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Universitatea “Al. I. Cuza”, Facultatea de Istorie, Bulevardul Carol I, nr. 11, 700506 – Iași, Romania.

Tel.: (+04) 0232 201 615; Fax.: +(4) 0232 201 201, +(4) 0232 201 156;

Website: saa.uaic.ro; Email: saa.uaic.ro@gmail.com, blucretiu@yahoo.com.

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Foreword

Rada VARGA¹

The selection of articles presented in the current number of *Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica* is mainly based on presentations from the *People of the Ancient World* international conference, held in Cluj-Napoca on October 13th–15th, 2016. The conference, organized within the framework of the project *Romans 1by1*², brought together around forty scholars, from universities and research institutes from Europe and the United States. The silver lining of all presented researches was the desire to deepen knowledge on ancient population, employing various methodologies, tools and research techniques. At a scale, this was the main idea of the project as well, to combine traditional ancient population studies with digital classics technologies, in order to obtain a more rigorous view on ancient society, as well as a comprehensive tool (the open access database – <http://epdb.romans1by1.com/>), useful to all scholars of the field.

The variety of the conference programme, in general, is reflected as well by the contents of this journal issue. The approaches taken on Roman provincial population are diverse and the case-studies highlight the multi-folded character of Roman society. Thus, we have consistent prosopographic researches on the people attested in various settlements: Chartago Nova from Hispania Citerior, in M. C. de la Escosura Balbas's article, Aqua Balissae from Pannonia Superior in B. Migotti's study and Băile Herculane from Dacia Inferior in I. Boda, C. Timoc, V. Bunoiu's research. Other aspects, always of interest when dealing with ancient people, are onomastics and naming practices — as the name is sometimes the only thing we still know about a person and extracting all possible information from it is of crucial scientific importance. In this line of work, we have N. Moncunill-Martí's elaborated research on Iberian indigenous onomastics, I. Topalilov's note on the name of a Thracians and D. Dana and R. Zagreanu's holistic approach on the *equites singulares Augusti* which had their origin in province Dacia. J. Perez Gonzalez focuses his paper on a professional category and brings research to Rome — namely the *aurifices* of the Julio-Claudian period — while M. Tapavički-Ilić and J. Andđelković Grašar bring an incursion in the funerary archaeology of Viminacium.

¹ “Babeș-Bolyai” University Cluj-Napoca; radavarga@gmail.com

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Foreword

In the complex network of ancient population studies, this selection of works is illustrative for some of today's research trends, as well as for the large variety of and approaches which one can take in studying the people of the ancient world. Nonetheless, as scholarly contributions, the articles are undoubtedly useful resources for the scientific community and informative sources for any readers.

Indigenous naming practices in the Western Mediterranean: the case of Iberian

Noemí MONCUNILL MARTÍ¹

Abstract. *The Iberian language is directly attested by ca. 2250 inscriptions spanning the period from the 5th century BC to the 1st century AD, distributed between Eastern Andalusia and Languedoc. Although it must be considered a non-deciphered language, a large number of personal names have been identified in Iberian texts. The document that enabled the understanding of the basic structure of Iberian names is a Latin inscription from Italy (the Ascoli Bronze) recording the grant of Roman citizenship to Iberians who had fought for Rome during the Social War (90–88 BC). The study of this document paved the way for the identification of Iberian names in texts written in local languages, on the one hand, and in Latin and Greek epigraphic and literary sources on the other. This paper provides a state-of-the-art overview of research on Iberian onomastics, by synthesising the main recent achievements along with the remaining lines of research; it also investigates our understanding of the grammatical and syntactic structure of Iberian names, and analyses the evolution of Iberian naming patterns under Roman domination, by taking into account both Iberian and Latin documents.*

Rezumat. Limba iberică este atestată în mod direct de aproximativ 2250 inscripții datând din secolele V a.Chr.–I p.Chr., distribuite între estul Andaluziei și Languedoc. Deși trebuie considerată o limbă nedescifrată, un număr mare de nume de persoane au fost identificate în texte iberice. Documentul care dă posibilitatea înțelegerei structurii de bază a numelor iberice îl constituie o inscripție latină din Italia (bronzul din Ascoli), care înregistrează acordarea cetățeniei romane ibericilor care au luptat pentru Roma în timpul războiului cu socii (90–88 a.Chr.). Studierea acestui document a deschis drumul identificării numelor iberice în texte scrise în limbile locale, pe de o parte, și în inscripțiile grecești și latine, de partea cealaltă. Articolul de față prezintă o trecere în revistă a cercetărilor privind onomastica iberică, sintetizând cele mai recente realizări în domeniul; de asemenea, autoarea investighează gradul de înțelegere a structurii gramaticale și sintactice a numelor iberice și analizează și evoluția tiparelor onomastice iberice sub dominația romană, luând în considerare atât documente iberice, cât și latine.

Keywords: onomastics, Iberian names, epigraphy, Hispania, Palaeohispanic languages.

¹ University of Nottingham – CSAD, University of Oxford, nmoncunill@gmail.com

1. Introduction²

Adingibas, Talskubilos, Iskeildun, all these names belong to the same Palaeohispanic language, Iberian, and form a consistent onomastic tradition whose evolution will be determined by the Roman conquest of the Iberian Peninsula. Thanks to the finding, more than a century ago, of the so-called Ascoli Bronze (*CIL I² 709*), a key document for the ancient history of Hispania, Iberian personal names are well-known, and we are at present able to identify them not just in the Graeco-Roman sources, but also in the texts written directly by the local populations.³

The study of Iberian onomastics started, nevertheless, much earlier: in 1820, Wilhelm von Humboldt published what is considered to be the first study on the early onomastics of Hispania, *Prüfung der Untersuchungen über die Urbewohner Hispaniens vermittelst der baskischen Sprache*. This work mainly focuses on place-names but, to a lesser extent, it also makes use of an analysis of indigenous personal names known from literary sources.⁴ Although Humboldt's linguistic study it is still valid in some aspects, some of the conclusions he reached have subsequently been proved to be erroneous, namely: (1) the Iberians were a large group of people settled throughout the Iberian Peninsula; (2) the Iberians spoke one single language; (3) the Iberians spoke Basque.

Surprisingly, among these three assertions, the only one about which there is no consensus today is the third one, the equation between Basque and Iberian. Indeed, the possible relationship between these two languages represents one of the main debates of the discipline: on the one hand, some correlations are undeniable and too consistent to be incidental,⁵ but, on the other hand, they appear to be just limited to a certain category of words, which makes it impossible to determine whether they are due to a linguistic family connection or if they just arise from linguistic contact.

² In this paper the Palaeohispanic inscriptions are quoted according to the *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum* by J. Untermann; for the inscriptions found after the publication of this work, the references are given according to the Hesperia database (hesperia.ucm.es). The typographic conventions used to transcribe the Iberian languages are as follows: bold for texts written in Iberian non-dual script (**neitinke**), bold italics for texts in Iberian dual script (**baidesbi**) and italics for Graeco-Iberian texts (*naltinge*).

³ Some useful compilations of Iberian personal names can be found in: *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum* by J. UNTERMANN (vol. III.1); J. RODRÍGUEZ RAMOS 2014, which updates and synthesises the previous works by the author, and the series of "Crónica de onomástica paleo-hispánica" by A. MARQUES DE FARIA, with different instalments published from 2000 onwards, usually in *Revista Portuguesa de Arqueologia*. See also MONCUNILL 2007; 2010 for partial compilations, and MONCUNILL-VELAZA 2016 and MONCUNILL 2016 for a presentation of the new resources on indigenous onomastics in the Hesperia Databank (for a succinct description of this database, see as well the last section of this paper).

⁴ Note that at that time the Iberian script was not yet deciphered; this is the reason why Humboldt's study does not take into account Iberian or any other Palaeohispanic inscriptions.

⁵ The most striking coincidence concerns the name of numbers in both languages: see ORDUÑA 2005; 2011 and FERRER 2009.

On the other hand, thanks to the progress in archaeology and in the interpretation of Palaeohispanic inscriptions, it is definitely known that the Iberians did not occupy the whole Peninsula, but were just restricted to the Mediterranean coast, from Languedoc to Eastern Andalusia, and the Ebro Valley.

The map in Figure 1 shows the area where Iberian inscriptions have been found, which matches the territory where classical authors locate different peoples such as the *Cerretani*, *Indicetes*, *Laietani*, *Ausetani*, *Ilergetes*, *Laietani*, *Cessetani*, *Sedetani*, *Ilercavones*, *Edetani*, *Contestani*, *Oretani*, or the *Bastetani*. Thirdly, even if the Iberian language appears to be surprisingly homogenous in the central and northern part, the same cannot be stated to apply with certainty to the meridional inscriptions, whose interpretation is hampered by our inadequate understanding of the writing systems and of the syntactic and morphological structure of the texts.

As a consequence, this paper will specifically focus on Iberian personal names *stricto sensu*, that is the anthroponomical system belonging to the non-Indo-European language attested in the above-mentioned territory next to the Mediterranean Sea.

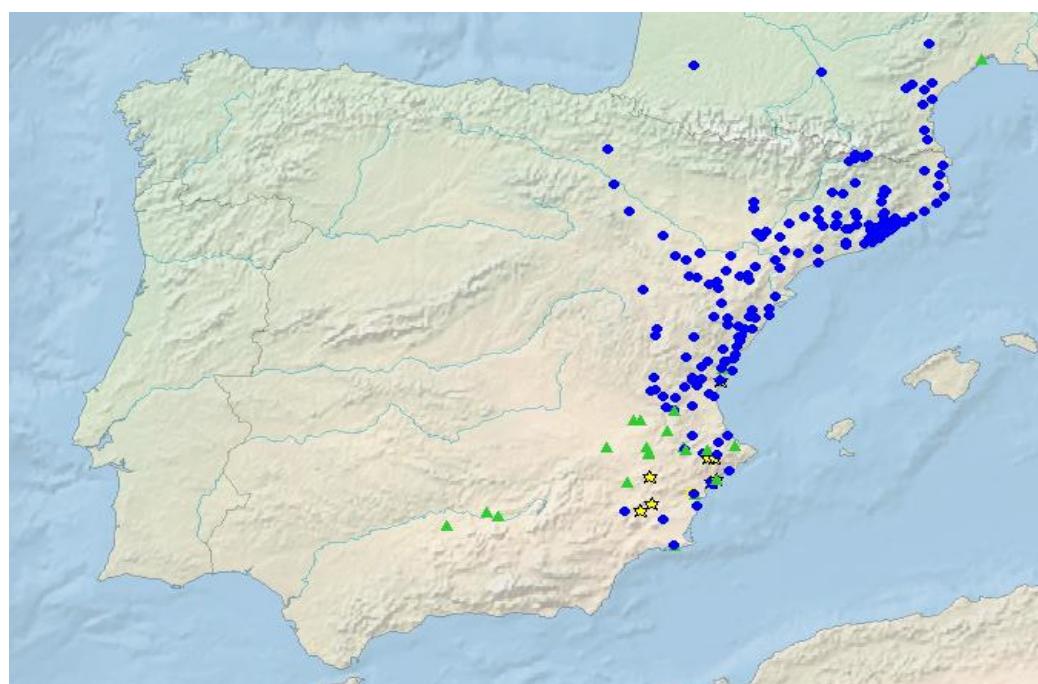


Figure 1. Distribution area of Iberian inscriptions: in blue, inscriptions in the north-eastern Iberian script; in yellow inscriptions in the Graeco-Iberian script; in green, inscriptions in the south-eastern Iberian script. The first two scripts are fully deciphered, whereas some characters in the last one are still pending identification.

2. Sources available for a repertoire of Iberian personal names

The sources available have made it possible to identify *ca.* 900 different Iberian names to date. In accordance with their importance for the constitution of the repertoire, the different corpora are as follows:

a) Iberian epigraphy. Most names are known through inscriptions in the Iberian language, dating between the 5th century BC and the 1st century AD. These names belong, for instance, to magistrates mentioned in coin legends, ownership graffiti, authorship signatures, names of the deceased in funerary inscriptions, or names on lead tablets, probably corresponding to lists of debtors, witnesses or just the sender and/or the addressee of a letter. The identification of these names has played a crucial role not only in our comprehension of Iberian naming habits, but also in the overall analysis of Iberian language, which is not yet fully deciphered. As a matter of fact, the study of personal names is the cornerstone of the interpretation of Iberian texts: it allows us to segment sequences in *scriptio continua*, to isolate the lexical roots from the morphemes with grammatical or syntactical value and, finally, it allows us to define recurrent and formulaic expressions and occasionally even interpret their meaning or at least their functionality.⁶

The anthroponomical mentions found in Iberian inscriptions can include, especially in those places with mixed population or in frontier areas, names in other languages, such as Latin, Gaulish, Celtiberian and even Greek. Among the most quoted cases there is the *nomen koŕneliſ*, from Empúries (C.1.1,2), probably datable to the 1st century BC⁷ and belonging to an almost fully Romanised individual; as for Gaulish names, the occurrences are relatively abundant:⁸ this is the case, for instance, of the names **tesile** (B.1.351, cf. *Tessillus* [CIL III 14368.28]) or **uaśile** [B.1.352,A], cf. *Vassil(l)us* [CIL XII 2286]) on pottery stamps from southern France, among others. Celtiberian and Greek names, in contrast, are very rare and we can only quote a few examples: among the Celtiberians, we can recall the famous **likine**, in the mosaics from Andelo (K.28.1) and Caminreal (K.5.3)⁹, which appears several times in the form Likinos on the Third Botorrita Bronze, in the Celtiberian language (K.1.3); as for Greek, finally, we can mention the name **bilonike** (K.1.7), maybe the Iberian adaptation of a *Philonicos*, which also appears on the above-mentioned Botorrita Bronze as **bilonikos** (K.1.3,III-28 and 51). As can be observed, these Indo-European names are adapted in Iberian, a non-Indo-European language, with a termination in **-e** or **-i**. If we consider some other examples, such as the Iberian graffiti

⁶ The combinatorial method currently used to analyse the Iberian language was mainly developed by J. UNTERMANN in the *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum*.

⁷ See SIMÓN 2013, 153.

⁸ See UNTERMANN 1969; CORREA 1993; LUJÁN 2003; RUIZ-DARRASSE 2010; FARÍA 2015.

⁹ For the interpretation of these inscriptions see SIMÓN 2015, with the previous bibliography.

luki (D.1.1) or **kai** (D.15.3), which could stand for the Latin *praenomina Lucius* and *Caius*, we can conclude that Iberian just adopted the vocative for the adaptation of all these foreign names.¹⁰

b) Latin epigraphy. The second most important set is known through Latin inscriptions, where Iberian names are mostly adapted as *cognomina*. This is obviously a very interesting corpus as it gives first-hand information on the granting of Roman citizenship to the indigenous elites and, in more general terms, to the advance of Romanisation in Hispania. So far, it has been possible to identify ca. 125 Iberian names in these sources, including the list of the *Hispani equites* of the *Turma Salluitana*, on the Ascoli Bronze, which lists 44 different Iberian names; this means that only around 80 Iberian names are known through Latin inscriptions from Hispania. This number is quite striking if we compare it to the total number of indigenous names in Roman inscriptions from the whole Peninsula, which gives almost 5,000 occurrences.¹¹ In other words: we have only about eighty Iberian names from the Mediterranean coast and Ebro Valley in comparison with almost five thousand Indo-European vernacular names, distributed throughout the hinterland and the Atlantic and Cantabrian basins. Even though the Indo-European part of the Iberian Peninsula is larger, this cannot alone explain this substantial numerical difference, and we need to consider alternative explanations regarding diverse adaptation processes on the part of the local elites into the new Roman society. On the other hand, one must also take into account the fact that during the first centuries of Roman domination, the predominant written culture in Hispania was still the vernacular one, and that the number of Iberian inscriptions during the Republic is actually much larger than the Latin corpus. This means that in those areas which had developed local literacy, the impact of Rome did not imply the abandonment of the native languages for more than two centuries, even for these new epigraphic media that arose from Roman influence (*i.e.* monumental and official inscriptions). Taken together, this suggests that the disappearance of Iberian literacy, in the 1st century AD, went almost hand in hand with the loss of Iberian names, and changing names went hand in hand with linguistic change probably even in the oral register.¹²

c) Celtiberian epigraphy. The third group to be considered is the one formed by Iberian names attested in Celtiberian epigraphy. All these names come from one single inscription, the so-called Third Botorrita Bronze (K.1.3).¹³ It consists of a list of more than 200 individuals, reflecting a mixed society formed, on the one hand, by a majority of Celtiberians, and, on the other hand, by Greek, Latin and Iberian name bearers. In this list Iberian names are sometimes quoted according to the standard Iberian onomastic formula, as is found in Iberian texts: either

¹⁰ See CORREA 1993, 103; 1994, 269 and JORDÁN 2008, 18.

¹¹ See VALLEJO 2016.

¹² For this last step, see ADAMS 2003, 290.

¹³ For an initial approach to these names, see UNTERMANN 1994–1995.

two names in juxtaposition, with no morphological mark in either, to express filiation (e.g. **bartiltun ekarbilos**, which might be understood as Bariltun, son of Ekarbilos); or just one single name alone, without the patronymic: Tarkunbiur. Instead, in some other cases, we find a hybrid formula, half Iberian, half Celtiberian, with an Iberian name followed by a Celtiberian family name in genitive plural: **bilosban betikum** (Bilosban of the Betikos); **biurtilarur alaskum** (Biurtilarur of the Alaskos) or **anieskor talukokum** (Anaieskor of the Talukos), among other examples.

d) Literary texts. Another set of local personal names from Iberia are known through literary sources. Out of a total of 100 indigenous names in this kind of sources, only around 15 could belong to the Iberian language. The linguistic analysis of them is, moreover, not always clear due to the significant phonetic alterations that they have suffered in the course of the long process of text transmission. Nevertheless, Titus Livy, Polybius or Diodorus, among others, are valuable sources in this respect.¹⁴

e) Greek epigraphy. Finally, a small group of Iberian names, less than ten, has been identified in Greek inscriptions.¹⁵ Besides some short graffiti on pottery, the most interesting documents are the two commercial lead tablets, from Empúries¹⁶ and Pech Maho¹⁷, which bear direct witness to the interaction between Greek and Iberian traders during the 5th century BC.

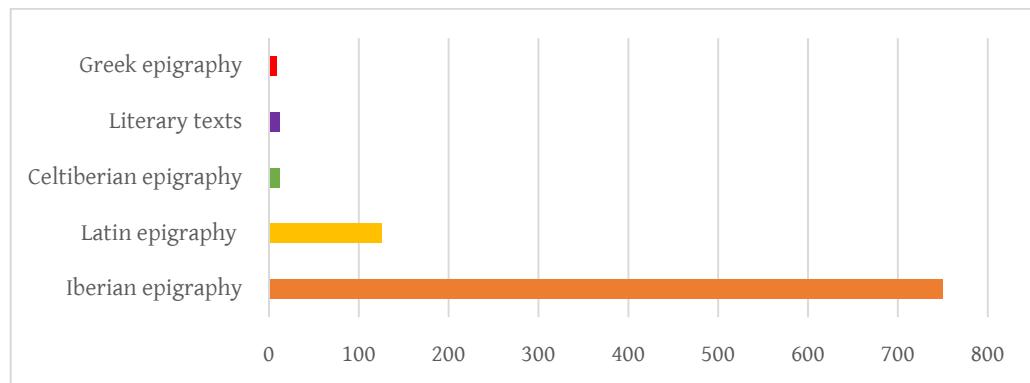


Figure 2. The proportion of names attested in the different sources available, according to the data available in the Hesperia Databank – Onomastics in September 2016.

¹⁴ See MONCUNILL 2016, 83–85.

¹⁵ They are the following: *Baspel*[(VELAZA 1992) on one of the lead tablets from Empúries (HOZ 2014, nº 129); 6 names on the Greek lead sheet from Pech Maho, in France (LEJEUNE et al. 1988): *Basigerros*, *Eleruas* (reading proposed by FARIA 1994, 69, instead of *Bleruas*, in the *editio princeps*), *Golobiur*, *Sedegon*, *Nabaruas*, *Nalbeadin*; and two other names attested on pottery: *Kanikon-e*, on two skyphoi from Peyriac-de-Mer (BDH AUD.7.1; AUD.7.2), in France, and *Gorotigi-nai* (C.1.9), again from Empúries.

¹⁶ HOZ 2014, nº 129.

¹⁷ LEJEUNE et al. 1988.

3. Characteristic features of Iberian personal names

The internal structure of Iberian names has been elucidated thanks to the previously mentioned Ascoli Bronze (*CIL* I² 709), a Latin inscription found in Rome in 1908. This document contains a list of 30 individuals from the Ebro Valley who received Roman citizenship from Pompey Strabo as a reward for their participation in the Social War. The names are organised in groups, according to the origin of the *equites* — *Bagarensis*, [--]licenses, *Ilerdenses*, *Begensis*, *Segienses*, *Ennegensis*, *Libenses*, *Suconsenses* and *Illuversensis* — and are systematically followed by their patronymic. For instance: *Sanibelser Adingibas f(ilius)*, *Vmargibas Luspangibas f(ilius)*, *Balciadin Balcibil f(ilius)*. A few of them, the ones from *Ilerda*, already present a Latin *duo nomina* even before officially holding Roman citizenship;¹⁸ they are *Quintus Otacilius Suisetarten f(ilius)*, *Cn(aeus) Cornelius Nesille f(ilius)*, *P(ublius) Fabius Enasagin f(ilius)*.

This relatively long list allowed some conclusions to be drawn on the compositional rules for Iberian names, which have later enabled the identification of Iberian anthroponomy in Iberian texts as well, once the decoding of the epichoric script had been achieved, in the mid-20th century thanks to the works of Manuel Gómez Moreno (1922; 1949). The current catalogue of Iberian names points towards the following conclusions:

- a) These names were mostly made of two elements, with only a few exceptions, such as *Beles*, on the Ascoli Bronze, in contrast with his father, *Vmarbeles*. These shorter designations were considered by J. Untermann as *Kurznamen*, simple names; however, it is not always easy to distinguish the one-element names from simple abbreviations, which are quite common in short inscriptions on pottery vases, usually with the owner's name.
- b) These two elements seem to be somehow independent, not in the sense that they can necessarily appear on their own, but in the sense that they can combine more or less freely with each other, thereby creating new personal names. Note, for instance, this chain on the Ascoli Bronze: *Vmar-gibas*, *Adin-gibas*, *Balci-adin*, *Balci-bilos*, *Bilus-tibas*, *Illurtibas*, *Vmarillun* and again *Vmar-gibas*. Bearing this in mind, it has been possible to build a repertoire of anthroponomical components, which currently contains around 200 elements; the most frequent ones are: **adin**, **balke**, **baś**, **beleś**, **bilos**, **biur**, **ildir**, **ildur**, **iskeŕ**, **sosin**, **tar** and **tiger**.
- c) Most of these elements are disyllabic but, again, we can observe a few exceptions, for instance **atin-ko** (B.1.360), **lauŕ-do** (C.2.4), *Biur-no* (*CIL* I² 709) or **biur-tar** (B.1.3). It has been proposed that some of these shorter constituents, which tend to appear in second position, might in some cases correspond to derivation morphemes rather than to lexemes in composition.¹⁹ Nevertheless, from a structural point of view and from the internal analysis of Iberian itself, these short elements do not seem to be essentially different from the most

¹⁸ For the possibility that they had Latin rights, see CRINITI 1970, 189–190; for a further discussion on this matter see GARCÍA FERNÁNDEZ 2011, 51–52.

¹⁹ See UNTERMANN 1975–1997, III.1 § 616.

frequent dissyllabic ones. As a consequence, we cannot confirm whether there are two different structures in Iberian names, compound names and names created by derivation (such as hypocoristic forms), or whether all names must be grouped in the first category.

d) Some of these elements can appear either in the first or second position (for instance, *Balci-adin* and *Adin-gibas*), but some others always appear in the same place. This might be due to the internal syntagmatic cohesion of the compound, regarding, for instance, the natural position of adjectives, nouns, verbs and objects in Iberian.²⁰ Nevertheless, we know little about the syntactical order in this language, which prevents us from describing which category of words fits into which position in the name.

e) The structure of Iberian names suggests that they might be interpreted as "speaking" names (*i.e.* compound forms with a meaning, reflecting certain characteristics or features) and that the above-mentioned compositional elements might correspond to different categories of words taken from the Iberian lexicon. As a matter of fact, some examples, such as **iunstir-laku** (F.9.5) seem to confirm this hypothesis: the first component of this name, **iunstir**, is attested independently in other contexts where it seems to act as a verb, maybe with a similar meaning to the Greek *chaire* or *salue* in Latin, as it can appear in the beginning of a letter, in votive or in funerary texts, always in connection with personal names followed by a particular kind of suffixation.²¹ Unfortunately, most of the time we are unable to understand what the meaning behind Iberian names is.

f) On some occasions, when the name of the individual is followed by the father's name, the two share one of the elements.²² This is clearly appreciable in the case of the Ascoli Bronze: **Illurtibas Bilustibas f(ilius)**, **Sosinadem Sosinasae f(ilius)**, **Sosimilus Sosinasae f(ilius)**, **Gurtarno Biurno f(ilius)**, **Vmargibas Luspangib(as) f(ilius)**, **Beles Umarbeles f(ilius)**, **Belennes Albennes f(ilius)**, **Balciadin Balcibil(os) f(ilius)**. This phenomenon can also be observed in Iberian texts: for instance, **neŕseadin balkeadin e** (F.11.11) and in some other Latin inscriptions from Hispania, for instance *Turibas Teitabas filius*, on the Latin Bronze from Botorrita (*CIL* I³ 2951a).

g) It has not yet been possible to identify feminine names in Iberian inscriptions, and all the proposals so far need to be considered as working hypotheses.²³ However, we do have a few examples of Iberian women mentioned in Latin inscriptions. These are some of the clearest cases of Iberian female names:

1. Annia L(uci) f(ilia) **Bilosoton** (*AE* 1998, 743 = *HEp* 8, 1998, 297).
2. M(arcus) Horatius M(arci) f(ilius) / Gal(eria) Bodonilur / Ilvir Lucretia L(uci) f(ilia) / **Sergieton** uxor (*CIL* II²/7, 91).

²⁰ For further examples see MONCUNILL 2012.

²¹ See for instance MONCUNILL, FERRER, GORROCHATEGUI 2016, 268–269.

²² See MONCUNILL 2012, 211–213.

²³ See UNTERMANN III.1 § 616; VELAZA 2006; RODRÍGUEZ RAMOS 2014.

3. Pompeia M(arci) f(ilia) / **Bileseton(- - -)** / Proba v[e]xit(!) (*CIL* II 3537).
4. Titiniae P(ubli) f(iliae) / **Bastogaunini** / M(arcus) Licinius / Neitinbeles / coniugi (*CIL* II 6144).
5. **Socedeiaunin** / Istamiuris filia (*CILA* III 154).
6. [- Cor]nelius Cervi f(ilius) / [- - -] Niger pater / [- - -]a **Galduriaunin** / [- - - u]xor / - - - - ? (*CIL* II²/7, 26).
7. Atiliae M(arci) f(iliae) Poti/tae Iunia **Tanne/gadinia** p(iiissimae?) n(epetae?) an(norum) XX (*CIL* II²/14, 148).
8. **Astedumar**²⁴ / a(nnorum) LXXX h(ic) s(ita) e(st) (*CIL* II² 14, 274).
9. P(ublius) · Aurelius / Tempestivos / Aurelio · Tanne/paeseri · patri / et · **Asterdumari** matri / her(es) · d(e) · s(ua) · p(ecunia) · f(aciendum) · c(uraverunt) (*CIL* II²/14, 148).²⁵
10. Betatun / Aelia · **Belesiar** / sorte · ius(s)u / v(otum) · s(olvit) · l(ibens) · m(erito) (*HEp* 16, 2007, 446).
11. Corneliae L(uci) f(iliae) / **Sillibori** Vetuli / pleps(!) Latoniensis / honorem accepit / impensam remisit (*CIL* II²/7, 5).
12. Calpur/niae **Vr/chatetelli**²⁶ / L(ucius) Aemilius / Seranus / matri (*CIL* II 2967 = *HEp* 8, 1998, 376).
13. Baebia / Cn(aei) l(iberta) / **Tavaccalaur** (*CIL* II² 14, 427).
14. Caecilia / **Geseladin**²⁷ / h(ic) s(ita) e(st) (*HEp* 5, 1995, 636).

The list mainly shows that it is not easy to identify what makes these names feminine in Iberian and that different procedures might have existed. Whatever the case, it is possible to try to regroup the names in different sets, mainly according to their different terminations:

- i. Some of them present a particular ending in **-eton/-oton**: *Bilos-oton*; *Biles-eton*; *Sergi-eton*;
- ii. A second group presents a termination in **-(i)aunin** (*Bastog-aunin*, *Socede-iaunin*, *Galduria-iaunin*), maybe internally composed by *-(i)a-* (a Latin derivative²⁸) and *-unin* (an Iberian word carrying the semantic notion of feminine²⁹)
- iii. The segmentation above (§ ii) would allow a similar Latin derivation in *-ia* to be recognised in the name *Tannegadin-ia*.

²⁴ For this reading, see VELAZA 2014, 43.

²⁵ For a new edition of this inscription see also ORDUÑA-VELAZA 2012.

²⁶ GORROCHATEGUI 2002, 91, considers it a Basque adaptation of an Iberian name, as there are no aspirations in Iberian. Note, moreover, that the inscription comes from Navarra.

²⁷ The reading is doubtful. For the one chosen here, see VELAZA 1993, 80.

²⁸ See QUINTANILLA 1998, 199.

²⁹ SCHMOLL (1959, 66, note 2) proposed an interpretation of **unin** as 'daughter' or 'woman'.

iv. A different group could contain *Astedumar*, *Asterdumar*, *Belesiar*, with a termination in -ar belonging to the root of the last element (-dumar and -iar), but maybe chosen as feminine because of the Indo-European influence of the feminine -a (as actually could have happened in §§ ii and iii).³⁰

v. Finally, other names fail to exhibit any apparent feature that would allow them to be distinguished from masculine forms: *Sillibor*, *Vrchatetel*, *Tavaccalaur* and *Geseladin*.

Another interesting feature arising from this list is that female names do not display any formal relationship with their fathers' or husbands' names, as can be seen, for instance, in example n. 5: *Socedeiaunin / Istamiuris filia* (CILA III 154) or in number 4: *Titinia P(ubli) f(iliae) / Bastogaunini / M(arcus) Licinius / Neitinbeles / coniugi*.³¹

4. The Iberian onomastic formula

The peculiar way in which Iberian names are formed, with the combination of two elements taken from quite a restricted pool of words, allows the creation of many different names, with few cases of homonymy. This system offers two advantages: despite the high number of different personal names in use, they are easy to recognise as such; moreover, no additional information is strictly required to distinguish one individual from another since repetition of identical names is quite rare.³² This could be one of the reasons why the original onomastic formula appears to be very simple, containing just a single name, without even the patronymic, whose appearance in the formulae probably must be considered a result of Roman influence. However, one also needs to consider the lack of Iberian public epigraphy before the Roman period *i.e.* from 5th to 3rd century BC, a fact that could also explain the apparent simplicity of the onomastic formula during the first epigraphic horizon, when writing was mainly used for trade and private purposes — it is less necessary to use the complete name in the private than in the public sphere. As a consequence, even if, from the documentation available, it is possible to state that the patronymic appeared in Iberian epigraphy after the arrival of the Scipios, it is not possible to determine whether this was due to a specific change in indigenous onomastic practices or to a more general change in the vernacular epigraphic habit, which could influence our perception and interpretation of the data.

Be that as it may, the most plausible interpretation is that the introduction of the filiation was carried out in Iberian with two names in asyndeton usually followed by the word **eban** or

³⁰ For an alternative explanation, see VELAZA 2006, 252.

³¹ Note as well that when names are declined, which is not always the case, they follow the Latin 3rd declination, which is not surprising, since root endings in -o or -a are rare in Iberian.

³² On the Ascoli Bronze, for instance, out of 51 indigenous names referring to different people, only two are repeated, just two individuals share the same name.



Figure 3. These two stele from Badalona, Barcelona (BDH.B.41.02 and BDH.B.41.03) present two different funerary formulae: the one on the left displays just the name of the deceased, whereas the one on the right displays the name of the deceased followed by the patronymic.

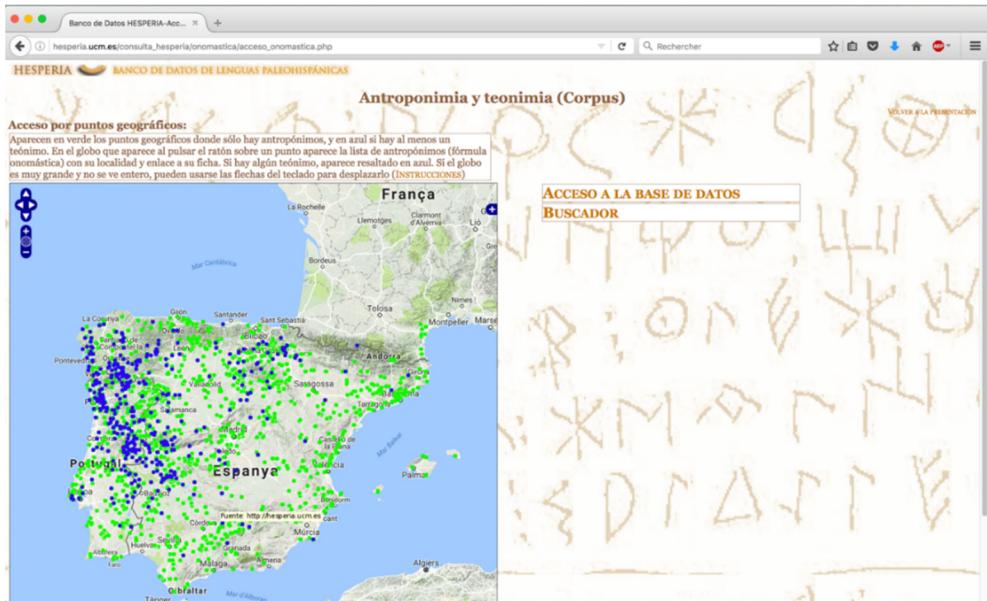


Figure 4. Screenshot displaying the main page of the onomastic sections in the Hesperia databank. The map shows all the places where indigenous personal names (in green) and divinity names (in blue) have been identified.

ebanen, whose meaning could be *filius*.³³ This structure, which is mainly attested in funerary inscriptions dating from the 2nd century BC onwards, is in fact exactly the same as on the Ascoli Bronze, where names are not adapted to Latin declination, but just appear in juxtaposition, followed by the abbreviation for *filius*: remember, once again, *Ilurtibas Bilustibas f.*

The two funerary stele shown in Figure 3³⁴ could plastically illustrate the above described evolution of the onomastic formula: the one on the left contains just the name of the deceased, **r̄nlbebiur**, followed by the suffixation **ar-r̄ni**; the one on the right, belonging to the son, shows instead a more complex formula, **bantuim̄ni r̄nlbebiur ebanen**, whose interpretation could be "I am of Bantui, son of Nalbebiur".

5. The onomastic sections in Hesperia databank

These are just some of the main points regarding what we can say today on Iberian personal names. Nevertheless, there is still much work to do in order to understand what lies underneath Iberian naming practices and to describe the diachronic evolution of the system. To conclude, it is worth mentioning that an updated repertoire of all indigenous divinity names and personal names from Hispania can be found in the section devoted to onomastics in the Hesperia Databank, which at this moment contains around 6000 different records³⁵ (also see Figure 4). In this open-access tool, the repertoire of names is linked to geographical and bibliographical information, and a specific search engine allows combined searches to be performed and onomastic maps to be created with the results of the search.

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³³ See VELAZA 1994 and 2004, *contra* UNTERMANN 1984 and RODRÍGUEZ RAMOS 2001, who interpret **eban** as the translation of *coeravit* and sustain that the filiation is just expressed in Iberian by the juxtaposition of two names, the son and the father, without any appellative.

³⁴ The *editio princeps* of these inscriptions is COMAS, PADRÓS and VELAZA 2001.

³⁵ Online: http://hesperia.ucm.es/consulta_hesperia/onomastica/acceso_onomastica.php

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People of Carthago Noua (Hispania Citerior). Juridical status and onomastics

M. Cristina DE LA ESCOSURA BALBAS¹

Abstract. *The conquest of Carthago Noua in the summer of 209 BC was a traumatic moment of change for the Punic capital on the Iberian Peninsula. Literary sources tell us about its unique geographical position and its flourishing economy based on mining and port activities, but do not mention its political situation. What happened to their citizens? What was their legal status until the promotion to Roman colony at the end of the Republican era? In order to look for an answer to this problem, an onomastic database has been created, identifying the inhabitants of Carthago Noua with epigraphic mentions since 209 BC until the end of 1st century BC. Getting over the traditional separation between prosopography and epigraphy, this study seeks to make an interdisciplinary analysis with the main characteristics of both disciplines. The results show us a profoundly Romanized society since its conquest where the names of the Roman gentes were transmitted through the Republican era to the Empire on duo/tria nomina structures, which could only exist under specific legal conditions. This gives us important clues to explore the legal status of the city in the Republican era, probably a Latin colony.*

Rezumat. Cucerirea cetății Carthago Noua în vara anului 209 a.Chr. a constituit un moment traumatizant al schimbării pentru fosta capitală punică a Peninsulei Iberice. Izvoarele literare ne vorbesc despre o poziție geografică privilegiată și despre o economie înfloritoare bazată pe activități miniere și portuare, dar nu menționează și situația politică a cetății. Ce s-a întâmplat cu locuitorii ei? Care era statutul lor juridic până la transformarea orașului în colonie română la sfârșitul epocii republicane? Încercând să răspundem la aceste întrebări, constatăm că rezultatele investigației noastre cu precădere onomastice ne arată o societate romanizată profund de la începutul cuceririi. Aceste date ne oferă indicii importante în explorarea statutului cetății în epoca republicană, aceasta fiind probabil o colonie de tip latin.

Keywords: Carthago Noua, database, onomastics, epigraphy, citizenship, Latin colony, gentes.

Introduction. The city of *Carthago Noua*

The conquest of *Carthago Noua* by P. Cornelius Scipio in the summer of 209 BC took place in the context of the Second Punic War². This was a traumatic moment of change for the Punic capital on the Iberian Peninsula. Twenty years before, *Qart Hadash* was founded (as was

¹ Universidad Complutense Madrid; mc.escosura@hotmail.com.

² Polyb. 10.6., 10; Strab. 3, 4, 6; Liv. 26, 41042; Flor. 2, 6, 39.

told by Diodorus Siculus³) or organized (as claimed by Polybius⁴) by Hasdrubal, in the same place were *Mastia*, an Iberian *oppidum*, was located. Literary sources tell us about its unique geographical position and its flourishing economy, but don't mention its political situation. What happened to their citizens? How were they affected by this change of power? What was their legal status until the promotion to Roman colony at the end of the Republican era?

Ancient Cartagena's bay was structurally complex. On one side, it was composed of a series of natural docks surrounded by steeps, providing protection against wind. On the other side, a half-sunken rock held up the traffic to and from its harbours, protecting them against enemies⁵. Mountains surrounding the city contained big quantities of silver and lead which were intensively exploded by Punics as much as by Romans. In the second half of 2nd century BC, 110 kg of silver were extracted from its quarries each day⁶. Its exceptional position in the routes which linked Mediterranean Sea and Atlantic Ocean, as well as between Iberian Peninsula and northern Africa, helped the city become an extremely important sea harbour. Besides, the settlement bordered northwards on a fresh water lagoon and counted with salting and esparto on its boundaries. So, *Carthago Noua* was the referential commercial point towards the interior of the Iberian Peninsula as well as towards the exterior.

After the first administrative division of the Iberian Peninsula, *Carthago Noua* laid in the borderline between *Hispania Ulterior* and *Citerior*, working as capital city of the latter until the time of Augustus, when *Tarraco* became the definitive capital city. After the *conuentus* reform on the landscape, this last city acts as administrative capital of the extensive *C. Carthaginensis*. We also know that this territory belonged to the *ager publicus* which P. Servilius Rufus was willing to distribute in the agrarian laws of 64 BC, against which Cicero reacted⁷.

The city reached an importance (*urbem ... ipsam opulentam suis opibus*⁸) which hardly seems compatible with a possible condition of *civitas stipendiaria* until the Imperial time, when Pliny mentions it as a Roman colony⁹. The earliest dating for this legal promotion has been given by Abascal Palazón, placing it on 54 BC, identifying Pompey as ultimate responsible¹⁰. Grant¹¹ raised the possibility of *Carthago Noua* having a Latin period from 48 to 45–44 BC, until it became a Roman colony in 29 BC, a proposal which Abascal Palazón understands as highly unlikely¹². García Fernández, for her part, considers the Latin condition of the city as a fact

³ Diod. Sic. 25, 11–12.

⁴ Polyb. 2, 13, 1.

⁵ Polyb. 10, 10, 1.

⁶ Polyb. 34, 9, 8. Voir aussi LLORENS FORCADA 1994, 163.

⁷ LLORENS FORCADA 1994, 196–206.

⁸ LIV. 26.42.3

⁹ PLIN. HN. 3.13

¹⁰ ABASCAL PALAZÓN 2002, 27.

¹¹ GRANT 1946, 217.

¹² ABASCAL PALAZÓN 2002, 23.

already proved¹³. Fasolini suggested that a Latin colony was funded by Caesar as an explanation for the double tribal adscription¹⁴.

Then, who lived in *Carthago Noua*? Were they Romans, Latins, stipendiary *peregrini*? Where these Punics, Iberians, Italic immigrants?

The SPES database

In order to look up an answer to this problem, an onomastics database has been created, identifying the inhabitants of *Carthago Noua* with epigraphic mentions since 209 BC until the end of 1st century BC. Thus, SPES — *S(tudium) P(ersonarum) E(x) S(crypturis)* — was designed with the objective of getting over the traditional separation between prosopography and epigraphy because this study seeks to make an interdisciplinary analysis with the main characteristics of both disciplines.

The reference for the processing of epigraphic information is the EDR web project (Epigraphic Database Roma)¹⁵ and so most of the database is designed in Latin. The main methodological attraction offered by EDR and the entire EAGLE federation is the treatment of the epigraphs as inscribed monuments, not as simple texts¹⁶. This allows collecting and taking into account substantial data of diverse nature that are important when carrying out analyses and complex historical considerations, reflection of the society that has created them. However, while it is based on the condition ‘one monument, one record’, SPES counts on an entry for each individual epigraphically recorded (including coinages).

At onomastics level, the database is inspired on the works of Gian Luca Gregori for the Roman Brixia (*Brescia romana. Ricerche di prosopografia e storia sociale*)¹⁷ and D’Isanto por Capua¹⁸. Their work made possible to identify the main tendencies in prosopographic and onomastics studies based almost exclusively on epigraphy. Yet, neither of the two examples alone could fulfil the required characteristics to develop an investigation such as the one proposed in this research. Then again, online prosopographic databases tend to be only onomastic compilations setting up through published corpora without direct control of the fonts by the compiler. That is the case for SNAP (Standards for Networking Ancient Prosopographies),

¹³ GARCÍA FERNÁNDEZ 2011, 52.

¹⁴ FASOLINI 2012a, 228.

¹⁵ EDR is part of the international ‘Europeana EAGLE project’ whose aims to collect all published Greek and Latin inscriptions up to 7th century AD in a single online database. As member of EAGLE (Electronic Archive of Greek and Latin Epigraphy), EDR brings together the inscription of the actual Italy, with the exception of Christian inscriptions (under EDB jurisdiction).

¹⁶ CALDELLI *et al.* 2014, 267.

¹⁷ GREGORI 1991, 1999.

¹⁸ D’ISANTO 1993.

which focuses in the elites and their associations¹⁹, or Trismegistos, which is limited to Egyptian territory even if it focuses on the non-privileged population²⁰ (like SPES does).

For this research, it was crucial to create an optimal model of database that compiled all the essential information, both textual and monumental, of each individual and the inscription(s) in which is recorded. This necessary implied to design a new prototype that would combine fields present in prosopographic databases (both traditions on paper and the new ones on metadata) with those from the epigraphic databases. Looking for multidisciplinarity, the design of the file sheet was based on the EDR structure with the addition of onomastic fields: was recorded information on the legal status of each individual (Roman, Latin, freed, slave, *peregrinus*, unknown, unknown with filiation), sex (man, woman) and onomastics elements (*pranomen*, *nomen*, *cognomina* — simple names are recorded under the *cognomen* caption). All of this data has always the chance of including a question mark if we are not sure about its reliability. Furthermore, as any database setting up on metadata, we can change any information if there will be new discoveries.

In this data base it is included every person of whom there is a record within the city or its *ager* from the 3rd century BC²¹ until the ending of 1st century AD²². Every fragment whose interpretation is still a matter of debate is excluded (with the exception of ceramic graffiti), as well as *amphorae*, stamps on *sigillata* (both due to commercial implications that prevent us to consider every person reported as Carthaginian)²³ and Punic graffiti on ivory horns which were found in Carthaginian waters but belonged to a boat coming to the harbour,

¹⁹ “(...) we aimed to address the problem of linking together large collections of material (datasets) containing information about persons, names and person-like entities managed in heterogeneous systems and formats” (SNPD 2014, About).

²⁰ DEPAUW, GHELD OF 2014, About (beta version 2011): “Trismegistos People is a tool dealing with personal names of non-royal individuals attested as living in Egypt in documentary texts between BC 800 and AD 800, including all languages and scripts written on any surface. Not included are pharaohs, emperors, and saints; people attested in texts outside Egypt (with the exception of some *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* entries) or people living outside Egypt (no consuls!); and names from non-documentary texts (e.g. narratives)”.

²¹ The steady Roman presence in the Iberian Peninsula officially begins with the Second Punic War. However, the existence of previous contacts is proved by epigraphic evident as a consequence of the increase of the Italic trades prior to the conquest (DÍAZ ARIÑO 2008, 36-38).

²² The reason to include in SPES individuals which chronology goes past the beginning of the Principate of Augustus (27 BC) lies in the use of the onomastic transmission hypothesis as the central axis of the research (*duo/tria nomina* could only be transmitted to the descendants if there was *ius conubii* and *ius commercii*, which Latin colonies had). In order to be able to come to conclusions, it is necessary, on one hand, to verify how the data behaves in periods when there is no doubt about the legal status of the *civitas* (that is the case for *Carthago Noua* since the Augustus era), and, on the other hand, to have plenty of related records to analyse.

²³ I am aware that I am qualifying as a ‘non-inhabitant’ a number of commercial staff that could, in some cases, be *cives* of the city. The current state of the documentation and research does not allow us distinguish them. It is possible that new discoveries or the demonstration of some hypotheses in a cross sectional study will allow in the future to be more precise about these persons.

not from it²⁴. It is also excluded every member of the imperial family: they were not inhabitants of *Carthago Noua*. An special treatment is applied to not datable inscriptions, names appearing on ingots (since the individual could have never been in the city, but these records are important as reference for their freedmen)²⁵ and those not explicitly mentioned in texts but their *nomina* are implied (marked with an asterisk).

