

**Keywords :** Aquileian families, Amber Route, Noricum, Roman trade.

**Abstract:** *During the late Republic and the early Principate, the area under the direct control of Rome expanded considerably beyond the Alps, including a large portion of the north-western Danube basin. The situation offered the Aquileian trading families new opportunities to extend their sphere of activity. In this period, Italic merchants, most of them coming from Aquileian families, settled in the Roman centres along the "Amber Route", establishing trade relationships with their hometown. The study of epigraphic evidence provides relevant elements in order to define the economic role of these families.*

**Rezumat:** *În perioada de sfârșit a Republicii și în cea de început a Principatului, zona aflată sub controlul Romei se mărește considerabil dincolo de Alpi, cuprinzând o arie mare a bazinului Dunării de nord-vest. Această situație oferă familiilor de negustori din Aquileia posibilitatea să-și extindă aria de activitate. În această perioadă, negustori italici, majoritatea din Aquileia, se stabilesc în centrele romane situate de-a lungul "drumului chihlimbarului", întemeind noi relații cu orașul de origine. Studiul evidenței epigrafice aduce în discuție elemente relevante pentru definirea rolului economic al acestor familii din Aquileia în regiunea dintre Alpi și Dunăre.*

In 181 BC, as Titus Livius writes<sup>3</sup>, the *triumviri Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica, Caius Flaminius, and Lucius Manlius Acidinus*, led about 3,000 *pedites*, infantrymen, and their families, mainly from central Italy, in the territory of the Veneti, an indigenous population of north-eastern Italy in good terms with Rome. There they

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<sup>3</sup> Liv. 39, 54, 55; 40, 34.

founded the Latin right colony of Aquileia. Only few years before, between 186 and 183 BC, again according to Livius' narration<sup>4</sup>, large contingents of Transalpine Gauls, *Galli transgressi in Venetiam*, crossed the mountain passes of the Eastern Alps and attempted to settle in the easternmost corner of the Padanian Plain. The intruders were immediately dissuaded by means of Roman diplomacy, but the events brought to the Senate's attention the problem of gaining control of the eastern portion of the Alps, the easiest to cross, and ensuring protection from the Gallic tribes pressing from the north<sup>5</sup>.

Thus, in 181 BC the Latin colony of Aquileia was founded in the middle of what is now called Friulian plain, which extends from the southernmost slopes of the Eastern Alps to the northern shores of the Adriatic Sea. Thorough founding this *colonia* Rome claimed control on that portion of the Italian peninsula, with the clear intention of monitoring it and of dissuading future attempts by populations from the other side of the Alps from attempting to make their way and settle within the mountain range.

The city arose at some distance from the sea, close to the Natissa, a navigable river. It appeared immediately clear that the survival of the isolated Roman *colonia*, at the easternmost borders of the "Roman world", depended on its close connection with the other Roman centres of northern Italy. Thus the far away Aquileia played an important role in the subsequent road building plans which were put into effect in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. Through the creation of an efficient road network, the Roman leadership intended to increase the connectedness and the cohesion between the Roman foundations north of the river Po, concurrently facilitating and accelerating the communications with central Italy and the *Urbs*.

In 148 BC the route of the *Via Postumia* was traced out, a main road which crossed the Padanian plain connecting Aquileia with Genua on the Tyrrhenian coast<sup>6</sup>. A few years later, in 131 BC, the *Via*

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<sup>4</sup> Liv., 39, 22.

<sup>5</sup> SARTORI 1960.

<sup>6</sup> ZACCARIA 1994, 52-53.

*Annia* followed, a road running along the Adriatic coast and connecting the foundations of Hatria, Padua, Altinum, Concordia and Aquileia<sup>7</sup>. Thus, at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, Aquileia lay at the north-eastern end of two important arterial roads: one leading into the western Cisalpine Gaul and the other one, into the Cispadane region and the rest of the peninsula<sup>8</sup>.

Very soon the strategic position of the settlement and its role in the Roman network system proved itself instrumental in the emergence of Aquileia's secondary function. The colony became the starting point for of any trade and commercial enterprise east and north of the Alps and for any attempt to extend Roman political and economic influence in Noricum and Pannonia.

Strabo's words seem particularly useful clarifying this: «Aquileia, which is nearest of all to the recess of the Gulf, was founded by the Romans as a fortress against the barbarians». A few lines below he states: «Aquileia has been given over as an emporium for those tribes of the Illyrians that live near the Ister (Danube river); the latter load on wagons and carry inland the products of the sea, and wine stored in wooden jars, and also olive-oil, whereas the former get in exchange slaves, cattle, and hides»<sup>9</sup>.

