

## The population of Aquae Balissae (Pannonia Superior)

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**Abstract.** *Aquae Balissae*, known from the written and epigraphic sources also as ‘*res publica Iasorum*’ and ‘*municipium Iasorum*’, was a Roman town that developed in the territory of the Pannonian-Celtic tribe Iasi, situated between the rivers Drava and Sava in northern Croatia (Roman Pannonia Superior). The written sources mentioning this town are scanty, and so is the archaeological evidence, leaving the urbanism and architecture of *Aquae Balissae* practically at the level of a broad sketch. The evidence of stone monuments is not substantial either, but is quite variegated in terms of both the categories of monuments and artistic renderings. It therefore represents the main source for the research of the town’s population. In this paper a cross section of the population of *Aquae Balissae* has been attempted through a selection of stone monuments stemming from the town’s presumed *ager* and containing either an inscription alone or a combination of a relief and inscription. Of a total of 20 monuments nine are funerary, seven votive, and four honorary. They are here discussed in terms of the three most important aspects of the population of *Aquae Balissae*: (1) social status (the relationship between the civilians and military); (2) religious worship; (3) ethnic and geographical origin (the relationship between the local inhabitants and immigrants). Due to the limited evidence, the analyses produced here remain in the realm of indications rather than final conclusions.

**Rezumat.** *Autoarea discută câteva aspecte importante legate de populația din Aquae Balissae (Pannonia Superior), observațiile fiind bazate pe analiza izvoarelor epigrafice: (1) statutul sociale (relația între civili și militari); (2) viața religioasă; (3) originea etnică și geografică (relația între indigeni și imigranți). Studiul este cu atât mai important, cu cât investigația vizează un oraș roman dezvoltat în teritoriul Iasilor, un trib celto-panonic.*

**Keywords:** *Aquae Balissae, Daruvar, Pannonia Superior, population, epigraphic evidence.*

### 1. Historical overview

The basic cultural aspects of the Roman population of the territory of *Aquae Balissae* (modern-day Daruvar in central-northern Croatia; Figure 1), comprising the autochthonous tribe of the Iasi and presumed immigrants from other parts of the Roman Empire, were conditioned by the environmental features such as abundant forests and cultivable land, especially vineyards, and above all thermal springs with healing capacities. The latter have

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even been hypothesised as the main reason for the Roman settlement's acquiring the status of a *municipium*, which is not quite acceptable.<sup>2</sup>

While the development of Aquae Balissae was certainly spurred by the thermal springs, it was further enhanced and sustained by a strategic geopolitical position, as the town was conveniently located in between the main traffic arteries of the region: the rivers Sava and Drava connecting the western and eastern parts of the Roman Empire (Figures 2 and 3).

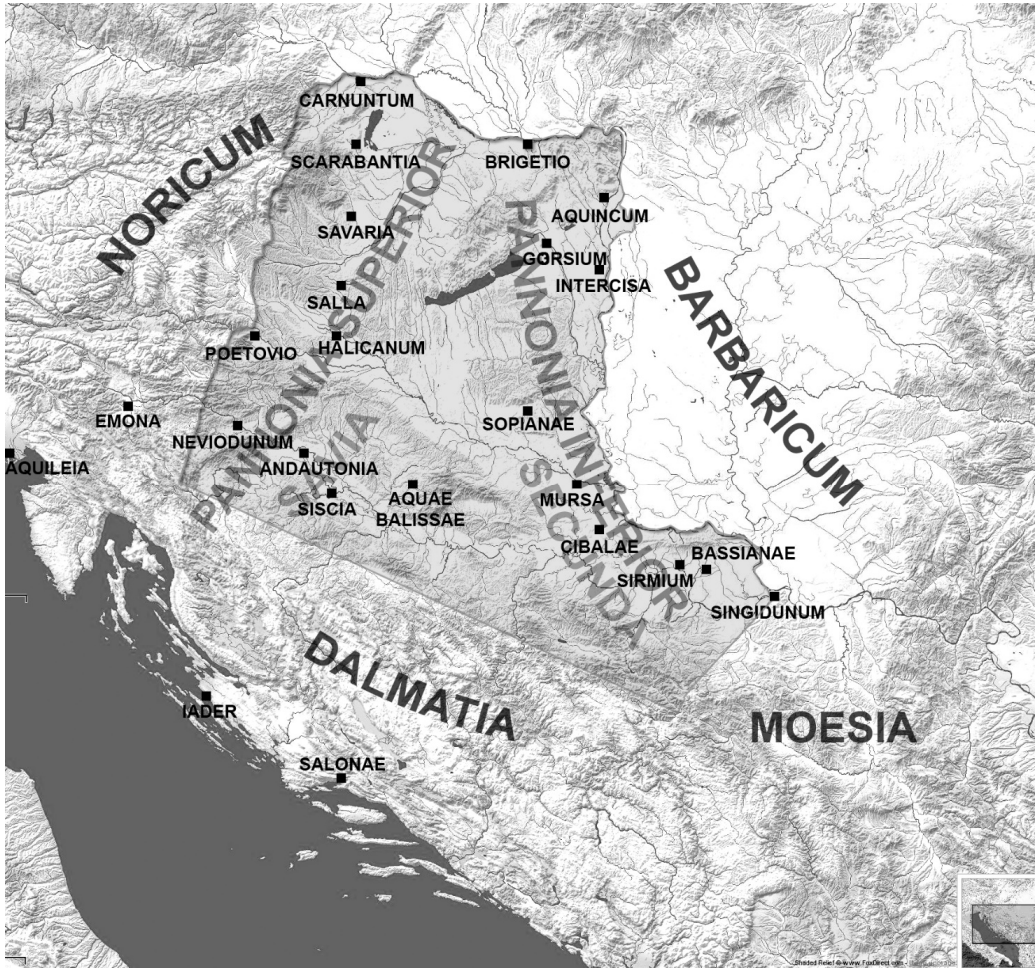


Figure 1. Map of Roman Pannonia with the position of Aquae Balissae (from MIGOTTI 2012).

<sup>2</sup> GRBIĆ 2014, 181. Should this have been the main reason, another settlement in the Iasi territory, *Aquae Iasae* (Varaždinske Toplice), would also have acquired municipal rights, which did not happen. On *Aquae Iasae* see KUŠAN ŠPALJ 2014a.

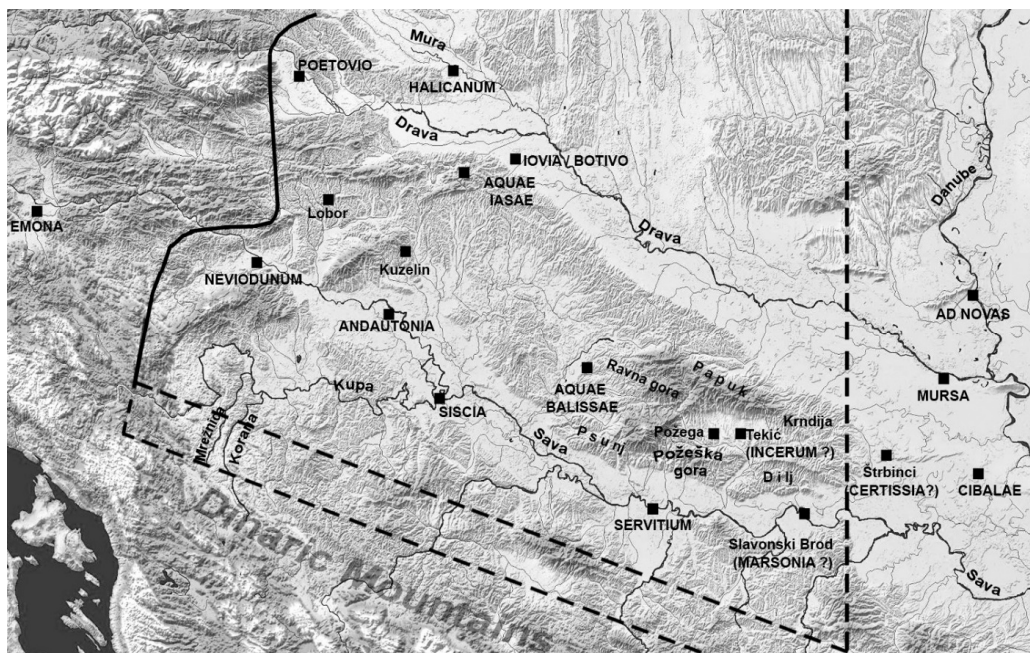


Figure 2. Map of southern Pannonia with the borders between Pannonia Superior and Pannonia Inferior, and between Pannonia and Dalmatia (from MIGOTTI 2012).



Figure 3. Map of southern Pannonia with the road network (from ŠAŠEL KOS, SCHERRER 2004).

At the first glance, such position seems to be secondary in comparison with the towns along the main traffic routes, and the area in question was indeed urbanized, Romanized, and integrated slightly later than the valleys of the Drava and Sava. On the other hand, Aquae Balissae was connected to both these main traffic routes through a road leading from Siscia to Mursa and diagonally crossing the area, which was equally travelled by the army as were the two main routes.<sup>3</sup> On the available evidence, Aquae Balissae can be considered as an inner town developed from a *civitas* centre, that is, as a thoroughly civilian settlement with a predominantly local population.<sup>4</sup> An early 1<sup>st</sup>-century Roman camp has been postulated there, presumably founded after the suppression of the great Pannonian-Dalmatian Rebellion of AD 6–9 and abandoned by the time of the Flavians; the evidence for this is, however, completely circumstantial.<sup>5</sup> If, on the other hand, the camp did exist, Aquae Balissae could be tentatively compared with some inner-Pannonian towns mostly typical of northern Pannonia, which developed from military *vici* along important roads.<sup>6</sup> Viewed in the light of the latter model, the population of Aquae Balissae can be perceived as having comprised the autochthons, as well as veterans and other colonists.<sup>7</sup>

The administrative framework of the *Iasi* in the period of Roman rule can be broadly reconstructed owing to the written and epigraphic sources. Until AD 71 at least the *Iasi* were governed, together with the Scordisci and Breuci, by Quintus Gavius Fronto, a *primus pilus* of the 13<sup>th</sup> Twin Legion (*Legio tertia decima Gemina*), acting as a military prefect.<sup>8</sup> At that point, which is quite early in the general political context of Pannonia, the military rule was substituted with the civilian, as transpires from the military diploma of the *princeps Iasorum* Titus Flavius Serenus from the year AD 71.<sup>9</sup> In any case, the peaceful atmosphere ensuing Flavian rule and furthering the development of a civilian society, mostly undisturbed by the military presence, probably lasted for the majority of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.<sup>10</sup> Given that the claim for the 1<sup>st</sup>-century military camp in Aquae Balissae is based on completely circumstantial evidence, it remains to see whether the epigraphic material suggests the presence of the active military forces at any time after the 1<sup>st</sup> century. Through the process of Romanization, the tribal *civitas Iasorum* acquired the status of an autonomous town, attested literally and

<sup>3</sup> SCHEJBAL 2004, 99, 101–102, 104; GRAČANIN 2010, 10, 33–34.

<sup>4</sup> Such as were also Neviodunum / Municipium Latobicorum and Andautonia. Cf. KOVÁCS 2014, 96, 105.

<sup>5</sup> The camp has been postulated at the site previously occupied by the Iasian *oppidum*, on account of a modern toponymy (*Rimski tabor* = Roman camp) and finds such as bricks with legionary stamps (no information on the legion), as well as stretches of earthen and stone fortifications (SCHEJBAL 2004, 99–100, 106). On the rebellion of AD 6–9 see RADMAN-LIVAJA 2012, 162–163.

<sup>6</sup> KOVÁCS (2014, 96) adduces several north-Pannonian examples: Salla along the Amber road, Mogetiana along the road Savaria-Aquincum, and Mursella along the road Savaria-Arrabona.

<sup>7</sup> SCHEJBAL 2004, 109.

<sup>8</sup> KUŠAN ŠPALJ 2014a, 53.

<sup>9</sup> GRBIĆ 2014, 178–183; KOVÁCS 2014, 93–94.