The development of this study is possible due to *Carthago Noua* possessing the greatest epigraphic record from republican time²⁶, with a great variety of formats and functions if we also include the 1st century AD epigraphy. However, there are problems when delimiting the city's *ager* and so the population which was actually legally attached to it. This problem is focused, in this case, in the mining area of Mazarrón, which is excluded from this study in view of the possibility of it having its own independent legal status in some moment, not datable (it was probably a *municipium* at the ending of 1st century AD)²⁷.

The analysis

Database contains 317 individuals in 227 inscriptions including 68 women, 246 men and 3 of uncertain sex. This ratio between men and women responds to what is expected for two reasons: Roman society was patriarchal and we have found a certain type of epigraphy in the city²⁸. Concerning the division basing on legal categories, it counts on 43 Romans, 100 freedmen, 13 slaves and 3 *peregrini*, these latter being three foreigner kings *patroni* of the city. There are also 161 individuals of undefined condition (“unknown”), 60 of which present filiation in *duo/tria nomina* structures, indicating that they could only be Romans or Latins.

These global figures are almost senseless out of a chronological context and without considering the formal and functional characteristics of the sources in which these individuals are recorded. The first filter through which these individuals are classified is chronologic, though the epigraphic dating is always complicated, including very wide lapses and confusing criteria, to which the chronological problems of coin series is summed²⁹.

²⁴ SANMARTÍ ACASO 1986, 89–91; MEDEROS MARTÍN & RUÍZ CABRERO 2004, 275–277.

²⁵ We know for sure that the ingots seals were stamped in *Carthago Noua* or her *ager*. We cannot confirm the same for the seals of *amphorae* and *sigillata*. Therefore, the latter are excluded as well as the ingots countermarks.

²⁶ ABASCAL PALAZÓN 1995; DÍAZ ARIÑO 2008, 42–43, 46–47; PENA GIMENO 2008, 688, 705.

²⁷ NOGUERA CELDRÁN 2001–2002.

²⁸ The large number of funerary inscriptions is due to chronological factors related to the Principate of Augustus. That was the space of epigraphic representation to which women have access, especially those found in the provinces within this chronology. Of the 68 female records, 64 appears in funerary inscriptions of varied chronology and only two are registered on honorary epigraphs (HEp 07, 1997, 423 = HEpOl 12928 = HD037544 = DECAR 32 and CIL II, 3437, p. xlvi = HEpOl 09524 = HD037578 = DECAR 50), both of the first century AD.

²⁹ About the problems of the Carthaginian coins, see BELTRÁN MARTÍNEZ 1949; LLORENS FORCADA 1994; and ABASCAL PALAZÓN 2002.

The division on stages that has been chosen as the frame of analysis in this study resides in the academic discussion on the dates of the *Carthago Noua*'s colonial promotion (Latin, Roman or both). As we have seen, we are dealing with a *ciuitas* that takes on great importance from the beginning of the Roman conquest of the Iberian Peninsula, as capital of the province *Hispania Citerior* and as an economic centre of the first order. So, the hypotheses of juridical promotion given by the Historiography until this moment seems not to measure up to the characteristics of the city and all the Republican epigraphic material present on it. The objective is to be able to compare the behaviour of the data in the different stages that have been individualized for *Carthago Noua* under the suspicion that, *a priori*, its epigraphy and onomastics indicate a much earlier chronology for some kind of legal promotion. Thus, the database is divided in three stages based in the attempt to determine if *Carthago Noua* was a Latin colony and, if so, since when.

The first stage, so called "Republican", includes every dating previous to 54 BC (the oldest date proposed by a researcher, Abascal Palazón, for Cartagena as Roman colony, as we have seen earlier). Almost all the authors consider the city a *ciuitas stipendiaria* during this stage which gives to this period its *raison d'être* as a unit of analysis. The second, or "colonial", stage is significantly shorter: it begins at 54 BC and symbolically concludes at 27 BC, at the beginning of the Principate. The existence of this stage, in spite of the small number of years that form it, is justified because it centres the academic discussion of the Roman colonial promotion of the city. The "Imperial" stage, from 27 BC until records whose oldest lapse date is previous to 100 AD. Eight remaining inscriptions can't be accurately dated but belong to the chosen chronology, and so they are included in case they can provide indications for the rest of trends.

Republican stage

In this study we will stress the "Republican" stage in order to determine what kind of population inhabited the city after the Roman conquest and until the granting of Roman colony statute. Although we accept Abascal's date, the analysis of these results could qualify or even determine this 54 BC promotion³⁰. In this stage, whose datings vary between the *grafitti* of the beginning of the 3rd century BC³¹ and an honorary inscription of the middle of the 1st century BC made by 4 individuals (with filiation), probably members of a *collegium*³², 83 individuals are recorded.

³⁰ This paper is part of a still developing project called "Movilidad, onomástica e integración en la Hispania republicana".

³¹ HEp 17, 2008, 091 = ELRH C18; HEp 6, 1996, 662 = ELRH C19; ELRH C20; ELRH C21.

³² CIL I, 1555 = CIL II, 3408, p. 952 = HEpOl 9505 = HD018335 = ELRH C15 = DECAR 34.

The presence of *tribus* proves that 9 of them are Romans³³, but all but one are registered in lead ingots. This is a fundamental piece of information since we can't prove that the franchisees of surrounding mining exploitations were physically present in the city, much less if any of them could be one of its inhabitants. However, it is important to consider the *gentes* to which they belong, since many of them are recorded afterwards in the city onomastics: *Atellia* (9 files on SPES CN), *Pontiliena* (8), *Cornelia* (6), *Turullia* (4), *Seia* (2), *Roscia* (4) y *Vtia* (only the one on the ingot). The ingots are the more frequent support to our theory during this stage which comes to prove the economic component of the epigraphy at this moment. The only Roman not registered in an ingot is mentioned, together with his sister (whose condition could also be considered as Roman) in a non-preserved inscription of which authenticity many authors have doubts and its function is unknown³⁴. *Nomen* of both individuals, *Lumnesius*, is an epigraphic *hapax* and the text doesn't provide more information.

The tribes to which the Romans of this "Republican" stage belong are characterized by not being represented in the following, with the exception of the *Menenia* (with a case in the "colonial" time that does not register a *nomen*³⁵) and the *Fabia* (to her they ascribe the *cives C. Pontilienus M.f.* that seals ingots around 90/80 BC³⁶ and the *duoviro L. Magio Gn.f. Sabello*, which is mentioned in the Augustan period in an inscription that could be honorary or funeral³⁷). The most recorded *tribus* of this stage are the *Maecia* (in four occasions, three in its archaic form *Maicia*)³⁸ and the *Menenia* (in three)³⁹. If we look at the general data provided by Fasolini for *Hispania Tarraconensis*, both tribes are scarcely represented with 0.30% and 0.80% respectively⁴⁰. Furthermore, there are two records of the *tribus Aemilia* (in its archaic version: *Aimilia*), in a lead ingot and an individual with indication of *origo (Formianus)*⁴¹. These data reinforce the hypotheses on the Italic immigrant status of these Romans.

The 20 freedmen are recorded in a quite more varied epigraphic range. The oldest ones (ending of the 3rd century – beginnings of the 2nd century BC) are recorded in lead ingots: is the series of *A(ulus et) P(ublius) Furieis C(ai et) P(ubli et) L(uci) l(ibertus)* found on the French

³³ *CIL I*, 1481 = *CIL II*, 3439, p. 925 = *CIL II*, 6247, 4 = HEpOl 9526 = ELRH SP34 (2 persons); DOMERGUE 1990, n. 1013; *CIL II*, 2396 = AE 1913, 147 = AE 1997, 862f = HEpOl 25747 = ELRH SP5; AE 1930, 38 = ELRH SP28; EphEp 8, 428, 3 = ELRH SP37; AE 1983, 604 = HEp 6, 1996, 667c = HEpOl 16212 = ELRH SP35; EphEp 9, 428, 1 = ELRH SP41.

³⁴ *CIL II*, 5932, p. lxxx = EphEp 3, 37 = HEpOl 12222 = HD037767 = DECAR 148. WIEGELS (1985, 105) raised the possibility that *Maec[* was not an indication of *tribus Maecia* but the *cognomen Maecianus*.

³⁵ *CIL II*, 3430 = EphEp 9, p. 128 = HEp 3, 1997, 251 = HEp 5, 1999, 592 = HEpOl 09517 = DECAR 22.

³⁶ AE 1930, 38 = ELRH SP28.

³⁷ EphEp 9, 332 = HEpOl 14100 = HD037669 = DECAR 108.

³⁸ *CIL I*, 1481 = *CIL II*, 3439, p. 925 = *CIL II*, 6247, 4 = HEpOl 9526 = ELRH SP34 (2 persons); *CIL II*, 5932, p. lxxx = EphEp 3, 37 = HEpOl 12222 = HD037767 = DECAR 148; EphEp 8, 428, 3 = ELRH SP37.

³⁹ *CIL II*, 2396 = AE 1913, 147 = AE 1997, 862f = HEpOl 25747 = ELRH SP5; AE 1983, 604 = HEp 6, 1996, 667c = HEpOl 16212 = ELRH SP35; EphEp 9, 428, 1 = ELRH SP41.

⁴⁰ FASOLINI 2014, 394.

⁴¹ DOMERGUE 1990, n. 1013.

coast, near *Massilia* (Marseille)⁴². But since the ending of the 2nd century, and until the middle of the 1st BC, they appear as dedicators of the first votive inscriptions of the city: a mosaic to *Iuppiter Stator*⁴³ and a base (?) to *Salaeco*⁴⁴. The freedmen of this stage are also magistrates of some kind of *collegium* consecrating, together with *ingenui* and slaves, an important honorific inscription, lost today⁴⁵, and the inscription which reminds the building of some of harbour's structures⁴⁶. The 8 slaves recorded in this stage are all of them member of these *collegia*. The oldest funerary inscriptions of this stage reports freedwomen: the *carmen* dedicated to *Plotia Prune* (100/70 BC)⁴⁷ and the *tabula* of *Atellia Cleunica* (70/30 BC)⁴⁸. As can be seen, the freedmen appear in this first stage as a social group very active in the activities of the city and are represented in all available epigraphic spaces. Nevertheless, it can be affirmed little regarding its origin, except, perhaps, in the case of the two freedmen of the *gens Auia* that dedicate the single altar to the *Hercules Gaditano* registered outside Cadiz⁴⁹. Given the type of inscription in which some of them appear and the presence of its *gentes* in later dates, it is possible to hypothesize that a significant number probably lived and died in *Carthago Noua*. Possibly they were commercial emissaries of its Italic patrons. The freedmen were a group that sought social acceptance and made themselves visible through the epigraphy from its appearance in the city until the end of the period studied here (the percentage that measure their presence is steady in the three stages). It is also to be expected that some of the individuals classified as "unknown" (without affiliation) also belong to the group of manumitted slaves who hide their status as freedmen in epigraphic practice.

The division of the group of individuals with category "unknown" is justified by the different possibilities and probabilities that both have in relation to their potential, but indeterminable, legal status. On one hand, the "unknown", especially those with a Greek *cognomen*, were probably freedmen hiding their late condition of slaves not stating the information of their *patrono*⁵⁰. On the other hand, we have those individuals whose legal condition is unknown but who mention their filiation. This necessarily implies their Roman or Latin condition, since their onomastics has a *duo/tria nomina* structure. These 17 individuals (16 if accept the sister of *Aulus Lumnesius* as Roman) are recorded in a wide range of inscriptions (considering the epigraphic moment and the provincial environment).

⁴² HEp 4, 1994, 566 = HEpOl 12741 = ELRH SP12.

⁴³ AE 1995, 938 = AE 1996, 926 = HEp 6, 1996, 655 = HEpOl 12730 = HD037876 = ELRH C16 = DECAR 204.

⁴⁴ AE 2010, 754 = HEp 19, 2013, 218.

⁴⁵ CIL I, 1478 = CIL II, 3433, p. 952 = HEp 4, 1994, 565 = HEp 18, 2012, 254 = HEpOl 9520 = HD037922 = DECAR 217.

⁴⁶ CIL I, 1477 = CIL II, 3434 = HEp 5, 1999, 587 = HEp 18, 2012, 257 = HEpOl 9521 = HD037489 = ELRH C10 = DECAR 1.

⁴⁷ CIL I, 1479 = CIL II, 3495, p. 952 = HEp 18, 2012, 256 = CLE 410 = CLEC 1 = HEpOl 9569 = HD037782 = ELRH C45 = DECAR 163.

⁴⁸ CIL I2, 2272 = CIL II, 3451 = HEpOl 9538 = HD037681 = ELRH C37 = DECAR 120.

⁴⁹ CIL II, 3409 = HEpOl 09506 = ELRH C14 = DECAR 35.

⁵⁰ About the Greek names in a Roman context, v. SOLIN 2003.

The first thing that draws the attention in this group is that almost half of the records are registered in series of lead ingots whose dating extends throughout the chronological arc of the stage. This fact point, most likely, that they were Romans who do not clearly show their condition through the mention of the *tribus*. However, it cannot be excluded that they were Latins, from what would be the Latin colony of *Carthago Noua*.

Another six “unknown” were members or one or other of the already mentioned *collegia*. The presence of theses *collegia* reinforces the hypothesis of that possible *colonia latina* status, since the life of the city and the individuals who inhabited it (and whose names had come to us) are organized in structures of Roman influence. The presence of a strong contingent of Italic immigrants would explain the recreation of this kind of associations, while Latin law would have favoured the integration of the different types of populations that would compose the colony. Furthermore, there are four persons recorded in what was a column (now disappeared) dedicated to *Genio op(p)idi* and dated in 60/40 a.C.⁵¹. The debate of this monument is cantered on two levels related to each other that determine the chronology of the inscription. On the one hand, the authors argue the qualification of *oppidum* given to the city; on the other, the nature and status of the four individuals mentioned: magistrates of the local administration⁵² or members of a *collegium*?⁵³ The previously mentioned examples of *collegia* confirm that this practice was spread in the pre-Caesar *Carthago Noua*. So, it is acceptable that these four persons belong to a *collegium* that dedicates a monument to the *Genius* of the city.

It remains to mention two particular cases: a senatorial range individual in a fragmentary honorific inscription (whose circumstances make it impossible to be a legal inhabitant of the city)⁵⁴ and a child of the important *gens Pontiliena*, which we will tackle afterwards, and to whom a funerary *carmen* is dedicated⁵⁵.

The 29 individuals classified as “unknown” cannot, as a group, be assigned to a particular legal category, but in some cases it can be hypothesized. Their onomastic structures are *duo/tria nomina* that follow the patterns of Roman/Latin onomastics but without patronymics or filiation. Thus, they could be Romans, Latins or *liberti*. The names of some of these individuals are presumed from those of other persons already analysed: they are the owners of some slaves and have a different treatment on the study of the SPES data. We cannot be sure about their presence in the city, but it is important to know the *gentes* of the slaves.

⁵¹ CIL I, 1555 = CIL II, 3408, p. 952 = HEpOl 9505 = HD018335 = ELRH 15 = DECAR 34.

⁵² DEGRASSI 1950, 338–340; FASOLINI 2012a, 231.

⁵³ BELTRÁN MARTÍNEZ 1950A, 261; MARÍN DÍAZ 1988, 60; SOLANA SAÍNZ 1989, 75; LLORENS FORCADA 1994, 18–19; ABASCAL PALAZÓN & RAMALLO ASENSIO 1997, 158.

⁵⁴ HEp 3, 1997, 250 = HEpOl 14075 = HD037572 = ELRH C11 = DECAR 47.

⁵⁵ CIL I, 3449 g = HEp 12, 2002, 352 = CLEC 2 = HEpOl 8162 = HD037603 = ELRH C31 = DECAR 69.

Some “unknowns” owes their onomastic structure to the type of support in which they are recorded, like the ceramic graffiti. They evidence the presence of Latin speakers in the city prior to the Punic foundation of *Qart Hadash*. It is another example of the importance of this Iberian *oppidum* in the Mediterranean trade routes and the attraction that already was for the Roman world.

As expected from the data so far, we have “unknowns” individuals who seal lead ingots from the mines around Cartagena throughout this phase⁵⁶. All of them (except one whose *nomen* is not preserved⁵⁷) belong to *gentes* registered in the city after them. Although, by statistics, the probability of being *ingenui* is higher⁵⁸, nothing in the analysed data allows us to assure this. Also, SPES CN freedmen who seal ingots belong to *gentes* settled in the city in one way or another, and occupy all possible positions within the internal ordering of them⁵⁹. The existence of these individuals as a group can only reinforce the idea of the importance of the argent and lead mines exploitation and how different were the individuals who participated in it. In this same context, we have the lost monument of *A(ulus) Verg[ilius], arge[ntarius]*⁶⁰.

We have six moneyers⁶¹ whose chronology, in one way or another begins in this period although both Llorens Forcada⁶² and Abascal Palazón⁶³ place these three pairs sometime after 54 BC⁶⁴. Types, archaeology, epigraphy and dispersion allow us to locate any of the pre-Augustus issues throughout the 1st century BC. The names of these magistrates do not provide data that compel us to discard this idea. On the contrary, when comparing it with that presented by the moneyers of the Latin colony of *Carteia*⁶⁵, we find similar characteristics.

⁵⁶ CIL 13, 10029, 26; EphEp 8, 00254, 2 = HEpOl 25753 = ELRH SP36; CIL 02, 06247, 3 = ELRH SP33.

⁵⁷ AE 1983, 605 = HEpOl 6804 = HD000020 = ELRH SP42.

⁵⁸ According to SPES, 57.14% of the ingots were stamped by *ingenui* (Romans or “unknown” with filiation), in contrast to 16.67% by freedmen.

⁵⁹ The *gentes* and chronology of these freedmen on ingots are: *Atellia*, 100/30 BC; *Aurunculeia*, 1/100 AD; *Aurunculeia*, 100/1 BC; *Furia*, 230/171 BC; *Furia*, 230/171 BC; *Iuuentia*, without date; *Laetilia*, 50 BC/30 AD.

⁶⁰ CIL II, 3440 = HEpOl 09527 = HD037672 = DECAR 111.

⁶¹ RPC 146; RPC 152–153; RPC 154.

⁶² LLORENS FORCADA 1994, 144.

⁶³ ABASCAL PALAZÓN 2002, 32.

⁶⁴ Now, all these orders are intimately related to the historiography linked to the legal promotion to Roman colony of the city.

⁶⁵ On SPES CRT are registered as moneyers: C(aius) Curman(us); L(ucius) Marci(us); M(arcus) Cur(manus); L(ucius) Mar(--); M(arcus) Septu(mius); Num(--); M(arcus) Arg(--); C(aius) Nini(us); Q(uintus) Curui(us); Q(uintus) Opsil(ius); Q(uintus) Pedecai(us); Cn(aeus) Am(m)i(us); L(ucius) Arg(--); L(ucius) Rai(us); L(ucius) Agri(us); P(ublius) Iuli(us); Aufidius Rufus; Maecilius; C(aius) Maius C(ai) f(ilium) Pollio; P(ublius) Mion; P(ublius) Falcidius; L(ucius) Atini(us); C(aius) Nucia(nus?); C(aius) Mini(us) Q(uinti) f(ilium); C(aius) Vib(i)us; C(aius) Pe(decaius); C(aius) Vib(ius).

Comparing stages

If we compare these individuals with those appearing in the two next stages, or even in the non-datable ones, there are not big differences concerning figures in any of the typologies we have established so far. The onomastics of *Carthago Noua* inhabitants is characterized all through its history by its homogeneity and to limit to a Roman canon which is hard to identify in most of provincial areas, especially in such an early moment. It is more common to find more variable structures, combining indigenous names in typically Roman structures or Latinizing native names in indigenous structures, with presence of *peregrini*, and so on. The epigraphic history of Roman world makes formats and functions change with the rise of funerary epigraphy from August's time, especially in provincial epigraphic productions⁶⁶. Moreover, the exhaustion of mines leads to the disappearance of lead ingots⁶⁷. The rising of coinage in this period, or its preferential dating in it, implies methodological problems of the chicken-or-the-egg kind, as previously explained. Formats change and so the kind of information we can extract from names, but these don't change and neither do the structures in which we identify them.

Further than the fact that we cannot check big changes in the kind of inhabitants recorded in the city, all the individuals of the “Republican” stage (in which *Carthago Noua* is historiographically a *civitas stipendiaria*) show us a deeply Romanized society. We must remember that, considering all the written record of the Republican period in *Hispania*, the number of documents showing indigenous languages is rather superior to Latin materials⁶⁸. Although the Phoenician and Punic areas of influence are characterized by the scarcity of materials, due to the custom of writing in perishable materials, the abundance of Latin epigraphy in *Carthago Noua* and the practical inexistence of inscriptions in other language in the city make a first argument supporting some kind of legal promotion much earlier than proposed up to date.

Gentes and onomastic transfer

If we develop a transversal study in the time and legal conditions of each individual and we analyse them from the perspective of the *gens* they belong to, we can try to approach to the way these *nomina* have been transferred through time. For this kind of analysis we start from the view that onomastic transfer of Roman *duo/tria nomina* can only take place under a very specific series of legal conditions. Rome sets these conditions through the granting of *commercium* and *conubium*, especially the latter, which sanction a mixed marriage as a legal

⁶⁶ MEYER 1990; ALFÖLDY 1991; WOOLF 1996, 22.

⁶⁷ ANTOLINOS MARÍN & NOGUERA CELDRÁN 2013, 350.

⁶⁸ DÍAZ ARIÑO 2008, 29.

procedure. These rights are part of the usual package granted to the Latin colonies, whose presence beyond italic soil in early dates is attested by the foundation of *Carteia* (Titus Livius tells us about its foundation in 171 BC from an old Punic settlement)⁶⁹.

In *Carthago Noua* there are 125 *gentes* recorded, although some of them cannot be totally developed. Of these, 52 are already present during the “Republican” stage, but only 27 are recorded more than once. Again, these figures are merely illustrative. The consideration and importance that a *gens* can count on when trying to determine a possible Latin condition through the onomastics transfer is deeply conditional on the position of every individual in the whole onomastics study, and this depending on the epigraphic criteria of the piece involved.

After studying these figures, it seems unquestionable that, again, there are no big differences in the documentation’s behavior. That is to say, those *gentes* exclusively recorded in the republican stage (*Pontiliena*) have similar features to those appearing all through the selected chronology (*Atellia*) or the ones recorded only in Imperial times (*Aemilia - Carthago Noua* is certainly a Roman colony from Augustus).

Despite some *gentes* do not provide reliable clues on the legal status of Cartagena’s population (Roman, Latin or *peregrini*) and despite our study cannot identify families⁷⁰, it seems clear that there must have been some legal mechanisms for permitting *gentes* such as the *Atellia* or the *Aquinia* to transfer their *nomen* from generation to generation. In both cases, despite the numeric difference of individuals belonging to each one (9 to 5), they are *gentes* deep-seated in the city. The *Atelii* present a much richer record. After a first stage based on ingots⁷¹, they offer one of the very first examples of funerary epigraphy (a freedwoman)⁷² and the considered to be the first coinage of *Carthago Noua* (57 BC according to some researchers)⁷³. Afterwards, the *ingenui* become part of the local elite (they are recorded as moneyers)⁷⁴ while their freedmen are reflected in tombstones⁷⁵.

The *Aquini*, on their side, are recorded in a very early stage with a freedman in a votive mosaic⁷⁶. More than half of a century later they stamp lead ingots⁷⁷, the greatest number of them ever recorded in the Carthaginian coast. Although ingots must be prudently considered, the above mentioned votive inscription raises the chance for these individuals to really be

⁶⁹ Liv. 43.3.1–4.

⁷⁰ Writing about *clientelae*: “de los datos disponibles sólo pueden extraerse conclusiones referentes a *gentes*, no a familias y mucho menos a individuos” (PINA POLO 2013, 73).

⁷¹ HEpOl 25748 = ELRH SP6; CIL I2, 2396 = AE 1913, 147 = AE 1997, 862f = HEpOl 25747 = ELRH SP5; STEFANILE 2009.

⁷² CIL I2, 2272 = CIL II, 3451 = HEpOl 9538 = HD037681 = ELRH C37 = DECAR 120.

⁷³ RPC 146.

⁷⁴ RPC 169; RPC 185–186.

⁷⁵ CIL II, 3449 = HEpOl 9536 = HD037680 = DECAR 119; CIL II, 3450 = HEpOl 9537 = HD037605 = DECAR 74.

⁷⁶ AE 1995, 938 = AE 1996, 926 = HEp 6, 1996, 655 = HEpOl 12730 = HD037876 = ELRH C16 = DECAR 204.

⁷⁷ HEp 1, 1989, 479 a = HEp 6, 1996, 667 b = HEpOl 14901 = ELRH SP3; HEpOl 25754 = ELRH SP4.

inhabitants of the city. The fact that some years later this *gens* is recorded in a funerary inscription (probably of a freedwoman)⁷⁸ which mentions the “most real” Carthaginian population and, above all, the moneyer (*duovir quinquennal*) for the year 22/21 BC⁷⁹ increase this chance.

Conclusions

This little introduction to the analysis of the population of *Carthago Noua* leads us to reconsider the dates for the legal promotion proposed up to date. Onomastic lists always imply a deal of risk when developing any kind of historic assessment. This is why for this work a database full of variables has been developed, in order to cross different values and count on a more realistic approach to the information available. 317 individuals recorder throughout 4 centuries of local history do not seem to be quite a substantial base for drawing big conclusions. Literary sources do not help us to determine what happened to *Carthago Noua*’s population. We know that it was an important city, a provincial capital during the Republic, a crossroad and administrative and justice centre during the civil wars of the 1st century BC. We also know that its mining was intensively exploded by Rome and that its exceptional situation made a first line commercial spot out of it.

Now we also know that its population was deeply “Romanised” from a very early stage, with almost no trace of Punic epigraphy or onomastics (at 1st century AD SPES records some Punic *cognomina* in Latin). According to these data, it seems like Punic people would have never existed or inhabited the city in the Republican time. However, archaeology shows us that there were people of Punic origin who kept using the same material culture after the Roman conquest of 209 BC. Only a Latin colony could bear the presence of an important Italic immigrant community, many of them Roman citizens, living together with a probably reduced community composed by the previous inhabitants and a minority of administrative staff who managed all these human groups. The existence of mixed marriages which transfer the *tria nomina* to their sons thanks to the *ius Latii* and the capacity of Latins to carry these *tria nomina* lead to think that *Carthago Noua* must already be a Latin colony at the beginning of the 1st century BC, and probably even before, though it is difficult, with the data known so far, to establish a date for it.

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⁷⁸ CIL II, 3448, p. 952 = HD037679 = DECAR 118.

⁷⁹ RPC 157.

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Abbreviations

AE = *L'Année Epigraphique*. Paris.

CIL = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Berlin.

CLE = *Carmina Latina Epigraphica*.

DECAR = *Vide* ABASCAL PALAZÓN, RAMALLO ASENSIO 1997.

ELRH = *Vide* DÍAZ ARIÑO 2008.

EphEp = *Ephemeris epigraphica: Corporis inscriptionum latinarum supplementum*. Roma–Berlin.

HD = *Epigraphic Database Heidelberg*. Heidelberg.

HEp = *Hispania Epigraphica*. Madrid.

HEpOl = *Hispania Epigraphica Online Database*.

RPC = *Vide* BURNETT, AMANDRY, RIPOLLÈS 1992.

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Aurifices en la Roma Julio Claudia. La fiebre del oro romana

Jordi PEREZ GONZÁLEZ¹

Abstract. *The Italic Peninsula never stood out in antiquity as a rich gold territory. The subsequent Rome's expansion outside Italy with the conquests of the gold zones of Hispania and Dacia made it possible to directly control the gold resources of these territories. The conquest of the Spanish northeast by Augustus (26–19 BC) gave rise to an authentic unprecedented 'gold rush' in Rome and can be seen by the high number of inscriptions related to the characters destined for the making and trading of golden objects in Rome. The different epigraphs reveal the dominance of certain families in the sale and preparation of objects of gold and other metals. At the same time, the inscriptions can help to understand the reality obviated in the literary sources, emphasizing the double moral of the emperor Augustus and his wife Livia. In this line, thanks to the epigraphs we can also highlight some of the commercial areas in Rome, where these gold artisans perform their work.*

Resumen. La Península Itálica nunca destacó en la Antigüedad como un territorio aurífero rico. La posterior expansión de Roma fuera de Italia con las conquistas de las ricas zonas auríferas de Hispania y Dacia posibilitó el control directo de los recursos auríferos de estos territorios. La conquista del noreste peninsular español por parte de Augusto (26–19 a.C.) originó una auténtica 'fiebre del oro' en Roma sin precedentes y que podemos constatar por el alto número de inscripciones relacionadas con los personajes destinados a la confección y comercio de objetos de oro en Roma. Los diferentes epígrafes revelan el dominio de ciertas familias en la venta y confección de objetos de oro y otros metales. A la vez, las inscripciones pueden ayudarnos a comprender mejor la realidad obviada en las fuentes literarias, destacando la doble moral del emperador Augusto y su esposa Livia. En esta línea, gracias a los epígrafes también podemos resaltar algunas de las vías o zonas comerciales en Roma donde desempeñaron sus oficios estos comerciantes de oro.

Rezumat. Peninsula Italică s-a remarcat în antichitate ca un teritoriu bogat în resurse de aur. Expansiunea ulterioară a Romei în afara Italiei, prin dobândirea zonelor aurifere din Hispania și Dacia, a făcut posibil controlul direct al acestor resurse. Cucerirea părții de nord-est a Spaniei de către Augustus (26–19 î.Hr.) a dat naștere la o autentică „februarie a aurului” de aur în Roma, fără precedent, care poate fi probată de numărul mare de inscripții privitoare la personaje implicate în fabricarea și comercializarea obiectelor de aur în Roma. Diferitele inscripții demonstrează perpetuarea și dominația asupra meșteșugului și comerțului cu aur de către anumite familii.

Keywords: aurifices, aurifex, aurarius, aurarii, gold, gold trade, gold mines, goldsmith, urban craftsman.

¹ Universitat de Barcelona, jperezg@ub.edu.

«*Tarquin l'Ancien dessécha ce marais, et sur sol s'élèval'un des plus beaux quartiers de Rome, telle qu'elle exista sous les rois. Il faut, quand on regarde des ruines, avoir toujours présents à la pensée les cinq âges de la ville éternelle. Elle a été la Rome des rois, celle de la république ; elle fut magnifique sous les empereurs, misérable et en proie aux factions dans le moyen âge et jusqu'au règne d'Alexandre VI, ensuite somptueuse et toute sous Jules II et Léon X. Jusqu'au temps des Gracques, l'architecture fut sévère, et ne chercha que l'utile ; les Romains pravaient dire: Nous n'avons, au lieu d'or, que de fer, des soldats*» — H.B. Stendhal, *Promenades dans Rome*. 15 june 1828

Roma no tardó mucho en cambiar esta situación. Las Guerras Cántabras dirigidas personalmente por Augusto además de culminar la larga guerra de conquista de la Península Ibérica, supuso el inicio del tráfico aurífero de la zona a Roma. Este período supuso una auténtica fiebre por el oro hasta la fecha sin precedentes en el Occidente Mediterráneo. El hecho es constatable a nivel epigráfico por el gran número de artesanado urbano especializado en la fabricación de objetos de oro y su posterior comercialización, ésta última en mano de los personajes conocidos como *aurifices*.

Italia no destacó por ser un territorio rico en minas de oro, siendo necesario importarlo desde las provincias conquistadas. El correcto funcionamiento de una red interprovincial romana propició que tanto Roma como Ostia, deficitarias auríferas, llegasen incluso a acuñar monedas de oro en sus talleres.

Una de las pocas noticias sobre la existencia de minas de oro propias dentro del territorio italiano es la ofrecida por Livio y Estrabón al hacerse eco de la disputa originada por la tribu de los salasos. Ubicados en el sur de los Alpes, durante los años 143 a 140 a.C., los salasos desviaron el cauce de un río del cual también se aprovechaban sus vecinos de la llanura, elemento esencial para la explotación minera, y en consecuencia, Roma tuvo que intervenir directamente para hacerse con el control de la zona². Seguramente estemos frente a las minas de Bessa. Numerosos vestigios evidencian la zona como fuente de extracción minera entre los siglos II y I a.C., con numerosos canales y asentamientos vinculados a la producción minera, así como al albergue de la gran mano de obra necesaria para estos trabajos³.

En esta línea, el grueso de las fuentes de obtención de oro en Europa se originó, primero, con la conquista del noreste peninsular español en el transcurso del primer siglo antes de Cristo (26–19 a.C.), bajo el gobierno de Augusto y, segundo, con la conquista de Transilvania en Dacia a principios del siglo segundo por Trajano. La conquista de estos territorios tendría el objeto de hacerse con el control de los recursos auríferos de estas regiones.

² Liv. *Periochae* 53; Strab. 4.6.7, 205–206C.

³ WILSON 2009, 202–203. Traducción de la obra original publicada por Oxford University Press en 2008 bajo el título *Roman Europe*.

Algunos autores pretender ver en las conquistas romanas del noreste peninsular español un planteamiento político de Augusto por anexionar el total del territorio peninsular que le restaba. Esta hipótesis relega a un segundo plano la conquista del territorio por fines económicos, argumentando que la explotación de las minas de oro en la zona hasta la conquista de Roma había sido⁴. Por nuestra parte, como otros autores pensamos que la conquista del territorio hispano se trató de un deseo expreso de Augusto por dominar la que fuese la mayor zona de extracción de oro de la antigüedad. La conquista del noreste peninsular por parte de Augusto originó una auténtica ‘fiebre del oro’ en Roma sin precedentes. Por su parte Remesal hace hincapié en la necesidad de Roma por controlar todo el territorio peninsular, asegurando la ruta atlántica⁵.

Roma ejerció un control directo de las minas con la presencia del ejército, con el único objetivo de someter, pacificar y controlar los territorios conquistados. La presencia militar en el territorio se constata con los campamentos y *prata*, además de la abundante epigrafía generada por los militares. A lo largo del siglo II d.C. se contabiliza una clara concentración de tropas en las zonas con explotaciones mineras de mayor intensidad⁶. Gracias a Plinio sabemos de la existencia de una legislación en las minas itálicas que limitaba el número de personas en una mina, a no más de cinco mil. Siendo este un tope fijado por miedo a que excesivas concentraciones de esclavos terminasen en un levantamiento contra la autoridad romana (Plin. *HN*, 33. 78). Si trasladamos esta noticia a *Hispania*, podemos hacernos una idea del por qué de la presencia militar (Plin. *HN*, 28)⁷.

La singularidad del territorio en lo que a extracción aurífera se refiere provocaría una distinción desde su anexión como provincia imperial de la Citerior, originando inclusive la aparición de cargos con una adscripción territorial relacionada a *Asturia et Gallaecia*; ello culminará con la aparición de la provincia *Hispana nova Citerior Antoniniana* bajo el gobierno de Caracalla⁸.

No contentos con la presencia militar, Roma dotó de una administración propia a las diferentes zonas de extracción de oro, con un personal específico (procuradores). Así, gracias a estudios como el realizado por S. Dusanic⁹ sabemos de la peculiar organización a la que fueron

⁴ PEREA CABEDA, SÁNCHEZ-PALENCIA RAMONS 1995, 61.

⁵ REMESAL RODRÍGUEZ 2011.

⁶ LE ROUX 1982, 103–118.

⁷ Plinio nos dice que en Hispania la mano de obra esclava es mayor a la de las Galias. Se deduce en este sentido, que gran número de trabajadores de las minas hispanas fue de condición servil; muchos comprados para este trabajo y otros condenados *ad metalla*. De FRANCISCO MARTÍN 1996, 192–194.

⁸ Sobre la división administrativa de Hispania, véase; ALBERTINI 1923; ALFÖLDY 1969; TRANOY 1981; LE ROUX 1982; OZCÁRIZ GIL 2014.

⁹ DUSANIC 1989, 148–156

sometidas las provincias con recursos mineros, como las áreas danubianas¹⁰, o como las hispanas¹¹.

Una visión general del *mapundi* de los yacimientos de oro en la antigüedad realizada primero por Heinrich Quiring, serviría de base para posteriores estudios como el de R.W. Boyle y Jean-Jacques Bache, muestra la escasez de minas de oro en Europa. Tan sólo se obtendrá oro de los grandes focos auríferos europeos presente en las cordilleras y territorios del noreste peninsular español, así como en los Balcanes y los Cárpatos. De menor relevancia son las cuencas del territorio central de la Galia, desde el Garona al Loira, la parte de la Bretaña francesa y la zona intermedia del Ródano a su paso por Lyon¹².

Al margen de estas minas y de los viejos yacimientos auríferos en Nubia y en el desierto oriental de Egipto, se conocen otros territorios auríferos en época clásica repartidos por el orbe. Nunca adquirieron la notoriedad de las explotaciones mineras bajo el control romano, pese a ello, se conocieron explotaciones auríferas en: Bactria, India, el Sureste asiático, Arábia, Etiopia, Sudáfrica o el territorio al oeste del continente africano. Esta última región tendrá su momento de mayor esplendor durante las futuras colonizaciones portuguesas en la zona del nacimiento de los ríos Senegal, Niger, Gambia y Rio Grande¹³.

Aurifex versus aurarius

Uno de los grupos de comerciantes destinados a la venta de productos suntuarios más representados en la epigrafía de la ciudad de Roma, son los individuos relacionados con la fabricación y posterior venta de objetos de oro. Estos personajes se conocen con la fórmula *aurifex* o *aurarius*. El termino utilizado de *aurifex*, pese a aceptarse su relación con el oro, genera todavía debate en torno a su significado real. Para algunos se trata de un maestro orfebre, para otros pudo ser un mercader de oro, y otros lo ven como un artesano especializado en dicho

¹⁰ La principal área minera de la Dacia se constituyó en la zona conocida como ‘cuadrilatero aurífero’ , en la parte meridional de los Montes Apuseni (Cárpatos Occidentales), donde se encuentran entre 7 grandes zonas de extracción de oro, la celebre mina de Rosia Montana (*Alburnis Maius*). Las recientes campañas de excavación en la zona entre los años 1999–2006 han constituido un avance para comprender la composición de la población minera y de los casi 70 km. de galerías subterráneas que conforman el total de yacimiento, para ello: SIMION, BORS, DAMIAN 2010, 31–46. Una muestra de algunos tesoros procedentes de la Rumania post-trajanea fueron expuestos no hace mucho en el Museo de los Foros Imperiales-Mercado de Trajano como parte de la muestra “Ori antichi della Romania. Prima e dopo Traiano”, los resultados más remarcables y una bibliografía específica del tema se publicaron en: MILELLA 2012, 53–67.

¹¹ Otras obras generales sobre el oro hispano: DAVIES 1935; BIRD 1984; BLÁZQUEZ MARTÍNEZ 1969; CAPANELLI 1989; 1990; DOMERGUE 1990.; GARCÍA DOMÍNGUEZ 1963; MAYA GONZÁLEZ 1990; SÁNCHEZ-PALENCIA 1983.

¹² QUIRING 1948; BOYLE 1979; DUNCAN, BOYLE, HAYNES 1986; BACHE 1982. Recientemente Alfred Michael Hirt ha publicado una síntesis de las diferentes zonas de extracción de oro durante el periodo imperial, examinando de forma genérica los aspectos más interesantes sobre el tema: HIRT 2010.

¹³ QUIRING 290–291, Abb. 102.

metal precioso¹⁴. Por nuestra parte creemos que se trata del encargado de la venta final del objeto de oro una vez manufacturado, con amplios conocimientos de su manipulación.

Tradicionalmente se ha pensado que ambas fórmulas vienen a significar lo mismo, pese a ello, se tienden a diferenciar por una cuestión cronológica; el término *aurifex* remplaza el nombre primitivo *aurarius*¹⁵. Contrariamente a lo que algunos autores piensan, creemos que ambas fórmulas coexistieron durante el mismo periodo cronológico, para hacer referencia al mismo tipo de trabajo. El análisis prosopográfico de las inscripciones muestra a personajes del primer siglo d.C. Otra inscripción procedente quincuagésima quinta zona de Roma del *Ager Romanus*, conocida como Isola Farnese, y que hace mención a la *Basilica Vascularia*: [--] / de basilica / vascularia / aurario et / argentario¹⁶ suele datarse aproximadamente en el siglo III d.C., coincidente con inscripciones bajo la fórmula *aurifex* del mismo periodo.

El hallazgo de otras tres inscripciones con la fórmula de *aurarius* atribuidas a los dos primeros siglos de nuestra era vendrían a confirmar la coexistencia de sendos términos. En un base de una estatua hallada cerca del Arco de Septimio Severo se destaca a un liberto de la tribu *Sucusana*, *Publius Fulvius Phoebus*¹⁷. La tribu también es mencionada como *Suburana*, una de las cuatro tribus urbanas originales establecida por Rómulo, relacionada al barrio romano de la *Subura* entre las colinas Viminal y Quirina. Tanto H. Solin como A. Ferraro han enmarcado cronológicamente la inscripción a lo largo de la segunda mitad del s. I d.C. por el estudio prosopográfico de la misma¹⁸.

A continuación, una inscripción hallada en Monte Giordiano hace referencia a un liberto imperial de la familia Julio-Claudia, *Tiberius Claudius Hymeneus*¹⁹. Gracias a su vinculación como miembro de la familia directa del emperador Claudio ha resultado sencillo datarlo en el primer siglo de nuestra era, en especial desde mediados de siglo en adelante²⁰. A su vez resulta el único caso de un personaje vinculado a la familia imperial bajo esta fórmula. En el presente caso, junto al término *aurarius* aparece vinculado el de *argentarius*, asociación relacionada con la manufactura de productos realizados con sendos metales preciosos. Esta idea ya fue defendida por J. Andreau, quien vio junto a esta inscripción, y la anterior de la *Basilica Vascularia*²¹, las excepciones a la regla por la cual la fórmula *argentarius* (a veces ambigua) también pudiese atribuirse atribuyese a otras figuras al margen de la banca, ya que tradicionalmente se ha

¹⁴ TRAINA 2000, 114–115; PAPI 2002, 53; PARISINI 2017, 339, not.24.

¹⁵ WALTZING 1857-1929. Habiendo utilizado una reimpresión de 1970, 8–9.

¹⁶ CIL XI, 3821 = ILS 7701 = EDCS 22700775.

¹⁷ CIL VI, 196, 30712a, 36747a.

¹⁸ SOLIN 1982, vol. I, n. 304; EAGLE (24-8-2012): EDR101261.

¹⁹ CIL VI 9209.

²⁰ SOLIN 1982, vol. I, nr. 569.

²¹ CIL XI 3821.

asociado la figura del *argentarius* a la de banquero²².

Por último, al margen de la ubicación de su tienda en la zona del Velabro poco o nada podemos decir de una inscripción incompleta de un personaje cuyo *nomen* y *cognomen* se conocen como *Albius Apollonius*²³. El estudio pormenorizado del epígrafe, donde *Apollonius* es mencionado como *aurarius de Velabro*, dedicante de la inscripción que le recuerda a él así como a una queridísima *Ulpiae Tripherae*, *Albiae Piae* y a todos los libertos, se relaciona con una producción del s. II d.C.²⁴. Antes ya hicimos mención a otro comerciante suntuario ubicado en la misma zona de la ciudad, *Euhodus* de oficio *margaritarius*²⁵. La actividad comercial del *Velabrum* esta marcada por su cercanía al centro de la ciudad²⁶, donde se ubicaron muchos de los comercios suntuarios, sobretodo en la *Via Sacra*, a la cual se accedía a través del *Vicus Tuscus* o el *Iugarius*.

Asociaciones colegiales

En el capítulo anterior hicimos mención de los batidores de oro (*brattiarii*), los doradores (*deauratores e inauratores*), los artesanos de copas (*vascularii*) y a los fabricantes de anillos (*anularii*) como parte esencial dentro del circuito de confección de objetos de oro. En última instancia, la venta de los mismos estaría reservada a los *aurifices*.

En este sentido, se conoce en Roma la existencia de una asociación colegial formada, tanto por batidores de oro, como por doradores²⁷. El colegio de estos comerciantes en Roma es conocido desde época de Numa, siendo la tercera de las asociaciones colegiadas instituidas por éste rey²⁸; *a rege Numa conlegio aerarium fabrum instituto*. Una asociación colegiada con una fórmula similar se encontró en época imperial en la población de Aiud / Brucla (Dacia); *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / pro s(alutate) Imp/eratoris / colleg(ium) Aura/riarum L(ucius) / Calpurnius / [---] / d(onum) d(edit)*²⁹.

Gracias a otra inscripción hallada en Roma, sabemos de la existencia de una asociación de estos comerciantes de oro de época del emperador Augusto, regida en ese momento por un *magister quinquenalis*, liberto de nombre *Seleucus* perteneciente a la familia de *Aulus Furius*³⁰. A esta familia se

²² ANDREAU 1987, 105–106.

²³ CIL VI 33933.

²⁴ SOLIN 1982, vol. I, nr. 298.

²⁵ CIL VI 37803.

²⁶ Además del comerciante de perlas (CIL VI 37803) se conoce otros personaje cuyos oficios fueron: el de *capsarius* (AE 1946, 128), un *argentarius* (en este caso, un banquero, CIL VI 9184), un *negotiator penoris et vinorum* (CIL VI 9671), y a un *vinarius* (CIL VI 9993).

²⁷ CIL VI, 95 = ILS 7281.

²⁸ Plu. *Numa*, 17; Plin. *HN* 34, 1, 1.

²⁹ CIL III 941 = Orelli 4065.

³⁰ CIL VI, 9202 (p. 3895) = CIL I, 1307 (p. 975) = CIL XIV, 414 = ILS 7283 = ILLRP 770.



Figura 1. Imagen extraída de Antonio Francesco Gori. *Monumentum sive columbarium libertorum et servorum Liviae Augustae et Caesarum. Romae detectum in Via Appia, anno M.D.CC.XXVI. 1727.*
Typis Regiae Celsitudinis, apud Tartinium & Franchium in Florentiae. Tab. I-II.

puede ligar una inscripción incompleta de otro liberto de quien desconocemos el nombre, pero de quien sabemos su oficio como batidor como muestra el término *brattia* que aparece en el texto, y que ha sido recompuesto bajo la fórmula completa de *aurifex brattiarius*³¹. En ésta línea, también destacamos el hallazgo de un epígrafe de un tal *Hilarus*, *aurifex* perteneciente a una asociación colegial funeraria de los esclavos y libertos de una mujer de rango, *Sergia Paullina*. Este personaje resulta el único artesano del colegio³².

De igual forma, otro epígrafe originario de *Apulum* (*Dacia*), nos permite conocer otra agrupación de estos comerciantes bajo la siguiente fórmula: *scola fabrorum aurariorum*³³.

