

# ‘EQUES SUPER RIPAM DANUVII’ – NOTES ON CIL III 3676

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**Abstract:** In his paper the author deals with the famous verse inscription CIL III 3676 that described an event in Pannonia in 118 AD during Emperor Hadrian’s visit. Based on the thorough examination of the very long manuscript tradition of the text the lost epitaph was most probably erected in/or around Rome and never belonged to Pannonian inscriptions. It seems there was an earlier unknown Italian and British line of the tradition but the archetypus (x) remains unknown. The author also intends to point out that the Batavian rider cannot surely be called Soranus. This adjective refers rather to the findspot, Sora near Rome. The question of the rider’s name und his unit must remain unsolved. The poem was attributed to Emperor Hadrian latest from the Late Antiquity.

**Keywords:** history of Pannonia, Latin epigraphy, Hadrian, Batavians

One of the best-known events of the history of Pannonia under Hadrian’s reign was that a Batavian rider in full armor with his unit of 1000 men swam across the river Danube in front of the emperor and the Barbarians. Later, his heroic feat was commemorated in a funerary verse inscription (CIL III 3676) but the epitoma of Cassius Dio’s Book LXIX also mentioned the event<sup>1</sup> (following Dio’s account even the entry A 527 of the Suda).<sup>2</sup> Based on the long research history, it seems that there is no problem with the date and place, even the military unit of the soldier can be identified. Emperor Hadrian visited Pannonia only once in the spring of 118 when Pannonia and Dacia under the joint governorship of the equestrian Q. Marcius Turbo<sup>3</sup> had to face with the invasion of the Sarmatians who can most probably be identified with the Barbarians in Dio’s account, as there is no clear indication that Hadrian would have visited Upper Pannonia as well and he had to hurry back to Rome (attested in Rome already in July 9<sup>th</sup>, 118).<sup>4</sup> Based on this data, it seemed to the humanist researchers to be logical that the event happened in Pannonia inferior, namely in Aquincum. Based on the manuscripts where the funerary text preserved and its later added titles, it is also generally accepted that the rider’s name was Soranus. In my paper I intend to deal with the

<sup>1</sup> The transfer of the events to Pannonia superior proposed by DOBIÁŠ 1960 and DOBIÁŠ 1964, 190 (based only on the false interpretation and dating of CIL III 6818 = ILS 1017 and HA v. Hadr. 12.7) must be omitted as the emperor in 118 simply had no opportunity to visit Upper Pannonia. Cassius Dio connected the event described by him to a peaceful period but no other imperial visit of Hadrian in Pannonia is attested: see KIENAST 1996, 128–129.

<sup>2</sup> Dio LXIX.9.6 οὕτω γὰρ καλῶς ἤσκητο τὸ στρατιωτικὸν αὐτῷ ὥστε καὶ τὸ ἵπικὸν τῶν καλουμένων Βατάουων τὸν Ἰστρὸν μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων διενήξαντο. ἃ ὁρῶντες οἱ βάρβαροι τοὺς μὲν Ῥωμαίους κατεπλήττοντο, τρεπόμενοι δὲ

ἐπὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐχρῶντο αὐτῷ διατητῇ τῶν πρὸς ἐλλήλους διαφορῶν. Cf. Suda A 527 Hadrianus following Dio’s account: οὗτος ἐς Παννονίαν ἀφίκετο καὶ τὸν Ἰστρὸν μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων διενήξατο. καὶ τοῦτο οἱ παρόντες βάρβαροι ἐξεπλάγησαν.

<sup>3</sup> J. FITZ: Die Verwaltung Pannoniens in der Römerzeit II. Budapest 1994, 339–341, No. 245; I. PISO: Fasti Provinciae Dacicae I. Antiquitas I/43. Bonn 1993, 30–34; I. PISO: Fasti Provinciae Dacicae II. Antiquitas I/60. Bonn 2013, 67–109, No. 72.

<sup>4</sup> WEBER 1907, 73–76; MÓCSY 1962, 553–554; MÓCSY 1974, 100–102, HALFMANN 1986, 190, 195; BIRLEY 1997, 89; KOVÁCS 2014, 88–92.

manuscript tradition of the inscription in order to examine the original provenance, the soldier's name, the findspot and the author of the funerary epigram.

The interpretation of the inscription's text is clear and there is no textual problem preserved only in medieval codices.

CIL III 3676 p. 1042 = ILS 2558 = CLE 427 = CLEPann 59 = ICUR II 260, 2

*Ille ego Pannoniis quondam notissimus oris  
inter mille viros primus fortisque Batavos  
(H)adriano potui qui iudice vasta profundi  
aequora Danuvii cunctis transnare sub armis  
emissumque arcu dum pendet in aere telum  
ac redit ex alia fixi fregique sagitta  
quem neque Romanus potuit nec barbarus umquam  
non iaculo miles non arcu vincere Parthus  
hic situs hic memori saxo mea facta sacravi  
viderit an ne aliquis post me mea facta sequatur  
exemplo mihi sum primus qui talia gessi.*

I am the man who, once well known to the river banks in Pannonia,  
brave and foremost among one thousand Batavi,  
was able with Hadrian as judge, to swim the wide waters  
of the deep Danube in full battle kit.