Strabo's words show clearly the dual nature of the Roman settlement: Aquileia was both a military outpost and an “*emporion*”, a trade centre looking towards the regions east and north of the Alps. Since the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC already, merchants and businessmen from all Italy began to settle in the city lured by the possibilities of profit provided by the increasing demand of Italic products from those Transalpine regions, which were gradually entering the Roman sphere of influence<sup>10</sup>.

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<sup>7</sup> According to traditional datings. Recently the 128 BC has been accepted: DONATI 2009.

<sup>8</sup> PANCIERA 1976, 156-157; WINKLER 1977, 184-188; PAVAN 1987, 21-22.

<sup>9</sup> Strabo, *Geogr.*, 5, 1, 8.

<sup>10</sup> ZACCARIA 1989, 23.

The period of the late Republic (1<sup>st</sup> century BC) witnessed a substantial increase in the movement of goods between Aquileia and the regions north-east of the Alps. The situation had in that time radically changed from the scenario depicted by Strabo. Instead of waiting to meet foreign tradesmen in Aquileia, the Roman merchants began to move along the well known ancient transalpine routes, which had been used since prehistory times and through which amber from the Baltic reached the peninsula<sup>11</sup>. They were in search of new, unexploited markets for their products and new and cheaper sources of raw materials for their manufacturing activities<sup>12</sup>.

Several inscriptions corroborate in fact the presence outside the Alps of Roman tradesmen or commercial agents, members of prominent Aquileian or north-Italic *gentes*, or *servi* or *liberti* closely connected to those same families. The most striking case is the settlement of the Magdalensberg, close to today's Klagenfurt, the most important trading station of the *Regnum Norici*, an alpine kingdom, a friend and ally of the Romans which controlled the mountainous region lying just north of the Italic *X Regio*. Here the well known Aquileian *gens* of the *Barbii* was able to establish a near-monopoly gaining control of the supply of raw iron, which was sent south and simultaneously making large profits selling italic products to the local population<sup>13</sup>.

There far from the territory of the *colonia* Aquileia several inscriptions prove the presence of dozens of *Barbii*. Most of them were freedmen/*liberti* employed by the *gens'* leadership in Aquileia as local commercial agents, in charge of safeguarding the family's economic interests abroad and managing the trade and transport of goods to and from the Roman centre.

During the early Principate, the area under direct control of Rome expanded considerably beyond the Alps, including a large

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<sup>11</sup> BUORA 2002, 42-43.

<sup>12</sup> ŠAŠEL 1981, 165-166; ŠAŠEL 1987, 149.

<sup>13</sup> ŠAŠEL 1966, 117-137; PICCOTTINI 1990a, 74-87; PICCOTTINI 1990b, 288; ZABEHLICKY-SCHEFFENEGGER 1998, 283.

portion of the north western Danube basin as far as the main course of the river. The military conquest and pacification of Illyricum, in AD 6-9, offered the Aquileian trading families new opportunities to expand their sphere of activity. During this period, the volume of traffic and the number of Italic tradesmen involved increased significantly, along with the overall complexity of the trade network and the level of integration of foreign merchants in the new acquired territories<sup>14</sup>.

The Aquileian *gentes*' agents were of course among the first immigrants to settle in the new founded centres. By exporting Italic products, they promoted the Romanization of the indigenous social elites, ensuring at the same time a continuous supply of western products for the other Roman settlers and for the soldiers of the legions guarding the frontiers, and their families.

Sometimes, these Italic traders, in particular the freedmen, managed to become prominent figures in the new towns' societies, holding relevant political offices in the civic government of the new foundations where they had transferred their activity.

Very soon the Aquileian agents moved towards the Danube basin and the north-western Balkan peninsula, where the Roman provinces of Pannonia and Noricum were gradually taking shape. The remarkable economic interest stimulated by the routes and the regions east of the Alps is perfectly explained by a passage of Strabo<sup>15</sup> : «the Ocra (pass) is the lowest part of the Alps [...] through which the merchandise from Aquileia is conveyed in wagons to what is called Nauportus (over a road of not much more than four hundred stadia); from here, however, it is carried down by the rivers as far as the Ister and the districts in that part of the country». Thus, in a early period the key factor was the possibility of using the rivers Liubljanica, Sava and Danube to move the goods easily and quickly to very distant destinations.

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<sup>14</sup> ZACCARIA 1994, 53-55.