Oro en Roma

El total de inscripciones halladas en Roma relacionadas con la confección de objetos de oro por parte de los *aurifices* asciende a un total de 43 piezas del total de nuestro *corpus* epigráfico.

Cinco epígrafes de la muestra pertenecen a inscripciones ya mencionados con anterioridad y que hacen mención a las diversas asociaciones de estos artesanos-comerciantes en Roma,

³¹ CIL VI, 33836; CIL VI, 9210 (p. 3895) = ILS 7688.

³² CIL VI, 9149: *D(is) M(anibus) / Hilaro aurifici[o] / collegium quod est in domo Sergiae L(uci) [filiiae] / Paullinae item co[nservi] / ex domo eadem I[--] / vixit ann(os) XXX p(lus) [m(inus) ---] / curantibus [--] / Dorcad[--]. Para más: BONFIOLI, PANCIERA 1971-1972, 185-201.*

³³ CIL III 1215: *Ivl(ilus) Herculanus / de scol(a) fab(rorum) avr(ariorum) a(-) g(-) / vicit a LXXX.*

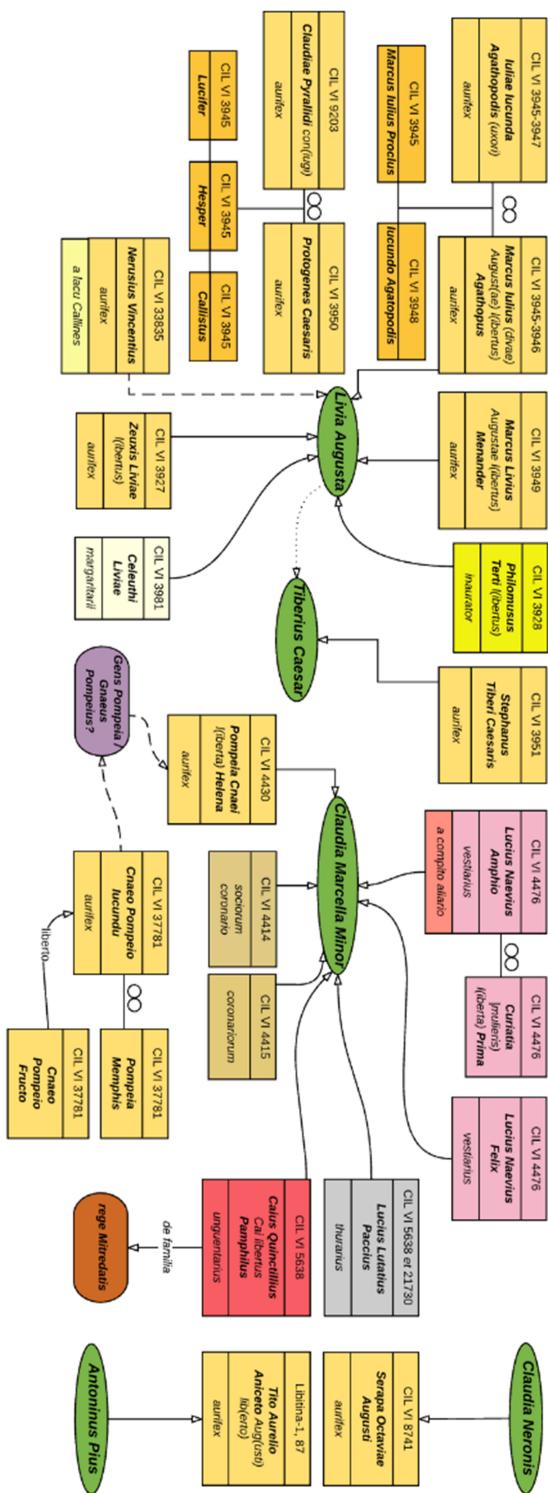


Figura 2. Atributos relacionados con algún miembro de la familia imperial. En los recuadros dorados aparecen los orfebres. Cuando existe una vinculación de alguno de estos miembros con otro a través de matrimonio se ha indicado con dos círculos. En el caso de tener hijos/as que hayan podido proseguir con el oficio se han incluido en el mapa conceptual. Cuando la relación del comerciante con un miembro imperial es dudosa se indica con una línea discontinua. Cuando se ha deseado resaltar otros tipos de oficios sumptuarios que han podido relacionarse con estos personajes se ha significado con otra gama de colores en función del trabajo.

Etruria y Dacia³⁴. El resto de epígrafes nos ayudara a comprender como funcionaron las diversas uniones comerciales de estos personajes, ya fuese bajo un mismo colegio, formando asociaciones entre colibertos o entre miembros de un mismo clan familiar.

Monumentos Julio-Claudios

Los libertos de Livia: monumento de Livia en la via Appia

De las treinta y cinco inscripciones restantes, un total de nueve inscripciones³⁵ se encontraron en el monumento funerario erigido en honor de Livia Augusta, en la via Appia. En el columbario de quien fuese esposa del emperador Augusto y madre del siguiente emperador Tiberio, aparecieron los epígrafes de todo tipo de siervos y libertos relacionables a su persona (Figura 1).

La pertenencia como libertos de la familia julio-claudia, además de relacionarse por el lugar de hallazgo del epígrafe, puede demostrarse gracias a la vinculación en los *tria nomina* como “liberto de-” (Figura 2)³⁶. Un primer epígrafe hace mención de un individuo conocido como *Zeuxis*, testimoniado como liberto de Livia³⁷. A continuación un tal *Agathopus* y su mujer *Iucunda*, son conocidos también como libertos de Livia³⁸. Otro liberto más, *Marcus Livius Menander*³⁹, aparece como liberto de la familia julio-claudia, de la misma forma que un tal *Stephanus*, esta vinculado al propio Tiberio.

En una inscripción hallada *extra portam Pincianam* se menciona a un tal *Protogenes*, quien viviese hasta los ochenta años de edad, cuya cónyuge se reconoce a *Claudia Pyrallis*, y que creemos podría vincularse con el *Protogenes Caesaris* hallado en el monumento de Livia. Ambos desempeñaron el mismo oficio y las cronologías conocidas resultan coincidentes⁴⁰. En esta última inscripción recuerda a sus hijos fallecidos a temprana edad: *Lucifer* con un año y 45 días, *Hesper* con dos años y *Callistus* con doce.

³⁴ Roma: CIL VI, 9149 (*aurifilio collegium*); CIL VI, 9202 = CIL I, 1307 = CIL XIV, 414 = ILS 7283 = ILLRP 770 (*conlegii aurificum*); Aouli (Dacia) CIL III, 1215 (*scola fabrorum aurariorum*); Aiud / Brucla (Dacia) CIL III, 941 = Orelli 4065 (*collegium Aurariarum*); e Isola Farnese / Veii (Etruria-Regio VII) pieza asociada en origen a la ciudad de Roma CIL XI, 3821 = ILS 7701 (*basilica vascularia*).

³⁵ CIL VI, 3927, 3943–3947, 3949–3951. Seguramente el individuo reconocido como *Marcus Iulius Augustae libertus Agathopus* aparece representado en dos inscripciones como *aurifex*, las 3945 y 3946,

³⁶ PARISINI 2017, 340–341.

³⁷ CIL VI 3927. “Parecchie erano le loro botteghe site soprattutto lungo la Via Sacra poiché l’arte orafa prosperava molto nell’Urbe” – Con estas palabras se deduce una ubicación de la tienda de este personaje en la Via Sacra sin tener ninguna referencia con la cual poder relacionarlo a este lugar: archeorama.beniculturali.it/ParoleDiPietra/epigrafi_2zeuxis.htm

³⁸ CIL VI 3945–3946.

³⁹ CIL VI 3949.

⁴⁰ CIL VI 3950: ca.27a.C.–29/37 d.C. (EAGLE); 14–68 d.C. (SOL.: *Tiberius-Nero*) y CIL VI 4430: 14–68 d.C. (SOL.: *Tiberius-Nero*).

Es probable que la mujer de este último personaje también desempeñase el mismo oficio que su marido. Un caso similar lo hallaríamos con otro liberto del mismo monumento, *Marcus Iulius Agathopus*, relacionado con *Iulia Iucunda Agathopodis*, reconocida con el mismo oficio en otra inscripción y a quienes se les conoce un niño fallecido a los 3 años, 2 meses y 10 días conocido como *Marcus Iulius Proclus*⁴¹. En otra inscripción aparece un tal *Iucundo Agatopodi filio*, de quien, pese a no indicarse en la inscripción, creemos pueda tratarse de otro hijo del presente matrimonio, y quizás, continuador del negocio familiar⁴².

Sin olvidar la moda entre los romanos por asignar nombres griegos a sus esclavos, no puede descartarse el posible origen oriental de muchos de estos personajes⁴³. En este sentido, todos los *aurifices* hallados en el monumento tienen *cognomina* griego: *Zeuxis*, *Epitycanus*, *Hedys*, *Agathopodis*, *Iucundo*, *Menander*, *Protogenes* y *Stephanus*. Lo mismo sucedió con el comerciante de perlas hallado en el mismo monumento, *Celeuthi Liviae*⁴⁴. De poder probarse esta hipótesis, cabe la posibilidad de que muchos de los especialistas de estos productos fueses foráneos de Roma, originarios a *grosso modo* de la parte oriental del Imperio.

Otra inscripción sepulcral de un tal *Nerusius Vincentius, aurifex a lacu Callines*, ha sido restituida recientemente por G. Di Giacomo como *lacus Gallinae Albae*⁴⁵. Utilizando las palabras de la autora; “*L'epiteto Gallinae Albae richiama l'appellativo Ad Gallinas e Ad Gallinas Alba, usato dalle fonti per localizzare la villa di Livia sulla v. Flaminia e legato-come è noto-al prodigo della gallina bianca che un'aquila lasciò cadere nel grembo della futura Augusta.*”⁴⁶. De ser cierta esta relación topográfica podríamos estar frente a otro *aurifex* vinculado con la familia julio-claudia, seguramente de nuevo bajo las ordenes de Livia, pero en esta ocasión desempeño su oficio... !En la villa de la emperatriz!. Pese a ello, no queda claro que tal presunción pueda confirmarse, y menos cuando el análisis prosopográfico de la inscripción por G. Crimi en la base de datos EDR (EAGLE) propone una datación aproximada entre los años 271–400 d.C., fecha que dista en casi tres siglos la presente propuesta. A resumidas cuentas, o bien nada tuvo que ver con la familia Julio-Claudia o, simplemente *Nerusius Vincentus* destacó como *aurifex* privado en la zona o estando a la orden

⁴¹ CIL VI 3945-3947.

⁴² CIL VI 3948.

⁴³ El clásico estudio de H. Thylander sobre los nombres de senadores, soldados y judíos sirvió para corroborar la hipótesis de que los personajes de origen griego conservaron, al menos en su generación el nombre griego, y, a continuación, la siguiente generación ya recibiría nombres latinos. Así, “*les romains n'avaient pas non plus de préférence particulière pour les noms grecs, comme on l'a prétendu*” THYLANDER 1952, 179. El autor también comenta la complejidad relacionada con conocer la procedencia real del nombre griego, el cual, no siempre indicaría la realidad topográfica, siendo originario de Siria, Asia Menor, Egipto o Grecia (p.180). En paralelo, la multitud de forasteros de origen libre que abarrotaron Roma (JUV. 2, 57-73), siempre que pudieron, romanizaron sus nombres, tomando muchos de ellos el gentilicio latino. Este hecho, demuestra hasta qué punto fue frecuente el abuso y que pese a la prohibición de Claudio (SUET. *Claud.* 25), el cambio nominal fue continuó en tiempos siguientes: BATLLE HUGUET 1946, 36.

⁴⁴ CIL VI 3981.

⁴⁵ CIL VI 33835; Di GIACOMO 2010, 395.

⁴⁶ Di GIACOMO 2010, 401.

del emperador de turno.

En el mismo conjunto funerario, se conoce la inscripción del liberto de un tal *Tertius*, cuyo *cognomen* es *Philomusus* y que trabajó en vida como *inaurator*, oficio vinculado con la confección de joyas trenzadas con oro o dorados⁴⁷.

El Columbario de la Vigna Codini en la vía Appia

No muy lejos del monumento de Livia, otro conjunto funerario, el columbario de *Vigna Codini*, alberga diversos epígrafes relacionados con los comerciantes de productos suntuarios aquí analizados⁴⁸. Su uso se extendió hasta bien entrado el siglo II d.C., tratándose en realidad de tres conjuntos funerarios diferentes. En el *monumentum familiae Marcellae* se hallaron diversos individuos foráneos a la familia imperial, de diversas *gentes*, como la *Pompeia*, *Naevia*, *Lutatia*, *Quinctili* y *Sellia*.

Dentro del columbario, en la segunda sección, cuya propiedad se relaciona con *Claudia Marcella Minor*, sobrina del emperador Augusto, hija de Octavia y de Cayo Claudio Marcelo, se ha encontrado a una tal *Pompeia Helena* como *aurifex*⁴⁹. Como se deduce del *nomen Pompeia* y de la vinculación como liberta de un tal *Cnaei*, es probable que se tratase de una liberta del propio Pompeyo o de su familia, y que, con la derrota de estos en las diferentes guerras civiles del siglo I a.C., pudiesen haber pasado a formar parte de la familia Julia, quienes se apropiaron de todas sus riquezas. En el mismo monumento funerario se encontraron otros artesanos y comerciantes de carácter suntuario, destacando un *margaritarius*⁵⁰, dos *vestiarii*⁵¹, una sociedad de *coronarii*⁵², así como dos *unguentarii*⁵³ y un *thurarius*⁵⁴.

Fuera de este complejo, una tabla de mármol hallada cerca del Templo de las Carmelitas descalzas en via del Corso, podría relacionarse también con la familia de Cneo Pompeyo. La inscripción fue realizada por *Pompeia Memphis*, para ella, mujer de un tal *Cn. Pompeius Iucundus*, para él, *aurifex* que viviese 35 años y para *Cn. Pompeius Fructus*, liberto suyo que muriese con 40 años, y el resto de sus libertos y sus descendientes⁵⁵. Seguramente marido y mujer tuvieron al mismo patrón⁵⁶, siendo *colliberti* y que como se deduce del *tria nomina*, vinculados en algún

⁴⁷ CIL VI 3928 = ILS 7689

⁴⁸ MANACORDA, BALISTRERI, Di COLA 2017.

⁴⁹ CIL VI, 4430.

⁵⁰ CIL VI, 5199; PÉREZ GONZÁLEZ 2014, 274.

⁵¹ CIL VI 4476.

⁵² CIL VI, 4414–4415.

⁵³ CIL VI, 5638, 5681.

⁵⁴ CIL VI, 5638; PÉREZ GONZÁLEZ 2017a, 179.

⁵⁵ CIL VI, 37781.

⁵⁶ JOSHEL 1992, 139.

momento con Pompeyo Magno o su familia.

Este tipo de asociación conyugal con libertos a su cargo ya fue recogida por S.R. Joshel, quien se percató que estos “*married artisans with their own freedmen outline situations parallel to that Memphis, Iucundus and Fructus and point to the missing patrons of the Babbi and Plotii gemmarii* [CIL VI 9435]”⁵⁷. Estos “negocios familiares” parecen haber obtenido cierta independencia respecto a su situación anterior, y ahora, liberados, se le permite tener bajo su control a libertos con lo que continuar la empresa.

En la misma sección de la sobrina de Augusto aparecieron también dos inscripciones relacionadas con una asociación de artesanos coronarios⁵⁸. Si hacemos caso a G. Di Giacomo⁵⁹, el término *coronarius* estaría vinculado con la confección de coronas ornamentales hechas de metales preciosos, en especial de oro y plata. Otros dos individuos reconocidos como *vestiarius*, *Lucius Naevius Amphio* y *Lucius Naevius Felix*, han sido hallados en la misma sección⁶⁰. Se cree que ambos personajes fueron libertos y que el negocio del primero de ellos se pudo hallar durante la primera mitad del siglo I d.C., *a compito aliario*⁶¹. Esta fórmula hace mención al lugar donde tuvo la tienda donde vendía sus mercancías en Roma mencionado como “el cruce Aliario”⁶². Esta localización podría estar relacionada según G. Mancini con un *vicus* de la *Regio V*⁶³.

En la tercera sección del columbario destaca el personaje antes mencionado como parte de un cuerpo de vigilancia de negocios de venta y confección de joyas hechas de perlas; *Diogenes Sostrati*⁶⁴.

Por último, mención especial merecen *Caius Quinctilicius Pamphilus* y *Lucius Lutatius Paccius*, recordados en varias inscripciones halladas en el mismo complejo. En una inscripción conjunta, el primero es recordado como comerciante de ungüentos y perfumes, mientras que al segundo

⁵⁷ JOSHEL 1992, 140.

⁵⁸ CIL VI, 4414–4415.

⁵⁹ DI GIACOMO 2012, 47–48.

⁶⁰ CIL VI, 4476 (p 3850) = ILS 7569 = EDCS-19101071 = EDR122542. “*L(ucius) Naevius Amphio vestiar(ius) / a compito aliario / Curiatia l(mulieris) l(iberta) Prima / L(ucius) Naevius Felix vestiarius*”

⁶¹ Un total de cuatro inscripciones sobre artesanos-comerciantes de telas en Roma hacen mención al lugar donde tuvieron su tienda: CIL VI, 4476, 9970–9971 y AE 1913, 220.

⁶² Sandra R. Joshel al hacer mención de otro *vestiarius* con la tienda en el mismo lugar, *Lucius Helvius L.l. Gratus* (CIL VI, 9971) traduce del latín al inglés “*Aliarian crossroads*”: JOSHEL 1992, 71.

⁶³ En *American Journal of Archaeology, Archaeological News*, Vol.18, 1914, p.100: “*ROME. – Inscriptions. – A goodly number of inscriptions have been found, of which the following are the most interesting: it number 52 of the Via Flaminia one of the cippi belonging to Claudiuss extension of the pomerium was found in situ. It has on the left side the number CXXXIX. On the Via Labicana, at No. 219 of the Via Casilina, about 3 km. from the Porta Maggiore, in a columbarium, an inscription to a vestiarius ab compito Aliario. This, in connection with previous inscriptions bearing the name of the same locality, seem to indicate that it was a vicus of the Fifth Region. (G. Mancini, Not. Scav. X, 1913, pp. 67–71.)*”.

⁶⁴ CIL VI, 5199. Véase capítulo 3.1.

se le conoce como comerciante de incienso⁶⁵. Gracias a una inscripción hallada entre la via Appia y la via Latina, hoy *via di Porta San Sebastiano* y *via di Porta Latina* sabemos de la procedencia oriental del comerciante de incienso, vinculado a la familia del rey Mitrídates VI, rey del Ponto: “*Ego sum Lucius Lutatius Paccius, thurarius de familia rege Mitredatis*”⁶⁶. En una tercera inscripción incompleta aparece del mismo columbario, aparece un *Lucius Lutatius Thu...*, que creemos pueda completarse como *Thv[rarius]* y por lo tanto, se trataría sin duda del mismo personaje⁶⁷.

Los otros libertos imperiales

Se ha conservado una tabla de mármol en los Museos Capitolinos⁶⁸ cuyo lugar de hallazgo se desconoce, mencionando a otra *aurifex* relacionada con la familia imperial. En este caso se trata de una *aurifex* conocida como *Serapa liberta de Octaviae Augusti*⁶⁹. *Serapa* estuvo ligada a Claudia Octavia Augusta u *Octavia Neronis*, mujer de Nerón, quien daría de esta forma continuidad a la costumbre iniciada entre la familia imperial de tener a su disposición a artesanos y comerciantes de productos de oro, en particular bajo el control de las emperatrices o mujeres de la familia.

Otro ejemplo se constata un siglo después con *Tito Aurelio Aniceto*, liberto augustal ligado a la casa antonina, seguramente liberto del emperador Antonino Pío⁷⁰.

La gens Septicia

Un ejemplo paradigmático de las asociaciones entre diferentes miembros de una misma familia de orfebres ha sido recientemente analizado por G. Di Giacomo, al estudiar a la gens Septicia⁷¹. Repartidos a lo largo de la vía Sacra, donde cuatro libertos pertenecientes a la misma familia aparecen representados en diferentes fases productivas en la confección y comercialización de productos de oro. Esta especialización se debió como destaca la autora a “*la logica evoluzione di un' organizzazione artigianale che era imperniata su una divisione funzionale del*

⁶⁵ CIL VI, 5638. “*C(aius) Quinctillius / C(ai) l(ibertus) Pamphilus / unguentari(us) / sibi et patrono / et liberteis suis / posterisque / eorum et Faustae l(ibertae) nostrae L(ucius) Lutatius / Paccius thurar(ius) / sibi et Seleuco / Pamphilo Tryphoni / Philotae liberteis / posterisque eorum*”.

⁶⁶ CIL VI 5639; JOSHEL 1992, 194.

⁶⁷ CIL VI, 21730. En este sentido, además de proponerse un origen oriental para el comerciante de incienso, el marco cronológico de la inscripción debería ser concomitante con las otras dos, (CIL VI 5638–39), pertenecientes al último cuarto del siglo I a.C.

⁶⁸ NCE 47.

⁶⁹ CIL VI, 8791.

⁷⁰ Libitinia-01, 87 = AE 1953, 64 = AE 2004, 206

⁷¹ Di GIACOMO 2012, 37–52.

lavoro tra quanti che era imperniata su una divisione funzionale del lavoro tra quanti operavano all'interno dello stesso impianto [---]”⁷².

La cadena productiva y comercial de los *Auli Septicii*, estuvo operativa desde finales del s.I a.C., hasta las primeras décadas de nuestra era. Estuvo formada por tres fases bien diferenciadas: la primera dominada por *Aulus Septicius Salvius*, como *auri acceptor* en la vía Sacra⁷³, seguida por la de sus patrones, *Aulus Septicius Apollonius* y *Septicia Rufa, brattiarri*⁷⁴ y finalizada por un *coronarius* con una tienda en la Via Sacra, *Aulus Septicius Salvi* (Figura 3)⁷⁵.

La autora cree que el oficio de *Salvius, auri acceptor*, debe relacionarse con la “compravendita dell'oro”⁷⁶. De esta forma las tiendas especializadas en la compra y venta de oro en la actualidad pueden servirnos de símil a la hora de entender el oficio de *Salvius*. Seguramente la tienda de *Salvius* sería una especie de casa de empeños, donde acudirían los privados en caso de necesidad de capital. No hemos de olvidar que la posesión de estos metales preciosos permitía a su dueño poseer de un patrimonio de fácil intercambio en el mercado. Estos negocios permitirían recuperar los metales en circulación dentro de la ciudad, siendo una vía más de aprovisionamiento aurífero al margen del importado por el estado. El oro sería puesto en circulación de nuevo entre los *aurifices* repartidos por la ciudad⁷⁷.

En última instancia, una vez batido, el oro pasaría a manos de *Alexander*, quién daría forma a estas láminas convirtiéndolas en hojas entrelazadas en forma de corona, y que acabaría por venderse entre las mujeres más pudientes de Roma. A este respecto, hemos encontrado un esclavo conocido como *Timotheus*⁷⁸, quien desempeñase el mismo oficio que *Alexander, coronarius*, y cuya inscripción se halló casualmente en un columbario de la viña Aquari, en la vía Latina, como los *brattiarri, Apollonius* y *Rufa* ¿se trataría pues de otro individuo más del mismo clan artesanal?, ¿es un esclavo de los

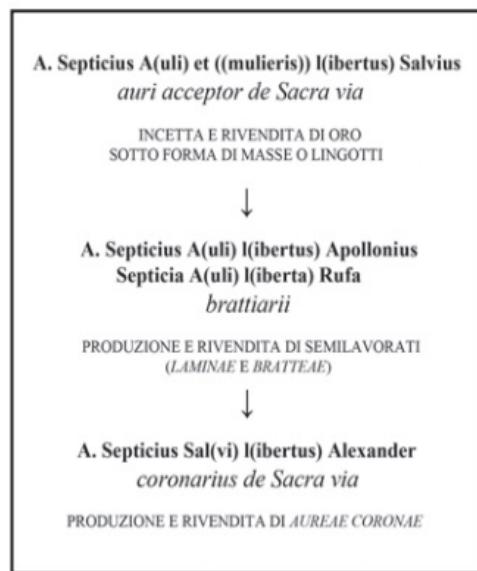


Figura 3. Cadena productiva y comercial Septiciania.

Extraído de: Di GIACOMO 2012, 49, fig. 5.

⁷² Di GIACOMO 2012, 38.

⁷³ CIL VI 9212.

⁷⁴ CIL VI 6939

⁷⁵ CIL VI 9283.

⁷⁶ Di GIACOMO 2012, 46.

⁷⁷ Di GIACOMO 2012, 50.

⁷⁸ CIL VI, 7009.

brattiarii?. No debe descartarse la opción.

La vinculación de *Apollonius* y *Rufa* con el resto de *Septicii*, testimonia la relación existente entre el oficio de batidor y el oro. Así, en otras inscripciones se ha encontrado el término *brattarius*, relacionado al oro: *aurifex brattearius* ó *aurifex brattarius*⁷⁹.

Si tomamos como cierta la siguiente hipótesis podríamos restituir el espacio de la inscripción de un tal *Aulus Furius....* con el oficio de *aurifex brattarius*⁸⁰. Poco más podemos decir de este personaje, aún así, conocemos a otro miembro de la *gens Furia* que desempeñó el cargo de presidente del *conlegii aurificum*, *Aulus Furius Seleucus*⁸¹, con el que quizás podría haber estado relacionado. De no ser así, al menos tenemos constancia de que diversos miembros de los *Auli Furii* estuvieron vinculados con la manufactura y comercialización de oro en Roma.

Aurifex en la vía Sacra. La calle comercial más cara del mundo

El cambio en la topografía urbana del centro de Roma, pasó, de albergar mercados alimenticios y bestiarios de ganado en época republicana, a concentrar la mayoría de tiendas suntuarias en época imperial⁸². Esto queda testimoniado en las inscripciones de estos artesanos y comerciantes, en especial los *margaritarii* y los *aurifices*, quienes indican la localización de su taller/tienda en el centro de Roma.

Como sucede hoy en día la localización de la tienda resulta uno de los factores determinantes para su futuro éxito. Así, las avenidas de mayor prestigio estarán íntegramente relacionadas con la venta de productos suntuarios. Si en la actualidad, *Upper 5th Avenue* (NY-USA), *Causeway Bay* (HK-China) y la *Avenue des Champs Elysees* (PAR-Francia) se disputan los alquileres más caros del mundo, ninguna calle fue más importante en todo el Imperio Romano que la vía Sacra.

Un total de nueve inscripciones vinculan a personajes relacionados con la fabricación o comercialización de productos de oro en la vía Sacra (Figura 4). De estas nueve, ya hemos mencionado a *Salvius* y *Alexander* de la *gens Septicia*, el primero *auri aceptor*, y el segundo, *coronarius*.

Nada sabemos sobre el lugar donde tuvieron el taller o la tienda los *bratiarii*, *Apollonius* y *Rufa*, y como ya hemos comentado, de la misma *gens*. En el caso de que su tienda se hubiese ubicado en esta famosa vía, seguramente lo habrían significado, aún así, no podemos descartar la posibilidad de encontrarlos aquí, al igual que el resto de individuos que completaban la cadena empresarial.

⁷⁹ CIL VI, 9210 = ILS 7688 y CIL VI, 33836.

⁸⁰ CIL VI, 33836; Gatti apud Fiorelli *notizie degli scavi* 1888 p. 625, *Bull. Com.* 1888 p. 399, nº 4.

⁸¹ CIL VI, 9202: “[A(ulus) F]urius A(uli) l(ibertus) / [Se]leucus mag(ister) quin(quennalis) / [c]onlegi(i) aurificum // Fouria A(uli) l(iberta) / Crematium”

⁸² PAPI 2002, 50 et ss.; PANCIERA 2006, 153–159, 363–364; HOLLERAN 2012, 55–57; MONTEIX 2012, 333–352; COURRIER 2014, 202–252; PARISINI 2017, 340; PÉREZ GONZÁLEZ 2017b.

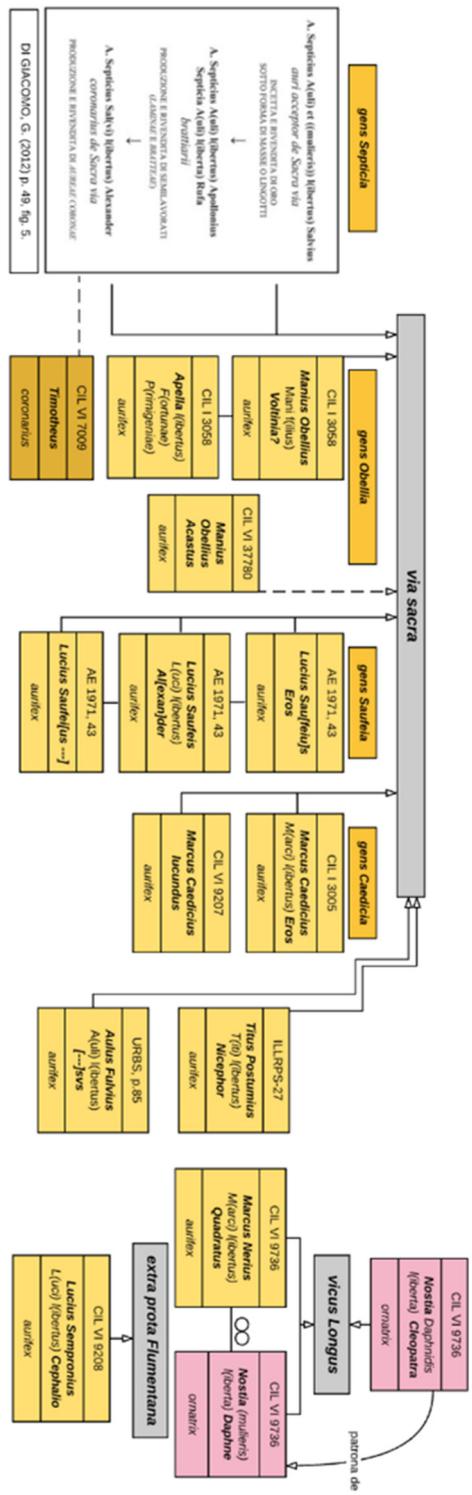


Figura 4. Aurifices relacionados topográficamente con alguna vía/lugar de Roma. En los recuadros dorados aparecen los orfebres. Cuando existe una vinculación de alguno de estos miembros con otro a través de matrimonio se ha indicado con dos círculos en el mapa conceptual. Cuando se ha deseado resaltar otros tipos de oficios suntuarios que han podido relacionarse con algún lugar específico en Roma se ha significado con otra gama de colores en función del trabajo.

A continuación son mencionados tres *aurifices* de la Via Sacra en una misma inscripción⁸³: *Lucius Saufeius Eros*, *Lucius Saufeis Luci libertus Alexander* y *Lucius Saufeius...* Se puede deducir que los tres hombres pertenecieron al mismo núcleo familiar, siendo el segundo en mención, *Alexander*, el único en dar a conocer su condición de liberto. Debido al estado de la inscripción no se ha podido restituir el *cognomen* del tercer personaje.

A este respecto, nada sabemos sobre la posibilidad de que los tres individuos trabajasen en el mismo taller o tienda en la Via Sacra, o si contrariamente, cada uno de ellos tuvo a su disposición un local comercial propio. Tampoco podemos decir mucho más sobre la relación existente de estos con *L. Saufeius* y si estuvieron bajo su protección. Sabemos que *Saufeius* fue contemporáneo de Cicerón, gracias a que este último lo mencionó como autor de una historia de Roma y cuyos fragmentos no se han conservado. Si hacemos caso a la datación propuesta por H. Solin de la inscripción, esta debió realizarse durante el principado de Augusto. De no ser así, estos *aurifices* podrían vincularse a otros miembros de la *gens Saufetia* originarios de la próxima *Tusculum*, donde, gracias al estudio epigráfico, sabemos que desempeñaron gran cantidad de magistraturas y entablaron relaciones de prestigio con otras familias mediante matrimonios⁸⁴.

A finales del periodo republicano pertenecen dos inscripciones distintas halladas en la via Prenestina, en el km. 9, 5 de la localidad de Tor Tre Teste donde se hace mención de dos *aurifices* de la *gens Caedicia* en la Via Sacra: *Marcus Caedicius Eros*⁸⁵ y *Marcus Caedicius Iucundus*⁸⁶. La relación entre ambos personajes parece clara. El hecho de haberse encontrado en el mismo lugar, tener el mismo *praenomen* y *nomen*, y sobretodo, haber coincidido como *aurifex* en la misma avenida, nos da que pensar en su probable vínculo. Sin embargo desconocemos cual fue el nexo que les unió, si fueron familia, colibertos o amo/siervo⁸⁷.

En esta línea, podríamos relacionar otros dos personajes de la *gens Obellia* hallados en dos inscripciones distintas, una conservada en el Santuario de Hércules de Tivoli (Inv. 718)⁸⁸ y otra en la Universidad de Columbia (NY-ButL.L.443)⁸⁹. La primera inscripción hallada en una excavación efectuada dentro del *Duomo* de Palestrina, un municipio de la provincia de Roma, nos da a conocer a dos *aurifices* de la Via Sacra, *Manius Obellius Voltinia*, hijo de *Manius*, y *Apella*. *M. Obellius M. filius*, junto a su patrón dedican al Santuario de la Fortuna Primigenia de *Praeneste* la base sobre la que esta incisa la inscripción. La fama del lugar entre comerciantes y artesanos se atestigua por los descubrimientos epigráficos del lugar Así, M. García Morcillo que “The

⁸³ AE 1971, 43.

⁸⁴ GOROSTIDI 2003, 103.

⁸⁵ CIL I, 3005.

⁸⁶ CIL VI, 9207.

⁸⁷ S. Panciera cree que existe una relación entre los dos *Caedicii*, uno liberto o hijo del otro: PANCIERA 1970, 133–134, nota 62; 1987, 85.

⁸⁸ CIL I, 3058.

⁸⁹ CIL VI, 37780.

enormous popularity of the sanctuary during the Republic and the Principate shown by the variety and quantity of epigraphic testimonies which record votive offering made to the goddess, by among others professional associations, bankers and traders”⁹⁰. Nada sabemos sobre la relación entre ambos personajes, lo que si queda claro es el oficio y el lugar donde desempeñaron su oficio en vida. La segunda de las inscripciones muestra a un tal *Manius Obellius Acastus*, otro *aurifex*. Mientras que la primera inscripción ha sido datada a finales del siglo I a.C., la segunda podría pertenecer a las primeras décadas del siglo I d.C. con lo cual, en el caso de poder relacionarse, parece que no existió concomitancia entre los personajes. Poco o nada podemos decir sobre cual fue el vínculo existente entre los diferentes comerciantes. Aún así, la pertenencia a la misma *gens*, además de un marco cronológico próximo permite proponer un posible vínculo entre estos personajes. Por consiguiente, ¿*Acastus* desempeñó su trabajo en la Vía Sacra como el resto de *aurifices* de la *gens Obellia*? Creemos que debería tenerse en cuenta la propuesta.

Se conocen otros dos personajes ligados con la manufactura y comercialización de productos de oro en la misma vía; *Titus Postumius Nicephor* liberto de un tal *Tito Postumio*⁹¹ y un liberto de Aulo, *Aulus Fulvius ...sus*⁹², cuyo *cognomen* no se ha podido restituir. Al parecer sendas inscripciones se mandaron realizar a finales del periodo republicano.

Por último, una inscripción ya comentada de un liberto de Livia conocido como *Zeuxis*⁹³, es mencionado en los comentarios de la web archeorama.beniculturali.it, presumiblemente como un *aurifex* más de la vía Sacra: “Parecchie erano le loro botteghe site soprattutto lungo la Via Sacra poiché l’arte orafa prosperava molto nell’Urbe”⁹⁴. Por nuestra parte, creemos que no existe ninguna referencia, ni en el propio texto, ni relacionable al mismo, por la cual pueda deducirse la ubicación de la taberna. De ser cierta esta información se trataría del único personaje dedicado al comercio de productos de oro vinculado con la familia imperial cuyo local comercial se encontraría en esta célebre avenida.

Las hiladoras de oro

En otro apartado encontraríamos dos inscripciones que hacen mención a dos mujeres que han sido reconocidas como hiladoras de oro. Los dos documentos mencionan a una tal *Sellia Epyre* como *aurivestrix* de la vía Sacra⁹⁵ y a *Viccentia* como *aurinetrix* de la que se desconoce el lugar de su taller/tienda⁹⁶.

⁹⁰ GARCÍA MORCILLO 2013, 266–267.

⁹¹ ILLRP-S, 27.

⁹² URBS, p. 85.

⁹³ CIL VI 3927.

⁹⁴ Según comentario extraído de archeorama, en la web *Parole di pietra* (online: archeorama.beniculturali.it /ParoleDiPietra/epigrafi_2zeuxis.htm ; visto el 20-10-2014).

⁹⁵ CIL VI 9214.

⁹⁶ CIL VI 9213.

Ambas inscripciones muestran el alto grado de especialización al cual había llegado el artesanado urbano de la ciudad⁹⁷. El uso de estas fórmulas testimonió un oficio singular íntimamente relacionado con el bordado de oro sobre las telas. Mientras que la mayoría de autores que han trabajado las inscripciones suelen destacarlas como hiladoras o bordadoras de oro sobre telas⁹⁸, no se entiende muy bien la diferenciación que origina Lena Larsson al mencionar el oficio de *aurinetrix* como “*a spinner of gold thread*”, por la de *aurivestrix* como “possibly a specialist in gold embroidery”⁹⁹. ¿Es que acaso no vienen a significar lo mismo?¹⁰⁰. A este respecto, G. Di Giacomo cree probable que estas especialistas obtuvieron el oro previamente trabajado por los *brattarii*, quienes se dedicaron a batir el oro en láminas para “una clientela specializzata nel settore manifatturiero”¹⁰¹.

El epitafio en honor de la memoria de *Viccentia, dulcissima filia*, ha suscitado un debate entorno a la edad real de defunción de *Viccentia*. La publicación originaria en el *CIL* por parte de De Rossi muestra una inscripción con una fecha de defunción del personaje a los 9 años y 9 meses, *vixit an(nos) VIIII m(enses) VIIII*. La pronta edad de defunción ha llevado a muchos autores a incluirla como una muestra del trabajo infantil en la antigüedad¹⁰². Mientras que una revisión de la inscripción por parte de L. Chioffi ha sumado una década más de vida a *Viccentia*, que habría vivido hasta los 18 años y 9 meses, *vixit (an)n(is) XVIII, m(ensibus) VIIII*¹⁰³. Este último análisis ha sido utilizado por las bases de datos de EDCS y EDB para la transcripción del epígrafe¹⁰⁴.

La inscripción de *Sellia Epyre* ha sido encontrada sobre el *operculum* de una urna funeraria perteneciente a *Q. Futius Olimpicus*, cuyas cenizas se han depositado en la misma urna. A este respecto, L. Chioffi cree que “*Il primo testo, in caso genitivo, assicura la pertinenza dei resti ivi depositi ad un uomo, cui offre le spese di sepoltura la donna citata, in caso nominativo, sull'operculum della stessa urna...*”¹⁰⁵, mientras que para C. Lázaro, *Sellia* sería la “esposa de un ciudadano romano, *Q. Futius Olimpicus*, cuyas cenizas se han reunido en la misma urna funeraria, quienes se dedicaban a un comercio de lujo que consistía en vender vestidos bordados en oro”¹⁰⁶.

⁹⁷ LARSSON LÓVEN 2016, 206

⁹⁸ CHIOFFI 2004, 89–94; GLEBA 2008, 61–77.

⁹⁹ LARSSON LÓVEN 2016, 206

¹⁰⁰ Según la RAE bordar significa “Adornar con bordaduras una tela u otra materia”, siendo una bordadura la “*Labor de relieve ejecutada en tela o piel con aguja y diversas clases de hilo*”, en el cual podría incluirse el oro, mientras que el oficio de hiladora está relacionado con “la persona que hilá, principalmente en arte de la seda”.

¹⁰¹ DI GIACOMO 2012, 50.

¹⁰² LARSSON LÓVEN 2016, 206; LÁZARO GUILLAMÓN 2003, 174.

¹⁰³ CHIOFFI 2004, 94.

¹⁰⁴ EDCS-19000662 = EDB38347

¹⁰⁵ CHIOFFI 2004, 91–92.

¹⁰⁶ LARSSON LÓVEN 2016, 206; LÁZARO GUILLAMÓN 2003, 174.

Además, como ya señalase L. Chioffi existe una alta probabilidad de que esta mujer se trate de la misma que aparece en una inscripción perteneciente de nuevo al columbario de la Vigna Codini en la via Appia¹⁰⁷: *Sellia Ephyre de / sacra via*. La inscripción se ha encontrado en la segunda sección, cuya propiedad se relaciona como ya hemos mencionado con *Claudia Marcella Minor*, sobrina del emperador Augusto. ¿Estamos por lo tanto delante de otro personaje ligado a la casa julio-claudia?. Por nuestra parte así lo creemos. Además, la inscripción ha sido datada entre los principados de Augusto y Nerón (27 a.C.–68 d.C.)¹⁰⁸, periodo en el que circularon en Roma “una discreta quantità delle auratae vestes di cui parla Ovidio (*Met.* 8, 448: et auratis mutavit vestibus atras; cf. 14, 263: *insuper aurato circumvelatur amictu*)”¹⁰⁹. Paralelamente, un gran número de Attalica serían importadas a Roma después de las conquistas en Asia¹¹⁰. Quizás este sea el punto de partida para comprender por qué estas telas bordadas de oro se habían puesto de moda en la ciudad y por consiguiente, por qué aparecieron estos especialistas.

Aurifices en la periferia inmediata al centro

Para aquellos artesanos urbanos y comerciantes que adquirir una taberna/taller en el mismo centro de la capital se había convertido en algo imposible, la opción de ubicarse lo más próximo al centro de la ciudad se convirtió en la alternativa preferida. Para definir las múltiples disposiciones de las tiendas donde se instalaron estos comerciantes y artesanos en la *Urbs*, J.-P. Morel definió algunos barrios como “quartiers situés, précisément, à la périphérie immédiate du centre”¹¹¹

Un fragmento de lastra marmórea hallado en el *corso d'Italia*, en el tramo que se entrelazan la via Po y la via de Santa Teresa, conservado actualmente en la Galería Lapidaria (1, A, 1, inv. 8985) de los Museos Vaticanos, muestra a dos *ornatrix* y un *aurifex* en el *Vicus Longus*. La inscripción evidencia la unión de una *ornatrix* (doncella, peinadora o peluquera) liberta conocida como *Nostia Daphne*, mujer de *Marcis Nerius Quadratus*, *aurifex* de la misma avenida, liberto de un tal Marco Nerio¹¹². También aparece *Nostia Cleopatra*, *ornatrix* y patrona de la anterior, quién siendo a su vez liberta de *Daphnis*, le había puesto el nombre de su patrón a *Nostia Daphne*¹¹³. El *vicus Longus* formó parte de la estructura viaria de las *regiones VI* y *VII* de la antigua Roma. La vía sigue el valle entre el Viminal y el Quirinal, desde el Foro de Augusto hasta las

¹⁰⁷ CIL VI 5287; EDCS-18700640; CHIOFFI 2004, 91.

¹⁰⁸ SOLIN 1982, vol. I, n. 594.

¹⁰⁹ CHIOFFI 2004, 92.

¹¹⁰ CHIOFFI 2004, 89–90, 93.

¹¹¹ MOREL 1987, 139–140. Aquí hace mención de la Subura, el Argileto, el *Vicus Tuscus*, y el Velabro, la vía Sacra, el *Vicus Longus*, el *Circus Maximus*, el teatro de Marcelo, las *Saepta Iulia*, el *Circus Flamininus* y el Trastevere.

¹¹² CIL VI 9736.

¹¹³ PÉREZ NEGRE 1998, 149; GROEN-VALLINGA 2013, 308

Termas de Diocleciano, en parte sobre la actual Via Nazionale¹¹⁴. A día de hoy desconocemos a que altura estuvo el comercio regentado por estos tres personajes durante las tres primeras décadas de nuestra era.

No muy lejos de la *Via Sacra*, se ha encontrado una mención de un liberto conocido como *Lucius Sempronius Cephalio, aurifex extra porta Flumentana*¹¹⁵ perteneciente al siglo segundo d.C.¹¹⁶. La *Puerta Flumentana* formó parte de la muralla construida en época republicana y que quedaría englobada en el área próxima al Velabro, donde ya conocemos la existencia de otros comerciantes de productos suntuarios (*margaritarius de velabro = CIL VI 37803*)¹¹⁷. Sobre la importancia y la ubicación de la vía nos valemos de los trabajos de Coarelli cuando comenta que “*La viabilità piè antica era costituita da due strade, che seguivano le estreme pendici delle colline, evitando il fondo valle paludoso. Il vicus Iugarius seguiva il Campidoglio fino al Foro, il vicus Tuscus sfiorava invece il Palatino, diretto del Circo (la vallis Murcia) seguendo allo stesso modo le pendici del Palatino e dell'Aventino. Nel punto dove queste strade attraversavano le mura per dirigersi ai ponti si aprivano ovviamente delle porte: il vicus Iugarius usciva alla Porta Carmentalis, il vicus Tuscus, o un suo prolungamento (il vicus Lucceius), conduceva alla Porta Flumentana, che su conservò, nella sua ricostruzione augustea, fino al XV sec., ed era situata negli immediati paraggi del Tempio di Portunus.*”¹¹⁸

Los otros *aurifices* en Roma

Al margen de los *aurifices* vinculados con algún miembro de la familia imperial o aquellos cuya información epigráfica nos ha permitido un análisis más notorio sobre su condición social, posición del taller o tienda, etc., restan algunas inscripciones cuya interpretación es difícil por el estado de conservación del soporte o bien por que los datos expuestos son insuficientes para un mayor estudio.

Un arquitrabe expuesto en el Museo Nacional de las Termas de Diocleciano conserva un epígrafe perteneciente a las últimas décadas de la República donde aparece representado un orfebre llamado *Cucuma: Gaavia C(ai) l(iberta) Philumina ex Aven[tino?]/ de sua pecunia fecit sibi e[st] --- / Cucumai aurifici L(ucio) Aufidio L(uci) l(iberto) D[--]*¹¹⁹. Poco más se puede decir de la inscripción aparte de que el personaje aparece acompañado de una dos libertos, una tal *Gaavia Philumina* del Aventino y de *Lucio Aufidio*. Desconocemos la relación entre los tres personajes y debido al deterioro del soporte, tampoco podemos desarrollar la parte anterior del *tria nomina*,

¹¹⁴ COARELLI 1980, 302–303 (habiendo utilizado la edición de 2008).

¹¹⁵ CIL VI 9208.

¹¹⁶ HOLLERAN 2012, 88.

¹¹⁷ PÉREZ GONZÁLEZ 2014, 276–277.

¹¹⁸ COARELLI 1980, 406. Sobre la problemática de los Aemilia, próximos a la esta puerta véase: AGUILERA MARTÍN 2002, 72 et ss.

