Ares: Brother, Commander, Deity or Son? A New Interpretation of the Ares Tombstone

The Ares tombstone, dating to the late Antonine period and kept in the British Museum under inv. number GRA 1973.4-22.1 [Sc. 2271], is one of the most beautiful examples of Roman sepulchral art to come out of Egypt. Although the *stela* has been studied many times before, scholars continue to be intrigued by its problematical relief, depicting two men with similar facial features standing erect beside each other. A Greek epigraph, inscribed underneath the relief, informs us that the *stela* was set up for Ares, a veteran. A second Ares is mentioned, but his identity and relationship to the deceased are uncertain. Various theories have been proposed⁽¹⁾, identifying this Ares successively as a brother, commander or fellow soldier of the deceased, as Ares, the god of war, or as the deceased himself, but all of them have been refuted. The subject therefore needs to be revisited.

I. THE ARES TOMBSTONE

The precise findspot of the tombstone is unknown, but there are indications that it came from the military necropolis at Nikopolis, near Alexandria in Egypt⁽²⁾. More than hundred tombstones, most of them associated with the long-resident *legio II Traiana fortis*, were found during illegal excavations or turned up on the antiquities market in the late nineteenth

(1) K. PARLASCA, in: K. PARLASCA & H. SEEMANN, *Augenblicke. Mumienporträts und ägyptische Grabkunst aus römischer Zeit*, Frankfurt 1999, 254-255 no. 159; A. ŁAJTAR, 'A Tombstone for the Soldier Ares (Egypt, Late Antonine Period)', *JJP* 32 (2002), 45-48; J. BINGEN, 'Bulletin épigraphique', *REG* 116 (2003), 675-676 no. 615; *AE* 2002, 601-602 no. 1586; O. STOLL, '«Quod miles vovit...» oder: Der doppelte Ares. Bemerkungen zur Grabstele eines Veteranen aus Alexandria', *AKB* 35 (2005), 65-76; A. CHANIOTIS e.a. (eds.), in: *SEG* LII (2002), 608-609 no. 1762; *AE* 2005, 567 no. 1609.

(2) E.A. BRECCIA, *Alexandrea ad Aegyptum. Guide de la ville ancienne et moderne et du musée gréco-romain*, Bergamo 1914, 73-74; B. TKACZOW, *The Topography of Ancient Alexandria. An Archaeological Map*, Warsaw 1993, 174-175; R. ALSTON, *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt. A Social History*, London 1995, 192-193.

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and early twentieth century. The bulk is currently kept in the Graeco-Roman Museum at Alexandria, but the other tombstones are scattered over various collections (Athens, Bologna, Brussels, Warsaw, Brooklyn, etc.). Approximately 90% are made of marble, and more than half of the tombstones depict the deceased in high relief⁽³⁾. The depiction of the man on the left of the Ares *stela*, representing a soldier, strongly resembles the soldiers' and veterans' *stelae* from Nikopolis⁽⁴⁾. Furthermore, the altar form⁽⁵⁾ and the symbol L for 'year'⁽⁶⁾ also suggest an Egyptian origin. The tombstone first belonged to the private collection of Matthew Duane (1707-1785), an Irish lawyer and art patron⁽⁷⁾. After his death, his elaborate collection was sold. Although the buyer of the Ares tombstone is not listed in the catalogue of the Duane Sale⁽⁸⁾, the renowned collector Charles Townley (1737-1805)⁽⁹⁾ may have purchased the *stela*, since he is known to have bought extensively at the auction. On 12 July 1805, Townley's collection, also known as the Townley Marbles, was acquired by the British Museum by an Act of Parliament and the *stela* subsequently ended up in its collection.

A. Description of the relief scene

The small (59.9 × 39.3 cm.), round-topped tombstone (FIG. 1) is made of gray, blue-veined marble from Asia Minor. The edges of the stone are

(3) I am currently preparing a catalogue of the Nikopolis tombstones, which is funded by a research grant of the Fonds Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek Vlaanderen. This project is referred to by J.C.N. COULSTON, 'Art, Culture and Service: The Depiction of Soldiers on Funerary Monuments of the 3rd Century AD', in L. DE BLOIS & E. LO CASCIO (eds.), *The Impact of the Roman Army (200 B.C. - A.D. 476). Economic, Social, Political, Religious and Cultural Aspects*, Leiden - Boston 2007, 537 n. 34.

(4) L. CASTIGLIONE, 'Kunst und Gesellschaft im römischen Ägypten', *AAnthung* 15 (1967), 115 n. 38; P. NOELKE, 'Ein neuer Soldatengrabstein in Köln', in: *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms III*, Stuttgart 1986, 224-225; S. SCHMIDT, *Grabreliefs im griechisch-römischen Museum von Alexandria*, Berlin 2003, 37-43, 126-134.

(5) G. SOUKIASSIAN, 'Les autels "à cornes" ou "à acrotères" en Égypte', *BIFAO* 83 (1983), 317-333; J. QUAEGBEUR, 'L'autel-à-feu et l'abattoir en Égypte tardive', in: J. QUAEGBEUR (ed.), *Ritual and Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East*, Leuven 1993, 329-353.

(6) B.F. COOK, 'The Townley Marbles in Westminster and Bloomsbury', *Collectors and Collections, The British Museum Yearbook* 2 (1977), 69 no. 5.

(7) D.G.C. ALLAN, 'Duane, Matthew (1707-1785)', in: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [online publication: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8111>].

(8) *Sale Catalogue*, '13 June 1785, first day's sale', 6 no. 42; referred to by COOK, 'The Townley Marbles' (1977), 69 no. 5.

(9) B.F. COOK, 'Townley, Charles (1737-1805)', in: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [online publication: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27601>].

FIG. 1. — Tombstone commemorating Ares, A.D. 188/189 (London, British Museum, inv. no. GRA 1973.4-22.1 [Sc. 2271]). — © The Trustees of the British Museum.

FIG. 2. — Tombstone commemorating C. Iulius Clemens and his son C. Iulius Sabinus (Wiesbaden, Mus. Slg. Nassauischer Altertümer, inv. no. 206). — © Kulturamt der Landeshauptstadt Wiesbaden. Projektbüro Stadtmuseum.

chipped and the right edge is scratched and damaged. The bottom edge is irregular and the extreme lower right corner is missing. Both the relief scene and the inscription area are smoothly dressed, but the edges are roughly finished with the chisel. Given the diminutive size, the tombstone may originally have been part of a larger funerary complex, similar to the tombstones found in the tombs on the edge of Terenouthis (Kom Abou Billou) ⁽¹⁰⁾. The *stela* exhibits excellent workmanship, in particular the relief scene: the faces, clothes and footwear of the two depicted men are executed with great care and attention to detail.

