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Supplementband 11



AD RIPAM FLUMINIS DANUVI

Papers of the 3rd International Conference
on the Roman Danubian Provinces
Vienna, 11th–14th November 2015

edited by
Fritz Mitthof – Chiara Cenati – Livio Zerbini

Wien 2021

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Mitthof – Cenati – Zerbini (eds.), *Ad ripam fluminis Danuvi*

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Introduction

“... *protulique fines Illyrici ad ripam fluminis Danuvi*” — “... and I extended the borders of Illyricum to the shores of the river Danube”: These words, quoted from the report of the deeds of the first Roman emperor Augustus published soon after his death in AD 14, are the first explicit expression of the expansion of Roman rule from the Adriatic coast, the Aegean and Black Seas to the southern and western banks of the Danube. From that time on South-Eastern Europe became a permanent part of the Empire ruled by the Roman people (*imperium populi Romani*).

Roman occupation in this region started with the establishment of the provinces of Illyricum and Moesia. Illyricum was soon divided into Pannonia and Dalmatia, and several decades later Pannonia and Moesia in turn were split into an upper and lower part (*superior* and *inferior*). In addition, Thrace was annexed, and at the beginning of the 2nd century AD Dacia was finally conquered as the only Roman territory situated beyond the river Danube later to be transformed into a tripartite province (*tres Daciae*).

In the earlier, i.e. Hellenistic and Late Republican, periods the Danube and Balkan area had merely formed a backyard of Italy in the west and of the Greek polis-centred world in the east, but in the course of the 1st and 2nd centuries AD it developed into the backbone of the *Imperium Romanum*. Thanks to its military and human resources, the region made a vital contribution to the survival of the Empire at the time of the 3rd century crisis. One of the results of this comprehensive process was the transformation of the former periphery of the Danube into a core area of the Empire. During the 3rd century AD a new imperial elite evolved from the military class of the Danube and Balkan provinces. This elite not only inherited but renewed Rome’s ideology and re-shaped its ruling mechanisms. Two of the most prominent representatives of this social group are Diocletian and Constantine. From this perspective, the Danube and Balkan area may be regarded as a key region for a deeper understanding of several fundamental processes which shaped Roman imperial history: first the implementation of Roman rule and government, second the interaction and ultimately reversal of roles of the Empire’s centre, Italy, and its peripheral zones, and third, last but not least, the Empire’s readiness and ability to adapt to new demands.

The aforementioned issues — the presence of Rome in the Balkans and along the Danube, the establishment of its power structure, the development of the social and economic systems as well as the cultural processes, which can be observed from the 1st to the 3rd century AD — were the topic of a conference hosted by the Department of Ancient History, Papyrology, and Epigraphy of the University of Vienna in Autumn 2015. This conference was organised by Fritz Mitthof as part of the research project P

28112 funded by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF). It was the third of a series of so far five meetings initiated by Livio Zerbini in 2009¹.

The present volume contains 29 papers held at the Vienna conference. These contributions represent the fields of Ancient History, Greek and Latin Epigraphy as well as Archaeology. The main focus of the volume lies in the historical analysis of inscribed monuments. Inscriptions are essential sources for the investigation of the social, economic, and cultural history of South-Eastern Europe between the 1st and the 3rd century AD. The analysis of the material heritage from these territories is a further focal point of the contributions as are the closely connected issues such as language, identity, religion, and coinage.

The book is divided into six parts. The five contributions of the first part focus on the interpretation of epigraphic data in relation to the social history of the Danubian and Balkan area from the 1st to the 3rd century AD. As far as social ties in the Roman society are concerned, **Alonso Alonso** provides an overview of the role and variants of friendship (*amicitia*) as testified by Latin inscriptions as a fundamental element of defining and regulating close personal interaction in Roman society. Three case studies follow with insights into the social history of Roman settlements of different status and composition: on the basis of the epigraphic corpus reprinted at the end of the article, **Mihailescu-Bîrliba** and **Ibba** reconstruct the history of a small village (*vicus*) in a rural area in modern-day northern Dobrudja (Moesia inferior). The population of this settlement was shaped by the cohabitation of Roman citizens, Thracian Bessi, and autochthonic elements. **Tomas** treats the composition of the population of the civilian settlement which developed alongside the important legionary camp of Novae (Moesia inferior) on the southern bank of the lower Danube, especially from the perspective of specific gender aspects. **Topalilov**'s starting point is a recently found and still unpublished tombstone. He examines the presence of Italian immigrants in the very early period of the Roman town of Ratiaria (Moesia superior), again situated on the lower Danube. Finally, **Weber-Hiden** traces the frequency, distribution, and role of freedmen in Carnuntum, the provincial capital on the middle Danube (Pannonia superior), and in its hinterland. Whereas in Roman society freedmen are well represented in inscriptions and very often act as agents representing their masters in the business affairs, in the case of Carnuntum, and especially outside the town, the evidence is only sporadic and less prominent. This circumstance may be explained by the fact that the society of the region was influenced by the local traditions of Celtic origin, which implied an understanding of freedmanship that greatly differs from the Roman model.