<sup>15</sup> Strabo, *Geogr.*, 4, 6, 10.

From Aquileia, an important road led to the Danube basin region. It crossed the Alps at the Ocra pass, and headed eastwards, meeting the river Liubljanica near the town of Nauportus. Nauportus, today's Vrhnika, was a Roman *vicus* which was, according to Tacitus, granted an almost municipal autonomy. It arose from the half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, when Roman territorial control began to include the region immediately east of the Alps. For some decades it was the last Roman trading post on the route going to the East. At Nauportus cargoes were transferred from waggons to boats and conveyed down the rivers *Emona* (Liubljanica) and *Savus* (Sava) and further downstream to the Danube<sup>16</sup>.

The few inscriptions, dated between the last decades of the Republic and the Augustan period found at Nauportus, confirm the interest of the Aquileian families, or of Italic families with strong connections with Aquileia, like the *gens Petronia*, the *Fabia* and the *Anneia* in the mercantile activity of the river station<sup>17</sup>. It seems evident that at Nauportus, during its few decades of existence, the most important local offices were held by men belonging to or closely connected with families which were prominent, rich and influent in contemporary Aquileia.

The town's important role did not last long. Tacitus in his *Annales* relates that during the turmoil in the region which followed Augustus' death in AD 14, the town was sacked by the military units stationed there and engaged in the construction of roads and bridges<sup>18</sup>. Very likely, what caused its economic decline was not the pillage by mutineering military units, but the building activities they were engaged in before the news of the *princeps*' death spread through the region.

Rufius Festus, in his *Breviarium Rerum Gestarum Populi Romani*, dates to precisely Augustus' last years the completion of the main

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<sup>16</sup> Tac., *Ann.*, 1, 10; Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, 3, 22.

<sup>17</sup> CIL III, 3776 – 3778; ŠAŠEL KOS 1990, 143-159.

<sup>18</sup> Tac., *Ann.*, 1, 20; ŠAŠEL 1975/76 ; ŠAŠEL KOS 1990, 147-148; ZACCARIA 2007, 350.

road connecting Aquileia with Emona, the modern Lubijana, 15 miles east of Nauportus<sup>19</sup>.

After the pacification of Pannonia and Dalmatia and during the long period of peace which followed, the building of an efficient Roman road network reduced the volume of traffic along the rivers. The new land routes promoted the development of the settlements at strategic points where the main roads met. Emona was one of these settlements close to conjunction of several routes<sup>20</sup>.

Emona was founded as a Roman *castrum* at the very beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD<sup>21</sup>. The importance of the city increased in the following years until it became a *colonia* under the emperor Claudius. As at Nauportus, also at Emona inscriptions demonstrate that many inhabitants in the very early phases of the city's life came from Aquileia and maintained strong bonds with their hometown.

Several members of the well known Aquileian *gens* of the *Caesernii* lived in Emona. *Titus Caesernius Diphilus* was a freedman, *sexvir* of Aquileia, buried in Emona<sup>22</sup>. Other members of the family are attested in later times, like the *T. Caesernius Ianuarius T. libertus*<sup>23</sup>, *sevir* at Emona.

Well attested are also active individuals in Aquileia from republican times. *Lucius Marcius Philotimus*, from the *gens Marcia*, was *sevir* of Aquileia, but probably lived or conducted some activity in Emona<sup>24</sup>. The freedman *Titus Vellius Onesimus*, who made a dedication to Diana, deserves a special attention. He was a *sevir* and *augustalis* in Emona, *sevir* in Aquileia and *augustalis* at Parenzium on the Dalmatian coast<sup>25</sup>.

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<sup>19</sup> Fest., *Brev.*, 7.

<sup>20</sup> ŠASEL KOS 2011, 106-117.

<sup>21</sup> PLESNICAR-GEC 1976, 120-121; ŠASEL KOS 1995, 231-233; ŠASEL KOS 2003, 11-19; ŠASEL KOS 2012, 79-104.

<sup>22</sup> AIJ 176; ŠASEL 1960, 201-221; ŠASEL KOS 1998, 101-112; ŠASEL KOS 1998, 103; MRÁV 2001, 88-89; ŠASEL KOS 2012, 91.

<sup>23</sup> CIL III, 3850; ZACCARIA 1985, 114.

<sup>24</sup> CIL III, 10772; ZACCARIA 1985, 112.

<sup>25</sup> CIL III, 3836; 134- ŠASEL KOS 1999, 175-176.

