

# DID THE COSINII BUILD MACELLA? THE POSSIBLE BUILDER OF THE MACELLUM IN AQUINCUM

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## INTRODUCTION

The tholos-type *macellum* in the capital of Pannonia Inferior, Aquincum has several analogies within the Roman Empire, but the closest parallel seems to be the market-building in Cuicul<sup>1</sup> (fig.1). Beyond the similarities in their ground-plans, they likely to have something else in common as well.

The *macellum* in Cuicul was erected by the Cosinii-brothers<sup>2</sup>. Although the building inscription of the Pannonian market has not yet been found, it is still possible to detect the donator based on the date of the construction, its architectural analogies and on the fact, that in most cases *macella*- just like other public buildings — were financed by the emperor, through the governor<sup>3</sup>. Considering the well known letters of Pliny the younger to the emperor Trajan, it is obvious, that a governor could not take a single step without the approval of his emperor, although it is probably also true, that the emperor did not supervise the building processes personally<sup>4</sup>. Thus, it is not unlikely, that if a governor was responsible for donating a public building (such as a *macellum*) he could have relied on his own taste and cultural traditions brought from his homeland.

Based on the archaeological research, the Aquincum market was built at the middle of the

AD. 3<sup>rd</sup> c. The governor of Pannonia Inferior at that time was P. Cosinius Felix (*legatus augusti pro praetore* between 249 and 252) whose *nomen gentile* raises the question, whether there may be some kind of family relation between him and the Cosinii brothers, who constructed a very similar *macellum* in Cuicul a hundred years earlier.

In this paper, we are trying to construct the family tree of the above mentioned P. Cosinus Felix and connect him to the African Cosinii.

## P. COSINIUS FELIX: THE GOVERNOR OF PANNONIA INFERIOR

There are three inscriptions mentioning P. Cosinius Felix: an altar stone, found in Óbuda in the 19<sup>th</sup> c. was dedicated to Fortuna Augusta, by P. Cosinius Felix, as *legatus augusti pro praetore*<sup>5</sup>. A milestone, which was discovered in the vicinity of the fortress of *Campona* also mentions him as having the same rank and his full name<sup>6</sup>, and there is a fragmentary building inscription from Noricum as well (*Lauriacum*) this latter lacks his *cognomen*<sup>7</sup>.

There is a fourth reference, although a bit uncertain: recent archaeological research in Carnuntum revealed an altar stone from a 3<sup>rd</sup> c. well fill, which was dedicated to Silvanus by Finitius Lucanus *tesserarius* of the *Legio X Gemina*, during the governorship of a certain *Quosini* (Cosini?)<sup>8</sup>.

\* Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, Aquincumi Múzeuma. I am grateful to Dr. L. Borhy and Prof. G. Camodeca for their help and useful advices. I would also like to say thank you to Dr. A. Choyke for correcting my English.

1. On the Aquincum *macellum*: LÁNG, O., "Reconsidering the Aquincum *macellum*: analogies and origins", *ActaArchHung* 54, 2003, 165-204.

2. See below

3. See below

4. PLIN. *Epist.* 10, 23, 24 and 90, 91

5. CIL III, 3421

6. SOPRONI, S., "Kiadatlan pannoniai mérföldkövek", *ArchÉrt* 78, 1951, 44-48, 47.

7. CIL III, 15208

8. HACKEL-TUNA, G., "Ein neuer Silvanus - Altar aus Carnuntum", KANDLER, M. (ed.) *Das Auxiliarkastell Carnuntum 2*, Wien 1997, 97.

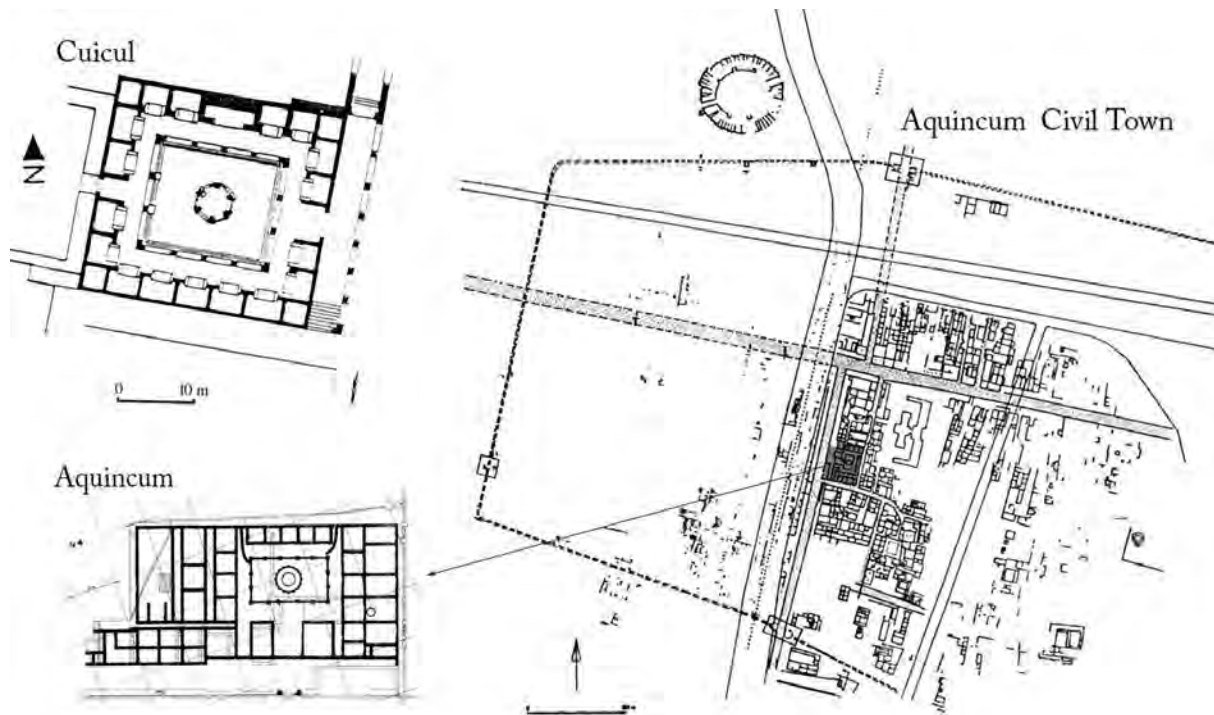


Fig. 1

Up to now we only have an incomplete view of the life and *cursus honorum* of this governor. E. Ritterling dated his activity between the end of the AD. 2<sup>nd</sup>, beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. and suggested that the Pannonian Cosinius should be identified with that of the one from Noricum<sup>9</sup>. A. Degrassi also dated his governorship to the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c.<sup>10</sup>, just like G. Barbieri<sup>11</sup> or the PIR<sup>12</sup>. Based on the second *tribunicia potestas* of Trebonianus Gallus written on the above mentioned milestone, led S. Soproni to date the stone to 252 AD. and connect it to a campaign possibly against the Goths<sup>13</sup>. The milestone and P. Cosinius Felix are next mentioned by A. Radnóti in connection with a bust depicting Trebonianus Gallus. Radnóti speaks of the governor as the follower of Trebonianus and his son, gathering together troops in Pannonia against Aemialianus<sup>14</sup>. J. Fitz dates

the activity of Cosinius from the middle of 249 up to 252 or 253 AD. He also suspects that the governor was also involved in war-time activity<sup>15</sup>. In the "Der Verwaltung Pannonies in der Römerzeit" Fitz already refers to the possible African origin of P. Cosinius Felix and suggests that he became *consul* late in the reign of Philippus Arabs and conducted the province of Noricum in the same period<sup>16</sup>.