¹ The first two meetings took place in 2009 and 2013 and were both hosted by the “Laboratorio di studi e ricerche sulle antiche province Danubiane” (LAD) of the University of Ferrara. Since the Vienna Conference of 2015 two further meetings have been held in Zagreb (2017) and in Iași (2019). For detailed information on the research project FWF-P 28112 “Scythica Vindobonensia” see <https://www.oeaw.ac.at/byzanz/sprache-text-und-schrift/buchkultur-palaeographie-und-palimpseste/scythica-vindobonensia>.

The papers assembled in the second part focus on the military apparatus as the mainstay of Roman rule. Relying mainly on the epigraphic evidence, the authors are able to provide far-reaching insights into aspects of Roman military life not covered by any other ancient source. **Brancato** highlights the role of Roman soldiers as comparatively wealthy upper class members of the provincial society in raising foster-children. **Cenati** shows that the indication of the *origo* in the inscriptions of soldiers from the Danubian provinces in Rome changes according to the area of provenance, the military unit, the time of the dedication, and the function of the monument. Furthermore, the indication of the provenance reflects the need of the soldiers to redefine their own cultural identity in an extrinsic environment. **Lajtar** presents two recently found inscriptions from Novae which are connected to the late antique supply system of the troops on the lower Danube by long-distance overseas shipping. At the same time, despite the Christian environment and the purely military-administrative context, the texts refer to pagan cults, and their language is inspired by epic poetry. In their paper on the presence of the *cohors I Cretum* documented first at Timacum Maius (Moesia) and then at Lederata (Dacia) by tile stamps, **Petrović** and **Filipović** show how Roman military units specialized in building and policing activities at an early stage of the formation process of Roman rule. The strong interaction between the Danubian area and the city of Rome through mobility as a consequence of successful empire building is further analysed by **Redaelli** in his study on soldiers and veterans of the imperial guards who returned to their homelands upon retirement. The collected material illustrates how the prestige of having served alongside the emperor shaped the self-perception of these members of a rising new imperial elite and at the same time how their self-representation at home created a sense of reciprocity and growing equality between capital and far distant border regions.

The third part is dedicated to the study of the material culture of Roman South-Eastern Europe and related aspects. These contributions, while resting on smaller groups of artefacts or on selected archaeological sites, still provide insights into the wider framework of the general economic, social, and cultural history of the area in the imperial period. Some of the contributions rely mainly or exclusively on epigraphical evidence. **Ardevan** interprets certain ashlar found in Transylvania, which hitherto have been erroneously regarded as remnants of Dacian fortification walls, as parts of huge wine presses and thus signs of an otherwise rarely attested large scale wine production in Roman Dacia. **Buora** deals with mirror frames of rectangular shape made of lead. Compared to other mirror types they represent a rare variant. Such mirrors can be found in a wide geographical area stretching from southern France and Italy in the west to the Black Sea region in the east. At the same time this mirror type has been particularly popular in the Danubian area, and besides Italian manufacture, a local production seems to have existed. **Dimitrov** reports on the first results of the recent excavations in Ratiaria. The excavations led to the discovery of parts of a late antique bath complex situated close to the residence of the provincial governor. These finds confirm the growing importance of the city in the aforementioned period. **Gabler** underlines the fact that