From my bow I shot an arrow, and while it hung in the air  
and was falling back, I hit and broke it with another arrow.

Whom no Roman or foreigner ever outdid,  
no soldier with the spear, no Parthian with the bow,  
here I lie, I have bequeathed my deeds  
to memory on this ever-mindful stone.

Let anyone see if after me he can match my deeds.

I set my own standard, being the first to bring off such feats (translation by R. W. Davies).

Th. Mommsen who published the epitaph among the *incertae* of Pannonia inferior in the first fascicule of the CIL III (CIL III 3676) intended to give a full literature of the extant literature but he could not collect many of them. Now, I shall give a full summary of them. The text was first published by the Dutch humanist, Gerard Geldenhouwer in 1530 in his Batavian history (later again in his *Lucubratiuncula* ('nocturnal work') de Batavorum insula, too) who copied the epitaph from an old codex of the library of university of Leuven: *haec epigrammata habentur Lovanii in bibliotheca professorum liberalium artium antiquissimo libello*. Based on Geldenhouwer's edition and later Gruterus' corpus (who, besides Geldenhower, also used the French poet's, Verderius' (Claude du Verdier) unpublished schedae), the epitaph became widely known in the humanist scholarship and it was edited several times in the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries as an important evidence of the Batavian history esp. by Dutch<sup>5</sup>, German, Italian and French humanists as Bruschi (Caspar Brusch 1553), Hieronymus Wolf (in his *Suda* edition, edited in 1581), Hadrianus Junius (Adriaen de Jonghe 1588), Opmeer (Pieter van Opmeer 1611), Pontanus (Johann Isaak Pontanus 1639), Bonifacius (Giovanni Bonifacio 1629), Vossius (Gerrit Janszoon Vos 1647), Ferretti (1672) and Bertoli (1739 who used Rambertus as well). The German humanist and epigrapher Georg Fabricius (Georg Goldschmidt) who published the epitaph first after Geldenhouwer (only in the second edition of his corpus published many years after his death in 1587) and Pithoeus (Pierre Pithou 1596) may have used another source, probably one of the codices as both of them wrote *Traiano* instead of *Hadriano* in the third line (or *Batavus* instead of *Batavos* at the end of the second). Besides F. M. Bonada's anthology (1751, who also referred to Hommeyus' codex), Pieter Burmann the Younger in his *Anthologia epigrammatum* (1759) published again the epigram with full literature based on Fabricius

<sup>5</sup> ROOS 1953; LIEBURG 2004, 151–180, esp. 156–158; BASS 2016, 98–100.

and Pithou but he corrected the text based on Geldenhouwer (e.g. emendation of Trajan's name to Hadrian). When Mommsen collected the different editions of the epitaph he could deal only with the two unpublished manuscripts of Antiquus (copied by Ferrarinus (Reggio Emilia) and the Venetian Rambertus) who has recently been identified with the Italian humanist Felicianus (Felice Feliciano) who visited of the court of King Mathias at Buda in 1479 on the occasion of the royal wedding and made the largest collection of Pannonian inscriptions of his own age (copied more than forty inscriptions).<sup>6</sup> In the former manuscript it was edited among forged and real Dacian inscriptions from Apulum (CIL III 52–54\*, III 1078, 1087, 11132) with the following remark: *sub ripam Danuvii dicitur esse hoc*, i.e. he obviously did not see the inscriptions. In Rambertus' manuscript it was published at the end of the Pannonian inscriptions with the remark *in Hungaria in sepulchro, quod non vidimus*. Based on these editions (neglecting and denying the earlier ones: e.g. according to him, the text in the Cod. Dunelm. was added later), Th. Mommsen published the funerary text in the CIL III in 1873. Mommsen also added that there would have been a common source of all editions, a sylloge from the 15<sup>th</sup> century without any lemma, therefore all data concerning the name Soranus would have been also forged later.