Other Aquileian families attested in the Emona texts are the well known *Barbii*<sup>26</sup>, the *Cantii*<sup>27</sup>, the *Clodii*<sup>28</sup> and the *Dindii*<sup>29</sup>. The inscriptions of Emona mention almost all the traditional and well documented Aquileian families, evidence of the strong connections between the leading classes of the two cities.

During Tiberius' and Claudius' rule, the importance of Emona increased. In the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, the Roman leadership exerted great efforts to transform the territories of Pannonia and Regnum Noricum, the latter annexed in 15 BC, into provinces of the Roman Empire. Following the gradual deployment of the legionary units on the Danube, at the limits of the territory controlled by Rome, new roads were built with the purpose of connecting Italy with the extended frontiers. Closely associated with this new road network, new Roman settlements were founded in the provincial territory, facilitating the movement of citizens from Italy to the new urban centres.

Emona, the easternmost station on the eastward routes at the beginning of Tiberius' reign, found itself in a strategic position for an important role in the consolidation of the Roman presence throughout the eastern territories. Well connected with the middle Danube region through the Sava river, Emona lay at the starting points of the two most important "Amber routes", which connected Italy with the Danube river and had been used since Prehistoric times to transport the precious stones from the shores of the Baltic to the peninsula and the Mediterranean area<sup>30</sup>.

One of these roads running along the Sava led to Siscia, Sirmium and the middle Danube. The second one headed northwards

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<sup>26</sup> AIJ 165 = RINMS 28; ZACCARIA 1985, 113.

<sup>27</sup> CIL III, 3857 = AIJ 183; LEBER 1970, 500; FORNI 1989, 63; ZACCARIA 1985, 113; ZACCARIA 2004, 35, 46.

<sup>28</sup> CIL III, 3838 = AIJ 152; CIL III, 10769 = RNMS 38; CIL III, 14354 = RNMS 20; ZACCARIA 1985, 113.

<sup>29</sup> AIJ 158 = RINMS 18 = ILJug 316c ZACCARIA 1985, 114.

<sup>30</sup> Plin., *Nat. hist.*, 3, 146; Vell. Pat., 2, 109. 5; PÓCZY 1998, 161-168; ŠAŠEL KOS 1997, 21-42; SOPRONI 1990, 353.



towards the Claudian military base of Carnuntum<sup>31</sup>. It ran through regions which belonged to the kingdom of Noricum before the annexation of that state. In the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, these territories were involved in the project of Romanization imposed via the creation of five new *municipia*, Aguntum, Teurnia, Virunum, Iuvavum and Celeia.

During Claudius' reign and even more, so under the Flavians up to the start of Trajan's rule, large military units began to be deployed closer to all the frontiers of the empire. On the Danube, Carnuntum arose as a military base in the early years of Claudius<sup>32</sup>, while at the end of this process, in AD 102/106 the new military base of Vindobona (Wien) hosted the legion *XIII Augusta* which moved there from Poetovio (Ptuj).

Pliny the Elder mentions the journey of exploration to the Baltic shores of a vaguely defined *equus romanus*, who was commissioned to procure amber by a certain Iulianus, an important man in Rome, in charge of gladiatorial games for the emperor Nero<sup>33</sup>. The naturalist states clearly that the starting point of that expedition was the town of Carnuntum, where presumably the merchant again recrossed the Danube on his way back to Rome with his precious load. In the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, Carnuntum was an important military base, but also the point where the most important trade route from Italy towards northern Europe left Roman territory. Surprisingly, the Amber Route from Aquileia to Carnuntum, despite its importance and the fact that it had been intensively used for centuries, became a Roman road only in later times, possibly between the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century and the early years of the 2<sup>nd</sup>. The foundation policy inaugurated by Claudius and carried on by the Flavians in eastern Noricum along with the transfer of the legions, which usually left well formed and developed towns and triggered the formation of new urban realities in the places of their destination, resulted in a

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<sup>31</sup> Vell. Pat., 2, 109-110.1.

<sup>32</sup> STIGLIZ, KANDLER, JOBST 1977, 583-730.

<sup>33</sup> Plin., *Nat., Hist.*, 37, 45.

series of towns at regular intervals along the entire Aquileia-Carnuntum Amber Route.

The merchants groups in Aquileia and Emona, the two main Italic centres on the Amber Route, and in particular the Aquileian families or the families connected with them, who were active, as seen, in both cities, were ready to exploit the possibilities offered by the new *municipia*. These families, as happened at Nauportus and Emona, extended their trading area along the Amber Route establishing trade offices and sending agents into the new towns in order enter the new markets and to maintain commercial contacts with the military units at the frontiers.