The Carnuntum altarstone (see above) added new information: according to G. Hackel-Tuna if we accept the reading of Quosini co(n)s(ularis) in the sixth line<sup>17</sup>, it is possible that the governor was the legate of the *Legio X Gemina* around AD. 230 and right after his consulate he became *legatus agusti pro praetore* in Pannonia Inferior<sup>18</sup>.

9. RITTERLING, E., "Pannonia Inferior helytartói (legati pro praetore) Trajanustól kezdve", *ArchÉrt* 41, 1927, 58-88, 85.

10. DEGRASSI, A., *I fasti consulari dell'Impero Romano*, Roma 1952, 174.

11. BARBIERI, G., *L'Albo senatorio da Settimo Seveo a Carino*, Roma 1982, 205.

12. *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* 2, GROAG, E.; STEIN, A. (edd.), C1529, 1530.

13. SOPRONI, "Kiadatlan...", *o.c.*, 47.

14. RADNÓTI, A., "Trebonianus Gallus ezüstlemez - mellképe", *FoLA* 6, 1954, 49-62, 59.

15. FITZ, J., "Legati augusti pro praetore Pannoniae inferioris", *ActaAntHung* 11, 1963, 245-324, 299-300.

16. FITZ, J., *Der Verwaltung Pannoniens in der Römerzeit III.*, Budapest 1993-95, 1044-1046.

17. The writer lists other possibilities but considers the governorship of Cosinius most probable. See: HACKEL-TUNA, "Ein neuer..." *o.c.*, 99.

18. HACKEL-TUNA, "Ein neuer..." *o.c.*, 98.: cites the well known process since the Severi, during which the *legatus legionis* of Pannonia Superior becomes the governor of Pannonia Inferior and then returns to Superior as governor. He also calls attention to the fact, that since the Severi Pannonia Inferior is a consular province.

In spite of all the above information there is still an uncertainty around the origin and governorship of P. Cosinius Felix<sup>19</sup>. Thus, in the following chapters an effort will be made to search for the origin of this *nomen gentile* together with other Cosinii mentioned in the sources or inscriptions.

## THE COS(S)INII - HISTORY OF RESEARCH

There are 103 inscriptions altogether (including 3 brick- and 2 amphora-stamps and an inscription on a wooden tablet) from all over the Roman Empire, that mention the *nomen gentile* Cos(s)inus. In 60 cases there is the name Cossinius and in 43 cases we have Cosinius. This raises the question whether there are two different families or whether this was just a misspelling, which was later deliberately employed by a branch of the family.

Earlier research considered both the Cossini and Cosini, as members of the same Italian family: according to V. De-Vit t these names represent the same *gens romana* and sees no difference between the two variants<sup>20</sup>. F. Münzer és E. Groag also treats the two names as coming from one family when listing Cos(s)ini in inscriptions and sources<sup>21</sup>. W. Schulze sees the origin of the *nomen* from the Etruscan CUSIΘES or CUSIΘI, and does not separate the two variants either<sup>22</sup>.

Recent publications do not differ from the late 19<sup>th</sup>, early 20<sup>th</sup> c. opinions either: the name is still considered Italian by K.L. Elvers, W. Eck and G. Alföldy<sup>23</sup>.

Apart from the suggestion of J. Fitz (see page above) we only find M. Le Glay's idea on the African origin<sup>24</sup>.

Explanations concerning either the Italian or African origin are still missing, this is probably

19. MÓCSY, A.; FITZ, J., "Igazgatás (Helytartók)", MÓCSY, A.; FITZ, J. (edd.), *Pannonia Régészeti Kézikönyve*, Budapest 1990, 58.

20. DE-VIT, V., *Totius Latinitatis Onomasticon*, Prati 1868, 472-473.

21. MÜNZER F.; GROAG, E., "Cossinius", RE 8, 1901, Stuttgart 1901, 1671.

22. SCHULZE, W., *Zur Geschichte Latenischer Eigennamen*, Berlin 1904, 158.

23. ELVERS, K.L.; ECK, W., "Cos(s)inius", CONCIK, H.; SCHNEIDER, H. (edd.), *Der Neue Pauly-Encyklopädie der Antike* 3, Stuttgart 1997, 211. ALFÖLDY, G., "Noricum", London 1974, 250.

24. LE GLAY, M., "Senateurs de Numidiae et des Mauretains", *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio II (Tituli 5)*, 1982, 747.

due to the fact, that the above mentioned publications usually dealt with the "historical" Cossini in the sources and these all lived in Roman Italy.

## COSSINI IN THE SOURCES

Chronologically the first member of the family is a L. Cossinius, mentioned by Cicero (the letter can be dated to BC.56)<sup>25</sup>. This man, of Tiburian origin achieved citizenship under Sulla, right after a court-case against a certain T. Caelius<sup>26</sup>. It is also obvious from this letter, that the son of this Cossinius already had the rank of equestrian : "[...] L. Cossinius pater huius equitis Romani [...]".

The next is an other L. Cossinius mentioned by Plutarch<sup>27</sup>, killed after running away during Spartacus's revolt in BC.73<sup>28</sup>. This person — because of the misinterpreted Greek text — was long considered to have the rank of *praetor*<sup>29</sup> and it was F. Ryan who demonstrated that this was not so<sup>30</sup>.

We also have data on a L. Cossinius from BC.67, with whom Varro discusses about shepherding<sup>31</sup>, because Cossinius was a person "*qui pecurias habuerunt in Epiro magnas, [...]*"<sup>32</sup>.

Cicero mentions an other L. Cossinius in one of his letters to Atticus around BC.60<sup>33</sup> (probably identical with the one mentioned in Varro<sup>34</sup>) who was a good friend of Atticus and who had travelled to Greece. The next letter of Cicero to mention a Cossinius is addressed to Servius Sulpicius Rufus, proconsul of Achaia and datable to BC.46: this L. Cossinius is a friend of the proconsul, has a *libertus*, named L. Cossinius Anchialus travelling to

25. CIC. *pro Balb.* 23, 53.

26. There are no more data or sources considering this court-case.

27. PLUT. *Crass.* 9, 6

28. The same Cossinius is mentioned by Sallustius: SALL. *Hist.* 3, 77.

29. MÜNZER; GROAG, "Cossinius..." *o.c.*, 1671. WISEMAN, T.P., *New man in the Roman Senate 139 BC. – AD.14.*, Oxford 1971, 17 és 227 — considered identical with the Cossinius from Tibur. NICOLET, C., *L'ordre équestre*, Paris 1966, 91. BADIEN, E., *Foreign Clientelae (264-70BC.)*, Oxford 1958, 304. GRUIEN, E.S., *The Last Generation of the Roman Republic*, London 1974, 176.

30. RYAN, F., "The Praetorship of Varinius, Cossinius and Galber", *Klio* 78, 1996, 374-379, 376-379.

31. VARRO *rust.* 2,1,1; 3,1; 10, 1-4; 11,11-12.

32. VARRO *rust.* 2.

33. T. Pomponius Atticus is also mentioned by Varro. He also takes part in discussions on shepherds and also knows Cossinius : VARRO *rust.* 2, 2. For the letters of Cicero: CIC. *ad Att.* 1,19,11 20,6 2,1,1

34. For the identification of the "two" Cossini, see: MÜNZER; GROAG, "Cossinius..." *o.c.*, 1671.

Greece<sup>35</sup>. Finally — so says Cicero — Cossinius died in BC.45<sup>36</sup>.

Based on the data in the ancient sources, it is possible to reconstruct the first two generations of the Cossinii.

The first generation is represented by the Tiburian L. Cossinius, who was obviously already adult (he won a case against T. Caelius). This action dates to the period of the Social War, because at that time (around BC.90) Tibur was still of Latin right and only the magistrate had that of the Roman<sup>37</sup>. In our opinion this man is identical to the one dying in BC.73 and mentioned by Plutarch<sup>38</sup>, who although was not *praetor*, could have been of higher rank, which was why he was at the head of a troop. According to all these data, L. Cossinius was probably born around BC.120-115 and his son reached the status of equestrian rank.