A large, recessed field, framed by a plain, round-topped border, narrow at the top and sides, with a relief scene takes up almost the whole surface of the stone. Two shorthaired, bearded men are standing erect beside each other, facing the front. The man on the left, his head slightly turned to the sinister, represents a soldier, dressed in a long-sleeved, wrist- and knee-length tunic. A *sagum*, fastened by a circular *fibula* at the dexter shoulder, falls open to reveal the dexter side of the chest, hanging down the back to behind the calves. Around the waist, the soldier wears a belt, hidden from view behind the pleats of the tunic, but its presence is suggested by the vertical strokes underneath, the belt causing the fabric of the garment to pleat into three triangular-shaped folds. He may also be wearing tight, full-length breeches, tied at the back of the calves, knees and just below the knees ⁽¹¹⁾. His feet are covered with a pair of boots with a heart-shaped cut-out at the toe and with broad, integral laces, similar to the boots found at Dura Europos in Syria ⁽¹²⁾. Since the dexter leg is slightly bent, the soldier is presumably leaning on the sinister leg. In his dexter hand, he is holding a *patera* ⁽¹³⁾, offering on a burning horned altar (h. 14.7 cm.), on which a pinecone may be recognized. The object in his sinister hand,

(10) F.A. HOOPER, *Funerary Stelae from Kom Abou Billou*, Ann Arbor 1961, esp. 1-3; K. PARLASCA, 'Zur Stellung der Terenuthis-Stelen. Ein Gruppe römischer Grabreliefs aus Ägypten in Berlin', *MDAIK* 26 (1970), 173-198. Other forms of funerary monuments in Egypt are described by K. PARLASCA, 'Formen der Grabkunst im römischen Ägypten', *Nürnberger Blätter zur Archäologie* 9 (1992-1993), 125-128; STOLL, '«Quod miles vovit...»' (2005), 68.

(11) STOLL, '«Quod miles vovit...»' (2005), 65. SUMNER is more cautious, leaving open the possibility that the soldier is wearing leg wrappings and leg bindings: G. SUMNER, *Roman Military Clothing II: A.D. 200-400*, Oxford 2003, 36.

(12) S. JAMES, *The Arms and Armour and Other Military Equipment*, London 2004, 59.

(13) E. POTTIER, 'Patera', in: *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines* IV.1 (1963), 341.

consisting of two oblong, parallel elements, may be a (double) scroll or booklet (*diptychon*)⁽¹⁴⁾.

The head of the man on the right is turned to the dexter, in this way appearing as the other's mirror image. He has the same facial features as the man on the left, but the lines in his face suggest that he was older. His hair and beard also appear somewhat fuller and longer. He is dressed in a civilian fashion, wearing a long, calve-length tunic and relatively short toga, the free end of which he is holding in his sinister hand. The *umbo* (tightened and flattened over the sinister shoulder) and *balteus* are worn in a manner similar to statues found at Alexandria and appear in Roman sculpture from the late Antonine period onwards⁽¹⁵⁾. He also wears a pair of ankle-high *calcei*. Since the sinister foot is turned outwards, his full weight is placed on the dexter leg. With his dexter hand he is reaching for the plume of a helmet⁽¹⁶⁾ with large cheek pieces and a prominent brow band, placed on top of what appears to be a semi-cylindrical case. A short, sheathed sword and a curved, rectangular shield, which has a circular *umbo* surrounded by a rectangular plate, stand on the ground in front of this case. The handle assembly of the parallel-edged sword contains a rectangular hand guard, a plain handgrip and a spherical pommel. The scabbard ends in a plain, circular chape, typical from the second half of the second century onwards. The unit to which Ares had belonged is not recorded in the funerary inscription, but the curved, rectangular shield suggests that he had been a legionary⁽¹⁷⁾, serving in *legio II Traiana*

(14) A.H. SMITH, in: *BM Cat. Sculpture* III (1904), 287 no. 2271; F.H. MARSHALL, in: *GIBM* IV.2 (1916), 223 no. 1113; TH. BIRT, *Die Buchrolle in der Kunst. Archäologisch-antiquarische Untersuchungen zum antiken Buchwesen*, Leipzig 1907, 49: scroll; LAJTAR, 'A Tombstone for the Soldier Ares' (2002), 46: military diploma; BINGEN, 'Bulletin épigraphique' (2003), 675 no. 615: scroll, will or military diploma; STOLL, '«Quod miles vovit...»' (2005), 68, 73 n. 2: scroll or two cases containing writing materials.

(15) Type Cb in H.R. GOETTE, *Studien zu römischen Togadarstellungen*, Mainz am Rhein 1990, 57-58; for the Alexandrian statues, see 144 no. 20, Pl. 37.5-6.

(16) Contrary to STOLL's suggestion ('«Quod miles vovit...»' (2005), 66-67) that the helmet shows all the characteristics of a Niederbieber helmet, a new type of infantry helmet introduced in the late second century, the helmet type can in fact not be precisely determined.

(17) M.C. BISHOP & J.C.N. COULSTON, *Roman Military Equipment. From the Punic Wars to the Fall of Rome*, Oxford 2006², 91. The shield depicted on the Ares tombstone may be the latest representation of a truly curved, rectangular shield in private art: the three legionaries, depicted on a mid-second-century tombstone from Croy Hill, have rectilinear shields; see J.C.N. COULSTON, 'Three Legionaries from Croy Hill', in: J.C.N. COULSTON (ed.), *Military Equipment and the Identity of Roman Soldiers*, Oxford 1988, 1-29, esp. 5-7. The shields of the *testudines* on the Marcus Aurelius Column at Rome and on the Arches

fortis, the only remaining legionary force in Egypt from 132 onwards⁽¹⁸⁾. The similarity in iconography between the Ares *stela* and the soldiers' and veterans' *stelae* from Nikopolis supports this view⁽¹⁹⁾.