¹¹⁹ CIL I, 3011a.

que nos podría ayudar a entender mejor quién es este personaje.

Una segunda inscripción datada en el primer siglo de nuestra era¹²⁰ hace mención a un tal *Lucius Vettius Nymphius*. El epígrafe dado por el canónico, Monseñor Lelio Pasqualino a Santa María la Mayor en el Esquilino¹²¹, permite conocer el oficio de *Nymphius* como *aurifex*, y la temprana edad a la que murió, a los 17 años de edad. A este respecto, tan sólo con una década más de vida se conoce a un tal *Decimus Artorius Fructus*, hijo de un tal *Spurius*, también *aurifex* y cuyo epígrafe se conserva en la *Rokeby Hall Britanniae*¹²². Debido a la falta de datos, nada más podemos sobre la presente inscripción, pese a ello, cabe la posibilidad de que, quizás *Fructus* desempeñase el mismo oficio que su padre.

Otro liberto es reconocido como orfebre en una inscripción que se conserva en el *Museo Nazionale Romano* (inv. 108690)¹²³. El epígrafe esta dedicado a *Publius Valerius Flaccus*, liberto de Publio y a quién se le reconoce una concubina, *Bennia Helena*. Desconocemos si esta última también estuvo relacionada con la comercialización de productos de oro en Roma entre el 30 a.C. y 30 d.C.

Se han conservado dos inscripciones cuyo estado de conservación han permitido a duras penas leer el término *aurifex* y que tan sólo pueden tenerse en cuenta a la hora de realizar una estadística sobre el conjunto de los materiales analizados. Una de ellas fue hallada en la villa *Pamphilii* durante los años 1856–1857¹²⁴ y la otra en la catacumba de San Hipólito en la vía Tiburtina. En una línea similar encontramos una estela sobre el pavimento de San Pablo Extramuros en la vía Ostiense y que hace mención a unos *aurificis* que se desconocen¹²⁵.

Por último, una inscripción hallada en el oratorio de los Cuarenta Mártires de Santa María Antigua en el Foro Romano, hace referencia a los restos de *Amantius* un *aurifex* que vivió cerca de cincuenta años¹²⁶. Gracias al desarrollo en la inscripción conocemos el día exacto de las *kalendas* bajo el consulado de Justino los investigadores han podido contextualizar el epígrafe el día 1 de Septiembre del año 572 d.C. Pese a que queda muy lejos del marco cronológico aquí estudiado no hemos querido perder la ocasión de mencionar este caso como muestra de la perdurabilidad en los siglos, primero del oficio de orfebre en Roma y segundo, de la invariabilidad del término utilizado en latín. Eso sí, como bien comenta D. Davis, ahora, los interesados por estos productos fueron otros: “*During the sixth century, precious metals and stones grew in significance to liturgy. Lustrous materials like gold expressed church opulence and societal value,*

¹²⁰ SOLIN 1982, vol. II, n. 1034.

¹²¹ CIL VI 9204.

¹²² CIL VI 37779.

¹²³ AE 1939, 154.

¹²⁴ CIL VI 9205: [---]crat[---] / [---]aurife[x ---]; ICUR VII, 20231a: [---] / [---] aurifex --- / [--- s]ibi et].

¹²⁵ CIL VI 9206.

¹²⁶ CIL VI 37782.

*giving a character of splendor and power to the institutions of God*¹²⁷. Por su parte, P. de Vingo cree que la estela: “despite the fact that it was not found in its original position but was reused in a later burial and, already broken in half, positioned upside down, it is likely that it was employed in the same area close to Via Sacra, a well-known hub in the Roman era for workshops producing jewellery and luxury goods”¹²⁸. Por consiguiente, también podría proponerse cierta perdurabilidad en el tiempo de algunos espacios comerciales en la topografía de Roma, siendo esta región propia de joyeros y otros comerciantes suntuarios.

Reflexiones generales

La invención de un nuevo estado por parte del joven Augusto, pronto necesitó del empadronamiento de todos los recursos de poder de la sociedad romana bajo su persona¹²⁹. Al margen de la obligada necesidad del emperador por facilitar el suministro de alimentos a los ciudadanos de Roma y a los militares, también se atribuyó el dominio de la explotación de las minas de todo el territorio romano¹³⁰.

Para la explotación minera en las provincias se necesitaba como destaca J.M. Blázquez “*del permiso del dueño, o sea del pueblo romano y en época imperial del emperador, o sea del fisco*” y “*como regla generalizada en todo el imperio, las minas en época imperial eran monopolio estatal, propiedad del emperador, que la administraba a través de los procuradores o del Pueblo Romano. En realidad era el Fisco el que disponía de la totalidad de las minas del Imperio. Para hacer excavaciones se necesitaba el permiso del dueño (Dig.8.4.13.1), excepto cuando se encontraban en manos del ejército. Según se indicó ya, las minas de oro y plata eran propiedad del emperador y dependían del fisco*”¹³¹. El administración de todos los recursos necesitó de la creación de estructuras que lo hiciesen posible, de ahí el nacimiento del *fiscus*, la caja imperial¹³². Para la explotación y control de los recursos el Estado Romano se sirvió de los procuradores, representantes del fisco imperial y que gobernaron con exclusividad el distrito minero, sobre el que “*tenía jurisprudencia plena*”¹³³.

Augusto no tardó mucho en percatarse que el oro y la plata eran los únicos productos que disponía con los cuales poder establecer una relación entre iguales con los mercados orientales. Embajadas de comerciantes de todo el planeta se reunían en los puertos de Egipto y en las ciudades caravaneras de Oriente, con el fin de proveerse, los unos, de toda clase de productos

¹²⁷ DAVIS 2015, 39-40

¹²⁸ De VINGO 2012, 321.

¹²⁹ REMESAL RODRÍGUEZ 2012, 218.

¹³⁰ SÁNCHEZ-PALENCIA *et alii* 2017, 866, 868.

¹³¹ BLÁZQUEZ MARTÍNEZ 1996, 120, 122.

¹³² En esta línea: SÁNCHEZ-PALENCIA, SASTRE, CARLOS PÉREZ 2006.

¹³³ BLÁZQUEZ MARTÍNEZ 1996, 122.

exóticos y los otros, de oro y plata. De esta forma, los romanos empezaron a comprender que el oro además de ser útil por su posesión resultaba un gran aliado como objeto de intercambio.

No hemos de olvidar que el oro, como otros productos aquí analizados, es considerado como un bien posicional¹³⁴, en el sentido que se trata, por general, de un bien escaso por naturaleza y que no se puede crear, sólo redistribuir, beneficiando a su propietario sobre el resto. Así, poder adquirirlo genera una satisfacción derivada de su posesión en relación con los demás, siendo la pertenencia a un estatus social alto la única posibilidad para conseguirlo. Un ejemplo paradigmático de la rareza actual del metal es comentada por P.L. Bernstein quien, pese al progreso tecnológico minero, menciona que las reservas totales de oro del planeta podrían caber en un único petrolero¹³⁵.

Mientras que durante la República, el Estado había permitido la explotación de las minas mediante contratos a notables personajes romanos, el peso del nuevo estado acabaría con este modelo no-intervencionista. La explotación de las minas de oro siempre estuvo bajo el control de la casa imperial, pero su beneficio no fue suficiente para mantener la estructura del estado. Esta necesidad por acaparar dinero llevó a Tiberio a apropiarse de los “bienes de amigos y enemigos”¹³⁶. Suetonio recuerda entre los casos más notorios, la presión de Tiberio por hacerse con el patrimonio de Cornelio Lentulo Augur, Sejano y Sexto Mario¹³⁷. A este último, habiéndole acusado de incesto, fue asesinado, y como dice Tácito, la causa de su muerte fue su riqueza¹³⁸. Propietario de gran parte de las minas de Sierra Morena, al norte de la ciudad de Córdoba, sus bienes se ingresaron directamente en el *fiscus Caesaris*¹³⁹. Según Remesal, “*El expolio de los bienes de Sexto Mario tuvo repercusiones notables para la administración imperial. El emperador se hacía propietario de grandes recursos mineros en una provincia confiada al senado. El emperador empezó a intervenir de una manera directa en uno de los recursos fundamentales de cualquier estado, la minería*”,¹⁴⁰.

Para un mejor transporte por el territorio romano, los minerales extraídos fueron transformados en lingotes. El transporte de los lingotes desde sur de Hispania a Italia se realizó a través del mar, mientras que el oro astur sería transportado mayoritariamente a Roma por vía terrestre utilizando las calzadas. Así, como asevera P. Ozcariz seguramente “*el oro para el Estado romano hacía que se priorizasen las vías de exportación terrestres frente a las marítimas. De todos modos, carecemos de datos para saber si, a pesar de la nueva separación provincial, el oro galaico continuó viajando hasta Tarraco o si, por el contrario, se mandó por vía marítima a través del Estrecho (en todo*

¹³⁴ El término fue acuñado por HIRSCH, 1976.

¹³⁵ BERNSTEIN 2000, 8–9; KAMPFNER 2014, 114–115.

¹³⁶ REMESAL RODRÍGUEZ 2012, 221.

¹³⁷ Suet. *Tib.* 49; 58, 16.

¹³⁸ TAC. *Ann.* 6, 19.

¹³⁹ BLÁZQUEZ MARTÍNEZ 1996, 121; REMESAL RODRÍGUEZ 2011, 221.

¹⁴⁰ REMESAL RODRÍGUEZ 2011, 222.

caso evitando la “Costa de la Muerte”, en Galicia, Iglesias Gil 1994: 69)”¹⁴¹. Aprovechando el transporte de alimentos de la Baetica a Roma, muchos de los lingotes de estaño, cobre o plata extraídos fueron transportados entre decenas de ánforas. Como todo el mundo conoce, los metales una vez extraídos del subsuelo se funden, para obtener monedas, armamentos, herramientas, ornamentos, etc. De ahí, que el hallazgo de estos pecios, entre cuya carga se hallaron lingotes, resulte tan importante para conocer el funcionamiento de la red de transportes romana y el control del estado sobre estos metales¹⁴².

Algunos de los lingotes presentan marcas que se permiten relacionar al estado con la explotación y producción de estos metales. Claude Domergue estableció una división de estas marcas en cuatro casos¹⁴³: la marca L VALE AVG. L.A. COM se halló sobre lingotes de estaño de los pecios de *Port-Vendres II*¹⁴⁴, de época de Claudio; también, VESP AVG y IMP CAES se conocen en lingotes de plomo en Cabrera⁶¹⁴⁵; el sello NER AVG sobre materiales de Pompeya¹⁴⁶ y por último, las menciones de funcionarios imperiales del siglo II d.C., sobre lingotes de cobre hemisféricos¹⁴⁷. Para Domergue, las marcas sobre los lingotes muestran “*clairement les producteurs*”, para, por ejemplo con el cobre “*battre monnaie*”, con la aleación de cobre y estaño hacer “*l’ornamentation des temples*” y el plomo “*pour les services publics d’adduction d’eau*”. En esta línea, el hallazgo en la localidad de *Sirmium* de una serie de marcas de finales del s. IV d.C. sobre lingotes de oro, sirve para testimoniar esta relación, como también sucedería en los lingotes marcados de Nis (*Naissus*)¹⁴⁸.

Según varios autores romanos la explotación de estos metales sirvió para costear en gran medida el gasto ocasionado por el tráfico de los productos procedentes del oriente del Imperio¹⁴⁹. Por Plinio sabemos que el gasto anual relacionado con este comercio rondó una cifra oscilante entre los cincuenta y los cien millones de sestercios.¹⁵⁰ En esta línea, Estrabón y el propio Tiberio confirmarían el continuo traspaso de oro y plata de Europa a Asia.¹⁵¹ Por su parte, también las crónicas chinas realizadas por *Hou Hanshu* y la literatura india en tamil vendrían a confirmar los comentarios de Plinio al enumerar la gran cantidad de oro y plata producida en

¹⁴¹ OZCÁRIZ GIL P. 2007, 38.

¹⁴² Según Domergue, sobre los lingotes transportados en barcos con carga compartida “où ils étaient transportés sur des vaisseaux ordinaires”. Para el autor nada parece indicar por lo pecios hallados puedan diferenciarse entre cargas privadas y del Estado. Véase DOMERGUE 1994, 90.

¹⁴³ DOMERGUE 1994, 88 ss.

¹⁴⁴ COLLS, DOMERGUE, LAUBENHEIMER, LIOU 1975, 78–79.

¹⁴⁵ VENY 1969, 196–219.

¹⁴⁶ DOMERGUE 1984, 210, pl. 26–1.

¹⁴⁷ DOMERGUE 1990, 285–287.

¹⁴⁸ BARATTE 1978, 105–109.

¹⁴⁹ Plin. *NH*. 12, 41.84.

¹⁵⁰ Plin. *HN*. 6, 101.

¹⁵¹ Strabo. 16, 4.22; TAC. *Ann.* 3, 53.

el Imperio romano y la llegada de los barcos de los Yavanas (occidentales) a los puertos indios cargados de oro para llevarse especias.¹⁵² Por consiguiente el control sobre todos los recursos mineralógicos del subsuelo romano fue entonces una necesidad para la casa imperial. Los lingotes sellados evidencian la implicación del estado desde la fase de producción de estos metales, para, a continuación, trasladarlos a Italia, donde se decidiría su siguiente uso. Llegados a este punto, el oro y la plata podría repartirse a los artesanos para su posterior venta entre la élite romana, o bien terminaba en manos de banqueros o cambistas capacitados para dar crédito a los mercaderes internacionales.

La aparición a nivel epigráfico de diversos personajes ligados a la confección de objetos de oro quizás deba entenderse como un reflejo del control directo de estos recursos bajo la protección de la casa imperial, sobretodo a partir de la conquista de *Hispania*. Consecuentemente, el control de éste mercado quedará en manos de la familia imperial, quién a través de sus libertos se dedicará a la venta de estos productos en la capital. A día de hoy desconocemos cuales fueron los instrumentos necesarios para que el oro controlado por el *fiscus Caesaris* pasase a manos de los agentes privados que también se beneficiaron de formar parte del mercado aurífero romano. Un análisis cronológico de los epígrafes estudiados prueba la existencia de un incremento de inscripciones donde se hace mención a estos *aurifices* en la ciudad Roma desde finales del siglo I a.C., hasta finales de la dinastía julio-claudia (Figura 5).

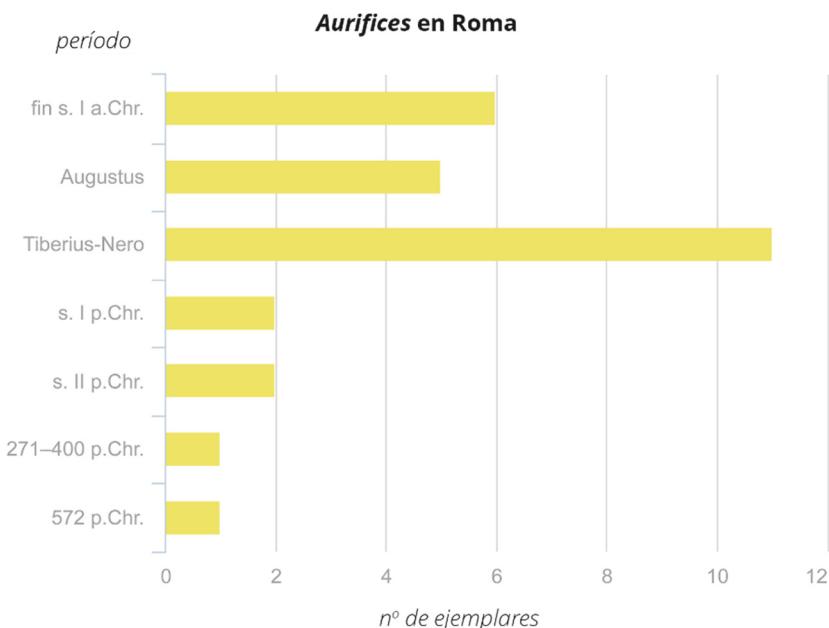


Figura 5. Distribución cronológica de los *aurifices* de la ciudad de Roma.

¹⁵² HHS, 88, 22, 27, 31; Akananuru 149, 7-11; Purananuru 343.

Poder relacionar a varios de los personajes vinculados con la confección y venta de oro en la ciudad de Roma ofrece una visión del emperador Augusto y de su familia hasta ahora nunca conocida. Augusto, relacionado con la austeridad, apeló siempre a favor de la tradición romana. La creciente demanda de productos exóticos por la élite romana, originó modas y costumbres hasta el momento desconocidas en la ciudad, las cuales, intentaron frenarse con la promulgación de leyes contra el exceso¹⁵³. En este sentido, no deja de sorprendernos la doble moral con la que actuó la casa del emperador, donde, mientras se proclamaba una lucha contra el desenfreno y el despilfarro, por otra parte, proveían de estos metales preciosos entre la aristocracia romana¹⁵⁴. Un testimonio de ello sería el hallazgo de los *aurifices* del monumento de Livia, dedicados a la confección de objetos de oro para la familia y con toda seguridad, para su venta entre la élite romana.

Tabla 1. Orfebres y comerciantes de oro en Roma¹⁵⁵.

CIL	EDCS	EDR	HD	EDB	TM	SOLIN	L.H.	Oficio	L.T.	Datación	Nombre
VI, 9205	19000654						Roma	<i>aurifex</i>			
VI, 9206	19000655			75075			Roma	<i>aurificis</i>			
VI, 37779	20601037						Roma	<i>aurifex</i>			<i>Decimus Artorius Spuri filius Fructus</i>
VI, 37781	20601039	71840	31941				Roma	<i>aurifici</i>			<i>Cnaeo Pompeio lucundo</i>
	40400504			21522			Roma	<i>aurifex</i>			
VI, 37782	20601040	71889	30786	30972			Roma	<i>aurifex?</i>		572 d.C.	<i>Amantius</i>
VI, 9208	19000657						Roma	<i>aurifex</i>	<i>extra porta Flu- mentana</i>	100–200 d.C. (C. Holleran 2012, 88)	<i>Lucius Sempronius Luci libertus Cephalio</i>
VI, 8741	1870024	118946			I, 408	Roma	<i>aurifex</i>			1–100 d.C.; 54–68 d.C. (SOL.: Nero)	<i>Octaviae Augusti Serapa</i>
VI, 9204	19000653				II, 1034	Roma	<i>aurifex</i>			1–100 d.C. (SOL.: 1.Jh.)	<i>Lucius Vettius Nymphius</i>
VI, 9736, 37469; X, 697, 4	20403545	72354	29613				Roma	<i>aurifex + or- natrix (2)</i>	<i>vico Longo</i>	1–30 d.C.	<i>Marcus Nerius Marci li- bertus Quadratus</i>
VI, 37780	20601038	114837	20387		I, 497	Roma	<i>aurifex</i>	<i>sacra via?</i>		1–30 d.C. (EAGLE); 1–100 d.C. (SOL.: 1 Jh.)	<i>Manius Obellius Acastus</i>
	1390053	73915	18437		II, 901	Roma	<i>aurifici</i>			130–170 d.C. (EAGLE); 100–150 d.C. (SOL.: 2 Hälften des 2.Jh.).	<i>Tito Aurelio Augusti li- bertii Aniceto</i>

¹⁵³ Sobre las *leges sumptuariae* en época republicana y altoimperial, véase: CASINOS MORA 2015, 21–28.

¹⁵⁴ Suet. *Aug.* 34; TAc. *Ann.* 3, 52, 2; 3, 53 y 54. Una interesante visión sobre la moralidad reflejada en el *mos maiorum*, crítica con los vicios relativos a la *luxuria* y el auge de los productos sumtuarios en los mercados de Roma: ALBALADEJO VIVERO, GARCÍA SÁNCHEZ 2014, 62–64; PÉREZ GONZÁLEZ 2017a, 151–157.

¹⁵⁵ El desarrollo de las abreviaturas es el siguiente: CIL (corpus inscriptionum latinarum); EDR = Epigraphische Datenbank Clauss – Slaby (online: www.manfredclauss.de); EDB = Epigraphic Database Roma (online: www.edr-edr.it); HD = Epigraohic Database Heidelberg (online: edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de); EDB = Epigraphic Database Bari (online: www.edb.uniba.it); TM = Trismegistos (online: www.trismegistos.org) ; SOLIN = Solin, H. (1982) *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom 1*. Berlin–New York.

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CIL	EDCS	EDR	HD	EDB	TM	SOLIN	L.H.	Oficio	L.T.	Datación	Nombre
VI, 9203	19000652					I, 147	Roma	<i>aurifaci</i>		14–68 d.C. (SOL.: Tiberius-Nero)	<i>Protageni</i>
VI, 3946	19900644	119410				I, 11	Roma	<i>aurifex</i>		1–50 d.C.; 14–68 d.C. (SOL.: Tiberius-Nero)	<i>Marcus Julius Augustae libertus Agathopus</i>
VI, 4430	19101031	119246				I, 587	Roma	<i>aurificis</i>		1–50 d.C.; 14–68 d.C. (SOL.: Tiberius-Nero)	<i>Pompeia Cnaei liberta Helena</i>
VI, 3947	20000095	119411				I, 11	Roma	<i>aurificis</i>		25 a.C.–50 d.C.; 14–68 d.C. (SOL.: Tiberius-Nero)	<i>(Iulia?) Iucunda Agatopodis</i>
VI, 3948	20000096	119412				I, 11	Roma	<i>aurifex</i>		26 a.C.–50 d.C.; 14–68 d.C. (SOL.: Tiberius-Nero)	<i>Agatopodis filio Iucundo</i>
	9700509	75077	10414			I, 353	Roma	<i>aurifices</i>	<i>sacra via</i>	27 a.C.–14 d.C. (SOL.: Augustus)	<i>Lucius Saufeis Eros</i>
VI, 33835; XI, 2619, 7256		107133					Roma	<i>aurifex</i>	<i>a lacu Callines</i>	271–400 d.C. (EAGLE)	<i>Neriusius VIcentus</i>
	15800417	73398	22713				Roma	<i>aurifex</i>		30 a.Chr–30 d.C. (EAGLE)	<i>Publius Valerius Publi libertus Flaccus</i>
VI, 3945	19900643	119409				I, 11	Roma	<i>aurifici</i>		31–70 d.C.; 14–68 d.C. (SOL.: Tiberius-Nero)	<i>Marco Iulio divae Augustae liberto Agatopodi</i>
	2700647	843				I, 126	Roma	<i>aurifex</i>	<i>sacra via</i>	50–1 a.C.; 82–44 a.C. (SOL.: Sulla-Caesar).	<i>Titus Postumius Titi libertus Nicephor</i>
VI, 9207	19000656	142855	10408				Roma	<i>aurifex</i>	<i>sacra via</i>	50–1 a.C.	<i>Marcus Caedicius Iucundus</i>
I, 3058	26400050	110706				Prae-neste	<i>aurifices</i>	<i>sacra via</i>		50–1 a.C.	<i>Manius Obelliuss Mani filius Voltinia</i>
I, 3005	9700507	75075	10408			I, 353	Roma	<i>aurifex</i>	<i>sacra via</i>	50–1 a.C. (EAGLE); 82–44 a.C. (SOL.: Sulla-Caesar)	<i>Marcus Caedicius Marci libertus Eros</i>
I, 3011a	9001172	78074	3426				Roma	<i>aurifici</i>	<i>ex Aventino</i>	50–30 a.C.	
VI, 3943	19900641	119406				II, 855	Roma	<i>aurifex</i>		ca.27 a.C.–29/37 d.C. (EAGLE); 14–68 d.C. (SOL.: Tiberius-Nero)	<i>Epitycanus</i>
VI, 3949	19000550	119413				I, 258	Roma	<i>aurifex</i>		ca.27 a.C.–29/37 d.C. (EAGLE); 14–68 d.C. (SOL.: Tiberius-Nero)	<i>Marcus Livius Augustae libertus Menander</i>
VI, 3950	20000097	119414				I, 147	Roma	<i>aurifex</i>		ca.27 a.C.–29/37 d.C. (EAGLE); 14–68 d.C. (SOL.: Tiberius-Nero)	<i>Caesaris Protagenes</i>
VI, 3944	19900642	119407				II, 947	Roma	<i>aurifex</i>		ca.27 a.C.–29/37 d.C. (EAGLE); 27 a.C.–14 d.C. (SOL.: Augustus)	<i>Hedy</i>
VI, 3951	19000551	119415				III, 1268	Roma	<i>aurifex</i>		ca.27 a.C.–29/37 d.C. (EAGLE); 27 a.C.–14 d.C. (SOL.: Augustus)	<i>Tiberi Caesaris Stephanus</i>
VI, 3927	19900627	119392				I, 270	Roma	<i>aurifex</i>	<i>ignotus vel sacra via</i>	ca.27 a.C.–29/37 d.C.; 27 a.C.–14 d.C. (SOL.: Augustus)	<i>Liviae libertus Zeuxis</i>
	55800027						Roma	<i>aurifex</i>	<i>sacra via</i>	<i>tarda età repubblicana e nella prima età imperiale</i>	<i>Aulus Fulvius Auli libertus ...svs?</i>

CIL	EDCS	EDR	HD	EDB	TM	SOLIN	L.H.	Oficio	L.T.	Datación	Nombre
VI, 9149	19000598	134012					Roma	<i>aurifilio co-</i> <i>llegium</i>		101–150 d.C.	<i>Hilaro</i>
VI, 9202; I, 1307; XIV, 414	19000651				I, 232	Roma	<i>conlegii au-</i> <i>rificum</i>			82–44 a.C. (SOL.: Sulla-Caesar)	<i>Aulus Furio Auli liber-</i> <i>tus Seleucus</i>
III, 1215	24700785		43631		179887	Apuli (Dacia)	<i>scola fa-</i> <i>brorum au-</i> <i>rariorum?</i> <i>vel scholae</i> <i>fabrum ima-</i> <i>ginifer</i>				<i>Iulius Herculanus</i>
III, 941	27200067		45660		180607	Aiud / Brucula (Dacia)	<i>collegium</i> <i>Aurariarum</i>				<i>Iovi Optimo Maximo</i>
VI, 9210	19000659					Roma	<i>aurifex brat-</i> <i>tearius vel</i> <i>aurifex brat-</i> <i>tarius</i>				
VI, 33836	24100608					Roma	<i>aurifex brat-</i> <i>tarius?</i>				<i>Aulus Furio Auli liber-</i> <i>tus</i>
VI, 196, 30712a, 36747a	17200124	101261	9317		I, 304	Roma	<i>aurarius</i>			29–70 d.C. (EAGLE); 50–100 d.C. (SOL.: 2 Hälfte des 1. Jh.)	<i>Publius Fulvius Phoebus</i> <i>tribus Sucusanae</i>
VI, 9209	19000658				I, 569	Roma	<i>aurarius ar-</i> <i>gentarius</i>			1–100 d.C. (SOL.: 1. Jh.)	<i>Tiberius Claudius Hyme-</i> <i>neus</i>
VI, 33933	24100448				I, 298	Roma	<i>aurarius</i>	<i>velabro</i>		100–200 d.C. (SOL.: 2. Jh.)	<i>Albius Apollonius</i>
XI, 3821	22700775					Isola Far- nese (Roma)	<i>aurario et</i> <i>argentario</i>	<i>basilica vascula-</i> <i>ria</i>			

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Abreviaturas

AE = *L'Année épigraphique*

AnalEpi = Vide SOLIN 1998.

CIL = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*

CECapitol = Vide PANCIERA 1987.

Collatia = Vide QUILICI 1974.

D vel ILS = Vide DESSAU 1892-1916.

EDB = Epigraphic Database Bari (online: www.edb.uniba.it)

EDCS = Epigraphic-Datenbank Clauss-Slaby (online: www.manfredclauss.de)

EDR = Epigraphic Database Roma (online: www.edr-edr.it)

EE = *Ephemeris Epigraphica*

Epigraphica = *Epigraphica. Periodico internazionale di epigrafia*, 1939

HD = Epigraphic Database Heidelberg (online: edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de)

ILCV = *Vide* DIEHL 1925–1967.

ILLRP = *Vide* DEGRASSI 1965.

ILMN = *Vide* CAMODECA, SOLIN 2000.

Libitina-01 = *Vide* PANCIERA 2004.

MNR = *Museo Nazionale Romano*

SOL = *Vide* SOLIN 1982.

TermeDiocleziano 2 = *Vide* FRIGGERI 2001.

TM = Trismegistos Texts Database (online: www.trismegistos.org)

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Finds in the Late Iron Age tradition from the Roman graves of Viminacium

Milica TAPAVIČKI-ILIĆ¹,
Jelena ANDĚLKOVIC GRAŠAR²

Abstract. The former Roman city and the legionary fort Viminacium lie under the fields of the modern villages of Stari Kostolac and Drmno, at the right Mlava bank, some 15 km to the north of Požarevac in Eastern Serbia. Viminacium was the capital of the Roman province of Upper Moesia (*Moesia Superior*) and also an important military stronghold at the northern border of the empire. During pre-Roman times, this area was inhabited by a mixed population, consisting of Celts and of a native Illyrian ethnic group, called by a common name of Scordisci. During the 1st century AD, the Dacians also inhabited this area. Until now, among numerous Viminacium graves (some 14,000), nineteen graves were specified as carriers of either Celtic-Scordiscian or Dacian Late Iron Age tradition. This number is surely bigger but by now, only about a thousand graves were published. “S”-profiled bowls were considered main features of graves with a Celtic-Scordiscian tradition, while Dacian pots were considered main features of graves with a Dacian Late Iron Age tradition. The paper deals with the finds themselves, but also with possible gender determinations of the deceased buried in these graves and with their social and economic status within the Roman society of Viminacium.

Rezumat. Autoarele analizează descoperirile din mormintele de epocă romană de la Viminacium, capitala Moesiei Superior și important castru militar în același timp. Acest lucru este important în vederea observării persistenței unor tradiții pre-romane în fabricarea materialelor, având în vedere faptul că zona fusese locuită de scordisci și daci înaintea cuceririi romane. Totodată, se urmărește determinarea sexului defuncților din aceste morminte, precum și statutul lor economic și social în cadrul societății romane din Viminacium.

Keywords: Viminacium, grave-goods, “S”-profiled bowls, Late Iron Age tradition.

The former Roman city and the military camp Viminacium lie under the fields of the modern villages of Stari Kostolac and Drmno, at the right Mlava bank, some 15 km to the north of Požarevac in Eastern Serbia. Viminacium was the capital of the Roman province of Upper Moesia (*Moesia Superior*) and also an important military stronghold at the northern border of the empire. The legion VII Claudia Pia Fidelis was stationed there. During Hadrian's

¹ Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade; mtapavic@sbb.rs

² Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade; jelenandjelkovic@gmail.com

reign, the city was given the status of a *municipium* and at the time of Gordian III, more precisely in 239, the status of a *colonia*.

During pre-Roman times, this area was inhabited by a mixed population, consisting of Celts and of a native Illyrian ethnic group, called by a common name of Scordisci. Some fifty graves, excavated at the cemetery of "Pećine" and in the surrounding area, give testimony about that.³ On the other hand, during the 1st century AD, the Dacians also inhabited this area, which had their native land just at the opposite Danube bank and further away in the inland. During pre-Roman times, but also during the Roman era, apart from contacts in battles, there were also trading contacts with the population at the right (southern) Danube bank.⁴

During the archaeological excavations conducted so far at Viminacium, some 14.000 graves from the Roman period were discovered. They all date into the period from the 1st to the middle of the 5th century. By now, the cemeteries to the south (Pećine, Više grobalja) and to the east (Pirivoj) from the city and the military camp were excavated (Figure 1). Among the numerous grave-goods from the graves mentioned above, there are some of them, which indicate a pre-Roman origin or at least a pre-Roman tradition. The most indicative objects in

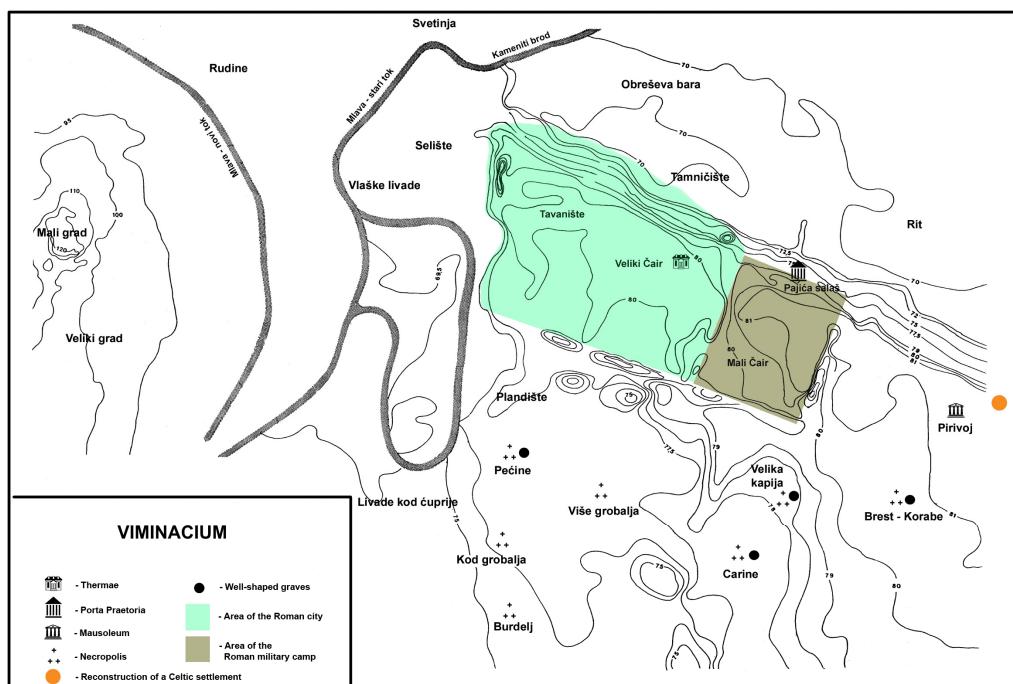


Figure 1. General plan of Viminacium (Field documentation of the Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade).

³ JOVANOVIĆ 1985, 13-17; JACANOVIĆ 1988, 7-17; SPASIĆ 1992, 5-27; SPASIĆ 1997, 33-45.

⁴ POPOVIĆ 1989/90; POPOVIĆ, SLADIĆ 1997.

this way are pottery finds, like the grey or the red "S"-profiled bowls, which indicate a Celtic, actually a Scordiscian tradition. Further on, many pottery vessels were discovered, which reflect Dacian tradition (pots and bowls).

In this paper, according to grave-goods, an attempt shall be made to determine the gender and social status of the deceased buried in such graves. Since so far there were no anthropological studies for the site of Viminacium, the whole here presented study is based on the accompanying grave-goods, which could eventually give indications of the gender.

Thus, some of the methodological frameworks known from gender studies will be of great importance in order not only to determine the deceased sex-biologically, but also gender in wider sense, in terms of social norms and cultural anthropology. In order to trace this path, authors will try to make comparative study and define objects associated with, at the first place, woman's everyday life. These items were deposited along with the deceased and this tradition was very long, but later continued by painting items associated with women within the decoration of fresco painted tombs.⁵

* * *

The "S"-profiled bowls (Table 1, Figure 2/A) were considered the main features of graves with a Celtic-Scordiscian tradition.⁶ Eight graves were discovered in which such bowls were deposited as grave-goods. All of these graves were discovered at the "Više grobalja" necropolis, which dates back into the 2nd century.⁷ Five of the graves belong to skeletal burials (G) and three to cremations (G₁). Even though all of the bowls belong to the same pottery type, it can easily be noticed that the bowls from skeletal burials are burned grey and the ones from cremations either red or yellowish-brown. Only in one of the graves (G-1065), an "S"-profiled bowl was the only grave-good.

In all of the other graves, there were also some other grave-goods. Among the most common ones were oil-lamps (in graves G-931, G-1790, G-1879, G-2176, G₁-1572, G₁-1624) and coins (in graves G-931, G-1879, G₁-1572). In all of the graves there were also other pottery vessels, like bowls (G-931, G-1790, G₁-1624, G-1790, G₁-1572), pots made of white caoline clay (G-1790), pots (G-1790, G-2176, G₁-1572, G₁-1624), *oinochoes* (G-1879), beakers (G₁-1362) or plates (G₁-1624). Oil-lamps and coins, as well as pottery vessels, belong to gender non-specific grave-goods. Their presence was of no importance for this study.

⁵ About the connection between gravegoods and motifs painted within the tomb decoration, associated with women see: TAPAVIČKI-ILIĆ, ANĐELOKOVIĆ GRAŠAR 2013, 65-84.

⁶ These graves were discussed in a separate study dealing with pottery types. TAPAVIČKI-ILIĆ 2008a, 195-197.

⁷ The dating is based on numismatic finds discovered in these graves. The numismatic analysis was performed by M. Vojvoda (Arsenijević).

Table 1. Celtic-Scordiscian elements from the necropolis "Više grobalja".

CELTIC- SCORDISCIAN ELEMENTS				
Necropolis "Više grobalja"				
Grave number	Celtic-Scordiscian grave-goods	Typical female grave-goods	Typical male grave-goods	Gender non-specific grave-goods
Skeletal burials	G-931 "S"-profiled grey bowl	turquoise Balsamarium	/	bowl, bronze coin, CASSI oil-lamp
	G-1065 "S"-profiled grey bowl	/	/	/
	G-1790 "S"-profiled grey bowl	/	/	three bowls, Firma oil-lamp, two pots
	G-1879 "S"-profiled grey bowl	/	/	FAOR oil-lamp, three oinochoas, bronze coin
	G-2176 "S"-profiled grey bowl	/	/	Oil-lamp, pot
Cremations	G ₁ -1362 "S"-profiled ochre bowl	Ankle-fibula, Knee-brooch, bronze plate with an applica	/	beaker, bronze finger-ring
	G ₁ -1572 "S"-profiled red bowl	/	/	VETI oil-lamp, oil-lamp, two bowls, bronze coin, urn (pot)
	G ₁ -1624 "S"-profiled red bowl	/	/	three plates, oil-lamp, bowl, pot

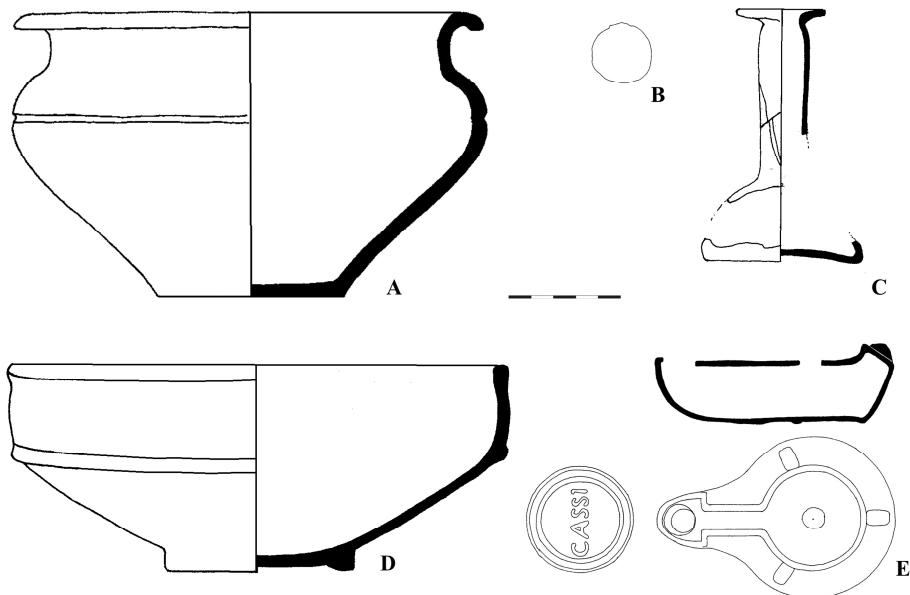


Figure 2. Grave-goods from the skeletal burial G-931 from "Više grobalja";
(Field documentation of the Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade).

Among grave-goods from the skeletal burial G-931 (Figure 2), there was a blue-coloured *balsamarium* with a low, conical vessel (RUŽIĆ 1994, type III/8c, 31, T. XX/2, 5). *Balsamaria* were mostly made of glass and used as containers for medical or cosmetic creams and similar substances. If one presumes that in the *balsamarium* from the grave G-931 there was a cosmetic substance, this grave can be considered as a female one. Use of these vessels in funerary practices is known from later periods too, not only as grave goods but also painted in hands of the deceased lady from the “Pagan tomb”.⁸ Bottles of this type were found as grave goods of both pagans and Christians in the late antique level of Viminacium cemeteries⁹ and according to their shapes they could represent a *balsamarium*¹⁰ which had a long tradition of use in woman’s everyday life. It is usually painted in offering scenes and it could be a part of mistress’s toilette¹¹ thus here within the tomb, it suggests funerary gift for mistress that she received from her servants. *Balsarium* or *unguentarium* is the bottle made of glass or pottery, and it was used for keeping liquids (wine, water, oils, honey or perfumes) in everyday use or for rituals within religious sanctuaries.¹²

Apart from the “S”-profiled bowl from the cremation G₁-1362, there were also a pottery beaker and a bronze ring¹³, a bronze application with a male head and two fibulas (an ankle- and a knee-fibula). Neither for the ankle-fibula¹⁴ nor for the knee-fibula¹⁵ were there parallels in literature. There were also no data about their wearing art, which could eventually give further gender information. Due to small dimensions of knee-fibulas (3–4 cm long), the authors of this paper tended to determine them as parts of a female costume and further on, to determine the whole grave as a female one. In addition, the ankle-fibula from this grave belongs to the examples with a broad tin bow, which are considered to be the reminiscences of the so-called *Aucissa* fibulas¹⁶ also indicating Late Iron Age tradition.

* * *

⁸ ANDĚLKOVÍČ GRAŠAR, TAPAVIČKI-ILIĆ 2015, 17-19.

⁹ ZOTOVIĆ 1986, 340.

¹⁰ ANDERSON-STOJANOVÍČ 1987, 105-106.

¹¹ DUNBAIN 2003, 462.

¹² ANDERSON-STOJANOVÍČ 1987, 105-106.

¹³ Finger-rings were worn by men, women and children. MARTIN-KILCHER, MARTIN-KILCHER 1992, 23.

¹⁴ PETKOVIĆ 2010, type 9/C, 54-56, Pl. VII, 3-5; BOJOVIĆ 1983, type 3, 22-23, Pl. III, 19-23; KOŠČEVIĆ 1980, 14, Pl. II, 9, 11; REDŽIĆ 2007, 15.

¹⁵ PETKOVIĆ 2010, type 18/D, 127-129, 132, Pl. XXIV, 1-3; BOJOVIĆ 1983, type 21, 55-58, Pl. XXII, 207-209; KOŠČEVIĆ 1980, 27-28, Pl. XXIII, 183-184; REDŽIĆ 2007, 33.

¹⁶ BOJOVIĆ 1983, 22.

Dacian pots were considered main features of graves with a Dacian tradition (Figure 3).¹⁷ Dacian pots are coarse, mostly cylindrical or bi-conical in shape and burned brownish-red or grey, with a more or less upturned rim and a flat bottom. They were mostly not wheel-thrown, sometimes only finished on a potter's wheel.

There were all together eleven graves in which such pots were discovered. One of the graves comes from the "Pećine" necropolis (Table 2) and the rest of them from the necropolis "Više grobalja" (Table 3). All of them date into the 2nd century.¹⁸ Six of them belong to skeletal burials (G) and five of them to cremations (G₁). In one of the skeletal burials (G-1135) and in two cremations (G₁-989 and G₁-1089), Dacian pots were deposited as grave-goods. In some of the cremations, such pots were used as urns. According to skeletal remains, three graves (G-540, G- 1101 and G-1135) were determined as graves of infants.¹⁹

Just like in the graves with "S"-profiled bowls, further grave-goods were deposited in these graves as well. Here too, to the most frequent ones and for the Roman times in general to most common ones belong oil-lamps (in graves G-1544 and G₁-688) and coins (in graves G-540, G-1544, G₁-688). In five graves, there were also other pottery vessels, like bowls (G-1884), jugs (G-2931²⁰, G-1884, G₁-688) or beakers (G-2931). Just like previously mentioned, oil-lamps and coins, as well as pottery vessels, belong to gender non-specific grave-goods and their presence was of no importance for this study.

As already mentioned, among graves with Dacian pots, there were three burials of infants. In the first one (G-540), next to a brown-burned Dacian pot, there were also a bronze coin, shoe-nails and two golden ear-rings. According to the jewellery, this grave can be determined as a burial of a girl.

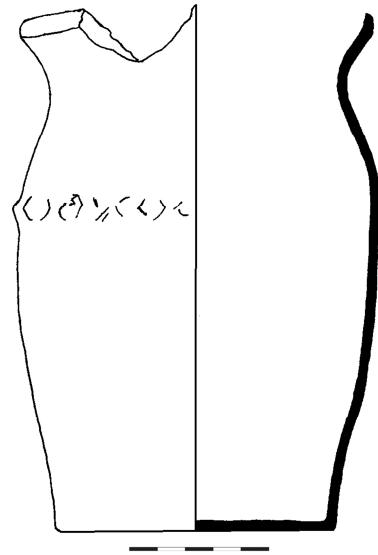


Figure 3. Dacian pot from "Više grobalja" (Field documentation of the Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade).

¹⁷ These graves were discussed in a separate study dealing with pottery types. TAPAVIČKI-ILIĆ 2008-b, 215-224.

¹⁸ TAPAVIČKI-ILIĆ 2008-b, 218. The dating is based on numismatic finds discovered in these graves. The numismatic analysis was performed by M. Vojvoda (Arsenijević).

¹⁹ Small children, up to approximately six years of age, were not cremated. This custom is of Italic origin. FASOLD 1992, 13.

²⁰ Grave G-2931 is the only one from the "Pećine" necropolis included in this study. All the other graves are from the necropolis "Više grobalja".

Table 2. Dacian elements from the necropolis "Pećine".

DACIAN ELEMENTS					
Necropolis "Pećine"					
Grave number		Dacian grave-good	Typical female grave-good	Typical male grave-good	Gender non-specific grave-good
Skeletal burial	G-2931	Dacian pot (not wheel-thrown)	/	/	jug, beaker

Table 3. Dacian elements from the necropolis "Više grobalja".