The second generation of the “historical” Cossinii is represented by another L. Cossinius mentioned repeatedly by Cicero and Varro. Varro writes that he had flock(s) in Epirus (landowner) in BC. 67, he is Cicero’s friend in BC.60 and a knight (that is certainly in BC. 56). We also know of his *libertus* (*liberti*) who was on business in Greece. The influential (friend of Cicero, T. Pomponius Atticus and Servius Sulpicius Rufus) and rich L. Cossinius is thus, possibly contemporary or — even more probably — the son of L. Cossinius killed in BC. 73.

Apart from the sources above, epigraphical data on the Cos(s)inii needs to be arranged into chronological and topographical horizons.

#### THE INSCRIPTIONS: ITALY (Fig. 2.)

##### BC. 1<sup>st</sup> c.

The earliest family -member, known from an inscription is L. Cossinius Curuus, from Asculum (AE 467,2000)<sup>39</sup>. His inscription dates to the end

35. Cic. *ad fam* 13, 23,1.

36. Cic. *ad Att.* 13, 46,4

37. ROSS TAYLOR, L., “The Voting Districts of the Roman Republic”, *Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome*, Rome 1960, 107.

38. He does not agree with the identification, but deals with L. Cossinius, mentioned by Plutarch, as praetor: SALOMIES, O., “Senatori oriundi del Lazio”, SOLIN, H.(ed.), *Studi Storico-epigrafici sul lazio Antico*, Roma 1996, 92-93.

39. The manuscript was finished in 2002, although this inscription was discovered later. Thus, this data can only be mentioned here without any further comment.



Fig. 2

of the Republican era, probably from the first period of the *colonia* (88 BC.?) and thus is contemporary with the sources. He may have been close relative of L. Cossinius Tiburs. Although there is no indication that he was eventually appointed to the rank of equestrian, he must have been rich (*aedilis*, *pontifex*) as is shown by the fact that he donated meals and an animal-performance to the public at large. He also had a *libertus*.

##### AD. 1<sup>st</sup> c.

The inscriptions dated to the AD. 1<sup>st</sup> c. mainly mention *liberti*. According to two inscriptions from the Urbs (CIL VI, 16495, CIL VI, 38258 = AE 1995, 165) there must have been a *patronus* living here, named Aulus Cosinius<sup>40</sup>.

There is a Cosinia from Forum Cassi (CIL X, 5795) and two *liberti* from Tivoli: Cossinia Caesia and L. Cossinius Discus (*mulieris liberta*) (CIL XIV,

40. Description of the stone and dating: DI STEFANO MANZELLA, I., “Iscrizioni Romane ‘ex villa Ceci’”, *BMonMusPont* 15, 1995, 81-118, 101-103.

3755) who must also have had a *patronus* called L. Cossinius.

Again there is a tomb of a Vestal Virgin called Cossinia (AE 1931,78) from Tibur whose funeral monument was donated by her freedman (?) L. Cossinius Electus<sup>41</sup>. The name of the donator was added latter<sup>42</sup>. As the result of misinterpreted documentation of the excavation this monument was long connected to the grave of a young girl found above this tomb and dated to the Severan era<sup>43</sup>. In fact the tomb of Cossinia dates to AD.50<sup>44</sup>.

Summing up the above listed members of the family, it seems there must have been a *libertus* branch in Rome and its surroundings (Tibur, Forum Cassi) in the AD. 1<sup>st</sup> c. either with the "s" or "ss" variant and there must have been a free-born — and rich — branch as well, consistently writing their names as Cossinius, such as A. Cossinius and L. Cossinius patroni and the vestal virgin Cossinia. Thus, it is probably correct, that the Tiburian Cossini known from the sources (who were already of equestrian rank with *liberti* and Greek business-interests by the middle of the BC. 1<sup>st</sup> c.) and their relative from Asculum, were the ancestors of these Cossinii mentioned on inscriptions.

There are also inscriptions of Cossinii from the same period in Campania. A free-born, rich branch may also be pressed here, with members such as A. Cossinius Priscus *duumvir* from Pompeii (TP 34)<sup>45</sup> (AD.52) together with Pompeian Cossinia (CIL IV, 4596) and A. Cossinius Libanus (CIL X, 8058).

Quite a few inscriptions come from Puteoli concerning *libertii* of this family, who — being driven out of the town magistrate — take their

41. The cognomen Electus could refer to a *libertus*-origin: COARELLI, F., *Latio*, Roma 1982, 105. It has also been suggested that he was her father: BORDENACHE BATTAGLIA, G., *Corredi funerari di età imperiale e barbarica nel Museo Nazionale Romano*, Roma 1983, 130.

42. GIULIANI, C.F., *Tiburs Pars Altera IV*, Roma 1966, 27. MANCINI, G., "Scoperta della tomba della Vergine vestale tiburtina Cossinia", *NSc VII*, 1930, 353-369, 356. BORDENACHE BATTAGLIA, *Corredi funerari...*, o.c., 130.

43. First descriptions and later interpretations: MANCINI, "Scoperta della tomba...", o.c., 353-369, GIULIANI, *Tibur...*, o.c., 27. HALLAM, G.H., "A Note on the Monument and Tomb of a Vestal Virgin at Tivoli", *JRS* 20, 1930, 14-15.

44. Most probably it was a cremation grave. For the reevaluation of the grave: BORDENACHE BATTAGLIA, *Corredi funerari...*, o.c., 124-138.

45. There is no evidence so far for any connection with the Roman A. Cossinius patronus

part in business in the Iulio-Claudian era<sup>46</sup>. The most frequent *praenomen* is again Aulus: A. Cossinius (CIL X, 2344) A. Cossinius Pandarus *argentarius* (AJA 2, 1898, 378)<sup>47</sup>, A. Cossinius Primigenius<sup>48</sup> (CIL X, 2347) A. Cossinius Iucundus Minor (CIL X, 2345)<sup>49</sup> A. Cossinus Moscha (CIL X, 2346) A. Cossinius Felix (CIL X, 2293)<sup>50</sup> A. Cossinius Eutyhus (AE 1988, 343)<sup>51</sup> or Cossinia Daphne (CIL X, 2183)<sup>52</sup> — A(uli) F(ilia)! — and finally two men with different *praenomina*: L. Cossinius (AJA 2,1898,380)<sup>53</sup> and Cladus Cossinius (CIL X, 2255).

Thus, there are also two branches of Cossinii in Campania: a rich *libertus*-branch and another — also well-to-do — free-born part. Owing to the topographical proximity and the chronological coincidence — it seems probable, that there was some kind of connection between the Campanian and Roman branches.

#### AD. 2<sup>nd</sup> c.

We have no information on free-born family-members from the AD.2<sup>nd</sup> c. On the contrary, there are numerous *liberti*, consistently using Cosinius as a *nomen gentile*. The *praenomina* do not show such consistency as they did in the case of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. — Cos(s)inius: there is even a M(arcus) (CIL VI, 16494)<sup>54</sup>, one A(ulus). This last -A(ulus) Cosinius Primigenius — was himself the *patronus* of Cosinia Philippa (CIL VI, 16494a) and a

46. For the Puteolan Cossinii in the AD. 1<sup>st</sup> c.: CAMODECA, G., "L'élite municipale di Puteoli fra la tarda repubblica e Nerone", CÉBELLAC-GERVASONI, M. (ed.), *L'élites municipales de l'Italie Péninsulaire des Gracques à Néron. Actes de la table ronde de Clermont- Ferrand 28-30 Nov.1991*, Naples, Rome 1996, 91-99.

47. The grave inscription dates to the middle of the AD.1<sup>st</sup> c: CAMODECA, G., "Un vicus tyannianus e i mestieri bancari a Puteoli", *Bollettino Flegreo* 1999, 17-34, 22.