the Roman customs districts deeply influenced the interior trade of the Empire as well as the commercial exchange with the Barbaricum. He focuses on the example of pottery produced in Italy on the one hand and in the provinces of Gaul and Germany on the other. In the upper and middle Danube region a clear distribution pattern of such products can be perceived, with a dividing line running along the river Inn which served as the western border of the toll district of Illyricum. This example demonstrates that the Roman customs districts determined the direction as well as the intensity of trading operations throughout the Empire. **Glazer** gives a systematic overview of our knowledge about the *Scordisci* who settled in the region between the rivers Sava, Drava, and Danube. Their culture reached its peak in the late Iron Age, immediately before and during the Roman conquest of this region. Initially originating from the commingling of immigrated Celts and autochthonous Pannonians, they formed a distinct culture which still characterized the region even in Roman times. The *Scordisci* represent one of the many subcultures of the Danube and Balkan area persisting under the veil of so-called romanization. **Groždanova** describes the coinage of the important city of Pautalia (Thracia), which like many other towns of the region minted bronze coins during the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD. Besides the ideological functions of such emissions as representations of imperial Roman images and texts, and reference points of local identity, such civic minting activities are important indicators of economic development and can even serve as a sign of economic changes in the whole Danube and Balkan area. **Jęczmienowski** addresses the question of how the conquest of Dacia changed the character of the military frontier of Upper Moesia along the Danube which became an internal border due to the expansion of Roman rule beyond the river. He concludes that, despite a substantial decline in troop strength, the border did not lose its military character entirely since a certain level of supervision, especially of legal or illegal trading operations, was still felt necessary by the command. **Leleković** reflects on the existence of sub-regions in Pannonia which were defined by cultural and economic differences. Such differences are visible mainly in ancient material culture but are often overlooked in modern research, and there is a tendency to see the ancient province borders as abstract administrative lines drawn by the Roman government. The issue is further complicated by the territorial settings of modern nation states and narratives related to them which impede the perception of ancient border-crossing coherences and research of them. **Piso** thoroughly analyses the tile production of military units and private investors in Roman Dacia on the basis of tile stamps. Since tile and earthenware production, besides agricultural activities (crops, oil, wine, breeding etc.), was one of the main pillars of the economy in Roman times, the issue is of utmost importance for a deeper understanding of processes and strategies related to it. The stamps inform us about the main producers and their networks. As the author stresses, petrographic analyses are still lacking and would be highly desirable in order to locate the production centres even more precisely and to reconstruct transport routes. **Radulova** examines two inscriptions which contain detailed regulations on the levy of tariffs on merchandise (*portorium*) in two cities on the western Black sea shore, namely Tyras and Histria (Moesia inferior). Both documents reveal the complex intersection of juridical, administrative, economic,

and social problems connected to this levy. **Rusu-Bolindeț** provides an impressive synthesis on the local pottery production in Roman Dacia combining archaeological and epigraphic evidence. She argues that there were four regional clusters of pottery workshops connected to large military camps and urban settlements. Furthermore, she offers valuable insights into the different types of organisation of the workshops depending on how the owners of the workshops and their craftsmen were referred to on the production stamps placed on the vessels. **Sanader** reconstructs the exact date and route of Diocletian's journey in AD 308 from his palace and retreat at Spalato (Split) in Dalmatia to Carnuntum, where he took part in the meeting of the *collegium* of all officially accepted emperors with the aim to relaunch the tetrarchic system. Her remarks bear on the important issue of imperial journeys as well as on travelling in the Danube and Balkan area in Roman times in general. **Teatini** examines the provenance and artistic background of various marble components of the impressive Christian basilica at Ibida (Scythia). A wider contextualization of the components allows their identification as parts of an imperial building programme launched and coordinated at Constantinople by Anastasios, Justin, and Justinian which affected the entire western Black sea region.

The fourth part contains three contributions on the history of the religious life in the Roman Danube and Balkan area, each of them referring to a central sphere of human belief of its own: afterlife, healing, and knowledge of the divine. At the same time they document the permanent interaction of local traditions with the Empire's *koiné*. **Ceci**, **Krauze-Kolodziej**, and **Nestorovic** present a detailed study of a well-known Roman grave monument from Poetovio (Ptuj) representing a central scene of the Orpheus myth in the main relief. The historical tradition of the monument is extensively documented, and its type and composition as well as the depictions in their symbolic value and the inscription on it are discussed in the context of the funeral culture of the imperial period. **Petraccia** treats the epigraphical references to deities which in the Roman period were connected to the healing power of water. An inscription from Hercules' Baths (Băile Herculane) is central to her paper. The exact interpretation of the inscription was unclear up to now. **Vitelozzi** starts with a gemstone of religious-magic significance datable to the 3rd century AD in the collection of the National Archaeological Museum of Umbria at Perugia and discusses the cult of the so-called Danubian Horsemen. The original elements of this cult are thought to be located in the Lower Danubian region, and consequently during the imperial period the cult was quite popular in the entire Danubian and Balkan area. But, as the paper confirms, notwithstanding this *prima facie* regional character of the cult there can be no doubt that it was deeply influenced by other religious and especially mysto-sophic movements of the imperial period, and what is more, that in its essence it was the product of the syncretism which shaped pagan beliefs of the period. Moreover, it must be kept in mind, that the cult migrated together with its worshippers (especially soldiers) and thus became known in other parts of the Empire as well.

Part five consists of two contributions treating the use of ethnicity and language as means for constructing identity. **Boteva** takes up an ongoing debate on the origin of the name of the Roman province Moesia. The author compellingly argues that the ethnical term Mysi or Moesi was invented by the Romans in the early principate (around AD 16) to substitute the name of the Dardani. Until then it had referred to a population in the hinterland of Troy in north-western Asia Minor. Therefore, she locates the original centre of the province of Moesia in the territory of the Dardanians, with Ratiaria possibly serving as the provincial capital during the earliest period of its existence. **Wilkes** revisits the issue of language choice in inscriptions of the Danube and Balkan area focusing primarily on bilingual and mixed-language epitaphs (with a list of testimonies in the appendix). He concludes that the old approach of K. Jireček, later refined by B. Gerov, according to which a boundary existed between a Latin and a Greek language area running from west to east across the Balkans retains some validity but that the use of Latin remained superficial since Greek was more deeply rooted on either side of Jireček's line.