<sup>10</sup> RADMAN-LIVAJA 2012, 180; KOVÁCS 2014, 93, 109, *passim*.



epigraphically as the *res publica Iasorum*, *Aquae Balissae*, and *Municipium Iasorum*. The last-mentioned dates from the reign of Hadrian and was presumably organized through Italic immigrants, veterans, and other foreign bearers of Roman citizenship, together with the local inhabitants, at the site of the Iasian *oppidum*. From the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century this municipality belonged to Pannonia Superior.<sup>11</sup>

## 2. A presumed territory

In spite of various potential evidence for determining the *ager* of a Roman town, such as boundary stones, literary sources, epigraphic evidence of city officials, onomastics, small finds, geographical features, Thiessen polygons, and so forth, the territory of the majority of Roman towns remains notoriously conjectural, with *Aquae Balissae* as no exception to the rule.<sup>12</sup> The *ager* of this town was estimated as roughly covering an area of 100–120 metres in diameter (Figure 4). This seems only broadly acceptable, as it does not include stretches of the

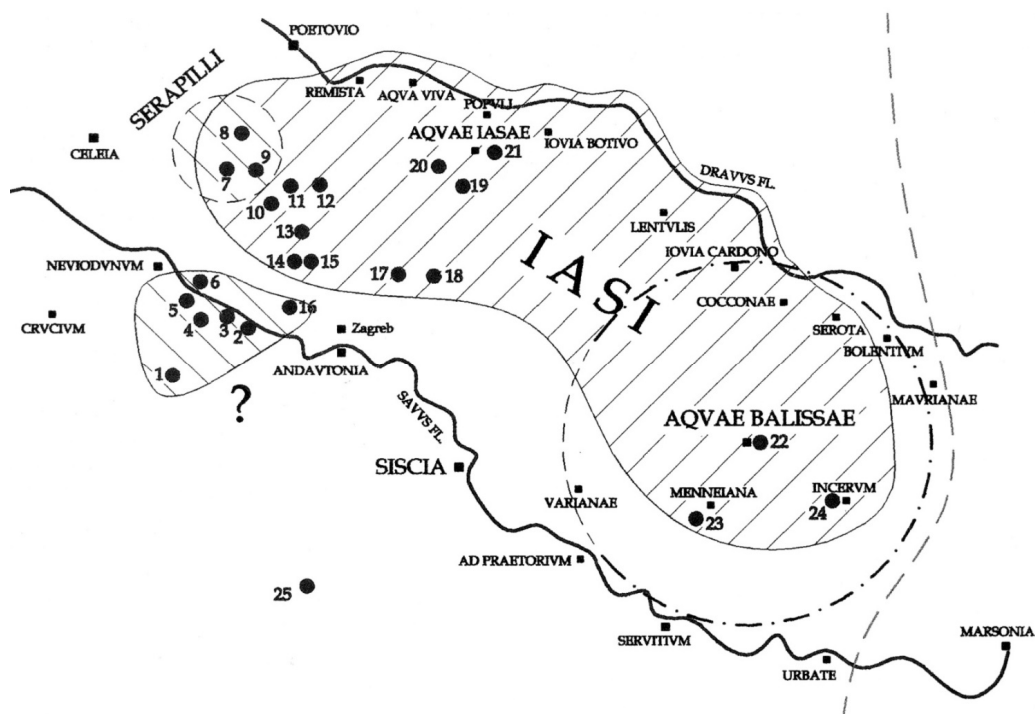


Figure 4. Presumed territories of the the Iasi and of the *ager* of *Aquae Balissae* (from SCHEJBAL 2004).

<sup>11</sup> On the administrative development of *Aquae Balissae* see SCHEJBAL 2004, 106–108; on the border between the two Pannonias see MIGOTTI 2012, 1–5; KOVÁCS 2014, 86.

<sup>12</sup> On the kind of evidence for defining town territories see WEBER 2012; RAGOLIČ 2014.

land north of the Drava and south of the Sava, which should have also belonged to Aquae Balissae.<sup>13</sup> On balance, the territory of Aquae Balissae remains hypothetical. This, however, is not crucial here, as it happens that the majority of the monuments stem from the narrower area of Daruvar, and therefore securely from the *ager* of Aquae Balissae. The exceptions are nos. 3.1.7, 3.1.8, and 3.2.3, which should have belonged to the easternmost part of the territory of Aquae Balissae, given that approximately at that point the border between Pannonia Superior and Pannonia Inferior presumably ran (see Figure 2). This question, however, remains open, because some authors indeed place the border between the two Pannoniae somewhat more to the west.<sup>14</sup>

Before tackling the epigraphic material, it should be pointed out that apart from small-scale test or rescue excavations, no serious archaeological research has been conducted in Daruvar, so the majority of the evidence is chance finds or finds from the mentioned works. Arguably, this is the main reason for the very limited dataset. On the other hand, systematic excavations started in Daruvar in the summer of 2016, so if the excavators are lucky and the epigraphic evidence gets larger, there will be opportunity to check the results of this paper against a more reliable basis.

### 3. Catalogue<sup>15</sup>

#### 3.1. Funerary monuments

##### 3.1.1. Stela (Figure 5)

Fortuitous find in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the village of Orešac (presumed Roman Bollentio), 37km NE of Daruvar; missing; stone and measurements unknown. The chronology of this stela

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<sup>13</sup> SCHEJBAL 2004, 102. Paradoxically, the author based his calculation on the misunderstood presumption that the radius and not the diameter of Pannonian towns measured 50–60 km; the latter was postulated by K. PÓCZI (1980, 239). Stretching across the Drava has been hypothesized on the basis of the military diploma of an Iasus veteran from Beleg (KOVÁCS 2014, 6; see. fn. 123). Stretching to the south across the Sava should be presumed on account of the border between Pannonia and Dalmatia, which ran south of the Sava; here, however, the situation gets complicated by the existence of the not yet located *Municipium Faustinianum* in the vicinity of Siscia. On the border see MIGOTTI 2012, 5; on *Municipium Faustinianum* see PÓCZI 1980, 262; KOVÁCS 2014, 102.

<sup>14</sup> MIGOTTI 2012, 3–4, fn. 14, fig. 2.

<sup>15</sup> The entries' components are given in the following order: finding circumstances; present whereabouts; stone; state of preservation (considered to be complete if all dimensions are available, and the inscription field preserved entirely); measurements; date; literature; description; inscription; discussion. Abbreviations: AMZ (the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb), H (height), L (length), T (thickness), W (width). Partially preserved measurements are given in *italics*; the omission of the inventory number (inv. no.) means that it does not exist. All dates in the Catalogue and the remainder of the text expressed in centuries refer to the Common Era (the year of the Lord – AD).

is contested. The Flavian period (70s to 100s), which seems acceptable, was set by A. Mócsy and later accepted by B. Lörinz on account of the (not fully supported) presumption that the Thirty-second cohort of Roman citizens was relocated from Pannonia to the Rhine by Vespasian.<sup>16</sup> Such opinion was challenged by J. Spaul, who argued for the Commodan origin of the Thirty-second cohort in Pannonia, which, according to him, was seemingly contradicted only by two funerary stelae, one from Siscia and the one discussed here. Therefore, he tried to contest the first-century date of Nunnidius Successus' stela on account of the style and phraseology of the epitaph, whose familial overtone should suggest a date in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century rather than the 1<sup>st</sup>.<sup>17</sup> This argument does not seem to be well founded, especially in the light of the monument's structural typology, as far as it can be deduced from the available drawing and old written references, which describe in words and depict a rectangular top with a Medusa head in the centre and an inscription panel below, thus pointing to the 1<sup>st</sup> century, perhaps to a Flavian date rather than the mid-century, but less likely the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>18</sup> Literature: MIGOTTI 2016, 175, cat. no. 6 (with literature); EDCS-28800763.

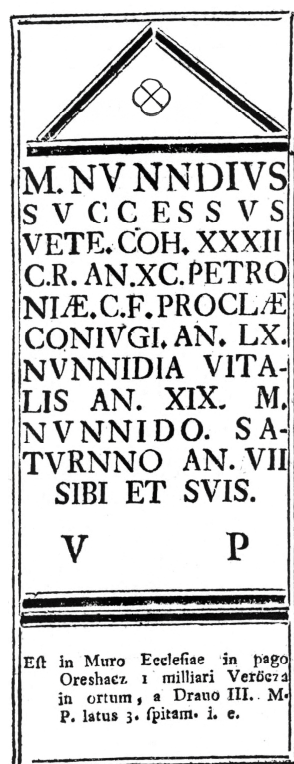


Figure 5. Stela, cat. no. 3.1.1.  
(after Merkur von Ungarn 1,  
VI.8., 7/12, 908, Pest, 1876).

*M(arcus) Nunn[i]dius / Successus / vete(ranus) coh(ortis) XXXII  
/ c(ivium) R(omanorum) ann(or)um XC Petro<sup>n</sup>iae C(ai) f(iliae)  
Proc(u)lae / coniugi ann(or)um LX, Nun/nidia Vitalis ann(or)um  
XIX, / M(arco) Nunnidio Saturn[i]no / ann(or)um VII, sibi et suis /<sup>10</sup> v(ivus) p(osuit).*

*Translation:* Marcus Nunnidius Successus, veteran of the Thirty-second cohort of Roman citizens, 90 years old, had erected (this monument) in his lifetime for himself and his family: his wife Petronia Procula, daughter of Gaius, 60 years old; Nunnidia Vitalis, 19 years old, and Marcus Nunnidius Saturninus, 7 years old.

Given the age difference between the elder and the younger members of this family, their exact relationship remains unclear, as the former seem to be too old for the latter's parents.

<sup>16</sup> MÓCSY 1974, 81; LÖRINZ 2001, 44, no. 51.

<sup>17</sup> SPAUL 2000, 47–48.

<sup>18</sup> DJURIĆ 2008, 161–162, fig. 1: 7, 8. Otherwise, Spaul's argumentation can be more easily rejected in the example of another contested stela, that of Mucius Hegetor from Siscia, since it survives. Cf. MIGOTTI 2016, 172–173, no. 2.

The origin<sup>19</sup> of the family is problematic in that they are the only Nunnidii coming to light in all of the western provinces of the Roman Empire, missing also in northern Italy, but for the stamps mainly from Rome and Ostia, where the family had *figlinae* and *praedia*.<sup>20</sup> One such *gentilicium*, though in the form Nunnedius, comes from Florentia (Firenze) in central Italy; from the same region come several similar names, and some fragmentary inscriptions that could tentatively be restored as Nunidi, but with insufficient credibility.<sup>21</sup> Contrarily, the cognomen Successus was widespread, with many examples in western Pannonia but even more in Noricum.<sup>22</sup> The cognomen Saturninus was also widespread, particularly in western Pannonia, but was also very popular in Africa.<sup>23</sup> The name Petronia is a further typical Roman *gentilicium* widespread in all of the Empire, but especially in Pannonia and Dalmatia.<sup>24</sup> The cognomen Procula was equally widespread, especially in Hispania and Dalmatia.<sup>25</sup> The same holds true for the male cognomen Vitalis, while its female counterpart was especially popular in Hispania and Africa.<sup>26</sup> On balance, and given that Nunnidius Successus voluntarily joined the army as a Roman citizen probably at the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD,<sup>27</sup> he must have originated from northern Italy or Noricum (yet with none of the early Romanized western provinces definitely excluded), while his wife could have originated from Dalmatia.

In view of this, the origin of Vitalis and Saturninus remains equally obscured. With the onomastic frame of the family as exposed above, it would be hard to anticipate Successus' Pannonian origin, despite the fact that his compatriots were recruited as early as the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, and that the *princeps Iasorum* with a full Roman name T. Flavius Serenus was attested on the diploma issued in AD 71.<sup>28</sup> It remains to see what urged Successus to spend his retirement days in the territory of the *civitas Iasorum* in the future *ager* of the *Municipium Iasorum*. The time and place of the stay of the *Cohors XXXII voluntariorum civium Romanorum* in southern Pannonia is based on only two funerary monuments of veterans, one from Sisak (Roman Siscia) and the one discussed here, stemming from Orešac in the territory of the

<sup>19</sup> By *origin* both ethnic and/or geographical origin is meant, as divorcing the two would in most cases be unrealistic.

<sup>20</sup> MÓCSY 1959, 157; SOLIN, SALOMIES 1994, 129; OPEL III, 107.

<sup>21</sup> SCHULZE 1904, 229, fn. 3, 427, fn. 12. According to Chiara Strazzulla (pers. comm.), the origin of the name should be Oscan-Umbrian.

<sup>22</sup> SCHULZE 1904, 447; MÓCSY 1959, 19; OPEL IV, 97; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, 268.

<sup>23</sup> SCHULZE 1904, 467; MÓCSY 1959, 189; BARKÓCZI 1964, 323; KAJANTO 1965, 54, *passim*; OPEL IV, 51–53; BEN ABDALLAH, LADJIMI SEBAI 1983, 43, 87; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, 259.

<sup>24</sup> SCHULZE 1904, 209; MÓCSY 1959, 157–158; OPEL III, 135; BARKÓCZI 1964, 293; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, 243.

<sup>25</sup> SCHULZE 1904, 460; MÓCSY 1959, 60, 186; BARKÓCZI 1964, 295, 321; OPEL III, 166–167; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, 249.

<sup>26</sup> MÓCSY 1959, 197; BEN ABDALLAH, LADJIMI SEBAI 1983, 47; OPEL IV: 176; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, 284.

<sup>27</sup> This is due to the advanced age as given in the epitaph, and it also corresponds to the presumption that *Cohors XXXII voluntariorum civium Romanorum* was among the earliest auxiliary troops in Pannonia (LŐRINZ 2001, 44, no. 51; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004, 18–19).

<sup>28</sup> See fn. 123.

*civitas Iasorum*.<sup>29</sup> As already stated, the early dating of these two stones is still contested by some, but if accepted, the camp of the cohort in question is customarily looked for in Siscia, as the only attested military stronghold in the area in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.<sup>30</sup> However, based on the findspot of Successus' gravestone, Aquae Balissae can be considered as well, if not as the camp of the cohort in question, than perhaps its detachment.

### 3.1.2. Altar (Figure 6/a-c)

Fortuitous find in Daruvar in 1920; AMZ, inv. no. KS-953; limestone; complete but quite damaged and worn out; W 87 cm, H 147–152 cm, T 70–72 cm; mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century; lit.: SCHEJBAL 2004, 107–108, Figs. 5 a–d (with literature); LUPA 22330; HD015574; EDCS-10001135.

A stone block with four sides roughly smoothed and with three of them (except the back) moulded; the front is taken by the inscription, while the sides each feature a bearded male figure standing on a fairly high pedestal, with the frontal body and the head and legs in profile, dressed in a tunic and a *sagum* fastened on the right shoulder (brooch not visible),



Figure 6/a-c. Funerary altar, front and sides, cat. no. 3.1.2. (photo: I. Krajcar, AMZ).

<sup>29</sup> In terms of municipal administration in the Flavian period, the area belonged to the *colonia Siscia*, as the *civitas Iasorum* did not yet developed into a *municipium* (see fn. 10). On the monuments in question see fns. 16 and 17.

