that are identifiable when the tombstones are compared geographically. Comparing the monuments according to geographic region also shows that there are sets of signs that occur in all the regions. For example, there is a horse present on almost every tombstone, the horses almost always face to the viewer's right, and each region has tombstones with at least one of each of the three types of reliefs, and so on. The following chronological analysis will point out patterns in signs that may not have been obvious when compared geographically.

Chronological Comparison

As discussed in previous sections, determining an accurate date of a tombstone can be rather difficult. It was not standard practice to include the date of the soldier's death in Roman military funerary inscriptions. Unfortunately, the majority of the tombstones in this data set were discovered in secondary contexts. Many of the dates were attributed to the tombstones based on epigraphic documentation about the Roman occupation of a region. Thus, the tombstones in this data set have only date ranges that usually correspond with reign of a particular emperor. Almost all of the tombstones can be placed in either the early, mid, or late part of a century.

When I organized the table of signs chronologically, I was able to identify patterns and differences between signs. Similarities and differences will be discussed for the following sign types: relief types, horse position, relief decoration, presence of a groom, presence of a fallen enemy, presence of military medals, and inscription formula.

The earliest that the *totenmahl* relief appears on a cavalryman tombstone in this data set is between 47 and 49 C.E. and is represented by the tombstone of Longinus Sdapeze (fig. 18, catalog no. 10) in Colchester. The stela of Silius from Mainz (fig. 43, catalog no. 35) dates to the Flavian era, which spanned from 69 to 96 C.E. The five tombstones of C. Iulius Primus (fig. 37, catalog no. 29), M. Aemilius Durises (fig. 33, catalog no. 25), Lucius Romanus (fig. 32, catalog no. 24), Lucius Crispi (fig. 31, catalog no. 23), and Longinus Biarta (fig. 30, catalog no. 22) date between 80 and 100 C.E. The remaining four *totenmahl* tombstones of Aurelius Lucius (fig. 13, catalog no. 5), Longinus Sdapeze (fig. 18, catalog no. 10), Marcus Sacrius (fig. 34, catalog no. 26), and Oluper Cergaepuri (fig. 35, catalog no. 27) date to the late first century C.E. This raises the question of why this style fades out after the first century. It is also interesting to note that the multiple horse relief only appears three times in this data set, one on a tombstone that dates between 14 and 37 C.E. (fig. 42, catalog no. 34) and then on two others that date to the mid-third century C.E. (figs. 51, 53; catalog nos. 43, 45).

With the exception of the multiple horse reliefs, the horses that appear on the remaining tombstones all face to the viewer's right. This is by far the most constant sign in that it remains the same through time and space. In the rider motif, the horse is most often reared up on its hind legs. In the *totenmahl* relief it is usually standing with one leg raised to imply the horse is walking. The pose of the horse changes very little and does not seem to be affected by the time period. This is a major indication that throughout the Empire, both geographically and chronologically, the horse was conventionally associated with cavalrymen. It is an important indicator of the identity of the cavalryman.

Unlike the rider or the *totenmahl* relief, the carved embellishments that fringe the relief niche are not so strictly categorized. There are several combinations of elements used and it is

important to note that many elements are replicated on tombstones through all the geographic regions included in this study. The following is a list of the individual signs that appear on the tombstones: columns or pillars, *taeniae* (decorative ribbon), winged sphinx, regular sphinx, lion/lion head, palmettes, palm fronds, rosettes, *torques*, aquatic creatures, sun (possibly head of Medusa), rope, offering dishes, and swords. There are a few of these that do not appear in each region, specifically the sun, aquatic creatures, offering dishes, and swords. The swords and offering dishes both date to the third century C.E. but come from different regions, the swords from Great Britain and the dishes from Syria. The sun (Great Britain) and aquatic creatures (Germany) date to the late first century C.E. and also come from different regions.

It would appear that the majority of the decorative motifs represented on these tombstones have symbolic meaning in Roman military context. Some of the decoration may not have a symbolic meaning but are more conventional in funerary sculpture. Columns or pillars are an example of this. It is a motif that was traditional, or iconic to the Romans. The floral ornamentation can have symbolic, iconic, or indexical meanings. In some cases the floral ornamentation is a symbolic sign rather than an iconic sign. For example, palm fronds and palmettes are signs commonly used in Roman culture to represent victory. It was a traditional symbol that first began in Egypt and the Near East, then was adopted in Greece, where a palm branch was given to victorius athlets. In the funerary sense, it represents victory over death. The rosettes are very common chronologically and geographically. Nine of the twenty-seven tombstones that displayed decoration around the relief niche featured rosettes (figs. 10, 18, 28, 29, 36, 39, 43, 46, 57; catalog nos. 2, 10, 20, 21, 28, 31, 35, 38, 43). The *torques* only appear on one tombstone, that of C. Marius (fig. 25, catalog no. 17). As discussed previously, the *torques* were adopted by the Romans from the Celts and were used for military medals. Since C. Marius

was from Brixia, in Italy, it is very unlikely that he had Celtic background and would have used the *torques* to represent anything else other than the military medals, as was traditional in the Roman army.

The appearance of a *calo*, or groom in the rider motif is not very common. Only six tombstones in this data set are carved in this style. Four of the six stones date to the mid-first century C.E. (figs. 36, 38, 39, 45; catalog nos. 28, 30, 31, 37) with one tombstone dating to the early first century C.E. (fig. 41, catalog no. 33) and the other dating to the early third century C.E (fig. 12, catalog no. 4). Though the sample is small, it would appear that this motif occurred most during the mid-first century C.E. The tombstone of Sextus Similius is the only tombstone from Great Britain to the exhibit a *calo* with the rider, but the "rider" motif looks more similar to the scenes found on the bottom of *totenmahl* relief types. It appears that the groom is guiding the horse while the soldier is still mounted. Since it is not a true rider motif, it would appear that this practice of adding the groom to the rider motif is restricted geographically to Germany.

In rider reliefs it is common for the soldier to be shown slaying a barbarian. Approximately seventeen tombstones exhibit a fallen enemy. With the exception of one tombstone, that of Quintus Carminius Ingenuus from Worms, 14-37 C.E. (fig. 47, catalog no. 39) the other sixteen tombstones date between the mid-first century and early second century C.E. They are fairly evenly distributed across that span of years. It should be noted that there are no examples from Syria. The tombstones from Syria in this data set all date to the mid-third century C.E., so it is difficult to say if the lack of the fallen enemy is because of the geographical location of the markers, or if it was a style that was never used in Syria, or if used, one that faded by the mid-third century C.E.

	DM	HSE	ET	HFC
Early First Century	0	1	1	0
Mid-First Century	1	7	2	1
Mid to Late First Century	0	6	3	6
Late First Century	2	2	3	8
Late First to Early Second Century	2	0	0	0
Mid-Third Century	5	0	0	0
Late Third Century	1	0	0	0

Table 8. Chronological comparison of the frequency of phrases from inscriptions

The inscription typically follows a standard format which has been discussed in previous chapters. This pattern is not the same for all Roman military tombstones. It is very likely that certain phrases were chosen over others by the person responsible for erecting the monument. According to Keppie, certain phrases were common among funerary inscriptions including *Dis Manibus* and *Hic Situs Est*.[304] These phrases are typically abbreviated, likely for saving space. In addition, the phrases *Ex Testamento* and *Heres Faciendum Curavit* occur frequently. Table 9 shows how frequently each phrase occurred (including instances of both abbreviated and spelled out) between the first and second centuries C.E.

The inscription styles on monuments dated in the mid and late third centuries C.E. are slightly different than earlier inscriptions. The phrases are also different. Again, since the tombstones from Syria all date to the mid-third century C.E., it is difficult to tell if the absence of these common phrases was because of local tradition or if the practice faded out over time.

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[304] Keppie, *Understanding Roman Inscriptions*, 24.

This information from inscription formats can be helpful in indentifying trends and the dating of the tombstones themselves, but it does not appear that these signs have any meaning regarding the ethnicity of the cavalryman. Other signs within the inscription are considerably more relevant to the potential ethnic group of the soldier. The first part of the inscription (not on all monuments) is the name of the soldier himself. If the soldier was not granted Roman citizenship before he died then he would not likely have a *full* Roman name, a *tria nomina*. As mentioned earlier, this can be useful in determining what the soldier's potential ethnic group may have been. Some names clearly belong to one ethnic group or geographical region. For example, research into the origin of the name could possibly be the best way to determine possible ethnicity.

The next name in the inscription is typically the name of the father. This might be evidence of the Roman's view of the importance of establishing a genealogical record. Again, many of the names are not Roman. These names could be researched to determine what ethnic group they come from. Of course one would have to assume that the son was raised in the same ethnic group of his father.

Another important sign is the name of the cavalry unit. Like the names of the soldier and soldier's father, the cavalry unit can be researched. The movements and periods of recruitment are poorly recorded for some of the cavalry units. The cavalry unit does say something about the soldier's identity, but not necessarily about his specific ethnic identity. The cavalry is part of the auxilia. If a citizen or fellow soldier were to view the cavalryman's tombstone, they would likely assume that the cavalryman was not a native Roman citizen since the foreign, non-Latin soldiers were recruited to the auxiliary legions.