48. The Latin version of the Greek name Protogenus: KAJANTO, I., *Onomastic Studies in the Early Christian Inscriptions of Rome and Carthage*, Helsinki 1963, 77.

49. A wide-spread slave-name: KAJANTO, I., *The Latin Cognomina*, Helsinki 1965, 134. and 73.

50. His *libertus*-status is marked by the words M(ulieris) L(ibertus) and the *cognomen* Felix.

51. Although the inscription is walled in present day Capri, it probably originates from Puteoli: KESSEL, H., "Einige Inschriften von der Insel Capri", *ZPE* 71, 1998, 194-198, 197. FREDERICO, E.; MIRANDA, E., *Capri antica dalla preistoria alla fine dell'età romana*, Capri 1998, 294, CAMODECA, "L'élite municipale...", o.c., 95.

52. Probably also slave-born, based on his *cognomen*

53. Note, that apart from the *praenomina*, the inscriptions of both Cossinius are identical: CIL X, 2344 and AJA 2, 1898,380.

54. M. Cosinius Gorgianus dedicated a grave-inscription to his father. The *cognomina* also refer to slave origin.

L(ucius) is known as well (*CIL* VI, 17210)<sup>55</sup>. The inscription of Cosinia Secunda dedicated to the memory of her father should also be mentioned (*CIL* VI, 16496). Beside funerary inscriptions there are three brick-stamps too: a certain Cosinia Gratilla (owner of the workshop) dated to 146-147 (*CIL* XV, 959 and 960)<sup>56</sup> and another owner, Cosinius Satrianus, around the turn of the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. (*CIL* XV, 689). It seems probable, as being Cosinius, these two owners, can be classed among the rich *libertus*-branch, just like the above — mentioned A. Cosinius Primigenius.

There are two other *liberti* members from Volsinium: C. Cosinius Primitivus and Cosinia Nice. Their social-standing is clear from the inscription itself (*CIL* XI, 2758).

Another tombstone of a family-member, Cossinia Fortunata is known from Cupra Maritima (northeast from Rome) (*CIL* IX, 5318). The modern name is Cossignano, which probably comes from this nomen (*fundus* or *praedium Cossianum*)<sup>57</sup>. She may have been the only free-born family-member from the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. although this is contradicted by her *cognomen*.

There are three areas in Campania where Cos(s)ini lived in the 2<sup>nd</sup> C. Two from Liternum: Cossinia Asies and Cossinius Hesperus (*CIL* X, 3720). There are even more from Beneventum, which is further from the large, coastal cities, such as Neapolis or Puteoli<sup>58</sup>. The busy commercial town developed at the junction of six important roads, it owned large fields, which must have attracted people (especially *liberti*) who moved here from other parts of Italy. Owing to its relative geographical isolation from the coastal cities, a separate branch of the family developed, that probably still existed in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c.<sup>59</sup>. We only find the Cosinius name-variant in Beneventum. The richest member must have been a certain Cosinius Cosmus (probably also of slave-origin, according to his *cognomen*) who was the owner of the *fundus Petronianus* (AD. 101)(*EIL* 2844)<sup>60</sup>. M. Cosinius Primitivus, who erected a statue to Silvanus, could

have been the *libertus* the landowner Cosinius Cosmus (37). Other members include Cosinia Fortunata and M. Cosinius Primitivus (*CIL* IX, 1804)<sup>61</sup> or Cosinia Maximiana and his adopted son (*alumnus*) M. Cosinius Oecogenus (*CIL* IX, 1805). Here, we have M. Cosinius Eutythianus and brother Soter, whose father was a doctor (35)<sup>62</sup>. There is another doctor mentioned on an inscription: M. Casineius Peto and wife Casineia Artemisia, whose names must have been spelled wrong (*CIL* IX, 1714). There are other inscriptions of *liberti* of the family that come from *Pagus Veianus*<sup>63</sup>: beside the M. Cosinius Priscus (tradesman) and his family (*CIL* IX, 1506) we know of a certain M. Cosinius Priscus, perhaps the son of the above mentioned (*CIL* IX, 1523).

As far as the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. Cos(s)inii are concerned, there must have been a branch in Rome (and Latium) where almost all members spelt their names with one "s" and were all *liberti*. There is only one with a double "s": the landowner Cossinia (she may also have been a *liberta* based on her cognomen). The other branch of the family is represented by members from Campania (mainly from Beneventum). They also write their *nomen* with one "s" (except the two Cossinii from Liternum). There is also a landowner in this region (probably also a freedman). Most of these used M(arcus) as *praenomen* which can refer to a local *patronus* called M(arcus) Cosinius. This could well have been Cosinius Cosmus, owner of the *fundus Petronianus*.

#### AD. 3<sup>rd</sup> c.

There are only a few dated inscriptions from this century in Italy. There are only M. Cosinius Eutythianus and his brother M. Cosinius Ianuarius serving in the *cohors V vigilum* (*CIL* VI, 1057-58). This dates to 210 and — based on their cognomina — they may have been *liberti*<sup>64</sup>. Beside there is Cosinia Celsina from the branch from Beneven-

55. Here the greek *cognomina* refers to slave-origin.

56. Setälä considers her as identical to Cusinia Gratilla (*CIL* XV, 961). But this could also have been a misspelling: SETÄLÄ, P., "Private Domini in the Roman Brick Stamps of the Empire", *ActaInsRomFin* IX, 2, 1977, 105.

57. MALAVOLTA, M., "Lydiium Laterum Genus (Nota a Vitruvio II, 3,1)", *ArchCl* 29.1, 1977, 184-187, 184-186.

58. BRUNT, P.A., *Italian Manpower 225BC.-AD.14*, Oxford 1971, 356-357.

59. There is no data on Co(s)inii from previous periods.

60. The exact location is still unknown.

61. The M. Cosinius Primitivus mentioned previously may be the same person as either the son or father

62. For the *cognomen* Eutythianus see: KAJANTO, *Onomastic Studies in...*, o.c., 55. Further proof of his *libertus*-status is the fact that most doctors held this rank.: SCARBOROUGH, J., *Roman Medicine*, London 1969, 111.

63. It was the *pagus* of Benevetum and which later achieved the status of a *municipium*: VEYNE, P., *La table des ligures bae-biani*, *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* 69, 1957, 107.

64. Mostly *liberti* were recruited in the *vigile*, as shown by the frequency of non-latin cognomina: KAJANTO, I., "The Significance of Non-Latin Cognomina", *Latomus* 27, 1968, 517-534, 533. For the *cognomen* Eutythianus: see fn. 63.

tum (the varinat with “s” is constant here!) who was the priestess of Attys and Minerva (*CIL* IX, 1540 = *ILS* 4186). Her post also refers to her as *liberta*<sup>65</sup>.

Among the Cos(s)inii of the 3.c. — just like in the 2.c. — there are no inscriptions of free born members, reaching higher ranks (town magistrate, equestrian-or senatorial rank). The epigraphical data rather refers to *liberti* members, who grew rich and broke into branches (see the isolated branch in Beneventum).

#### AD. 4<sup>th</sup> c.

We only have information about a single family member, C. Vettius Cossinius Rufinus from Atina who was *praefectus urbi* in 315 and consul in 322<sup>66</sup> (*CIL* X, 5061). He may had been the descendant of the free-born Tiburian branch, whose ancestor, L. Cossinius was raised to the rank of equestrian at time of Cicero (see above) and whose other relative is among the nobilitat of Pompeii around AD.52 (*duumvir*).