The closing chapter by **Mastino** gives a detailed and exhaustive overview of the progress achieved in the epigraphic research on the Danube and Balkan area between 2000 and 2015.

Vienna, October 2020

The editors

LIVIO ZERBINI

Seguendo il corso del Danubio: gli studi e le ricerche italiane sulle province danubiane dal Novecento ad oggi

La ripresa nel Novecento degli studi e delle ricerche italiane sull'orizzonte danubiano in età romana fu per certi aspetti la diretta conseguenza di un rinnovato interesse per l'arte provinciale, che ebbe in Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli e Silvio Ferri due tra i più autorevoli studiosi.

Il merito di Bianchi Bandinelli nello studio dell'arte romana nell'ambito delle province danubiane riguarda principalmente l'attenzione posta sui rilievi della Colonna Traiana e sull'identificazione del suo artefice¹. A Bianchi Bandinelli si deve infatti la prima analisi storico-artistica dei rilievi della Colonna Traiana e l'approfondimento di tale studio per una piena comprensione dell'arte provinciale del mondo danubiano in età romana.

Per tutto l'Ottocento la Colonna Traiana fu considerata unicamente dagli archeologi la fonte più importante per la conoscenza delle vittoriose imprese belliche dell'imperatore Traiano contro i Daci del re Decebalo. Solamente nei primi anni del Novecento la Colonna venne percepita come frutto della mano di un artista e non di un cronista, mero narratore ed esecutore delle indicazioni dell'imperatore. Ancor più recente è stato il riconoscimento dell'originalità della decorazione scultorea a narrazione continua, che pur era radicata in una duplice tradizione, quella delle colonne onorarie da un lato e quella delle pitture trionfali tipiche delle usanze celebrative romane².

Bianchi Bandinelli è il primo studioso a riflettere sulla straordinarietà dell'artefice della Colonna Traiana, da annoverare tra i più grandi artisti dell'arte antica, fornendo un'esauritiva analisi critica e dimostrando l'unicità di questo Maestro attraverso un'anamnesi formale puntuale, condotta con una sistematicità del tutto nuova in ambito artistico.

¹ R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *Un problema di arte romana: il «Maestro delle Imprese di Traiano»*, in: R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *Storicità dell'arte classica*, Bari 1973, 349-379; R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *Il Maestro delle Imprese di Traiano*, Milano 2004.

² Sulla storia del monumento a forma di colonna uno dei primi e più completi studi fu quello di W. Haftmann, *Das italienische Säulenmonument. Versuch zur Geschichte einer antiken Form des Denkmals und Kultmonumentes und ihrer Wirksamkeit für die Antikenvorstellung des Mittelalters und für die Ausbildung des öffentlichen Denkmals in der Frührenaissance*, Leipzig 1939.

Bianchi Bandinelli si sofferma su alcuni aspetti che possono essere osservati da tutti, talmente evidenti da non essere però adeguatamente considerati: nella Colonna Traiana il rilievo non è mai troppo alto, per non comprometterne la linea architettonica; il bassorilievo viene impiegato con sapienza, giocando con le altezze a seconda dell'effetto da conferire all'insieme. Questo linearismo che sfiora la bidimensionalità è tipico dell'arte provinciale dell'orizzonte balcanico e danubiano, ma qui viene enfatizzato e portato quasi alle estreme conseguenze.

Ciò che Bianchi Bandinelli sottolinea nella sua lettura della Colonna Traiana è il tratto più provinciale che a suo dire contraddistingue il monumento: l'umana compassione e comprensione dei vinti. Nei rilievi che raffigurano la sconfitta dei Daci la partecipazione emotiva del Maestro e il pathos si fanno infatti particolarmente sentiti e coinvolgenti e ciò si estrinseca anche a livello artistico. È proprio nelle scene dei Daci morenti e nel compianto dei defunti che emerge con forza dirompente l'unicità dei rilievi della Colonna Traiana e dell'indubbia maestria artistica del suo artefice³.

Un rinnovato interesse per il mondo danubiano nell'età romana si è avuto a partire dagli anni Sessanta, quando diversi studiosi italiani si sono interessati in modo particolare di alcune province, soprattutto per quanto riguarda gli studi epigrafici.