The chronological analysis would have been able to produce more results, reveal more similarities and differences, if the dates for the tombstones were more precise. This data set also lacks a significant representation of *stelae* from the second century C.E. However, it is apparent that the height of carving the cavalryman funerary stela occurred in the first century C.E., especially in the mid-first century C.E.

Conclusions

Even though the Romans utilized non-Latin mercenary troops to accompany their army in the second and third centuries B.C.E., it wasn't until the late first century B.C.E. that the army started to heavily recruit men from overseas as well as from neighboring allied tribes. As the Empire grew, so did the military. Over a period of several hundred years, a military culture also developed. Native Romans were exposed to the foreign languages, religions, and lifestyles as they interacted with their foreign military companions.

There were several incentives offered by the Roman military that appealed to the non-Latin/non-Roman men. They were enticed enough to leave behind their lives to join an organization that spoke a different language and worshipped different gods. The pay, in addition to the promise of eventual Roman citizenship, and in some cases ownership of land, were incredibly enticing. Once soldiers were enrolled in the army, the army became a way of life. The men lived together and worked together day in and day out. Many soldiers spent years without having to ever go to battle, but death inevitably came, on and off the battlefield.

The cavalrymen were paid more than the average infantry foot soldier and was therefore more likely to save enough money to have a more elaborate funerary stela erected in his memory. These large stone slabs were put on display for the public to see them. They were erected in cemeteries just outside the military fortresses and along main roads, just outside city

boundaries. Clearly these monuments were not only meant to be seen, but also to send a message. One of the goals of this thesis was to gather a comprehensive data set that included images for extant Roman cavalry tombstones from the Roman Empire. I then used the data I collected to populate a small database that would help with a comparative analysis. Another goal of this thesis was, through a structural semiotic approach, to identify the signs on the cavalrymen tombstones that would perhaps reveal or bear evidence of the deceased soldier's ethnic group. Or, in other words, an individual's "broad sense of identity and community based on shared culture and history."[305] This was no easy task. It required taking into account not only a modern scholar's definition of ethnicity, but the definition of ethnicity as understood by various Roman paradigms including its military milieu as well as a sub-culture encompassed by its cavalry units. Additionally, the symbols utilized within these cavalry stelae were drawn from a preexisting shared funerary repertoire of motifs used throughout the Roman Empire.

Because I would be trying to receive a message and read signs in the iconography and epigraphy on the tombstones, I felt that a semiotic approach would be an appropriate method for carrying out the analysis since semiotics is the study of signs. There are criticisms of this approach however. Saussure stated that being able to understand signs (specifically within a language) required life experience, a gained knowledge of social convention. Obviously not being a Roman makes it difficult to try and understand signs which require a knowledge of convention. I was forced to rely on the written account of historians, who have their own biases and interpretations. Saussure's semiotic approach was also criticized for its synchronic nature. One is looking at a sign and trying to interepret it as it was at a single point in time. We know from personal experience in modern society that signs and convention change over time. Despite

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[305] Pollard, *Soldiers, Cities, and Civilians*, 111.

the difficulties in this analysis, I was able to identify those signs which might be indicitave of ethnicity, compare the individual signs from one tombstone to the next across space and time, identifiy patterns of differences and similiarities, and eventually make some assumptions about ethnicity and identity.

In regards to ethnicity, the most important signs were in the inscriptions. Approximately sixteen tombstone inscriptions listed the cavalryman's city of origin, or the voting tribe to which he belonged. This identified a geographical region in which the cavalryman likely had a shared sense of community and culture. Civilians or soldiers who saw the tombstones of cavalrymen who had died before they received Roman citizenship, would have been able to immediately identify the soldier as being non-Roman. Soldiers would adopt the special *tria nomina* that was assigned to them after they completed their required service time and were granted citizenship. Having a Roman name would make it more difficult to know that the cavalryman was a non-Roman. Many of the tombstone inscriptions listed the name of the soldier's father. Unless the soldier's father was a Roman citizen, it would have been apparent to the Romans who read the epitaph that the cavalryman was not originally a Roman citizen. Research on the origin of the cavalrymen's names might help identify, or at least narrow down, the possibilities of an ethnic group. Though the benefits of citizenship were greatly sought after, by including their father's name (and in many cases, their own name) the cavalrymen still acknowledged in their epitaphs that they did not come from a Roman heritage and even acknowledge that they themselves were not citizens. It must also be considered that the name of the father, or the city of origin were included intentionally so as to acknowledge their original heritage, even if for much of their lives they lived as a Roman soldier. Clearly the Romans highly valued the role geneology and history.

Using a structural approach to interpret signs of ethnicity within the iconography on the tombstones was not entirely successful, at least not in the way I had originally anticipated. I documented that the similiarities and differences that I encountered in the data set suggested that the cavalrymen were not only aware of the concept of identity, but chose which identity they wanted to be represented by forever on their tombstones. This choice of identity was not made by all cavalrymen. Some soldiers had the opportunity to leave instructions though a will regarding the design of their own funerary monument. Other soldiers however, were not able to do this, and the commission of a monument was the responsibility of the soldier's heirs. In these cases, it was the heirs that chose the identity with which heir family member or fellow soldier would be forever associated.

Achieving Roman citizenship was likely the ideal goal of the Roman cavalryman, as well as other members of the Roman auxilia. It seemed though, that simply being a member of the Roman army, especially a cavalryman, had its perks. In the majority of the tombstone inscriptions, the unit in which the trooper served is named, as well as the number of years' service in the army. These soldiers wanted to be remembered as cavalrymen in the Roman army. Whatever their original religious and funerary beliefs were, they were set aside when the cavalryman commissioned a grave stela like those in my data set. The rider relief, one of two main reliefs found on the tombstones, depicts a hero, armed and ready to slay his enemy. Many were decorated with palm branches or floral motifs, which in Roman funerary contexts represent victory over death. The extravagance of the grave stelae, was, in itself a sign interpreted by any local viewer. One potential interpretation was that the rider motif reinforced Rome's propaganda of achieving "civilization" over barbarianism. The motif also mimicked the roles of the conquering gods on a cosmic level. Another potential interpretation by the local viewer was that

the soldier was wealthy or desired that idyllic status after death for both his posterity and for the gods of the afterlife.

The other grave stelae reliefs depict a man, reclined on a couch, in a funerary banquet scene. Next to his couch is a *mensa delphica*, a three-legged table that was made of precious materials and only owned by wealthy citizens. Signifcantly, the soldier's role as a cavalryman was not forgotten in the secondary relief on the *totenmahl* style monuments, thus indicating its perceived importance within the eternal identity of the deceased. The horse is typically pictured with a groom, which is also a symbol of wealth. The Roman public would know that owning a horse and groom was a sign that the individual was well off. The soldiers depicted their ideal selves on the monuments. This was also probably benefical for the Roman army as well. Local tribespeople could see that the Romany army offered high social and economic status. Other scholars have come to similar conclusions. "The tombstone was a device closely connected wth the concept of *memoria* being a monument not only to the memory of the dead person, as understood in its modern sense, but also a memorial to the influence, accomplishments and character of the deceased."[306] Valerie Hope has commented on the cavalryman tombstones found in Mainz, Germany. She stated that "the tombstones of Mainz are the creations of the living and how the identity of an individual was construced on the tombstone was not a random process but controlled by social conventions."[307] The cavalrymen who commissioned these grand monuments knew how they wanted to be commemorated. They had learned the necessary social conventions within the Roman army in order to create the identity that they wanted.

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[306] Anderson, *Roman Military Tombstones*, 32.
[307] Hope, *Inscription and Sculpture*, 179.

After looking at the individual signs found on the cavalrymen tombstones, it appeared that all three sign types (icon, index, and symbol) were represented. The signs all appeared to belong to a communal repository of signs used in other Roman funerary art and sculpture, not just military. There are a few signs which were exceptions, expressly the non-Latin names and declarations of origin within the inscription. However, even those soldiers who acknowledged their ethnic identity either through their name, their family name, or their place of origin wanted to emphasize another identity even more. Through both impressive stone relief carvings and the inscribed epitaphs, the soldier emphazied his identity as a successful cavalryman of the Roman army.

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#	Image	Soldier Name	Monument Date	Inscription in Latin	Inscription Translation
1		Lucius Vitellius Tacinus	74 CE	L(ucius) Vitellius Ma / ntai f(ilius) Tacinus / cives Hisp(anus) Caurie(n)sis / eq(ues) alae Vettonum c(ivium) R(omanorum) / ann(orum) XXXXVI stip(endiorum) XXVI / h(ic) s(itus) e(st)	Lucius Vitellius Tacinus, son of Mantaius, a tribesman of Caurium in Spain, trooper of the cavalry regiment of Vettones, Roman citizens, aged 46, of 26 years' service, lies buried here.
2		Unknown Rider from Bath	1st century CE	N/A	N/A
3		Aurelius Lucius	Late 1st century CE	(Dis) M(anibus) / Aureli Luci / equitis / h f c	To the spirits of the departed, Aurelius Lucius, cavalryman. His heir had this made.
4		Sextus Similius	200 CE	Sextus Sexti Filius / Fab Brix(ia) …. / Simil….	Sextus Simil(ius), son of Sextus, of the Fabian voting tribe, from Brixia.
5		Standard Bearer	Late 2nd century ce	N/A	N/A
6		Unknown Rider 1	Early 2nd century ce	D(is) M(anibus)	To the spirits of the departed.
7		Unknown Rider 2	Early 2nd century CE	D… LIVS	To the…[?]
8		Marcus Aurelius Victor	200-250 CE	D(is) M(anibus) / M(arcus) Aurelius Vic / [t]or vixit an(nis) L.	To the spirits of the departed: Marcus Aurelius Victor lived 50 years.
9		Dannicus	70 CE	Dannicus eques alae Indian Tur Albani Stip XVI cives ra ur cur Fulvius natalis it flius bitucus ex testame h s e	Dannicus, trooper of the Indian Wing in the turma of Albanus, with 16 years service, a citizen of the Raurici. Fulvius Natalis and Flavius Bitucus organised [this memorial] as stipulated in his will. He lies here.