<sup>30</sup> RADMAN-LIVAJA 2012, 164.



with a curved stick in the right hand, and wearing a Phrygian cap with a forward inclined apex and a neck-flap; thoroughly incompetent workmanship.

*D(is) M(anibus). / P(ublio) Ael(io) P(ubli) fil(io) / Aeliano scri(bae) dec(urioni) IIIIvir(o) /  
m(unicipii) Iasorum / an(norum) XLV. Ael(lius) / Laelianus / patri piissimo / f(aciendum)  
c(uravit).*

*Translation:* To the spirits of the departed. To Publius Aelius Aelianus, son of Publius, secretary in charge of public records, member of the town council, *quattuorvir* of *municipium Iasorum*, 45 years old. Aelius Laelianus had erected (this monument) for his most pious father.

This is one of the most important stone monuments of Aquae Balissae, as it reveals the name of the municipality known from literary sources as Aquae Balissae/Balizae. As such it has been discussed many times, but in this context our interest lies in the social and ethnic analysis of the persons mentioned in the epitaph. The figures in question have been variously interpreted (although always in passing and without analysis) as *genii*, or soldiers with a Phrygian cap, a sword and a shield, or Attis with a *pedum*. The iconography is quite ambiguous, comprising military (sagum, possibly a beard) and religious (Attis) elements. These figures remind somewhat on the Dacian warriors on the *Tropaeum Traiani* in Adamclisi, but more in style than iconography, so they cannot be unhesitatingly interpreted in that light. They seem to disclose a mixture of Oriental and Dacian Barbarians, yet with intangible symbolism in the given funerary context. If there is any Dacian connection to their iconography and symbolism, the clue for it might be the still existing memories of Hadrian's and Trajan's Dacian wars at the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.<sup>31</sup> The direct ethnic origin of the two Aelii here remains concealed behind their newly acquired cognomina deriving from the typical Roman *gentilicia* Aelius and Laelius.<sup>32</sup> The cognomen Aelianus was evenly spread across the western part of the Empire, while Laelianus was extremely rare, with Pannonia on top with three examples.<sup>33</sup> The Aelii were extremely widespread, but were particularly numerous in Pannonia and Dalmatia.<sup>34</sup> Therefore, the onomastic data suggests the local people enfranchised by the emperor Hadrian, the more so as the municipalisation of southern Pannonia ended with this emperor, who is supposed to have elevated Aquae Balissae to the rank of *municipium*.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> KOVÁCS 2014, 84–88. For the illustrations of the *Tropaeum Traiani*, see [commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Tropaeum\\_Traiani](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Tropaeum_Traiani)

<sup>32</sup> SCHULZE 1904, 116, 186, 204.

<sup>33</sup> Aelianus: MÓCSY 1959, 162; BARKÓCZI 1964, 304; OPEL I, 31–32. Laelianus: SCHULZE 1904, 186; MÓCSY 1959, 177; OPEL II, 16.

<sup>34</sup> MÓCSY 1959, 150; BARKÓCZI 1964, 299; OPEL I, 33–38; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2012, 158–159.

<sup>35</sup> SCHEJBAL 2004, 108; KOVÁCS 2014, 88–112, particularly 101.

## 3.1.3. Stela (Figure 7)

Fortuitous find in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century in Daruvar; AMZ, inv. no. KS-936; marble; fragment, damaged; *H* 86 cm, *W* 72 cm, *T* 20 cm; 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century; lit.: *AJ* 588; SCHEJBAL 2004, 104, 111–112, Map IV/7, fig. 15; DJURIĆ 2013, 8, no. 32; MIGOTTI 2016, 178, cat. no. 12; *LUPA* 3810.

The inscription panel is flanked by columns decorated with overlapping leaf-scales, and the socle, framed by double moulding, holds the motif of the *lupa Romana* standing between two plants and turning its head towards the suckling twin brothers; fairly schematic and rigid workmanship.



Figure 7. Stela, cat. no. 3.1.3. (photo: I. Krajcar, AMZ).

*Fl(avio) Val(erio) / mil(iti) coh(ortis) [---] / pr(a)etor(iae) [---] / Val(erio) Dig(---) NI(?) [---] /<sup>5</sup>  
ve(terano ?). Adatili[a] A(?) [---] / nia mater fil(iis) / pientissimis fec(it).*

*Translation:* To Flavius Valerius, soldier of ... praetorian cohort, ... to Valerius Dig[-] ..., veteran (?). Mother Adatilia A[?]-nia had erected (this monument) for her most pious sons.

Although the inscription is much damaged and only partly restorable, the name (most probably *gentilicium*) of the two soldiers' mother Adatilia, a *hapax legomenon* with probable Celtic connotations,<sup>36</sup> reveals the local origin of the family, otherwise hidden behind the sons' Roman names. Flavius Valerius' *gentilicium* testifies to the family's early achieving of Roman citizenship; although the Flavii were widespread, the high number of them in Pannonia and Dalmatia should be pointed out.<sup>37</sup> The cognomen Valerius was quite frequent in the Roman Empire, Pannonia included, but especially in northern Italy.<sup>38</sup> It was, however, extremely widespread as a *gentilicium*, with the absolute lead of northern Italy and Hispania, but with high numbers in Dalmatia and Pannonia as well.<sup>39</sup> If the presumed veteran's cognomen is restored as Dignius, which is probable, there is some uncertainty about this name; it seems to be a *gentilicium*, while its basic form Dignus was used as a cognomen. Both forms were quite

<sup>36</sup> *OPEL* I, 19.

<sup>37</sup> MÓCSY 1959, 149; BARKÓCZI 1964, 324; *OPEL* IV, 145–147; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, 207–208.

<sup>38</sup> MÓCSY 1959, 195; BARKÓCZI 1964, 327; *OPEL* IV, 142; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2012, 278.

<sup>39</sup> MÓCSY 1959, 160; BARKÓCZI 1964, 303; *OPEL* IV, 143–146; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2012, 278.

rare, Dignius more so than Dignus, but both were more frequent in Pannonia than elsewhere, especially the cognomen Dignus.<sup>40</sup> The family can be perceived as fairly distinguished in provincial terms both on the basis of the early enfranchisement and for producing a praetorian in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.<sup>41</sup>

#### 3.1.4. Gravestone<sup>42</sup> (Figure 8)

Amateur excavations in 1990 in the village of Kusunje, 15 km S of Daruvar; the Museum of Pakrac; complete; sandstone; total H 160 cm, W 65 cm, T 39 cm; base: L 84 cm, W 75 cm, H 46 cm; later 2<sup>nd</sup> – first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century; lit.: BULAT 2001; NJEGOVAN STÁREK 2009; LUPA 10057; HD047147; EDCS-24500523.

The main body is a parallelepiped with tenons on the upper and bottom surfaces, respectively, the former for holding a separately carved top that does not survive, and the latter for fixing into the base. The majority of the front is taken by the inscription panel, moulded and additionally framed with a floral band of stylized leafed branches, and with the free space above the inscription decorated with a motif of an elongated stemmed triangle flanked by sea-griffins; in the last line of the inscription a six-pointed star is crudely carved between the letter T and two C-s. A simply framed field under the inscription panel contains the motif of two short-haired wingless Erotes half striding and half floating in opposite sides and supporting a smooth garland; inaccurate workmanship.

*D(is) M(anibus) / Cass(io) Sexto / militi c(o)hort(is) / D Mauror(um) /<sup>5</sup> Cassi(i) Exsorat/us (l),  
Surus, Qui/ntus, fratre/s et her(edes) / tit(ulum) posu(eru)n/<sup>10</sup>t.*

Translation: To the spirits of the departed. The brothers and heirs Cassii – Exoratus, Surus, and Quintus – put up this inscription for their brother Cassius Sextus, soldier of the *Cohors quingenaria Maurorum*.

Irrespective of the monument's date (late 2<sup>nd</sup> or early 3<sup>rd</sup> century), it should be noticed that the brothers Cassii were Roman citizens endowed with citizenship before AD 212 (*Constitutio Antoniniana*), in spite of the fact that the deceased brother served in a cohort.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> SCHULZE 1904, 96, 240; MÓCSY 1959, 172; BARKÓCZI 1964, 310; OPEL II, 100.

<sup>41</sup> Until the Severan dynasty praetorians were mostly recruited from the Roman citizens of Italy and the early Romanized provinces (BUSCH 2011, 114). However, an edict of the emperor Hadrian testifies to exceptions to the rule, revealing the possibility that even *peregrini* could enlist in the praetorians in particular circumstances (MRÁV 2014).

<sup>42</sup> The monument is named imprecisely because of its unusual shape. It has formal and structural characteristics of both a stela and a funerary altar. Curiously, no separate top was found during the (amateur but careful and systematic) excavation.

<sup>43</sup> The number of soldiers with Roman citizenship serving in auxiliary units was actually larger than commonly reckoned: see KRAFT 1951, 77–78. On the rule of un-enfranchised soldiers in the auxiliaries see SPAUL 2000, 6.

Various explanations for the situation as given in the epitaph are possible, partly stipulated by the monument's chronology and the movement of the unit in question. *Cohors quingenaria Maurorum*, initially recruited from *equites Afrorum et Maurorum*, is supposed to have arrived in Pannonia Superior in AD 171 for the Marcommanic wars, to leave for Pannonia Inferior at the end of the 170s or the beginning of the 180s, to remain settled presumably in Alta Ripa (Tolna, Hungary) or at some other place in Pannonia Inferior until the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>44</sup> Cassius Sextus could have died anywhere in Pannonia or another province to be brought home for funeral, but he could have also died near the place of burial, where his family presumably lived. In the latter case the location of a detachment of his cohort can be supposed around Aquae Balissae, starting from the 170s. Despite the fact that the Casii from the epitaph were certainly full brothers, the syntagm *fratres et heredes* has possible military connotations, which would allow the possibility of four of at least six brothers serving in the same unit, as was often the case in the Roman army.<sup>45</sup> Such interpretation would put the circumstances of the epitaph in a different perspective, pointing with more certainty to a military installation at Aquae Balissae. However, the reading of Cassius Sextus' epitaph as implying several soldier brothers remains highly hypothetical.<sup>46</sup> Despite the fact that the *Cohors quingenaria Maurorum* was initially recruited from the Moors and Africans, the onomastic traits of the persons mentioned in the epitaph seem to belong to its Pannonian recruitment, as no name points specifically to African origins.

The *gentilicium* Cassius was widespread.<sup>47</sup> The cognomen Exoratus, with presumed strong Celtic connotations, was typical for northern Italy and Gallia Narbonensis, but was also fairly frequent in Pannonia.<sup>48</sup>

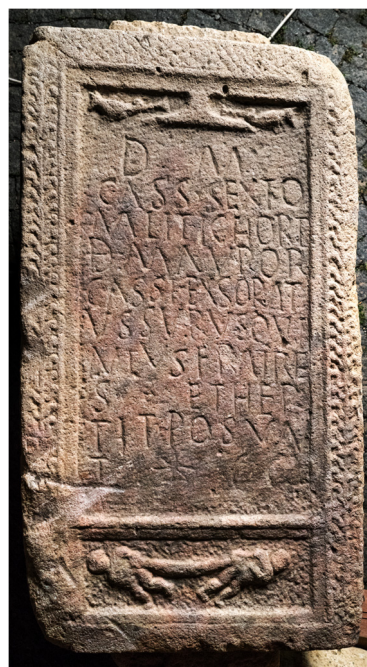


Figure 8. Stela, cat. no. 3.1.4.  
(photo: O. Harl, LUPA).

<sup>44</sup> LÖRINZ 1989, 262; LÖRINZ 2001, 39, 92–93, *passim*.

<sup>45</sup> HOPE 2001, 69; MOSSER 2003, 47.

<sup>46</sup> *Fratres et heredes*, be they full brothers or comrades, customarily recorded their army ranks in the epitaphs. There are, however, inscriptions that remain enigmatic in terms of the relationship with the deceased, so that the heirs with no army rank adduced are still presumed to have belonged to the military. Cf. MOSSER 2003, nos. 21, 24, 84, 165, 176.

<sup>47</sup> SCHULZE 1904, 423; MÓCSY 1959, 168; BARKÓCZI 1964, 308; OPEL II: 40–41; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2012, 182. It has been noticed that the Cassii from Mediolanum frequently occurred in the military epitaphs in Mainz (CARROLL 2006, 214).

Equally widespread were the *cognomina* Quintus, also found quite frequently in Dalmatia and the Danube provinces, Pannonia included, and Sextus, particularly frequent in the Celtic provinces, especially Noricum.<sup>49</sup> The cognomen Surus is hardly diagnostic in itself, as it possibly points to anything from northern Italy, to the western and eastern provinces, to Pannonia; its particular frequency in Pannonia and Dalmatia should still be noted in this context.<sup>50</sup> On balance, the Cassii seem to have been a local Pannonian family enfranchised by an Italian or a western Roman citizen.<sup>51</sup>

### 3.1.5. Stela (Figure 9)

Fortuitous find in 1913 in the village of Brusnik, 17 km S of Daruvar; AMZ, inv. no KS-954; complete, worn out; sandstone; H 238 cm, W 71 cm, T 22.5–34 cm; 198–235 or 213–222<sup>52</sup>; lit.: AIJ 590; MIGOTTI 2016, 179–180, no. 16; LUPA 3812; HD72135.

The top contains two back-to-back lions lying on a cornice-shaped base, with the frontal heads and the front paws resting on a ram's head; between them are two crudely stylized superimposed heads with large downwards-angled eyes and wedge-shaped noses: a female one (a shoulder-length hair parted in the centre and hanging down in straight strands) and a child one below with chubby cheeks and curly hair. The pediment, contained within a rectangular panel, features an oddly shaped Medusa (?) head between acanthus leaves and sea-griffins in the spandrels, while the rectangular portrait niche, flanked by spirally fluted columns, holds half-figures of a man (oval block-like face, short hair receded at temples, wedge-shaped nose, narrow eyes, ears set high at



Figure 9. Stela, cat. no. 3.1.5.  
(photo: I. Krajcar, AMZ).