B. Transcription and translation of the epitaph

A Greek⁽²⁰⁾ epitaph is competently carved underneath the relief scene in even, well-spaced and well-centred letters:

Παυσάμενος στρατίας Ἄρης Ἄρηι παρέδωκεν ὄπλα | καὶ
στρατίαν. Καταλίψας ταῦτα εἰς ἕτερον κόσμον ἄκοσμον |
ἀπελήλυθε ὅπου οὐδὲν ὑπάρχει εἰ μὴ μόνον σκοτίη· (ἔτους) κθ.

1. στρατίας stone, read στρατείας; Ἄρηι stone, read Ἄρει; 2. στρατίαν stone, read στρατειαν; καταλίψας stone, read καταλείψας; 3. ὑπάρχει stone, read ὑπάρχει.

After having ended his military service, Ares gave his arms and military appointment to Ares. After having left these things, he went on to another world that is no world, where there is nothing else except darkness. The 29th year.

The epitaph has a poetical undertone, both in composition and vocabulary⁽²¹⁾, beginning with a hexameter (παυσάμενος στρατίας Ἄρης Ἄρηι παρέδωκεν) and using poetical expressions like κόσμος ἄκοσμος⁽²²⁾

of Septimius Severus in the Forum Romanum and at Lepcis Magna are rectangular, but appear in a stylized, generic form, copied from Trajan's Column.

(18) E. RITTERLING, 'Legio (II Traiana)', in: *RE* XII.2 (1925), 1484-1493; J. LESQUIER, *L'armée romaine d'Égypte d'Auguste à Dioclétien*, Cairo 1918, 26; S. DARIS, 'Legio II Traiana Fortis', in: Y. LE BOHEC & C. WOLFF (eds.), *Les légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire I*, Lyon 2000, 359-363; R. HAENSCH, 'The Roman Army in Egypt', in: C. RIGGS (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt*, Oxford 2012, 68-82.

(19) CASTIGLIONE, 'Kunst und Gesellschaft' (1967), 114-115; S. SCHMIDT, 'Tradition und Assimilation. Grabreliefs im griechisch-römischen Museum von Alexandria', in: H. FELBER & S. PFISTERER-HAAS (eds.), *Ägypten, Griechen, Römer. Begegnung der Kulturen*, Leipzig 1999, 1-25; SCHMIDT, *Grabreliefs* (2003), 37-43.

(20) The epitaphs inscribed on the Nikopolis tombstones are usually in Latin, rarely in Greek. Other examples of Greek epitaphs from Nikopolis are B.E. THOMASSON & M. PAVESE (eds.), *A Survey of Greek and Latin Inscriptions on Stone in Swedish Collections*, Stockholm 1997, 117-118 no. 198; *SB* I 2477 and *SEG* VIII 358. For the use of Latin in the army in Egypt, see J.N. ADAMS, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, Cambridge 2003, 599-623.

(21) Greek epitaphs with a poetical undertone are common in the Greek East; see STOLL, '«Quod miles vovit...»' (2005), 73 n. 7.

(22) The expression κόσμος ἄκοσμος, which literally means 'a world that is no world', is commonly used to refer to the underworld; see A. CHANIOTIS, 'Das Jenseits: eine Gegenwart?', in: T. HÖLSCHER (ed.), *Gegenwelten zu den Kulturen der Griechen und der Römer in*

and σκοτίη⁽²³⁾. The last two lines contain metrical elements, but do not form complete verses. The author had thus clearly attempted to compose a metrical epitaph, but had not succeeded into producing metrically correct verses, especially not towards the end of the epitaph⁽²⁴⁾. These metrical mistakes may betray a Latin influence⁽²⁵⁾. Two important events that had taken place in the life of the deceased Ares are described in the epitaph: (1) his retirement from the army, after which he left his arms and his military appointment to another person, also called Ares, and (2) his subsequent death. Although the interpretation of the relief scene is still under discussion, it is clear that the first event is depicted⁽²⁶⁾. The relief thus differs somewhat from the usual reliefs on legionary tombstones, as described by Coulston⁽²⁷⁾.

II. IDENTIFYING THE “SECOND” ARES

The epitaph, in particular the interpretation of παρέδωκεν (l. 1) and of the symbol L (l. 3), and the relief scene are much debated. The key problem is the presence of the second person, also called Ares, who is depicted on the relief and presumably mentioned in the epitaph, but whose identity and relationship to the deceased remain uncertain. Various theories have therefore been proposed.

A. Identifying Ares: Brother, commander, fellow soldier, deity or deceased

The first editors of the Ares tombstone, Smith and Marshall⁽²⁸⁾, provided neither a translation of the epitaph nor an interpretation of the relief scene. Both of them, however, thought that L indicates the age of the

der Antike, Munich - Leipzig 2000, 159-188, esp. 159 n. 1; R.A. TYBOUT, ‘Naar een andere wereld. Verkenningen van het Griekse grafepigram op steen’, *Lampas* 36 (2003), 351 n. 88.

(23) R. LATTIMORE, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs*, Urbana 1942, 161-164 §39.

(24) ŁAJTAR, ‘A Tombstone for the Soldier Ares’ (2002), 46.

(25) I am much indebted to Willy CLARYSSE for his help with the metrical composition of the epitaph.

(26) ŁAJTAR, ‘A Tombstone for the Soldier Ares’ (2002), 47.

(27) COULSTON, ‘The Depiction of Soldiers on Funerary Monuments’ (2007), 533-534: ‘The deceased may stand leaning on one or more shafted weapons, generally spears (...). Alternatively, the man may hold a *rotulus* in his left hand and either be twirling his belt-strap in his right, or pouring a libation on an altar or *thymiaterion* by his side.’

(28) SMITH, in: *BM Cat. Sculpture III* (1904), 287 no. 2271; MARSHALL, in: *GIBM IV.2* (1916), 223 no. 1113.

deceased (ἐτῶν). Cook⁽²⁹⁾ was the first scholar who interpreted the relief scene, stating that a soldier called Ares dedicated his arms to the homonymous war god upon his discharge (not depicted on the relief). The custom of offering arms as *vota* to Ares was indeed widespread in the Roman world (e.g., *CIL* VIII 2634 of 253)⁽³⁰⁾. Cook made no attempt, however, to identify the man shown on the left of the relief scene. Most of the scholars who studied the Ares tombstone followed Cook's interpretation of the relief: only Bingen proposed a different interpretation (see below). They did attempt, however, to identify the man on the left and his relationship to the deceased. Parlasca⁽³¹⁾ thought that the depicted men were brothers, a view that explains their strong physical resemblance. The considerable age difference, however, suggests that they were father and son, as will be argued below. Parlasca also believed that the symbol L stands for ἔτους, the regnal year, dating the *stela* to 187/188⁽³²⁾.