There was another line of the editions beginning with Burmann's work and his later editor, H. Meyer. Following Fabricius and Pithoeus, these authors tried to collect and edit a full Anthologia Latina with all accessible antique Latin verse inscriptions, even if they were preserved in manuscripts (cf. Riese's work). In his new Anthologia Latina A. Riese was the first scholar in 1870 (second edition 1895) who published a Carolingian *florilegium* containing four inscriptions (three of them are Christians, the fourth one is the epitaph of the Batavian rider) in the Cod. Val. 393 from the 9<sup>th</sup> century and collated the preserved text with the ones in Cod. Montpess. from the 12<sup>th</sup> c. and Cod. Par. 6630 from 13<sup>th</sup> c. G.-B. de Rossi published this again in the second volume of the ICUR (ICUR II p. 260–261, 1–4). F. Buecheler in the CLE I (1895) and E. Baehrens in the Poetae Latinae Minores IV in 1882 edited the verse inscription again based on manuscripts, but Baehrens also added the text in the Cod. Laud. 69 (1634) (12<sup>th</sup> c.) and Cod. B. M. Add. Mss. 11983 (12<sup>th</sup> c.). Later, Mommsen corrected himself too (CIL III p. 1042).<sup>7</sup> All later editions in the 20<sup>th</sup> c. followed these (see them below in chronological order). Based on the manuscripts, esp. the pieces of information given in the lemmata became clear that 1: the stone monument did not preserve and the epitaph has a long manuscript tradition from the 9<sup>th</sup> c.; 2: the author (Hadrian) and the name (Soranus) cannot be forged by Dutch humanists as Mommsen supposed before, it appeared earliest in Cod. Montepess. in the 12<sup>th</sup> c.; 3: There is no clear indication concerning the provenance. Despite the numerous new editions, the thorough examination of further possible manuscripts and the most important question where the epitaph was excerpted from have been omitted.

The full literature concerning the inscription looks like as follows:

Ed. ANTIQUUS apud FERRARINUM n. 35 et RAMBERTUM n. 33; GELDENHOUWER, Lucubrationum A4r (Epitaphium Sorani, Epigramma); GELDENHOUWER, Historia Batavica A1v (Epitaphium Sorani)=GELDENHOUWER, Historische Werken 60 et ex eo omnes Fabricius, Antiq., 136, Nr. LXXVI (Traiano); BRUSCHIUS, De Laureaco I, 15–16; WOLF, Suida, 33; JUNIUS, Batavia, 44; PITHOEUS, Epig. III, 88 (Traiano); GRUTERUS, Inscriptiones, DLXVII n. 3; OPMEERUS, Opus, 242; PONTANUS, Hist., 19; BONIFACIUS, De Comp. Epitaph., 149; VOSSIUS, Institutionum Poeticarum III, 115; FERRETTI, Musae 1672, 135–136, Nr. XXXVII; HOMMEYUS, Supplementum, 550, No. II; BERTOLI, Aquileia, 175, n. 184 (et ex RAMBERTO); FABRICIUS, Bibliotheca, 201; BONADA, Carmina I, 339; BURMANN, Anth., 249–250, Nr. CXVIII (cum add. 730–731) (cum ex editis tum ex codd. Vossiano et Moroniano ab Heinsio adhibitis); MEYER, Anth., 70–71, n. 209; M. D. B.: Classical Journal 17 (1814) 394; KATANCHICH 1827, 387, Nr. CXXVI; TH. MOMMSEN, CIL III 3676, p. 1042; RIESE, Anth. Lat., 132, n. 660; G.-B. DE ROSSI, ICUR, 260, n. 2; G. WILLMANN: Exempla inscriptionum Latinarum in usum praecipue academicum. Berolini 1873, 600; A. PONORI THEWREWK: Római feliratokról. ArchÉrt 10 (1876) 315–317; BAEHRENS, PLM IV, 113, Nr. 125; H. DESSAU, ILS 2558; BUECHELER, CLE 427; J. CHOLODNIAC: Carmina sepulcralia Latina epigraphica. Petersburg 1904, 1071; F. PLESSIS: Poésie latine. Epitaphes. Textes choisis et commentaires. Paris 1905, 121–124, Nr. 24; A. RIESE: Das römische Germanien in den antiken Inschriften. Leipzig–Berlin 1914, 203, Nr. 1901; WEBER 1907, 154–155; A. W. BYVANCK: Excerpta Romana.

<sup>6</sup> CIL III p. 413, RITOÓKNÉ 2002, 78–82, 87–102; Á. RITOÓKNÉ SZALAY: Der Kult der römischen Epigraphik in Ungarn zur Zeit der Renaissance. In: Geschichtsbewusstsein und Geschichtsschreibung in der Renaissance. Hrsg. A. Buck, T. Klaniczay, S. K. Németh. Budapest 1989, 65–75.

<sup>7</sup> CIL III p. 1042 *Ex similibus libris etiam auctores, quos solos tum cum titulum edebam noram, pendere mihi dubium non est, videturque titulus referendus esse inter eos, quos ex lapidibus descriperunt viri docti aetatis Carolingicae, posterius non norunt nisi ex libris scriptis.*