<sup>48</sup> MÓCSY 1959, 173; BARKÓCZI 1964, 311; OPEL II, 130–131; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2012, 204.

<sup>49</sup> Quintus: MÓCSY 1959, 187; BARKÓCZI 1964, 322; OPEL IV, 20; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2012, 251. Sextus: SCHULZE 1904, 37; MÓCSY 1959, 190; BARKÓCZI 1964, 324; OPEL IV, 79–80; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2012, 263–264.

<sup>50</sup> SCHULZE 1904, 43, 296; MÓCSY 1959, 192; BARKÓCZI 1964, 325; OPEL IV, 102; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2012, 269.

<sup>51</sup> When discussing the ethnic or geographical origin in this subheading, as well as in the Catalogue, the terms used were adapted to the main source material (the four volumes of the OPEL) covering the western provinces of the Roman Empire. Therefore, if not stated otherwise, the term *western* here refers to the westernmost and the earliest Romanized European provinces (all of Gallia with the Germaniae, Hispania, and Noricum), while Africa, Dalmatia, Pannonia, and the remainder of the Danube provinces, are preferably mentioned individually.

<sup>52</sup> These dates rest on different opinions on the period in which the Fourth Flavian legion bore the epithet *Antoniniana*. On the first date see LÖRINZ 1985, 186–187, and on the second MIRKOVIĆ, DUŠANIĆ 1976, 68–69.



temple-level, *sagum* with a round brooch, tunic, huge round buckle, sword, under-sized oval bossed shield) on the left and on the right a woman (rounded face, fairly thick ear-length hair, hoop earrings, low round cap of the type *pilleus Pannonicus*, long- and wide-sleeved tunic, cloak draped across the shoulders and chest) holding an undistinguishable oval loop-like object (a wreath?) in her right hand. There is apparently a huge torque around her neck and shoulders, with each end shaped as three knobs, and another tubular necklace worn tight around the neck; extremely crude workmanship.

*D(is) M(anibus) / Aur(elii) Nasonis militis / leg(ionis) IIII Flaviae Antoni/nian(ae) et Priscae Tato/⁵nis matri. Memoriam / posuerunt Proclus et / Proclianus et Provin/cialis Maximiani fi/li(i).*

*Translation:* To the spirits of the departed of Aurelius Naso, soldier of the Fourth Flavian Antoninian legion and to the mother Prisca, daughter of Tato. Proclus, Proclianus, and Provincialis, sons of Maximianus, had erected the memorial.

Although the inscription says that three sons of one Maximianus put up the monument, it was alternatively interpreted as containing the cutter's mistake, so that the dedicators would not be three sons of their mother's first husband, but four sons, with Maximianus as the fourth one.<sup>53</sup> The former interpretation seems to be more acceptable. The name formulas reveal that Maximianus and Prisca, with their three sons, did not enjoy Roman citizenship. In the enormous spread of the Aurelii, the absolute lead of Pannonia and Dalmatia is very conspicuous.<sup>54</sup> Aurelius Naso was probably a local Pannonian of north-Italian descent enfranchised by Marcus Aurelius or through the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, who married a local Pannonian woman of a Roman name, whose local origin is revealed by her father's Illyrian-Pannonian name Tato. All the names (all Roman except Tato) from the epitaph fit into this reconstruction. The cognomen Naso, with a Celtic overtone, was a fairly rare outside northern Italy. The cognomina Prisca and *Proc(u)lus* were widespread. The cognomen Provincialis was sparsely distributed in the western provinces, but was somewhat more frequent in Pannonia. The cognomina Maximianus and *Proc(u)lianus* reveal some peculiarities of distribution. The former, otherwise quite rare, was slightly more familiar in

northern Italy, but was quite popular in Pannonia, while the latter was equally poorly spread in the western provinces, but with some advantage on the side of Pannonia.<sup>55</sup> Although the

<sup>53</sup> BARKÓCZI 1964, 331, 30a.

<sup>54</sup> SCHULZE 1904, 445, 468; BARKÓCZI 1964, 299–300; OPEL I, 238–249; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2012, 170.

<sup>55</sup> Tato: BARKÓCZI 1964, 325 DELAMARRE 2007, 179; – the adjective Illyrian here refers to Roman Illyricum, comprising mainly the provinces of Dalmatia and Pannonia (ŠAŠEL KOS 2005). Naso: SCHULZE 1904, 315, 505;

camp of the *Legio IV Flavia Antoniniana* was in Singidunum (Moesia Superior) from AD 86, much of the Legion's activity was related to Pannonia.<sup>56</sup> Nevertheless, the circumstances of Aurelius Naso's burial suggest that wherever having met his death, he was buried at home.

### 3.1.6. Stela (Figure 10)

Fortuitous find in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> cent. in Daruvar; AMZ, inv. no KS-955; marble; *H* 75 cm, *W* 82 cm, *T* 19.5 cm; end 2<sup>nd</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century; lit.: SCHEJBAL 2004, 104, 111–112, Map IV/7, fig. 16; MIGOTTI 2016, 180, cat. no. 18; LUPA 22761.

Portrait niche of a stela featuring two men dressed in a *sagum* fastened by a round brooch, and a woman in between; the man on the left is probably holding a scroll, while the one on the right appears to be a soldier holding a sword or a centurion's stick in his left hand.



Figure 10. Stela, cat. no. 3.1.6.  
(photo: I. Krajcar, AMZ).

### 3.1.7. Stela

Fortuitous find prior to 1873 in the village of Vetovo, 48km NE of Daruvar; missing; a relief funerary stela with the busts of a man and a woman (as described in the *CIL*); 3<sup>rd</sup> century?; lit.: *CIL* III 3997; PINTEROVIĆ 1975, 125; SCHEJBAL 2004, 121; EDCS-28800757.

*D(is) M(anibus) Gr(a)ecus / DE FA Max() / titu[lum (?) ---] / [---]ÇVOCS / Mumapio / filio.*

Given the above circumstances and the inscription taken from the *CIL*, with the text fairly unintelligible but for the first line, the only usable data is the name (cognomen) *Gr(a)ecus*, possibly suggesting a Greek-speaking area of origin, and /or slave descent.<sup>57</sup> This name was

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BARKÓCZI 1964, 319; *OPEL* III, 96; DELAMARRE 2007, 139; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2012, 235. *Prisca*: MÓCSY 1959, 185; BARKÓCZI 1964, 321; *OPEL* III, 163; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2012, 248. *Proculus*: SCHULZE 1904, 460; MÓCSY 1959, 186; BARKÓCZI 1964, 321; *OPEL* III, 166; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2012, 249. *Provincialis*: MÓCSY 1959, 186; BARKÓCZI 1964, 321; *OPEL* III, 169. *Maximianus*: BARKÓCZI 1964, 318; KAJANTO 1965, 26; *OPEL* II, 69. *Proculianus*: BARKÓCZI 1964, 321; *OPEL* III, 166.

<sup>56</sup> RITTERLING 1925, 1540–1547; MIRKOVIĆ 2006, 52.

<sup>57</sup> SCHULZE 1904, 540; MÓCSY 1959, 176; BARKÓCZI 1964, 313; *OPEL* II, 169–170; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2012, 213. On the probable slave origin of Greek names see MOURITSEN 2015, 125, *passim*.

not very widespread but was most often found in northern Italy and Gallia, with Hispania and Pannonia following.

### 3.1.8. Gravestone

Chance find in the 19th century near the town of Našice, 69 km SE of Daruvar; missing, with no data on the form; only a partially recorded and restored epitaph remains; 2<sup>nd</sup> century?; lit.: PINTEROVIĆ 1975, 129.

*D(iis) M(anibus) /----- Claudia domo Incer(o) / praef(ectus) / alae primae Panno(niorum) -----*

Translation: To the spirits of the departed. ... commander of the *Ala prima Pannoniorum* from Incerum, belonging to the *tribus Claudia*.]

Given the nature of the recording of this inscription and its fragmentary state already at that time, we cannot be sure which unit was actually meant. It could have equally been *Ala Pannoniorum* or *Ala II Pannoniorum*, or *Ala I Pannoniorum Tampiana*, because from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century all of them stayed relatively close to Aquae Balissae, the first two in Pannonia Inferior, and the third one in Noricum.<sup>58</sup> The dedicator most probably originated from Incerum, a settlement known from the itineraries and located in the surroundings of Požega, 54 km SE of Daruvar.<sup>59</sup>

### 3.1.9/a-b. Funerary slab and a sarcophagus<sup>60</sup> (Figures 11, 12/a-c)

Found in amateur excavations in 1842 in the village of Veliki Bastaji, 10 km NE of Daruvar. Slab: walled in the Janković castle in Daruvar; fragment; marble; *H* 100 cm, *W* 92 cm, *T* 2.5 cm; 4<sup>th</sup> century; lit.: MIGOTTI 1997, 47-49; LUPA 3811. Sarcophagus: AMZ; inv. no. KS-932; lid missing, chest fragmentary; marble; *L* 261 cm, *H* 116 cm, *W* 147 cm; 4<sup>th</sup> century; lit.: MIGOTTI 1997, 43-44; SCHEJBAL 2004, 119-121, figs. 27-31; LUPA 3811.

The sarcophagus features the deceased *palliat*i couple on the front; the left short side is carved with vines and grapes and the right with a depiction of two seated panthers next to a vase. The slab contains a liturgical hymn in hexametric verses, alluding in an allegorical and metaphorical way to the Christian dogma of original sin and redemption through Christ's sacrifice. Both pieces were found together in a frescoed and mosaic-floored underground funerary chamber, together with another sarcophagus that does not survive, and with more

<sup>58</sup> LÖRINZ 2001, 22.

<sup>59</sup> SCHEJBAL 2004, 102-103, Map II.

<sup>60</sup> These two monuments are counted as one in the statistics of the evidence, because they stem from the same closed family context.

marble fragments inscribed with verses. It is a thoroughly unique find not only to Pannonia but to Late Antiquity in general, to be interpreted in the context of a syncretistic atmosphere at the crossroads of Dionysian paganism and elite Christianity of the educated higher class of citizens.

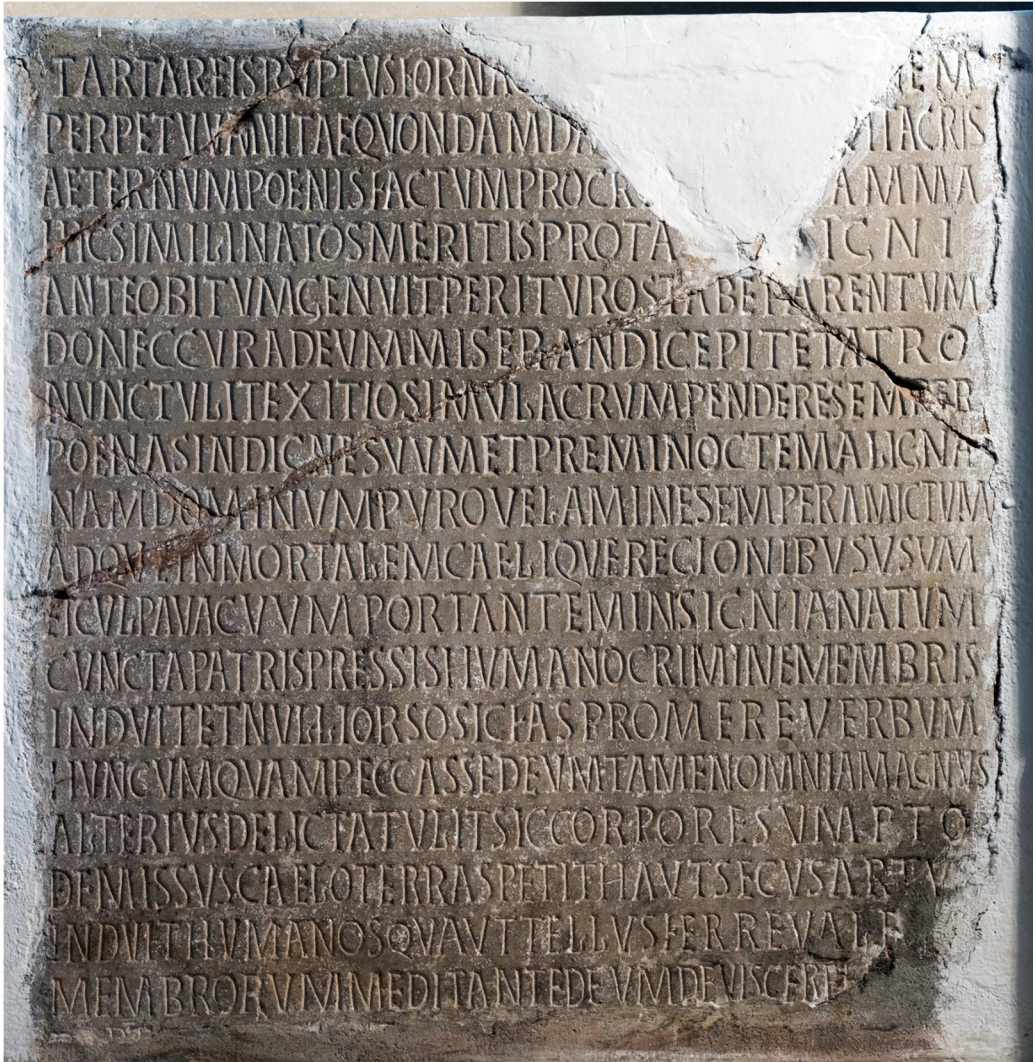


Figure 11. Funerary slab, cat. no. 3.1.9a (photo: O. Harl, LUPA).