Łajtar⁽³³⁾, who translated παρέδωκεν as 'offered', identified the man on the right as the deceased veteran Ares and the man on the left as the commander of the unit in which Ares had served (not recorded in the epitaph). The object, held in the sinister hand of the commander, might be a military diploma, handed over to Ares on the occasion of his honourable discharge from the army. Following this interpretation, however, Ares was not a legionary, because legionary veterans did not normally receive diplomas (*PSI* IX 1026, col. A, l. 22-23; col. B, l. 15 and col. C, l. 31-32: *veterani ex legionibus instrumentum accipere non solent*)⁽³⁴⁾. Since the military equipment, depicted on the relief, suggests that the deceased was a legionary, an alternative interpretation of the object, and of the relief in general, is necessary. Łajtar correctly dated the *stela* to

(29) COOK, 'The Townley Marbles' (1977), 69 no. 5.

(30) O. STOLL, 'Entlassungsweihungen aus Bostra und die honesta missio. Epigraphische Reflexe eines römischen Heereszeremoniells', *Jahrb. RGZM* 49 (2002), 272-273 n. 224.

(31) PARLASCA, in: PARLASCA & SEEMANN, *Augenblicke* (1999), 255 no. 159.

(32) P. BURETH, *Les titulatures impériales dans les papyrus, les ostraca et les inscriptions d'Égypte (30 a.C.-284 p.C.)*, Brussels 1964, 87-92; D.M. KIENAST, *Römische Kaiser-tabelle. Grundzüge einer römischen Kaiserchronologie*, Darmstadt 1996², 148. Commodus, who continued the era of his father Marcus Aurelius, was the only emperor who reigned for twenty-nine years. PARLASCA slightly miscalculated the regnal year, since the 29th year corresponds to 188/189.

(33) ŁAJTAR, 'A Tombstone for the Soldier Ares' (2002), 46.

(34) S. WAEBENS, 'The Legal Status of Legionary Recruits in the Principate: A Case Study (Lucius Pompeius Niger, A.D. 31-64)', in: Y. LE BOHEC (ed.), *Actes du Congrès de Lyon (23-25 septembre 2010)*, Paris forthcoming.

188/189 (L = ἔτους), noting that the iconographical details of the relief scene (the serene facial expressions, the deep incisions used to render the hair and beard and the manner in which the toga is depicted) support this date.

Bingen⁽³⁵⁾ proposed a new interpretation of the relief scene, arguing that παρῑδωκεν should be translated as ‘transmitted’ and that the second Ares mentioned in the epitaph was not the war god Ares, but a person. He identified the man on the left as the soldier Ares, who died aged twenty-nine (L = ἑτῶν), after having left his arms to one of his fellow soldiers, also called Ares, who is depicted on the right. Although Ares was a common name in Roman Egypt⁽³⁶⁾, particularly among soldiers, it seems unlikely that two soldiers of the same unit shared the same name, as noted by the editors of *SEG* LII.

Stoll⁽³⁷⁾ argued that both figures represent the same person, Ares, but in different stages of his life: on the left, he is portrayed as a young soldier; on the right, as a veteran in tunic and toga. After Ares had been discharged, he dedicated his arms, depicted on the relief, to the homonymous war god (mentioned in the epitaph, but not shown on the relief scene) to carry out his promise made as a soldier (compare with *RIU* III 876, dating after 297: *quod miles votavit vet(eranus) solvit* – ‘what he promised as a soldier he will carry out as a veteran’)⁽³⁸⁾. When a soldier was honourably discharged, he was released from the military oath sworn on enlistment in an official ceremony (*sacramentum solvere*), during which he laid down his arms, as argued by Stoll. The man on the left may thus represent the *tiro* or *miles* Ares, shown in the process of swearing a *votum* before entering the army officially⁽³⁹⁾, and the man on the right the veteran Ares, shown in the process of dedicating his arms to the homonymous god. Following this view, the symbol L stands for ἔτους,

(35) BINGEN, ‘Bulletin épigraphique’ (2003), 675-676 no. 615.

(36) Several dozens of attestations in F. PREISIGKE, *Namenbuch*, Heidelberg 1922, 47; D. FORABOSCHI, *Onomasticon alterum papyrologicum. Supplemento al Namenbuch di F. Preisigke*, Milan 1971, 47 and in the Trismegistos database, 13/10/2011 (<http://www.trismegistos.org/>).

(37) STOLL, ‘«Quod miles vovit...»’ (2005), 70-72.

(38) Other examples of soldiers’ and veterans’ dedications of arms to deities are *CIL* XIII 3592 from Germania Inferior (*legio III Cyrenaica*: a centurion’s dedication of his spears and *scutum* to Vihansa); *CIL* III 14433¹ from Moesia Inferior (Durostorum: *scutum* and *spatha*) and *SEG* XLVII 2061 of unknown provenance (*legio X Frentensis*: a veteran’s dedication of his spears to Zeus Olybreus).

(39) For this military oath, see J.B. CAMPBELL, *The Emperor and the Roman Army, 31 B.C. – A.D. 235*, Oxford 1984, 23-32.

the regnal year, rather than for ἐτῶν, the soldier's age at death, since Ares must have been much older than twenty-nine when he died. The main problem with this view is the singularity of the 'doppelte Ares': although Stoll gives examples of figures represented twice or more on Roman sarcophagi⁽⁴⁰⁾, these figures are always part of larger, narrative scenes (friezes) that are separated from each other, as noted by the editors of *SEG* LII. The doubling of a single figure on a *stela* in one and the same relief scene thus appears to be unparalleled⁽⁴¹⁾.

The editors of *SEG* LII identified the man on the left as the soldier Ares, who died at the age of twenty-nine (L = ἐτῶν), and the man on the right as the war god Ares, portrayed with the arms he had received from the soldier as an attribute. In their view, the poetical undertone of the epitaph suggests a deeper meaning of the juxtaposition Ἄρης Ἄρηι (compare with κόσμος ἄκοσμος), the burning altar, depicted on the relief, symbolizing the contact between the human and divine sphere. Given the strong physical resemblance between the two depicted men, however, this interpretation is unlikely. The depiction of the man on the right also does not fit in with the usual depiction of the war god Ares or Mars, who may be naked, semi-naked (wearing a cloak only) or fully cuirassed, but who is always armed with shield, helmet and spear. Furthermore, no animals sacred to him are shown on the relief scene. But if the man depicted on the left is neither the deceased himself nor the god Ares, who is he then?

