

SOME NOTES ON SABINIANI OF DALMATIA AND PANNONIA

The object of this paper¹ is to take into examination some aspects of the ancient history referring to the inscriptions of Sabiniani, particularly the four inscriptions from Salona, Arrabona and Brigetio.

1. Inscription from Arrabona²

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)
Iunoni regin(ae)
Minervae Nep-
tuno Libe(ro) Patr[il]

5 Dianae ceterisq(ue)
dibus L. Anton(ius) Sa-
binianus corni[c(ularius)]
leg(ati) leg(ionis) I Ad(iutricis) P(iae) F(idelis)
Se(verianae)
templum vetust[ate]

10 conlapsum fa-
ciundum cur(avit)
cum Aur[el(ia) A]elian(a)
con[iuge]

2. Inscription from Brigetio³

[L. Antoni Sa]biniani
[cornicul(ario)] leg(ati) leg(ionis)
[I Ad(iutricis) P(iae) F(idelis) Sev(erianae) q]ui vix-
[it annos] LII dies XX

¹ I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Professor V. Gortan, Vice President of the Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti for having invited me to take a part on 13th Eirene Congress, Dubrovnik 1974, and to Mr. N. Cambi, M. A. for his most helpful advices while working on this paper. I would also like to express my thanks to Mrs. A. Tokić, M. A. for the collaboration on the English text.

² CIL III 11079 = 4363

³ CIL III 11018.

5 [Aurel]ia Aelia-
[na coni]ugi sibi
[incompa]rabili
[facie]ndum cu-
[r]avit

3. Inscription from Salona⁴

Anton[iae] Sabin[ae]
cui [et] Mec[]nhmae def-
unctae an(norum) VIII An-
tonius Sabinianus e-
sic 5 t Octava Eyagria pare-
ntes filiae dulcissi-
mae posuerunt et sibi⁷

4. Inscription from Salona⁸

Octaviae carae domin[ae]
et tecusae rarissimae summ[ae]
sanctim(oniae) et benignitatis femin[ae]
coniugi Antoni Sabiniani vet(erani)⁹

5 ex cornic(ulario) co(n)s(ularis) leg(ionis) I Adi(utricis)
signo

Scammati eq(ues) R(omanus) cum quo conco[r]-¹⁰
diter vixit ann(or)um XXX ob merita
Ulpius Asclepius con[frater in]p(osuit)¹¹

⁴ CIL III 8879, Bulić, Bull. Dalm. VII, p. 114 no. 54 and Catal. Inscript. Musei Archaeol. Salonit., p. 272, no. 48.

⁵ E. Diehl, Inscr. Lat. Christ. Vet., 2802 reads Mec[.]nhmae. R. Egger, Der altchristliche Friedhof Manastirine, Forschungen in Salona II, Wien 1926, p. 69, no. 28 reads Meg[al]rhmae.

⁶ Egger, l. c., reads ann. XIX.

⁷ According to Bulić, this inscription was found on the East side of the basilica at the graveyard Manastirine.

⁸ CIL III 8752, Boghetich ms. no. 88.

⁹ Diehl, o. c., 280, G. Alföldy, Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia, Heidelberg 1969, p. 289, A. Betz, Untersuchungen zur Militärgeschichte der Römischen Provinz Dalmatien, Wien 1938, p. 70 and M. Pavan, Ricerche sulla provincia romana di Dalmazia, Venezia 1958, p. 258 are reading Salonius Sabinianus, as it is in CIL. It is only L. Jelić's opinion, I monumenti scritti e figurati dei martiri Salonitani del cimitero della Lex sancta christiana, Ephemeris Salonitana, Jaderae 1894, p. 31, that it should be Antonius Sabinianus. I should like to accept the interpretation of the name Antonius as suggested by Jelić. On one side, the inscription in question is conserved only in a manuscript, so that some error in transcription was possible. On the other side, we have congruity in the names of the man and of the wife in the inscription no. 3, so that it is possible to interpret the name in question as Antonius.

¹⁰ Diehl, l. c., and Alföldy, l. c., are reading Scammati eq. R. Betz, l. c., is reading Scammatus.

¹¹ Domaszewski, Mittheilungen 12, p. 37 reads contubernalis. Jelić, l. c., and Diehl, l. c., read confrater.