#	Monument Find Location	Current Location	Full or Partial Monument	Monument Size and Shape	Relief Type	Multiple Reliefs	Location of Primary Relief	Location of Secondary Relief
1	Bath, England	Roman Baths Museum, Bath, England	Partial	Rectangular, H: 160 cm	Rider	No	Upper portion of monument	N/A
2	Bath, England	Roman Baths Museum, Bath, England	Partial	Gabled, H: 69 cm; W:74 cm; D: 18 cm	Rider	No	Upper portion of monument	N/A
3	Chester, England	Grosvenor Museum, Chester, England	Partial	Undetermined, H: 137 cm; W: 71 cm D: 20 cm	*Totenmahl*	No	Upper portion of monument	N/A
4	Chester, England	Grosvenor Museum, Chester, England	Partial	Rectangular, H: 110 cm; W:71 cm D: 20 cm	Rider	No	Upper portion of monument	N/A
5	Chester, England	Grosvenor Museum, Chester, England	Partial	Rectangular, H: 94 cm; W: 81 cm; D: 20 cm	Rider	No	Upper portion of monument	N/A
6	Chester, England	Grosvenor Museum, Chester, England	Partial	Gabled, H: 92 cm; W: 92 cm	Rider	No	Upper portion of monument	N/A
7	Chester, England	Grosvenor Museum, Chester, England	Partial	Unknown, H: 74 cm; W: 89 cm	Rider	No	Upper portion of monument	N/A
8	Ox Close, England	Alnwick Castle, Northumberland, England	Full	Arched, H: 122 cm; W: 79 cm	Rider	No	Upper portion of monument	N/A
9	Cirencester, England	Corinium Museum, Cirencester, England	Full	Gabled, H: 108 cm	Rider	No	Upper portion of monument	N/A

#	Decorative Motif around Primary Niche	Secondary Decoration Description	Location of Soldier	Soldier Holding Will	Horse Present	Multiple Horses	Soldier's Pose on Horse	Weapon Soldier is Wielding	Additional Weapons on Soldier
1	N/A	N/A	Mounted on horse	N/A	Yes	No	Unknown	Unknown	Pugio?
2	Rosette in pediment above niche	N/A	Mounted on horse	N/A	Yes	No	Three-quarters view, in action	Lance	Not present
3	N/A	N/A	Reclined on couch, leaning on his left arm with head on the right side of relief	Yes	No	No	N/A	No weapon	Sword floating next to Soldier
4	Bust of deceased carved in top center flanked by lion heads	N/A	In top center gabled relief, on horse in secondary relief	No	No	No	In profile, facing right	No weapon	Not present
5	N/A	N/A	Mounted on horse	No	Yes	No	Body in profile, head facing viewer	No weapon, standard	Pugio
6	N/A	N/A	Mounted on horse	No	Yes	No	Three-quarters view, in action	Unknown	Belt strap for spatha, but no blade present
7	N/A	N/A	N/A	No	Yes	No	N/A	N/A	N/A
8	One sword in each Spandrel	N/A	Mounted on horse	No	Yes	No	Threequarter view, in action	Spatha	Not present
9	N/A	N/A	Mounted on horse	N/A	Yes	No	Threequarter view, in action	Lance	Pugio

#	Direction the Horse is Facing	Horse Pose	Decorative Harness System Present	Groom Location in Relief	Groom Carrying Weapons	Location of Servant in Relief	Three-legged Table	Cups or Bowls on Table
1	Viewer's right	Reared up on hind legs	Partial	Not present	N/A	Not present	No	No
2	Viewer's right	Unknown	No	Not present	N/A	Not present	No	No
3	N/A	N/A	N/A	Not present	N/A	Beneath couch	Yes	No
4	Viewer's right	Walking	Partial	To the right of horse	Two lances	Not present	No	No
5	Viewer's right	Walking	No	Not present	N/A	Not present	No	No
6	Viewer's right	Reared up on hind legs	Yes	Not present	N/A	Not present	No	No
7	Viewer's right	Standing with Front left leg raised	Unknown	Not present	N/A	Not present	No	No
8	Viewer's right	Standing with front left leg raised	No	Not present	N/A	Not present	No	No
9	Viewer's right	Reared up on hind legs	Yes	Not present	N/A	Not present	No	No

#	Jug on Floor	Military Medals	Location of Enemy	Enemy Holding Weapon	Inscription Full or Partial	Name of Soldier's Father	Soldier's Voting Tribe	Soldier's Native Region	Soldier's Military Rank
1	No	No	Beneath the horse, supine	No	Full	Mantaius	Caurium	Caurium, Spain	Cavalry Trooper
2	No	No	Not present	N/A	Missing	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
3	Yes	No	Next to servant, only the servant's head is depicted	No	Partial	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	Cavalry trooper
4	No	No	Not present	N/A	Partial	Sextus	Fabian	Brixia	Not Present
5	No	No	Not present	N/A	Not present	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
6	No	No	Beneath the horse, prone	Shield	Partial	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
7	No	No	Beneath the horse, sitting, facing the viewer's left	Shield	Partial	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
8	No	No	Not present	N/A	Partial	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	Not Present
9	No	No	Beneath the horse, head at the right, lying on left side facing viewer	No	Full	Not Present	Raurici	Augusta Raurica (Augst, Switzerland)	Cavalry Trooper

#	Cavalry Unit	Cohort	Legion	Soldier's Commanding Officer	Age at Death	Years of Service	Persons Responsible for Monument
1	Vettones	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	46	26	Not Present
2	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
3	Not present	Not present	Not Present	Not present	Not Present	Not Present	His heirs
4	Not present	Not present	Not Present	Not present	Not Present	Not Present	Not Present
5	Unknown	Unknown	Not Present	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
6	Unknown	Unknown	Not Present	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
7	Unknown	Unknown	Not Present	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
8	Not Present	Not Present		Not present	50	Not Present	Not Present
9	Indian	Albanus	Not Present	Not present	Not Present	16	Fulvius Natalis and Flavius Bitucus

#	Image	Soldier Name	Monument Date	Inscription in Latin	Inscription Translation
10		Sextus Valerius Genialis	60-68 CE	Sextus Vale / rius Genialis / eq(u)es alae Thraec(um) / civis Frisiaus tur(ma) / Genialis an(norum) XXXX st(ipendiorum) XX / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) (h)e(res) f(aciendum) c(uravit)	cavalryman of the Thracian wing, a citizen of the Frisiavones, from the turma of Genialis. Forty years old with twenty years service. He lies here. The cavalry were responsible for the making [of this memorial].
11		Longinus Sdapeze	47-49 CE	Longinus Sdapeze / Matygi duplicarius / ala prima T(h)racum pago / Sardi(ca) anno(rum) XL aeror(um) XV / heredes exs testam(ento) [f(aciendum)] c(uraverunt) / h(ic) s(itus) e(st)	Longinus Sdapeze, son of Matycus, duplicarius from the first cavalry regiment of Thracians, from the district of Sardica, aged 40, of 15 years' service, lies buried here; his heirs under his will had this set up.
12		Unknown Rider 3	3rd century CE	N/A	N/A
13		Rufus Sita	50-80 CE	Rufus Sita eques c(o)ho(rtis) VI / Tracum ann(orum) XL stip(endiorum) XXII / heredes exs test(amento) f(aciendum) curaue(runt) / h(ic) s(itus) e(st)	Rufus Sita, trooper of the Sixth Cohort of the Thracians, aged 40, of 22 years' service, lies buried here. His heirs had this erected according to the terms of his will.
14		Flavinus	70-90 CE	Dis Manibus Flavinus / eq(ues) alae Petr(ianae) signifer / tur(ma) Candidi an(norum) XXV / stip(endiorum) VII h(ic) s(itus est)	To the spirits of the departed: Flavinus, trooper of the Cavalry Squadron Petriana, standardbearer, from the troop of Candidus, aged 25, of 7 years' service, lies buried here.
15		Insus son of Vodullus	75-120 CE	Dis / Manibus Insus Vodulli /[fil] ius cive Trever eques alae Aug… / Victoris curator domitia…	To the shades of the dead, Insus son of Vodullus, citizen of the Treveri, cavalryman of the Ala Augusta... Victor Curator Domitia…
16		Tiberius Claudius Tirintius	75-150 CE	Tib(erius) Claud(ius) Tiri / ntius eq(ues) coh(ortis) […] / Thracum an[n] / orum LVII sti[p] / endior(um) XX […] h(ic) s(itus) [e(st)]	Tiberius Claudius Tirintius, trooper of the … Cohort of Thracians, aged 57, of … years' service, lies here.