Luca Bianchi ha rivolto la sua attenzione alle iscrizioni funerarie della Dacia romana, mettendo in evidenza gli evidenti legami tra Roma e la provincia conquistata da Traiano⁴. Bianchi dimostra come le epigrafi della Dacia documentino, anche dal punto di vista tipologico, la significativa presenza di Italici nella provincia, peraltro avvalorata anche da più recenti ricerche⁵. Le iscrizioni confermano infatti l'importante ruolo e apporto degli Italici nella colonizzazione della nuova provincia all'indomani della conquista da parte dell'imperatore Traiano, soprattutto in considerazione della quasi generale dissoluzione delle élite dirigenti della società dacica e delle immense perdite umane subite dai Daci⁶. Gli Italici quindi non solo costituirono con tutta probabilità l'ossatura portante su cui si innervò il processo di romanizzazio-

³ Così Bianchi Bandinelli descrive la grande abilità artistica dell'artefice della Colonna Traiana (Bianchi Bandinelli, *Un problema* [nt. 1] 359): «La geniale sapienza con la quale poi sono risolti i rapporti spaziali ha del miracoloso: si osservano i rapporti spaziali fra il gruppo dei caduti e quelli in secondo piano, collegati fra loro dagli scudi, e come il terreno roccioso è chiamato a far da quinta che unisce e separa i fuggiaschi nella zona superiore, e i come tre alberi racchiudono e spazeggiano tutta la composizione. Ma ancora più rare tali qualità compositive si manifestano nella scena dell'esodo, dove le creste del terreno e le varie proporzioni delle figure fan sì che con una dozzina di figure si raggiunga l'impressione di una folta turba in cammino».

⁴ L. Bianchi, *Le stele funerarie della Dacia. Un'espressione di arte romana periferica*, Roma 1985.

⁵ N. Branga, *Italicii și veteranii din Dacia. Mărturii epigrafice și arheologice*, Timișoara 1886; L. Zerbini, *Vivere lontano dall'Italia: gli Italici in Dacia*, in: L. Zerbini (ed.), *Roma e le province del Danubio. Atti del I Convegno Internazionale Ferrara-Cento, 15–17 Ottobre 2009*, Soveria Mannelli 2010, 291–304; L. Zerbini, *Gli Italici nella Dacia romana*, Soveria Mannelli 2012.

⁶ Zerbini, *Gli Italici* (nt. 5).

ne, ma consentirono anche una più rapida e incisiva integrazione della Dacia nel mondo romano. Il merito di Bianchi è stato appunto quello di inaugurare una nuova serie di studi, tuttora in corso, sul processo di romanizzazione nella Dacia e in altre province danubiane.

Giovanni Forni rappresenta un punto di partenza imprescindibile per gli studi moderni sulle province danubiane, in particolare sulla Dacia, a cui egli dedicò un'attenzione sistematica, come stanno a dimostrare diversi suoi lavori pubblicati dalla fine degli anni Cinquanta agli anni Settanta⁷.

Alla romanizzazione dell'area adriatico-danubiana, quale cerniera di confronti, scambi e assimilazioni, si è invece dedicato Massimiliano Pavan, il quale si è soffermato in modo particolare sulla provincia del Norico⁸, sulla Dalmazia⁹ e sulla Pannonia, a cui ha rivolto uno sguardo più attento¹⁰.

La ricerca storica ed epigrafica, nonché archeologica, sulle province danubiane, con particolare riguardo alle Mesie e alla Dacia, è stato uno dei temi dominanti la produzione scientifica di Giancarlo Susini, che dal 1958 sino al 1966 si occupò della redazione delle numerose voci sulle "Province romane", affidategli da Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli per "l'Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica" dell'Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana. Susini, con il rigore scientifico che sempre lo contraddistinse, ebbe così modo di dispiegare la sua indubbia capacità di confrontarsi con diversi ambiti storico-geografici e di saper affrontare il processo di romanizzazione nelle sue articolazioni locali.

In tale prospettiva Giancarlo Susini, sulla scia degli studi del bolognese Luigi Ferdinando Marsili, ha dedicato una parte significativa delle sue ricerche, soprattutto epigrafiche, alle province danubiane, sino a dare avvio con colleghi e allievi del Dipartimento di Storia Antica dell'Università di Bologna, a cominciare dall'anno 1978, a campagne sistematiche di scavi a *Ratiaria*, importante città della *Moesia Superior*, situata lungo il corso del fiume Danubio.

Gli studi, le ricerche e gli scavi compiuti a *Ratiaria* da Susini e da altri studiosi dell'Ateneo bolognese, come Angela Donati, Maria Bollini e Dario Giorgetti, portarono poi alla nascita della rivista "*Ratiariensia. Studi e Materiali Mesici e Danubiani*", frutto della fattiva collaborazione tra il Dipartimento di Storia Antica

⁷ G. Forni, *Contributo alla storia della Dacia romana*, Athenaeum 36 (1958) 3–29; G. Forni, *Dacia romana tributim descripta*, in: *Omaggi lui Constantin Daicoviciu*, Bucarest 1960, 233–240; G. Forni, *Roma e Romania*, in: *Civiltà romana in Romania. Catalogo della Mostra – Roma, Palazzo delle Esposizioni, febbraio–aprile 1970*, Roma 1970, 13–17.