Beside the above listed inscriptions of Cos(s)inii in Italy there are other fragments which date can not be determined. Four inscriptions mentioning Cossinii refer to freedmen in Rome (*CIL* VI, 6044, 16506-8). Two examples with the cognomen A(ulus) might be connected to the 1<sup>st</sup> c.- members<sup>67</sup>. There are two more inscriptions from Puteoli (*CIL* X, 2929) and Benevetum (*CIL* IX, 1803). Two amphora-stamps from Mediolanum and Roma with COSSI may also refer to Cossinii (*CIL* XV, 3436, *CIL* V, 8112.30)<sup>68</sup>.

#### THE EUROPEAN PROVINCES (Fig. 3.)

There are four inscriptions mentioning Cos(s)inii from the European provinces of the Empire (aside from the 4 from Aquincum, Lauriacum and Carnuntum). An attempt will be made here to arrange the data into chronological horizons, in the same way as the Italian members.

65. The priests of foreign cults were mostly *liberti*: DUFF, A.M., *Freedman in the Early Roman Empire*, New York 1958, 129.

66. DEGRASSI, *I fasti consulari...*, o.c., 174.

67. There are 9 A(ulus) Cossinius in the 1st c. This number decreased. There are no members with such a *praenomen* from the 3rd and 4th c.

68. Owing to the absence of photos or drawings, the type of the amphora can not be determined. It is described “African” by *CIL*. The stamps are mentioned by: CALLENDER, M.H., *Roman Amphorae with Index of Stamps*, London 1970, 110.

#### AD. 2<sup>nd</sup> c.

There are no Cos(s)inii from the 1<sup>st</sup> c. among the western-European family-members. The Greek-inscription concerning a certain P. Cosinius Kapiton (supervisor of markets) from Heracleia dates to the turn of 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> c. (*IGRR* I 799)<sup>69</sup>. He was probably a freedman.

The inscription of M. Rutilius Cosinius Calus dates to the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. from Séville (AE 1005,1993). This man from Hispania was *proc(urator) aug(usti) patr[imonii Baeti]c(ae)*. Up to the reign of Hadrian this important post was held by *liberti* who were later replaced by equestrians<sup>70</sup>. Due to the missing part of the inscription, this Cosinius’s social standing is unsure. His *cognomen* does not refer to a possible *libertus*-origin, but the eventual equestrian rank is not indicated either.

We know of a mother and his son from Narbo, Q. Cossinius Pudens and Cossinia Victorina. The boy’s cognomen refers to his possible freedman-origin (*CIL* XII, 4749)<sup>71</sup>.

A certain C. Cossinius Primus — probably still a freedman — is known from Augusta Vindelicorum (Raetia) (*CIL* III, 5795)<sup>72</sup>.

Concerning the 3<sup>rd</sup> inscriptions from the European provinces, the governor, P. Cosinius Felix has already been mentioned here. No information about members exists from the 4<sup>th</sup> c.

The few inscriptions reported on above only refer to some freedmen-family-members appearing in larger cities, such as Narbo or Augusta Vindelicorum — in both cases with the Cossinius name — variation. They were probably attracted by opportunities in these cities. There is only one Cosinius of higher rank from Sévilla. The Heraclian market-supervisor could be connected to the separate Cosinius-branch observed in the Aegean region.

69. The inscription is reported without any notation: DUMONT, A.; HOMOLLE, TH., *Mélanges d’Archeologie et d’Epigraphie*, Paris 1892, 384. For its dating see: SAYAR, M.H., “Pernitos-Heraclis”, *DenkschrWien* 269,1998, 210.

70. DUFF, *Freedman in the...*, o.c., 161-163.

71. KAJANTO, *The Latin...*, o.c., 264. Frequent name among freedmen.

72. The inscription is also mentioned by: VOLLMER, F., *Inscriptiones Bavariae Romanae*, Monach 1915, 36.

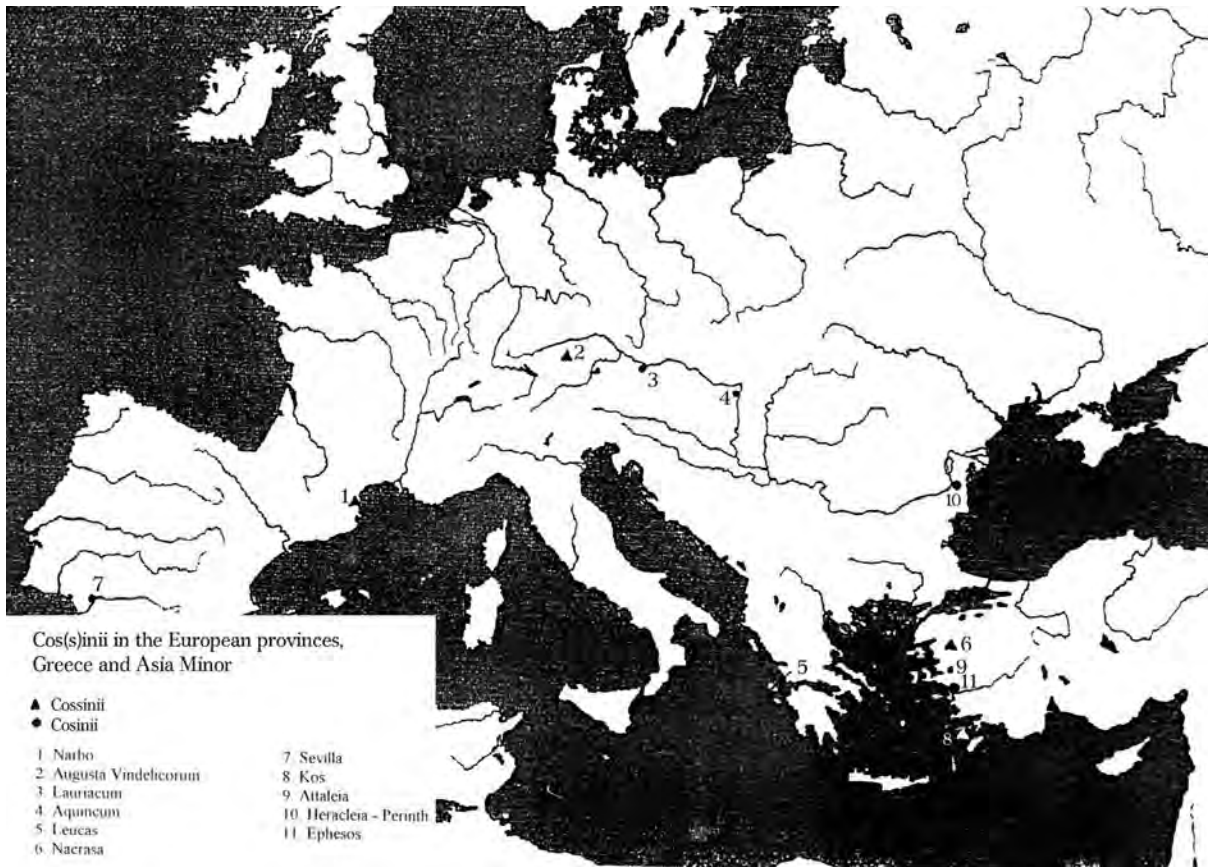


Fig. 3

### GREECE AND ASIA MINOR (Fig. 3)

The Cos(s)inii appearing in these regions were most probably also freedmen, although their *cognomina* do not permit such conclusions to be drawn, as in the other provinces. Most of the epigraphical data can be dated.

#### BC. 1<sup>st</sup> c.

At the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. quite a few merchants arrived in Delos and in the western Greek region, for instance in Zakynthos (Epirus). According to J. Hatzfeld, A. Cossinius Philocrates Puteolanus (*CIL* III, 574)<sup>73</sup> may have been just such an influential merchant whose *cognomen* again refers to a slave-origin. His *praenomen* connects him to the clientela of A. Cossinius (observed both in Puteoli and Rome) especially because the *cognomen* Puteolanus obviously refers to Puteoli. Thus, it is probable that Cossinius Philocrates Puteolanus travelled to Leukas on

73. HATZFELD, J., *Les Trafiquants Italiens dans l'Orient Hellénique*, New York 1975, 38-39 and 62.

some business, perhaps representing his master<sup>74</sup>. The Epiran Cossinius is also important from the point of view of the sources: as mentioned, both Cicero and Varro writes about the equestrian, L. Cossinius, who possessed vast territories here and had *liberti*. This is obviously the same family.