#	Monument Find Location	Current Location	Full or Partial Monument	Monument Size and Shape	Relief Type	Multiple Reliefs	Location of Primary Relief	Location of Secondary Relief
10	Cirencester, England	Corinium Museum, Cirencester, England	Full	Gabled, H: 205 cm; W: 81 cm; D: 20 cm	Rider	No	Upper portion of monument	N/A
11	Colchester, England	Colchester Castle Museum, Colchester, England	Full	Rectangular, H: 240 cm; W: 72 cm; D: 28 cm	*Totenmahl*	Yes	Top of monument, above secondary relief	Upper portion of monument, directly above inscription
12	Cumbria, England	British Museum, London, England	Partial	Pedimental, Unknown	Rider	No	Upper portion of monument	N/A
13	Gloucester, England	Gloucester City Museum, Gloucester, England	Partial	Gabled, H: 145 cm; W: 81 cm	Rider	No	Upper portion of monument	N/A
14	Hexham, England	Hexham Abbey, Hexham, England	Full	Rectangular, H: 264 cm; W: 94 cm	Rider	No	Upper portion of monument	N/A
15	Lancaster, England	Lancaster City Museum, Lancaster, England	Partial	Pedimental, H: 176 cm; W: 92 cm	Rider	No	Majority of monument	N/A
16	Wroxeter, England	Shrewsbury Museum and Art Gallery, Shrewsbury, England	Partial	Undetermined, H: 104 cm; W: 64 cm	Rider	No	Upper portion of monument	N/A

#	Decorative Motif around Primary Niche	Secondary Decoration Description	Location of Soldier	Soldier Holding Will	Horse Present	Multiple Horses	Soldier's Pose on Horse	Weapon Soldier is Wielding	Additional Weapons on Soldier
10	Columns topped with palm leaves flank the nich, a large rosette and leaves fill the center of the pediment	N/A	Mounted on horse	No	Yes	No	Threequarter view, in action	Lance	Spatha
11	N/A	Relief above depicts a winged sphinx and snakes and lions on either side	Mounted on horse in secondary relief	No	Yes	No	Threequarter view, in action	Unknown	Not present
12	N/A	N/A	Mounted on horse	No	Yes	No	Profile, in action	Lance	Not present
13	Sphinx in center flanked by two lions	N/A	Mounted on horse	No	Yes	No	Profile, in action	Lance	Spatha
14	Spiral columns, possible leaves in spandrels	N/A	Mounted on horse	No	Yes	No	Profile	No weapon, standard	Spatha
15	Sun (or head of Medusa?) at the apex of the monument, laurel and oak leaves ?	N/A	Mounted on horse	No	Yes	No	Threequarter view, holding enemy head in right hand with sword	Spatha	Not present
16	N/A	N/A	Mounted on horse	No	Yes	No	Only right leg visible	Unknown	Unknown

#	Direction the Horse is Facing	Horse Pose	Decorative Harness System Present	Groom Location in Relief	Groom Carrying Weapons	Location of Servant in Relief	Three-legged Table	Cups or Bowls on Table
10	Viewer's right	Reared up on hind legs	Yes	Not present	N/A	Not present	No	No
11	Viewer's right	Standing with Front left leg raised	Yes	Not present	N/A	Not present	No	No
12	Viewer's right	Reared up on hind legs	Unknown	Not present	N/A	Not present	No	No
13	Viewer's right	Reared up on hind legs	Partial	Not present	N/A	Not present	No	No
14	Viewer's right	Reared up on hind legs	Yes	Not present	N/A	Not present	No	No
15	Viewer's right	Reared up on hind legs	Yes	Not present	N/A	Not present	No	No
16	Viewer's right	Back legs bent forward over enemy	Unknown	Not present	N/A	Not present	No	No

#	Jug on Floor	Military Medals	Location of Enemy	Enemy Holding Weapon	Inscription Full or Partial	Name of Soldier's Father	Soldier's Voting Tribe	Soldier's Native Region	Soldier's Military Rank
10	No	Phalerae	Beneath the horse, supine	Small blade	Full	Not Present	Frisiavones (Germania Inferior)	Frisiavones (Germania Inferior)	Cavalry Trooper
11	No	Phalerae on saddle straps	Beneath the horse, prone with arms and legs tucked under body, head facing viewer	Shield	Partial	Matycus	Sardica	Sardica (Sofia, Bulgaria)	Duplicarius
12	No	No	Beneath the horse, supine	Broken spear, shield	Not present	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
13	No	No	Beneath the horse, supine, arms above head	Small blade	Full	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	Cavalry Trooper
14	No	Phalerae?	Beneath the horse, crouched on arms and legs, head facing viewer	Small blade, shield	Full	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	Cavalry Trooper, standard bearer
15	No	No	Beneath the horse, on hands and knees, beheaded	Sword	Partial	Vodullus	Treveri	Treveri (Trier, Germany)	Cavalry Trooper
16	No	No	Beneath the horse, On side, facing viewer, arms and legs bent	Sword	Partial	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	Cavalry trooper

#	Cavalry Unit	Cohort	Legion	Soldier's Commanding Officer	Age at Death	Years of Service	Persons Responsible for Monument
10	I Thracum	Genialus	Not Present	Not present	40	20	His heirs
11	I Thracum	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	40	15	His heirs
12	Unknown	Unknown	Not Present	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
13	Not Present	VI Thracum	Not Present	Not present	40	22	His heirs
14	Petriana	Candidus	Not Present	Not present	25	7	Not Present
15	Augusta	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	Not Present	Not Present	Victor Curator Domitia
16	Not Present	Cohort of the Thracians		Not present	57	Not Present	Not Present

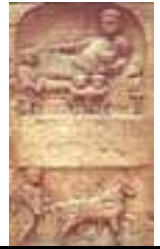| #	Image	Soldier Name	Monument Date	Inscription in Latin	Inscription Translation
17		C. Marius	41-68 CE	C(aius) Marius L(uci) f(ilius) Vol(tinia) / Luco Augusto eques / leg(ionis) I annor(um) XXX stipen(diorum) / XV h(ic) s(itus) e(st) Sex(tus) Sempronius / frater facien(dum) curavit	C. Marius, son of Lucius, of the Voltinan voting-tribe, from Lucca Augusta, cavalryman of Legio I, lived 30 years, served 15, he lies here. His brother Sextus Sempronius set this up.
18		Niger Aetonis	41-54 CE	Niger Aetonis f(ilius) / Nemes ala Pomponi / ani anno(rum) L / aera XXV / h(ic) s(itus) e(st)	Niger son of Aetonis of the Nemete voting-tribe, of the ala Pomponiani, aged 50 of 15 years' service, he lies here.
19		Rectugnus	41-54 CE	Rectugnus Magilonis f (ilius) / Segontilie (n) ses eques wing / Longiniana ann (orum) Aer L (orum) XXII	Rectugnus son of Magilonis Segontilienses, trooper in the cavalry regiment Longiniana, lived 50 years, served 12 years.Vellaunus Nonni son of Biturix,
20		Vellaunus	41-54 CE	Vellaunus Nonni / f(ilius) Biturix eques / ala Longiniana / turma L(ucii) Iuli(i) Reguli / an(norum) XXXVIII stipendio / rum XVIII h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / ex [te]stamento factu / curarunt L(ucius) Iulius Reg / ulus decurio et Macer Aspadi / f(ilius) eiusde(m) turma(e)	trooper from the cavalry regiment Longiniana, in the squadron Lucii Iuliii Regula , lived 38 years and served 18 years, he lies here. According to his will, Lucius Iulius Regulus, Decurion and Macer son of Aspadi of the same squadron set this up.
21		Vonatorix	41-54 CE	Vonatorix Du/conis f(ilius) eques ala / Longiniana an/norum XLV stipen/diorum XVII h(ic) s(itus) e(st)	Vonatorix, son of Duco, trooper of the cavalry regiment Longiniana, lived 45 years, served 17 years. He lies here.
22		Longinus Biarta	80-90 CE	Longinus Biarta Bisae f (ilius) / Bessus eq (ues) alae Sulp (iciae) an (norum) XXXXVI / d [e suo] f (aciendum) c (uravit)	Longinus Biarta, son of Bisa, of the Bessus voting-tribe, a rider in the cavalry regiment Sulpicia, lived 46 years, this was set up with his own money.
23		Lucius Crispi	80-100 CE	L (ucius) Crispi f (ilius) cives Marsacus, eq (ues) alae Affro(rum) turma Flavi ann (orum) XXVIII, stip (endiorum) VIIII, h (eres) f (aciendum) c (uravit)	Lucius son of Crispi, citizen of Marsacus, trooper in the cavalry regiment Afrorum, of the squadron Flavi, lived 28 years, served 9 years, his heirs set this up.