⁸ M. Pavan, *L'ambiente militare nella provincia del Norico*, Athenaeum 34 (1956) 58–90.

⁹ M. Pavan, *Ricerche sulla provincia romana di Dalmazia* (Memorie dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti. Classe di Scienze morali e Lettere 32), Venezia 1958.

¹⁰ M. Pavan, *La provincia romana della Pannonia Superior*, Memorie dell'Accademia dei Lincei, s. VIII, 8 (1955) 373–574; M. Pavan, *La Pannonia tra l'Occidente e l'Oriente*, in: G. Hajnóczi (ed.), *La Pannonia e l'Impero romano. Atti del convegno internazionale "La Pannonia e l'Impero Romano" – Roma, 13–16 gennaio 1994*, Milano 1995, 365–373.

dell'Università di Bologna e l'Accademia delle Scienze della Bulgaria, promossa dal Ministero degli Esteri Italiano.

Al tema del *limes* danubiano tra la Mesia e la Dacia Giancarlo Susini prestò particolare attenzione, studiando le testimonianze epigrafiche per cogliere i processi di acculturazione, i fermenti culturali e le possibili interazioni tra le due rive del Danubio. I processi di alfabetizzazione, acculturazione e assimilazione della cultura romana in Dacia sono stati quindi indagati in profondità dallo studioso bolognese, come si può evincere dal suo autorevole contributo a un Colloquio Italo-Romeno su "La Dacia pre-romana e romana, i rapporti con l'impero", svoltosi a Roma nel 1980 per iniziativa dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei¹¹. Di grande interesse scientifico è stata poi la pubblicazione degli Atti del Convegno internazionale sul *Limes* (*Decennalia Ratiariensia*, Vidin 1985)¹².

Attilio Mastino così riassume in poche ma efficaci parole l'interesse di Susini per il mondo danubiano: «Il Danubio torna nella produzione di Susini più volte fin dai primi anni '70 fino alla foce ed al Mar Nero [...]. Per Susini proprio sulle rive europee del Ponto Eusino (più che altrove) e lungo le frontiere danubiane la cultura politica romana produsse efficaci modelli di organizzazione civica: fondazioni di colonie, istituzioni municipali, governi per territori con specifiche identità etno-culturali ed economiche mentre l'urbanizzazione fece passi considerevoli, anche con l'affiancamento di nuove città ad impianti castrensi, specie sul *limes*»¹³.

Sarà proprio Attilio Mastino a raccogliere l'eredità di Giancarlo Susini con la creazione presso l'Università di Sassari del Centro di Studi Interdisciplinari sulle Province Romane, divenuto negli anni un punto di riferimento per studiosi e ricercatori, soprattutto per quanto riguarda l'Africa romana¹⁴.

È alla straordinaria esperienza tesaurizzata dal Centro di Studi Interdisciplinari sulle Province romane e dai Convegni da esso organizzati su "L'Africa romana" che si è ispirato il Laboratorio sulle Antiche province Danubiane (LAD), istituito nell'anno 2007 presso l'Università di Ferrara con l'intendimento di incentivare e favorire il dialogo e la collaborazione scientifica tra tutti gli studiosi e i ricercatori che si sono dedicati nei loro studi e nelle loro ricerche al mondo danubiano nell'antichità, promuovendo un approccio interdisciplinare alla storia e all'archeologia¹⁵.

¹¹ G. Susini, *Processi di alfabetizzazione e di acculturazione in periodo romano*, in: AA.VV., *La Dacia pre-romana e romana, i rapporti con l'impero* (Atti Convegni Lincei 52), Roma 1982, 7–19.

¹² *Ratiariensia. Studi e Materiali Mesici e Danubiani. Atti del Convegno internazionale sul Limes* (Decennalia Ratiariensia, Vidin 1985), Vol. 3–4, Bologna 1987.

¹³ A. Mastino, *Giancarlo Susini e le province romane*, in: *Ricordo di Giancarlo Susini (1927–2000)*, Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rendiconti Lincei: Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, serie IX, vol. 14 (2003) 165–184.

¹⁴ A. Mastino, *Il centro interdisciplinare sulle province romane dell'Università di Sassari*, in: Zerbini (ed.), *Roma e le province* (nt. 5) 11–18.