#### AD. 1<sup>st</sup> c.

Most of the inscriptions from this period come from the island of Kos, where four members of the family can be found, all writing their name Cossinius. A certain L. Cossinius Apollonios is mentioned on an inscription, discovered close to the Odeion, referring to him as member of the council of the elders (Segre, ED 228). There are three mentions of a L. Cossinius Bassos: once as the priest of Asclepios and Hygieia, whose inscription was donated by the people (δαμοϛ) (Segre, EV.26) and there is an other one where he is mentioned as the friend of the emperor (φιλοκαισαρ)

74. A similar solution was suggested by: WILSON, A.J.N., *Emigration from Italy in the Republican Age of Rome*, New York 1966, 109.



and again as the priest of Asclepios (IGRR IV 1061). This last inscription was donated by his son L. Cossinius Gnorimos who was also a φιλοκαίσαρ. Their social standing can not be certainly determined. There is another mention of the name, L. Cossinius Bassos, but this is rather dated to the turn of 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> c. by M. Segre<sup>75</sup> (Segre, EV.39). Thus, it seems that these Cossinii — most probably close relatives<sup>76</sup>, all held honourable positions: a member of the council of the elders (L. Cossinius Apollonius) or priest of Asclepios and Hygieia and friend of the emperor (L. Cossinius Bassos and son L. Cossinius Gnorimos).

There is another 1<sup>st</sup> c. inscription from Ephesos (AE 1993, 1469): in the letter of the proconsul P. Petronius proconsul, datable to 30-31 AD. appears a certain L. Cosinius, who is described as the priest of the emperors (Augustus and Tiberius) the youngsters and the senate. According to this last information he may also have been a *libertus*. Interestingly the proconsul is named this family-member as his friend and devotee, just like another L. Cossinius in Cicero's letter almost 80 years earlier<sup>77</sup>.

#### AD. 2<sup>nd</sup> c.

There are relatively few inscriptions related to the family in this century. There is Cossinia Kallirona still from Kos (Segre, EV.5)<sup>78</sup>, and Cossinius Rufinus from Nacrassa, who was *proconsul Asiae* at the turn of the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. (IGRR IV 1162)<sup>79</sup> and as such he was most probably relative of the previously mentioned C. Vettius Cossinius from Atina (4<sup>th</sup> c.) who was *consul* in 323<sup>80</sup>.

There are also a few undated inscriptions mentioning Cos(s)inii in the Aegean region: two doctors from Koan branch: L. Cossinius Kastoros (IGRR IV 1085) and Cossinius Bassos (IGRR IV 1067) probably freedmen again. This last man may have been a relative of the 1<sup>st</sup> c.-L. Cossinius Bassos (see above). There is also L. Cosinius Rufus

75. SEGRE, M., *Inscrizioni di Kos I. (Monografie della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in Oriente 6)*, 1993, ED.39.

76. This is referred by the *praenomen* L(ucius) and the *cognomina*.

77. See above.

78. Solution to the last line is given by Segre as cognomen, so to say Kossinia Kallirona and his two sons: SEGRE, *Inscrizioni di ...*, o.c., ED.5.

79. CONZE, A.; SCHUCHARDT, C., Die "Arbeiten zur Pergamon 1886-98", AM 24, 1899, 97-240, 217.

80. For the relatives see: DEGRASSI, *I fasti consulari...*, o.c., 74.

and his family from Ephesos (AE 1993, 1489)<sup>81</sup>, as well as another Cossinius from Attaleia (Pamphylia) probably also a *libertus* (SEG VI 665). The family of the Crepereii, whose analogous case will be mentioned later is situated similarly.

According to the data listed above, the following process can be reconstructed in the case of the "Greek" Cos(s)inii: of the independent Puteolan Cossinii, who had already made their fortune in Italy in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, a certain A. Cossinius Philocrates Puteolanus appears in Epirus, hoping to do good business. Then — as the family spread towards the east — we come across other Cossinii on Kos from the 1<sup>st</sup> c. onwards. These may even have been the *liberti* (or descendants) of the Cossinii coming from Puteoli. These latter were already highly respected people, their inscriptions were dedicated by the local populations, although based on their position, they were still of *libertus*-origin (priest of the emperor-cult, priest of Aesculapius and Hygieia, doctors). A. Cossinius from Attalea can also be attributed to this branch of the family. The Ephesian members probably form a separate branch, as their name is always spelt with one "s" in this town. The 2<sup>nd</sup> c. Cossinius Rufinus from Nacrassa was certainly not a descendant of the "Greek", merchant-*liberti* Cossinii but rather a relative of the Italian branch already of senatorial rank. It is also probable, that a few Cossinii in Asia Minor were his freedmen.

#### AFRICA (Fig. 4.)

There are 36 inscriptions altogether mentioning Co(s)inii from North Africa. Most of them can not be dated, thus it seems more convenient to separate the two name-variants, especially because there is a connection between social standing and spelling.

We know of 23 Cossinius all together: there are grave-stones of members of a family from Hr. Ghaiada (Provincia Byzacena)<sup>82</sup> (CIL VIII, 11988-9, 23719-29) and although they can not be dated adequately, they represent at least three generations, in which quite a few close family-connec-

81. Others think that the Ephesian Cossinii and the here also appearing Cusini are members of the same family: ...AE 1993, 1489.

82. TOUSSAINT, M., "Rapport Archéologique sur la Région de mactar", BAAntNat 1899, 185-235, 192 and 207-209: this name refers to a *castellum* in the territory of Mactar. He does not comment on the inscriptions found here