#	Monument Find Location	Current Location	Full or Partial Monument	Monument Size and Shape	Relief Type	Multiple Reliefs	Location of Primary Relief	Location of Secondary Relief
17	Bonn, Germany	Rhineland Museum, Bonn, Germany	Full	Rectangular, H: 177 cm; W: 78 cm; D: 30 cm	Rider	No	Upper portion of monument	N/A
18	Bonn, Germany	Rhineland Museum, Bonn, Germany	Partial	Rectangular, H: 142 cm; W: 76 cm; D: 21 cm	Rider	No	Upper portion of monument	N/A
19	Bonn, Germany	Rhineland Museum, Bonn, Germany	Partial	Rectangular, H: 131 cm; W: 79 cm; D: 28 cm	Rider	No	Upper portion of monument	N/A
20	Bonn, Germany	Xanten Archaeological Park, Xanten, Germany	Full	Rectangular, H: 221 cm; W: 74 cm; D: 34 cm	Rider	No	Upper portion of monument	N/A
21	Bonn, Germany	Rhineland Museum, Bonn, Germany	Full	Rectangular, H: 218 cm; W: 92 cm; D: 27 cm	Rider	No	Upper portion of monument	N/A
22	Cologne, Germany	The Roman-Germanic Musueum, Cologne, Germany	Full	Rectangular, H: 172 cm; W: 147 cm; D: 54 cm	*Totenmahl*	Yes	Upper portion of monument	Bottom portion of monumnet
23	Cologne	The Roman-Germanic Musueum, Cologne, Germany	Full	Rectangular, H: 197 cm; W: 80 cm; D: 17 cm	*Totenmahl*	Yes	Upper portion of monument	Bottom portion of monumnet

#	Decorative Motif around Primary Niche	Secondary Decoration Description	Location of Soldier	Soldier Holding Will	Horse Present	Multiple Horses	Soldier's Pose on Horse	Weapon Soldier is Wielding	Additional Weapons on Soldier
17	A *torque* in each spandrel	N/A	Mounted on horse	No	Yes	No	Threequarters view, in action	Lance	Not present
18	Palm frond bordering niche on top right	N/A	Mounted on horse	No	Yes	No	Threequarters view, in action	Lance	Spatha
19	N/A	N/A	Mounted on horse	No	Yes	No	Only legs visible	Unknown	Spatha
20	Pediment with Rosette in center, niche flanked with columns, acanthus leaves and taeniae fill the spandrels	N/A	Mounted on horse	No	Yes	No	Threequarters view	No weapon, standard (*vexillum*)	Spatha
21	Rosette and vine pattern across top	N/A	Mounted on horse	No	Yes	No	Threequarters view, in action	Lance	Spatha
22	N/A	N/A	Reclined on couch, leaning on his left arm facing viewer	Yes	Yes	No	N/A	N/A	N/A
23	N/A	N/A	Reclined on couch, leaning on his left arm facing viewer	Yes	Yes	No	N/A	N/A	N/A

#	Direction the Horse is Facing	Horse Pose	Decorative Harness System Present	Groom Location in Relief	Groom Carrying Weapons	Location of Servant in Relief	Three-legged Table	Cups or Bowls on Table
17	Viewer's right	Reared up on hind legs	Partial	Not present	N/A	Not present	No	No
18	Viewer's right	Reared up on hind legs	Yes	Not present	N/A	Not present	No	No
19	Viewer's right	Reared up on hind legs	Unknown	Not present	N/A	Not present	No	No
20	Viewer's right	Reared up on hind legs	Yes	Not present	N/A	Not present	No	No
21	Viewer's right	Reared up on hind legs	Yes	Not present	N/A	Not present	No	No
22	Viewer's right	Walking with front right leg lifted	Yes	To the left of the horse	Spears	Far left, at the foot of the couch	Yes	Yes
23	Viewer's right	Walking with front left leg lifted	Yes	To the left of the horse	Spears	Far left, at the foot of the couch	Yes	Yes

#	Jug on Floor	Military Medals	Location of Enemy	Enemy Holding Weapon	Inscription Full or Partial	Name of Soldier's Father	Soldier's Voting Tribe	Soldier's Native Region	Soldier's Military Rank
17	No	Phalerae and armillae	Not present	N/A	Full	Lucius	Voltina	Lucca Augusta	Cavalry trooper
18	No	Phalerae on saddle straps	Not present	N/A	Full	Not Present	Nemnete	Celtica (Germany)	Not Present
19	No	Unknown	Not present	N/A	Full	Magilonis Segontilienses	Not Present	Not present	Cavalry trooper
20	No	Phalerae on saddle straps	Not present	N/A	Full	Biturix	Not Present	Not present	Cavalry trooper
21	No	Phalerae on saddle straps	Not present	N/A	Full	Duco	Not Present	Not present	Cavalry trooper
22	No	Phalerae on saddle straps	Not present	N/A	Partial	Bisa	Bessus	Thrace (Bulgaria)	Cavalry trooper
23	Yes	Phalerae on saddle straps	Not present	N/A	Full	Marsacus	Not Present	Not present	Cavalry trooper

#	Cavalry Unit	Cohort	Legion	Soldier's Commanding Officer	Age at Death	Years of Service	Persons Responsible for Monument
17	Not Present	Not Present	Legio I	Not present	30	15	Sextus Sempronius
18	Pomponiani	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	50	15	Not Present
19	Longiniana	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	50	12	Not Present
20	Longinian a	Not Present	Not Present	Lucius Iulius Regulus	38	18	Lucius Iulius Regulus, Decurion and Macer son of Aspadi
21	Longinian a	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	45	17	Not Present
22	Sulpicia	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	46	Not Present	Not Present
23	Afrorum	Not Present	Not Present	Flavius	28	9	His heirs

#	Image	Soldier Name	Monument Date	Inscription in Latin	Inscription Translation
24		Lucius Romanus	80-90 CE	Romanus Atti f (ilius) Dar [danus] / eq (ues) al (ae) Afr (orum) ture (ma) at Firmani (Norum) XXX st [ip (endiorum) X?] / H (eres) t (estamento) f (aciendum) c (uravit)	Romanus son of Attus, of the voting-tribe Dardan, trooper in the cavalry regiment Afrorum in the squadron Firmanus. He lived 30 years, and served … years. His heirs set this up according to his will.
25		M. Aemilius Durises	81-96 CE	M(arcus) Aemilius Durises eq(ues) al(ae) / Sulp(iciae) temperature(ma) to Nepotis(norum) XXXVI / stip(endiorum) XVI, heredes ex t(estamento) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt)	Marcus Aemilius Durises, a rider in the ala Sulpicia, in the squadron of Nepos, lived 36 years, and served 16 years. The heirs have set this up.
26		Marcus Sacrius	Late first century CE	Marcus Sacrius / Securi f(ilius) Primigenius / eques alae Noricor(um) tur(ma) / Patercli cives Remus ann(orum) / XXVI [s] tip (endiorum) XI. H (eres) f (aciendum) c (uravit)	Marcus Scrius Primigenius, son of Securus, a trooper in the ala Noricorum, of the squadron of Paterclus, of the voting-tribe Remus, lived 26 years, served 11 years. He lies here.
27		Oluper Cergaepuri	Late first century CE	Oluper Cergaepuri / f(ilius) eq(ues) alae afrorum / tur(mae) preci capitonis / ann(orum) XXXX stip(endiorum) XX / h(eres) ex t(estamento) f(aciendum) c(uravit)	Oluper son of Cergaepuri, trooper in the cavalry regiment Afrorum, of the squadron of Preci Capito, lived 40 years and served for 20 years. His heirs set this up according to his will.
28		Titus Flavius Bassus	69-96 CE	T(itus) Flavius Bassus Mucalae / f(ilius) Dansala eq(ues) Alae Nori/coru(m) tur(ma) Fabi Pudentis / an(norum) XXXXVI stip(endiorum) XXVI h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit)	Titus Flavius Bassus, son of Mucalae, of the voting tribe Dansala, trooper in the cavalry unit Noricum, in the Fabi Pudentis squadron, lived 46 years and served for 26 years. His heirs set this up.
29		C. Iulius Primus	98-117 CE	C(aio) Iulio Adari f(ilio) / Primo Trevero / eq(uiti) alae Noric(orum) / statori an(norum) XXVII / stip(endiorum) VII h(eres) a(ere) s(uo) f(aciendum) c(uravit)	Caius Iulius Primus son of Adarius of the Treveri votingtribe, cavalryman of the ala Noricorum, lived 27 years, served 7 years, his heir set this up.
30		Andes	70-75 CE	Andes Sex(ti) f(ilius) / cives Raeti/nio eq(ues) ala / Claud(ia) an(norum) XXX / stip(endiorum) V h(ic) s(itus) e(st) h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit)	Andes, son of Sextus, citizen of Raetia, cavalryman of the ala Claudia, lived 30 years with 5 years' service. He lies here. His heirs set this up.