Figure 12/a–c. Sarcophagus, front and sides, cat. no. 3.1.9b (photo: I. Krajcar, AMZ).

### 3.2. Votive altars

#### 3.2.1. Altar to Jupiter Dolichenus (Figure 13)

Fortuitous find in 1877 in Daruvar; AMZ, inv. no KS-956; complete; sandstone; H 106 cm, L 54 cm, T 36 cm; AD 209–211; lit.: *AIJ* 583; SCHEJBAL 2004, 110–111, fig. 12; *LUPA* 15440; EDCS-26600438; the base and plain capital moulded, with a six-pointed star carved on the latter.



I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Dol(icheno) / pro salute  
 Imp(eratorum) L(uci) Sept(imi) / Severi et M(arci)  
 Aur(eli) Antonini / [A]ugg(ustorum) [[---]] Q(uintus)  
 Car<sup>f</sup>meus Iulianus [(centurio) leg(ionis) VII / Gem(inae)  
 cum Iul(ia) Att(i)cilla et / Carmaeis Secundo et  
 Atti/cilliano fili(i)s v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

Translation: To Jupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus, for the health of the Emperors Augusti Septimius Severus and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, Quintus Carneus Iulianus, centurion of the *Legio VII Gemina*, fulfilled his vow willingly and deservedly together with Iulia Atticilla and his sons Secundus and Atticillianus.

The mention of Septimius Severus and Caracalla, with Geta's name abraded for *damnatio memoriae*, enables a precise dating of the inscription between the years AD 209 (Geta's accession to the throne) and AD 211, the year of his death.<sup>61</sup> The evidence for the Seventh Twin Legion's activities outside Hispania is very thin, and the indications for its direct or indirect connection with Pannonia circumstantial, based on hypotheses about its participation in Trajan's Dacian wars and the Marcommanic wars on the Danube.<sup>62</sup> In spite of that, two details of the inscription speak in favour of Carneus Iulianus' official stay in Aquae Balissae, and not just passing (for instance in the Emperor's retinue) or visiting the spa for medical reasons. Firstly, it is the official connotations of the vow (the choice of the god and the imperial dedication) despite his family's inclusion in it.<sup>63</sup> Secondly, although seemingly paradoxical, it is just the presence of his family, who is expected to have stayed with him if he was on a longer-term assignment in Aquae Balissae. The names of the family are not diagnostic enough in terms of origin, but they still point to western provincials sooner than Pannonians. The rather rare *gentilicium* Carneus was attested sparsely only in Pannonia, Noricum and Moesia, while in Italy, Africa and Dalmatia the variant Carneius has been recorded.<sup>64</sup> The cognomen Iulianus was widespread, but was the most frequent in Gallia



Figure 13. Votive altar, cat. no. 3.2.1. (photo: I. Krajcar, AMZ).

<sup>61</sup> BOWMAN, GARNSEY, CAMERON 2008, 773 (Chronology).

<sup>62</sup> LE ROUX 2000, 387.

<sup>63</sup> Jupiter Dolichenus had strong military connotations with an oriental overtone. Cf. BARKÓCZI 1964, 263; WATSON 1969, 132; VOLLKOMMER 1997; ȚENTEȚA 2012, 82; MURGIA 2016, 194, 198 – fn. 50.

<sup>64</sup> SCHULZE 1904, 270, 353; BARKÓCZI 1964, 301; BEN ABDALLAH, LADJIMI SEBAI 1983, 12; OPEL II: 37.

and Hispania, with Pannonia following especially after Marcus Aurelius.<sup>65</sup> The *gentilicium* Iulia was absolutely the most widespread in all of the Empire, Pannonia included, while the cognomen Atticilla was attested in northern Italy, Hispania, Gallia, Dalmatia, and Pannonia, but was generally quite rare, and bore a possible Celtic assonance.<sup>66</sup> Its obvious derivative Atticillianus has been evidenced only in the example discussed here, while the cognomen Secundus was widespread everywhere, but especially in northern Italy.<sup>67</sup> L. Barkóczy presumed Iulianus' local origin and North-Italian descent.<sup>68</sup> On the other hand, the history of recruitment of the *Legio VII Gemina* would be pointing to the possibility of the Hispanian origin, but for the lack of the *nomen* Carmeus there.<sup>69</sup> In the case of Carmeus Iulianus' tentative Hispanian origin, the reasons and purpose of his stay in Aquae Balissae escape us. On balance, the most acceptable solution implies the presence of the *Legio VII Gemina* in Pannonia during the Marcommanic wars, in which case Carmeus Iulianus could have been a Pannonian of the western origin enlisted at that time, or the son of such a man. Even though, the nature and duration of his presence in Aquae Balissae remain unresolved.

### 3.2.2. Altar to Jupiter Dolichenus (Figure 14)

Chance find in 1877 in Daruvar; AMZ, inv. no KS-957; complete, much damaged; sandstone; H 121 cm, L 58 cm, T 44 cm; late 2<sup>nd</sup> – 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century; lit.: *AIJ* 584; SCHEJBAL 2004, 110–111, fig. 13; *LUPA* 15441; EDCS-26600439; the base and capital moulded, with roughly worked *acroteria* on the latter.

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Dol<i>eno / Secundius / Restutus | (centurio) / <sup>5</sup> leg(ionis) X  
Gem(inae) / pro se et / suis posuit.*

Translation: To Jupiter Dolichenus, Best and Greatest, Secundius Restutus, centurion of the *Legio X Gemina*, put up (the altar) on behalf of himself and his family.

From AD 103 *Legio X Gemina* stayed in Pannonia Superior, first shortly in Aquincum and then in Vindobona, where one of its detachments was recorded until Late Antiquity.<sup>70</sup> Therefore, Secundius Restutus could have come to Aquae Balissae either for a medical reason

<sup>65</sup> MÓCSY 1959, 148–149; BARKÓCZI 1964, 298; *OPEL* II, 199–200; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2012, 217.

<sup>66</sup> Iulia: MÓCSY 1959, 177; BARKÓCZI 1964, 315; *OPEL* II, 200–207; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2012, 217–218. Atticilla: BARKÓCZI 1964, 306; *OPEL* I, 209; DELAMARRE 2007, 32.

<sup>67</sup> Atticillianus: BARKÓCZI 1964, 306; *OPEL* I, 209. Secundus: MÓCSY 1959, 189–190; BARKÓCZI 1964, 323; *OPEL* IV, 59–61; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2012, 261.

<sup>68</sup> BARKÓCZI 1964, 261.

<sup>69</sup> P. LE ROUX (2000, 395) claims that contrary to the customary pattern with other Roman legions, *Legio VII Gemina* persisted in recruitments from the Iberian Peninsula throughout.

<sup>70</sup> RITTERLING 1925, 1683–1687; GÓMEZ-PANTOJA 2000, 169.

or on duty; the choice of the god points to the latter possibility.<sup>71</sup> Furthermore, would a soldier stationed at Vindobona have sought such a faraway spa destination just for medical reasons?

Secundius Restutus' nomenclature is not conclusive in terms of origin. The *gentilicium* Secundius was particularly frequent in Gallia and Germania while the generally not very widespread cognomen Restutus, deriving from Restitutus, was distributed fairly equally across the western Empire, but with some precedence of Noricum, and with Pannonia and Dalmatia following closely.<sup>72</sup> Given the vicinity of Vindobona to Noricum, as well as Celtic connotations of both the *nomen* and *cognomen*, Norican descent seems to be likely.

### 3.2.3. Altar to Jupiter Depulsor (Figure 15)

Fortuitous find in unknown circumstances in Slavonski Brod (Roman Marsonia/Marsunia), 78 km SE of Daruvar; missing; drawn in Marsigli as of usual type with the base and capital, both deformed with damage; measurements not recorded; AD 212–217; lit.: MARSIGLI 1726, T. 40: 6; *CIL* III 3269; PINTEROVIĆ 1975, 127–128; KOVÁCS 2014, 207; HD057344.

*Iovi Dep[ul]sori / pro salute Dom(ini) / N(ostri) Imp(eratoris) M(arci) Aur(elii) An- / tonini P(ii) F(elicii) [A]u[g](usti) / et Iul[ia]e Dom(nae) Aug(ustae) / <sup>5</sup> Marcus Sperat[i] / disp(ensatoris) vik(arius).*<sup>73</sup>

Translation: To Jupiter Depulsor, Marcus, Speratus' paymaster (put up this monument) for the health of our Lord Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus and Iulia Domna Augusta.

<sup>71</sup> See fn. 62.

<sup>72</sup> Secundius: BARKÓCZI 1964, 303; *OPEL* IV, 59. Restutus: MÓCSY 1959, 187; BARKÓCZI 1964, 322; *OPEL* IV, 28; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2012, 253.

<sup>73</sup> The last two letters in the last line remain dubious, as they are recorded differently in Marsigli: in the drawing as VII, and in the restoration as *votum solvit*. The restoration here is the one given in the HD.



Figure 14. Votive altar, cat. no. 3.2.2.

(photo: I. Krajcar, AMZ).



Figure 15. Votive altar, cat. no. 3.2.3. (after Marsigli 1726).

It should be noted that the worship of Jupiter Depulsor, with both civilian and military connotations regarding the protection from any kind of evil, was typical of Noricum and the area of Poetovio in Pannonia.<sup>74</sup> Although the office of dispensator could have also been private, a further reason for estimating this inscription as official (be it civilian or military)<sup>75</sup> is its dedication for the health of Caracalla and Iulia Domna. Therefore, the interpretation of the name Marcus Sperati should be understood as a patronymic formula rather than implying Marcus, a dispensator of one Speratus; in the latter case the role of dispensator would have been exercised in a private household. The cognomen Speratus was fairly equally spread across Italy and the western provinces, with Noricum leading, but was also quite frequent in Africa; it was typical of peregrines, slaves, and freedmen.<sup>76</sup>

The cognomen Marcus, also bearing peregrine associations, was spread throughout the Empire, but with a slight prevalence in Moesia and the Celtic provinces, Pannonia included.<sup>77</sup> Therefore, Marcus Sperati, or both Marcus and Speratus, could have easily been local *peregrini*, as both names seem to have shared a common sociological background. However, a Norican or Poetovian connection cannot be excluded on account of both the name Speratus and Jupiter Depulsor invoked, and also possibly on account of the office of dispensator that can tentatively be connected with Poetovio as the seat of the *portorium Illyrici*.<sup>78</sup>

### 3.2.4. Altar to Nemesis (Figure 16)

Fortuitous find in Daruvar in 1912; AMZ, inv. no. KS-958; complete; limestone; H 69, L 34.5 cm, T 27.5 cm; late 2<sup>nd</sup> – 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century; lit.: *AIJ* 585; PINTEROVIĆ 1975, 142; SCHEJBAL 2004, 111, fig. 14; LUPA 15442; HD072133; EDCS-11301130; the base and plain capital moulded, the closing phrase cut on the base's moulding.

*Nemesi / Aug(ustae) s(acrum) Ser(gius?) Felix / et Val(erius) Pr-/oculus m(ilites) / <sup>5</sup> leg(ionis) I Ad(iutricis) v(otum) // s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(erito).*

Translation: Sacred to Nemesis Augusta. Sergius Felix and Valerius Proculus, soldiers of the *Legio I Adiutrix*, fulfilled their vow willingly and deservedly.



Figure 16. Votive altar, cat. no. 3.2.4. (photo: I. Krajcar, AMZ).

<sup>74</sup> ŠAŠEL KOS 1999, 121–129 (Iuppiter Depulsor – a Norican Deity?).

<sup>75</sup> LIEBENAM 1903, 1189–1198; LE BOHEC 1994, 55.

<sup>76</sup> MÓCSY 1959, 191; BARKÓCZI 1964, 324–325; *OPEL* IV, 91; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2012, 267.

<sup>77</sup> SCHULZE 1904, 464; MÓCSY 1959, 180; BARKÓCZI 1964, 317; *OPEL* III, 57; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2012, 227.

<sup>78</sup> ŠAŠEL KOS 1999, 128.

*Legio I Adiatrix* had a permanent camp in Brigetio (Pannonia Superior) during the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries.<sup>79</sup> This means that Sergius Felix and Valerius Proculus could have come to Aquae Balissae either for a medical reason or on duty, which the neutral wording of the dedication does not reveal. Nevertheless, a slight preference for the latter possibility comes from the choice of the goddess, otherwise fairly highly ranked among the military and lacking healing capacities.<sup>80</sup> The history of their legion's stationing suggests that the two dedicators were probably Pannonians, although this cannot be fully supported by their names. The quite rare *gentilicium* Sergius with a possible Celtic assonance was typical of northern Italy, Hispania and Gallia, but most of all Hispania, while the *gentilicium* Valerius was extremely widespread, especially in northern Italy and Gallia, with Pannonia and Dalmatia following and preceding the remaining provinces.<sup>81</sup> The cognomina Proculus and Felix were widespread, Pannonia included; the latter was typical for slaves and freedmen, and was often found in Africa.<sup>82</sup>

### 3.2.5. Altar to Silvanus Domesticus and Silvana (Figure 17)

Amateur excavations in 1968 in Daruvar; Janković Castle, Daruvar; complete; sandstone; H 62.5 cm, L 28.5 cm, T 20 cm; AD 205–208<sup>83</sup>; lit.: PINTEROVIĆ 1975, 144–145; FITZ 1978, 371; SCHEJBAL 2004, 109, 111, fig. 8; LUPA 26271; CBI 277; HD004711; the base and capital moulded, with the latter featuring grooved shapes for the *acroteria* and containing a *focus*.