Besides the above quoted inscriptions, some of the inscriptions of Sabiniani mention the soldiers of the legio I adiutrix¹², and a quantity of them are from Pannonia¹³

The inscription from Arrabona is the votive stone offered by Antonius Sabinianus, cornicularius legati of the legio I adiutrix pia fidelis Severiana¹⁴ in the time of Severus Alexander¹⁵, i. e. 222-235 A. D. Antonius Sabinianus reconstructed the temple dedicated to the Capitolian Triade and other mentioned deities¹⁶.

The inscription from Brigetio is evidently the tombstone of the same man that with his wife, also quoted on the inscription, reconstructed the temple¹⁷. The wife erected the tombstone, when her husband died at the age of 52¹⁸.

In the inscriptions from Salona, I think that we can recognize the same persons: Antonius Sabinianus, veteranus ex corniculario consularis of the legio I adiutrix¹⁹ with his wife Octavia. Because of this identification, as well as corresponding dating of the inscriptions²⁰, I would like to locate the inscription no. 4 at the graveyard Manastirine. Unfortunately, we do not have the confirmation of this location in CIL, because in the manuscript it is indicated only as inter Salonitanas. Because of it being an early Christian inscription, it is really possible that it was from the same site like the inscription no. 3. Therefore, I should put this one in the second half of the third century, and that one in the first quarter of the fourth century.

It is very much possible that Antonius Sabinianus from Salonitan inscriptions is a descendant of Antonius Sabinianus from Pannonia. It could be proposed that he was also

¹² cf. CIL III 3524, 4324.

¹³ cf. CIL III 3495, 3524, 4152, 4183, 4208, 4324, 4379. C. Vettius Sabinianus Iulius Hospes C. f. was the governor of the Roman Dalmatia (178—179) and also legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Pannoniae inferioris, cf. Jagenteufel, Die Statthalter der römischen Provinz Dalmatia von Augustus bis Diokletian, Wien 1958, 45 sqq.

¹⁴ cf. CIL III Indices, p. 2473, H. Dessau, ILS, 3092.

¹⁵ cf. PWRE XII, p. 1394, Pavan, La provincia romana della Pannonia Superior, Lincei-Mem. Scienze morali — 1955 — Ser. VIII, vol. VI, 5, p. 514.

¹⁶ For detailed information about legio I adiutrix cf. PWRE XII, pp 1380—1404 particularly p. 1389 about the impossibility of the exact determination — datation by the adjective „pia fidelis“, G. Forni, Il Reclutamento delle legioni da Augusto a Diocleziano, Milano—Roma 1953.

¹⁷ cf. PWRE XII, p. 1394.

¹⁸ About tombstones in general cf. A. Schober, Die römischen Grabsteine von Noricum und Pannonien, Wien 1923.

¹⁹ cf. CIL III Indices, p. 2473.

²⁰ Inscription no. 3 is dated by Egger, l. c., in the third century, by Alföldy, o. c., p. 59, in the late period of the Early Empire. Inscription no. 4 is dated by Alföldy, o. c., p. 289, in the same way, and by Betz, o. c., 41 sq., in the fourth century.

his son²¹. Sabinianus from Salona has no more the prenomina like that one from Pannonia. That is also a valued indication for dating, and also for a valuation of social circumstances of the person²². It is not surprising that in Dalmatia we find mentions of the soldiers of the legio adiutrix²³. Vice versa we have the evidence of one Salonian who militated in several legions and also in the legio I adiutrix²⁴. It is attested at Manastirine at Salona that a beneficiarius consularis²⁵ who arrived in Salona from the Governor's Office of the Pannonia Superior, participated in the oldest Christian community at Salona, at the time of Christian persecution²⁶. A few veterans settled at Salona after service in the Danubian legions, some of whom may have originated from Salona²⁷.

In our case it is important to emphasize that this man from the legio I adiutrix circumstances of the second half of the third century, from Pannonia, with the high rank of cornicularius consularis²⁸, probably the descendant of L. Antonius Sabinianus who with his wife had offered a memorial stone to the Roman Pantheon, arrived at Salona and joined the early Christian community at the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century. At least, his wife was an outstanding Christian. They both posed the tomb-inscription to their daughter Antonia Sabina. Her second name (that is uncertain) as well as the second name of the mother from the inscription no. 3 (Eyagria) and the word „tecusa” (Greek τεκοῦσα = pariens, genitrix) are the indications for the Eastern influences and the important role

²¹ cf. H. Thylander, *Étude sur l'épigraphie latine*, Lund 1952, p. 88: Les enfants légitimes, ceux qui étaient nés de parents unis par le conubium, héritaient le gentilice du père.