#	Monument Find Location	Current Location	Full or Partial Monument	Monument Size and Shape	Relief Type	Multiple Reliefs	Location of Primary Relief	Location of Secondary Relief
24	Cologne, Germany	The Roman-Germanic Musueum, Cologne, Germany	Partial	Unknown, H: 82 cm; W: 130 cm; D: 58 cm	*Totenmahl*	Unknown	Bottom portion of monument	N/A
25	Cologne, Germany	Rhineland Museum, Bonn, Germany	Full	Rectangular, H: 231 cm; W: 88 cm; D: 30 cm	*Totenmahl*	Yes	Upper portion of monument	Bottom portion of monumnet
26	Cologne, Germany	The Roman-Germanic Musueum, Cologne, Germany	Partial	Unknown, H: 200 cm; W: 95 cm; D: 32 cm	*Totenmahl*	Yes	Upper portion of monument	Bottom portion of monument
27	Cologne, Germany	The Roman-Germanic Musueum, Cologne, Germany	Partial	Rectangular, H: 225 cm; W: 92 cm; D: 30 cm	*Totenmahl*	Yes	Upper portion of monument	Bottom portion of monument
28	Cologne, Germany	The Roman-Germanic Musueum, Cologne, Germany	Full	Rectangular, H:172 cm; W: 119 cm; D: 61	Rider	No	Upper portion of monument	N/A
29	Kalkar, Germnay	Xanten Archaeological Park, Xanten, Germany	Full	Rectangular, H: 193 cm; W: 75 cm; D: 20 cm	*Totenmahl*	Yes	Upper portion of monument	Bottom portion of monumnet
30	Mainz, Germany	Landesmuseum, Mainz, Germany	Full	Gabled, H: 128 cm; W: 58 cm; D: 14 cm	Rider	No	Upper portion of monument	N/A

#	Decorative Motif around Primary Niche	Secondary Decoration Description	Location of Soldier	Soldier Holding Will	Horse Present	Multiple Horses	Soldier's Pose on Horse	Weapon Soldier is Wielding	Additional Weapons on Soldier
24	N/A	N/A	N/A	Unknown	yes	No	N/A	N/A	N/A
25	Unknown remnants; columns?	N/A	Reclined on couch, leaning on his left arm facing viewer	No	Yes	No	N/A	N/A	N/A
26	N/A	N/A	Reclined on couch, leaning on his left arm facing viewer	Unknown	Yes	No	N/A	N/A	N/A
27	N/A	N/A	Reclined on couch, leaning on his left arm facing viewer	No	Yes	No	N/A	N/A	N/A
28	Rosette and leaf motif in each spandrel	N/A	Mounted on horse	No	Yes	No	Shown in profile, in action	Lance	Spatha
29	Decorative columns flanking niche sides	N/A	Reclined on couch, leaning on his left arm facing the viewer	Yes	Yes	No	N/A	N/A	N/A
30	Trumpet or similar instrument beneath carving, right of inscription	N/A	Mounted on horse	No	Yes	No	Threequarters view, in action	Lance	Spatha

#	Direction the Horse is Facing	Horse Pose	Decorative Harness System Present	Groom Location in Relief	Groom Carrying Weapons	Location of Servant in Relief	Three-legged Table	Cups or Bowls on Table
24	Viewer's right	Walking with front left leg lifted	Yes	To the left of the horse	Spears	Not present	No	No
25	Viewer's right	Walking with front left leg lifted	Yes	To the left of the horse	Two spears	Far left, at the foot of the couch	Yes	Yes
26	Viewer's right	Walking with front left leg lifted	Yes	To the left of the horse	Spears	Far left, at the foot of the couch	Yes	Yes
27	Viewer's right	Walking with front left leg lifted	Yes	To the left of the horse	No	Far left, at the foot of the couch	Yes	Yes
28	Viewer's right	Reared up on hind legs	Yes	Far left, behind horse	Spears	Not present	No	No
29	Viewer's right	Walking with front left leg lifted	Yes	To the left of the horse	Two spears	Far left, at the foot of the couch	Yes	Yes
30	Viewer's right	Reared up on hind legs	Yes	Far left, behind horse	Spear	Not present	No	No

#	Jug on Floor	Military Medals	Location of Enemy	Enemy Holding Weapon	Inscription Full or Partial	Name of Soldier's Father	Soldier's Voting Tribe	Soldier's Native Region	Soldier's Military Rank
24	No	Phalerae on saddle straps	Not present	N/A	Partial	Attus	Dardan	Illyria/Thrace	Cavalry trooper
25	No	Phalerae on saddle straps	Not present	N/A	Full	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	Cavalry trooper
26	Yes	Phalerae on saddle straps	Not present	N/A	Full	Securus	Remus	Belgica (France)	Cavalry trooper
27	Yes	Phalerae on saddle straps	Not present	N/A	Full	Cergaepuri	Not Present	Not present	Cavalry trooper
28	No	Phalerae on saddle straps	Beneath the horse, Prone, head in profile	Shield	Full	Mucalae	Dansala	Thrace (Bulgaria)	Cavalry trooper
29	Yes	No	Not present	N/A	Full	Adarius	Treveri	Belgica (Germany)	Cavalry trooper
30	No	Phalerae on saddle straps	Beneath the horse, on hands and knees in profile, but with head facing viewer	Small sword	Full	Sextus	Not Present	Raetia (S. Germany, Switzerland)	Cavalry trooper

#	Cavalry Unit	Cohort	Legion	Soldier's Commanding Officer	Age at Death	Years of Service	Persons Responsible for Monument
24	Afrorum	Not Present	Not Present	Firmanus	30	Unknown	His heirs
25	Sulpicia	Not Present	Not Present	Nepos	36	16	His heirs
26	Noricorum	Not Present	Not Present	Paterclus	26	11	Not Present
27	Afrorum	Not Present	Not Present	Preci Capito	40	20	His heirs
28	Noricorum	Not Present	Not Present	Fabi Pudentis	46	26	His heirs
29	Noricorum	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	27	7	His heirs
30	Claudia	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	30	5	His heirs

#	Image	Soldier Name	Monument Date	Inscription in Latin	Inscription Translation
31		C. Romanius Capito	54-68 CE	C(aius) Romanius/ eq(ues) alae Norico(rum)/ Claud(ia tribu) Capito/ Celeia, an(norum) XL stip(endiorum) XIX/ h(ic) s(itus) e(st), h(eres) ex t(estamento) f(aciendum) c(uravit)	Caius Romanius, of the Claudian voting-tribe, from Celeia, cavalryman of the ala Noricorum, lived 40 years with 19 years' service. He lies here. His heirs set this up for him, according to his will.
32		Flavius Proclus	69-96 CE	Flavius Proclus / eq(ues) sing(ularis) aug(usti) domo / (pi)lodelpia an(norum) xx / stip(endiorum) … [h(eres) f(aciendum)] c(uravit)	Flavius Proclus, Mounted Guard to the Emperor, from Philadelphia, lived 20 years, of … years' service. His heirs had this erected.
33		Maris son of Casitus	14-37 CE	Maris Casiti f(ilius) anno(rum) L / stip(endiorum) XXX ala Part(h)o(rum) et / Araborum turma / Variagnis Masicates / frater et Tigranus / posierunt	Maris son of Casitus, lived 50 years with 30 years' service in the cavalry unit Parthorum et Araborum. Variagnis Masicates and brother Tigranus set this up.
34		Quintus Voltius Viator	14-37 CE	Q(uintus) Voltiu[s Q(uinti) f(ilius)] / Viator an(norum)	Quintus Voltius, son of Quintus Viator lived…
35		Silius	69-96 CE	Silius Attonis f(ilius) / eq(ues) alae Picent(ianae) / an(norum) XLV stip(endiorum) XXIV / h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit)	Silius son of Attonis, cavalryman of the ala Picentiana Gallorum, lived 45 years and served 24 years. His heirs set this up.
36		Argiotalus	14-37 CE	Argiotalus / Smertulitani / f(ilius) Namnis equ(es) / ala Indiana / stip(endiorum) X anno(rum) / XXX h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / (h)eredes posue/r unt	Argiotalus son of Smertulitanus, Namnete cavalryman in the ala Indiana, served ten years and lived 30 years. He lies here. His heirs have erected this monument.
37		Leubius	54-68 CE	Leubius Claupi / f(ilius) eq(ues) missicius / ala Sebosiana / an(norum) LXXV h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / Gratus f(ilius) miles / ex t(estamento) f(ecit) // Monumentum	Leubius son of Claupus, retired cavalryman of the ala Sebosiana, lived 75 years. He lies here. His son Gratus, a soldier, set up this monument according to his will.