B. Identifying Ares: Son and heir

The starting point is the epitaph itself, especially the interpretation of the first phrase (παυσάμενος στρατίας Ἄρης Ἄρηι παρέδωκεν ὄπλα

(40) STOLL, '«Quod miles vovit...»' (2005), 70.

(41) The deceased soldier Titus Flavius Mikkalus is shown mounted on a horse, riding between two sets of soldiers, on a late first-century funerary monument from Perinthos (*AE* 1987, no. 903 = *SEG* XXXV 828 = *PMEq* IV 60 bis). It is now generally accepted that the relief depicts his promotion from *tribunus legionis* to *praefectus alae*, a promotion that is also mentioned in the fragmentary epitaph: H. DEVIJVER, 'T. Flavius Mikkalus, Ritteroffizier aus Perinthos', *ZPE* 64 (1986), 253-256 = *The Equestrian Officers of the Roman Imperial Army*, Amsterdam 1989, 390-395; DEVIJVER, *The Equestrian Officers* (1989), 435-437 no. 4, 445 no. 3; J. DOLATA, 'Promotio militaris – die Beförderung eines ritterlichen Offiziers', *Klio* 77 (1995), 255-265; M.H. SAYAR, *Perinthos-Herakleia (Marmara Ereğlisi) und Umgebung. Geschichte, Testimonien, griechische und lateinische Inschriften*, Vienna 1998, 257-259 no. 72. The deceased is, however, portrayed only once, in the centre of the relief scene.

καὶ στρατίαν). Most scholars have hitherto translated παρέδωκεν as 'offered' and have interpreted the relief scene as the dedication of Ares' arms to the homonymous god upon his discharge. The correct translation of παρέδωκεν is, however, 'gave' or 'transmitted', as Bingen noted⁽⁴²⁾. The relief scene should also not necessarily be interpreted as the offering of Ares' arms to the deity: the relief merely shows Ares in the process of laying his dexter hand on a group of arms, standing on the ground beside him. Moreover, στρατίαν (Łajtar and Stoll: 'military discipline', Bingen: 'inscription au role de l'armée'⁽⁴³⁾) is very difficult to interpret within an offering context. Neither the epitaph nor the relief scene thus implies that Ares dedicated his arms to Ares upon his discharge. On the contrary, the phrasing of the epitaph (l. 2: καταλίψας), resembling the standard phrasing used in Greek copies of Latin wills on papyrus or wood (δίδωμι καταλείπω⁽⁴⁴⁾ and καταλείπω⁽⁴⁵⁾), supports the view that the second Ares mentioned in the epitaph was a person, not a deity. Combined, the relief scene and the epitaph thus suggest that the deceased veteran Ares left his arms and his military appointment to another person, also called Ares.

Given the physical resemblance between the two depicted men⁽⁴⁶⁾, the shared name and the age difference, the man on the right presumably represents the deceased veteran Ares, who is shown in the process of handing over his arms to his son, also called Ares, who is portrayed on the left of the relief⁽⁴⁷⁾. In Roman Egypt, about 8% (980 out of 12,048) of all male children were named after their father and it is therefore plausible that the

(42) BINGEN, 'Bulletin épigraphique' (2003), 676 no. 615. For this interpretation of παρέδωκεν, see JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *De precatone, Oratio* II (PG 50) 784.34. I would like to thank Wilfried VAN RENGEN for this reference.

(43) For this interpretation of στρατίαν, see DIO 72.12.3.

(44) E.g., *P. Oxy.* XXXVIII 2857, l. 18-19 (14 May 134); *Pap. Lugd. Bat.* XIII 14, l. 8, 12-13 (127-148); *BGU* VII 1655, l. 9 (3 June 169); *P. Diog.* 9, l. 11, 18-20 (186-210); *BGU* I 326, l. 18, 39-40 (189-194); *P. Strasb.* IV 277, l. 8 (second half of the third century).

(45) E.g., *P. Oxy.* XXXVIII 2857, l. 20, 24 (14 May 134); *Pap. Lugd. Bat.* XIII 14, l. 16 (127-148); *BGU* I 326, l. 24, 31 (189-194); *P. Hamb.* I 73, l. 9-10 (second century); *P. Princ.* II 38, l. 6 (c. 264?); *P. Col.* VII 188, l. 7 (14 March 320).

(46) Although Roman tombstones were mass-produced and most of the funerary portraits were stylized, I believe that the physical resemblance between the two men on the Ares tombstone represents their kinship rather than the stonemason's incapability to depict distinctive portrait traits. The excellent workmanship that the *stela* exhibits and the unusual choice of depiction of the deceased, support the view that the tombstone was not a standard product of a military workshop.

(47) I would like to thank Katelijn VANDORPE for suggesting this possibility to me.

two men were father and son⁽⁴⁸⁾. A comparison with other second- and third-centuries tombstones, on which two full-length standing male figures are shown, supports this view, because they usually represent a father and son or two brothers (see table I). Since the possibility that the relief on the Ares tombstone portrays two brothers has already been ruled out due to the considerable age difference, the most plausible view is that a father and son are depicted. There are two possibilities then: Ares could have been born before or after his father's discharge from the army. If he had been born after his father's discharge, he would have been a legitimate child, able to inherit from his father. But if he had been born during his father's military service, the situation would have been more complicated.

The inheritance problems of soldiers' and veterans' illegitimate children require discussion in more detail here, since the epitaph suggests that Ares left his son his arms and his military appointment, i.e., his military post (στρατίαν). Soldiers were still subject to a marriage ban in the late Antonine period, prohibiting them to contract legal Roman marriages during their military service: any child born to them while they were serving in the army was therefore illegitimate (Latin: *spurius*, Greek: ἀπάτωρ and χρηματίζων μητρός)⁽⁴⁹⁾ and not their automatic heir⁽⁵⁰⁾. This simply means, however, that the father had no legal obligation to support his illegitimate children: if he did wish to provide for his children, he could legate to them in his will⁽⁵¹⁾. If he died intestate, however, the woman

(48) The figures are based on the Trismegistos database, 10/06/2010 (<http://www.trismegistos.org/>). In Ptolemaic Egypt, c. 5.2% of all male children had the same name as their paternal (or maternal) father (N = 17,318).