¹⁵ L. Zerbini, *Un gemellaggio tra Sassari e Ferrara: il nuovo Laboratorio di studi e ricerche sulle Antiche province Danubiane*, in: M. Milanese / P. Ruggeri / C. Vismara (edd.),

Géza Alföldy, grande maestro e amico, così scriveva nella recensione del volume degli Atti del I Convegno Internazionale su “Roma e le province del Danubio”, che egli scrisse pochi mesi prima della sua scomparsa: «Nell’anno 1992 ebbi l’onore di scrivere l’introduzione alla pubblicazione degli Atti del X Convegno Internazionale “L’Africa Romana”, organizzato da Attilio Mastino, grande conoscitore dell’importanza degli studi sulle province romane [...]. In questa introduzione scrissi: “Quanto sarebbe bello avere un giorno anche una serie di convegni internazionali, con partecipazione di colleghi da tutti i Paesi che lavorano nel suo territorio, sulla provincia di Pannonia!”. E adesso abbiamo gli Atti di un convegno internazionale, non soltanto sulla Pannonia, ma sulle province danubiane in generale, che costituisce davvero uno stimolo importantissimo per la ricerca su una parte dell’impero romano che ha svolto un ruolo eminente in tutta la storia di Roma. [...] Vorrei ancora una volta sottolineare l’importanza del fatto che si tratta di un prodotto di ampia cooperazione internazionale, e posso aggiungere che allo stesso tempo abbiamo anche la testimonianza di una fruttifera cooperazione interdisciplinare, perché gli autori e i loro contributi rappresentano le discipline della storia, dell’epigrafia, dell’archeologia, della filologia classica, della storia delle religioni e anche della numismatica. Tutto questo corrisponde al livello della nostra scienza che ci aspettiamo dagli studi umanistici nel secolo ventunesimo in una Europa unita»¹⁶.

Queste parole di Géza Alföldy indicano chiaramente il sentiero che gli studiosi e i ricercatori che dedicheranno la loro attenzione all’orizzonte danubiano nell’antichità dovranno percorrere negli anni a venire.

L’Africa romana. I luoghi e le forme dei mestieri e della produzione nelle province africane. Atti del XVIII convegno di studio – Olbia, 11–14 dicembre 2008, Roma 2010, 81–82.

¹⁶ G. Alföldy, recensione a: L. Zerbini (ed.), *Roma e le province del Danubio. Atti del I Convegno Internazionale Ferrara-Cento, 15–18 Ottobre 2009*, Soveria Mannelli 2010, *Epi-graphica* 73 (2011) 381–389.

Inscriptions and society

M^a ÁNGELES ALONSO ALONSO

Amicitia in the Danubian Provinces in Light of Epigraphic Record

Introduction

The Latin words *amicus* and *amicitia* refer to a type of complex, broad, and polyvalent relationship that was of great importance during Roman antiquity. Indeed, *amicitia* played a key role within the complex network of relationships that cemented social and political dynamics in Roman culture¹. In addition, the widespread distribution of vocabulary connected with *amicitia* in inscriptions across the whole Empire is indicative of the great geographic spread of bonds of friendship in the Roman world². Aware of this reality, and faced with the lack of studies devoted to friendship in the context of the Danubian provinces, our objective here is to study *amicitia* in this geographic area through epigraphic documentation. This paper is the result of a preliminary investigation that, owing to the large area of study, suffers from some inevitable generalisations.

Epigraphy undoubtedly displays certain deficiencies when carrying out a study of such a complex phenomenon, as the concise and incomplete information it can provide does not reveal the exact nature of the relationship. Despite this, inscriptions offer an opportunity to examine the voluntary use of the term *amicus/-a* in various contexts, both private and public, and by individuals from very diverse social backgrounds. Thus, epigraphy allows a precise approach to the phenomenon of inter-personal *amicitia* relationships whilst simultaneously contributing towards an enhanced knowledge of society in the Danubian provinces.

¹ For an overview of *amicitia* in Rome, cf. Konstan 1997, 122–148; Reali 1998, 1–15; Peachin 2001; Verboven 2011; Williams 2012.

² A first approach to the study of Roman *amicitia* by researching epigraphic evidence was carried out by J. M. Serrano Delgado (cf. Serrano Delgado 1987–1988; id. 1989). The work of M. Reali, mainly focused on inscriptions of *amici* in Cisalpine Gaul, should also be highlighted (cf. Reali 1997; id. 1998; id. 2002; id. 2003; id. 2011). More recently, inscriptions have been studied in the context of the provinces of Gaul and Germania (cf. Mathieu 2012). For the Danubian provinces, there is only a study by B. Lőrincz on *amici* in the epigraphy of Pannonia (cf. Lőrincz 2002).