DACIAN ELEMENTS					
Necropolis "Više grobalja"					
Grave number		Dacian grave-good	Typical female grave-good	Typical male grave-good	Gender non-specific grave-good
Skeletal burial	Infant graves	G-540	Dacian pot (not wheel-thrown)	two golden ear-rings	/
		G-1101	Dacian pot (not wheel-thrown)	seven shells	/
		G-1135	Dacian pot (not wheel-thrown)	/	/
		G-1544	Dacian pot (partly wheel-thrown)	/	/
		G-1884	Dacian pot (not wheel-thrown)	/	oil-lamp, two bronze coins
Cremation		G ₁ -688	Dacian pot (not wheel-thrown)	Pyxide of bronze tin	/
		G ₁ -989	Dacian pot (not wheel-thrown)	/	/
		G ₁ -1089	Dacian pot (not wheel-thrown)	/	/
		G ₁ -1332	Dacian pot (partly wheel-thrown)	Bronze mirror, pincette, oil-lamp with a rosette	/
		G ₁ -1406	Dacian pot (not wheel-thrown)	Hinge-brooch	/
six pots, three jugs, censer, FORTIS oil-lamp, two oil-lamps, bowl, knife					/

Apart from a grey Dacian pot, seven fragmented sea-shells were discovered in the grave G-1101. As grave-goods, sea-shells can be brought in connection with the goddess *Venus Funeraria*²¹ and in this context they can be interpreted as indicators of a female burial (most likely of a young girl). One of the ways of worshiping the goddess Venus was through the form of the cult of *Venus Funerariae*. Worshiping of this cult is associated with young girls from Romanized families, who became virginal brides of Hades and whose thread of life was cut early. Therefore, it was believed that with protection and guiding of this goddess, their return would be possible.²² Associated with this is another Roman practice when parents of early deceased girls ordered their idealized funerary portraits, which would represent them as women they would be if death did not take them away too soon.²³ Grave goods often suggest the presence of Venus attributes such as mirrors, apples, mother of pearls or anchor fibulas.²⁴ All of these attributes can be represented within the image of Venus cult, as well as rosettes, pigeons, dolphins, tritons, shells or cupids, like those depicted as a part of the fresco decoration within the “Tomb with Cupids” from Viminacium.²⁵

With a coin, an oil-lamp and three jugs, the grave G₁-688 belongs to typical Roman burials.²⁶ Still, next to a wheel-thrown Dacian pot, a pyxide made of bronze tin was also discovered in this grave. Such caskets were often used as containers for jewellery or different cosmetic tools (mirrors, tweezers and so on) and in this sense the presence of such an object could indicate a female burial.

Apart from a black, partly wheel-thrown Dacian pot, in the grave G₁-1332 there were also other numerous grave-goods, like six other pots, four oil-lamps, three jugs, a censer, an iron bowl and an iron knife. On one of the oil-lamps there was a rosette, which, in its symbolic meaning, also can be brought in connection with *Venus Funeraria*.²⁷ A contribution to a hypothesis that one is here dealing with a female grave also belong finds of a bronze mirror and tweezers. Although being a floral motif, rosettes are associated with a solar character and cycle of birth and death, therefore important in the cult of death. They represent one of the most frequent motifs for decoration of oil lamp discs from the territory of Upper Moesia (375 examples are from cemeteries and 15 from other locations). At the territory of Moesia Superior, this indicates the dominant use of lamps with rosette motifs in sepulchral purposes. They are also rather well represented on funerary monuments. Mirrors are closely associated with woman's beautification and thus very important in the context of the afterlife, where as

²¹ JOVANOVIĆ 2000, 11, 12 and 15.

²² JOVANOVIĆ 2000, 17-18.

²³ D'AMBRA 2009, 15-36.

²⁴ JOVANOVIĆ 2000, 11-19. TAPAVIČKI-ILIĆ, ANĐELKOVIĆ GRAŠAR 2013, 66-68.

²⁵ More about the iconography in: ANĐELKOVIĆ GRAŠAR *et al.* 2013, 73-100.

²⁶ FASOLD 1992, 16.

²⁷ JOVANOVIĆ 2000, 11, 12.

well as the other previously mentioned items can be associated with the cult of *Venus Funeraria*.²⁸

Apart from a brown-burned Dacian pot, in the grave G₁-1406 there was also a bronze ankle-fibula. The fibula was corroded and its precise typological determination was not possible. It could be considered a vague indication for a female burial.

* * *

Until now, from among the numerous graves (some 14,000) from Viminacium, nineteen were specified as carriers of either Celtic-Scordiscian or Dacian Late Iron Age tradition. This number is surely larger, but by now, only about a thousand graves have been published²⁹ and the remaining thirteen thousand were not fully studied. "S"-profiled bowls were considered main features of graves with a Celtic-Scordiscian tradition, while Dacian pots were considered main features of graves with a Dacian Late Iron Age tradition.

During this study, it was very soon clear that the majority of grave-goods belonged to the gender non-specific ones. In most of the cases, next to cremated remains or a skeleton, there were only a number of non-specific pottery shards, eventually also coins or oil-lamps. It was not possible to determine the gender or age of deceased just according to these finds. Data about this could be obtained only according to gender specific grave-goods. This study shows that they did not belong to common grave-goods of Viminacium graves.

Out of the 19 graves analysed in this paper, in four (21.05%) there were, apart from pottery vessels, no other grave-goods. In eight graves (42.10%) there were gender non-specific finds. Therefore, in twelve graves it was not at all possible to determine the sex of the deceased. In seven graves (36.85%), there were grave-goods which could be determined as indicators of a female burial. In none of the graves there were typical male grave-goods.

Out of seven graves determined as female ones, only one belongs to Celtic-Scordiscian tradition (14.29%), and six (85.71%) to the Dacian tradition. The reason probably lies in the fact that all of these graves are from the 2nd century, that is to say to a period in which the Celtic-Scordiscian tradition was slowly descending, while the Dacian one was still relatively vivid.

During Hadrian's reign, specifically in the 2nd century, the civilian settlement next to the Viminacium military camp became a *municipium*. This meant that all of the veterans and their families living there were made Roman citizens.³⁰ The graves determined belonging to females could have belonged to members (wives, sisters, daughters) of such families.

²⁸ MILOVANOVIĆ, MITIĆ, KOSANOVIĆ 2016, 9-22.

²⁹ ZOTOVIĆ, JORDOVIĆ 1990; KORAĆ, GOLUBOVIĆ 2009.

³⁰ FERJANČIĆ 2002, 162.

The objects of cult, like oil-lamps or *balsamaria*, are typical for graves of Italic newcomers or strongly Romanised natives.³¹ This is why here one could be dealing with members of such a social group.

Finally, people who were buried without any other grave-goods, or just with a very few of them, most likely belonged to the provincial inhabitants of *Moesia Superior*. Vessels indicating pre-Roman tradition can be brought in connection with marginal social groups. The lack of grave-goods or very few of them can indicate graves of poor people, actually people whose families could not afford grave-goods. It is even possible that such individuals were buried on the account of the community.

Grave goods associated with women, being numerous or rather fewer, indicate their gender in terms of beautification and fashion, two aspects of women's terrestrial life that are specific in all periods of time. Connections between a woman or girl's afterlife and cult of Venus Funeraria are multifold, as well as associations between their images or image types. Representations of women in fresco painted tombs, within the scene of mistress' toilette can be compared with the scene of Venus and Projecta's toilette on the Projecta-s casket,³² while objects associated to woman's beautification can be decorated with figures of the goddesses Aphrodite or Venus.³³ Thus, this idea and ideal of the scene of beautification, naturally has its origin in grave goods strongly associated with women: *balsamaria*, various caskets or pyxides, mirrors, jewellery, etc. For Roman women, clothes, jewellery and cosmetics were some kind of female *insignia*, and they appreciated them as instruments through which they could express their social and economic status.³⁴

Other items deposited as grave goods were not related to women specifically, such as jugs, bowls, goblets, pots, etc. They could have had the same function as those items painted in the offering scene dedicated to the deceased, suggesting funerary rites and resembling the household with servants in it.

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³¹ The oldest grave inscriptions of veterans discovered at Viminacium date from the first half of the 2nd century. They testify that, already during the first decades of the 2nd century, veterans lived in the *canabae* and in the vicinity of the military camp. FERJANČIĆ 2002, 161.

³² ELSNER 2003, 22-36.

³³ WALKER 2003, 233-239, cat. 140, 148, 150.

³⁴ OLSON 2012, 96-112.

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Finds in the Late Iron Age tradition from the Roman graves of Viminacium

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The population of Aquae Balissae (Pannonia Superior)

Branka MIGOTTI¹

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), observările 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

¹ The Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Division of Archaeology; branka.migotti@gmail.com

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

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).

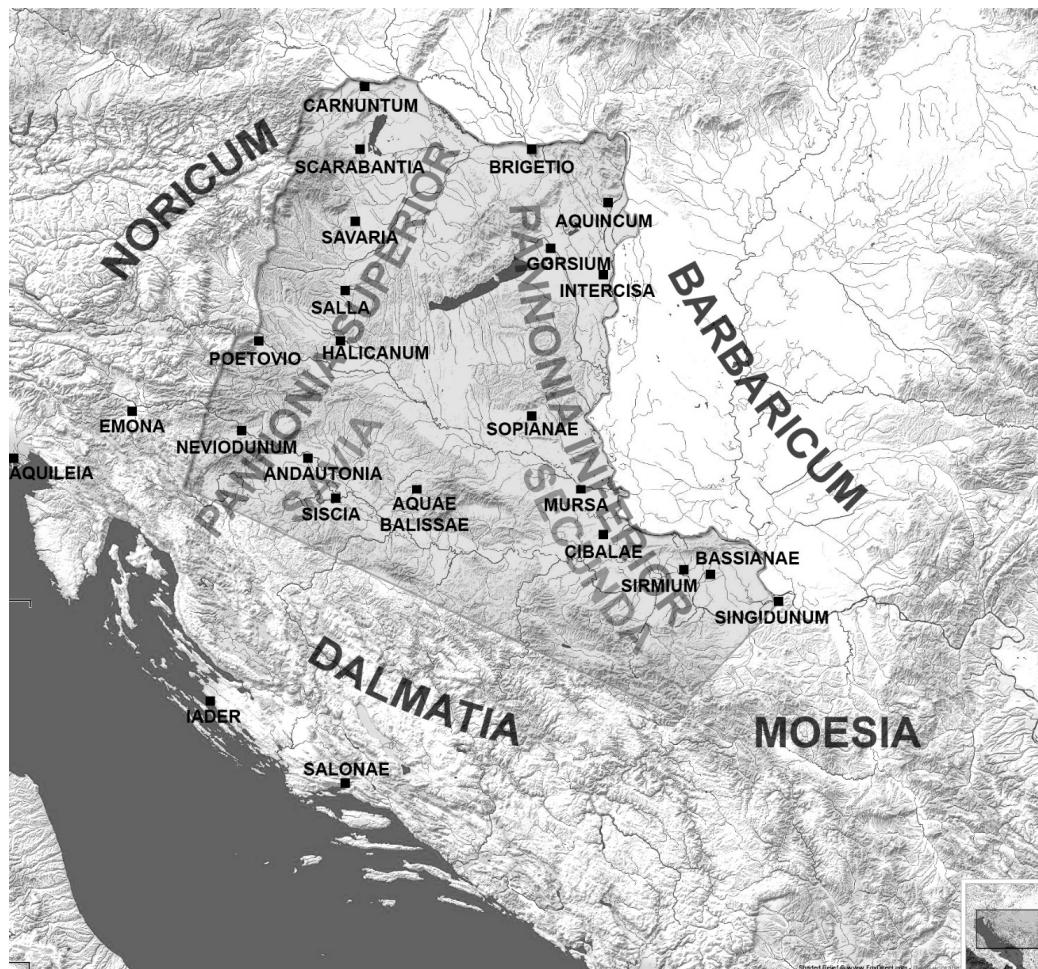


Figure 1. Map of Roman Pannonia with the position of Aquae Balissae (from MIGOTTI 2012).

² 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.

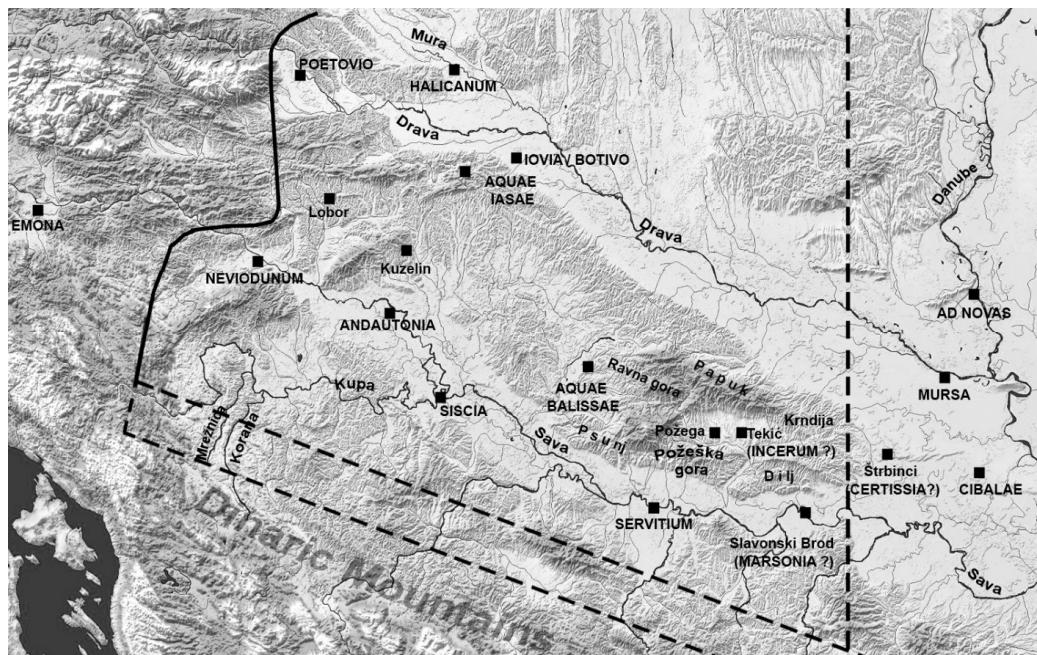


Figure 2. Map of southern Pannonia with the borders between Pannonia Superior and Pannonia Inferior, and between Pannonia and Dalmatia (from MIGOTTI 2012).



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.³ 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.⁴ An early 1st-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.⁵ 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.⁶ 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.⁷

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 13th Twin Legion (*Legio tertia decima Gemina*), acting as a military prefect.⁸ 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 71.⁹ 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 2nd century.¹⁰ Given that the claim for the 1st-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 1st century. Through the process of Romanization, the tribal *civitas Iasorum* acquired the status of an autonomous town, attested literally and

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

⁴ Such as were also Neiodunum / Municipium Latobicorum and Andautonia. Cf. KOVÁCS 2014, 96, 105.

⁵ 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.

⁶ 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.

⁷ SCHEJBAL 2004, 109.

⁸ KUŠAN ŠPALJ 2014a, 53.

⁹ GRBIĆ 2014, 178–183; KOVÁCS 2014, 93–94.

¹⁰ RADMAN-LIVAJA 2012, 180; KOVÁCS 2014, 93, 109, *passim*.

epigraphically as the *res publica Iasorum*, *Aqua 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 2nd century this municipality belonged to Pannonia Superior.¹¹

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 *Aqua Balissae* as no exception to the rule.¹² 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

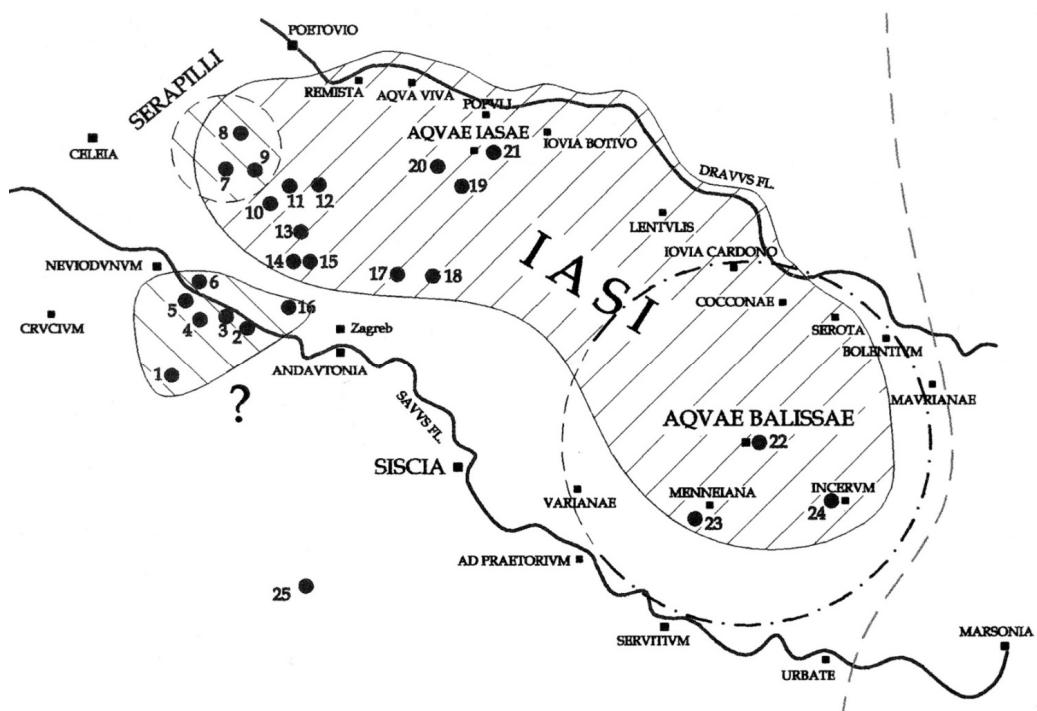


Figure 4. Presumed territories of the the Iasi and of the *ager* of *Aqua Balissae* (from SCHEJBAL 2004).

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

¹² 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.¹³ 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.¹⁴

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. Catalogue¹⁵

3.1. Funerary monuments

3.1.1. Stela (Figure 5)

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

¹³ 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.

¹⁴ MIGOTTI 2012, 3–4, fn. 14, fig. 2.

¹⁵ 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.¹⁶ 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 3rd century rather than the 1st.¹⁷ 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 1st century, perhaps to a Flavian date rather than the mid-century, but less likely the 3rd century.¹⁸ Literature: MIGOTTI 2016, 175, cat. no. 6 (with literature); EDCS-28800763.

M(arcus) Nunn[i]dius / Successus / vete(ranus) coh(ortis) XXXII
 / c(ivium) R(omanorum) ann(orum) XC Petro/^fniae C(ai) f(iliae)
 Proc(u)lae / coniugi ann(orum) LX, Nun/nidia Vitalis ann(orum)
 XIX, / M(arco) Nunnidio Saturn[i]no / ann(orum) VII, sibi et suis /¹⁰ 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.

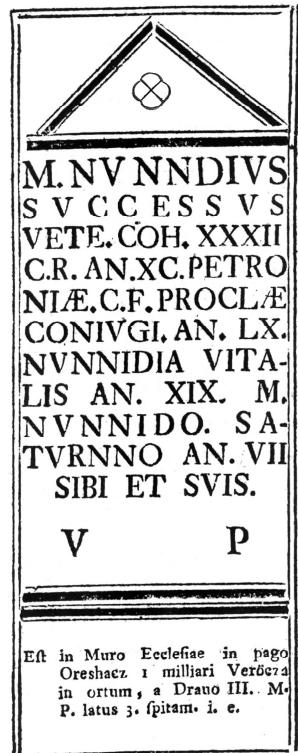


Figure 5. Stela, cat. no. 3.1.1.
 (after Merkur von Ungarn 1,
 VI.8., 7/12, 908, Pest, 1876).

¹⁶ MÓCSY 1974, 81; LÖRINZ 2001, 44, no. 51.

¹⁷ SPAUL 2000, 47–48.

¹⁸ 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 origin¹⁹ 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*.²⁰ 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.²¹ Contrarily, the cognomen Successus was widespread, with many examples in western Pannonia but even more in Noricum.²² The cognomen Saturninus was also widespread, particularly in western Pannonia, but was also very popular in Africa.²³ The name Petronia is a further typical Roman *gentilicium* widespread in all of the Empire, but especially in Pannonia and Dalmatia.²⁴ The cognomen Procula was equally widespread, especially in Hispania and Dalmatia.²⁵ The same holds true for the male cognomen Vitalis, while its female counterpart was especially popular in Hispania and Africa.²⁶ On balance, and given that Nunnidius Successus voluntarily joined the army as a Roman citizen probably at the beginning of the 1st century AD,²⁷ 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 Sucessus' Pannonian origin, despite the fact that his compatriots were recruited as early as the 1st century AD, and that the *princeps Iasorum* with a full Roman name T. Flavius Serenus was attested on the diploma issued in AD 71.²⁸ 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

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

²⁰ MÓCSY 1959, 157; SOLIN, SALOMIES 1994, 129; OPEL III, 107.

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

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

²³ 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.

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

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

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

²⁷ 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).

²⁸ See fn. 123.

*civitas Iasorum.*²⁹ 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 1st century AD.³⁰ 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-2nd 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).

²⁹ 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.

³⁰ 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) /⁵
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 2nd century.³¹ 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.³² 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.³³ The Aelii were extremely widespread, but were particularly numerous in Pannonia and Dalmatia.³⁴ 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*.³⁵

³¹ KOVÁCS 2014, 84–88. For the illustrations of the *Tropaeum Traiani*, see commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Tropaeum_Traiani

³² SCHULZE 1904, 116, 186, 204.

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

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

³⁵ SCHEJBAL 2004, 108; KOVÁCS 2014, 88–112, particularly 101.

3.1.3. Stela (Figure 7)

Fortuitous find in the mid-19th century in Daruvar; AMZ, inv. no. KS-936; marble; fragment, damaged; H 86 cm, W 72 cm, T 20 cm; 2nd half of the 2nd century; lit.: AJJ 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(ero) / mil(it) coh(ortis) [---] / pr(a)etor(iae) [---] / Val(ero) Dig(---) NI(?)[---] / 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,³⁶ 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.³⁷ The cognomen Valerius was quite frequent in the Roman Empire, Pannonia included, but especially in northern Italy.³⁸ 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.³⁹ 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

³⁶ OPEL I, 19.

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

³⁸ MÓCSY 1959, 195; BARKÓCZI 1964, 327; OPEL IV, 142; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2012, 278.

³⁹ 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.⁴⁰ 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 2nd century.⁴¹

3.1.4. Gravestone⁴² (Figure 8)

Amateur excavations in 1990 in the village of Kusonje, 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 2nd – first half of the 3rd 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) /⁵ Cassi(i) Exsorat/us (!),
Surus, Qui/ntus, fratre/s et her(edes) / tit(ulum) posu(eru)n/¹⁰t.

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 2nd or early 3rd 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.⁴³

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

⁴¹ 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).

⁴² 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.

⁴³ 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 Marcomanic 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, Hunagry) or at some other place in Pannonia Inferior until the end of the 3rd century.⁴⁴ 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 syntagma *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.⁴⁵ 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.⁴⁶ 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.⁴⁷ The cognomen Exoratus, with presumed strong Celtic connotations, was typical for northern Italy and Gallia Narbonensis, but was also fairly frequent in Pannonia.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ LŐRINZ 1989, 262; LŐRINZ 2001, 39, 92–93, *passim*.

⁴⁵ HOPE 2001, 69; MOSSER 2003, 47.

⁴⁶ *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.

⁴⁷ 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).

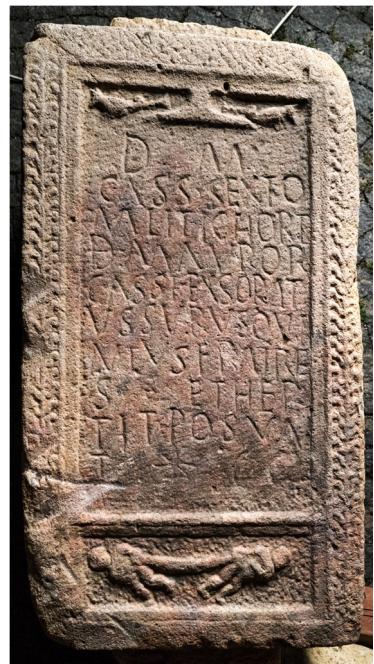


Figure 8. Stela, cat. no. 3.1.4.
(photo: O. Harl, LUPA).

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.⁴⁹ 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.⁵⁰ On balance, the Cassii seem to have been a local Pannonian family enfranchised by an Italian or a western Roman citizen.⁵¹

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 213–222⁵²; lit.: AJJ 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).

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

⁴⁹ 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.

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

⁵¹ 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.

⁵² 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
Tato⁵³nis 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.⁵³ 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.⁵⁴ 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)lianu*s 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.⁵⁵ Although the

⁵³ BARKÓCZI 1964, 331, 30a.

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

⁵⁵ 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.⁵⁶ 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-19th cent. in Daruvar; AMZ, inv. no KS-955; marble; H 75 cm, W 82 cm, T 19.5 cm; end 2nd–1st half of the 3rd 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*); 3rd 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 (?) ---] / [--]CVOCS / 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.⁵⁷ This name was

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.

⁵⁶ RITTERLING 1925, 1540–1547; MIRKOVIĆ 2006, 52.

⁵⁷ 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; 2nd 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 2nd century all of them stayed relatively close to Aquae Balissae, the first two in Pannonia Inferior, and the third one in Noricum.⁵⁸ The dedicatory most probably originated from Incerum, a settlement known from the itineraries and located in the surroundings of Požega, 54 km SE of Daruvar.⁵⁹

3.1.9/a-b. Funerary slab and a sarcophagus⁶⁰ (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; 4th 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; 4th century; lit.: MIGOTTI 1997, 43-44; SCHEJBAL 2004, 119-121, figs. 27-31; LUPA 3811.

The sarcophagus features the deceased *palliat* 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

⁵⁸ LÖRINZ 2001, 22.

⁵⁹ SCHEJBAL 2004, 102-103, Map II.

⁶⁰ 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.

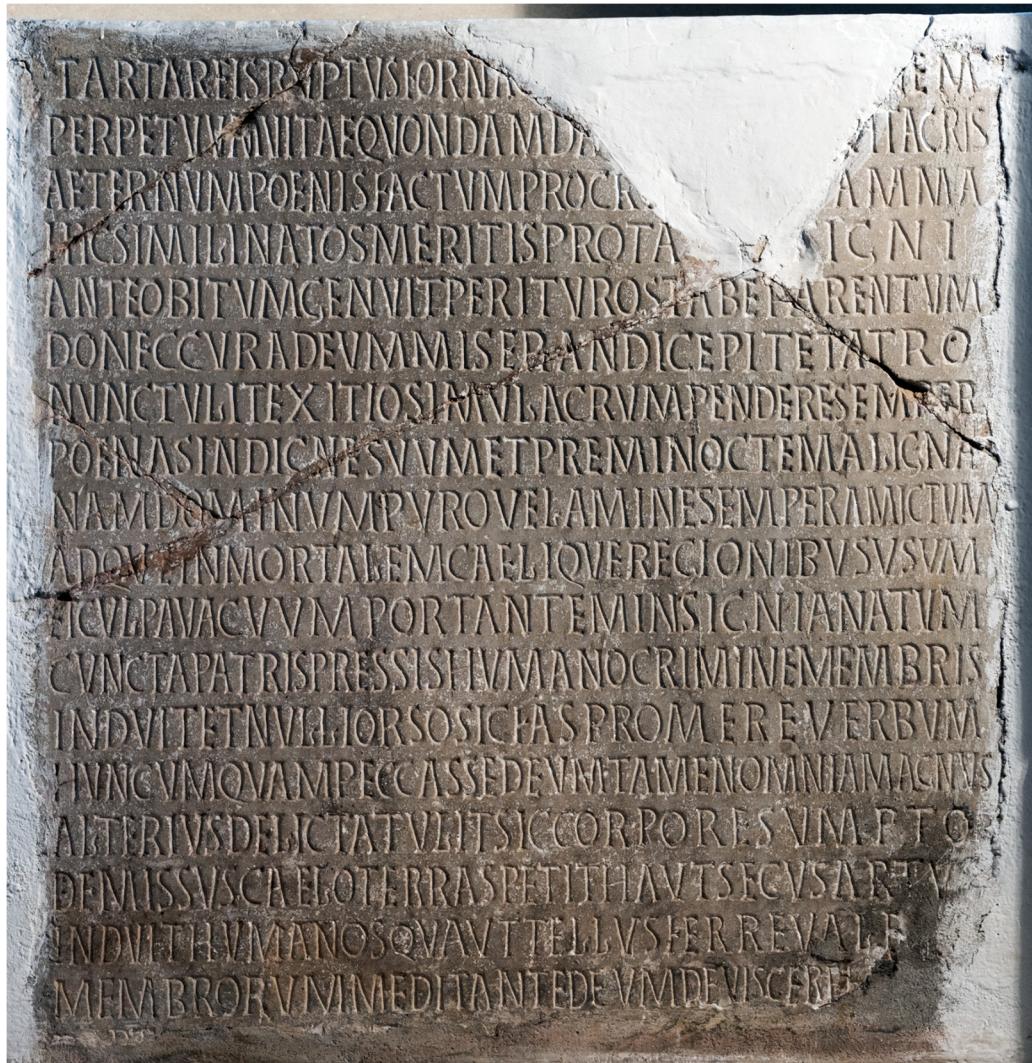


Figure 11. Funerary slab, cat. no. 3.1.9a (photo: O. Harl, LUPA).



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.: *AJ* 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
 Impp(eratorum) L(uci) Sept(im) / Severi et M(arci)
 Aur(el) Antonini / [A]ugg(ustorum) [[--]] Q(uintus)
 Car/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 Carmeus 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.⁶¹ 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 Marcommannic wars on the Danube.⁶² In spite of that, two details of the inscription speak in favour of Carmeus 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.⁶³ 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* Carmeus was attested sparsely only in Pannonia, Noricum and Moesia, while in Italy, Africa and Dalmatia the variant Carmeius has been recorded.⁶⁴ 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).

⁶¹ BOWMAN, GARNSEY, CAMERON 2008, 773 (Chronology).

⁶² LE ROUX 2000, 387.

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

⁶⁴ 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.⁶⁵ 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.⁶⁶ 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.⁶⁷ L. Barkóczi presumed Iulianus' local origin and North-Italian descent.⁶⁸ 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.⁶⁹ 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 Marcommannic 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 2nd – 1st half of the 3rd 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=O>c(h)eno / Secundius / Restutus | (centurio) / ⁵leg(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.⁷⁰ Therefore, Secundius Restutus could have come to Aquae Balissae either for a medical reason

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

⁶⁶ 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.

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

⁶⁸ BARKÓCZI 1964, 261.

⁶⁹ 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.

⁷⁰ RITTERLING 1925, 1683–1687; GÓMEZ-PANTOJA 2000, 169.

or on duty; the choice of the god points to the latter possibility.⁷¹ 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.⁷² 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(elicis)
[A]u[g]usti / et Iul[i]a Dom(nae) Aug(ustae) /⁵ Marcus
Sperat[i] / disp[ensatoris] vik(arius).⁷³*

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.



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).

⁷¹ See fn. 62.

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

⁷³ 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.

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.⁷⁴ Although the office of dispensator could have also been private, a further reason for estimating this inscription as official (be it civilian or military)⁷⁵ 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.⁷⁶

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.⁷⁷ 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*.⁷⁸

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 2nd – 1st half of the 3rd century; lit.: AJ 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) / ⁵ leg(ionis) I Ad(iutrix)
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).

⁷⁴ ŠAŠEL KOS 1999, 121–129 (Jupiter Depulsor – a Norican Deity?).

⁷⁵ LIEBENAM 1903, 1189–1198; LE BOHEC 1994, 55.

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

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

⁷⁸ ŠAŠEL KOS 1999, 128.

Legio I Adiutrix had a permanent camp in Brigetio (Pannonia Superior) during the 2nd and 3rd centuries.⁷⁹ 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.⁸⁰ 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.⁸¹ The cognomina Proculus and Felix were widespread, Pannonia included; the latter was typical for slaves and freedmen, and was often found in Africa.⁸²

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 205–208⁸³; 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 Ingenu(u)s / b(ene)ficiarius co(n)s(ularis) pro se
/⁵ 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 Domesticus⁸⁴ 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.

⁷⁹ RITTERLING 1925, 1380–1403; LŐRINZ 2000a.

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

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

⁸² 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.

⁸³ 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).

⁸⁴ 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 *beneficiarii consularis* at the closing of their term of office.⁸⁵ 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.⁸⁶ On the other hand, the company of its counterpart Silvana, possibly standing for the goddess Diana, undermines this theory.⁸⁷ On balance, the private note definitely predominates here. The dicator'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.⁸⁸ 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.⁸⁹



Figure 17. Votive altar, cat. no. 3.2.5.

(photo: O. Harl, LUPA).

⁸⁵ 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.

⁸⁶ 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 *beneficiarii* (NELIS-CLÉMENT 1994, 252). Nevertheless, the predominantly private nature of his cult has been pinpointed (WEBER-HIDEN 2011).

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

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

⁸⁹ 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; 3rd 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(agno?) / 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.⁹⁰



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 3rd or 4th century; lit.: PINTEROVIĆ 1975, 145; SCHEJBAL 2004, 109, 111, fig. 9; LUPA 26408⁹¹; 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).

⁹⁰ SCHULZE 1904, 358; BARKÓCZI 1964, 314; OPEL II, 178.

⁹¹ 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 2nd and 3rd centuries.⁹²

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[ti]l]] / [[[l]ae [Aug(ustae)]]] / [[sponsae]] / Imp(eratoris) Mar/ci Aure[li] /
⁵ 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).

⁹² 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 /⁵ 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.⁹³ 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.⁹⁴ 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

⁹³ 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).

⁹⁴ 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 2nd half of the 1st century to the early 4th century, with the peak in the Severan period.

Social status

As was already mentioned, the military camp of the early 1st century has been postulated in Aquae Balissae, though on the circumstantial evidence.⁹⁵ 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 1st to at least the mid-3rd 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 *beneficiarii*, 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.

⁹⁵ 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 sward in his hand.⁹⁶ 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 Pannoriorum*, *Cohors XXXII civium Romanorum*, *Cohors quingenaria Maurorum*, *Legio IV Flavia*, *Legio VII Gemina*, *Legio X Gemina*, *Legio I Adiutrix*) are mentioned in the inscriptions over a relatively short time period (later 1st 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.⁹⁷ Even though, such hypothesis cannot be conclusively rejected, especially in the context of a poorly investigated site.⁹⁸ On the other hand, there is the possibility that the *beneficiarius* was in charge of a small military post in the town⁹⁹; 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 Balisae and not just passing through it. In spite of the fact that the dedicating'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 Julianus' 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

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

⁹⁷ The claim was put up by D. PINTEROVIĆ (1975, 145).

⁹⁸ Cf. FRANCE, NELIS-CLÉMENT 2014, 171, *passim*.

⁹⁹ 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.¹⁰⁰

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.¹⁰¹ 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.¹⁰² 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.¹⁰³ 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.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ Official inscriptions of *beneficiarii* 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*.

¹⁰¹ KEPPIE 2001, 80–81.

¹⁰² 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; TENTEA 2012, 29).

¹⁰³ MRÁV 2003, 334; 2007, 84.

¹⁰⁴ 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.¹⁰⁵ 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 *Silvaneae*, depicted on an inscriptionless altar (Figure 20).¹⁰⁶ 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*.¹⁰⁷ 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.¹⁰⁸ 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.¹⁰⁹ 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.¹¹⁰ 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.¹¹¹ This is further suggested by the absence of her cult in Aquae Iasae, probably for the lack of healing capacities.

¹⁰⁵ NELIS-CLÉMENT 1994, 54–56; FRANCE, NELIS-CLÉMENT 2014, 132.

¹⁰⁶ SCHEJBAL 2004, 108–111, fig. 7.

¹⁰⁷ 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.

¹⁰⁸ See fn. 85.

¹⁰⁹ SCHEJBAL 2004, 103–104, 110–111.

¹¹⁰ *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.

¹¹¹ 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.¹¹² 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.¹¹³ Significantly, in Rome Silvanus was closely associated with the Lares of the imperial home, so the epithet *domesticus* also connotes imperial cult.¹¹⁴ 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.¹¹⁵ 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).¹¹⁶ 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.¹¹⁷ 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.¹¹⁸ 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).

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

¹¹³ DORCEY 1992, 24, 28–29, 77–78.

¹¹⁴ DORCEY 1992, 24.

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

¹¹⁶ See fn. 105.

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

¹¹⁸ 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.¹¹⁹

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.¹²⁰ 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.¹²¹

Finally, a joint find of two 4th-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-Ilyrian tribe with some Celtic traits makes it

¹¹⁹ 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.

¹²⁰ KUŠAN ŠPALJ 2014.

¹²¹ 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.¹²²

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).¹²³ 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.¹²⁴ The above *eques singularis*’ name testifies to a person from the *ager* of Aquae Balisaae, as specifically stated in the inscription, whose family got Roman citizenship from the Emperor Trajan, while his cognomen points to a former peregrine.¹²⁵ 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.¹²⁶ 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.¹²⁷ The cognomen Serenus was also widespread, but with the highest frequency in northern Italy, Hispania, Gallia, and Pannonia.¹²⁸ 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.¹²⁹

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

¹²³ CIL VI 3297; PINTEROVIĆ 1975, 135–136; BUSCH 2011, 133, fr. 155; GRBIĆ 2014, 183, no. 85.

¹²⁴ 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).

¹²⁵ The Ulpiai (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.

¹²⁶ KOVÁCS 2014, 68.

¹²⁷ See fn. 36.

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

¹²⁹ 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 (?), Ulpius, 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,Tato, Valerius, Vitalis.

The majority of the names appear only ones, 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,Tato, Vitalis) and one or possibly three *gentilicia* (Seius, Sergius?, Secundius?) were claimed or presumed to be related to the Celtic-Pannonian anthroponymy and through it to a tentative local origin, on the bases of combined reasons of form, indigenous language assonance, peregrine connotations in names or name formulae, and general distribution.¹³⁰ 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: Ulpius Cocceius, Fronto Iasus, son of Scenus, and T. Flavius Serenus.¹³¹ 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), Secundius 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

¹³⁰ MÓCSY 1959, 116–117; DELAMARRE 2007; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2014.

¹³¹ 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, Julianus). 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.¹³² 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, Ulpius, a total of 7 persons) and non-imperial *gentilicia* (Carmeus, Cassius, Nunnidius, Petronius, Secundius, 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 Marcomanic wars, which was 45%.¹³³ 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.

¹³² 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.

¹³³ 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, SRIA 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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A note on the nomenclature of the Thracian veterans

Ivo TOPALILOV¹

Abstract. The author analyses the importance of the tribe in nomenclature of Thracian veterans. Despite its introduction probably in pre-provincial time, when part of the provincial elite gained Roman citizenship and therefore Roman names, a practice which continued decades after the establishment of the new province, it seems that the Roman tribe system remained unpopular and uncommon in Thrace and more or less isolated. The Roman tribe was used rarely and when used it was either in the nomenclature of the Thracian elite or of non-Thracian veterans settled in Thrace. The inscriptions also reveal that this practice was characteristic for a certain span of time, probably till the time of Hadrian.

Rezumat. Autorul analizează importanța tribului în nomenclatura veteranilor de etnie tracă. Se pare că acest sistem a rămas nepopular și neutilizat în rândul tracilor, chiar după ce un număr din ce în ce mai mare de veterani capătă cetățenia începând cu a doua jumătate a secolului I p.Chr. Inscriptiile arată faptul că această practică a fost utilizată până într-o anumită perioadă, probabil până sub Hadrian.

Keywords: Thracian veterans, Moesia inferior, Thrace, Roman tribes.

It is well known that each Roman citizen was supposed to possess *tria nomina*, *pater* and *tribus*. These requirements are based on the *lex Iulia*, issued in 44BC (CIL I, 593: *q(uei) c(ives) R(omanei) erunt censum / ag[ili]to eorumque nomina praenomina patres aut patronos tribus cognomina*). Thus, one should expect that each Roman citizen would be registered in an official list of the Roman citizens set up in Rome². It is logical to assume that the nomenclature of each citizen would be extracted by means of this official list when they were issued military diplomas, *laterculi*, or other official documents as it seems that some of the epitaphs were set up by officials. In fact, in most cases the military diplomas were the only evidence for the official nomenclature, civic status of the holder and his relatives in the provinces³. Among them were the Thracian veterans whose nomenclature is the subject of this article. It is well known that Thracians entered the Roman army long before the establishment of the Roman province of Thrace. Up to now, more than forty units are attested so far with Thracians and with Thracian names in their title. In fact, one of their

¹ University of Shumen; itopalilov@yahoo.com

² See for this MÓCSY 1986, 437.

³ On the importance of tribe in nomenclature, see FORNI 1977, 73–99.

revolts—that of 21 AD—was linked directly to the military service of the Thracians in the Roman army⁴. It should be noted that the revolt was not against the Thracian recruitment for the Roman army, but the stationing of the new soldiers in remote provinces. Thracians were also recruited for the fleet as in the case of the *Bessoi* — some of them stationed in Ravenna, but mostly in Misenum⁵, as well as for the auxiliary units. In some cases, in these early years they were also recruited for two legions—*legio I Adiutrix* and *legio II Adiutrix*—which were established as *iustae legiones* by adding sailors from both fleets⁶. Later, the Thracians entered the *equites singulares Augusti*, probably from the time of Hadrian onward or even earlier—in the time of Flavians as many *Flavii* are known in Thrace, and in the legions, which led them finally to the Praetorian Guard after 193 AD. When the auxiliary and marine soldiers were discharged (*honesta missio*) they received Roman citizenship and according to the *lex Iulia* they should also have been enrolled into one of existing 35 Roman tribes. The legionary soldiers should have been already enrolled into the Roman tribes, while the Praetorians used so-called ‘pseudo-tribes’.

The role of the tribe in the nomenclature of the Thracian veterans has not been studied fully yet. The study of G. Forni on the pseudo-tribes provides various examples of this practice among the praetorians, including Thracians⁷, but with few exceptions⁸, there is no a specific study on pseudo-tribes among the Thracian praetorians. Usually, when this question is examined it is as part of broader studies of military nomenclature for all veterans⁹, or the study is concentrated only on the Thracian aristocratic elite, some of who are cited with Roman tribe affiliation¹⁰. This is logical as A. Mócsy has already observed that it was only the praetorians and *urbaniciani* that used the tribe in their nomenclature¹¹. While discussing the Roman names and tribe in the nomenclature of the Thracian aristocracy G. Gaggero is inclined to accept that they did not relate to the juridical status of their owner¹². The other scholar working on this problem is M. Tacheva who pays attention to the spread of the tribe *Quirina* among the Thracian *strategoi*. She believes based on the known epigraphic sources that this tribe was used as early as 79 AD, and not all of the *strategoi* known from the inscriptions were enrolled into it, but only those who received special attention from the emperor. This is due to the fact, that not all of the elite mention *Quirina* in its nomenclature.

⁴ Tac. Ann. III, 38–39.

⁵ TACHEVA 2000, 156, 161–169.

⁶ See for example RMD III, 136.

⁷ FORNI 1985.

⁸ See BENEFIEL 2001; TOPALIROV 2011; 2015.

⁹ MÓCSY 1986, 437–466.

¹⁰ See GAGGERO 1978, 251–263; KIROV 2015, 79–80; TACHEVA 2007.

¹¹ MÓCSY 1986, 438.

¹² GAGGERO 1978, 253–254.

In the time of Trajan-Hadrian the tribe affiliation seems to have been abandoned¹³. The study of M. Tacheva is a step ahead, but when studying such a case, it should be remembered that *Quirina* tribe was used not only by the *Flavii*, but also a bit earlier, in the time of Claudius¹⁴.

The epigraphic monuments that provide data on nomenclature may be divided into three major groups: those deriving from Rome or set up there, which include the military diplomas issued for the Thracian veterans and *laterculi praetorianorum*, but also epitaphs and votive inscriptions, those from the provinces with the epitaphs and *laterculi*, and those from Thrace itself. One might logically expect nomenclature to be different among these sets of evidence, and a brief overview will show that this is indeed the case.

As one might suppose, a great variety of monuments on the subject can be found in Rome. The military diplomas of the earlier periods clearly provide the nomenclature of the Thracian veterans no matter which ethnic group they belong to — *Bessoi*, *Sappaean* etc. According to them the nomenclature of the veterans who become Roman citizens when discharging contained *praenomen*, *pater* and *cognomen* or mostly ethnic. Thus, we are aware of a certain *Hesbenus* (!) *Dulazeni f.*, *Sapp(aeus)*, a veteran from the Misene fleet, discharged on 71, 9 February¹⁵, but also of a certain *Dernalus Derdipili f.*, *Dacus* of the Ravenna fleet, discharged on 70, 26 February¹⁶, probably of *Tyraesus ... f(iliius)*, who was recruited for the fleet and was discharged as a veteran of *legio I Adiutrix* on a. 68, 22 December¹⁷, and of *Dules Datui f. natione Bessus*, a marine *causarius* discharged as veteran of *legio II Adiutrix* on a. 70, 7 March¹⁸. It should be underlined that these are not the only examples known, but they are among the earliest known so far, and they provide a good example of the nomenclature of the veterans in that time. Cases like that of *Sparticus Diuzeni f.*, [vico] *Dipscurto Bessus*, a veteran of the Misenum fleet, discharged on 52, Dec. 11¹⁹, are quite rare and should be regarded as an exception rather than a rule.

One would expect a certain change in the status of the marines when the fleet was given a title of *classis praetoria* by Vespasian after AD 69. Thus, one would expect to continue with the ordinary way by which they obtained names, as clearly shown by O. Salomies²⁰, but as soldiers of *praetoria* they should also possess a Roman tribe assignation as the praetorians did. It is probably due to this change that the Thracian marines started using the Roman *tria nomina* instead of previous *duo nomina*. It is true that this change is attested for first time in a diploma

¹³ TACHEVA 2007, 6–7.

¹⁴ FORNI 1985, 45; KIROV 2015, 84.

¹⁵ CIL XVI 12.

¹⁶ RMD IV, 203.

¹⁷ RMD III, 136.

¹⁸ CIL XVI 10.

¹⁹ CIL XVI 1.

²⁰ SALOMIES 1996, 167–186.

dated to the beginning of Hadrian's time²¹, but this may be due to the lack of diplomas issued in the time period AD 70–119. Surprisingly or not, in the new nomenclature the tribe was also omitted.

The nomenclature of the Thracian marines did not change much through the 2nd and first half of 3rd century²².

The nomenclature of Thracian auxiliary soldiers developed in a similar way. In early periods, auxiliary veterans' nomenclature contained the *praenomen*, *pater* and name of Thracian tribe. Some change occurred in the last years of Trajan when some of the veterans obtained the Roman *tria nomina*. The case with *C. Iulius C. f. Valens, Tralli* of 114, 19 July is among the earliest known²³. Although visible, this practice seems to have remained unpopular among the Thracian auxiliary and such cases were rarely attested. In these and later diplomas the tribe is omitted.

This observation may be valid, however, not only for Thracian auxiliaries. In their diplomas the tribe is usually missing even in the nomenclature of the witnesses, even if among them centurions are cited such as we see in the diploma issued for *Romasta Rescenti f., Spiuro*. The *tribus* entered in these diplomas as late as the time of Galba²⁴, but it is, however, quite sporadic and in the majority of diplomas the tribe was usually omitted.