(49) H.C. YOUTIE, 'Ἀπάτορες: Law vs. Custom in Roman Egypt', in: J. BINGEN e.a. (eds.), *Le monde grec: pensée, littérature, histoire, documents. Hommages à Claire Préaux*, Brussels 1975, 732, 737; M. MALOUTA, 'The Terminology of Fatherlessness in Roman Egypt: ἀπάτωρ and χρηματίζων μητρός', in: J. FRÖSÉN e.a. (eds.), *Proceedings of the 24th International Congress of Papyrology. Helsinki, 1-7 August 2004*, Helsinki 2007, 619.

(50) For a detailed study of the soldiers' marriage ban, see S.E. PHANG, *The Marriage of Roman Soldiers (13 B.C. - A.D. 235). Law and Family in the Imperial Army*, Leiden 2001. Although it is generally assumed that the marriage ban was lifted under Septimius Severus, a recently published auxiliary diploma of 206 suggests otherwise: W. ECK, 'Septimius Severus und die Soldaten. Das Problem der Soldatenehe und ein neues Auxiliardiplom', in: B. ONKEN & D. ROHDE (eds.), *Studien zur Geschichte von der Antike bis zur Neuzeit*, Wiesbaden 2011, 63-77.

(51) For the soldier's will, see M. AMELOTTI, *Il testamento romano attraverso la prassi documentale*, Florence 1966, 74-75, 81-110; E. CHAMPLIN, *Final Judgments. Duty and Emotion in Roman Wills, 200 B.C. - A.D. 250*, Berkeley 1991, 51, 56-59; CAMPBELL, *The Emperor and the Roman Army* (1984), 210-229; PHANG, *The Marriage of Roman Soldiers* (2001), 217-221.

with whom he had been living during his military service and the illegitimate children born out of this union had no right to claim his property. In 119 (*BGU* I 140), Hadrian improved the situation of the soldiers' and veterans' illegitimate children by granting them the right of *bonorum possessio unde cognati*, i.e., the right to claim intestate inheritance from their fathers: if their fathers died intestate, they would inherit as if their fathers had no legitimate children. Consequently, whether Ares was born before or after his father's discharge, he would have been permitted to inherit from him. The terminology used in the epitaph (l. 2: καταλίψας), resembling the standard phrasing used in Greek copies of Latin wills on papyrus or on wood (δίδωμι καταλείπω and καταλείπω), supports this view. Since the relief scene depicts the transmission of Ares' arms to his son, the object, held in the son's sinister hand, may be his father's will, written on papyrus or wood⁽⁵²⁾. Heirs are occasionally shown on their benefactors' tombstones: the tombstone of Marcus Caelius, for instance, a *centurio* of *legio XVIII* who died in the 'Varian war' in A.D. 9⁽⁵³⁾, shows the deceased flanked by the busts of his freedmen Marcus Caelius Privatus and Marcus Caelius Thiaminus.

One may wonder, however, whether soldiers and veterans could leave their arms as part of their inheritance. The evidence clearly attests that soldiers owned their own military equipment, which they bought from the army (the money was deducted from their pay)⁽⁵⁴⁾ or acquired privately upon enlistment. Claudius Terentianus, for instance, who had shortly before joined the Misene fleet, asks his friend, Claudius Tiberianus⁽⁵⁵⁾, in an early second-century letter to send him the following (*P. Mich.* VIII 467, l. 17-21): *gladiu[m pu]gnatorium et l...am et d[o]labram et copla[m] et lonchas duas quam byrrum castalinum et tunicam bra[c]ilem cum bracis meis ut habeam* – 'a battle sword, a ..., a pickaxe, a grappling iron, two of the best spears obtainable, a ... cloak, and a girdled tunic, together with my trousers, so that I may have them.' Since the arms were their private property, soldiers were free to dispose of them as they wished. In

(52) Soldiers' wills are often recorded on wooden tablets; see J. BINGEN, 'Miles armorum custos (CIL, III, Suppl., 14138², Alexandrie)', in: P. DEFOSSÉ (ed.), *Hommages à Carl Deroux. III, Histoire et épigraphie, droit*, Brussels 2003, 67: 'Le rouleau peut même être remplacé par des tablettes, qui évoquent encore mieux le testament.'

(53) *CIL* XIII 8648 [*Ubi Erat Lupa*, no. 15513].

(54) R.W. DAVIES, 'Joining the Roman Army', *BJ* 169 (1969), 223-224 = R.W. DAVIES, *Service in the Roman Army*, Edinburgh 1989, 19-20 [edited by D.J. BREEZE & V.A. MAXFIELD].

(55) S. STRASSI, *L'archivio di Claudius Tiberianus da Karanis*, Berlin 2008, 109-112.

P. Vindob. L 135 of A.D. 27, for instance, the cavalryman Lucius Caecilius Secundus pawns his silver-inlaid helmet, silver-inlaid insignia, and silver and ivory dagger scabbard to Caius Pompeius. But what happened to these arms upon the soldier's death or discharge? In most cases, the soldier's unit bought his arms, regardless whether they were army property or privately owned. In several soldiers' wills, the value of the arms in general is listed as part of the inheritance (e.g., *P. Col.* VIII 221 of 143: 21 *denarii* and 27 ½ *obols in armis*). In these cases, the heirs received the money due to them rather than the arms themselves, perhaps because they were civilians⁽⁵⁶⁾. Nonetheless, many soldiers' wills list the actual arms as part of the inheritance (e.g., *CPL* 221 of 142; *P. Col.* VII 188 of 320). MacMullen listed several pieces of military equipment (helmets, swords, shields, etcetera) with the names of their successive owners⁽⁵⁷⁾, but it is unclear in these cases whether the arms had been bought back by the army or left as personal property to heirs. Pieces of military equipment could also be buried with their owners or dedicated to deities as votives, as argued above, attesting to the private ownership of arms⁽⁵⁸⁾.