#	Monument Find Location	Current Location	Full or Partial Monument	Monument Size and Shape	Relief Type	Multiple Reliefs	Location of Primary Relief	Location of Secondary Relief
31	Mainz, Germany	Landesmuseum, Mainz, Germany	Full	Rectangular, H: 163 cm; W: 87 cm; D: 20 cm	Rider	No	Upper portion of monument	N/A
32	Mainz, Germany	Landesmuseum, Mainz, Germany	Partial	Rectangular, H: 105 cm; W: 76 cm; D: 16 cm	Rider	No	Upper portion of monument	N/A
33	Mainz, Germany	Landesmuseum, Mainz, Germany	Full	Rectangular, H: 210 cm; W: 90 cm; D: 28 cm	Rider	No	Upper portion of monument	N/A
34	Mainz, Germany	Landesmuseum, Mainz, Germany	Partial	Gabled, H: 275 cm; W: 75 cm; D: 30 cm	Multiple horse	No	Upper portion of monument	N/A
35	Mainz, Germany	Landesmuseum, Mainz, Germany	Full	Rectangular, H: 248 cm; W: 85 cm; D: 34 cm	*Totenmahl*	Yes	Upper portion of monument	Bottom portion of monument
36	Worms, Germany	Museum of the City of Worms, Worms, Germany	Full	Arched, H: 136 cm; W: 59 cm; D: 36 cm	Rider	No	Upper portion of monument	N/A
37	Worms, Germany	Museum of the City of Worms, Worms, Germany	Full	Rectangular, H: 192 cm; W: 61 cm; D: 33 cm	Rider	No	Upper portion of monument	N/A

#	Decorative Motif around Primary Niche	Secondary Decoration Description	Location of Soldier	Soldier Holding Will	Horse Present	Multiple Horses	Soldier's Pose on Horse	Weapon Soldier is Wielding	Additional Weapons on Soldier
31	Flower and leaf motif in each spandrel	N/A	Mounted on horse	No	Yes	No	Threequarters view, in action	Lance	Spatha
32	Aquatic creature in right spandrel	N/A	Mounted on horse	No	Yes	No	Threequarters view, in action	Arrow	Quiver of arrows
33	Columns flank the niche with *taeniae*, or decorative ribbons in the spandrels and top of niche Winged	N/A	Mounted on horse	No	Yes	No	Threequarters view, in action	Bow and arrow	Quiver
34	sphinx in center of pediment, palmette on bottom corners of pediment	N/A	N/A	No	Yes	Yes	N/A	N/A	N/A
35	Columns flank the niche with a rosette and leaf motif in each spandrel	N/A	Reclined on couch, leaning on left arm, facing the viewer	No	Yes	No	N/A	N/A	N/A
36	Palmettes on either side and on the top center	N/A	Mounted on horse	No	Yes	No	Threequarters view, in action	Sword	Not present
37	Palmette designs and *taeniae* in each spandrel	N/A	Mounted on horse	No	Yes	No	Threequarters view, in action	Spear	Spatha

#	Direction the Horse is Facing	Horse Pose	Decorative Harness System Present	Groom Location in Relief	Groom Carrying Weapons	Location of Servant in Relief	Three-legged Table	Cups or Bowls on Table
31	Viewer's right	Reared up on hind legs	Yes	Far left, behind horse	Spears	Not present	No	No
32	Viewer's right	Reared up on hind legs	Yes	Not present	N/A	Not present	No	No
33	Viewer's right	Reared up on hind legs		Far left, behind horse	Arrows	Not present	No	No
34	Viewer's right	Standing with front left leg raised, second horse standing behind groom	No	Standing between two horses	No	Not present	No	No
35	Viewer's right	Stading with front left leg raised	Yes	To the right of horse	Spear	Far left, at the foot of the couch	Yes	Yes
36	Viewer's right	Reared up on hind legs	Partial	Not present	N/A	Not present	No	No
37	Viewer's right	Reared up on hind legs	Yes	Far left, behind horse	Spear	Not present	No	No

#	Jug on Floor	Military Medals	Location of Enemy	Enemy Holding Weapon	Inscription Full or Partial	Name of Soldier's Father	Soldier's Voting Tribe	Soldier's Native Region	Soldier's Military Rank
31	No	Phalerae on saddle straps	Beneath the horse, supine, in profile	No	Full	Not Present	Claudian	Noricum, Celeia (Slovenia)	Cavalry trooper
32	No	Phalerae on saddle straps	Not present	N/A	Partial	Not Present	Not Present	Arabia Petraea: Philidelphia (Jordan)	Cavalry trooper, mounted guard to the emperor
33	NO	No	Not present	N/A	Full	Casitus	Not Present	Not present	Cavalry trooper
34	NO	No	Not present	N/A	Partial	Quintus Viator	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
35	No	Phalerae on saddle straps	Not present	N/A	Full	Attonis	Not Present	Not present	Cavalry trooper
36	No	No	Not present	N/A	Full	Smertulitanus	Not Present	Celtica: Nantes (France)	Cavalry trooper
37	No	Phalerae on saddle straps	Beneath the horse, prone	Shield	Full	Claupus	Not Present	Not present	Retired cavalry trooper

#	Cavalry Unit	Cohort	Legion	Soldier's Commanding Officer	Age at Death	Years of Service	Persons Responsible for Monument
31	Noricorum	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	40	19	His heirs
32	Not Present	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	20	Unknown	His heirs
33	*Parthorum et Araborum*	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	50	30	Variagnis Masicates and brother Tigranus
34	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
35	Picentiana Gallorum	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	45	24	His heirs
36	Indiana	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	30	10	His heirs
37	Sebosiana	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	75	Not Present	His son, Gratus

#	Image	Soldier Name	Monument Date	Inscription in Latin	Inscription Translation
38		Licinus Closi	41-54 CE	Licinius Clossi / f(ilius) Helvetius ann(orum) / XLVII eques ala I / Hisp(anorum) stip(endiorum) XXVI h(ic) s(itus) [e(st)] / Tib(erius) Iul(ius) Capito h(eres) [p(osuit?)]	Licinius son of Clossus, of the Helvetii tribe, lived 47 years and served 26 years as a cavalryman in the ala I Hispanorum. He lies here. His heir Tiberius Iulius Capito set this up.
39		Quintus Carminius Ingenuus	14-37 CE	Q(uinto) Carminio In/ge[n]uo [eq]uit[i ala I(?)] / Hispanorum a[nn(orum) ---] / stip(endiorum) XXV signifero / Sacer Iulius h(eres) e(x) t(estamento)	Quintus Carminius Ingenuus, cavalryman and signifier of the ala I (?) Hispanorum, lived [---] years and served 15 years. His heir Sacer Iulius set this up according to his will.
40		Valerius Maxantius	Late 3rd century CE	M(anibus) D(is) // Val(erius) Maxantius / eq(ues) ex numero / kata(fractariorum) vix(it) an(n)is / XXXII me(n)s(ibus) VI / Val(erius) Dacus fr(ater?) / fec(it)	To the divine Manes! Valerius Maxantius, a horseman of a division of mailed cavalry, lived thirty-two years and six months. His heir Valerius Dacus erected the tomstone.
41		Atilius Crispinianus	Late 3rd century CE	D(is) M(anibus) / Atil(ius) Crispi/nianus du/plic(arius) ale I U[l]/p(iae) Cont(ariorum) sti/p(endiorum) XXII Cl(audius) Vi/ator dup/[li]c(arius...	To the Divine Manes. Atilius Crispinianus, cavalry duplicarius of Ala I Ulpia Contariorum, served 22 years. Claudius Viator, cavalry duplicarius…
42		Aurelius Disas	Late 3rd century CE	Aurelius Disas co / rnicen ale I Flavi / e Brittanice stip (endiorum) / XI vixit annis / XXXII Aurelius / Pimetaica(?) secu / ndus heres eius / titulum posuit / college suo [D(is)] M(anibus) / Aurel(ius)	Aurelius Disas, horn blower of Ala I Flavia Britannica, with 11 years' service, lived 32 years. Aurelius Pimetaica, his second heir, erected this stone for his colleague. To the spirits of the departed,
43		Aurelius Dolens	Late 3rd century CE	Dolens dupl(icarius) / Ale Contar(iorum) stip(endiorum) XXVI / ann(orum) L hopitus domo / Tracia memoriam in / stituer(unt) Iul(ius) Avitianus / dupl(icarius) et Aurel(ius) Robus/tianus dupl(icarius) here / des.	Aurelius Dolens, cavalry duplicarius of the ala Contariorum, served 26 years. He died aged 50. He was born in Thrace. Iulius Avitianus, Aurelius Robustianus both duplicarii, his heirs, had this stone erected in his memory.