²² cf. Thylander, *o. c.*, p. 131: Le prénom commence à disparaître dans les inscriptions funéraires des plébéiens et des affranchis au II^e siècle apr. J.—C. Dans les listes officielles de soldats et de membres de collèges, le prénom manque à peu près régulièrement à partir du III^e siècle apr. J.—C., tandis que les nobles le portent dans les inscriptions vers l'an 350.

²³ cf. CIL III 2823, *bull. Dalm. I*, p. 107 from Burnum: miles legionis I adiutricis, S. Gunjača, *Vjesn. dalm. LII*, 50 sqq., A. et J. Šašel, *Inscriptiones Latinae*, Ljubljana 1963, p. 62, no. 144: beneficiarius consularis legionis I adiutricis.

²⁴ cf. H. Hofmann, *Römische Militärgrabsteine der Donauländer*, Wien 1905, p. 60, no. 48 and J. Brunšmid, *Kameni spomenici Hrvatskoga narodnoga muzeja u Zagrebu*, Zagreb, 1904—11, p. 225, no. 369.

²⁵ Egger, *o. c.*, 74 sq. no. 80, about at 300 A. D.

²⁶ Egger, *o. c.*, 52 sq.

²⁷ J. J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, London 1969, p. 231. About some other soldiers of the legio I adiutrix cf. p. 117.

²⁸ cf. Wilkes, *o. c.*, 120 sq, *Handbuch der röm. Alterthümer V*, Marquard: *Röm. Staatsverwaltung II*, Leipzig 1876, 528 sq, Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités s. v. cornicularius*.

of the Greek language in Salona²⁹, and just that is characteristic of the early Christian community at Salona³⁰.

I should like to discuss something more deeply about this word „tecusa”, as this is the point where I come to an examination of the possibility of identification of the persons mentioned in the inscriptions from Salona with the figures on a well known sarcophagus of the Good Shepherd of the early fourth century from Manastirine at Salona³¹.

Inscription no. 4 offered by Ulpius Asclepius — *confrater in Christo*³² — as a sepulchral memorial stone to Octavia, the wife of the veteran Antonius Sabinianus for 30 years, appointed her as *tecusa rarissima*.

L. Jelić discussing the inscriptions no. 3 and no. 4³³ proposes that inscription no. 4 is referring to a probable statue in the honor of Octavia and makes identification of Octavia with Asclepia from the *Passio S. Anastasii*. Unfortunately, he did not give any real proof of that. Asclepia, towards him, is represented as *matrona* on the sarcophagus of the Good Shepherd³⁴. Jelić connected the sarcophagus with the inscription that is, according to him, one of Asclepia³⁵. That inscription has been studied seriously again by Egger³⁶ who rejected Jelić's interpretation³⁷. I should like to point out that Jelić's attempts to identify the persons from the sarcophagus of the Good Shepherd were very lucid at the beginning of his study, when he pointed out that two principle persons represented on the sarcophagus should be the portraits of the man and of the wife³⁸, but his further investigation became no more serious.

²⁹ cf. Alföldy, *Bevölkerung und Gesellschaft der römischen Provinz Dalmatien*, Budapest 1965, p. 115 and p. 129, note 155.

³⁰ About the Salonitan society cf. Alföldy, *Bevölkerung und Gesellschaft*. . . , 97 sqq and particularly 108 sqq.

³¹ The word „tecusa“ is very rare, cf. H. Dessau, ILS, 8452 *Madaurae Numidia: fecundae tecusae*. *Ibid.*: *idem vocabulum videtur etiam esse in t. Siccensi VIII 16125, in Salonitano III 8752*.

³² ? cf. Diehl, *Inscr. Lat. Christ. Vet.*, Indices p. 196.

³³ o. c., 31 sq.

³⁴ cf. also L. Jelić, *Das Coemeterium von Manastirine zu Salona und der dortige Sarkophag des Guten Hirten*, *Römische Quartalschrift V*, Roma 1891, p. 56.

³⁵ cf. *Das Coemeterium von Manastirine*. . . , pp 39—56.

³⁶ o. c., 88, no. 142.

³⁷ It was C. M. Kaufmann, *Die sepulcralen Jenseitsdenkmäler der Antike und des Urchristentums*, Mainz 1900, 156 sqq and O. Pelka, *Altchristliche Ehedenkmäler*, Strassburg 1901, 161 sqq that accepted this interpretation by Jelić.