Celeia was one of the *municipia* created by Claudius in the newly acquired territories of Noricum<sup>34</sup>. It was the first major centre east of Emona, on the road to Carnuntum and it seems to have been a prominent station on the route north, judging from the large number of milestones from the Roman road to Carnuntum which have been found in and around the city. The most ancient ones, for both for the Emona-Celeia and the Celeia-Poetovio sections, are dated to the very early years of Trajan's reign (AD 101/102)<sup>35</sup>. Other inscriptions of the same typology mention other emperors of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century: Hadrian (AD 131/132)<sup>36</sup>, Antoninus Pius (AD 142-145)<sup>37</sup> and Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (AD 161)<sup>38</sup>.

These stones prove that the road was fully operational in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, although some members of families of Italic and Aquileian origin had already settled and were already active in that *municipium*. A certain Decimus Castricius Verus Antonius Avitus was

<sup>34</sup> ALFÖLDY 1974, 90-93; LAZAR 2002.

<sup>35</sup> ILLPRON 1877 = IIJug 410; CIL III, 5732 = ILLPRON 1788; CIL III, 5738 = ILLPRON 1955 = RIS 370; WINKLER 1985, nn. 16, 23, 32; 46, 68-71.

<sup>36</sup> ILLPRON 1879 = IIJug 1197; CIL III, 5733 = ILLPRON 1789; WINKLER 1985, nn. 17, 24; 46-47, 68-71.

<sup>37</sup> CIL III, 5734 = ILLPRON 1790; ILLPRON 1880 = IIJug 1880; CIL III, 5743 = ILLPRON 1803 = RIS 373; WINKLER 1985, nn. 18, 25, 37; 47, 70-71.

<sup>38</sup> LOVENJAK 2004, 205-210; RATHMANN 2004, 185-187.

a young *decurio* of *Claudia Celeia*<sup>39</sup>, probably during the Flavian period. In the thermal station of Rimske Toplice, on the road from Emona, a certain Saturius is documented. He was a *servus* of Decimus Castricius Sabinus, who was a man probably connected with the *decurio*'s family<sup>40</sup>. Nearby, at the way station of Atrans/Trojane, a certain C. Castricius<sup>41</sup> and a *servus* of a certain Castricius Marcellus<sup>42</sup> are mentioned in the local inscriptions. The *Castricii* were a family of Italic origin. Some members of that *gens* were present in Aquileia<sup>43</sup> since republican times and in Iulium Carnicum<sup>44</sup>. A *Ilvir* in another inscription from Celeia seems to be connected with a member of the *gens Trosia*, of which there is good evidence at Celeia<sup>45</sup>, but also at Aquileia<sup>46</sup>, Concordia<sup>47</sup> and Tergeste<sup>48</sup>.

C. Atilius Secundianus is remembered as *aedilis* of Celeia<sup>49</sup>. Other *Atilii* are documented in the Norican town<sup>50</sup>, among them a certain Atilia Nigella, wife of P. Petronius P. f. Priscus, a man belonging to the tribe *Velina* and probably a citizen of Aquileia<sup>51</sup>. The *gens Atilia* itself is mentioned at Aquileia<sup>52</sup> as well as at Concordia<sup>53</sup>. There is much better evidence in Aquileia of the above mentioned *gens*

<sup>39</sup> CIL III, 5226 = ILLPRON 1686 = IlJug 400; ALFÖLDY 1974, 125.

<sup>40</sup> CIL III, 5152 = ILLPRON 1846.

<sup>41</sup> CIL III, 5136 = ILLPRON 1939 = RINMS 109.

<sup>42</sup> CIL III, 5137 = ILLPRON 1939 = RINMS 109.

<sup>43</sup> CIL V, 8360 = IA 978; IA 667; IA 3405; CALDERINI 1930, 480.

<sup>44</sup> CIL V, 1857, MAINARDIS 2008, n. 19, 111.

<sup>45</sup> CIL III, 5116, 13525 = ILLPRON 1850; CIL III, 5274a = ILLPRON 1724; CIL III, 11702 = ILLPRON 1743.

<sup>46</sup> CIL V, 750 = IA 120; CIL V, 830 mentioning a *sevir*; CIL V, 1419 = IA 1560; CIL V, 1422 = IA 1564; IA 69; IA 612; IA 1064; IA 1563; 2510; 3401; CALDERINI 1930, 181.

<sup>47</sup> CIL I<sup>2</sup>, 2191 = V, 1890 = ILLRP 5472; LETTICH 1994, n. 32; 92-94; BROILO, n. 33.