*Silvan(o) D(o)m(estico) / et Silvanae / Seius Ingen(uus) / b(ene)ff(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) pro se / <sup>5</sup> et suis v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) me(rito) / Imp(eratore) Antonin(o) // III [et] Geta Caes(are) II co(n)s(ulibus).*

Translation: To Silvanus Domesticus<sup>84</sup> and Silvana. Seius Ingenuus, *beneficiarius consularis*, fulfilled his vow willingly and deservedly on behalf of himself and his family, during the third consulship of the Emperor Antoninus and the second consulship of the Caesar Geta.

<sup>79</sup> RITTERLING 1925, 1380–1403; LÖRINZ 2000a.

<sup>80</sup> KARANASTASSI 1992; NELIS-CLÉMENT 1994, 252; FRANCE, NELIS-CLÉMENT 2014, 132–133.

<sup>81</sup> Sergius: OPEL IV, 72; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2012, 263. Valerius: MÓCSY 1959, 160; BARKÓCZI 1964, 303; OPEL IV, 143–146; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2012, 278.

<sup>82</sup> Proculus: SCHULZE 1904, 460; MÓCSY 1959, 186; BARKÓCZI 1964, 321; OPEL III, 166; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2012, 249. Felix: SCHULZE 1904, 525; MÓCSY 1959, 174; BARKÓCZI 1964, 312; OPEL I, 138; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2012, 205; BEN ABDALLAH, LADJIMI SEBAI 1983, 31–32, 79.

<sup>83</sup> Various authors give different dates (AD 205, AD 208 or AD 205–208) depending on their view on the year of the joint consulship of Caracalla and Geta: PINTEROVIĆ 1975, 144; FITZ 1978, 371; BOWMAN, GARNSEY, CAMERON 2008, 772 (Chronology).

<sup>84</sup> The first line was read as *Silvano M(agno)* by D. Pinterović, on presumption that the latter O was mistakenly executed as D. This was refuted by J. Fitz, whose reading was accepted by D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ (1980, 114–116) and lupa.



The given consulships of Caracalla and Geta enable a precise dating of the inscription to AD 208. The dilemma of Ingenuus' reason for the vow (private or official) can be approached through the assessment of the imperial connotations and the god addressed, but still remains ambiguous. Arguably, this is not a typical official dedication, as were regularly put up for Jupiter Optimus Maximus by *beneficarii consularis* at the closing of their term of office.<sup>85</sup> Also, the inscription is phrased as a private and family one, which is not the case with official dedications. The dedication to Silvanus causes a further ambiguity here, as in Pannonia this god was next in popularity to Jupiter, which could have given his worship an official note in some circumstances.<sup>86</sup> On the other hand, the company of its counterpart Silvana, possibly standing for the goddess Diana, undermines this theory.<sup>87</sup> On balance, the private note definitely predominates here. The dedicator's origin could have been western or local Pannonian, with the slight preference for the latter on account of the gods invoked. The fairly rare *gentilicium* Seius was more frequent in northern Italy, but it also appears in most of the western provinces, Pannonia included, bearing Celtic connotations.<sup>88</sup> The cognomen Ingenuus was widely spread in northern Italy and all of the western provinces, with significant frequency in Pannonia and Noricum; due to its social assonance it was particularly popular among the military and freedmen.<sup>89</sup>



Figure 17. Votive altar, cat. no. 3.2.5.  
(photo: O. Harl, LUPA).

<sup>85</sup> NELIS-CLÉMENT 1994, 251–252; MIRKOVIĆ 2006, 56–58; FRANCE, NELIS-CLÉMENT 2014, 234, *passim*. The practice from Sirmium testifies that if other gods appear in such inscriptions (with Silvanus as one of them), they are always invoked in tandem with Jupiter: FRANCE, NELIS-CLÉMENT 2014, 182.

<sup>86</sup> Silvanus was so popular in Pannonia that his shrines outnumbered those of Jupiters (FITZ 1980, 163; KANDLER ET AL. 2004, 56). Also, Silvanus was one of the gods quite often addressed by *beneficarii* (NELIS-CLÉMENT 1994, 252). Nevertheless, the predominantly private nature of his cult has been pinpointed (WEBER-HIDEN 2011).

<sup>87</sup> On the issue of Silvanus' various cult communities, such as with Diana/Silvana, Nymphs and Silvanae, see RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1980.

<sup>88</sup> SCHULZE 1904, 93; BARKÓCZI 1964, 303; OPEL IV, 62–63; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2012, 261.

<sup>89</sup> MÓCSY 1959, 176–177; BARKÓCZI 1964, 314; OPEL I, 194; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2012, 216–217.

### 3.2.6. Altar to Silvanus M(agnus)? (Figure 18)

Amateur excavations in 1968 in Daruvar; Janković Castle, Daruvar; fragment, damaged; limestone; H 54 cm, L 29 cm, T 22 cm; 3<sup>rd</sup> century; lit.: PINTEROVIĆ 1975, 145–146; SCHEJBAL 2004, 109, 111, fig. 10; LUPA 26407; the capital moulded and decorated with a relief wreath around the focus.

*Sil[va]no M(aqno?) / sacr(um) V(----)  
/H[e]rcul[anus?]/[---]*

Translation: Sacred to Silvanus the Great. V...  
Herculanus? (erected the altar).

The cognomen Herculanus was mostly widespread in both Moesias, and quite sparsely in North Italy and the western provinces.<sup>90</sup>



Figure 18. Votive altar, cat. no. 3.2.6. (photo: O. Harl, LUPA).

### 3.2.7. Altar to Silvanus (Figure 19)

Amateur excavations in 1968 in Daruvar; Janković Castle, Daruvar; fragment, damaged; sandstone; H 34 cm, L 30 cm, T 17 cm; later 3<sup>rd</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> century; lit.: PINTEROVIĆ 1975, 145; SCHEJBAL 2004, 109, 111, fig. 9; LUPA 26408<sup>91</sup>; the base and plane capital moulded.

*Silvan / o Cupi/tus v(otum) [s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)?]*

Translation: To Silvanus. Cupitus fulfilled his vow  
wilfully and deservedly.

The cognomen Cupitus, with a probable Celtic assonance, was quite widespread in northern Italy and south-western provinces, but was particularly frequent in



Figure 19. Votive altar, cat. no. 3.2.7. (photo: O. Harl, LUPA).

<sup>90</sup> SCHULZE 1904, 358; BARKÓCZI 1964, 314; OPEL II, 178.

<sup>91</sup> The restoration *Q(uintus) Cupitus* as given in Lupa is not founded, because the name Cupitus has not been recorded as a *gentilicium* in Roman onomastics.

Noricum and less so in Pannonia. Curiously, the cognomen Cupitus was very widespread among the Siscian evidence of commercial lead tags, but the evidence there stops by the turn of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3rd centuries.<sup>92</sup>

### 3.3. Imperial honorary inscriptions

#### 3.3.1. Inscription honouring Commodus

Fortuitous find in unknown circumstances in Daruvar; missing; measurements not recorded; AD 193–211; Lit.: *CIL* III 4000; SCHEJBAL 2004, 108; MRÁV 2007, 86, no. 4; shape of the monument unknown.

#### 3.3.2. Inscription honouring Fulvia Plautilla

Rescue excavations in 1996 in Daruvar; Janković Castle, Daruvar; fragmentary but the measurements preserved, damaged; limestone; H 120 cm, L 40 cm, T 40 cm; AD 202; lit.: SCHEJBAL 2004: 106, 108, fig. 4; MRÁV 2007; *LUPA* 26272; HD065289; EDCS-46700063; an inscribed parallelepiped statue base.

[[[F]ulviae]] / [[Plau[tia]]] / [[[]]ae [Aug(ustae)]] / [[sponsae]] / Imp(eratoris) Mar/ci Aure[li] /  
<sup>5</sup> Anto[ni]/ni res [pu]/blica Ia[s(orum)].

Translation: To Fulvia Plautilla Augusta, the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus' betrothed, *respublica Iasorum* (put up the monument).

#### 3.3.3 Inscription honouring Gordian III

Fortuitous find in 1907 in Daruvar; AMZ, inv. no. 746; complete; sandstone; H 80 cm, L 147 cm, T 22 cm; AD 238–244; lit.: SCHEJBAL 2004, 105, 108, fig. 2; MRÁV 2007, 86, no. 12; *LUPA* 15443; HD028185; EDCS-11301131; an elongated slab with a moulded inscription panel, presumably part of the base for an equestrian statue.

Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) Ant(onio) / Gordiano Pio / Felici Aug(usto) r(es) p(ublica)  
*Ias(orum)*.

Translation: To the Emperor Caesar Marcus Antonius Gordianus, pious, happy, august, *respublica Iasorum* (put up the monument).

<sup>92</sup> MÓCSY 1959, 171; BARKÓCZI 1964, 310; *OPEL* II, 88; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2012, 193.

### 3.3.4. Inscription honouring Sabinia Tranquillina

Fortuitous find in 1907 in Daruvar; AMZ, inv. no. 747; fragmentary; sandstone; H 123 cm, L 48 cm, T 57 cm; AD 241–244; lit.: SCHEJBAL 2004: 106, 108, fig. 3; MRÁV 2007, 86, no. 13; LUPA 15444.

*Sabini/ae Tran/quilli/nae /<sup>5</sup> Aug(ustae) / r(es) p(ublica) Ias(orum).*

Translation: To Sabinia Tranquillina Augusta, *respublica Iasorum* (put up the monument).

## 4. Discussion

As a local community before the achievement of full municipal rights, *civitas Iasorum* shared more or less the same course of historical and geopolitical events as other tribal *civitates* in southern Pannonia. The most convenient comparison of its capital Aquae Balissae in this context should be with Aquae Iasae, the settlement situated on the opposite, NW end of the Iasian territory, which was a famous spa centre for the wider region, leaving behind a wealth of epigraphic evidence (see Figures 2–4). It is not, however, the quantity of the material that should be compared, but its nature. Since Aquae Balissae was a municipality and Aquae Iasae was not, the same kind of inscriptions from the two settlements need not necessarily be interpreted in the same way. Thus, inscriptions of all ranks of the military and civil officials and dignitaries in Aquae Iasae, even if styled as official documents, can be taken as proof of their dedicators' private stay in the spa for medical or religious reasons.<sup>93</sup> On the other hand, such inscriptions from Aquae Balissae need to be scrutinized in terms of their possible official nature. The term *official*, or rather, *semi-official*, in the present context has a slightly modified meaning, even more difficult to penetrate than in the case of the classical dichotomy of official and private in religious worship.<sup>94</sup> Here it should amount to an understanding of whether a soldier dedicated an altar to a divinity in the capacity as a soldier on duty in the town, or as a private person visiting the spa and preferably addressing healing divinities. Given the inconclusive nature of the evidence, such presumptions remain conjectural, but the lack of healing gods in the evidence of Aquae Balissae should be noticed as significant. However it may be, the presence (or the lack of it) of the military in the population of Aquae Balissae is one of the three main issue to be addressed in this paper. The other issue is religious worship, and the third is the ratio between the locals and immigrants. These three components of the population's profile will be tentatively discussed under

<sup>93</sup> As a matter of fact, inscriptions from Aquae Iasae are in the most cases blatantly private, with rare examples of dedication for the health of the Emperor(s) or higher dignitaries (KUŠAN ŠPALJ 2014b).

<sup>94</sup> Cf. NELIS-CLÉMENT 1994, 254; WEBER-HIDEN 2011; MURGIA 2016, 194, 198–201, fn. 59.

separate headings, with some inevitable overlapping due to their interconnectedness and mutual dependency. Regrettably, due to the meagre evidence the analyses can be expected to produce indications rather than conclusions. Out of a total of 20 monuments presented here, nine are funerary, seven votive and four honorary; 18 of them are inscribed (seven funerary: 3.1.1–3.1.5, 3.1.7, 3.1.8, and all of the votive and honorary). Of the 18 inscribed monuments, 12 bear references to specific people, given that the honorary inscriptions are municipal, and that one inscribed stone (3.1.9a) is a liturgical hymn from a funerary context. Stela 3.1.6 and sarcophagus 3.1.9b are lacking inscriptions but are still included in the evidence, because a soldier is depicted on the former and two civilians (a married couple) on the latter, so they furnish information on the social aspect of the population. The monuments span the time period from the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century to the early 4<sup>th</sup> century, with the peak in the Severan period.

### *Social status*

As was already mentioned, the military camp of the early 1<sup>st</sup> century has been postulated in Aquae Balissae, though on the circumstantial evidence.<sup>95</sup> It transpires from the above statistics that 15 monuments can be used as evidence for the insight into social status, which in this context means primarily the ratio between the military and civilians, and the role of the former in the life of the community of Aquae Balissae. Five monuments were set up by civilians, two votive (3.2.6, 3.2.7) and three funerary (3.1.2, 3.1.7, 3.1.9). One is inconclusive (3.2.3) as the office of dispensator could have been civilian and military. The remaining ten monuments were set up by the military, with, however, only one “purely” military inscription, that is, not involving the family as the dedicators (3.2.6), two being a mixture of military and family in that they were dedicated by a military person alone, but for the health of his family (3.2.2; 3.2.5). Five funerary (3.1.1, 3.1.3–3.1.6) and one votive (3.2.1) pieces were erected with a mutual participation of a soldier and his family, both figuring as the commemorated and/or the commemorators, or dedicators. Finally, one military gravestone (3.1.8) remains inconclusive due to the circumstances of the finding and its fragmentary state. On balance, military monuments double those civilian (10: 5), with the family-military commemoration as the most conspicuous feature from the 1<sup>st</sup> to at least the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century.