The data provided by the military diplomas—*tria nomina* and *pater*²⁵—is supplemented in the epitaphs found in Rome with *origo*, quite often marked also by *natio*. Thus, we are aware of *P. Aelius Bassus, nat(ione) Bessus, Claudia Apris*²⁶ and of *P. Aelius Avitus, Traianopoli, natione Trax*²⁷, who are typical examples of the nomenclature of Thracian Horse Guards — imperial name in *tria nomina* and *natione*²⁸. No tribe is attested in the Thracian cases, although in the epitaphs of some other soldiers the full title of the home town with the epithet are found²⁹, put in the place of the tribe. The examples are numerous and among them one should note that of *T. Aurelius T. f. Aelio Mursa Maximus*³⁰, but also *T. Aurelius T. f. Ulp (ia) Noviomag(i) Vindex*³¹, etc. This might indicate that the *equites* were not enrolled into Roman tribe, and this is why they use the home town with the imperial epithet instead.

²¹ PAUNOV 2005, 39–51.

²² See for example the *constitutio* of *M. Aurelius Spori fil[. - - -]drubius, Nicopoli e[x Thracia vel Moes(ia) inferiore], vico Dizerpera* issued in 224: WEISS, 1999, 246–248.

²³ ROXAN, PAUNOV 1999, 269–279.

²⁴ CIL XVI 7 — *C. Iulius Col(lina) Libonis*.

²⁵ MÓCSY 1986, 438.

²⁶ CIL VI 3177.

²⁷ CIL VI 3176.

²⁸ See also SPEIDEL 1965, 2–3.

²⁹ See for example *domu Flavia Sirmio*: CIL VI 3184.

³⁰ CIL VI 3214.

³¹ CIL VI 3237.

Unlike the *laterculi*, the tribe was used in the nomenclature of the legionaries in their epitaphs. In the case of the Thracian veterans, however, we are aware of the *laterculus* CIL 03, 14507 dated to 195 where only *tria nomina* and *origo* is mentioned. No tribe is attested on the epitaphs also.

It is quite different when we are dealing with the praetorians. As mentioned above, the tribe is mandatory attested in the nomenclature of praetorians on the military diplomas. In the earliest known praetorian *laterculus* of AD 119–120³² the tribe is omitted and only *tria nomina* and *origo* are presented, while as late as AD 127–128 the filiation appeared also³³. The fragmentary CIL VI, 2376 does not allow us to check if the full nomenclature has been already established at that time as it appears on *laterculus* CIL VI 2377 of a. 136. It was not, however, until ca. 149 when this full nomenclature was entirely accepted³⁴. One may assume that the appearance of the tribe may be due to the provincials entering the Guards which affected the official nomenclature required.

The tribe affiliation found its place in the nomenclature of the praetorians in their funeral inscriptions set up in Rome as early as the first half of 1st c. as the study of M. Clauss revealed³⁵. Thus, we are aware of *L. Cassius L. f. Rom Niger, domo Atestae* dated to that time³⁶. Numerous stelae are also known dated to that time. It should be noted, however, that not all of the stelae contain tribe affiliation. Despite this, it seems that it was inseparable part of the nomenclature of the praetorians since the very beginning. In the following decades, more information is given in this respect and this continued till the 3rd c. including. Therefore, it is not surprisingly that the tribe affiliation is attested also on stelae found in the provinces, although the majority of them were found in Rome and Italy. Some examples are known from Hispania citerior³⁷, Baetica³⁸, Achaia³⁹, Macedonia⁴⁰, Dalmatia⁴¹, Noricum⁴², Numidia⁴³, Gallia Narbonensis⁴⁴, Moesia inferior⁴⁵, Syria⁴⁶, Lusitania⁴⁷, Dacia⁴⁸, Asia⁴⁹, Lugudunensis⁵⁰, Africa

³² CIL VI 2375.

³³ CIL VI 2376.

³⁴ CIL VI 2380.

³⁵ CLAUSS 1973.

³⁶ CIL VI 2429.

³⁷ See for example CIL II 2610, 4461.

³⁸ CIL II 1168; AE 2000, 736.

³⁹ CIL III 505.

⁴⁰ CIL III 14203,35; AE 2012, 1379.

⁴¹ ILJug 252, 2085, 2098; CIL III 2887.

⁴² CIL III 5538.

⁴³ CIL VIII 5531 = CIL VIII, 18910.

⁴⁴ CIL XII 1529; CIL XIII 1834; AE 2004, 898.

⁴⁵ ILBulg 65.

⁴⁶ AE 1912, 179; 1955, 225.

⁴⁷ AE 1993, 915 = AE 2001, 1164.

⁴⁸ IDR III/2, 113.

proconsularis⁵¹, Moesia superior⁵² etc. Not surprisingly, these cases are not numerous as the Roman tribe system was not familiar to the provincials. It seems, when possible, the person belonging to a certain Roman tribe would proudly state that in his inscription.

It is assumed that near the middle of 2nd century the original tribe system ceased to be in use any more and replaced by the so-called pseudo-tribe system⁵³. The change occurred more significantly in the praetorian nomenclature after 193 AD when the old praetorian guards were disbanded and replaced by soldiers from the legions, loyal to Septimius Severus. After that time many provincials, including Thracians entered the Praetorian Guard. It is almost certain that they were recruited from the legions and not from the auxiliaries⁵⁴, and as Roman citizens they should also possess Roman tribe affiliation. This led to the mass use of pseudo-tribe into the nomenclature of the new praetorians, a process almost completed in second decade of 3rd century as CIL VI 32 624 reveals. This date of the inscription is suggested by G. Forni⁵⁵, followed by C. Ricci⁵⁶, while a more precise date is proposed by R. Benefiel⁵⁷. Thracians as one of the major ethnic groups in the Guard were also part of this process. It is not my intention here to discuss how the pseudo-tribes were chosen among the Thracian praetorians⁵⁸, but I would like to note the huge diversity of them such as *Iulia*, *Claudia*, *Flavia*, *Ulpia* and *Aelia*⁵⁹ with an observable preference for *Flavia* and *Ulpia*. The majority of these praetorians have the names *M. Aurelii* and most probably got their Roman citizenship from their fathers, who in these cases gained it in the time of M. Aurelius or Commodus.

In sharp contrast to this is the *constitutio* of *P. Aelius Pacatus* issued on March 1st, 152 where he is ascribed to the tribe of *Vol(tinia)*. It has been assumed that the listed *origo* of *Philipp* refers to Philippiopolis⁶⁰, but it is more likely *Philippis*, the Roman colony established by Octavian in Macedonia, the bulk of whose citizens were assigned to the tribe of *Voltinia*⁶¹.

There are two more examples which are of interest for our study. Thus, in the *laterculus* CIL VI 32 640, 7, among the veterans one would find [*M.*] *Aurel(ius)* *M(arci) f(ilius)* *Qui(rina)* *Orestes Trim(ontio)* while in the *laterculus* CIL VI 32 624, c, 3: *T. Fl(avius) T(iti) f(ilius)* *Qui(rina)*

⁴⁹ AE 1974, 619; 1978, 790.

⁵⁰ AE 1955, 211.

⁵¹ AE 2002, 54.

⁵² ILJug 38.

⁵³ See FORNI 1985, 34–35.

⁵⁴ See for this problem the study made by KENNEDY 1978, 275–301.

⁵⁵ FORNI 1985, 72.

⁵⁶ RICCI 1993, 178, n. 18.

⁵⁷ BENEFIEL 2001, 224.

⁵⁸ See for this TOPALILOV 2015.

⁵⁹ TOPALILOV 2017.

⁶⁰ RGZM 6.

⁶¹ On the *colonia Augusta Iulia Philippensis* — see PAPAZOGLOU, 1988, 405–413; TOPALILOV 2013, 287–300.

[An]tiochus IRIMU (expanded as *Trimuntio – sic*)⁶². In the former case, the tribe *Qui(rina)* is one of the three tribes attested in the inscription with *Cl(audia)* and *Pol(lia)* in the nomenclature of praetorians from *Scip(is)*⁶³ and Carthage respectively⁶⁴. The case with *Quirina Scupis* is well known⁶⁵ as well as the case with *colonia Iulia Carthaginenses*, whose elite seem to have been attributed to *Quirina* also⁶⁶.

In the latter case, that of *T. Fl(avius) [An]tiochus*, it should be noted that some more praetorians from Trimontium (Philippopolis) are also attested in this *laterculus*. Unlike *T. Fl(avius) [An]tiochus* they are presented with the pseudo-tribes *[U]ll(pia)* or *[F]ll(avia)*⁶⁷. In this inscription *Quirina* is also one of the very few Roman tribes attested among, for example, the *Pap(iria)*, *Cla(udia)*, *Pol(lia)*, *Fab(ia)* and probably *Col(lina)*, found in the nomenclature of praetorians from *Scupis* and probably AEMDUFI⁶⁸.

It is clear from both examples that no error was made when *Quirina* was attributed to these praetorians from Philippopolis. Up to now, they are the only two known examples of praetorians not only from Philippopolis, but from whole Thrace with tribe assignation; all the rest used pseudo-tribes.

These examples raise the question: if the tribe of *Quirina* was used for Thracians, to whom was it assigned?

When studying the epigraphic monuments of Thrace it is not surprising to find out that the Roman tribe system was not widely in use. According to the extant inscriptions it is to be found, albeit rarely, in two main groups of inscriptions: those commemorating Thracians, and those commemorating others. On the other hand, they could be also divided into two more groups: that of *Quirina*, and of other tribes.

It is well known after the *IAThr* E84 dated to 46–60 AD that most of the Thracian *strategoi* gained the Roman *tria nomina*, viz. Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος or Γάιος Ἰούλιος and preserved the Thracian cognomen and therefore Roman citizenship. This process continued also in the time of *Flavii* with their successors and descendants, but also others, such as the ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς ἐπαρχείας, for instance. In some cases the tribe of *Quirina* appeared in their nomenclature presented in the inscriptions⁶⁹. Thus, we are aware of the *strategos* Τι. Κλαύδιος Κυρείνα Θεόπομπος Θεοπόμπου⁷⁰ and his probable brother⁷¹, of *Ti. Claudius Teopompi f. Quir. Sabinus*⁷²,

⁶² See for this MATEESCU 1923, 126, 268; PASSERINI 1939, 177.

⁶³ CIL VI 32 640, 22, 28, 38.

⁶⁴ CIL VI 32 640, 44.

⁶⁵ CIL III 7289.

⁶⁶ See for example CIL II 3418.

⁶⁷ CIL VI 32 624, 8, 9.

⁶⁸ CIL VI 32 624, c, 29, d, 6; d, 20.

⁶⁹ TACHEVA 2007.

⁷⁰ IGRR I, 677; IMS III/2 101.

⁷¹ IGBulg III/2, 1606=V, 5581: [Τιβ. Κλαύδιος Θεοπόδη]μπου νιός Κυρείνα Διόδωρος.

but also of Τίτος Φλαύιος Σκελου νιὸς Κυρείνα Δινις, who was hereditary priest of Sabasios and priest of the Thracian assembly⁷³ and Τ. Φλ. Κυρείνα Βειθυκενθος Ἐσβενειος⁷⁴.

The appearance of *Quirina* in the nomenclature of just some representatives of the Thracian provincial elite led M. Tacheva to believe that not all of the new Roman citizens were enrolled into the Roman tribe system, but only those who gained special attention by the emperors⁷⁵.

The question is more complex if we have in mind that new Roman citizens were enrolled in the tribe of *Quirina* as early as the time of Claudius⁷⁶ which goes well with their imperial names. In the official inscription *IATHr E 84*, however, the tribe is omitted not only in the nomenclature of Thracian *strategoi*, but also in that of the provincial governor *M. Vettius Marcellus*. The only answer could be the character of audience for which the inscription was set up—the provincial society in newly established province—which obviously was not well acquainted with the Roman tribe system. As mentioned above, in Rome at that time the tribe assignation was widespread not only in official inscriptions, but also in epitaphs which are more or less private.

It seems also that this practice did not gain wide acceptance among the new Roman citizens too. In the time of *Flavii*, however, as pointed out by M. Tacheva it appeared quite frequently as shown by the above examples⁷⁷. It seems that this practice spread among the elite more or less and the *Quirina* shows their high status and dignity despite the fact that this practice was not common in Thrace. The nature of epigraphic monuments reveals that they do not necessarily belong to the official inscriptions. As the preserved inscriptions reveal, the majority are in fact dedicatory inscriptions placed on votive plaques and huge blocks found in sanctuaries scattered across the administrative territory of later Roman cities. Only one inscription is found so far within the city.

The inscriptions allow us to trace some aristocratic families and their *cursus honorum*⁷⁸, but what makes an impression is that no descendant of those who cited *Quirina* used this tribe again. In fact, no tribe has ever been mentioned in their nomenclature. It remains unclear whether this is due to the unpopularity of practice in Thrace which applied also to them and they did not pay much attention to it or whether in fact they did not belong to it at all. Nonetheless, the inscriptions known up to now reveal that the use of Roman tribe is to be found in the nomenclature of the aristocratic Thracians only.

⁷² SAYAR 1998, 192.

⁷³ IGBulg V, 5592.

⁷⁴ IGBulg III/ 2, 1714.

⁷⁵ TACHEVA 2007, 6.

⁷⁶ See FORNI 1985, 45; KIROV 2015, 84.

⁷⁷ TACHEVA 2007, 6.

⁷⁸ See TACHEVA 2007; IGBulg V, 5592.

As mentioned, there was another group of *Quirina* citizens in Thrace. Thus, a fragmentary inscription found south of Philippopolis suggests that veterans from a legion and auxiliary were settled there⁷⁹. The inscription itself contains the names of three *Flavii* and *Quirina*⁸⁰ which allowed B. Gerov⁸¹ to assume that it is either a list of veterans or a family of auxiliary veteran of *Quirina* tribe who were part of a small community of Roman citizens settled on the administrative territory of Philippopolis without impact on the civic status. Whether these auxiliary veterans are of Thracian origin remains unclear as they are in sharp contrast to the remaining known Thracian veterans of this time attested so far in the epigraphic sources from the provinces and Rome; the *T. Flavii* are not found yet among the Thracian veterans in the 1st century, although numerous diplomas are known. A more likely assumption is that they were part of imperial policy to settle veterans from elsewhere in Thrace, in this case in Philippopolis near the *Via Diagonalis*.

Next to this inscription a *mensa* was also found set up in 76 AD by a veteran of *legio VII Claudia Pia Fidelis* who was from Ἀντιοχέος τῆς πρὸς Δάφνη⁸². The origin of the legionary veteran is in line with the suggestion above of non-Thracian *T. Flavii*, but also allows allusion with one of the praetorians with the tribe *Quirina* from Philippopolis mentioned above. It is also for this reason that *T(itus) Fl(avius) [An]tiochus* and *[M.] Aurel(ius) Orestes* are regarded as descendants of these veterans as a part of community which lasted at least 120 years with great prestige⁸³. It is the tribe which distinguishes them from the descendants of the remaining Thracian veterans – auxiliary and marine.

The latest introduction of an original Roman tribe is in the nomenclature of *Lucius Cassius Severus* who was ἔπαρχον σπείρης δ' Θρᾳκον (sic), ἐπίτροπον τοῦ σεβαστοῦ Μακεδονίας καὶ Θρᾳκης, ἔπαρχον [στ]όλου τοῦέν Ραου[ή]ννη⁸⁴.

This short analysis on the distribution of the Roman tribe in Thrace allows some observations.

Despite its introduction probably in pre-provincial time when part of the provincial elite gained Roman citizenship and therefore Roman names, a practice which continued decades after the establishment of the new province, it seems that the Roman tribe system remained unpopular and uncommon in Thrace and more or less isolated. The Roman tribe was used rarely and when used it was either in the nomenclature of the Thracian elite or of non-Thracian veterans settled in Thrace. The inscriptions also reveal that this practice was characteristic for a certain span of time, probably till the time of Hadrian, when the

⁷⁹ See GEROV 1980, 50.

⁸⁰ IGBulg. III, 1, 1411.

⁸¹ GEROV 1980, 50–51.

⁸² IGBulg III/1, 1410.

⁸³ TOPALILOV 2011, 268.

⁸⁴ IGBulg V, 5410.

inscription of Τίτος Φλούιος Σκελου νιὸς Κυρείνα Δινις is dated⁸⁵. What also makes an impression is that only the tribe *Quirina* was used in Thracian nomenclature; no *Papiria* and *Sergia* of Trajan and Hadrian respectively or *Iulia* and *Claudia* was given to the Thracian elite or at least no one cited it in his names.

The inscription of *Lucius Cassius Severus* may reveal a revival in the use of the original Roman tribes in the nomenclature in Philippopolis, although if we keep in mind his office, he could simply be following the practice in Rome, where he came from to Philippopolis. Surprisingly or not, it was about that time when the inscriptions of *T(itus) Fl(avius) T(iti) f(ilius) Qui(rina) [An]tiochus IRIMU* and of *[M.]Aurel(ius) M(arci) f(ilius) Qui(rina) Orestes Trim(ontio)* are also dated.

When, however, the Roman tribe was used it was mark of dignity and prestige for the owner. It is without doubt also connected with the juridical status of the owner, as the Roman name does not necessarily mean Roman citizenship as the law of Claudius shows⁸⁶. As known despite this law, the Roman names continued to be used by non-Roman citizens⁸⁷ and in this sense, the tribe affiliation may be regarded as a clear mark of Roman citizenship. The invention of the tribes *Iulia* and *Claudia* should distinguish the mass of new Roman citizens personally linked to C. Iulius Caesar and Claudius from the rest assigned to the original tribes. This would have caused the long-standing tradition with the original tribes, although originally more prestigious, to lose its significance gradually in favour of the new imperial tribes which would need some time to be fully exploited. I would even suggest that the replacement of the old tribes system by the imperial tribes, or pseudo-tribes, in the middle of 2nd century was in fact an end of a long process in which the official institutions of the republican state were replaced by those of the emperor, which became new state institutions. It seems that this also occurred in the Roman name system where a change was made deliberately to recognize officially the superiority of the imperial system over the state's. The new citizens should be loyal to the emperor, not the state (as represented by the senate); they received Roman citizenship and names from him, so they should be enrolled into his own tribe to secure their loyalty. In this sense, the Roman tribe system did not lose its importance; it just was adapted in a way more acceptable for the emperors.

It is well established from the military diplomas and funeral epitaphs of the praetorians and *urbaniciani* in Rome, but also elsewhere⁸⁸, that tribal affiliation was inalienable part of their nomenclature⁸⁹. In fact, they possess the full Roman nomenclature unlike the rest of the troops and this is logical considering their status at the top of the military hierarchy and

⁸⁵ Cf. MIHAJOV 1975, 50–51.

⁸⁶ Suet. Claudius 25, 3.

⁸⁷ MANN 2002, 227–234.

⁸⁸ See for example AE 1996, 1701; CIL II 4461; III 7334; AE 2004, 82 etc.

⁸⁹ MÓCSY 1986, 438.

consequently among the elite of the empire itself. The funeral stelae of praetorians from 1st century with Roman tribe were set up by officials, but also relatives — father, brother, and wife, inheritor, but also by friends, colleagues, and clients.

It seems, however, that this is not the case with the rest of troops. As already observed, in the military diplomas which might have served as official documents no tribe affiliation is mentioned in the nomenclature of veterans from the marines, *eques*, and *auxilia*. It is true that they are some cases in 2nd century when some auxiliary soldiers were already Roman citizens when entering the army, but their citizenship is due to the successful military career of their fathers.

When studying the nomenclature on Roman diplomas one would think that the declaration of one's tribal affiliation might have been optional. This is convincing at first glance if we look at the nomenclature of other people mention in diplomas: the commander and witnesses, respectively. The case of a witness named as *C. Vetidius Rasinianus* may be a good argument for this as he has been now attested in at least three diplomas issued in 70 AD⁹⁰. In one of them he is cited as *C. Vetidius C. f. Vol(tinia) Rasinianus, dec(urinis) Philippienensis*⁹¹, while in the other two the tribe is omitted. The one of the latter diplomas, however, is full of errors⁹², which may answer the question.

In the military diplomas it looks like whenever engravers knew the tribe of the commander or the witnesses and could include it, they did it. The diploma for *Herae Serapionis f. Antioc(hia)*, an auxiliary discharged on 28 April 75 is a good example for this⁹³.

It is well known that the list of the witnesses is made with a hierarchical arrangement starting with the highest-status person⁹⁴. If the person at the top of the list lacks any tribe affiliation, it seems that all of the rest, whenever they were enrolled or not, were also display with no tribe. Also striking is that the majority, but not all, of diplomas issued for the auxiliary lack any the tribe assignation of the persons mentioned. When assigned, it was mostly on praetorian diplomas.

It is therefore not surprisingly to discover the lack of tribe assignation in the nomenclature of Thracian veterans deriving from the legions, auxiliary, horse guards and the marines. The only Thracian veterans that got Roman tribe were the praetorians who in fact gained the pseudo-tribe.

The lack of declarations of tribal affiliation among the Thracian not praetorian veterans as revealed by military diplomas and epitaphs, even those set up in Rome, along with my analysis so far would allow me to put the question whether the Thracian veterans were ever

⁹⁰ RMD IV, 203; SHARANKOV 2006, 37–46.

⁹¹ It is a diploma of a Thracian who was discharged from *legio II Adiutrix* : CIL XVI, 10.

⁹² SHARANKOV 2006, 40.

⁹³ RMD I, 2.

⁹⁴ KUBITSCHEK 1914, 170–172.

in fact assigned to an original Roman tribe? In this sense one might question whether the *lex Iulia* was strictly followed when dealing with new Roman citizens who obtained their citizenship through military service. Unlike them, when necessary part of the aristocratic elite seems to have received this privilege and enrolled into original Roman tribe. The answer of the question may lay in the observation of similarities between the praetorian diplomas and imperial *edictum* while the rest of diplomas — with the *decreatum*⁹⁵ and/or the imperial desire the new citizens loyal to the emperor not to be enrolled into Republican items, but the question remains open.

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Abbreviations

AE = L'Année Épigraphique. Paris.

CIL = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum. Berlin.

IDR = Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae. Bucharest.

IGBulg = Inscriptiones Grecae in Bulgaria repertae. Sofia.

IGRR = Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes. Paris.

ILBulg = Inscriptiones latinae in Bulgaria reperatae. Sofia.

ILJug = Inscriptiones Latinae in Jugoslavia repertae. Ljubljana.

IMS = Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure. Belgrade.

RGZM = *Vide* PFERDEHIRT 2004.

RMD = Roman Military Diplomas. London.

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⁹⁵ See for this RADULOVA 2016, 264–275.

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Equites singulares Augusti originaires de la province de Dacie: épigraphie, onomastique, iconographie

Dan DANA¹, Radu ZAGREANU²

Abstract. *The epigraphic testimonies left in Rome by the horsemen of the Imperial Guard (equites singulares Augusti) originating from Dacia allow us to question about the socio-cultural origin of these provincials and to make use of the data furnished by this epigraphic dossier (recruitment and career, networks of sociability, onomastics), before inspecting the typology of their funerary iconography.*

Résumé. *Les témoignages épigraphiques laissés à Rome par les cavaliers de la garde impériale (equites singulares Augusti) originaires de Dacie permettent de s'interroger sur l'origine socio-culturelle de ces provinciaux et d'exploiter les renseignements fournis par ce dossier épigraphique (recrutement et carrière, réseaux de sociabilité, onomastique), avant de s'intéresser à la typologie de leur iconographie funéraire.*

Rezumat. *Mărturiile epigrafice lăsate la Roma de călăreții din garda imperială (equites singulares Augusti) originari din Dacia permit să ne întrebăm asupra originii socio-culturale a acestor provinciali și să exploatăm datele oferite de acest dosar epigrafic (recrutare și carieră, rețelele de sociabilitate, onomastică), înainte de a lua în seamă tipologia iconografiei lor funerare.*

Keywords: epigraphy, equites singulares Augusti, iconography, onomastics, Roman Dacia.

Sur la base d'un catalogue épigraphique d'une vingtaine d'inscriptions réunissant les cavaliers de la garde impériale originaires de Dacie (cf. l'annexe épigraphico-prosopographique)³, cette étude se propose de répondre à plusieurs interrogations en rapport avec la présence et les éventuelles manifestations identitaires de ces provinciaux arrivés à Rome. Il sera ainsi question de leur recrutement et de leur carrière, de leurs réseaux de sociabilité (à la fois militaire et civile), avant de s'intéresser à leur onomastique et aux indices qu'elle peut fournir, avec toute la prudence requise, quant à leur origine socio-culturelle.

¹ CNRS/ANHIMA, Paris; ddana_ddan@yahoo.com

² Complexul Muzeal Bistrița-Năsăud; raduzagreanu@gmail.com

³ On trouve des mentions et des listes de cavaliers de la garde impériale originaires de Dacie chez MATEESCU 1923, 184, 189, 193–194, 284–285; RUSSU 1976, 25; 1980, 41–43; 1981, 180; PETOLESCU 1980, 1056; 2002, 49–50; 2014, 249–250; IDRE, I, 1996, n^os 47–65 (sans avoir cependant utilisé le corpus exhaustif de M.P. Speidel, paru en 1994); RICCI 1993, 189–190 (catalogue); NEMETI 2005, 196–197; ARDEVAN & ZERBINI 2007, 115.

Enfin, un excursus sur l'iconographie des stèles funéraires exploitables, à l'intérieur du riche groupe de monuments funéraires découverts dans la nécropole de la garde impériale, permettra de retracer le destin de ces provinciaux en service ou établis au cœur de l'Empire.

1. Les *equites singulares Augustii* : l'évolution d'un corps d'élite

Il convient d'étudier les *equites singulares Augusti*⁴ originaires de Dacie aussi bien à l'intérieur de leur unité, et donc dans les rapports habituels avec leurs camarades de la garde rapprochée de l'empereur, que dans les liens étroits qu'ils ont pu tisser dans le même milieu militaire urbain ou central-italien des prétoriens et des légionnaires d'*Albanum*, où était cantonnée la nouvelle *legio II Parthica* créée par Septime Sévère. Ce milieu militaire est, tout au long du III^e s., très largement dominé par des soldats originaires des provinces danubiennes et balkaniques (Pannonies, Mésies, Thrace et Dacie)⁵.

Les cavaliers de la garde impériale forment une troupe d'élite stationnée depuis sa (ré)création par Trajan⁶ sur le *Caelius*, près du champ d'instruction (*campus Caelimontanus*) : à un premier camp, les *castra priora*, abritant 500 hommes (plus tard peut-être 1000), s'ajoute, sans doute depuis Septime Sévère, un second, les *castra nova* (ou *castra nova Severiana*), ce dernier abritant 1000 hommes. Chacun des deux camps était dirigé par un tribun, à la disposition du préfet du prétoire, alors que les escadrons d'environ 30 hommes (*turmae*) sont commandés par des décurions. Les cavaliers, qui devaient servir pour une durée régulière de 25 ans, étaient soigneusement sélectionnés des ailes des armées provinciales ou des gardes des gouverneurs provinciaux (*equites singulares*), après une certaine expérience (de trois à sept ans). À la différence des auxiliaires, ces cavaliers sélectionnés reçoivent la citoyenneté romaine au moment de leur transfert dans les *ESA*, et non à la fin de leur service, comme il arrivait habituellement pour les auxiliaires de statut pérégrin. Après l'avènement de Septime Sévère (193), on assiste en effet à un changement spectaculaire des bassins de recrutement des *ESA*, comme par ailleurs des légions et des cohortes prétoriennes. Ainsi, les recrues des provinces occidentales (notamment la Germanie Inférieure⁷, la Rhétie et le Norique),

⁴ Dorénavant abrégés *ESA*. Les études incontournables sont celles de SPEIDEL 1965 (avec le c.r. de GROSSO 1966) ; SPEIDEL 1994b (et sa monographie *DKR*, publiée la même année) ; PANCIERA 2006, 1307–1326 (réédition de « *Equites singulares Augusti. Nuove testimonianze epigrafiche* »).

⁵ Sur la présence des provinciaux dans l'*Vrbs*, voir NOY 2000 et RICCI 2012. Sur les nombreux soldats pannoniens et thraces attestés dans la première moitié du III^e s., voir l'étude récente de SPEIDEL 2016, qui évoque des « clubs ethniques » agissant selon des solidarités régionales. Sur le profil religieux des prétoriens thraces, dont la popularité du motif du « Cavalier Thrace », voir DANA & RICCI 2014.

⁶ Remplaçant une unité de cavaliers germaniques, les *Germani corporis custodes* ou *Batavi*. Voir SPEIDEL 1984 (= SPEIDEL 1992, 105–119).

⁷ Sur les Bataves, massivement recrutés dans l'armée romaine, la bibliographie est déjà impressionnante : VAN DRIEL-MURRAY 2003 (utilisant la notion de « soldats ethniques »), 2005, 2008 et 2009; ROYMANS 2004; DERKS & ROYMANS 2006.

qui avaient totalisé au II^e s. 56% des effectifs, sont dorénavant remplacées par des militaires originaires de Pannonie, Thrace et Dacie, qui deviennent très largement majoritaires⁸.

Provinces	Avant 193	Après 193
GERMANIAE, BRITANNIA, GALLIA	37 (29%)	10 (12%)
RAETIA, NORICUM	34 (27%) ²	11 (13%)
PANNONIA	28 (22%)	29 (35%)
THRACIA, DACIA	16 (13%)	29 (35%)
ORIENS, AFRICA	11 (9%)	5 (6%)
Total	126	84

D'après les origines mentionnées sur les épitaphes, 70% des *ESA* du III^e s. sont donc sélectionnés des ailes en garnison dans les provinces du Moyen et du Bas Danube, ou parmi les recrues originaires de cet espace envoyées dans des provinces plus lointaines. Tel était le cas des *cives Batavi sive Thraces adlecti ex provincia Germania Inferiori* (sic), connus par une dédicace de l'an 219 (*CIL VI 31162*) : il s'agissait d'anciens cavaliers des ailes de la Germanie Inférieure, d'origine locale (principalement des Bataves) ou lointaine (recrues thraces). En réalité, les données onomastiques permettent de renforcer le poids des Pannoniens⁹ et en particulier des Thraces parmi les *ESA*, qu'il s'agisse de *decuriones*, d'héritiers ou d'autres militaires (présents dans les listes), lorsque la mention de leur *origo* fait défaut ou quand elle n'est plus conservée¹⁰.

Si beaucoup de monuments funéraires qu'ont pu laisser les cavaliers de la garde impériale originaires de Dacie sont perdus, nous avons réuni dans le catalogue ci-après une vingtaine de témoignages épigraphiques ; ce dossier est susceptible de constituer un échantillon assez représentatif¹¹. Un seul diplôme militaire¹² est connu pour un cavalier de Dacie (2), alors qu'on connaît au moins 7 pour la Thrace, 3 pour la Mésie Inférieure, un pour la Mésie Supérieure, un pour la Pannonie et un pour la Syrie. La plupart des mentions épigraphiques de cavaliers originaires de Dacie sont des épitaphes, à l'exception des dédicaces 19 et 20. La nécropole des *ESA* se trouvait au troisième milliaire de la via Labicana (aujourd'hui via Casilina), plus précisément *Ad duas lauros* (aujourd'hui Torpignattara) ; ce site fut utilisé plus tard par les Chrétiens, pour aménager la catacombe des Saints Marcellin et Pierre¹³. Quand on dispose de

⁸ Statistiques de SPEIDEL 1994b, 94, à partir de 210 épitaphes avec l'*origo* conservée.

⁹ Si l'on prend en compte les porteurs du *cognomen Dasius* et d'autres noms caractéristiques.

¹⁰ Pour les cavaliers d'origine thrace, on peut ajouter environ 25 autres exemples.

¹¹ Nous avons exclu l'épitaphe fragmentaire DKR 308, pour un anonyme [*nati(ione)* -]*Jacus.* / [Vixit] *ann(os)* -]*XXVI*, *mil(itavit)* / [*ann(os)* -]. Comme le précise M.P. Speidel, la date précoce (milieu du II^e s.) invite à préférer l'éthnique [*Mars*]i*Jacus* plutôt que [*D*]i*Jacus*.

¹² Pour les diplômes militaires des *ESA*, voir M.P. Speidel, DKR, 1994, 94-97.

¹³ Voir brièvement GUYON 1987, 30-33 ; M.P. Speidel, DKR, 1994, 1-3 ; BLANCHARD *et alii* 2007, 989.

précisions sur le lieu de découverte des stèles, on constate que les monuments qui nous intéressent proviennent, comme attendu, de cette nécropole propre à la garde impériale (5, 6, 9, 10, 15, 16, 17).

2. L'expression épigraphique de l'identité provinciale

Les éventuelles manifestations identitaires des provinciaux originaires de Dacie sont éparses dans les provinces de l'Empire, mais plus nombreuses à Rome, pour des raisons de visibilité épigraphique. Certaines indications sont plus neutres, comme *natus/nata provincia Dacia, natus Dacia, (oriundus) ex provincia Dacia, cives (sic) Dacus*, ou encore *domo Dacus/Dacia* ; elles concernent en priorité des militaires ou leurs épouses¹⁴. C'est par ailleurs dans le milieu militaire, surreprésenté dans les inscriptions, qu'on trouve la plupart des mentions épigraphiques de personnes originaires de la province de Dacie. Dans ce groupe, la majorité concerne les membres des deux unités d'élite de Rome, les cohortes prétoriennes et les *ESA*.

En revanche, l'indication *natione Dacus*, somme toute assez fréquente, présente la concentration suivante¹⁵ :

- trois exemples dans le milieu servile : en Pannonie Supérieure, un esclave *sutor caligarius* à *Carnuntum* et une affranchie à *Scarbantia*, femme d'un affranchi *nat(ione) Dalmata*¹⁶ ; à Rome, l'affranchi d'un cavalier de la garde impériale (21) ;
- un seul gladiateur, à Salone (Dalmatie)¹⁷ ;
- enfin, une majorité écrasante fournie par les militaires, avec 18 ou 19 exemples¹⁸ : 13 cavaliers de la garde impériale (1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14 [*Daciscus*]¹⁹, 15, 17), 4 prétoriens²⁰,

¹⁴ La plupart à Rome : *Aur. Ingenuus, mil. coh. I pr., nat(us) provinc(ia) Dacia, leg(ione) XIII Gemina* (*CIL VI* 2425 = *IDRE I* 26) ; *Aur. Julianus, evok(atus) ex b(ene)ficiario, coh. III (pr.), nat(us) Dacia* (*CIL VI* 3419 = *IDRE I* 27) ; [- --- ---], militaire, *nat(us) Dacia* (*CIL VI* 3456 = *IDRE I* 62) (18) ; *Munatia Procula, nat(a) pr(ovincia) Dacia, femme de C. Valerius Crescentianus, evok(atus)* (*IDRE I* 33) ; *M. Aur. Lucianus, mil. coh. VI pr., horiundus ex provincia Dacia* (*CIL VI* 2603 = *IDRE I* 30) ; [- --- ---], *ESA, [oriund(us) ex provin]nc(ia) Da(cia)* (*CIL VI* 37258 a = *IDRE I* 61) (16) ; *Iul. Pil[---]tinus, cives Dacus* (*Aballava, Bretagne, CIL VII* 944 = *RIB I* 2046 = *IDRE I* 241) ; à Salone, en Dalmatie, l'épitaphe d'*Aur. Aquila, dec(urio) Patavis(s)e(n)sis, neg(otiato)r ex pro(vincia) Dacia* (*CIL III* 2086 = *IDRE II* 299). Dans la documentation officielle romaine, le synonyme grec *Geta* n'est jamais employé comme ethnique ; seules deux inscriptions privées semblent l'attester : à *Durocortorum*, en Bretagne (*RIB I* 136 = *IDRE I* 199), *Metti, nation(e) Geta* ; à *Baena*, en Bétique (*CIL II².5* 375, corrigé dans *HispEpigr* 8, 2002, n° 146), *M. Aur. Ac(h)aicus, [---]f, nat(ione) Geta*, dont l'épitaphe est érigée par [-]balus.

¹⁵ Voir le corpus de C.C. Petolescu (*IDRE*).

¹⁶ *IDRE II* 257 ; *CIL III* 14355,15 = *RIU I* 189 = *IDRE II* 263.

¹⁷ *CIL III* 14644 = *ILS* 5111 = *IDRE II* 392.

¹⁸ Le cas des Noriques est similaire : des 35 exemples de *natione Noricus/-a*, 32 concernent des militaires, dont 22 à Rome (cf. HAINZMANN 2011, 329).

¹⁹ Ce dérivé est utilisé comme *origo* pour un *ESA* anonyme, enterré à Rome (*CIL VI* 3320 = *DKR* 618 = *IDRE I* 60), [*natione Daciscu[s]*] ; pour le prétorien *Aur. Victo<r>-inus, natione Dacisca, regiōne Serdic(e)n(se)* (*CIL VI* 2605), originaire donc de la Dacie Méditerranéenne ; dans l'épitaphe chrétienne de *Martinianus, ex protectoribus, germen Dacisqus* (*Mediolanum, CIL V* 6244 = *ILCV I* 811 a). Il concerne plutôt les ressortissants de la nouvelle Dacie créée par Aurélien au Sud du Danube.

un cavalier d'une unité auxiliaire (en Égypte, voir *infra*)²¹ et un militaire (?) d'une unité inconnue à Salone (Dalmatie)²².

Ces termes renvoient-ils au peuple des Daces, ou à la province en général ? Sont-ils pertinents pour l'identité des défunts²³ ? Partons du constat que la plupart des mentions relèvent de l'épigraphie funéraire ; ces indications sont donc données par les proches des militaires — camarades d'armes et/ou membres de leur famille —, et s'insèrent dans les normes d'identification en cours dans un milieu militaire. En ce qui concerne les esclaves/affranchis et le soldat auxiliaire, la réponse est claire, vu leur statut servile ou pérégrin, et surtout grâce à leur onomastique indigène (*Sassa, Dida Damanai f.*) : il s'agit d'indigènes daces, entraînés hors de leurs terres d'origine en tant que prisonniers de guerre, vendus comme esclaves, ou en qualité de recrues. En revanche, la situation est plus complexe si l'on regarde le dossier des militaires attestés à Rome au III^e s. ; ces derniers, affectés dans les deux corps d'élite qui protégeaient l'empereur, sont tous des citoyens romains, même si la plupart semblent être issus de milieux pérégrins.

Pour d'autres régions, *natio*, à l'ablatif *natione*, peut revêtir les deux sens, « ethnique » et provincial. Or, pour des raisons nationalistes évidentes, certains historiens roumains ont pris cette formule *natione Dacus* pour « Dace du point de vue ethnique », sans se poser vraiment la question de l'autre éventualité et surtout sans faire attention aux anachronismes. Ainsi, Constantin C. Petolescu, prenant précisément pour exemple les recrues de Dacie dans la garde impériale et dans les cohortes prétoriennes, affirme que certains *ESA* « se déclarent, sans laisser aucun doute : *nat(ione) Dac(us)* », ou que, si seulement deux sont *[oriund(us)] ex provi]nc[ia] Da[cia]* et *nat(us) Dacia*, « tous les autres affirment qu'ils sont de race dace : *nat(ione) Dac(us)* »²⁴.

Pourtant, ce type d'indication est manifestement *générique* ; toutefois, elle ne comporte, du moins dans les cas connus, la précision de l'une des trois provinces (Supérieure, Inférieure et Porolissensis)²⁵. Notre impression est que, même si l'on prend en compte la nette majorité

Voir aussi les *milites Dacisciani*, parmi les troupes de Gallien (SHA, *Claud.* 17.3) ; de même, les *Dacisci* (SHA, *Aurel.* 38.4) ; cf. aussi la ND, par ex. ND, *Or.* 42.24. L'adjectif *Daciscus* apparaît également chez Lactance, *De mort. persec.* 27.8.

²⁰ *Aur. Domitianus, mil. c(o)hor. VIIIII pr(a)e)t., nat(ione) Dacus* (CIL VI 2696 = IDRE I 31) ; *Aur. Fro[--], nat(ione) Da[cus?]* (IDRE I 32) ; *Aur(elius) German[us], nat(ione) D[a]cus* (*Mogontiacum*, CIL XIII 6824 = IDRE I 195) ; *Iul. Secundinus, ev(o)k(atus) coh. III pr., na(tione) Dacus* (CIL VI 2495 = IDRE I 28).

²¹ ILS 9142 = IDRE II 420. Nous laissons de côté les diplômes militaires, où l'ethnique *Dacus* concerne quelques dizaines de cavaliers et de fantassins, originaires de Dacie mais aussi de Mésie Inférieure (voir DANA & MATEI-POPESCU 2009; 2016, en partic. 128 n. 4).

²² IDRE II 297.

²³ OLTEAN 2009 suggère l'essor d'une nouvelle identité ethnique et militaire des recrues daces dans l'armée romaine.

²⁴ Cf. PETOLESCU 1980, 1056, 1969; 2002, 49-50; 2007, 151-153, en partic. 153 (l'exemple d'un prétorien). Dans une autre clé interprétative (juridique), nous ne suivons pas PISO 2005, 280 n. 51, pour lequel les *ESA* dits *natione Dacus* seraient originaires des structures administratives « héritières des communautés pérégrines ».

²⁵ À l'instar d'autres provinces, comme *natione Pannonus*, alors qu'il existe deux provinces, Supérieure et Inférieure.

des *Aurelii* parmi ces militaires, indice d'une citoyenneté acquise en masse en 212, ou encore la grande banalité des *cognomina* à connotation martiale (*Dexter, Germanus, Super, Victor, Victorinus, Vitalis*), *natione Dacus* vaut dans la quasi-totalité des cas pour une indication provinciale : « *Dacus* » signifie donc, au III^e s., tout simplement « originaire de la province de Dacie ». Pour l'usage implicite de *natio* comme simple origine/indication provinciale, un exemple concernant un cavalier originaire de Pannonie Supérieure suffira, car l'épitaphe DKR 658 précise : *natione Pannoniae Superiore*.

Si l'éventuelle connotation identitaire transmise par ces épitaphes émane en réalité de leurs proches militaires (camarades d'armes, parfois des parents) et civils, la situation est nettement différente dans le cas du soldat auxiliaire : *Dida Damana filius, eques alae Vocontiorum, turma Maturi*, grava une dédicace commémorative vers 110, sur la paroi d'un rocher près du *praesidium* de *Krokodilō*, dans le désert Oriental d'Égypte. Il n'oublie pas de préciser, à l'intérieur des formules d'identification, son origine ethnique, dans un latin approximatif : *nationis Daqus*²⁶. Néanmoins, là encore, il s'agit d'une formule officielle, partie intégrante de son identité militaire, qui est affichée.

3. Recrutement, carrière et entourage à Rome

Les stèles funéraires plus ou moins complètes fournissent, en règle générale, des renseignements sur l'âge, la durée du service militaire (et donc l'âge du recrutement), les grades ou la carrière. Elles mentionnent également les commanditaires de l'épitaphe, dans la plupart des cas les héritiers, appartenant normalement au même milieu militaire, auxquels se joignent parfois des civils, indiquant leurs liens de parenté avec le défunt²⁷. On peut parfois suspecter une préférence pour les chiffres arrondis, quoique seulement pour l'âge (7 et 12 ; mais pas dans l'épitaphe 1, puisque les mois et les jours exacts sont précisés) ; en revanche, les indications concernant les *stipendia* doivent être exactes et indiquent les années révolues. La plupart des cavaliers ont été recrutés vers 18–20 ans²⁸, ce qui correspond à l'usage, pour arriver à Rome au plus tôt à 23 ans. Nous ne disposons d'une chronologie exacte que pour M. Aur. Decianus, bénéficiaire d'un diplôme militaire du 7 janvier 230 (2) : il fut recruté vers 204, dans une aile inconnue (de Dacie ?), avant d'être transféré à Rome autour de 210, dans la garde impériale.

On peut estimer qu'au moins une partie des vétérans ont regagné leur province, comme semble l'indiquer pour d'autres provinciaux le lieu de découverte des diplômes militaires,

²⁶ ILS 9142 = CLE III 1960 = *I. Koptos-Kosseir* 19 = IDRE II 420 ; relecture par BÜLOW-JACOBSEN & CUVIGNY 1996, 103–107 (= AÉ, 196, 147). Dida fait partie des nombreux soldats daces recrutés après la conquête du royaume de Décébale, en 106, et envoyés en Égypte (voir DANA 2003).

²⁷ Voir les considérations de BUSCH 2011, en partic. 72–83, 127–137.

²⁸ À 18 ans (8, 12), 19 ans (1, 11), 20 ans (3, 6), 21 ans (13), 24 ans (7).

dans les cas où il est connu. Si la majorité des défunts de Rome sont décédés pendant le service militaire²⁹, on compte également plusieurs vétérans. Cela indique que certains soldats libérés ont choisi de rester pour une certaine période, voire pour toujours, dans l'*Vrbs* ou en Italie : **2** (diplôme militaire, mais sa découverte en Italie n'est pas assurée), **9** (*vetera[nus]*), **11** [*veter(anus) Aug(usti) n(ostr)i*]. Ce dernier, C. Marius Gemellinus, désigné comme « vétéran de l'Empereur »³⁰, était décédé à 44 ans, peu de temps après sa libération.

Fort heureusement, des précisions supplémentaires nous renseignent sur le parcours de trois, voire quatre cavaliers, transférés de trois ailes de Dacie :

- *ala I Claudia Gallorum Capitoniana* (**1** ; on rencontre sans doute la même unité en **4** [DKR 641]), en garnison peut-être à Boroșneul Mare (Dacie Inférieure)³¹ ;
- *ala I Hispanorum Campagonum* (**9**), en garnison à *Micia/Vetel* (Dacie Supérieure)³² ;
- *ala I Illyricorum* (**6**), avatar de l'ex-*numerus Illyricorum*, en garnison à *Brâncovenești* (Dacie Supérieure)³³.

Certains des défunts étaient des gradés et ont pu monter dans les rangs des *ESA* : *beneficiarius* (*tribuni*) (**8**)³⁴, *curator* (**1**)³⁵, *immunis tur(arius)* [**7**, plutôt que *immunis tur(mae)*], *librarius* (**12**).

Leurs réseaux de sociabilité sont les mêmes que pour d'autres camarades d'armes. En effet, parmi les héritiers, on peut trouver :

- une majorité de camarades d'armes du même corps des *equites singulares Augusti* : **1** (*nota bene*, peut-être avec un *cognomen dace*³⁶, d'une autre turme, et un affranchi), **3** (*decurio*, l'autre héritier étant sans doute un *ESA*), **4** (*doct(or)*, un autre *ESA*, mais aussi un prétorien), **5**, **6** (deux *duplicarii*)³⁷, **10** (sans doute deux *ESA*), **12** (sans doute deux *ESA*), **15** (deux *ESA*) ; peut-être **13** (un couple, le mari étant sans doute un militaire), **14** (sans doute un militaire) et **17** (sans doute un militaire, originaire de Dacie, car il s'appelle *[--- Provi]ncialis*) ; un héritier très probablement pannonien (**10**)³⁸.