³⁸ cf. *Das Coemeterium*. . . , particularly pp 42 sq, 49.

A. Conze³⁹ also regards persons represented on the sarcophagus in question as the man and the wife buried within the sarcophagus⁴⁰.

R. Egger⁴¹ regards the sarcophagus of the Good Shepherd as „ein bodenständiges Werk“ and pointed out: Das Verhältnis, in dem die Ehegatten zu den 14, bzw. 28 Leuten stehen, kann ich mir nur als ein durch einen Stiftungsakt festgesetztes denken, as well as⁴²: Ich möchte dafürhalten, dass die Münzbilder der Kaiserin Fausta und die Darstellung am Sarkophage in Salona dasselbe bedeuten und in gleichem Sinne als Bilder kaiserlicher und privater Kinderfürsorge auszulegen sind.

Th. Klauser⁴³ emphasized the portrait character of the figures of the man and the wife which also represent, in his opinion, the deceased couple, and the persons around them regards „einen genau bestimmten Kreis von Personen die an einem Gedenktage der dargestellten Eheleute sich im Grabbezirk versammelt haben“⁴⁴. He would not like to enter more deeply into the interpretation of these two groups of persons⁴⁵. He regards the deceased couple as being Christian, but he pointed out, also by way of the datation 280—300 A. D., that the members of their community wanted them to be represented in the traditional manner that will emphasize the characteristic point of the activity of the husband and his wife⁴⁶.

H. Kähler, because of portrait character of the figures in question, regards this sarcophagus to be worked out in Salona⁴⁷

In his recent study, N. Cambi⁴⁸ dated the sarcophagus to the period of about 320 A. D. and paid attention to the

³⁹ Römische Bildwerke einheimischen Fundorts in Österreich, I Drei Sarkophage aus Salona, Wien 1872, p. 12.

⁴⁰ Concerning the other small persons round them he notes, p. 14: Ich sehe in der That keine andere Möglichkeit, als auch hier auf dem christlichen Sarkophage die kleinen Gestalten als Hinterbleibende, irgendwelche Angehörige zu deuten, deren große Zahl zwar an die Familie allein zu denken kaum erlaubt.

⁴¹ o. c., p. 32.

⁴² p. 33.

⁴³ Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der christlichen Kunst V, Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum 1962.

⁴⁴ p. 116.

⁴⁵ p. 121: Wir können nur vermuten, daß die Stiftung des vielleicht später verstorbenen Mannes einen größeren Personenkreis betraf als der Stiftungsanteil der Frau.

⁴⁶ cf. 122 sq.

⁴⁷ Zur Datierung des Sarkophags von Manastirine im Archäologischen Museum von Split, Festschrift Th. Klauser, Münster 1964, p. 174.

⁴⁸ The Cult of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Salona and Split from the fourth till the eleventh century in the light of archaeological evidence, Acta Congressus Mariologici, Vol. V, Romae 1972, 43 sqq.

portrait features of a man and his wife. He considers the people around them to be those that participated in their activity⁴⁹, and the sarcophagus to be Christian⁵⁰. Works of charity remained in the early Christian period one of the most outstanding ethic principles of the everyday human activity⁵¹.

Taking into consideration all these studies of eminent scholars, I should try to explain my objection to this problem. It is interesting that we have none inscription referring to the sarcophagus of the Good Shepherd, i. e. to the two main persons represented on it. But some of the Salonitan inscriptions could mention these persons. I should say, if any of the Salonitan inscriptions, particularly from Manastirine, published up to date, referring to the sarcophagus in question — in that case it could be our inscription no. 4. Besides the dating coincidence, I point out the word „tecusa”. Something of the equal meaning expressed in such an intonation we do not find among the inscriptions from Dalmatia⁵². And *tecusa rarissima*. . . is really represented on the sarcophagus of the Good Shepherd. After interpretation of the inscriptions no. 3 and no. 4. I should like to recognize the man from the sarcophagus as a possible veteran Antonius Sabinianus and the wife as possible Octavia. If so, we could at least say, that a part of Salonitan history became more complex. Even though the identification of the persons I proposed were incorrect, I have tried to show the possible way for epigraphic investigation of the sarcophagus of the Good Shepherd.

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⁴⁹ p. 47.

⁵⁰ p. 45.

⁵¹ p. 48.

⁵² cf. CIL III, bull. Dalm. — Vjesn. dalm., Forschungen in Salona II, III.