Within the frequent occurrence of the military, it remains to establish the ratio between the veterans and active soldiers. This is relevant because active soldiers are more likely to indicate a permanent presence of the army units, or at least *beneficarii*, in Aquae Balissae and its territory. Contrary to that, individual veteran graves (veteran votives are missing from the evidence) are rather a proof of the recruitment in the area and of the veterans’ homecoming.

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<sup>95</sup> See fn. 4.



Only two veterans' gravestones are found, one each in the town (3.1.3 – questionable) and in its *ager* (3.1.1), while the relief tombstone (3.1.6) presents an active soldier rather than a veteran, judging from the sword in his hand.<sup>96</sup> If this is so, the total number of active soldiers appearing in the epitaphs (3.1.3–3.1.5), votive inscriptions (3.2.1, 3.2.2, 3.2.4), and possibly a funerary depiction (3.1.6), amounts to nine, plus one *beneficiarius consularis* (3.2.5). At the first glance, this suggests a permanent or recurring presence of the army units in the town or its *ager*. Unfortunately, the fact that the town was a spa centre renders this theory questionable, imposing an obligation to scrutinize each individual case. As this has already been done in the Catalogue, it remains to summarize it here. Generally, votive military inscriptions in a spa environment could have resulted from medical or purely religious reasons. As many as six military units (*Ala I Pannoniorum*, *Cohors XXXII civium Romanorum*, *Cohors quingenaria Maurorum*, *Legio IV Flavia*, *Legio VII Gemina*, *Legio X Gemina*, *Legio I Adiatrix*) are mentioned in the inscriptions over a relatively short time period (later 1<sup>st</sup> century to the Severan period). Each of them is mentioned only once, while some inscriptions (both funerary and votive) do not bring the name of the unit at all. The dedication made by a *beneficiarius* (3.2.5) was a single one of the kind and was phrased as a private affair, which makes two reasons for doubting the claim for a *beneficiarius* station in Aquae Balissae.<sup>97</sup> Even though, such hypothesis cannot be conclusively rejected, especially in the context of a poorly investigated site.<sup>98</sup> On the other hand, there is the possibility that the *beneficiarius* was in charge of a small military post in the town<sup>99</sup>; this would make a tentative explanation for all of the active military in Aquae Balissae.

The altar to Jupiter Dolichenus, set up by a centurion of the *Legio VII Gemina* (3.2.1) is perplexing in that the choice of the god and imperial connotations speak in favour of its official character in spite of the inclusion of the family. As a matter of fact, the family speaks in favour of the centurion's official stay in Aquae Balissae and not just passing through it. In spite of the fact that the dedicator's legion was known for its steady Hispanian background and the lack of proved connections with Pannonia, the lack of the *gentilicium* Carmeus in Hispania makes Carmeus Iulianus' Pannonian origin and his official stay in Aquae Balissae acceptable. Another centurion's dedication, again to Jupiter Dolichenus (3.2.2), can hardly be perceived as official because of a private nature of the formula *pro se et suis*. A joint dedication to Nemesis by two soldiers of an unknown unit (3.2.4) is inconclusive, but points to the official character rather than private. On the other hand, the formula *pro se et suis* and the

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<sup>96</sup> In the pictorial funerary evidence for Noricum only one veteran is recorded as armed (HARL 2003, 349–353; an armed veteran on p. 353).

<sup>97</sup> The claim was put up by D. PINTEROVIĆ (1975, 145).

<sup>98</sup> Cf. FRANCE, NELIS-CLÉMENT 2014, 171, *passim*.

<sup>99</sup> Such posts including a very small number of soldiers supervised by a *beneficiarius consularis* have been presumed in rural areas: FRANCE, NELIS-CLÉMENT 2014, 157, *passim*.

inconclusive choice of the god gives the inscription of a *beneficiarius consularis* (3.2.5) a definitely private note.<sup>100</sup>

The interpretations of the veteran funerary inscriptions have been given above, while those of the active soldiers (3.1.3–3.1.5, possibly 3.1.6) remain ambiguous, the more so as the majority of the corpus of military inscriptions in the Roman Empire is taken by the epitaphs from the permanent or semi-permanent legionary bases.<sup>101</sup> The question arises whether all of the active soldiers buried in the territory of Aquae Balissae were transferred from the place of death, be it their camp or the battlefield. This is obvious for the praetorian (3.1.3) but remains inconclusive for the remaining two or three soldiers (3.1.4, 3.1.5, 3.1.6). All in all, the above evidence cannot be taken as a proof for the presence of the active military in Aquae Balissae, but it still points to such possibility.<sup>102</sup> If, on the other hand, the military is perceived as active soldiers and veterans, a sheer number of them suggest that their role in the community must have been conspicuous, especially in the Severan period.

The social standing of the community of Aquae Balissae as a whole is further reflected in the number of honorary inscribed statues erected for the imperial families. The starting point for such consideration is the fact that honouring the imperial family with statues was an obligation (though probably not legally committing) of a community, depending on its financial resources.<sup>103</sup> The lack of a honorary inscription to Hadrian, the presumed founder of the *Municipium Iasorum*, must be accidental. At this stage we know of four honorary inscriptions from Aquae Balissae, erected for Commodus, Plautilla, Gordian III, and Sabinia Tranquillina (3.3.1–4). The inscription to Commodus is rightly presumed to have been erected by Septimius Severus, who abolished Commodus from *damnatio memoriae*. Admittedly, a monument to Plautilla cannot be imagined without one erected at the same time for her imperial fiancé Caracalla. Given that, as well as two votive inscriptions dedicated for the health of the Severan imperial family (3.2.1, 3.2.3), honorary inscriptions to Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and quite likely also Julia Domna, must have existed in Aquae Balissae. In the light of the above condition for the erection of imperial statues, Aquae Balissae must have been quite a thriving community in the Severan period if perceived against the background of its size and the presumed modest importance; it seems that the town went beyond its obligations. Therefore, one can rightfully wonder whether Aquae Balissae was perhaps among the communities that had indebted Septimius Severus during his battle for the Imperial Throne, to be rewarded afterwards.<sup>104</sup>

<sup>100</sup> Official inscriptions of *beneficarii* can at times be dedicated to other gods than Jupiter (cf. fn. 84 and NELIS-CLÉMENT 1994, 251–252), but they never include the formula *pro se et suis*.

<sup>101</sup> KEPPIE 2001, 80–81.

<sup>102</sup> It seems that commentators tend to ascribe graves of active soldiers to their stay at related places, and not to the transfer of their bodies to the homeland (e.g. LE ROUX 2000, 391; CARROLL 2006, 160; ȚENȚEA 2012, 29).

<sup>103</sup> MRÁV 2003, 334; 2007, 84.

<sup>104</sup> On such policy see MRÁV 2012, 273–276.

### *Religious worship*

The very choice of the god to worship with an altar can suggest an official or private nature of the dedication, although, admittedly the concept of a “double character” of some dedications stands in the way of getting a more clear insight.<sup>105</sup> The range of gods mentioned in the inscriptions is extremely limited: Jupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus (3.2.1; 3.2.2), Jupiter Depulsor (3.2.3), Nemesis (3.2.4), Silvanus (3.2.7), Silvanus Magnus? (3.2.6), Silvanus Domesticus and Silvana (3.2.5), to be supplied with an instance of Silvanus in the company of two presumed *Silvanae*, depicted on an inscriptionless altar (Figure 20).<sup>106</sup> What strikes us as the most significant is the absolute prevalence of the two highest gods in the Pannonian religious pantheon – Jupiter and Silvanus. Dedications to Jupiter suggest the official cult, even if variously nuanced through the epithets *depulsor* and *Dolichenus*.<sup>107</sup> On the other hand, Silvanus’ official status has been challenged, but his importance and the possible social and political implications of the high religious status in Pannonia remain unshaken.<sup>108</sup> Such presumption for Aquae Balissae is further substantiated by the fact that Silvanus had a sanctuary not far from the forum, in an area that seems to be pointing to a temple complex for the worship of Jupiter Dolichenus as well.<sup>109</sup> Arguably, the predominance of Jupiter and Silvanus, in tandem with the lack of specifically healing deities, tips the balance in favour of the presumed semi-official nature of the dedications put up by the military in Aquae Balissae.<sup>110</sup> The same is true of the goddess Nemesis whose role as a divine avenger and dispenser of justice is perhaps more suitable for an official context than private, the more so as her importance with the military is well documented.<sup>111</sup> This is further suggested by the absence of her cult in Aquae Iasae, probably for the lack of healing capacities.

<sup>105</sup> NELIS-CLÉMENT 1994, 54–56; FRANCE, NELIS-CLÉMENT 2014, 132.

<sup>106</sup> SCHEJBAL 2004, 108–111, fig. 7.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. NELIS-CLÉMENT 1994, 258. Jupiter was the main god of the state and the military: WATSON 1969, 131, CANCIANI 1997, 422; FRANCE, NELIS-CLÉMENT 2014, 220. On the mentioned epitaphs see fns. 62 and 73.

<sup>108</sup> See fn. 85.

<sup>109</sup> SCHEJBAL 2004, 103–104, 110–111.

<sup>110</sup> *Semi-official* in the sense as explained above (fn. 93), that is, contrary to stipulated by medical reasons and suggesting the soldiers’ official presence in the town.

<sup>111</sup> See fn. 79.

Although Silvanus' epithets on two of the three inscriptions have been somewhat controversial as they had to be restored from abbreviations, it seems that both *domesticus* (3.2.5) and *magnus* (3.2.6) can be securely accepted restorations. The former has the meaning of the protection of home in the widest sense of the word.<sup>112</sup> Curiously, of the total of 150 inscriptions to Silvanus Domesticus by 1992, the overwhelming majority stemmed from Pannonia and Dacia, which was explained in terms of the interconnectedness of the two border provinces vulnerable to attack, and, specifically, through the influence of Pannonia on Dacia.<sup>113</sup> Significantly, in Rome Silvanus was closely associated with the Lares of the imperial home, so the epithet *domesticus* also connotes imperial cult.<sup>114</sup> Similarly, the epithet *magnus* could point to the role of Silvanus as the official deity to the population of Pannonia, but it is, on the other hand, too abstract to justify this conclusion.<sup>115</sup> Given that the evidence for the worship of Silvanus from Aquae Balissae is only purely epigraphic, it should be useful to bring the only sculptural altar for this god from Daruvar, to get an insight into the iconographical perception of the cult among the population (see Figure 20).<sup>116</sup>

The god is depicted with his female companions that could have been either Nymphs or Silvanae, that is, the related *numina* personifying natural features of the area, otherwise typical of Pannonia; the latter presumption is more convincing, given that the Nymphs as a rule come in threes, despite sharing the majority of iconographic features with the Silvanae.<sup>117</sup> The composition as depicted on the altar from Daruvar strikes us as a blend of local Pannonian and Italic iconographies, the former represented by the female companions and the latter by Silvanus' image as a young person dressed in a tunic and cloak, wearing short boots, and holding in one hand a branch and in another a vineyard knife.<sup>118</sup> In spite of representing a local component to Silvanus' theology, the female companions are shown in a



Figure 20. Votive altar to Silvanus and Silvanae, Janković Castle, Daruvar (photo: O. Harl, LUPA).

<sup>112</sup> RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1980, 112–113, fn. 41; DORCEY 1992, 22–24, *passim*.

<sup>113</sup> DORCEY 1992, 24, 28–29, 77–78.

<sup>114</sup> DORCEY 1992, 24.

<sup>115</sup> The epithet *magnus* is actually quite rare with Silvanus, and is typical only for Italy and Pannonia: DORCEY 1992, 31, *passim*.

<sup>116</sup> See fn. 105.

<sup>117</sup> PINTEROVIĆ 1975, 145–147; RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1980, 145–147; DORCEY 1992, 43–48; KUŠAN ŠPALJ 2014, 84–92.

<sup>118</sup> DORCEY 1992, 14–21; KOSSATZ-DEISSMANN 1994, 768, 772.

slow dancing motion in a Hellenistic manner, wearing a *peplos* with overfold, belted below the breast. Although the workmanship is crude and mediocre, revealing a local sculptor, the basic inspiration most certainly came from the classic picture of the Italic *Silvanus* and Hellenistic Nymphs. All in all, what we have here is an amalgamation of Italic and Pannonian traits. The same transpires from the inscription 3.2.5 in which *Silvanus* is invoked together with his female counterpart *Silvana* (possibly standing for *Diana*), as typical for the Pannonian worship of this god.<sup>119</sup>

As it was mentioned before, a comparison between the cult practices in *Aquae Balissae* and *Aquae Iasae* should be made against the background of different administrative status of these two settlements, the former enjoying municipal status and the latter lacking it. In *Aquae Iasae* the majority of votive inscriptions were for the Nymphs, while, unexpectedly for the commentators, *Silvanus* does not appear at all. This fact should be considered in the light of *Silvanus*' overall importance in Pannonia, which gives him an aura of the unofficially main god, but not a specifically healing one. A private nature of religious worship in *Aquae Iasae* is further substantiated by the lack of Jupiter's sculptures or dedications, with the majority of the gods evoked being salutary deities or those having such connotations, such as *Isis* and *Serapis*, *Fortuna*, *Aesculapius* and *Hygeia*, *Apollo/Sol* and *Diana/Luna*.<sup>120</sup> Significantly, *Juno* and *Minerva*, the only two highest official goddesses evoked in *Aquae Iasae*, were presumably worshipped in their healing capacity and not as components of the classical Triad.<sup>121</sup>

Finally, a joint find of two 4<sup>th</sup>-century funerary monuments, one Christian (3.1.9a) and another possibly such by virtue of context (3.1.9b), gives an insight into a syncretistic religious atmosphere well suited to the educated higher class of citizens, while no Christian monuments of the lower class people have come to light.