- deux prétoriens : **4** (ensemble avec deux *ESA*), **11** (*evokatus*, et un légionnaire de la *legio II Parthica* : en tout, il s'agit de trois frères) ;

²⁹ À au moins 21 ans (**5**) (mais sans doute vers 23–24 ans), 26 ans (**10**), 30 ans (**8**), 33 ans (**6**), 35 ans (**7, 12**), 36 ans (**3**), plus de trente ans (**14, 17**), plus de 35 ans (**15**), 40 ans (**1**), 44 ans (**11**), 45 ans (**13**). Pour d'autres cavaliers, les indications sont perdues.

³⁰ RICCI 2009, 30.

³¹ PETOLESCU 2002, 69–70; ȚENTEA & MATEI-POPESCU 2002–2003, 264. Sur le camp de Boroșneul Mare (dép. de Covasna), voir en dernier lieu MATEI-POPESCU 2014, 211, n° 11 (qui opte pour l'*ala Gallorum Aectorigiana*).

³² PETOLESCU 2002, 72–73; ȚENTEA & MATEI-POPESCU 2002–2003, 269.

³³ PETOLESCU 2002, 132–133.

³⁴ NELIS-CLÉMENT 2000, 395 n. 941 (ce *beneficiarius* et le *protector*).

³⁵ Chargé de l'écurie de l'escadron ; dans la hiérarchie, il était placé après le *custos armorum* et le *signifer*.

³⁶ Voir *infra*.

³⁷ Les *duplicarii* font partie des *principales*, en dessous du *decurio*.

³⁸ Le premier héritier porte peut-être un nom pannonien, *Ambru[---]*, cf. un *Ambruc[---]* à Carnuntum (AÉ, 1937, 78).

- deux légionnaires : **11** (*legio II Parthica*, et un prétorien, *evokatus* : en tout, trois frères³⁹) ; **16** (*legio II Parthica*) ;

- un *protector praefecti praetorio* (**8**) ;

- des parents, qui peuvent également être des civils : un oncle (plutôt qu'un grand-père) défini comme étant un *paganus*⁴⁰, avec son épouse — s'il s'agit d'un nom féminin, malheureusement fragmentaire (**7**) ; deux frères, dans d'autres unités d'élite en rapport avec l'empereur, à savoir un prétorien et un légionnaire (*legio II Parthica*, à *Albanum*) (**11**). C'est certainement un hasard si aucune épouse n'est mentionnée dans notre dossier : en revanche, pour les prétoriens originaires de Dacie on connaît des mariages avec des femmes de la même extraction sociale : citons ainsi l'épitaphe de *Munatia Procula, nat(a/ione) pr(ovincia) Dacia, femme de C. Val. Crescentianus, evok(atus)*, donc ancien prétorien⁴¹.

Les dépendants, esclaves et affranchis, sont naturellement présents parmi les héritiers d'ESA ou des camarades d'armes des défunt. Inversement, des esclaves de la province de Dacie sont connus à Rome, y compris dans le milieu des *ESA*. Tel était le cas du jeune affranchi *Aur. Primus, nat(ione) Dacus*, décédé à seulement 25 ans, dont l'épitaphe est érigée par son patron (et ancien maître) *Aur. Tato*. Le cognomen de ce dernier, *Tato*, nous oriente vers l'espace dalmato-pannonien, et plutôt vers la Pannonie⁴². Le cavalier était très probablement transféré d'une aile de Dacie, où il avait acheté un esclave *natione Dacus*⁴³. On connaît trois militaires (sans doute, d'origine pannonienne) portant ce *cognomen* dans l'armée provinciale de Dacie : un parfait homonyme, *Aur. Tato, stator al(a)e II Pann(noniorum* (Gherla, *ILD I* 590) ; *C. Iul. Tato (Germisara, CIL III 7880 = IDR III.3 216, militaire ?)* ; *Ael. Tato, dec(urio) coh(ortis) II His(panorum)* (Poieni, *CIL III* 843 = *ILD I* 627).

Remarquons qu'à l'exception de *M. Aur. Decianus*, dont le diplôme précise *Colonia Malvense ex Dacia* (**2**), ou du cas ambigu de deux références à l'une des trois provinces nord-danubiennes — *domu D[acia]?* ---] (**4**), et peut-être *Dac[ia]* ---] (**10**) —, seulement pour deux cavaliers de la garde impériale les héritiers ont pris le soin de mentionner la cité — et même dans ce cas il faut comprendre qu'ils étaient plutôt originaires de son territoire. À chaque fois, il s'agit de la capitale *Colonia Vlpia Traiana Augusta Dacica Sarmizegetusa*⁴⁴ : *domum Coloni(a)*

³⁹ En service dans trois unités différentes : un ancien prétorien, *Aur. Emeritus* ; un légionnaire à *Albanum*, *Marius Marcellinus*, dans la légion créée par Septime Sévère ; un cavalier de la garde impériale, *C. Marius Gemellinus*. Remarquons les deux gentilices différents (fils d'un soldat en service ?).

⁴⁰ D'autres *pagani* sont mentionnés dans les épitaphes *DKR 387* (= *CIL VI* 32824) pour le frère d'un cavalier : *T. Aur. Iustus, paganus* ; et *630* (= *CIL VI* 3183), pour un Pannonien : *Titius Marcellus, frater eius, pagan(us)*). Pour le sens « civil » du terme *paganus*, voir GILLIAM 1986, 65–68.

⁴¹ AÉ, 1993, 331 = *IDRE I* 33 ; PANCIERA 2006, II, 1448.

⁴² ALFÖLDY 1969, 305 ; OPEL IV 109 (entre autres, avec 2 exemples en Pannonie).

⁴³ Comme parallèle, nous pouvons citer, en Dacie même, la transaction concernant deux esclaves sur des *tabellae ceratae* d'*Alburnus Maior, n(at)ione Gr(a)ecus* (*IDR I* 37 = *TabCerD 7*), respectivement *n(at)ione Cretica* (*IDR I* 38 = *TabCerD 8*).

⁴⁴ Pour les graphies du toponyme, voir DANA & NEMETI 2014, 109–114, n° 5 ; MITTHOF 2014. La même graphie *Zermi-* apparaît sur un diplôme militaire du 7 janvier 226 (RGZM 59), dont le lieu de découverte est inconnu (sans doute la

Zermi(z)egete(nsium) (7, avec la graphie *natione Daqus*) ; [domo Colonia V]lpia [Zermizeget]usa (17). C'était sans doute la seule ville de Dacie à être connue et identifiée aussitôt avec la province nord-danubienne, alors que la mention d'autres centres urbains, plus obscure, pouvait prêter à confusion. En revanche, les Pannoniens présents dans le même corps d'élite sont beaucoup plus nombreux à indiquer leurs centres urbains : *Aquae Balizae, Aquincum, Brigetio, Mursa, Poetovio, Savaria, Sirmium, Siscia*. Dans tous les cas, il faut privilégier leur origine des territoires de ces municipes ou colonies, comme le précisent par ailleurs des épitaphes pour des *ESA* pannoniens, qui donnent aussi leur *pagus* et leur *vicus*⁴⁵.

4. Onomastique : quelques éclairages

Il faut certes déplorer l'état particulier du dossier épigraphique : on compte un tiers d'anonymes, dont la formule onomastique est perdue ou endommagée (4, 9, 14, 15, 16, 17, ?18). La datation de la plupart des stèles de la première moitié du III^e s., ainsi que le recrutement généralement plus tardif des provinciaux de Dacie, expliquent pourquoi près de deux tiers du groupe sont des *Aurelii* (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9), secondés par deux *Septimii* (12, 13), alors que d'autres gentilices ne sont attestés qu'une seule fois : *Antonius* (19), *Iulius* (10), *Marius* (11) et le plus rare *Silvinius* (20). Ce dernier gentilice étonne, non seulement parce qu'il est associé avec le *cognomen* dace *Decibalus*, mais parce qu'il est caractéristique des provinces celto-germaniques, en particulier la Germanie Inférieure⁴⁶.

La prédominance des deux gentilices impériaux *Septimius* et *Aurelius*, indices d'une citoyenneté récente, soit au moment de la promotion dans la garde impériale, soit après la *Constitutio Antoniniana* (212)⁴⁷, s'accorde avec des *cognomina* majoritairement banals, dont certains sont des dérivés en *-anus* et *-inus* : *Antonius* (1), *Dexter* (3), *Florentinus* (12), *Gemellinus* (11), *Quintianus* (10), *Super* (5), *Victor* (6), *Victorinus* (7), *Vitalis* (8). Parmi eux, notons des *cognomina* très prisés dans le milieu militaire : *Dexter*, *Super*, *Victor*, *Vitalis*. On compte un seul *cognomen* rare, *Sacretius* (13), qui sera commenté *infra*.

Une question importante, avec des enjeux évidents, est celle de l'éventuelle origine indigène des recrues et de la présence de l'onomastique dace⁴⁸. L'origine indigène d'une partie

Dacie), pour un prétorien de la coh. IX praetoria : *M(arco) Aurelio M(arci) f(ilio) Col(onia) Senecio Zermizegetusa*. Il convient de comprendre non pas la tribu *Col(lina)*, comme l'avaient fait B. Pferdehirt et C. C. Petolescu, mais le statut de colonie, qui est également noté dans les inscriptions laissées par les *ESA*. Voir DANA 2010, 57–58, n° 38.

⁴⁵ DKR 657 : *ex Pan(nonia) | Sup(eriore), natus ad Aquas Balizas, | pago Iovista, vic(o) Coc[--]netibus* ; DKR 658 : *natio/ne Pannoniae Superiore, Cl(audia) Sa|vari[a], vico Voleuci*.

⁴⁶ OPEL IV 82; KAKOSCHKE 2006, 371–372, GN 1186 (une dizaine d'occurrences de ce gentilice patronymique).

⁴⁷ À l'exception de *T. Aur. Dexter* (3), dont le second héritier est un parfait homonyme (*T. Aur. Dexter*), sur une stèle funéraire de la seconde moitié du II^e s. Un autre [*T. A】ur. Dexter* est héritier d'un *ESA* pannonien (DKR 261).

⁴⁸ Sur l'onomastique dace, qui commence à être mieux connue, voir DANA 2003, 2004, 2006 ; DANA & ZĂGREANU 2013 (sur des soldats daces en service dans la province de Dacie) ; D. Dana, *OnomThrac*, LXVII–LXXV.

des recrues est non seulement envisageable, mais certaine. Pourtant, elle doit être solidement appuyée :

a) les porteurs des deux *cognomina daces*, *Decibalus* et *Diurdanus*, apparaissent dans des catalogues de dédicants, sans aucune précision concernant leur origine : *Antonius Diurdanus* (19) et *Silvinius Decibalus* (20). Si le *cognomen* du premier est un nom typiquement dace (*OnomThrac* 143–144)⁴⁹, celui de *Decibalus* est un « nom historique »⁵⁰ par excellence des Daces, à présent connu par plus de 25 occurrences⁵¹. On peut penser à trois éventualités : (1) soit ils sont originaires de Dacie, en service d'abord dans une aile de leur province ; (2) soit ils sont originaires de Mésie Inférieure⁵², en service d'abord dans une aile de leur province ; (3) soit, enfin, ils sont originaires de Dacie ou de Mésie Inférieure, en service d'abord dans une aile d'une autre province, avant d'être promus afin de servir dans la garde impériale.

b) sur le diplôme militaire (2), le soldat libéré, *M. Aur. Decianus*, de citoyenneté récente, porte le même *cognomen* que l'idionyme de son père, qui était également pérégrin avant 212. C. C. Petolescu, qui avait pensé à tort que le *cognomen Decianus* « ne semble pas être romain », n'hésite pas à en voir un « anthroponyme dace sûr, qui comporte le radical *Dec-* » ; en cela, il avait suivi G. G. Mateescu, sans comprendre réellement la portée de ses explications⁵³. En vérité, *Decianus*, normalement un dérivé du gentilice *Decius*, est sans aucun doute un nom d'assonance dace⁵⁴, à partir d'un nom en *deci-*, tels *Decibalus* et *Decinaeus*⁵⁵.

c) deux autres noms restent ambigus : (i) l'héritier *Aur. Curia* (de 1) porte un *cognomen* très rare ; il n'est rencontré, bien que par deux fois, que dans la liste des légionnaires libérés en 195 de la *legio VII Claudia* de *Viminacium*⁵⁶ ; dans le même contingent de recrues, on trouve par ailleurs plusieurs *cognomina* de facture dace pour des recrues originaires du territoire de *Ratiaria* (Mésie Supérieure)⁵⁷ ; (ii) *Aur. Longinus, paganus*, et sa femme (?) MA^[3]NV sont l'oncle et la tante (plutôt que les grands-parents) d'un cavalier (7) ; s'il s'agit d'un nom féminin

⁴⁹ Citons également l'épitaphe *CIL VI* 3451 d'un *vet(eranus) Aug(usti) n(ostr)i* probablement pannionien, *Aur. Dassius*, érigée par sa femme *Aurelia Amazonia* et par l'héritier *Aur. Diurdanus*, qui, d'après son *cognomen*, doit être originaire de Dacie ou de Mésie Inférieure.

⁵⁰ Pour *Decibalus* comme « nom historique » des Daces, voir DANA 2006, 114–116, 121–124; 2007, 42–47, en partic. 43–45; 2011, 79–82.

⁵¹ *OnomThrac* 115–117 et *OnomThracSuppl*, s.v.

⁵² En effet, l'onomastique de la plupart des populations indigènes de Mésie Inférieure était de facture daco-mésienne (voir note 48).

⁵³ MATEESCU 1923, 189.

⁵⁴ Pour ces noms « à double entrée » (latine et indigène), voir RAEPSAET-CHARLIER 2005, 225–231. Sur *Decianus*, voir DANA & MATEI-POPESCU 2009, 218 et comm. p. 226; DANA 2011, 75–76.

⁵⁵ Cf. PETOLESCU 1988 (= PETOLESCU 2007, 153–154); IDRE, I, 1996, p. 169.

⁵⁶ *CIL III* 14507 = *IMS II* 53 = *IDRE II* 308 : *M. Aur. Curia, Rat(iaria) ; T. Aur. Curia, [Rat(iaria?)]*. OPEL II 88 donne pourtant un seul ex. ; ce *cognomen* est en outre absent du *Repertorium* (où l'on trouve *Curialis*, etc.).

⁵⁷ *Drigissa, Sinna, Tara, Thithi, Tiamarcus*.

MA[---]NV⁵⁸, on peut renvoyer à la série de noms féminins daco-mésiens finissant en -u/-ou⁵⁹, tels Μακου, Ποτου, Σεακου/Σιακου, Ζουν[.]τικου.

Si pour trois porteurs de *cognomina* daces ou assonants la question est tranchée, pour les autres la question de leur origine demeure cependant : sont-ils des Daces ou bien des descendants des nombreux colons installés aux commencements de la province ou pendant le II^e s., dont on connaît le poids dans la démographie de la province ?⁶⁰ Trois ou quatre exemples — dont deux concernent des femmes — pourraient illustrer ces deux possibilités, car seuls des renseignements complémentaires ou une onomastique particulière sont en mesure d'apporter une confirmation ou d'appuyer une hypothèse :

a) parmi les proches du prétorien Aur. Domitianus, *nat(ione) Dacus*, figure *Iulia Sisi*, dont le *cognomen* est dace⁶¹ ;

b) [A]urel(ia) *Mamu[t]so*, la femme d'un centurion de la *legio V Macedonica* (dont la garnison se trouvait à Potaissa), décédé en Italie du Nord, porte à son tour un *cognomen* dace⁶² ;

c) dans le milieu des légionnaires du III^e s. (nous laissons naturellement de côté la Mésie Inférieure et la Mésie Supérieure), on trouve deux *cognomina* daces : *Aurel. Sisinna*, dans la *legio XIII Gemina*⁶³ ; *Aurel. Tara*, héritier d'un légionnaire thrace de la *legio II Parthica*⁶⁴.

La situation était pourtant infiniment plus complexe. Pour preuve, le *cognomen* d'un cavalier de la garde impériale, *Sept. Sacretius*, *nat(ione) Dacus* (13), rarissime dans d'autres provinces, est typique du Norique, où il est très fréquent comme gentilice⁶⁵. Serait-il alors un descendant de colons noriques installés en Dacie, voire des soldats auxiliaires recrutés de cette province ? Son cas ne semble pas isolé : en effet, des descendants d'auxiliaires thraces de Napoca furent recrutés sous Hadrien dans la *legio III Augusta*, car certains de leurs *cognomina* sont thraces (et certainement pas daces) : *Bitus*, *Eptacentus*, *Mucatra*, *Tarsa*⁶⁶. De la même façon, on peut citer le cas d'un centurion de la *legio IV Scythica* de la première moitié du III^e s., *Ael. Verecundinus*, *natus in Dacia ad Vatabos*, très probablement descendant d'un auxiliaire

⁵⁸ Cf. Th. Mommsen (*CIL*) et RUSSU 1980, 54, n° 50 ; M. P. Speidel (comm., nom de la tante du défunt). Cette épitaphe présente pourtant nombre de graphies fautives : *Vitorinus*, *Dagus*, *Zermiegete(nsium)*.

⁵⁹ Voir DANA 2001-2003, 83-86.

⁶⁰ Voir la synthèse récente de MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2011.

⁶¹ CIL VI 2696 = IDRE I 31. Pour les noms daces de cette série, voir *OnomThrac* 323.

⁶² Épitaphe de la première moitié du III^e s., conservée dans les collections de la Basilique Ambrosienne de Milan. Voir DANA 2014a, 190-192, n° 8.

⁶³ Épitaphe d'Apamée de Syrie (IGLS IV 1362 = AÉ, 1993, 1576 = IDRE II 410) ; cf. le nom dace *Sinna* (*OnomThrac* 322-323).

⁶⁴ Épitaphe inédite d'Apamée de Syrie (cf. *OnomThrac* 344-345).

⁶⁵ CIL VI 3288 = DKR 539 = IDRE I 59. Pour les occurrences de *Sacretius*, voir OPEL IV 42 (4 ex. dans le Norique comme *nomen*) et KAKOSCHKE 2012, 171 (GN 354, 7 occurrences) et 619 (CN 1401, une occurrence). Dans son commentaire assez confus (suivi comme ailleurs par C. C. Petolescu), MATEESCU 1923, 194 n. 2, écrit que ce *cognomen* – *nota bene*, non attesté à son époque –, serait soit une corruption de *Sacratius*, soit un nom thrace (cf. *Scretesca*), ce qui est pour le moins gratuit.

⁶⁶ DANA 2004, 437.

batave (cf. le gentilice *Aelius*) ; en effet, son *cognomen* dérive d'un nom latin assonant, *Verecundus*⁶⁷.

5. Iconographie : inspirations provinciales et créations urbaines

Si le texte des épitaphes de Rome peut difficilement être pris pour une marque identitaire forte, il n'en est pas de même pour l'iconographie. Nous prenons ici en compte l'iconographie des stèles funéraires des cavaliers de la garde impériale, magistralement éditées et commentées par Michael P. Speidel. Il convient de préciser que la plupart des stèles, du moins au II^e s., comportaient une iconographie particulière, propre au corps de la garde impériale⁶⁸, qu'il s'agisse d'un registre militaire (cavalier, cheval et un palefrenier) ou d'un registre « civil », dominé par le motif du banquet couché. Il arrive même que les deux registres soient combinés (Figure 1). L'on peut aussi trouver un troisième schéma, celui du buste du défunt, généralement entre deux génies ou Érotes. Le motif des serviteurs sur ces stèles funéraires – plus précisément, le palefrenier qui est placé derrière le cheval – dérive directement d'un schéma iconographique d'époque flavienne utilisé pour les monuments funéraires des cavaliers auxiliaires en Germanie Inférieure. Ce schéma arrive donc à Rome avec les militaires promus dans la garde impériale⁶⁹. Ce n'est pourtant pas le seul transfert iconographique favorisé par la mobilité militaire et l'installation durable de provinciaux dans la capitale de l'Empire.

Au III^e s., on constate une spécialisation certaine des thèmes iconographiques en fonction des origines provinciales des *ESA*⁷⁰. L'exemple le plus frappant est celui des militaires issus de l'espace thrace : leurs stèles présentent avec une fréquence remarquable le thème du soi-disant « Cavalier Thrace » – code iconographique immensément populaire dans l'espace

⁶⁷ Épitaphe d'Apamée de Syrie (AÉ, 1993, 1577 = IDRE II 411). Dans *Ad Vatabos*, nouveau toponyme de Dacie romaine, les commentateurs ont à juste titre reconnu, par une métathèse banale, *Ad Batavos*, « Aux Bataves ». Ce toponyme bâti sur un ethnique n'est pas isolé en Dacie, où l'on connaissait déjà *Ad Pannomios* ; ces exemples renvoient en effet à des localités nées auprès d'un camp auxiliaire occupé par une unité « ethnique », ici les Bataves et les Pannoniens. Alors qu'il évoque la modestie et la tempérance en latin, *Verecundus* pouvait être également compris comme une association de deux éléments celtiques, *ver-* (« sur, au-dessus, fort, très ») et *condo-* (« raison, intelligence »). Pour des détails, voir DANA 2008.

⁶⁸ Avec plusieurs variantes :

- (1) Banquet – champ épigraphique – cheval et palefrenier ;
- (2) Buste – banquet – champ épigraphique – Érotes et guirlande – cheval et palefrenier ;
- (3) Buste – Érotes et guirlande – champ épigraphique – cheval et palefrenier ;
- (4) Buste – Érotes et guirlande – champ épigraphique – défunt placé entre deux chevaux.

⁶⁹ Voir SPEIDEL 1989, 240–241 (= SPEIDEL 1992, 343–344); 1994, 144–145. Voir aussi BUSCH 2013. Des études récentes s'intéressent à l'iconographie des militaires ; voir, à titre d'exemple, RICCI 2011.

⁷⁰ On connaît seulement deux stèles figurant la Louve et les jumeaux : DKR 652 (un *natione Britanicus*) et 608 (un *nat(ione) Thrax*). Enfin, une stèle de *Mogontiacum* représente un *ESA domo [P]ilodelpia* selon le schéma de l'archer oriental (DKR 684).

balkanique, en contexte votif et funéraire. Il s'agit d'un motif facilement reconnaissable, qui comporte la mise en scène d'une chasse héroïque, combinant dans un schéma iconographique simple ou plus élaboré un cavalier galopant vers la droite, un chien, un sanglier et un arbre (sans que les trois derniers éléments soient obligatoires) (Figures 2-3) ; parfois apparaît aussi un palefrenier qui suit le cavalier – dans ce dernier cas, il s'agit d'une influence manifeste du schéma iconographique typique des *ESA*. Dans ce contexte martial, la chasse est censée illustrer une preuve de virilité, en raison des vertus attribuées à l'exploit de tuer un sanglier, l'*aper fatalis*⁷¹.

Or, sur les monuments funéraires des cavaliers de la garde impériale dits *natione Dacus*, on rencontre à plusieurs reprises⁷² un motif iconographique qui semble se situer à mi-chemin entre la scène militaire-type (cavalier et cheval) et le motif du « Cavalier Thrace ». Il semble certes dériver du schéma thrace, mais il apparaît fortement appauvri (ou stylisé)⁷³, du moins sur certains monuments. On note, dans la plupart des cas, l'absence du chien, mais la présence presque régulière du sanglier, élément-clé de la scène de la chasse et qui n'est pas obligatoire dans l'espace balkanique⁷⁴.

Si le corpus analysé comporte plus d'une quinzaine de stèles funéraires, seulement une dizaine sont pourtant exploitables, par leur iconographie complète ou fragmentaire⁷⁵. Quant à la présence du motif de la chasse héroïque, on peut citer les stèles *DKR*:

⁷¹ SPEIDEL 1994b, 145 ; M.P. Speidel, *DKR*, 1994, 7 ; dans son corpus, les stèles funéraires 109, 136, 258, 264, 525, 541, 543, 544, 568, 577, 579 (chevalier et sanglier), 584, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 603, 604, 635, 640, 644, 647 (et, en dehors de Rome, 682). La plupart des défunt sont originaires de Thrace, Mésie Inférieure, Macédoine et Dacie.

⁷² D'autres militaires *natione Dacus* ont une iconographie banale : banquet couché — *DKR* 203, 541 (avec une iconographie spécifique), 650, 738 ; cavalier près de son cheval — *DKR* 539.

⁷³ On reconnaît les types IIA et IIB de la nouvelle typologie proposée par OPPERMANN 2006 a, dans sa monumentale monographie consacrée à ce motif dans l'espace thrace.

⁷⁴ Voici un récapitulatif des éléments iconographiques présents sur les stèles funéraires des *ESA* originaires de la province de Dacie :

DKR	Iconographie	Banquet	cheval + valet	Buste du défunt	Chasse au sanglier	Cavalier près de son cheval
203	×	×	(x)			
539	×					×
541	×	×	×	×	×	
543	×		×	(x)	×	
577	×				×	
584	×				×	
599	×				×	
603	×		(x)		×	
650	×	×				
738	×	×				

⁷⁵ Certaines stèles ont été retaillées (sans doute à l'époque moderne) en suivant les contours du champ épigraphique ; d'autres n'ont été transmises que par des manuscrits, parfois sans le dessin, ni la description de l'éventuelle iconographie (*DKR* 641 et 736).

541 (Figure 4)	banquet couché — buste du défunt et voile des Érotes — motif de la chasse au sanglier (cavalier au galop, suivi de son palefrenier)
543 (Figure 5)	guirlande et deux Érotes — motif de la chasse au sanglier (cavalier au galop, suivi de son palefrenier)
577 (Figure 7)	restes, motif de la chasse
584 (Figure 8)	fragmentaire : cavalier et lance, sans doute motif de la chasse au sanglier
599	chasse au sanglier, un chien
603	chasse au sanglier ; un palefrenier ?

Remarquons en outre que les stèles DKR 541 et 543 présentent le même schéma pour le cavalier, qui est fortement stylisé et ressemble plutôt au défunt qu'au type du « Cavalier Thrace ».

Il est important de préciser que ce motif de la chasse figure également, bien que dans une moindre mesure, sur les monuments funéraires de quelques ressortissants des provinces danubiennes situées plus en amont (Pannonies, Norique, Rhétie) (Figures 9–10)⁷⁶. On détient donc la preuve qu'un ou plusieurs ateliers de Rome ont créé et popularisé ce type iconographique, sans doute à la demande des cavaliers de la garde impériale originaires de Dacie et vraisemblablement d'autres provinces danubiennes, en reformulant le type iconographique préféré des cavaliers originaires de l'espace thrace. Témoignages de solidarités régionales, redéfinies à Rome, ces images suffisaient, dans la nécropole militaire, à signaler les origines provinciales des défunt, selon le détail qu'il s'agissait du « Cavalier Thrace » ou du type médio-danubien évoqué.

⁷⁶ Voici le catalogue de ces stèles (ethnique perdu ou ESA des provinces danubiennes situées en amont) :

DKR 109, *nat(ione) Rae[tus]* : buste – banquet – champ épigraphique – cavalier à la chasse au sanglier (arbre et chien).

DKR 136 [perdue], *natione Batau* : champ épigraphique – cavalier à la chasse au sanglier ?

DKR 258 [perdue] : champ épigraphique – cavalier à la chasse au sanglier. L'origine du défunt reste inconnue, mais l'un des héritiers est *duplicarius* de l'*ala Aureana* (sic) de Rhétie, et l'autre héritier appartient à la turme de *Bithus*.

DKR 264 [perdue], ethnique perdu : champ épigraphique – cavalier ; et scène de chasse (fragmentaire).

DKR 591, *nat(ione) Pannoni* : banquet – buste entre deux Érotes – cavalier à la chasse avec la lance, chien et arbre – champ épigraphique. L'un des deux héritiers est thrace (*Aur. Bithus*).

DKR 592, ethnique inconnu : banquet – buste – cavalier se dirigeant vers l'arbre, suivi d'un serviteur – champ épigraphique.

DKR 593, ethnique inconnu : banquet – champ épigraphique – cavalier vers l'arbre et sanglier.

DKR 594, *nat(ione) Noricu* : champ épigraphique – cavalier avec lance (fragmentaire).

DKR 596, un Pannionien : cavalier et chien, derrière un serviteur.

DKR 635, *natus in Pannonia Inferiore* : banquet – buste entre deux Érotes – scène de chasse.

DKR 640, *nat(ione) Raet(us)* : banquet et scène de chasse.

DKR 644, *nat(ione) Raetus* (turme d'Eptacentus) : scène de chasse.

DKR 647, *nat(ione) Pann(onius)* : scène de chasse.

Quelques remarques du point de vue typologique s'imposent au sujet des stèles funéraires honorant des *ESA* défunts originaires de Dacie. Il existe, paraît-il, deux types principaux, influencés par l'offre des ateliers auxquels les proches des défunts ont fait appel :

(1) Stèle avec fronton semi-circulaire et acrotères en forme de masque avec trois registres combinés ; les registres qui se répètent sont le banquet funéraire et le cavalier, alors que le buste du défunt (Figure 11) et les Érotes avec des guirlandes (Figure 12) sont interchangeables. Ce sont des monuments de grandes dimensions, mais d'exécution moins soignée que la plupart des stèles des *ESA* (schématisation du cavalier, main indistincte de la lance, Érotes grossièrement réalisés, chevaux sculptés d'après des chablons), donc à moindre coût. Ils sont sans doute issus du même atelier. Exemples : DKR 541, 543 (Figures 4–5) et très probablement 203 (sans exclure 584) (Figure 8).

(2) Le second type de stèle est plus simpliste du point de vue typologique, alors que l'exécution est plus soignée (Figure 13). Il présente deux registres en relief : a) le premier situé en dessous de l'inscription, figurant le Cavalier à la chasse, avec un compagnon et un chien, attaquant avec sa lance un sanglier ; b) dans le registre supérieur, le banquet couché⁷⁷. Ces monuments sont des productions de série, sans doute réalisées dans un atelier commun avec celui du type 1, puisqu'on remarque la même manière de réaliser le fronton de la stèle⁷⁸. Exemples : DKR 577 et 599 (Figure 6–7).

Plusieurs explications ont été proposées pour cette iconographie particulière en rapport avec les militaires dits *natione Dacu*s. András Alföldi reconnaissait sur quatre monuments des provinciaux de Dacie la scène du « Cavalier-Héros Thrace », preuve, selon lui, d'un enracinement de ce culte thrace en Dacie romaine⁷⁹. Nicolae Gostar privilégiait l'image du défunt héroïsé plutôt que celle de la divinité sud-thrace ; il y voyait un élément de culte et de symbolisme religieux importé avec la pratique par les militaires daces et leurs familles⁸⁰. Enfin, pour Ion Iosif Russu, ce motif serait plutôt le produit d'une simple influence et « contamination » par les camarades thraces, étant donné les rapports étroits dans le même corps militaire avec les cavaliers daces⁸¹. C'est aussi l'interprétation que nous privilégions, après avoir examiné le dossier iconographique. Il faut néanmoins insister davantage sur les différences, ce qui a été moins remarqué jusqu'à présent, ainsi que sur la présence du même motif pour des cavaliers originaires des provinces médio-danubiennes (dont la présence du tapis de selle).

⁷⁷ Parmi les parallèles, cf. la stèle d'Aurelius Dizala (DKR 544).

⁷⁸ Ce modèle se rapproche le plus de l'iconographie des monuments funéraires de Dacie figurant le Cavalier Thrace, mais les stèles de la province sont différentes du point de vue typologique.

⁷⁹ ALFÖLDI 1944, 59.

⁸⁰ GOSTAR 1965, 252.

⁸¹ RUSSU 1967, 102 n. 22 (sur les cavaliers de la garde impériale originaires de Dacie) ; RUSSU 1980, 42–43. Voir aussi NEMETI 2005, 197.

On peut ainsi se demander quel était l'usage du motif du Cavalier Thrace dans la province nord-danubienne ? Vu la présence considérable de militaires thraces (auxiliaires aussi bien que légionnaires) dans l'armée provinciale, le thème du Cavalier Thrace est naturellement répandu en Dacie romaine, notamment en contexte votif. Les commanditaires de ces reliefs étaient sans doute des militaires thraces⁸², bien que très peu de plaquettes portent une inscription⁸³. En contexte funéraire, les occurrences sont, en revanche, sporadiques⁸⁴. C'est pourtant ce registre funéraire qui nous intéresse ici. Partons du constat général que sur les stèles funéraires de Dacie on trouve parfois des cavaliers, selon le schéma de l'héroïsation équestre⁸⁵. Pourtant, on ne connaît que deux exemples indubitables du motif du Cavalier Thrace en contexte funéraire⁸⁶, datant de la seconde moitié du II^e s. : sur le premier monument, l'inscription n'est pas conservée ; sur le second monument, avec une inscription conservée et complète, le défunt n'est pas thrace, ni dace, mais un colon dalmate venu de *Splonum* : *T. Aur. Aper, Delmata, princ(eps) adsignat(us) ex m(unicipio) Splono.*

(1) *Micia* (Figure 14). Paroi latérale d'un édicule funéraire de calcaire (1,80 × 83 × 20 cm) ; l'inscription n'est pas conservée. Cavalier vêtu d'un chiton, galopant vers la droite ; en dessous du cheval, on aperçoit un animal tombé (biche ?) selon les commentateurs, alors qu'il doit s'agir plutôt d'un chien. Il s'agit d'une contamination entre le type du Cavalier Thrace et le défunt héroïisé (cf. N. Hampartumian). FLOCA & WOLSKI 1973, 10, n° 13, fig. 21–22 ; CCET IV 168 (Pl. CVII) ; TEPOSU MARINESCU 1982, 209, n° 51 (Pl. XL) ; CIONGRADI 2007, 221, Ae/M 11 (Pl. 76) ; *Lupa* 15088.

(2) *Ampelum* (Figure 15). Stèle funéraire de calcaire (144 × 83 × 25 cm). Dans la partie supérieure du monument, au-dessus du champ épigraphique, on aperçoit un cavalier en chiton, galopant vers la droite, avec une lance dans la main droite. Nous avons affaire à un autre exemple de contamination entre le type du Cavalier Thrace et le défunt héroïisé (cf. N. Hampartumian). CIL III 1322 = ILS 7153 = IDR III.3 345 = AÉ, 1968, 443 (HD 014660) : *D(is) M(anibus).| T(itus) Aur(elius) Aper, Delmata, princ(eps) | adsignat(us) ex m(unicipio) Splono,| vix(it)*

⁸² Voir, à titre d'exemple, RUSSU 1967, 94–105, en partic. 94–103 (sur l'iconographie du Cavalier Thrace) ; OPPERMANN 2006, 275–284 ; SZABÓ 2016 (ses considérations sur une « individualisation » religieuse, ainsi que les références aux études de D. Boteva, sont sujettes à caution).

⁸³ Pour le comportement religieux des militaires thraces dans les provinces danubiennes et en Dacie romaine, d'après les données épigraphiques et iconographiques, voir DANA & RICCI 2015, 110–119.

⁸⁴ Sur les pratiques funéraires des Illyriens et des Thraces en Dacie romaine, voir NEMETI 2003b. Sur les cavaliers dans l'iconographie funéraire de la Dacie romaine, voir BIANCHI 1985, 123–126 ; NEMETI & NEMETI 2014, pour la Dacie Porolissensis (*Heros equitans*).

⁸⁵ Sur la présence des cavaliers, voir NEMETI 2003a. En Mésie Supérieure, voir FILIPOVIĆ 2006 (on rencontre parfois le motif du Cavalier Thrace).

⁸⁶ Un troisième est douteux : la moitié inférieure d'une stèle funéraire du milieu du II^e s. d'*Vlpia Sarmizegetusa* (disparue, seul un dessin est conservé) figure un cavalier galopant vers la droite, le *sagum* au vent. Voir CIONGRADI 2007, 153, S/S 40 (Pl. 39).

ann(os) XXX. Aur(elius) Sat|tara lib(ertus) patr(ono) optimo p(osuit). CCET IV 169 (Pl. CVIII); BIANCHI 1985, 125–126 (Pl. VII, fig. 22); LOMA 1997, 195–198, n° 6.

Enfin, deux exemples d'*Apulum*, quoique vaguement similaires au thème du Cavalier Thrace, sont en réalité des images standardisées d'auxiliaires des ailes⁸⁷, tandis qu'un autre de Ţeica Mică (dép. de Sibiu) illustre le motif du cavalier terrassant un ennemi barbare (Figure 16)⁸⁸.

Les choix opérés dans l'iconographie funéraire des *equites singulares Augusti* dits *natione Dacus* ne sont donc aucunement alimentés par un arrière-fond iconographicoculturel de la province de Dacie, ni par une religiosité particulière en rapport avec le « Cavalier-Héros Thrace » — qui reste par ensemble, même dans les régions thraces, davantage un code iconographique qu'un motif religieux⁸⁹ —, mais par les évolutions en cours dans la capitale de l'Empire et par le dialogue entre les groupes massifs de provinciaux arrivés pour servir et protéger le Prince. De nouvelles sociabilités se mettent en place, alors que les procédures d'identification militaire, les origines provinciales et les interférences entre divers groupes structurent la représentation épigraphico-funéraire des provinciaux. C'est à Rome que le motif iconographique du « Cavalier Thrace », arrivé dans le bagage culturel des cavaliers balkaniques, fut partiellement réélaboré par des ateliers à l'intention des militaires originaires de Dacie et des provinces médio-danubiennes. De cette manière, le thème de la chasse héroïque fit désormais office d'image équestre et martiale du défunt, en combinaison ou non avec le registre « civil » du banquet, le buste honoré, ou encore avec la figuration-standard du cavalier ou du palefrenier auprès du cheval, emblème de leur esprit de corps. Ce bricolage dont nous n'avons qu'une image partielle, filtrée par les monuments funéraires,

⁸⁷ (1) *Apulum*. Partie inférieure d'une stèle funéraire de calcaire (67 × 69 × 11 cm). Au-dessous de l'inscription, cavalier galopant vers la droite, le *sagum* flottant au vent, tenant de sa main droite une haste. La fin de l'épitaphe est conservée (IDR III.5 631) : [---] / ex n(umero) ?O[-- he]res po[suit]. ȚEPOSU MARINESCU 1982, 148, n° 195; BIANCHI 1985, 270, n° 116; CIONGRADI 2007, 161, S/A 12 (Pl. 39); *Lupa* 13028.

(2) *Apulum*. Partie inférieure d'une stèle funéraire de calcaire (60 × 47 × 32 cm). Au-dessous de l'inscription, cavalier barbu en chiton, galopant vers la droite, le *sagum* flottant au vent, tenant de sa main droite une haste et de sa main gauche un bouclier et deux hastes (?). La fin de l'épitaphe est conservée (IDR III.5 633) : [--- | --- ?here]s / f(laciendum) c(uravit). CCET IV 174 (Pl. CXII); ȚEPOSU MARINESCU 1982, 147, n° 187; CIONGRADI 2007, 161, S/A 11 (Pl. 39); *Lupa* 13044.

⁸⁸ Paroi latérale d'un édicule funéraire de calcaire (60 × 92 × 12 cm); l'inscription n'est pas conservée. Triple registre iconographique, mettant en scène les étapes successives d'une vie exemplaire (guerre, scène agricole, sacrifice funéraire) ; en haut, cavalier vêtu d'un chiton, galopant vers la droite, tenant une lance de la main droite et terrassant un ennemi tombé à terre. FLOCA & WOLSKI 1973, 28, n° 85, fig. 104; ȚEPOSU MARINESCU 1982, 214, n° 74; NEMETI 2003a, 318, n° 22; CHIŞ 2014, 170 et 296, n° 427; BIANCHI 2015, 178 (photo p. 177, fig. 8); *Lupa* 15085.

⁸⁹ Voir DIMITROVA 2002.

illustre bien la diversité d'un Empire qui, réunissant des provinciaux en son cœur, renforce et reconfigure en même temps les anciennes solidarités régionales.

CATALOGUE ÉPIGRAPHIQUE (PROSOPOGRAPHIE)

Dans ce catalogue, nous donnons une brève description des monuments funéraires ou votifs (en particulier du point de vue iconographique), les références essentielles (dont le corpus DKR, le répertoire *SII-Roma* et la base de données EDR, avec d'autres photos) et la datation, ainsi que, le cas échéant, des problèmes de lecture et de restitution, qui sont parfois notables. Abréviations : déc(ouverte), déd(icace), descr(cription), dim(ensions), ép(igraphique), fragm(entaire), fun(éraire), inc(onnues).

I. PROSOPOGRAPHIE DES EQVITES SINGVLARES AVGVSTI ORIGINAIRES DE DACIE

Aurelius Antonius

1. Rome. Stèle fun. (dim. inc.), figurant la scène de chasse (descr. *CIL* : « vir equo vectus, sub cuius pedibus aper, approporante altero viro pone equum »). *CIL VI 3191 = ILS 2205 = DKR 603 = CLE 1460 = IDRE I 50. EDR 152523. III^e s.*

D(is) M(anibus).| Aur(elio) Antoniu(s) curat(ori) eq(uitem) sing(ularium) d(omini) n(ostris), tu[r(ma)] | Herodes, kastr(is) prior(ibus), nat(ione) Dacus, affect(us) ex | ala Gallor(um). Vix(it) ann(os) XXXX, me(n)s(es) V, dies XXV,¹⁵ mil(itavit) ann(os) XXI. Aur(elius) Curia, tur(ma) Rufiniani, et Aur(elius) | Leo, libert(us) eius, hered(es), b(ene) m(erenti) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt).| Optamus cuncti sit tibi terra levis.
Lectures : 3 *Herod[i]s* Dessau | 5 *Curia()* Dessau.

M. Aurelius Decianus

2. Lieu de déc. inc. (Musée de Naples). *Tabella I* d'un diplôme militaire (découvert près de Naples ?) (18 × 14 × 0,2 cm). *CIL XVI 144 = ILS 2009 = DKR 76 = IDRE I 166. 7 janvier 230.*

(...) equitibus qui inter singulares militaver(unt) castris novis Severianis quibus praeest Aelius Victor tribunus (...) ex equite domini n(ostris) Aug(usti) M(arco) Aurelio Deciani fil(io) Deciano, Colonia Malvense ex Dacia.

Lecture : *Malvese Nesselhauf : Malvense Speidel.*

T. Aurelius Dexter

3. Rome. Stèle fun. fragm. (19 × 52 cm), avec la scène du banquet au-dessus du champ ép. ; en dessous, sans doute le cheval avec un palefrenier. *CIL VI 3200 = DKR 203 = IDRE I 51. EDR 152524. II^e s. ap. J.-C.*

D(is) M(anibus).| T(ito) Aur(elio) Dextro,| eq(uiti) sin(gulari) Aug(usti), tur(ma) Ael(i) | Maximi, nat(ione) Dacus,⁵ v(ixit) a(nnos) XXXVI, mil(itavit) a(nnos) XVI.| P(ublius) Ael(ius) Maximus, dec(urio), h(eres),| et T(itus) Aur(elius) Dexter, secundus | h(eres), f(aciendum) c(uraverunt).

M. Aurelius M[---]

?4. Rome. Stèle fun. fragm., apparemment dépourvue d'iconographie. CIL VI 3239a = DKR 641.

III^e s.

M(arcus) Aurel(ius) M[---, eq(ues) sing(ularis d(omini) n(ostri), tur(ma)] | Marci, domu D[acia Infer(iore)?, allectus ex] | ala Gallorum. [Vix(it) an(nos) -, me(n)s(es) -],| dieb(us) XII, mil(itavit) an(nos) [-. Aur(elii)? Bar?]⁶ gates, doct(or) al[ae s(upra) s(cryptae), et Secun]dinus, eq(ues) sing(ularis), [et ---, mil(es) coh(ortis) -] | praet(oriae), hered[es eius, fra]tri optimo et p[ientissimo] | ben(e) mer(enti) fec(erunt).

Lectures : 2 domu I[---] CIL Speidel || 5 ou doct(or) ar[m(orum)/m(atrarum)]. Nous restituons plusieurs Aurelii, selon la suggestion de Speidel. Le nom du premier héritier est très probablement le fréquent Bargat(h)es, plutôt que Masicates, comme le propose Speidel (AE, 1959, 188).

Aurelius Super

5. Rome. Stèle fun. fragm. (30,7 × 39,2 × 7 cm) ; au-dessus du champ ép., les restes d'une scène de chasse au sanglier. Nécropole des ESA. CIL VI 32845 b = DKR 577 = IDRE I 53. EDR 152547 ; autre photo : SII-Roma, 2, 2733. Figure 7. III^e s.

D(is) M(anibus).| Aur(elius) Super, eq(ues) s[ing(ularis) dd(ominorum) nn(ostrorum) Augg(ustorum)],| vixit ann(os) XXI[-],| natione Da[cus?, ---].| Flav(ius) Front[--],| nu[meri eiusdem? ---].

Lectures : 4 Da[cus], plutôt que Da[lmata] ou Da[rdanus] || 6 peut-être nu[meri eiusdem] Speidel.

Aurelius Victor

6. Rome. Stèle fun. presque complète (119,2 × 50,2 cm)⁹⁰, avec plusieurs registres iconographiques : au-dessus du champ ép., le banquet ; en dessous, le buste du défunt, et sur un troisième registre, une combinaison entre le schéma du cavalier (escorté par un palefrenier) et la chasse. Nécropole des ESA. CIL VI 3234 = ILS 2209 = DKR 541 = IDRE I 54. EDR 126980 (et photo) ; autre photo : SII-Roma, 2, 2763. Figure 4. III^e s.

D(is) M(anibus).| Aurel(io) Victori, eq(uiti) | sing(ulari), tur(ma) Costan[tini, nat(ione) Dacus,⁵ allect(us) ex ala I Illy|ricon(um), vix(it) an(nos) XXXIII,| mil(itavit) an(nos) XIII. Vlp(ius) | Macedo et Vlp(ius) Ma[ternus dupl(icarii), hered(es), b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecerunt).

Aurelius Victorinus

7. Rome. Stèle fun. fragm. (48 × 48,3 cm), figurant la scène de la chasse au sanglier. CIL VI 3236 = ILS 2204 = DKR 599 = IDRE I 55. EDR 152526 ; autre photo : SII-Roma, 2, 2717. Figure 6. III^e s.

⁹⁰ Il existe plusieurs copies modernes de cette stèle, avec une disposition différente (voir EDR 126980, avec photos).

D(is) o(mnibus) M(anibus).| Aurelius Vitorinus (sic),| eques singulari(s) d(omini) n(ostri),| castris prioribus, turma ⁵ Sabiniani, inmunis tur(arius), nat(ione) Daqus, domum Coloni(a) | Zermi(z)egete(nsium), vix(it) an(nos) XXXV,| militavit an(nos) XI. Aurel(i) | Longinus paganus, et Ma[³]nu nep[oti] pientissimo | [---].

Lectures : 2 Victorinus CIL ILS : Vitorinus Ameling Speidel || 5 inmunis tur(mae) CIL ILS Russu : inmunis tur(arius) Speidel || 7 Zermi(z)egete Speidel || 9-10 Ma[--]nus éds. (ou reste du nom de la grand-mère, Mommsen).