De Bronnen der Romeinsche Geschiedenis van Nederland II. Gravenhage 1935, 462, Nr. 1134; J. B. PIGHI: *Lyra romana. Lyricorum Romanorum Latinorum reliquiae*. Comi 1946, 187, Nr. 11; ROOS: 1953, 319–326; H. HUNDRUP: *Romerske gravepigrammer*. Kopenhagen 1960, 31, 72–73, Nr. 23; E. M. SMALLWOOD: *Documents Illustrating the Principates of Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian*. Cambridge 1966, 336; H. GEIST–G. PFOHL: *Römische Grabinschriften*. München 1976<sup>2</sup>, 124–125, Nr. 327; B. KUNTIĆ-MAKVIĆ: *Carmina epigraphica Latina Pannoniae Inferioris. Latina et Graeca* 7 (1976) Nr. 9; H. HÄUSLE: *Das Denkmal als Garant des Nachruhms: Eine Studie zu einem Motiv in lateinischen Inschriften*. *Zetemata* 75. München 1980, 67–68, Nr. 22; *The Roman Empire: Augustus to Hadrian*. Edited and translated by Robert K. Sherk. Cambridge, Mass. 1988, 185, Nr. 145; R. W. DAVIES: *Service in the Roman Army*. New York 1989, 111 (translation); SPEIDEL 1991, 277–282; E. COURTNEY: *Musa Lapidaria. A selection of Latin verse inscriptions*. Atlanta 1995, 124–125, Nr. 126, 334–335; B. FEHÉR–P. KOVÁCS (ed.): *Fontes Pannoniae Antiquae II*. Budapest 2004, 104–105; SPEIDEL 2005, 73–80; CLEPann 121–123, Nr. 59; P. CUGUSI: *Per un nuovo Corpus dei Carmina Latina Epigraphica. Materiali e discussioni*, Rom 2007, 151–152, Nr. 104.

Cf. Dionis Cassii Cocceiani *Historiarum Romanarum quae supersunt VII*. Ed. F. G. Sturzius. Lipsiae 1825, 311; J. MANGEART: *Catalogue descriptif et raisonné des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Valenciennes*. Paris 1860, 387; W. SCHURZ: *Die Militärreorganisation Hadrians*. Leipzig 1897, 21; L. CANTARELLI: *Gli scritti latini di Adriano imperatore*. Roma 1898, 46; WEBER 1907, 153–154; BANG 1906, 38; J. A. TODD: *A Study of the Sepulchral Inscriptions in Buecheler's "Carmina Epigraphica Latina"*. Chicago 1910, 13; E. GALLETIER: *Étude sur la poésie funéraire romaine d'après les inscriptions*. Paris 1922, 180, 239; A. B. PURDIE: *Some Observations on Latin Verse Inscriptions*. London 1935, 95; R. LATTIMORE: *Themes in Greek and Latin epitaphs*. Urbana/Ill. 1942, 288; R. B. HOOGMA: *Die Einfluss Vergils auf die Carmina Latina Epigraphica: eine Studie mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der metrisch-technischen Grundsätze der Entlehnung*. Amsterdam 1959, 118, 222; DOBIÁŠ 1960; Mócsy 1962, 553–554; DOBIÁŠ 1964, 190; H. BARDON: *Les empereurs et les lettres latines d'Auguste Hadrien*. Paris 1968<sup>2</sup>, 422; KERLER 1970, 30, Anm. 30; AIGN 1975, 132; W. BENARIO: *A Commentary on the vita Hadriani in the Historia Augusta*. Ann Arbor 1980, 336; HALFMANN 1986, 190, 195; STROBEL 1986, 943, Anm. 174; STROBEL 1987, 286–287, *Régészeti kézikönyv*, 37; G. HORSMANN: *Untersuchungen zur militärischen Ausbildung im republikanischen und kaiserzeitlichen Rom*. Boppard 1991, 128, Anm. 74, 131 Anm. 89, 132 Anm. 92; SPEIDEL 1994, 174, n. 55; G. WESCH-KLEIN: *Eingriffe Hadrians in das römische Heerwesen*. *Eos* 83 (1995) 152, Anm. 27; BIRLEY 1997, 89; Á. SZABÓ: *Adony római emlékei*. In: *Adony évezredei. Adony története az ősidőktől 1848-ig*. Adony 2002, 52–53; RITÓKNÉ 2002, 97; G. MIGLIORATTI: *Cassio Dione e l'impero romano da Nerva ad Antonino Pio: alla luce dei nuovi documenti*. Milano 2003, 278–281; LIEBURG 2004, 156–158; B. FEHÉR: *Pannonia latin nyelvtörténete*. Budapest 2007, 49; S. PEREA YÉBENES: ... *in bello desideratis. Estética y percepción de la muerte del soldado romano caído en combate*. In: *Formae motis: el tránsito de la vida a la muerte en las sociedades antiguas*. Barcelona 2009, 51; BASS 2016, 98–100, n. 84–85.