<sup>48</sup> CIL V, 480; 639; 640.

<sup>49</sup> CIL III, 5225 = ILLPRON 1685. SCHERRER 2003, 36.

<sup>50</sup> CIL III, 5241 = ILLPRON 1698.

<sup>51</sup> CIL III, 5259, 11693 = ILLPRON 1733.

<sup>52</sup> CIL V, 1101 = IA 862; CIL V, 1102 = IA 863; CIL V, 1052 = IA 667; IA 2251; LETTICH 2003, 159.

<sup>53</sup> CIL V, 1308; LETTICH 1994, n. 80, 169.

*Petronia*. The most important members present in the late republican and 1<sup>st</sup> century inscriptions are a *decurio*<sup>54</sup>, three *seviri*<sup>55</sup> and a *quattuorvir*<sup>56</sup>. At Celeia, no less than eight *Petronii* are mentioned in four inscriptions including the above mentioned Atilia Nigella's husband from Aquileia<sup>57</sup>.

The *Cassii*, a Roman *gens* which has spread far and wide, mentioned in Aquileia from republican times<sup>58</sup>, were also present in Celeia and played an important role in the town's society, judging from the large number of epigraphic texts referring to them<sup>59</sup>. Particularly interesting is a dedication to *Adsaluta* from a sacred area close to the bank of the Sava, made by C. Cassius Quietus, a man involved in the traffic of goods along the river<sup>60</sup>.

Finally, the well known italic family of the *Postumii* is mentioned in two inscriptions from Celeia<sup>61</sup>. In both texts a *libertus* of a T. Postumius, possibly employed as a commercial agent for the *gens*, as it happened in the cases of Nauportus, Emona and Magdalensberg, is mentioned.

Leaving Celeia, the Amber Route headed west towards the centre of Poetovio and the crossing point of the river Drava. Founded by Tiberius as a military base, Poetovio remained military in nature until Trajan moved the legionary units to Vindobona, conferring on Poetovio the status of *Colonia Ulpia Traiana*, a settlement place for the

<sup>54</sup> CIL V, 1002 = IA 49

<sup>55</sup> CIL V, 8973 = IA 612; CIL V, 1003 = IA 613; CIL V, 1004 = IA 611.

<sup>56</sup> CIL V, 1001 = IA 526. BANDELLI 1988, 106; TASSAUX 2000, 380-381; LETTICH 2003, n. 41, 201-202.

<sup>57</sup> CIL III, 5191a = ILLPRON 1652-1653; CIL III, 5260 = ILLPRON 1713; CIL III, 5261 = ILLPRON 1714; CIL III, 5259, 11693 = ILLPRON 1733.

<sup>58</sup> CIL V, 8252 = IA 24. 159 479.

<sup>59</sup> CIL III, 13524 = ILLPRON 1747-1748 = ILS 8906; CIL III, 5247 = ILLPRON 1705; CIL III, 5249 = ILLPRON 1711; CIL III, 5188 = ILLPRON 1619; SCHERRER 2003, 24; VISOČNIK, 2008, 348.

CIL III, 5196 = ILLPRON 1657; CIL III, 11699 = ILLPRON 1739; CIL III, 14368 = ILLPRON 1754.

<sup>60</sup> CIL III, 11684 = ILLPRON 1859.

<sup>61</sup> CIL III, 5266 = ILLPRON 1717; CIL III, 5251 = ILLPRON 1585 = AIJ 52.

veterans. A milestone and a building inscription are known from the town and its surroundings. They are both dated to Hadrian’s reign (AD 132)<sup>62</sup> and probably belong to the Amber Route. Among the town’s inhabitants, not explicitly identified as soldiers or veterans, are mentioned some members of the *gentes Herennia*<sup>63</sup> and *Petronia*<sup>64</sup>. There is a *decurio* belonging to the *gens Cassia*<sup>65</sup> and a second *decurio* belonging to the *Clodia*<sup>66</sup>. In the second century, the inscriptions also show the emergence of the italic *gens Valeria* in the leadership of the new *colonia*, a social group probably already active in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD<sup>67</sup>.

After turning north and crossing the river Arrabo, the Amber Route reached the *colonia* of Savaria (Szombathely), where a fragment of a milestone has been found. The stone bearing unfortunately only the very bottom part of the inscription, reports the distance between Savaria and Rome. Given the explicit reference to the *Urbs*, it is very likely that this milestone was connected with the Amber Route road, at that time the most direct connection with Rome. It has been dated on a palaeographic basis to the last years of the 1<sup>st</sup> century or the early years of the 2<sup>nd</sup> one, and it is considered to be the most ancient milestone of the road ever found<sup>68</sup>.