Aurelius Vitalis

8. Rome. Stèle fun. complète (92 × 58,5 cm), figurant en dessous du champ ép., sur deux registres, une guirlande tenue par deux Érotes, et une scène du cavalier au galop (chasse ?), suivi d'un palefrenier ; le sanglier fut peut-être ajouté à l'époque moderne. CIL VI 3238 = ILS 2208 = DKR 543 = IDRE I 56 = CBI 941. EDR 125878 (et photo) ; autre photo : SII-Roma, 3, 4083. Figure 5. III^e s.

D(is) M(anibus).| Aurel(io) Vital<i>, b(eneficiario), equ(iti) | sing(ulari), tur(ma) Lupionis,| nat(ione) Dacus, ala Cam⁵pacon(um) (sic). Vix(it) ann(os) XXX, me(n)s(es) II, die(s) V, mil(itavit) ann(os) | XII. Aurel(ius) Severus,| protect(or) pr(aefecti) pr(aetorio), b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit).

Lectures : 2 VITALT stèle : Vital(i), tr(ibuni) b(eneficiario) ou Vital(i), b(eneficiario) Speidel. Un Aur. Vitalis (même personne ? ou homonyme, car l'onomastique est trop banale) apparaît comme second héritier dans l'épitaphe CIL VI 3261 = DKR 580.

Aurelius [--]

9. Rome. Stèle fun. fragm. (dim. inc.), figurant un banquet (descr. CIL : « vir in lecto recumbens »). Nécropole des ESA. CIL VI 37252 = DKR 738 = IDRE I 64. EDR 15258. III^e s.

D(is) M(anibus).| Aureliu[s ---], vetera[nus ex n(umero) eq(uitem) sing(ularium)],| n(atione)] Dac[us, ---].

Iulius Quintianus

10. Rome. Stèle fun. fragm. (dim. inc.), figurant un banquet (descr. CIL : « persona lectus funebris persona »). Nécropole des ESA. CIL VI 3268 = 32786 = DKR 650 = IDRE I 57. EDR 152534. III^e s.

D(is) M(anibus).| Iulio Quintiano,| eq(uiti) s(ingulari) Augg(ustorum) nn(ostrorum).| Vix(it) an(nos) XXVI, m(ilitavit) ann(nos) [---],⁵ t(urma) Aug(), na(tus) Dac[ia ---].| Her(edes) Ambru[c?---] Aprio et [---]| TN[---].

Lectures : 5 Dac[ia Infer(iore)/Super(iore)] || 5 e.g. Aug(urinus)/Aug(ustalis)/Aug(ustini) || 6 HER•AM•BRV[copie.

C. Marius Gemellinus

11. Rome. Stèle fun. complète, apparemment dépourvue d'iconographie. CIL VI 3277 = DKR 736 = IDRE I 58. EDR 152538. III^e s.

D(is) M(anibus).| C(aio) Mario Gemellino, veter(ano) Aug(usti) | n(ostr)i, nat(ione) Dacus, qui vix(it) ann(os) | XXXXIII, d(ies) V, mil(itavit) an(nos) XXV |⁵ in eq(uitibus) sing(ularibus) Aug(usti) n(ostr)i. Aurel(ius) | Emeritus, evok(atus) Aug(usti) n(ostr)i, et Marius | Marcellinus, mil(es) leg(ionis) II Part(h)ic(ae),| fratr(es) et hered(es) fecerunt.

Septimius Florentinus

12. Rome. Stèle fun. incomplète (80 × 52 × 8 cm), figurant en dessous du champ ép. un cavalier à la lance. AÉ, 1993, 333 = DKR 584 = IDRE I 49. EDR 6230. Figure 8. III^e s.

[D(is) M(anibus)].| [Septi]m(io) Flōrent|[in]q, libr(ar)io n(umeri) equi[tum] singul(arium) Aug(usti) |⁵ [n(ostr)i, st]ipend(iorum) XVII, n(atione) Dac(us),| [vix(it)] ann(os) XXXV. Aeli[us] Valentinus et | [Septi]m(ius) Lu[cia]nus,| [her]ed(es), b(ene) m(erenti) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt).

Septimius Secretius

13. Rome. Stèle fun. complète (dim. inc.), figurant au-dessus du champ ép. un cavalier (descr. CIL : « sub equo et equite ei adstante »). CIL VI 3288 = DKR 539 = IDRE I 59. EDR 152540. III^e s.

D(is) M(anibus).| Septim(io) Secretio, eq(uiti) sing(ulari) | d(omini) n(ostr)i, tur(ma) Neroniani, kastr(is) pri(orib(us), nat(ione) Dacus. Vix(it) ann(os) XLV, |⁵ mil(itavit) ann(os) XXIII. Valer(ius) Vale(n)s et | Aelia Vrsula, coniunx eius, hered(es),| b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecerunt).

[--]s+++[--]

14. Rome. Stèle fun. fragm. (27 × 15 × 6,5 cm), sans traces de l'éventuelle iconographie. Découverte sur la via Nazionale (S. Vitale, sur le Viminal). CIL VI 3320 = DKR 618 = IDRE I 60. EDR 152543. III^e s.

[D(is) M(anibus).| ---]s+++[--,| ---] d(omini) n(ostr)i Aug(usti),| [nati]one? D]aciscu[s,|⁵ tur(ma)] Noni,| [vixit] an(nos) XXX[---,| mil(itavit) an]n(os) XII[---,| ---] Aur(elius) [--].

[--]

15. Rome. Stèle fun. fragm., sans traces de l'éventuelle iconographie. Nécropole des ESA. CIL VI 32791 = DKR 443 = IDRE I 63. EDR 152546. II^e-III^e s.

[--]X•TIN[---,| ---, natio]ne Da[cus, --- | vix(it) a]nnis XXXV[-,| mens(ibus) -, dieb(us) -]II, contube[rnali --- |⁵ --- bene] merenti [--- | --- h]eredes Aur(elius) [--,| eques sin]g(ularis) Aug(usti) n(ostr)i et [--- | ---, equ]es sing(ularis) Aug(usti) n(ostr)i [--].

Lecture : 1 t(urma) In[genui?] CIL.

[--]

16. Rome. Stèle fun. fragm. (30 × 22 × 7 cm), sans traces de l'éventuelle iconographie. Nécropole des ESA. CIL VI 37258 a = DKR 547 = IDRE I 61. EDR 152549. III^e s.

[D(is) M(anibus).] - --- ---, eq(uiti) s]ing(ulari) | [--, tur(ma) Lon]gini,] [oriund(us) ex provi]nc(ia) Da⁵[cia?, vix(it) an(nos) ---], mil(itavit) an(nos) | [---]. P(ublius) Ael(ius) [--, mil(es) leg(ionis) II] Part(hicae),] [---]QN/[---].

Lecture : 4-5 plutôt que Da/[lm(atia)].

[--]

17. Rome. Stèle fun. fragm. (21 × 30 × moins de 5 cm), sans traces de l'éventuelle iconographie. Nécropole des ESA. DKR 151. EDR 3217. **II^e s.**

[---.] ---, nat(ione) D]aq(us),] [domo Colonia V]lpia [Zermizeget]usa,⁵ [vix(it) an(nos) XXX-, mi]l(itavit) an(nos) XV,] [--- Provi]ncialis | [---]+[---].

Lecture : 4 [Sarmizeget(h)]usa Speidel.

[--]

18. Rome. « Urna quadrata integra » (emportée en Russie). CIL VI 3456 = IDRE I 62. EDR 152545. **III^e s.**

[---],] mil(itavit) ann(os) VIIII,] nat(us) Dacia,] Aur(elius) Aurelian(us),] frat(er) et he⁵res, et Aur(elius) | Victor, vet(eranus),] corporis curator,] b(ene) m(erenti) | posuerunt.

Pour C. C. Petolescu, le terme *curator* de Aur. Victor n'implique pas une charge militaire, mais indique qu'il prit soin de l'enterrement du défunt. L'unité militaire du défunt anonyme reste inconnue : *ESA* ou prétorien (car il s'agit d'une urne).

II. EQVITES SINGVLARES AVGVSTI PORTEURS DE COGNOMINA DACES

Antonius Diurdanus

19. Rome. Déd. émanant d'une *turma* d'*ESA*. CIL VI 2408 = DKR 67. EDR 121565. **III^e s.**

Ant(onius) Diurdanus.

Silvinius Decibalus

20. Rome. Déd. à Minerve d'un *coll(egium)* *eq(uitum)* *s(ingularium)* *cur(atorum)*. DKR 58 = IDRE I 48. EDR 33784. **10 juin 203.**

Silvin(ius) Decibalus.

III. ESCLAVES DACES DANS L'ENTOURAGE DES EQVITES SINGVLARES AVGVSTI

Aurelius Primus

21. Rome. Plaque fun. dépourvue d'iconographie (32 × 23 × 3 cm). CIL VI 3227 = DKR 706 = IDR I 52. EDR 153479. **III^e s.**

D(is) M(anibus).] Aurel(io) Primo / liberto, nat(ione) / Dacus, vix(it) ann(os) | XXV. Aur(elius) Tato,] eq(ues) sing(ularis), tur(ma) | Victuri, pa|tronus,] b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit).



Figure 1. Stèle funéraire d'un ESA pannonien
(DKR 108).

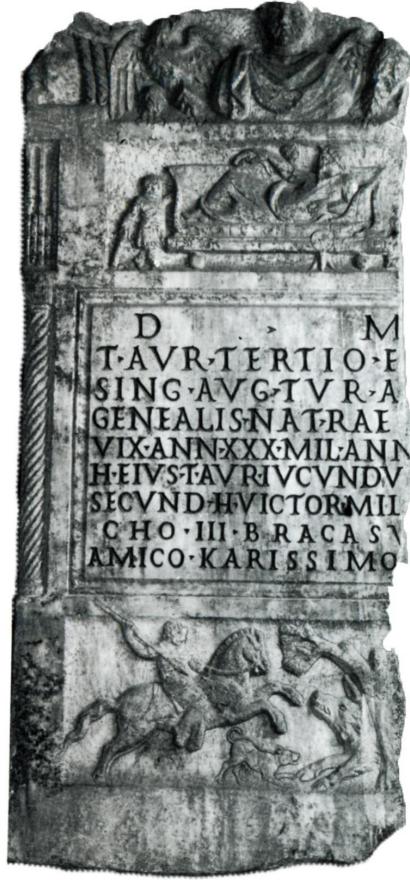


Figure 2. Stèle funéraire d'un ESA thrace (DKR 109).



Figure 3. Stèle funéraire d'un ESA anonyme (DKR 525).



Figure 4. Stèle funéraire d'Aurelius Victor
(DKR 541).

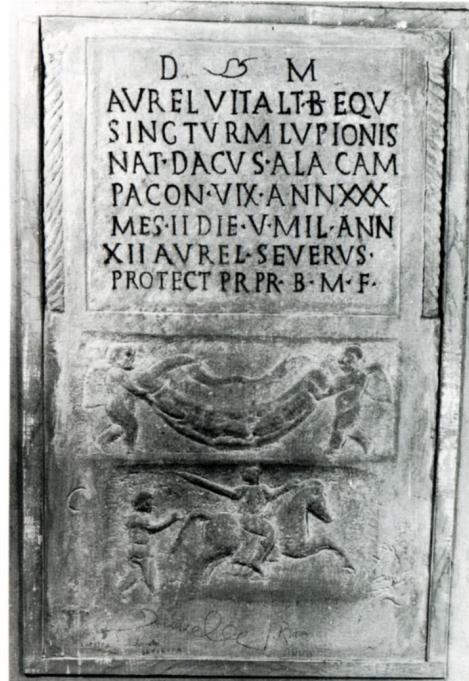


Figure 5. Stèle funéraire d'Aurelius Vitalis
(DKR 543).



Figure 6. Stèle funéraire d'Aurelius
Victorinus (DKR 599).



Figure 7. Stèle funéraire d'Aurelius Super
(DKR 577).



Figure 9. Stèle funéraire d'un ESA pannonien (DKR 591).



Figure 8. Stèle funéraire de Septimius Florentinus (DKR 584).



Figure 10. Stèle funéraire d'un ESA pannonien (DKR 596).

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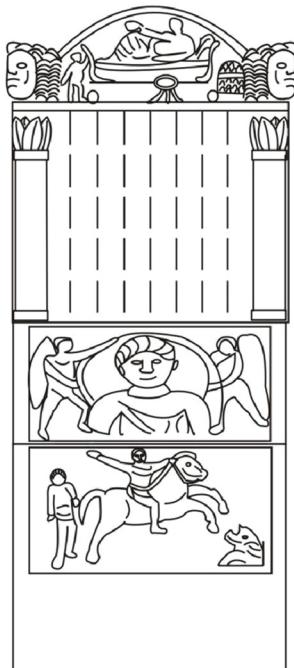


Figure 11. Type 1 – buste du défunt
(R. Zăgoreanu).

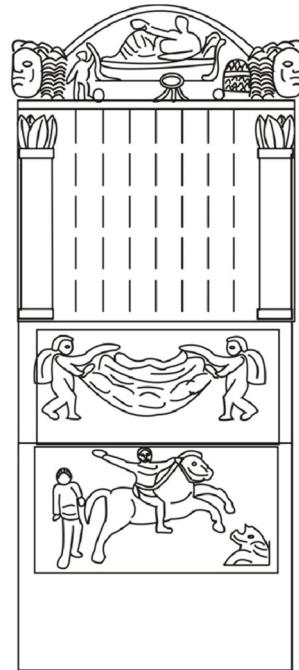


Figure 12. Type 1 – Érotes et guirlandes
(R. Zăgoreanu).

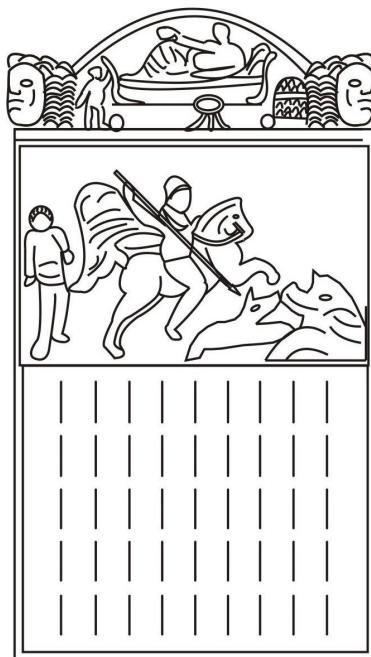


Figure 13. Type 2 (R. Zăgoreanu).



Figure 14. Édicule funéraire de Micia
(CCET IV 168).



Figure 15. Stèle funéraire d'Ampelum
(CCET IV 169).



Figure 16. Édicule funéraire de Şeica Mică.

Abréviations

EDR = *Epigraphic Database Roma* (Online: www.edr-edr.it).

DKR = *Vide SPEIDEL* 1994a.

CBI = *Vide SCHALLMAYER et alii* 1990.

CCET = *Corpus Cultus Equitis Thracii. Vide:* I – GOCEVA, OPPERMANN 1979; II. – GOCEVA, OPPERMANN 1981/1984; IV. – HAMPARTUMIAN 1979; V. – CERMANOVIC-KUZMANOVIC 1982.

CLE = *Vide BÜCHELER, LOMMATZSCH* 1898-1926.

IDR = *Vide PIPPIDI, RUSSU* 1975-présent.

IDRE = *Vide PETOLESCU* 1996-2000.

I. Koptos-Kosseir = *Vide BERNAND* 1972.

IGLS = *Inscriptions grecques et latines de Syrie*, 1929-présent. Paris.

ILD = *Vide PETOLESCU* 2005-2016.

ILS = *Vide DESSAU* 1892-1916.

IMS = *Vide PAPAZOGLOU* 1976-présent.

Lupa = *Vbi erat Lupa* (Online: www.ubi-erat-lupa.org).

OnomThrac = *Vide DANA* 2014b.

OnomThracSuppl = *Vide DANA* 2014c.

OPEL = *Vide LORINCZ, REDÖ* 1994-2002.

Repertorium = *Vide SOLIN, SALOMIES* 1994².

RGZM = *Vide PFERDEHIRT* 2004.

RIB = *Vide COLLINGWOOD, WRIGHT, TOMLIN* 1965-2009.

RIU = *Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns (RIU)*, vol. I-VI, 1972-2001. Budapest-Amsterdam-Bonn.

SII-Roma = *Vide PANCIERA* 1999.

TabCerD = *Vide RUSSU* 1975.

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Population dynamics at the spas of Roman Dacia. Case study: the population of Băile Herculane

Imola BODA¹, Călin TIMOC², Victor BUNOIU³

Abstract. The present study analyses the importance of the Băile Herculane spa resort, based on epigraphic discoveries and cartographic sources. Social mobility, along with the presence of urban elites from various towns, passing through, can shed some light on the renown enjoyed by the Băile Herculane hot springs during the Roman and Late Roman periods. The authors also attempt to research the local religious life, as well as the layout of the settlement's sacred enclosures, an endeavour never before attempted. The results of such an analysis, in comparison with other spa resorts in Dacia, enables the possibility to understand how the town and its public edifices, dominant during the Roman period, developed, as well as the urban layout of Băile Herculane.

Rezumat. Prezentul studiu analizează pe baza descoperirilor epigrafice și a surselor cartografice importanța stațiunii balneare de la Băile Herculane între celelalte stațiuni al Daciei Romane. Mobilitatea socială, precum și prezența elitelor urbane din diverse localități aflate în trecere pe aici pot oferi un indiciu privind renumele pe care l-au avut aceste izvoare termale de la Băile Herculane în epoca romană și romană târzie. Cercetarea vieții religioase și a topografiei sacre a așezării este un alt subiect atins de autori, un studiu ce nu a mai fost întreprins până în momentul de față. O asemenea analiză – comparând cu situația din alte stațiuni balneare ale provinciei Dacia – dă posibilitatea de a înțelege mai bine felul în care s-a dezvoltat așezarea și edificiile publice care au dominat în epoca romană precum și peisajul urban de la Băile Herculane.

Keywords: Roman period, epigraphy, population, religion, topography.

The population of Băile Herculane

During all periods, humans have sought ways to treat their ailments as best they could, even if this implied travelling to a very distant spa resort. The hope of a full and speedy recovery was often assured by the spa's renown and hot springs which, being blessed by the

¹ Babeș-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca; boda_imola@yahoo.com

² National Museum of Banat, Timișoara; calintimoc@gmail.com

³ Timiș County Department of Culture; victor.bunoiu@gmail.com

gods of health, attracted, like a magnet, a socially diverse and foreign population which, through its temporary presence, influenced the resort's development.

The steep slopes of the adjacent Cerna Mountains to the west, as well as the Mehedinți Mountains, had always limited human habitation in Băile Herculane. The ancient spa resort could stretch over a length exceeding 1 km, while the maximum width of its two terraces is at most approx. 150 meters (Figure 1). Even though it was dominated by waterworks, wells, aqueducts and basins, the ancient spa resort was still organized according to a Roman city's strict rules.

Unfortunately, due to continuous habitation and the systematization that followed consecutive administrative regime changes, especially in the last two centuries, the Roman ruins have almost completely disappeared, with only chronicler accounts, statues and inscriptions left, mostly held in Vienna, still hinting at the existence of an ancient settlement. As such, a somewhat precise identification of areas General Hamilton's troops excavated, who had orders to clear the land of ruins and make room for new Habsburg spa resort,

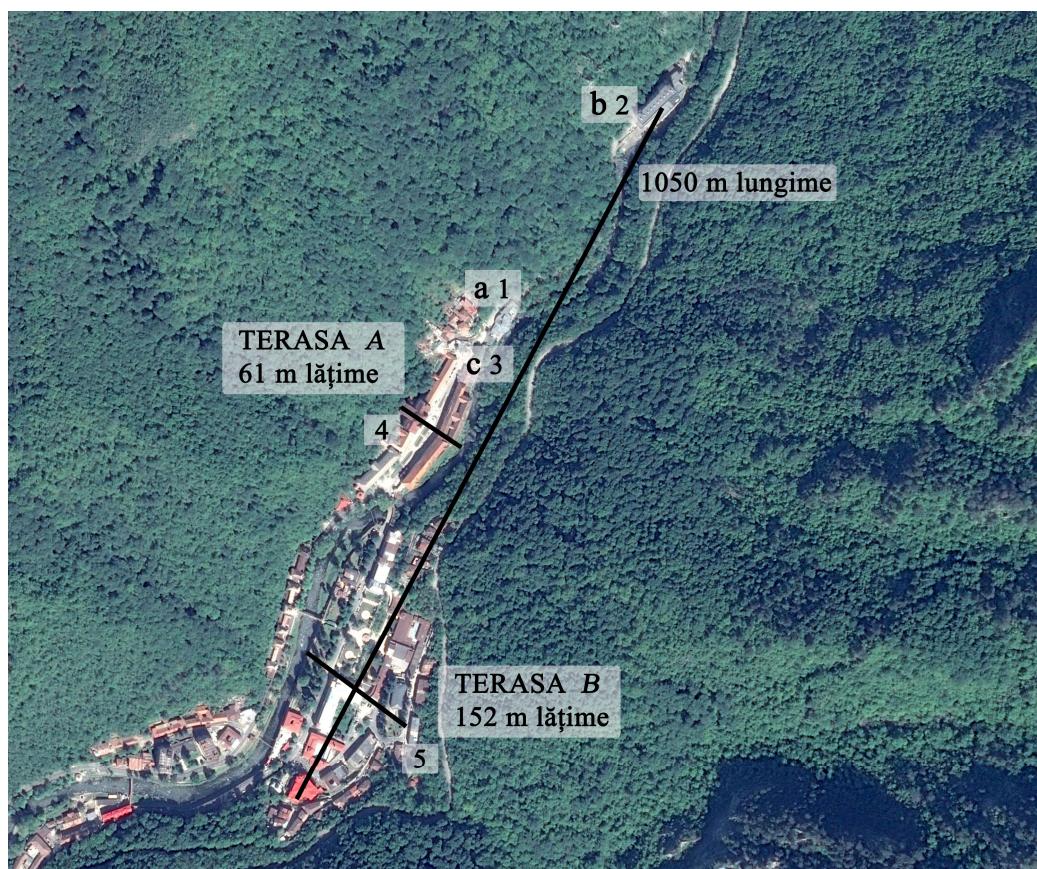


Figure 1. Sketch depicting the Băile Herculane spa resort.

is extremely important for understanding how the Romans exploited the lands and hot springs⁴.

In the making of this study, we analysed 17 votive monuments (01BH–17BH), two funerary monuments (18BH–19BH), one stamped brick (20BH), to which we added the two unepigraphic tombstones, in order to have a full overview of the spas. Regarding inscription texts, all 20 of them were in Latin.

Regarding the material of the epigraphic monuments: six of them are marble (01BH, 02BH, 03BH, 13BH, 14BH, 18BH), five are limestone (07BH, 08BH, 12BH, 16BH, 19BH), and obviously a clay stamped brick (20BH). Unfortunately, in a large number (eight cases: nos. 04BH, 05BH, 06BH, 09BH, 10BH, 11BH, 15BH, and 17BH) the material is unknown (it is also unknown where most of the monuments disappeared to). To these, we add the two unepigraphic tombstones made of limestone-dolomite.

In total, 33 people are mentioned in the 20 inscriptions⁵ and here we also include both those who made the monuments, as well as those people—if any—these monuments are made for.

First of all, we wish to mention that, regarding the sex of the individuals, only two are women, with the rest being men: Iunia Cyrilla (02BH — perhaps a patrician from south of the Danube, who came here for treatment) and Septimia Valentina (19BH — tombstone states she was 54 years old).

Regarding the legal status of these 33 people, we notice that four were slaves, while the rest are Roman citizens. Interestingly enough, slaves erect monuments raised exclusively for their masters' health and on their command (02BH — the slave wished to remain anonymous; 06BH — Syntrophus; 09BH — Felix; 15BH — Eutyches)⁶. It is important here to specify the occupations of those arriving in our focus area. We mentioned the four slaves, who were involved in administering private or public fortunes: 02BH was the *administrandis* of Iunia Cyrilla's personal wealth, Syntrophus is referred to as *vilicus*, Felix worked at *statio Tsierna* (his exact role is not mentioned in the inscription), and Eutyches was an *actor*.

Important people in the society, politics and administration of Roman Dacia were present in Băile Herculane. So we begin our list with governors such as Claudius Gallus (05BH)⁷, Calpurnius Iulianus (07BH)⁸, Simonius Iulianus (14BH)⁹ and M. Sedatius Severianus (03BH +

⁴ WOLF 1995, 55–71.

⁵ Cf. www.romans1by1.com

⁶ It's apparent that two people have Greek cognomens: Syntrophus and Eutyches. Considering the frequency of these names in Roman Dacia (cf. www.romans1by1.com), this doesn't imply the Oriental origin of these two, but merely the popularity of naming children such, or who could have come from anywhere or even be locally born.

⁷ PISO 1993, 162–166.

⁸ PISO 1993, 79–81.

⁹ PISO 1993, 203–207.

17BH)¹⁰. We continue with a *procurator centenarius* (C. Iulius Paternus – 06BH)¹¹, a *conductoris publicii portorii* (T. Iulius Saturninus – 009BH)¹² and two Drobeta decurions (P. Claudius Iulius – 11BH and L. Iulius Bassus – 018BH). Concurrently we wish to mention the five persons (*legati Romam*) who accompany Governor M. Sedatius Severianus of *Colonia Sarmizegetusa* to Rome (03BH – Ulpius Secundinus, Marius Valens, Pomponius Haemus, Iulius Carus, Valerius Valens), on the occasion of being promoted to the rank of *consul*¹³.

Also mentioned is P. Aelius Antipater, who later fulfilled priestly duties. The epigraphic monument is placed by Eutyches, his financial administrator, for his employer's health. Eutyches was probably from *Apulum*, where P. Aelius Antipater is mentioned as a *Ilvir* of *Colonia Apulensis*¹⁴. He is also mentioned in *Colonia Sarmizegetusa* as a *flamen* of *Colonia Apulensis* and as a *sacerdos Arae Augusti*¹⁵. The inscription from *Sarmizegetusa* was erected later than the ones at *Apulum* and Băile Herculane, because in the first two, chronologically, the title of *sacerdos Arae Augusti* is not mentioned, however the dedicatory or his slave would have surely done so.

Also mentioned are soldiers or former soldiers (*veterans*), coming to Băile Herculane in order to treat various illnesses or injuries, incurred due to their profession during their long period of military service: M. Aurelius Veteranus (01BH), Mercurius ?(08BH), L. Pompeius Celer (12BH), and T. Aurelius Geminianus – *veteranus* (10BH).

Not in the least, we mention one *augustalis* from *Colonia Sarmizegetusa* (Q. Vibius Amillus – 13BH), who, for the health of his son Iulianus, erects a monument dedicated to the god Hercules Salutiferus.

Five people identified in the epigraphic *corpus* stand out, because their presence in Băile Herculane has been questioned; we refer to T. Iulius Saturninus (09BH)¹⁶, Iunia Cyrilla (02BH), C. Iulius Paternus (06BH), P. Aelius Antipater (15BH) and M. Sedatius Severianus (03BH + 17BH). We believe these high ranking people indeed visited Băile Herculane for treatment, leaving afterwards only to later send a slave/representative to erect an inscription thanking the gods in their name.

Population mobility in Băile Herculane

Following the presentation of relevant data regarding Băile Herculane's population, we desire to tackle the social mobility of the above mentioned town. Therefore, analysing

¹⁰ PISO 1993, 61–65.

¹¹ PISO 2013, 212–217.

¹² PISO 2013, 293–301.

¹³ PISO 1993, 61–65.

¹⁴ IDR III/5, 215.

¹⁵ IDR III/2, 217.

¹⁶ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2010, 145–147.

epigraphic monuments brings attention to people from another seven settlements, including 22 individuals who, most certainly come from different areas to get treatment (Figure 2).

As it the inscriptions show, we know exactly how many people arrive in the spa resort from the following settlements: *Colonia Sarmizegetusa* (03BH, 13BH), *Apulum* (01BH, 05BH, 07BH, 10BH, 14BH, 15BH), *Dierna* (09BH), *Drobeta* (11BH, 18BH), south of the Danube (unfortunately, the precise location is unknown; 02BH, 06BH), and an individual originates from *Odorheiu Secuiesc* (12BH).

An intriguing inscription, sent to Rome for Sedatius Severianus' nomination as *consul*¹⁷, is dedicated to *Dis et Numinis Aquarium* by Ulpius Secundinus, Marius Valens, Pomponius Haemus, Iulius Carus and Valerius Valens. They raise this altar to the gods in gratitude for returning unharmed to their home in Dacia (03BH).

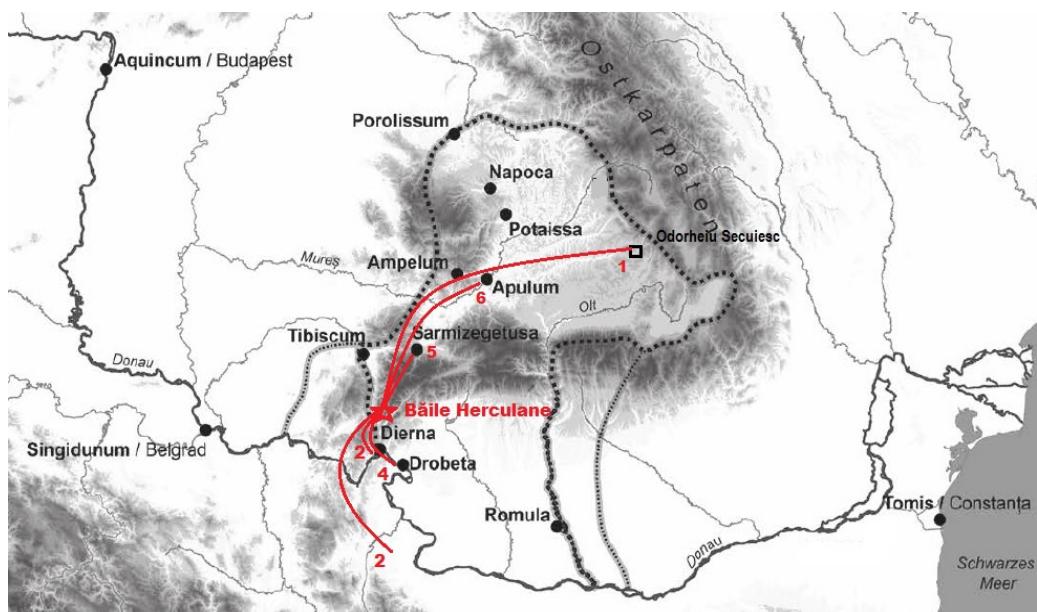


Figure 2. Map depicting population travel routes toward Băile Herculane.

¹⁷ PISO 1993, 61–65: M. Sedatius Severianus (150/151–153), of senatorial rank, was from Limonium (Gallia); he was first a Questor in Sicily and then people's tribune Rome, becoming Praetor in 143, he is then commander of the V Macedonica legion between 144–147, then *curator viae Flaminiae* (between 147–150), afterwards replacing C. Curtius Iustus to become governor of Dacia during 150–151 AD. His administration lasted until early 153, when he became *consul suffectus* in Rome. It seems he wasn't granted this office *in absentia*, as we know from this inscription that a delegation was present for his investiture in Rome; he was also a patron of *Colonia Sarmizegetusa*. A few years later, he is named governor of Cappadocia, where we find him at the end of Antoninus Pius' reign and the beginning of that of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, the brother emperors. It is also known that this senator had a tragic end, being ambushed in Armenia in 161 by the Parthian army and, after a short battle in Elegeia, dies in battle along with his entire army. This date is the end of *Legio IX Hispanica*, which lost all its banners.

In Roman Dacia, four spa resorts are known to have existed: *Germisara*/Geoagiu, *Aquae*/Călan, Săcelu, and Băile Herculane. *Germisara* and *Aque*, along with the resort targeted by the present study, are the most well-known both archaeologically and epigraphically.

The accompanying map shows that Roman Dacia's population preferred Băile Herculane for treatment, even though *Germisara* or *Aquae* were geographically closer. The reason for this preference cannot be accurately determined, as no source could provide the needed insight, especially considering epigraphic sources also attest the importance of the *Germisara* resort, as shown below.

The population mobility in *Germisara*/Geoagiu and *Aquae*/Călan

From *Germisara* / Geoagiu there are 34 votive inscriptions¹⁸, referring to 31 people, 14 of which originated from other areas. Thus we have: governors (from *Apulum*)¹⁹, soldiers (from *Micia*²⁰, *Hoghiz*²¹ and *Apulum*²²), decurions from *Apulum*²³ and *Colonia Sarmizegetusa*²⁴ and one augustal from *Colonia Sarmizegetusa*²⁵. In this case, the number of relevant areas is much lower compared to Băile Herculane, which is apparent even at first glance. The other people are from Cigmău fort (the *Numerus singularium Peditum Britannicorum* auxiliary unit) and its civil settlement.

From *Aquae* / Călan we have, in total, nine votive inscriptions, which mention six people. Attendance at these spas is much lower when compared with Băile Herculane and *Germisara*, as we only know of a soldier from *Apulum* (C. Valerius Ingenuus)²⁶, a procurator from *Colonia Sarmizegetusa* (Q. Decius Vindex)²⁷ and four decurions from *Colonia Sarmizegetusa* (C. Iulius Marcianus²⁸, M. Aurelius Valentinus²⁹, Grattius Paternus³⁰, Lucius Grattius³¹).

Aquae was a *statio*, a Roman settlement on the *Sarmizegetusa-Apulum* highway (the imperial road) and a hot spring spa included in *territorium Colonia Sarmizegetusa*. The *Pagus*

¹⁸ IDR III/3, 231–247; ILD 318–329; PISO 2015, 47–68.

¹⁹ IDR III/3, 232, 233, 240, 241.

²⁰ IDR III/3, 246.

²¹ IDR III/3, 233.

²² IDR III/3, 244; ILD 318, 319.

²³ IDR III/3, 245; ILD 327.

²⁴ IDR III/3, 236, 237; ILD 328.

²⁵ IDR III/3, 242.

²⁶ IDR III/3, 15.

²⁷ IDR III/3, 7.

²⁸ IDR III/3, 10.

²⁹ IDR III/3, 17.

³⁰ IDR III/3, 18.

³¹ IDR III/3, 19.

Aquaensis was led by a *praefectus* who was also decurion in *Colonia Sarmizegetusa*³², which explains the decurions' presence.

By comparing social mobility of all three resorts we can observe some similarities, but also important differences. All spa resorts in Dacia are visited by people from all the province's social categories. However, the frequency is not the same. Apparently, Băile Herculane, being closer to the Danube and having a greater diversity of hot springs, attracted more visitors. Even from an archaeological viewpoint, the ruins cover a greater surface and the number of hot spring pools if clearly superior compared to the other resorts. Furthermore, a clearer presence of civil servants/magistrates and urban elites from all of Dacia's major towns and cities can be epigraphically observed at Băile Herculane, though soldiers are statistically less represented.

The sacred topography of Băile Herculane

Very useful in understanding the urban organization and sacred topography (Figure 1), to which epigraphic discoveries are closely linked, are the works of 18th century Habsburg scientists who visited Băile Herculane. They published rather accurate city outlines and, through writings and engravings, described how the spa resort on the Cerna's banks and its Roman ruins looked like. For his research approach, Francesco Griselini's³³ merit in reconstituting the context of how the statues, inscriptions and Roman walls were discovered is relevant. His 1774 sketched map of the spa resort is almost identical to Tolvai's map³⁴ and reflects realities portrayed on all era engravings, but also doubled by detailed, descriptive data: the hot spring basins can be seen on the Cerna's banks, along with the ruins on the second terrace, less affected by Andreas Hamilton's troops dig in 1736³⁵.

Several important discoveries were made around the Catholic military chapel (18th century), such as the inscription dedicated to Aesculapius and Hygia (01BH + 02BH). If Nicolae Stoica of Hațeg is correct: "There, at Comorâște (the terrace toponym), where many stones with inscriptions were found, the Romans had as holy places their curch of Hercules, Aesculapius with Highia, with priest houses"³⁶. It is not farfetched that an Asklepieion existed in the area in question, if we take into account that this location drew sick people from all over for treatment.

³² IDR III/3, 10.

³³ FENEŞAN 1984, 204–214.

³⁴ BOZU, MICLI 2005, 123–142.

³⁵ BENEÀ, LALESCU 1997–1998, 267–301.

³⁶ FENEŞAN 1981, 173–174.

Data presented by 18th century chroniclers led by Pascal Caryophyllus³⁷, who inventoried and first published the discoveries from Băile Herculane, indicate that the population used the internal cure hot springs Hercule I and II, along with the Hygia spring, thermal waters found near the Cerna's bank, at the contemporary town's northern edge and near the Roman Hotel. This spa's rock wall also contains an engraved votive relief, more a sketch actually, depicting Hercules with his club, which is probably from Antiquity. The six Hercules statues originate from around these springs, some almost 1-m tall, made of white marble and some of the inscriptions dedicated to the god-hero: 04BH, 07BH, 08BH, and 10BH. Some of these statues are not well known, as the vessel carrying them to Vienna on the Danube sank around Budapest³⁸. Still, that they were found together near where the springs stemmed from indicates the location was a place for worshiping Hercules, the god's physical strength being directly connected with the water's healing power. It is possible that the springs had in their vicinity a temple dedicated to the Nymphs and Diana at *Germisara* (Geoagiu Băi)³⁹.

According to older information, two armless statues and a stone representation of a woman lying down were discovered on the Cerna's right bank, near the military sanatorium, between the Roman walls of a monumental building, adjoining the Catholic chapel's high plateau. According to analogies from *Pergamum*, *Aquincum* and *Tibiscum*⁴⁰, the dressed woman lying on her back, but raised on her elbow, is a standard representation, very popular in the Roman imperial era during the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, especially of a nymph, with the sculpture—rather a high relief—being the decorative side of a large public fountain, with an open water basin. This proves a *nymphaeum* existed here — several inscriptions originate from here: 03BH, 09BH, 12BH.

Judging by the dominance of votive inscriptions in epigraphic sources, other worship edifices were most certainly present in Băile Herculane. Unfortunately, the overlap of modern interventions and the urban systematization of the area, beginning in the 18th century, have completely destroyed the ancient ruins. The few walls unearthed by General Hamilton's troops and marked on topographical sketches do not allow, at this stage of research, to clearly define either the urban layout, or that of the resort's worship sites or the route of inner roads and outlying burial grounds.

The artistic value of the sculptures and the very good quality of engraving the Latin text on the stone monuments of Băile Herculane indicates however a spa resort with a highly developed religious and urban life, often visited and probably of some renown in the Roman Empire's Lower Danube regions.

³⁷ IDR III/1, *Istoricul cercetării*, 20–22.

³⁸ IDR III/1, *Istoricul cercetării*, 20–22.

³⁹ IDR III/1, 239–243; ILD 318–329.

⁴⁰ TIMOC 2004, 78.

Conclusions

We wanted to find out which deities were the most worshiped in the three spas resorts. By analysing votive monuments, we concluded that, statistically, no pattern emerges from the comparative analysis of the number of inscriptions erected for the same deity in the three spas. Instead, we have a mathematical pattern regarding the spread of a certain deity in a given locality. We can easily ascertain that Hercules' holy springs were dominant in Băile Herculane (we have until now 12 epigraphic monuments dedicated to this god), the same as those of the healing Nymphs in *Germisara* (we have 15 inscriptions dedicated to the Nymphs. A special inscription was erected by C. Sentius Iustinus, *centurio* of the *legio V Macedonica*, to the Nymphs, Odrysta, Asklepios, Artemis, and Hypnos⁴¹).

For *Aquae/Călan*, obvious in this diagram, we cannot ascertain the local preference for a deity over another. No particular deity seems to “dominate” at *Aquae*, though there is a preference for Greco-Roman deities in the population, probably because of clerks from *Colonia Sarmizegetusa* who, by virtue of their high office, express their religiosity primarily towards the Roman state’s official deities (Figure 3).

Reviewing Băile Herculane’s population and social mobility begs the question: what do we actually know about the local populace of this area? The only sources on this issue consists of the two funerary monuments (18BH + 19BH), along with two un-epigraphic monuments⁴² from the studied area. According to I. Piso⁴³, L. Iulius Bassus’ tenure as municipal *decurio*, the one killed by *latrones* near Băile Herculane, could indicate that the spa resort had been part of Drobeta’s *territorium* since the beginning, in which case it would be the only specific example regarding the issue of the local population.

In conclusion, if we take into account the information’s chronological component, which for Herculane epigraphs is fairly consistent in the data, we can see that from the mid-2nd century, very early, the resort enjoys a good reputation among all social categories and is an important point on Dacia’s demographic mobility map. Until the time of the Severan dynasty, it undergoes continuous development, after which, despite the difficulties of the 3rd century military anarchy, it remains one of the most popular resorts north of the Lower Danube (Figure 4). As indicated by epigraphic sources, notables and soldiers continue to come to get treatment and to thank the gods for healing, while stamps on *tegulae* material indicates that buildings were still constructed in the area, while the spa establishments are restored by the army and administration of the late Roman era.

⁴¹ PISO 2015, 47–68.

⁴² TIMOC 1998–1999, 103–106.

⁴³ Information provided by Prof. Dr Ioan Piso, to whom we offer our gratitude for his graciously offered suggestions.

Population dynamics at the spas of Roman Dacia



Figure 3. Divinities attested in the three spa resorts: Băile Herculane, Germisara and Aquae.



Figure 4. The dating of the epigraphic monuments.

Inscriptions from Băile Herculane

01BH: CIL III 1560 = IDR III/1, 54 = EDCS-26600755

Di{is Magnis / et Bonis Aescu/latio et Hygiae / Marc(us) Aur(elius) Vete/ranus praef(ectus) leg(ionis) / XIII G(eminae) Gall(i)eniana(e) / v(otum) l(ibens) m(erito) p(osuit)

02BH: CIL III 1561 = IDR III/1, 55 = AE 1962, 233 = EDCS-26600756

Aesculap(io) / et Hygiae / pro salute Iuniae / Cyrillae quod a / longa infirmita / te virtute aqua - / rum numinis sui / revocaverunt / t(utor) b(onis) a(dministrandis) eius v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)

03BH: CIL III 1562 = IDR III/1, 56 = AE 2005, 23 = EDCS-26600757

Dis et Numinib(us) / Aquarium / Ulp(ius) Secundinus / Marius Valens / Pomponius Haemus / Iul(ius) Carus Val(erius) Valens / legati Romam ad / consulatum Seve/riani c(larissimi) v(iri) / missi incolu/mes reversi ex voto

[E A] – letters added maybe in 18th century

04BH: CIL III 1563 = IDR III/1, 59 = EDCS-26600758

Hercule / tibi / v(otum) s(olvit)

05BH: CIL III 1564 = IDR III/1, 57 = EDCS-26600759

Herculi / pro salute Impe/ratorum Severi / et Antonini f(ili)? conser/vatori Augustorum / dominorum nos/trorum Cl(audius) Gallu/s c(larissimus) v(ir) legatus eorum / pr(o) pr(aetore) cum suis / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)

06BH: CIL III 1565 = IDR III/1, 58 = EDCS-26600760

Herculi pro / salute Imp(eratoris) / M(arci) Aurel(i) Anto/[nini Pii Aug(usti)] / [et Iuliae Dom]/nae Aug(ustae) matri / Aug(usti) et castrorum / sub cura Iul(i) Pa/terni proc(uratoris) / Syntrophus vil(icus)

07BH: CIL III 01566 = IDR III/1, 67 = ILD 186 = EDCS-26600761
Herculi Genio / loci fontibus / calidis Calpur/nius Julianus / v(ir) c(larissimus) leg(atus) leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae) / leg(atus) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) / [pro]v(inciae) Daciae / [sup]er[iori]s / v(otum) l(ibens) s(olvit)

08BH: CIL III 1567 = IDR III/1, 68 = EDCS-26600762

Herculi / et / Veneri / Mercurius / PR E L N / cum suis

09BH: CIL III 1568 = IDR III/1, 60 = EDCS-26600763

Herculi Augusto sacrum / Felix T(iti) Iuli Saturnini c(onductoris) p(ublici) p(ortorii) / t(ertiae) p(artis) ex priv(atis) stationis / Tsieren(sis) IIII I(dus) Dec(embres) anno XI / Barbaro et Regulo co(n)s(ulibus) / ex voto posuit

10BH: CIL III 1569 = IDR III/1, 61 = EDCS-26600764
Herculi Invicto / T(itus) Aur(elius) Geminianus vet(eranus) le/g(ionis) XIII Gem(inae) Antoninian/ae ex voto posuit

11BH: CIL III 1570 = IDR III/1, 62 = ILD 185 = EDCS-26600765

Herculi / Invicto / P(ublius) Claudi/us Iulius / dec(urio) col(oniae) / [D]r<o=U>b(etae) v(otum) s(olvit)

12BH: CIL III 1571 = IDR III/1, 63 = EDCS-26600766

Herculi In/victo L(ucius) Pomp/eius Celer / praef(ectus) coh(ortis) / I Ubior(um) v(otum) s(olvit)

13BH: CIL III 1572 = IDR III/1, 64 = EDCS-26600767

Hercul[i] / [S]alutifero / Q(uintus) Vib(ius) Amillu[s] / Aug(ustalis) col(oniae) Dac(icae) / pro salute / Iuliani fili sui

14BH: CIL III 1573 = IDR III/1, 66 = EDCS-26600768

Herculi Sanc/to Simonius / Iulianus v(ir) c(larissimus) / praeses Da/ciarum

15BH: CIL III 1573a = IDR III/1, 65 = EDCS-26600769

Herculi Sancto Eutyches act(or) / P(ubli) Aeli Antipatri ex voto posuit

16BH: CIL III 1574 = IDR III/1, 79 = EDCS-26600770

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Antesti/us Gaius / pro salute / sua et su/orum / v(otum) l(ibens) p(osuit)

17BH: CIL III 1575 = IDR III/1, 70 = ILD 187 = AE 1998, 1108 = EDCS-26600771

[D(eo)] Suc(ello) / pro salute / M(arci) Sedat(i) / Severiani / leg(ati) Aug(usti)

18BH: CIL III 1017 = IDR III/1, 71 = EDCS-26600775

D(is) M(anibus) / L(ucio) Iul(io) L(uci) fil(io) Sergia / Bassus dec(urioni) mun(icipii) / Drobetae quae/stori interfecto a / latronib(us) vix(it) an(nos) / XXXX Iuli(i) Iulianus / et Bassus patri / piisimo / et Iul(ius) Valerianus / frater mortem / eius exsecutus / f(acendum) c(uraverunt)

19BH: CIL III 12598 = IDR III/1, 72a = EDCS-2910085

D(is) I(nferis) M(anibus) S(acrum) / Septi(mius) Bitus et Septimi(a) / Valentina vixerunt / annis LIII pos(u)er/unt Septim(ius) Bas(sus) et Aur(elius) / Vale(n)s patris bene - / merentis

20BH: IDR III/1, 74 = EDCS-11200394

Figulinus

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