#### MANUSCRIPT TRADITION

The earliest manuscripts have already been revealed by Riese, de Rossi and Baehrens. It is clear that the earliest is the Cod. Val. 393 from the 9<sup>th</sup> c. from monastery of St. Amandus. The codex contains the works of Marius Plotius and others' on the metres (Third Book of his *Ars grammatica*), several proverbs and four verses (Anth. Lat. 487b(659)–662) before Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis* including the rider's epigram and three Christian inscriptions (edited also by de Rossi: ICUR II, p. 260–261, Nos. 1 (on Constantine's image), 3–4).<sup>8</sup> The funerary epigram was edited with the following title: *in memoria cujusdam militis*. Three carmina (only the first two agree with the ones in Cod. Val. 393) can be found in the Cod. Montepess. 280 dated to 12<sup>th</sup> c. between the work of St. Methodius and the *Chronicon Remense*: Constantine's inscription (Anth. Lat. 659), the Batavian rider's epitaph with the lemma *Epitaphium Sorani militis* and the bucolic verse de *tribus pastoribus et tribus puellis* (Ant. Lat. 392).<sup>9</sup> In Cod. Par. 6630 dated to the 13<sup>th</sup> c., the verse appears among epigrams attributed to Hadrian (Anth. Lat. 392–393) with the title *Eiusdem de milite Sorano*. In Cod. Laud. 86 (1634/1) dated to the 12<sup>th</sup> c. the epitaph with the lemma

<sup>8</sup> He published the other three Christian ones before Riese: G.-B. DE ROSSI: *Utilità del metodo geografico nello studio delle iscrizioni cristiane*. *Boll. ArchNap* 6 (1857) 11–13. Based on

J. MANGEART: *Catalogue descriptif et raisonné des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Valenciennes*. Paris 1860, 387–388.

<sup>9</sup> *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements*. Paris 1899, 400.

*Versus cujusdam militis Sorani* can be found among several epigrammata of Bishop Hildebert (died 1133) and Anth. Lat. 709.<sup>10</sup> The Cod. B. M. Add. Mss. 11983 fol. 36 (11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> c.) contains several works of Seneca, and among Seneca’s proverbs there are several epigrammata including the ones attributed to Hadrian (Anth. Lat. 392–393), with our epitaph with the heading *Eiusdem epitaphium Sorani*.<sup>11</sup> The epitaph can also be found in one of the Codd. Dunelm. that contains the works of Suetonius without any heading. Hommeyus in his *Supplementum patrum* edited the epigram with two others (Anth. Lat. 709 here attributed to Iul. Caesar (instead of Germanicus Caes.) and the epitaph of Henry III /Burmann-Meyer 828/) among the works of Bishop Marbod without any lemmata.

On the other hand, the epitaph emerges in several 15<sup>th</sup> c. codices (recentiores) as well. It was published in Cod. Ves. 840 with the title *Ejusdem de forti milite* among the verses held to be written by Iul. Caesar (instead of Germanicus Caes.) (Anth. Lat. 709) and Hadrian (Anth. Lat. 392–393). The epigram can also be found in Cod. Vat 9985 f. 24 dated 1451 among the epitaphs of famous rulers (thought be of Hadrian’s) as Caesar, Augustus, Constantine, Scipio, Ennius<sup>12</sup> and Frederick II and Mod. Lat. 151 = alfa.T.6.15 80v from the year 1460 again among the Anth. Lat. 709, 392–393. Felicianus could have used one of them.

It seems there is a big family of these codices containing Anth. Lat. 392–393, 709 can be separated as B, L, P, Ves. and Mod. and Hommeyus’ codex (?) (with similar mistakes as *horis* in BLP) (partly M). Geldenhower source, the unknown codex at Leuven must have belonged also to this group. On the other hand, the V and the Vat. stand totally alone and it is absolutely sure that V could not be the archetypus (x) of the later manuscripts with the exception of M that alone also edited another one of the four inscriptions of V. Pithoeus and Fabricius must have had a different manuscript tradition (that could also contain Borysthenes’s inscription from Apta (fragments of the stone monument were found later: CIL XIII 1122 = IGF 183 = CLE 1522 = PLM IV, 126) as their lemma was *Militis Batavi* and Hadrian’s name was emended to Trajan’s, most probably because of the mention of the Parthi. The archetypus (x) must have been a late antique anthology (no later than the first of the 6<sup>th</sup> c.) or its copy predating the 9<sup>th</sup> c. (similarly, the largest collection of the Anth. Lat., the Salmasianus can also dated to the 8<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>13</sup>), that must have contained a collection of Latin poems attributed to Roman emperors and famous statesmen of the Roman Republic. It seems to be sure that 1: Anth. Lat. 392–393 attributed to Hadrian and Anth. Lat. 709 attributed to Germanicus Caesar (in the codd. also Iul. Caesar) were part of this collection; 2: despite V, the original heading mentioned the name of Hadrian or more rather the personal noun *eiusdem* and the word *militis* together with adjective or name *Sorani*.

Based on these, we can come to the conclusion that the funerary epigram was widely known in medieval scholarship even before the Renaissance in France, Italy and England as well and it was edited in several codices coming from different sources and the archetype was surely not Cod. Val. 393. As there is no clear indication in the text of the epigram concerning the author, the provenance and the soldier’s name the pieces of information given the lemmata became more and more important.

#### THE PROBLEM OF THE NAME AND/OR PROVENANCE

As far as we know Felicianus or his source was the first who connected the provenance of the epitaph to Pannonia. Similarly to all later scholars, as he had no other data he interpreted the text and came to the conclusion that if the event happened in the province, the findspot must also be looked for here. Later scholars, even if they did not follow Felicianus/Rambertus could come to the same conclusion (see in Appendix). In reality, nothing refers to a Pannonian provenance.