Savaria was another Claudian colonial foundation which arose on the site of an ancient Celtic settlement to become a colony of veterans<sup>69</sup>. Here the role and the presence of Italic settlers from Emona

<sup>62</sup> CIL III, 5744 = ILLPRON 1983 = RIS 370 WINKLER 1985, n. 43; 72-3; AIJ 361 concerns the construction of a bridge probably connected with the road.

<sup>63</sup> CIL III, 10884 = AIJ 397 = RIS 406. Attested in 1<sup>st</sup> century Aquileia: IA 516a-b; 703; 1162; AE 1996, 689.

<sup>64</sup> CIL III, 4018 = AIJ 285.

<sup>65</sup> AE 1986, 568: *T(itus) Cassius / Verinus dec(urio) col(oniae) Poet(ovionensium) praef(ectus) fabr(um) praef(ectus) / pro II vir(is) et Donna Maximilla con(iux) / pro salute T(iti) Cassi Severi fili(i)*.

<sup>66</sup> CIL III, 4022 = RIS 387.

<sup>67</sup> CIL III, 4028 = AIJ 280; CIL III, 4038 = AIJ 287 = ILS 7120; CIL III, 4045 = AIJ 341 = ILS 7304 = RIS 400; AIJ 279; 288,

<sup>68</sup> AE 2000, 1195; KOLB 2004, 151; KISS, SOSZTARITS 1996-1997, 111-113.

<sup>69</sup> FITZ 2003, 47-48; SOPRONI 1990, 351.

is more evident than in Celeia and Poetovio<sup>70</sup>. An altar from the territory of Savaria (Ondód)<sup>71</sup> is dedicated explicitly by the *Emonienses qui consistunt finibus Savariae*, to the deity *Aecorna Augusta*, a divinity who, as Marieta Šašel Kos demonstrated<sup>72</sup>, was closely connected with the river Ljubljana<sup>73</sup>. Other inscriptions mention members of *gentes* traditionally connected with Aquileia. Tib. Barbius Tib. f. Valens, from the famous *gens Barbia*<sup>74</sup>, who belonged to the Velina tribe, was a *decurio coloniae*, a *quaestor* and a *IIvir iure dicundo*<sup>75</sup>. Some members of the well known Aquileian family of the *Caesernii*<sup>76</sup> along with a *Postumius libertus*<sup>77</sup> are also mentioned.

Moving north towards the Danube, the last major settlement before the route reached the right bank of the river was the town of Scarbantia (Sopron), a settlement that had existed already from the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD and was made *municipium* by Domitian (AD 89-92)<sup>78</sup>. Close to the road, at Kohfidisch, a milestone of Hadrian can be seen, which is very similar to the stones found in Celeia and Poetovio<sup>79</sup>. At Scarbantia the family of the *Sextilii* is present<sup>80</sup>. This was a north Italic *gens*, of which there is only later and scanty evidence at Aquileia<sup>81</sup>, but linked here with the famous Aquileian *gens* of the *Canii/Kanii*<sup>82</sup>.

<sup>70</sup> MÓCSY 1974, 76-78, 120-122.

<sup>71</sup> RIU 135; KOVÁCS 1998, 100-120; ŠAŠEL KOS 2008, 689; ŠAŠEL KOS 2010, 218.

<sup>72</sup> ŠAŠEL KOS 1996, 85-90.

<sup>73</sup> Other attestations in Nauportus: CIL III, 3776, 10719 = ILS 4876 = ILLRP 33 and Emona : CIL III, 3831 = AIJ 148 = ILS 4875a; CIL III, 3832 = AIJ 149 = ILS 4875b; CIL III, 3833 = AIJ 150 = ILS 4875c. For other attestations of settlers from Emona in Savaria CIL III, 4196 = RIU 57; CIL III, 10927 = RIU 60.

<sup>74</sup> ŠAŠEL 1966.

<sup>75</sup> CIL III, 4156 = RIU 14.

<sup>76</sup> CIL III, 4201 = RIU 131 = AIJ 177.

<sup>77</sup> CIL III, 4206 = RIU 58.

<sup>78</sup> SOPRONI 1990, 351-352; GÖMÖRI 2003.

<sup>79</sup> DRAGANITS, ROHATSCH, HERDITS 2008, 44.

<sup>80</sup> RIU 195.