Ares did not only leave his arms to his son, but also his military appointment, i.e., his military post. This part of Ares' inheritance is puzzling, since a military post could not be passed on from father to son, at least not until the fourth century. Nevertheless, there were ways to ensure that the son ended up serving in the same unit or holding the same post as his father, as the papyri attest. Fathers might put in a good word for sons: in *P. Oxy.* XIV 1666, a third-century letter, Pausanias tells his brother about his journey to Alexandria. After having enlisted in *legio II Traiana fortis*, his son, also called Pausanias, had changed his mind, preferring military service in the cavalry⁽⁵⁹⁾. At the request of his wife and daughter, Pausanias went to Alexandria to bring the matter before the authorities and eventually succeeded in obtaining the prefect's permission for the transfer

(56) D.J. BREEZE, 'The Ownership of Arms in the Roman Army', *Britannia* 7 (1976), 93-95. Gilliam, however, is more cautious, see J.F. GILLIAM, 'The Deposita of an Auxiliary Soldier (*P. Columbia* inv. 325)', *BJ* 167 (1967), 237-238 = *Roman Army Papers*, Amsterdam 1986, 321-322.

(57) R. MACMULLEN, 'Inscriptions on Armor and the Supply of Arms in the Roman Empire', *AJA* 64 (1960), 33-39.

(58) J.F. GILLIAM, 'Notes on a New Latin Text: *P. Vindob.* L 135', *ZPE* 41 (1981), 279-280 = *Roman Army Papers* (1986), 431-432; M.P. SPEIDEL, 'The Weapons Keeper, the *Fisci Curator* and the Ownership of Weapons in the Roman Army', in: M.P. SPEIDEL, *Roman Army Studies II*, Stuttgart 1992, 134.

(59) For the reason of this transfer, see VEGETIUS, *Epitoma rei militaris* 2.3.

to an *ala* at Coptos⁽⁶⁰⁾. It might also have been useful for recruits to possess letters of recommendation from influential persons who could pull strings for them when asked: Iuvenal, for instance, advises recruits to arm themselves with the best possible letters of recommendation they could obtain (16.5-6). A copy of the second-century *epistula commendaticia*, written by the *beneficiarius* Aurelius Archelaus to his *tribunus militum* Iulius Domitius, is partially preserved⁽⁶¹⁾. A well-known example of a legionary who used the connections of his father to rise within the ranks of the army is G. Iulius Apollinarius⁽⁶²⁾. On 26 March 107, he writes to his father, G. Iulius Sabinus, that thanks to the *legatus legionis* Claudius Severus, he had been promoted to the post of *librarius legionis ad spem promotionis*, having become an *immunis* within three years of enlisting in *legio III Cyrenaica*, a not inconsiderable achievement⁽⁶³⁾. His letters, most notably *P. Mich.* VIII 466 of 105, also show him using his own influence for others⁽⁶⁴⁾.

Since Ares is depicted as a soldier on the relief scene, he was probably serving in the army at the time of his father's discharge and subsequent death, having followed in his father's footsteps⁽⁶⁵⁾. We do not know to which unit he belonged or in what military rank he served, but the phrasing of the epitaph does suggest that he held the same military post as his father. Ares may therefore have chosen to depict the transmission of his father's arms and military post to himself on the tombstone that he had commissioned for his father. Following this interpretation, Ares was shown on the relief scene while still living, but the depiction of living

(60) Another example of fathers pulling strings for their sons to advance their military careers is *P. Mich.* VIII 485 of 105. For a recent discussion of this letter, see S. STRASSI, 'P. Mich. VIII 485: alcune considerazioni', *ZPE* 139 (2002), 161-176.

(61) *P. Oxy.* I 32 = *CPL* 249 = *ChLA* IV 267. For more examples: DAVIES, 'Joining the Roman Army' (1969), 216-217.

(62) For an overview of Apollinarius' military career, see K. STROBEL, 'Zu Fragen der frühen Geschichte der römischen Provinz Arabia and zu einigen Problemen der Legionsdislokation im Osten des Imperium Romanum zu Beginn der 2. Jh. n. Chr.', *ZPE* 71 (1988), 258-260; STRASSI, 'P. Mich. VIII 485' (2002), 163-164.

(63) *P. Mich.* VIII 466.

(64) The letters of Iulius Apollinarius and his father Iulius Sabinus are mainly published in *P. Mich.* VIII and IX.

(65) Most veterans' sons tended to follow their fathers into military service, often at their fathers' encouragement; see G. WESCH-KLEIN, 'Recruits and Veterans', in: P. ERDKAMP (ed.), *A Companion to the Roman Army*, Oxford 2007, 436.

family members on tombstones is frequently attested, especially in third-century Danubian regions ⁽⁶⁶⁾.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this paper was to propose a new interpretation of the relief scene on the Ares tombstone, since the identity of a second person, shown on the left, and his relationship to the deceased, shown on the right, are still debated. Most scholars have hitherto interpreted the relief as the dedication of Ares' arms to the homonymous war god upon his discharge. Here it has been argued, however, that neither the relief scene nor the Greek epitaph supports this view. On the contrary, the phrasing of the epitaph (particularly the use of *παρέδωκεν* and *καταλίψας* and the interpretation of *στρατίαν*) suggests that the relief scene depicts the transmission of Ares' arms to another person, also called Ares. Given the physical resemblance between the two depicted men, the shared name and the age difference, the most plausible view is that they were in fact father and son. A comparison with other second- and third-centuries tombstones, on which two full-length standing male figures are shown, confirms that they generally represent a father and son or brothers. The considerable age difference between the two men, depicted on the Ares *stela*, points to a father-son relationship. Although the Ares *stela* will undoubtedly continue to intrigue scholars, this paper has hopefully led to a better understanding of the Greek epitaph and the corresponding relief scene ⁽⁶⁷⁾.

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(66) E.g., Pannonia Inferior: *RIU* V 1191, 1217; *Tituli Aquincenses* II 546; Pannonia Superior: *RIU* III 694; Syria: *CIL* III 14165; Noricum: *CSIR Lauriacum* 38; Britannia: COULSTON, 'Three Legionaries from Croy Hill' (1988), 1-29; Egypt: SCHMIDT, *Grabreliefs* (2003), 129 no. 111.

(67) The Ares *stela* was presented as a case study at the second Third Century Colloquium on 3 September 2009 at Leuven and during a seminar on 23 February 2011 at the Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Munich). I would like to thank those present for their comments on the material discussed. I am also grateful to Katelijn VANDORPE, Jon COULSTON and Adam ŁAJTAR for reading and commenting on earlier drafts of this paper. Furthermore, I am much indebted to Peter HIGGS, curator of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum, for permission to publish the tombstone.