M. Speidel attempted to identify the unit in question with the *equites singulares Augusti* as he could point out that the first century name of the imperial mounted body guards called Batavi was in use even in the second–third centuries in the case of the *equites singulares*, the imperial horseguard founded by Trajan as well (cf. the name *numerus equitum Batavorum*: Denkm. 688d the tombstone of rider of Pannonian (Sirmium) origin from Anazarbos, Cilicia).<sup>14</sup> This possibility remains the most plausible one. On the other hand, Speidel’s efforts to exclude all other

<sup>10</sup> H. O. COXE: Bodleian Library. Quarto catalogues II. Laudian manuscripts. Oxford 1973, 41.

<sup>11</sup> BAEHRENS, PLM III, 14–16.

<sup>12</sup> M. VATTASO–E. CARUSI: Codices Vaticani Latini 4,3. Codices 9852–10300. Roma 1914, 237.

<sup>13</sup> RIESE, Anth. Lat p. XII–XLII.

<sup>14</sup> SPEIDEL 1991; SPEIDEL 1994, XI, 25–26, 30, 32–33, 45, 47; SPEIDEL 2005.



possible Pannonian military units are not obviously correct. It is sure that the *cohors III Batavorum* garrisoned along the Lower Pannonian limes in Vetus Salina cannot be identified with the unit in question as Cassius Dio mentioned a Batavian rider unit, τὸ ἱππικὸν τῶν καλουμένων Βατάουων.<sup>15</sup> On the other hand, the *ala I Batavorum milliaria* c. R. garrisoned most probably in Vindobona cannot be excluded as Speidel did because it was transferred to Dacia superior only during the wars of 118–119 (based on the military diploma RMD IV 2223 it stationed in 112 in Pannonia superior).<sup>16</sup> Wherever the *ala* garrisoned in 118–119 (in Dacia or in Pannonia) it must have participated in the Sarmatian war as Pannonia inferior and Dacia were governed by the same person, Q. Marcius Turbo therefore the *ala* could also execute the famous maneuver before the emperor.

Even more problematical is the interpretation of the adjective or name Soranus. In the lemmata it is given in genitive and ablative beside the noun *miles*. As the Latin name Soranus is attested most scholars came to the conclusion the soldier was called Soranus. If a personal name was preserved in the lemmata of these codices it was surely the cognomen Soranus (based on the ablative Sorano in the P) therefore it cannot be interpreted as the gentile name Soranius. The lemma also excludes this possibility because it is highly unlikely that a gentilicium was given instead of a cognomen. The rare nickname Soranus in the Latin can most probably be derived from the name of the Volscan town Sora (in Greek Sîra: Strab. V.3.10) in Campania south of Rome (or from the Etruscan family name Sora or the name of the Sabine god Soranus (identified with Dis Pater and Apollo – cf. AĒp 1990, 832 from Alburnus Maior)<sup>17</sup> therefore it hardly occurs outside Rome and Latium, especially rare in the provinces, totally unattested among the Batavians.<sup>18</sup> Some of the Greek occurrences of the name (as Swranój) can surely be connected to the Roman Soranus (esp. in the case of Roman citizens as IvEph 482, SEG I, 97, IG II<sup>2</sup> 3792)<sup>19</sup> but in the case of Soranus Iamelici f. Iturais and the gentile name Soranius with the hometown Archelais in two Pannonian funerary inscriptions (TRHR 115, RIU 585) the possibility of any connection with the Latin Soranus and Sora must be excluded. During the examination of the Syrian names in Pannonia, B. Fehér came rightly to the conclusion that these names were probably the variants of Syranus (cf. the use of the omega in the name) but the variant Σορᾶνός is also attested among the Semitic names.<sup>20</sup> The same must be supposed in most of the cases of other Greek Soranoi (for instance the Ephesian ones: Suda S 851–852). Based on the above written, if Soranus is a personal name it must be supposed that he was an *eques singularis* of Syrian origin under Hadrian's reign (cf. e.g. Denkm. 115, 215).<sup>21</sup>

On the other hand, there is a more plausible possibility.<sup>22</sup> In this case, the adjective Soranus was not a cognomen but it refers to the above-mentioned town Sora and it explains the provenance of the inscription (or the birth-place of the soldier). In Sora the presence of the *equites singulares* is epigraphically attested (CIL X 5687=Denkm. 740<sup>23</sup>). It cannot be accidental that Sora was a veteran colony (*legio III Sorana*) founded in 42 BC (in the earlier Latin colony) and its official name was *colonia Iulia praetoria Sora* (CIL X 5711, 5713; Lib. col. p. 237, 17, 244, 5; *Plin. Nat. hist.* III.63) where the adjective *praetoria* must refer to praetorian veterans.<sup>24</sup> This possibility can be confirmed by the ablative *milite Sorano* in P as it looks more like an adjective beside the noun than a personal name because in the Classical Latin something (for instance the pronoun *illo*, or noun *nomine*) would have been used between the word *miles* and the name. If the provenance was Sora near Rome one can understand why the poem became part of a late antique anthology. The rider's funerary inscription must have had a prosaic part with the mention of the name of the soldier with his age and his unit. This part was naturally not cited in the anthology but the lemma could use it.