### *Ethnic and geographical origin*

The issue of the ethnic and/or geographical origin based on the onomastic traits is certainly the most ambiguous and questionable of the three aspects of the population research attempted in this discussion. This is due to both the extremely complex and inconclusive nature of the nomenclature in the Roman Empire and the limited database here. Also, the fact that the *Iasi* was a Pannonian-Illyrian tribe with some Celtic traits makes it

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<sup>119</sup> RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1980, 107–109; P. DORCEY (1992, 42–48, 124–134) does not recognize a specific goddess *Silvana* in *Silvanus*' worship, let alone her identification with *Diana*.

<sup>120</sup> KUŠAN ŠPALJ 2014.

<sup>121</sup> This was actually presumed for *Minerva* (KUŠAN ŠPALJ 2014, 92). Nevertheless, it can be equally postulated for *Juno Regina* despite her imperial epithet, because the extreme complexity of *Juno*'s theology presumes also a salutary component (LA ROCCA 1990, 815). Such explanations find a further justification in the fact that, in spite of the extensive recent excavations, no trace of Jupiter as the main god of the Triad has been recovered in *Aquae Iasae*.



impossible to divorce local Celtic elements in the nomenclature from those of the western “Celtic” provinces.<sup>122</sup>

The list of the names contained in the inscriptions from the territory of Aquae Balissae given below has been supplemented by three documents not discussed in the Catalogue: two military diplomas and one epitaph from a stela erected in Rome. The funerary stela, probably dating from the Severan period, belonged to the *eques singularis* Ulpius Cocceius from Aquae Balizae (Balissae).<sup>123</sup> Of the two diplomas, one was issued in AD 85 for Fronto, son of Scenus, of the tribe of the Iasi, while on the other, issued in AD 71, the *princeps civitatis Iasorum* Titus Flavius Serenus appears as a witness.<sup>124</sup> The above *eques singularis*’ name testifies to a person from the *ager* of Aquae Balissae, as specifically stated in the inscription, whose family got Roman citizenship from the Emperor Trajan, while his cognomen points to a former peregrine.<sup>125</sup> The name of Titus Flavius Serenus is quite important in that it indicates an early Roman citizenship awarded to a local *peregrinus* at the time when two *principes* of other *civitates*, mentioned in the same diploma, did not yet enjoy the same right.<sup>126</sup> Serenus’ citizenship was evidently awarded individually, given that Aquae Balissae was most probably awarded the municipal rights by the Emperor Hadrian. Although the Flavii were widespread, their number in Pannonia and Dalmatia stands out.<sup>127</sup> The cognomen Serenus was also widespread, but with the highest frequency in northern Italy, Hispania, Gallia, and Pannonia.<sup>128</sup> Contrary to the previous two persons, Fronto, son of Scenus, was a local peregrine who at the time of obtaining his diploma and Roman citizenship with it, retained his original Roman cognomen with the Illyrian assonance, expressed by the epichoric onomastic formula revealing his father’s Illyrian name.<sup>129</sup>

<sup>122</sup> On the ethnic composition of the Iasi see SCHEJBAL 2004, 99; RADMAN-LIVAJA, IVEZIĆ 2012, 139.

<sup>123</sup> CIL VI 3297; PINTEROVIĆ 1975, 135–136; BUSCH 2011, 133, fn. 155; GRBIĆ 2014, 183, no. 85.

<sup>124</sup> Fronto Sceni f.: CIL XVI 31; GRBIĆ 2014, 182, no. 84; T. Flavius Serenus: GRBIĆ 2014, 182, no. 83; KOVÁCS 2014, 68. Curiously, the name Iasus appears as a cognomen of Marcus Sentilius Iasus, a witness on the diploma issued in AD 149 in Pannonia Superior (CIL XVI 96; SCHEJBAL 2004, 106). Although his *gentilicium* has the Celtic assonance, the cognomen Iasus has been recorded only outside Pannonia, with no proof of its relation with the tribe of the Iasi (OPEL II, 190; DELAMARRE 2007, 107). The nomenclature of Marcus Sentilius Iasus is problematic in that his very rarely recorded name is only attested as a single name with a clear Celtic assonance, but not as a *gentilicium* (OPEL IV, 67; DELAMARRE 2007, 166).

<sup>125</sup> The Ulpii (MÓCSY 1959, 192; BARKÓCZI 1964, 299; OPEL IV, 179–181; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, 276) were widespread, but were extremely frequent in Pannonia and Dacia. The cognomen Cocceius (MÓCSY 1959, 170; BARKÓCZI 1964, 309; OPEL II, 67; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, 187) was very rare, appearing only in the provinces and suggesting the Celtic background.

<sup>126</sup> KOVÁCS 2014, 68.

<sup>127</sup> See fn. 36.

<sup>128</sup> See MÓCSY 1959, 190; BARKÓCZI 1964, 299; OPEL II, 145–147; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, 263.

<sup>129</sup> Fronto: MÓCSY 1959, 175; BARKÓCZI 1964, 313; OPEL II, 153; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, 210. Scenus: MÓCSY 1959, 189; OPEL IV, 145–147; DELAMARRE 2007, 162; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014, 260.

Below is the list of all names contained in the epigraphic evidence for Aquae Balissae.

*Gentilicia*: Adatilia, Aelius, Aurelius, Carmeus, Cassius, Flavius, Iulia, Nunnidius, Petronia, Secundius, Seius, Sergius (?), Ulpus, Valerius.

*Cognomina*: Aelianus, Atticilla, Atticillianus, Cocceius, Cupitus, Dignius, Exoratus, Felix, Fronto, Graecus, Herculanus, Ingenuus, Iulianus, Laelianus, Marcus, Maximianus, Naso, Prisca, Proculus/a, Proculianus, Provincialis, Quintus, Restutus, Saturninus, Secundus, Sextus, Speratus, Scenus, Serenus, Successus, Surus, Tatio, Valerius, Vitalis.

The majority of the names appear only once, with the exception of three *nomina* (Carmeus, three persons, but in the same inscription 3.2.1; Flavius – 3.1.3 and a diploma; Valerius, 3.1.3, 3.2.4), and one cognomen (Proculus, 3.1.5, 3.2.4). Expectedly, the aim set at the beginning of the discussion: to try to estimate the ethnic-geographical origin of the people recorded, turned to be an unrewarding task with uncertain results. This is because the majority of the *cognomina* (Adatilia, Atticilla, Atticillianus, Cocceius, Cupitus, Exoratus, Felix, Fronto, Ingenuus, Naso, Prisca, Proculianus, Proculus/a, Provincialis, Quintus, Restutus, Saturninus, Scenus, Serenus, Secundus, Sextus, Speratus, Successus, Surus, Tatio, Vitalis) and one or possibly three *gentilicia* (Seius, Sergius?, Secundius?) were claimed or presumed to be related to the Celtico-Pannonian anthroponymy and through it to a tentative local origin, on the basis of combined reasons of form, indigenous language assonance, peregrine connotations in names or name formulae, and general distribution.<sup>130</sup> However, the above qualifications relate to all of the Celtic or Celtic-influenced areas (northern Italy, Gallia, Noricum, and Pannonia, but to some extent also Germania, Hispania, and Dalmatia), and therefore cannot be securely used to identify local inhabitants of Aquae Balissae. Therefore, local people in the narrow sense of the word should be looked for through supplementary evidence. Some of the bearers of the above *cognomina* are confirmed as specifically Iasean through two military diplomas and an inscription: Ulpus Cocceius, Fronto Iasus, son of Scenus, and T. Flavius Serenus.<sup>131</sup> Other locals from the area of Aquae Balissae should be presumed in those buried in the territory of the town (3.1.3, 3.1.4, 3.1.5). On the other hand, should we presume Norican origin for Speratus (3.2.3), Cupitus (3.2.7), Secundus Restutus (3.2.2), the Cassius family on account of Sextus (3.1.4), or the Nunnidii on account of Successus (3.1.1), just because these names were extremely widespread in Noricum? The same question could be raised about Petronia Procula's (3.1.1) possible Dalmatian origin on account of the distribution of both her *gentilicium* and (especially) her cognomen. The answers remain inconclusive. Some of the *cognomina* (Aelianus, Graecus, Herculanus, Iulianus, Laelianus, Marcus, Maximianus, and Valerius) can be put in the broad category of indigenous (not necessarily strictly local, but non-Italic) on the basis of the name formula, as well as

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<sup>130</sup> MÓCSY 1959, 116–117; DELAMARRE 2007; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014.

<sup>131</sup> These examples are at the same time a good illustration of the uncertainty of looking for the origin behind the name, since all the names in them are Roman at least in form.

historical, artistic, and epigraphic reasons. This holds true for Aelianus and Laelianus (3.1.2: the Aelian family in the municipal context of Aquae Balissae, the distribution of the cognomen Laelianus, a primitive relief), Marcus (3.2.3: either single names, one of which with the Celtic assonance *Speratus*, or the possible patronymic name formula *Marcus Sperati*), Maximianus (3.1.5: a patronymic formula and other cognomina with Celtic connotations). Of all the nomenclature appearing in the evidence, the most intriguing is that produced in the inscription 3.2.1, as it contains names with Celtic connotations (*Atticilla*, *Secundus*, and *Atticillianus*) and those lacking it (*Carmeus*, *Iulia*, *Iulianus*). They suggest various possibilities within the frame of north-Italian origin with the Celtic background, thus contradicting the theory of the Seventh Twin Legion's stationing and recruiting as limited to Hispania. Of the single names not encompassed in the above category of non-Italic persons, *Herculanus'* name (3.2.6) is the only one that points to the eastern European regions (*Moesia*), while *Gr(a)ecus* (3.1.7) could have possibly been a slave from Greek-speaking regions. No other slave can be evidenced, apart from a very slight suspicion of such a person in 3.2.3, if indeed the name formula should be restored as *Marcus Sperati*, but not in the patronymic sense.<sup>132</sup> The single name *Cupitus* (3.2.7) need not point to a freedman or even a slave, given the late date of the inscription. Apart from *Graecus*, there are no secure indications to the Orientals; only a very slight hint of such persons transpires from two dedications to Jupiter Dolichenus (3.2.1, 3.2.2). All in all, the nomenclature of the evidenced people points to a geographical mobility within the frame of northern Italy and the earlier Romanized western provinces, mostly based on the inhabitants of the, broadly speaking, Celtic stock.

Another trait of the Iasean nomenclature is the ratio of the imperial (*Aelius*, *Aurelius*, *Flavius*, *Iulius*, *Ulpus*, a total of 7 persons) and non-imperial *gentilicia* (*Carmeus*, *Cassius*, *Nunnidius*, *Petronius*, *Secundus*, *Seius*, *Sergius*, *Valerius*, a total of 16 persons). The percentage of the imperial *gentilicia* (30%) is considerably lower than the average plotted by A. Mócsy for the period until the Marcommanic wars, which was 45%.<sup>133</sup> This is a possible indication that more than a half of the population were not enfranchised by the emperors, but by western families whose ultimate ancestry was Italic. On the other hand, such ratio can also be ascribed to an accident of archaeology. In any case, a very limited total database and an unexpected low number of imperial *gentilicia* leave no room for a meaningful discussion of the ratio between individual imperial names and the consequential tempo of enfranchisement and Romanization. The person with the *nomen* *Iulia* (3.2.1) probably originated from northern Italy or Noricum, while the two *Flavii* (3.1.3 and T. *Flavius Serenus* from the diploma) attest early Romanization of the locals from the area of Aquae Balissae.

<sup>132</sup> According to A. MÓCSY (1959, 116), in Pannonia, contrary to Dalmatia, it was not usual to omit the filiation (f.) from the patronymic formula, so that in such cases a slave should be presumed.

<sup>133</sup> MÓCSY 1959, 147–148.

The same is true of Ulpius Cocceius recorded in the epitaph from Rome, while Aurelius Naso (3.1.5) surprisingly represents the only instance of the Aurelii, otherwise the most widespread *gentilicium* in Pannonia. This should be ascribed to an accident of archaeology sooner than to historical reality.

On balance, all that can be posited with some certainty from the nomenclature is that the cognomina (in tandem with both the imperial and other *gentilicia*) as discussed above suggest direct origin of the majority of the population in the Celtic or Celtic-influenced provinces, Pannonia included. The presumed strictly local origin is limited to a few instances, which, however, does not exclude the possibility that some of those in the broad category of Celtic-connoted or single-named persons were local Iasi.

## 5. Concluding remarks

The fact that all the gods worshipped, the army units and the people's names mentioned in the inscriptions mostly appear only ones, testifies to the extremely poor state of research of the evidence. Nevertheless, some indications resulting from the analyses of the material can be taken as fairly trustworthy: 1. the conspicuous presence of the military, with a fair possibility of an army post in the town; 2. a private nature of the majority of the dedications, but still suggesting the presence of soldiers in official capacity rather than just visiting the spa; 3. the composition of the populations suggesting a mobility within the realm of the western provinces as their primary origin, and the possibility of the direct local origin for quite a few of them.

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## Abbreviations

AIJ = *Vide* HOFFILLER, SARIA 1938.

CBI = *Vide* SCHALLMAYER *et alii* 1990.

EDCS = Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss / Slaby.

HD = Epigraphischen Datenbank Heidelberg.

LUPA = *Vide* HARL, HARL 2017.

OPEL = *Vide*: I – LŐRINZ, REDŐ 1994; II – LŐRINZ 1999; III – LŐRINZ 2000b; IV – LŐRINZ 2002.

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