TABLE I: TOMBSTONES WITH TWO FULL-LENGTH STANDING MALE FIGURES

Text	Description of the relief scene	Inscription	Place	Date
CIL XIII 7583 ⁽⁶⁸⁾ [<i>Ubi Erat Lupā</i> , no. 7079]	Left: man clad in a tunic and toga, holding a scroll in his sinister hand; right: man dressed in a <i>paenula</i> and tunic, holding a scroll in his sinister hand and a <i>vitae</i> in his dexter hand (Fig. 2)	<i>C(aius) Iul(ius) C(aii) fili(us) Clemen-</i> <i>Foro Iuli vet(eranus) an(norum) LX;</i> <i>C(aius) Iul(ius) Sab[il]us fili[us] (centu-</i> <i>rio) coh(ortis) II Rae[t(orum)] c(ivium)</i> <i>R(omanorum) an(norum) XXV s(ibi)</i> <i>t(estamento) f(ieri) i(usserunt) hered(es)</i> <i>f(aciendum) c(uraverunt).</i> Deceased: both father and son	Wiesbaden	Early second century
Unpublished ⁽⁶⁹⁾	Left: young boy, wearing a lock of hair (a symbol of youth) on the dexter of his head, clad in a tunic and toga, holding a scroll in his sinister hand and a <i>patera</i> , used for offering on a small horned altar, in his dexter hand; right: young boy, dressed in a tunic and <i>sagum</i> , wearing a belt fastened by a ring-buckle around the waist (a sword is carried suspended from the belt on the sinister), holding a garland in his sinister hand and the strap-ends of his belt by his side in his dexter hand	No inscription Deceased: two brothers? ⁽⁷⁰⁾	Nikopolis	222-250

(68) M. MATTERN, *Die römischen Steindenkmäler des Stadtgebietes von Wiesbaden und der Limesstrecke zwischen Marienfels und Zugmantel (CSIR Deutschland II)*, Mainz 1999, 68 no. 9, Taf 5. The *stela* is also referred to by STOLL, ‘«Quod miles vovit...»’ (2005), 69-70 Abb. 3.2.

(69) The *stela* is referred to by NOELKE, ‘Ein neuer Soldatengrabstein’ (1986), 225 no. 64; PARLASCA, ‘Formen der Grabkunst’ (1992-1993), 121 Abb. 125; SCHMIDT, ‘Tradition und Assimilation’ (1999), 24 n. 46; SCHMIDT, *Grabreliefs* (2003), 42 Abb. 41; STOLL, ‘«Quod miles vovit...»’ (2005), 69-70 Abb. 3.1.

(70) The physical resemblance between the two boys and their young age suggest that they were brothers rather than father and son. The most plausible view is that they were the children of a soldier or veteran of *legio II Traiana fortis*.

Text	Description of the relief scene	Inscription	Place	Date
<i>CIL</i> III 14165 ¹ = <i>IGLS</i> VI 2844 ⁽⁷¹⁾	Left and right: two men who are depicted facing each other while offering on a small altar, both dressed in a tunic and <i>sagum</i> , wearing a belt around the waist	<i>D(is) M(anibus). Aur(elius) Vic(or) duc(enarius) prof(ector) vixit am(is) XXXX. Vivite felices et nostris profundite manis et memores estis vos nobiscum esse futuros. (72) Aurel(ius) Baia duc(enarius) prof(ector) fratri pientissimo memoriam instituit.</i> Deceased: Aurelius Victor, brother	Baalbek (Heliopolis)	Late third century
<i>CIL</i> III 15159 = <i>Tituli Aquincenses</i> II 545 ⁽⁷³⁾ [<i>Ubi Erat Lupa</i> , no. 2846]	Left: child standing on pedestal, dressed in a tunic and <i>sagum</i> , wearing a belt fastened by a ring-buckle around the waist and holding a scroll in his sinister hand; right: shorthaired, bearded soldier, similarly dressed as the child, but depicted with a sword and shield, holding a horn, resting on his sinister shoulder, in place with his sinister hand and a scroll in his dexter hand	<i>D(is) M(anibus). Aur(elio) Bito corn(icini) leg(ionis) II adiut(ricis) stiptendiorum XV/III bello desiderato) vixit (sic) ann(os) XXXVIII m(enses) III et Vitali(i) filio vix(it) ann(os) IIII m(enses) XI d(ies) XVIII et Bitill(a)e fili(ae) et Dalmatio filio et Quintiliano pili(o) (sic) posu(it). Aurelia Qu(i)ntilla coniu(gi) et filibus suis memoriam.</i> Deceased: father and four children; the first child recorded in the epitaph, Vitalus or Vitalinus, may be the child depicted on the relief scene ⁽⁷⁴⁾	Budapest (Aquincum)	Early third century

(71) E. MICHON, 'III, Note sur une inscription de Ba'albek et sur des tuiles de la légion X Fretensis', *Revue biblique* 9 (1900), 95-101, Pl.1; M.M. ALOUF, *Geschichte von Baalbek*, Beirut 1900, 178-179 no. XXIX; C.A. HORNSTEIN, 'Latin inscription found at Baalbek', *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement* 32 (1900), 74-75.

(72) H. HOFMANN, *Römische Militärgabsteine der Donauländer*, Vienna 1905, 79-81 no. 64, Fig. 56; A. SCHÖBER, *Die römischen Grabsteine von Noricum und Pannonien*, Vienna 1923, 73-74 no. 158, Fig. 77; V. KUSZINSKY, *Aquincum, Ausgrabungen und Funde*, Budapest 1934, 109 no. 217.

(73) Inspired by VERG., *Aen.* 3.493: *vivite felices, quibus est fortuna peracta iam sua*.

(74) See *CIL* III 15160 (= *Tituli Aquincenses* II 546 [*Ubi Erat Lupa*, no. 2896]), a sarcophagus set up by Aurelius Bitus to commemorate his son Aurelius Vitalinus, who died aged four. Two men are depicted on the sarcophagus: the man on the left is clad in a tunic and toga, while the man on the right represents a soldier, dressed in a tunic and *sagum* and wearing a belt fastened by a ring-buckle around the waist. In his sinister hand, he holds a scroll against his chest and with his dexter hand he is holding a horn, resting on his sinister shoulder, in place.