<sup>15</sup> Earlier proposed by ROOS 1953, 322; AIGN 1975, 132; HALFMANN 1986, 195. For the cohort see LÖRINCZ 2001, 30–31, No. 9.

<sup>16</sup> BANG 1906, 38; STROBEL 1986, 943; STROBEL 1987, 286–287. On the *ala* see J. E. H. SPAUL: *Ala*<sup>2</sup>. The auxiliary cavalry units of the Pre-Diocletianic Roman army. Andover 1994, 62–63, No. 17; LÖRINCZ 2001, 15, No. 2.

<sup>17</sup> M. RISSANEN: The Hirpi Sorani and the wolf cults of Central Italy. *Arctos* 46 (2012) 115–135, esp. 118.

<sup>18</sup> W. SCHULZE: Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen. *Abhandlungen Ak. Göttingen* N. F. V/2. Berlin 1904, 371, 533; I. KAJANTO: The Latin Cognomina. *Comm. Hum. Litt. Soc. Scient. Fenn.* 36/2. Helsinki 1965, 183; B. LÖRINCZ (ed.): *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum* IV. Wien 2002, 89.

<sup>19</sup> W. PAPE: *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*. Braunschweig 1911<sup>4</sup>, 1473.

<sup>20</sup> B. FEHÉR: Syrian names given in Pannonia. *Acta Classica* 44 (2008) 108–109, Nos. 44–46. See also H. WUTHNOW: Die semitischen Menschennamen in griechischen Inschriften und Papyri des vorderen Orients. Leipzig 1930, 111.

<sup>21</sup> SPEIDEL 1994, 69.

<sup>22</sup> See also SPEIDEL 1991, 279; SPEIDEL 2005, 73.

<sup>23</sup> *D(is) M(anibus) / T(iti) Aeli Marini / veterani ex eq(ui) / tibus singul(aribus) / Antonia Paulina / uxor et Antoni/us Priscus privig/nus et Aelius Papias / libertus heredes / ex testamento*

<sup>24</sup> B. GALSTERER-KRÖLL: Untersuchungen zu den Beinamen der Städte des Imperium Romanum. *ES* 9 (1972) 57, 68; L. J. F. KEPPIE: Colonisation and Veteran Settlement in Italy, 47–14 B.C. *Rome* 1983, 18; E. M. BERANGER–M. FERRACUTI–L. GULIA: *Sora*. Roma 1990.

Based on these, the name and the origin of the verse inscription and the soldier are not clear. If Soranus was a personal name the rider of probably Syrian origin could have served in the imperial rider guard (1). If the provenance is Sora he could have served in the imperial guard and his origin remains unclear (but he could have been a Batavian too) (2). Moreover, the possibility cannot be excluded either, that he served first in the ala in Pannonia, and because of his merit mentioned in the poem he was transferred to Rome (3). In this case he could have been a Batavian but his name is unknown.

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Based on the lemmata of the earliest codices with the exception of V, the poem was credited to Emperor Hadrian as it was placed among the poems (Anth. Lat. 392–393) remained under his name. Several poems remained under his name esp. in Greek that were written by the emperor who was fond of literary study without any doubt (HA v. Hadr. 15.9, 16.1–3, Cass. Dio LXIX.3.1).<sup>25</sup> It seems that this 'collection' had to be part of the original anthology latest from the Late Antiquity. That means the epitaph was connected to Hadrian in the Roman period. On the other hand, there is no indication in the poem that it would have been written by the emperor himself and the style of the poem using Vergilian and Ovidian elements does not confirm this possibility either.<sup>26</sup> The Anth. Lat. 392–393 cannot be connected to the emperor either.<sup>27</sup> I see no other possibility that the attribution can only be explained by the fact the emperor's name was mentioned in the third line. The composer of the anthology could have followed the same way as the humanist scholars did he used also the text of the poem for more information.

Coming to conclusion: based on the thorough examination of the very long manuscript tradition of the text the lost epitaph was surely erected in/or near Rome and never belonged to the Pannonian inscriptions. The epitaph existed only in manuscripts from the Late Antiquity. The Batavian rider cannot surely be called Soranus, the adjective more probably refers to the findspot, Sora near Rome. If his name was Soranus he served in the equites singulares. On the other hand, his unit can also be identified with the *ala I Batavorum* because the unit must have participated in the wars of 118–119, too. In this case the rider could have been transferred from the ala to Rome as well. The question of the rider's name and his unit must remain unsolved too. It seems to be highly likely that Emperor Hadrian was not the composer of the funerary epigram but it was attributed to him latest from the Late Antiquity. The only fact is sure that the eques' tombstone never stood '*super ripam Danuvii*' in Aquincum.