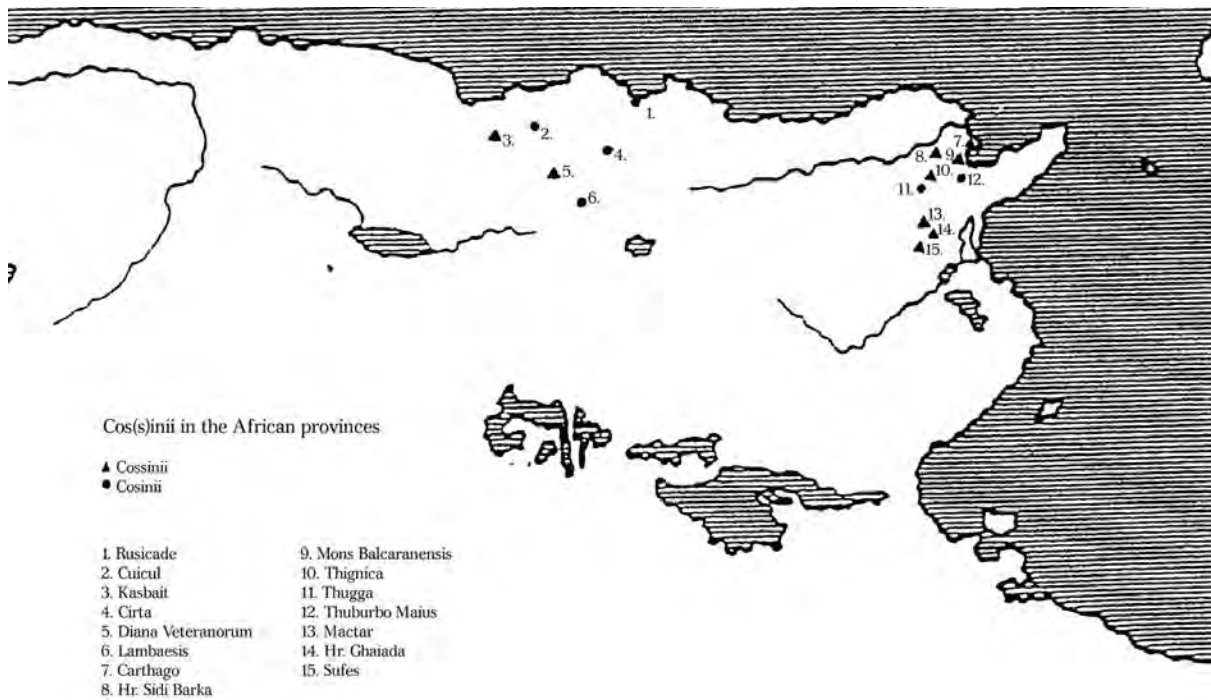


Fig. 4

tions can be identified<sup>83</sup>. In addition we also know Cossinii from Carthage (*CIL* VIII, 12998), Sufes (*CIL* VIII, 11432), Mactar (*CIL* VIII, 11850) and Kasbait (*CIL* VIII, 8672): the same *praenomina* and *cognomina* probably refer to the same family. There are also members from Hr. Sidi Barka and Thignica<sup>84</sup> (*CIL* VIII, 23939, 14897).

Their social position is only indicated in two cases: there is a *sacerdos* in Mons Balcaranensis (*CIL* VIII, 24166) and there is M. Cossinius Secundus from Diana Veteranorum, who was *flamen perpetuus* during the reign of Septimius Severus<sup>85</sup> (*CIL* VIII, 4582 = *ILAlg* 1719). M. Cossinius Q(uinti) F(ilius) is yet another family-member from this town (*CIL* VIII, 4611).

83. (*CIL* VIII, 11988): Aelia Namchel-A Cossinius Gallus (couple). (*CIL* VIII, 11989, 23719, 23722, 23726, 23729): the five young A. Cossinii mentioned on these stones could have been brothers (aged between 3 and 10). (*CIL* VIII, 23724, 23725): could refer to a father and son (two A. Cossinii Saturi, aged 65 and 24)

84. Although *CIL* gives two different find places for these last two stones, it is still possible that this is one and the same stone: the inscription is the same, as is the placing of the lines. There are only differences in the interpunctio and the abbreviations, H.S.E and H.E.E.: GAUCKLER, M., "Note sur quelques inscriptions latines découvertes en Tunisie", *BAAntNat* 1900, 92-114, 104 (Hr. Sidi Barka) and CAGNAT, R., "Ruines Romaines du Nord de la Tunisie", *BAAntNat* 1886, 238-240, 239 (Thignica) without any useful information.

85. VON HEFNER, J., "Römische Inschriften mit Bemerkungen", *AbhMünchen* V, 1847, 195.

Concerning the African Cossini although their inscriptions are mostly undatable and precise ties of blood can not always be reconstructed from them, the identical *prae-* and *cognomina* reflect a close family-branch in this area (Hr. Ghaiada). It is also important, that the majority of the family-members lived in the less frequented territories of Provincia Byzacena and Numidia, within a relatively small area and can rarely be found in regions more to the west. The third important point is that although most of them were free-born (though a few *liberti* also occur: *CIL* VIII, 11988, 12998, 11432, 8672) beside the two priests, there are no other information suggesting they would have held down posts (of town magistrate, equestrian or senatorial rank etc.)

When speaking of Cosinii there are a lot more titles and most of them are datable (13 inscriptions altogether: *ILAlg* 1084-5, *CRAI* 1915, p.316, 320, *AE* 1914,32 *AE* 1916,33-37, *CIL* VIII, 7969 = *ILAlg* 17, *CIL* VIII, 26546, *AE* 1967, 563). There are only two simple grave-stones mentioning members of this family (*ILAlg* 1084-85). There are seven inscriptions, all mentioning the *macellum*-building Cosinii brothers from Cuicul, that provide information on their *cursus honorum* (*CRAI* 1915, p. 316, 320, *AE* 1914, 32 *AE* 1916, 33-37). Based on these information it is clear, that both C. Cosinius Maximus and L. Cosinius Primus — ascribed to the Arnensis tribus — held the posi-

tions of *quaestor*, *aedilis*, *praefectus iure dicundo*, then of *duumvir quinquennalis*, *pontifex*, and *flamen perpetuus*. They were active during the reign of Antoninus Pius. Later, they were raised into the equestrian class as well (by *in quinque decurias adlecto*<sup>86</sup>). According to H.-G. Pflaum, the family may originally have come from Carthage<sup>87</sup>, and although less successful in their hometown, they got on better in Cuicul, in the *colonia*, founded at the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD.<sup>88</sup> The Cosinii from Cuicul could have followed the “African practice”: magistrates or priests of the town moved into the equestrian class by *adlectio*, though social activity (and wealth) was necessary<sup>89</sup>. The construction of the *macellum* (together with columns, statues, *ponderarium* and *tholos*) certainly meets these requirements. There are no more known relatives (ancestors or descendants) of the Cosinii brothers in this town. In connection with this information R. Duncan-Jones has already pointed out, that the brothers were probably the first in the family to hold any posts<sup>90</sup>, and their descendants were probably already working on getting into the senatorial class.

More inscriptions testify to the growing wealth and carrier of the African Cosinii from the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. onwards. We know of M. Cosinius Celerinus from Rusicade, whose inscriptions dates to 186-187 and which concerns offerings for *venationes* and gladiator-fights (*CIL VIII*, 7969 = *ILAlG* 17). The only problem would be that of his tribus, the Quirina (as the Cosinii brothers belonged to the Arnensis tribus) but, as H.-G. Pflaum pointed out, differences in the classification of the tribus can occur in a family<sup>91</sup>.

An inscription from Thugga, dated to 214 mentions C[os]inia<sup>92</sup> Hermiona, who was probably again a greatly respected person — had a building restored at her own expenses (*CIL VIII*, 26546).

86. Inscriptions: (*AE* 1914, 32, *AE* 1916, 33-34).

87. For the Carthagian origin see: Prosopographia Imperii..., *o.c.*, C1531.

88. PFLAUM, H.-G., “Les juges des cinq decuries originaires d’Afrique Romaine”, *AntAfr* 2, 1968, 153-195, 166.

89. DUNCAN-JONES, R., “Equestrian Rank in the Cities of the African Provinces under the Principate: An Epigraphic Survey”, *BSR* 35, 1967, 147- 188, 152-153.

90. DUNCAN-JONES, “Equestrian Rank in ...”, *o.c.*, 161.

91. PFLAUM, “Les juges des...”, *o.c.*, 161. The example of the African family, mentioned by him could also mean, that the Cosinii in Cuicul asked for another tribus, for the sake of holding better posts.

92. An other possibility suggested by the *CIL* is Cusinia, although this *nomen* does not occur elsewhere in this area (based on *CIL VIII Suppl.* 5 1-2).

Rising up the social ladder of members of the Cosinius family can next be witnessed in Lambaesis, in 244, when a certain Cosinius Marcianus, *legatus augusti pro praetore* of the Emperor Gordianus III, dedicated an altar to Mercurius (*AE* 1967, 563). Although some chronological problems did arise with his posting<sup>93</sup>, most researches still agree with his posting as *legatus* in 244, and refer to his probable African origin as well as to the fact that there are Cosinii known from both Carthage and Cuicul<sup>94</sup>.

And this is the point where we can turn back to Pannonia: this date in the middle of the AD. 3<sup>rd</sup> c. makes it certain, that Cosinius Marcianus-*legatus* of Gordianus III — and P. Cosinius Felix, nominated to the same post only a few years later in Pannonia Inferior, must have had a close family relationship (they may even have been brothers). This could also mean, that the family gained admittance to the senatorial class sometime in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c.