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#	Monument Find Location	Current Location	Full or Partial Monument	Monument Size and Shape	Relief Type	Multiple Reliefs	Location of Primary Relief	Location of Secondary Relief
38	Worms, Germany	Museum of the City of Worms, Worms, Germany	Full	Gabled, H: 218 cm; W: 75 cm; D: 31 cm	Rider	No	Upper portion of monument	N/A
39	Worms, Germany	Museum of the City of Worms, Worms, Germany	Partial	Gabled, H: 237 cm; W: 96 cm; D: 42 cm	Rider	No	Upper portion of monument	N/A
40	Worms, Germany	Museum of the City of Worms, Worms, Germany	Partial	Rectangular, H: 142 cm; W: 72 cm; D: 24 cm	Rider	No	Upper portion of monument	N/A
41	Apamea, Syria	Apamea Museum, Apamea, Syria	Partial	Gabled, H: 161 cm; W: 70 cm	Rider	No	Upper portion of monument	N/A
42	Apamea, Syria	Apamea Museum, Apamea, Syria	Full	Gabled, H: 143 cm; W: 52 cm	Rider	No	Upper portion of monument	N/A
43	Apamea, Syria	Apamea Museum, Apamea, Syria	Full	Gabled, measuements unknown	Multiple horse	No	Upper portion of monument	N/A

#	Decorative Motif around Primary Niche	Secondary Decoration Description	Location of Soldier	Soldier Holding Will	Horse Present	Multiple Horses	Soldier's Pose on Horse	Weapon Soldier is Wielding	Additional Weapons on Soldier
38	Rosette in center of pediment, rope motif along arch of niche	N/A	Mounted on horse	No	Yes	No	Threequarters view, in action	Lance	pugio
39	Columns flanking niche	N/A	Mounted on horse	No	Yes	No	Threequarters view, in action	Lance	Spatha, standard
40	N/A Two lions	N/A	Mounted on horse	No	Yes	No	Threequarters view, in action	Lance	Not present
41	seated facing each other with a raised front paw in center of pediment, paws rest on unidentified object	N/A	Mounted on horse	No	Yes	No	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
42	Undetermined	N/A	Mounted on horse	No	Yes	No	Profile, in action	No weapon, horn	Not present
43	Rosette in center of pediment	N/A	Standing between two horses	No	Yes	Yes	N/A	N/A	Sword

#	Direction the Horse is Facing	Horse Pose	Decorative Harness System Present	Groom Location in Relief	Groom Carrying Weapons	Location of Servant in Relief	Three-legged Table	Cups or Bowls on Table
38	Viewer's right	Reared up on hind legs	Yes	Not present	N/A	Not present	No	No
39	Viewer's right	Reared up on hind legs	Yes	Not present	N/A	Not present	No	No
40	Viewer's right	Standing with front left leg raised	Yes	Not present	N/A	Not present	No	No
41	Viewer's right	Reared up on hind legs	Unknown	Not present	N/A	Not present	No	No
42	Viewer's right	Reared up on hind legs	No	Not present	N/A	Not present	No	No
43	Once facing viewer's right, the other facing viewer's left	Standing with one front leg raised	No	Not present	N/A	Not present	No	No

#	Jug on Floor	Military Medals	Location of Enemy	Enemy Holding Weapon	Inscription Full or Partial	Name of Soldier's Father	Soldier's Voting Tribe	Soldier's Native Region	Soldier's Military Rank
38	NO	Phalerae on saddle straps	Beneath the horse, prone	Shield	Partial	Clossus	Helvetii	Celtica (Switzerland)	Cavalry trooper
39	NO	Phalerae on saddle straps	Two men beneath the horse, one on head, the other seated with back facing viewer	Shield	Partial	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	Cavalry trooper
40	No	No	Not present	N/A	Partial	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	Cavalry trooper
41	No	Unknown	Not present	N/A	Partial	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	Cavalry trooper, Duplicarius
42	No	No	Not present	N/A	Full	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	Cavalry trooper, horn blower
43	No	No	Not present	N/A	Partial	Not Present	Not Present	Thrace	Cavalry trooper, Duplicarius

#	Cavalry Unit	Cohort	Legion	Soldier's Commanding Officer	Age at Death	Years of Service	Persons Responsible for Monument
38	I Hispanorum	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	47	26	Tiberius Iulius Capito
39	I Hispanorum	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	Not Present	15	Sacer Iulius
40	Not Present	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	32 years, 3 months	Not Present	Valerius Dacus
41	I Ulpia Contariorum	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	Not Present	22	Claudius Viator (likely)
42	I Flavia Britannica	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	32	11	Aurelius Pimetaica
43	Contariorum	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	50	26	Aurelius Pimetaica

#	Image	Soldier Name	Monument Date	Inscription in Latin	Inscription Translation
44		Aurelius Mucatralis	Late 3rd century CE	Aur(elius) Mucatralis tu / bice(n) al(a)e Brittanic(a)e / <turmae?> Dionis st(i)pendior / u(m) dece(m) felicissima i /n espeditone hori / [e]ntale<m> rebo? nat / ura(e) solvit annos / vicsit triginta / et cinqu<e> Aur(elius) Pas/ser cornice(n) collega / memoria(m) possit (=posuit) / Mucatrali colle/ gi posuit	Aurelius Mucatralis, trumpeter of the Ala Britannica, from the turma of Dio, served 10 years and died during the successful eastern campaign. He lived 35 years. Aurelius Passer, horn blower, his colleague, had this stone erected to the memory of his colleague Mucatralis.
45		Aurelius Octavianus	Late 3rd century CE	Aur(elius) Octavian[us] / sesq(uiplicarius) alae I Ulp[(iae) Co]/nt(ariorum) an(norum) XXXI / st<i>p(endiorum) XI Soli(us) Vic[to] / rinus et Iul(ius) Li[be]/ralis f(ecerunt) b(ene) m(erenti)	Aurelius Octavianus, sesquiplicarius of Ala I Ulpia Contrariorum, died aged 31 with 11 years' service. Solius Victorinus and Iulius Liberalis erected this stelae, as was the dead man's due.
46		Ignius Viatorianus	Late 3rd century CE	D(is) M(anibus) / Ignius Viatori/anus stator A<l>e I Ul/p(iae) Contariorum dict/ane? annorum XXXXI m/ilitavit anno<s> XXII? / positrunt Cl(audius) Varus? / M(arcus) Aelius Crescentinu/s Avius? Iunianus / contubernali	To the Divine Manes. Ignius Viatorianus, stator of Ala I Ulpia Contrariorum died aged 41 with 22 years' service. Claudius Varus, Marcus Aelius Crescintinus, and Avius Iunianus had this stone erected for their contubernalis.
47		Iulius Valerianus	Late 3rd century CE	D(is) M(anibus) / Ilulius Valerianus / eques alae I Ul<p>iae con/tariorum stip(endiorum) XXIII / vixit annis XXXXVI / Ulp(ius) Ingen<u>us dupl(icarius) / alae eiusdem here/s posuit b(ene) m(erenti)	To the Divine Manes. Iulius Valerianus, cavalryman of Ala I Ulpia Contrariorum, served 23 years. He lived 46 years. Ulpius Ingenuus, cavalryman with double pay of the same unit, his heir, had (this stone) erected, as was the dead man's due.

#	Monument Find Location	Current Location	Full or Partial Monument	Monument Size and Shape	Relief Type	Multiple Reliefs	Location of Primary Relief	Location of Secondary Relief
44	Apamea, Syria	Apamea Museum, Apamea, Syria	Full	Rectangular, H: 139 cm; W: 61 cm	Rider	No	Upper portion of monument	N/A
45	Apamea, Syria	Apamea Museum, Apamea, Syria	Partial	Rectangular, H: 119 cm; W: 45 cm	Multiple horse	No	Upper portion of monument	N/A
46	Apamea, Syria	Apamea Museum, Apamea, Syria	Full	Gabled, H: 104 cm; W: 69 cm	Rider	No	Upper portion of monument	N/A
47	Apamea, Syria	Apamea Museum, Apamea, Syria	Full	Rectangular, H: 112 cm; W: 45 cm	Rider	No	Upper portion of monument	N/A

#	Decorative Motif around Primary Niche	Secondary Decoration Description	Location of Soldier	Soldier Holding Will	Horse Present	Multiple Horses	Soldier's Pose on Horse	Weapon Soldier is Wielding	Additional Weapons on Soldier
44	N/A	N/A	Mounted on horse	No	Yes	No	Threequarters view	Not present	Not present
45	N/A	N/A	Between two horses	No	Yes	Yes	N/A	Not present	Not present
46	Two *paternae* (offering dishes), one on either side of the pediment	N/A	Mounted on horse	No	Yes	No	Profile	Lance	Not present
47	N/A	N/A	Mounted on horse	No	Yes	No	Threequarters view	Unknown	Unknown

#	Direction the Horse is Facing	Horse Pose	Decorative Harness System Present	Groom Location in Relief	Groom Carrying Weapons	Location of Servant in Relief	Three-legged Table	Cups or Bowls on Table
44	Viewer's right	Reared up on hind legs	No	Not present	N/A	Not present	No	No
45	Once facing viewer's right, the other facing viewer's left	Standing with one front leg raised	No	Not present	N/A	Not present	No	No
46	Viewer's right	Galloping	No	Not present	N/A	Not present	No	NO
47	Viewer's right	Standing with front left leg raised	No	Not present	N/A	Not present	No	No

#	Jug on Floor	Military Medals	Location of Enemy	Enemy Holding Weapon	Inscription Full or Partial	Name of Soldier's Father	Soldier's Voting Tribe	Soldier's Native Region	Soldier's Military Rank
44	No	No	Not present	N/A	Partial	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	Cavalry trooper, horn blower
45	No	No	Not present	N/A	Partial	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	Cavalry trooper, sesquiplicarius
46	NO	No	Not present	N/A	Full	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	Cavalry trooper, stator
47	No	No	Not present	N/A	Full	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	Cavalry trooper

#	Cavalry Unit	Cohort	Legion	Soldier's Commanding Officer	Age at Death	Years of Service	Persons Responsible for Monument
44	Britannica	Not Present	Not Present	Dio	35	10	Aurelius Passer
45	I Ulpia Contariorum	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	31	11	Solius Victorinus and Iulius Liberalis
46	I Ulpia Contariorum	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	41	22	Claudius Varus, Marcus Aelius Crescintinus, and Avius Iunianus
47	I Ulpia Contariorum	Not Present	Not Present	Not present	46	23	Ulpius Ingenuus