<sup>81</sup> CIL V, 1052 = IA 662; CIL V, 1379 = IA 736.

<sup>82</sup> IA 201, 1224, 1269, 1567, 3280; CALDERINI 1930, 179.

C. Sextilius Senecius, *decurio Scarbantiae* and his family are buried together with a certain Kania Titi l. Urbana. The *gens Kania* is well known in Aquileia, where several *Titii C/Kanii* are mentioned. T. Canius T. l. Adrastus for example was a *sevir*<sup>83</sup> in Aquileia, while T. Kanius Ianuarius<sup>84</sup> was a priest of *Feronia* by republican times. The *gens C/Kania* seems to have been more important in the territory of Scarbantia than in the settlement itself. At Hegykő in fact, the two sons of T. Kanius T. l. Cinnamus dedicated a funeral monument to their father<sup>85</sup>, stating explicitly that he was a *negotiator*, a merchant. In the same place, Canius M. f. Praesens and Canius M. f. Lucanus honoured their father with the words: *[Aug]ustali Cla(udia) [Sava]ria primo [decur]ion(i) Scarban(tia)*<sup>86</sup>, probably a member of the leading classes in both those towns on the Amber Route. Another possible link between Aquileia, Savaria and Scarbantia is a 2<sup>nd</sup> century inscription found in Aquileia in which a certain L. Atilius L. l Saturninus<sup>87</sup> is remembered as a victim of bandits during his journey from his hometown Scarbantia. A possible relative bearing the same name is attested in the nearby town of Savaria<sup>88</sup>. During the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, too, connections between Aquileia, Savaria and Scarbantia continue to be evidenced in the inscriptions<sup>89</sup>. As a final example, the epigraphic texts from the territory of Scarbantia witness also the presence of members of the *Marcuseni*, a family from *Tergeste*<sup>90</sup>.

This preliminary epigraphic survey excluded late 2<sup>nd</sup> century attestations and most of the texts explicitly referring to soldiers, veterans or state officers, that is to say all those men who were sent to

<sup>83</sup> IA 588 = CIL V, 978; CALDERINI 1930, 179; TASSAUX 2000, 378.

<sup>84</sup> IA 153 = CIL V, 755; IA 199 = CIL V, 8218; IA 200 = CIL V, 776 = ILS 3483; CALDERINI 1930, 179.

<sup>85</sup> RIU 221 = CIL III, 4250; ZABEHLICKY-SCHEFFENEGGER 1985, 253; PICCOTTINI 1990a, 85.

<sup>86</sup> RIU 222.

<sup>87</sup> IA 861 = ILS 8507; CALDERINI 1930, 70.

<sup>88</sup> CIL III, 4225, 10936.

<sup>89</sup> RIU 155; CIL V, 8336; AE 1953, 93; ILJug 1153.

<sup>90</sup> CIL V, 571, 616, 617 e 625; MÓCSY 1973, 207-213.

those areas on duty. This panoramic view nonetheless shows that, although the construction of the so called Amber Route road occurred only in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, some north Italic trade groups, and in particular the Aquileian *gentes* and the merchants from Emona, were already active on the road, probably from the time of the reorganization of the territory of Noricum and western Pannonia, which took place under Claudius. Much more interesting is the fact that, apart from some sporadic cases of widely distributed *gentes* names, like the *Cassii*, the *Postumii* and the *Petronii*, the families, which can be more or less connected with Aquileia, seem to have been related to a precise town on the road: the *Castricii*, the *Atilii* and the *Trosii* to Celeia, the *Herenni*, the *Clodii* and the *Valerii* to Poetovio, the *Caesernii* and the *Barbii* to Savaria, and the *C/Kanii* to Scarbantia.

This distribution could suggest that along the road to Carnuntum the agents of each family involved in the traffic of goods established themselves in one of the four main centres along the road. Perhaps the business families divided the local markets among themselves. Another important element is the importance of the inhabitants of Emona along the route. They are explicitly mentioned in the case of Savaria, but there is nothing to exclude the possibility that the *Caesernii* and the *Barbii* mentioned in that same town or some of the other tradesmen active there or in other centres, could come from Emona rather than from Aquileia. This raises the question of the origins of the tradesmen belonging to the *gentes* attested both in Aquileia and Emona. It is possible, and likely due to the strategic importance of Emona in the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, that the descendants of the Aquileian merchants and their *liberti* agents, who had settled in Emona at the very beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD or in the years immediately following the death of Augustus, later moved along the Amber Route from the today's Slovenian capital establishing their main base at Savaria.



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