## SUMMARY

Based on the above mentioned inscriptions mentioning Cos(s)iniii from Italy, Gallia Narbonensis, Greece, Asia Minor, Africa and Pannonia the movement of the family through the empire can be reconstructed. As there are “only” 103 inscriptions mentioning this *nomen* from all over the Roman Empire, and these Cos(s)iniii all lived in small, topographically well-defined areas it seems reasonable to suggest, that they all belong to the same family.

The *Italian* members of the family can be traced after the Sullan era, when L. Cossinius Tiburs-the earliest of all the family-members-acquired roman citizenship and died during the Sparthian revolt. He was probably born around 120-115 BC in Tibur. His close relative — and his contemporary — may have been L. Cossinius Curuus, already *pontifex* and *aedilis* from Asculum. The second generation is represented by L. Cossinius Tiburs’s son, L. Cossinius, who was still of equestrian rank and had interests in Epirus and

93. BIRLEY, E., “The Governors of Numidia AD.193-268”, *Journal of Roman Studies* 40, 1950, 60-69, 65

94. CORBIER, M., “Les familles clarissimes d’Afrique Proconsulaire (I-III siècle)”, *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio II = Tituli V*, 1982, 747.; LE GLAY, “Senateurs de Numidiae et...”, *o.c.*, 774. The chronological problem is mentioned, but no opinion is given: MARCILLET-JAUBERT, J., “Contribution aux fastes de Numidie”, *BAAIger* 2, 1966-67, 159-173, 171-173.

several *liberti*. Among the latter Cossinii, one is mentioned by Cicero, while another (A. Cossinius Philocrates Puteolanus) is known from an inscription from Epirus.

There seem to be two branches of the family from the next century onwards (AD. 1<sup>st</sup>): on the one hand there are the equestrian-class, influential Cossinii who came to Rome from Tibur, including A(ulus) and L(ucius) Cossinius, known as *patroni* and a vestal virgin called Cossinia (this branch of the family always spelled their names with a double "s"). On the other hand, there is the *libertus*-branch, who use the *nomen* in both variants ("s" or "ss"). The same duality can be observed in Campania. A rich branch of the Cossinius-family is known (A. Cossinius Priscus, *duumvir* in Pompeii) and a *libertus*-branch in Puteoli, who also became rich. A close relationship between the Campanian and Roman, free-born Cossinii can be supposed, because of the topographical and chronological coincidence. This tendency can further be traced in the AD. 2<sup>nd</sup> c. as well, although there are mostly members of the *libertus*-branch or their descendants are known. Obvious signs of becoming wealthy are shown by the inscriptions of landowner Cossinia Fortunata from Cupra Marittima. Cosinius Cosmus may represent the only free-born member of the family in this period. He writes his name, with one "s". This latter may be the result of geographical isolation: the Benevetian members always used this variant. There are no known free-born members of the family in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. either. Epigraphical data only concerns the rich *liberti*. But the presence of C. Vettius Cossinius Rufus, *praefectus urbi* in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. already shows that the free-born branch — still writing their *nomen* with "ss" — had risen to the rank of senator sometime in the 2<sup>nd</sup>, or 3<sup>rd</sup> c.

Separate branches of Cossinii and Cosinii can not be traced elsewhere in such a form. There are only a few known members from the *European provinces*. It is likely that these people belonged to the same family because this is a rare *nomen*. Members can only be found in important commercial centres in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c.: Narbo, Augusta Vindelicorum, where *liberti* occur. There is only one person in higher position: M. Rutilius Cosinius Calus, *procurator agusti* from Séville, although slave-origins can also be suspected here.

Another branch — probably deriving from the Epiran Cossinii in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC. — can be found in the *Aegean* region. The Eastern Mediterranean must have offered good commercial possibilities for the

ambitious Cossinii, who had already grown wealthy in Italy. There are many inscriptions concerning family-members of this branch from the island of Kos in the AD. 1<sup>st</sup> c., where the posts held by them and their name refer to their slave-origins, and also to the fact, that there are also local *liberti* of the Cossinii-family here. We know of members from Attaleia and Ephesos as well. It seems likely that A. Cossinius from the previous place also had an Italian *patronus*, while later only the Cosinius *nomen*-variant occur. The only securely free-born member is Cossinius Rufinus from this period, who was *proconsul* in Nacrasa. However, he was not locally born, but most probably from Italy, since there are no more Cos(s)inii in similar position in this region. This latter data seem to prove the point, that the members of the free-born branch — from Tibur — could have achieved senatorial rank in the AD. 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> c. (see above).

The forming of the *African* branch of the family may be connected to Cossinii migrating to this area after gaining roman citizenship under Sulla, but before they reached the equestrian rank, that is to say, in the BC.1<sup>st</sup> c.<sup>95</sup>. The history of members settling here can be followed in two directions: one of the branches retaining their *nomen*-variation with the traditional "ss" stayed topographically isolated in the inner territories in small settlements and most of them holding no posts (only two priests are known). The other Cosinius-branch being much more ambitious, settled in busy centres or in their neighbourhood<sup>96</sup> and had achieved the equestrian rank in the AD. 2<sup>nd</sup> c. Their financial situation can be demonstrated by the offerings made by M. Cosinius Celerinus of Rusicade (around 186-187) and those of C[o]sinia Hermiona (in 214). This branch also achieved senatorial rank, probably in the AD. 3<sup>rd</sup> c. (Cosinius Marcianus, *legatus augusti pro praetore* of Gordianus III). These members used their *nomen* — also quite consistently, but in contrast to the Italian relatives — as Cosinius!

Based on his *nomen gentile*, as well as on his position, P. Cosinius Felix, governor of Pannonia Inferior between AD. 249-252. is member of this African branch of the family.

95. For the process of the African colonization and the Roman citizens who settled here, see: WILSON, *Emigration from Italy...*, o.c., 42-54.

For the settlers under Marius: TELITSCH, L., *Das Römische Städtewesen in Nordafrika*, Berlin 1967, 50-51.

96. It was obviously easier rising up the social ladder in larger towns: DUNCAN-JONES, "Equestrian Rank in the...", o.c., 162.

The two lines of research meet here: on one hand there is the *macellum* in Aquincum with a close analogy from Cuicul, on the other hand, there is P. Cosinius Felix, governor at the time of the construction of the Pannonian building. The connection of the two facts are especially worth paying attention to, because there are other African analogies in the urban architecture of Aquincum<sup>97</sup> and there were soldiers coming to Pannonia from that region too<sup>98</sup>.

This hypothesis concerning on the migration of the family of the Cos(s)inii is not unique in the Roman Empire. The family of the Crepereii also

went through the same stages of development, as shown by B. Levick and S. Jameson<sup>99</sup>. The scheme is the same for both the Cos(s)inii and the Crepereii: members of the family who migrated from Italy to other provinces for the sake of a better life. Through these migrants different branches began to form, some of which had members who eventually rose to the rank of senator their *liberti* establish rich, merchant families, while others became isolated, never holding any posts. The history of both families also reflects two tendencies in the Roman Empire: migration towards the East in hopes of making their fortunes, and to Africa for winning lands or for the safer posts in the Roman army.

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97. ZSIDI, P., "A városkép változása az aquincumi polgárvárosban a 2.-3.század fordulóján", *BudRég* 31, 1997, 281-289, 282. NAGY, L., "Az aquincumi múzeum kutatásai és gyarapodása az 1923-35 években", *BudRég* 12, 1937, 27-60, 46.

98. In detail: DI VITA-EVRARD, G., "Légionnaires africains en Pannonie au II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.C.", HAJNÓCZI, Gy. (ed.), *La Pannonia e l'Impero Romano*, Roma 1994, 97-114

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99. LEVICK, B.; JAMESON, S., "C. Crepereius Gallus and his gens", *JRS* 54, 1964, 98-106, 98-106.