#### APPENDIX

##### *Lemmata of the codices*

Val. 393 fol. 88 9th c. (V) in memoriam cuiusdam militis  
Montepess. 280 fol. 34. 12th c. (M) Epytaphium Sorani militis  
Par. 6630 fol. 1 13th c. (P) Item versus eiusdem de quodam milite Sorano  
BM Add. Mss. 11983 fol. 36 (B) 11th–12th c. Item uersus eiusdem de quodam milite  
Laud. 86 (1634) fol. 113b 12th c. (L) Versus cujusdam militis Sorani  
Dunelmensis 12th c. (D) –  
Vat. 9985 f. 24 1451 (Vat.) Adriani imperatoris epitaphium

<sup>25</sup> And several epigrammata in Greek mainly in the Anthologia Palatina also credited to the emperor: VI.332, VII.674, IX.17 (Germanicus or Hadrian), 137, 387 (Germanicus or Hadrian), 402 and Kaibel 811, 888, 1089. Cf. D. L. PAGE: Further Greek epigrams. Epigrams before A.D. 50 from the Greek anthology and other sources, not included in Hellenistic epigrams or the Garland of Philip. Cambridge 1981, 556, 561–571 and FPL p. 136 (Morel); E. COURTNEY: Fragmentary Latin poets. Oxford 1993, 375–376, 382–386, Hadrianus 1–4, and L. CANTARELLI: Gli scritti latini di Adriano imperatore. Roma 1898;

R. SYME: Hadrian the intellectual. In: Les empereurs romains d'Espagne. Ed.: A. Piganiol. Paris 1965, 243–253 = Roman papers VI. Oxford 1991, 103–113; S. FEIN: Die Beziehungen der Kaiser Trajan und Hadrian zu den litterati. Stuttgart–Leipzig 1994, 47–60.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. CLEPann, 121–123, Nr. 59; P. CUGUSI: Per un nuovo Corpus dei Carmina Latina Epigraphica. Materiali e discussioni. Roma 2007, 151–152, Nr. 104.

<sup>27</sup> RIESE, Anth. Lat., 306–307; BAEHRENS, PLM IV, 111–112.

Mod. Lat. 151=alfa.T.6.15 80v 1460 (Mod.) Versus ejusdem (sc. Hadriani) de forti milite  
 Ves. 840 fol. 97 15<sup>th</sup> c. (Ves.) Ejusdem de forti milite  
 Geldenhouwer Epitaphium Sorani Batavi Aelio Hadriano Augusto autore  
 Codex Marbodi Rod. Ep. apud Hommeyum –  
 Fabricius-Pithoeus Militis Batavi

*Authors who referred to the Pannonian provenance*

Ferrarinus: sub ripam Danuvii dicitur esse hoc  
 Rambertus–Bertoli: in Hungaria in sepulchro, quod non vidimus  
 (last of the inscriptions in Hungary, after the Aquincenses)  
 Gruterus–Ferretti–Vossius–Katancsich: in ripa Danubii prope Budam

*Anth. Lat. 392=PLM IV, 123*  
*HADRIANI IMPERATORIS*

Vt belli sonuere tubae, uiolenta peremit  
 Hippolyte Teuthranta, Lyce Clonus, Oebalon Alce,  
 Oebalon ense, Clonus iaculo, Teuthranta sagitta.  
 Oebalus ibat equo, curru Clonus, at pede Teuthras.  
 Plus puero Teuthras, puer Oebalus, at Clonus heros.  
 Figitur ora Clonus, latus Oebalus, ilia Teuthras.  
 Iphicli Teuthras, Dorycli Clonus, Oebalus Idae;  
 Argolicus Teuthras, Moesus Clonus, Oebalus Arcas.

*Anth. Lat. 393=PLM IV, 124*  
*EIVSDEM*

Almo Theon Thyrsis orti sub colle Pelori  
 Semine disparili, Laurente Lacone Sabina;  
 Vite Sabina, Lacon sulco, sue cognita Laurens.  
 Thyrsis oues, uitulos Theon egerat, Almo capellas,  
 Almo puer pubesque Theon et Thyrsis ephebus;  
 Canna Almo, Thyrsis stipula, Theon ore melodus.  
 Nais amat Thyrsin, Glauce Almona, Nisa Theonem;  
 Nisa rosas, Glauce uiolas dat, lilia Nais.

*Anth. Lat. 709*  
*EIVSDEM (sc. Germanici Caesaris) De puero glacie perempto*

Thrax puer adstricto glacie cum luderet Hebro,  
 Frigore frenatas pondere rupit aquas,  
 Cumque imae partes fundo raperentur ab imo,  
 Abscidit a iugulo lubrica testa caput.  
 Quod mox inuentum mater dum conderet igni,  
 ‘Hoc peperit flammis, cetera’ dixit ‘aquis.  
 Me miseram! pius amnis habet solumque reliquit,  
 Quo nati mater nosceret interitum.’



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