The epigraphic record of *amicitia* in the Danubian provinces

A total of 92 texts mentioning *amici* have been identified in Danubian epigraphic material³. In over 80% of the cases, the memory of friendship is found in funerary inscriptions, and is only recorded in eight honorary dedications (8.7% of the total) and five texts of religious nature (5.43%).

As regards their geographic distribution in the Danubian regions, only a few inscriptions have been found in nearly all the provinces (*Raetia* one, *Moesia inferior* three, *Noricum* and *Moesia superior* five each, *Pannonia superior* and *Dacia* six each, and *Pannonia inferior* nine), except for *Dalmatia*, which has provided 57 inscriptions, nearly 62% of the total in the catalogue (see Fig. 1).

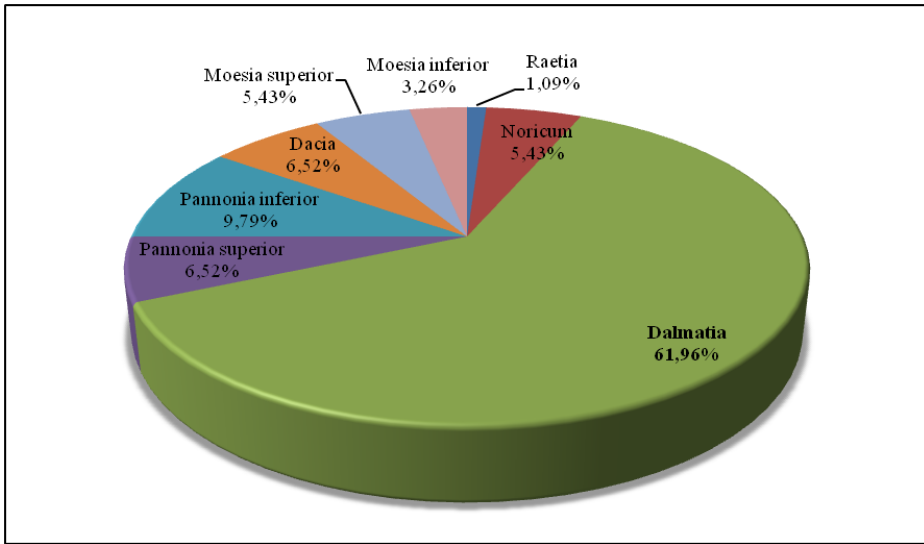


Fig. 1. Percentage distribution of Latin inscriptions regarding *amicitia* in the Danubian provinces.

The capital city, *Colonia Martia Iulia Salonae*, contributes 43 of those 57 epigraphs in the province. Almost 80% of the texts (73) come from cities of importance⁴, mainly colonies and *municipia*, and only six of them are associated with smaller towns (*vici* or

³ See Appendix I below. The present study has not included inscriptions in which *amicus/-a* has the value of *cognomen* (CIL III 4339; CIL III 14777, 1), or texts in which *amicus/-a* functions as an adjective in poetic *formulae* (CIL III 1898; CIL III 2722 = CIL III 9729; CIL III 9733; CIL III 10864; CIL III 12408; CLE 1976; AE 1910, 171; AE 1995, 1232).

⁴ The inscriptions come from 39 places, most of which (23, or nearly 59%) are locations with a privileged statute: eight colonies, ten municipalities, and five towns that possessed the statute of a colony and later of a municipality. Additionally, one Dalmatian inscription comes from a *locus incertus* (nr. 63).

civitates). Apart from *Salona*, six places have yielded more than one inscription: *Dolea* and *Aquincum* three, and *Nedinum*, *Carnuntum*, *Sirmium*, *Apulum* and *Drobeta* two each. It can therefore be seen that *amicitia* was a prevalently urban phenomenon in the Danubian provinces, as it was in other parts of the Empire.

Finally, a third of the epigraphs (61 of the 92 inscriptions, 66.3%) are dated to the 2nd–3rd centuries AD, particularly from the second half of the 2nd century, and only seven of them belong to the 1st century AD⁵. Ten epigraphs can only be dated between the 1st and 2nd century⁶, four in the 1st–3rd centuries⁷, eight in the 3rd century⁸, mainly in its first half, and two inscriptions belong to the 4th century AD⁹.

Sociological diversity of *amicitia*

A first glance at the documentation reveals the wide range of bonds that may be hidden behind a connection designated with the term *amicus*. These relationships are implicated in the social realm on all its levels and are formed both by people belonging to the same social circle and on equal footing, and between individuals that differ from one another in legal, social, and economic terms.

The pedestal of the statue that *L. Cammius Secundinus* dedicated in *Flavia Solva* to the *praefectus praetorio M. Gavius Maximus*, now in Seggau Castle¹⁰, can be used to illustrate what has been called “amicizia orizzontale”¹¹. The honoured individual came from *Firmum* in *Picenum*, and following his *procuratela* in the provinces of *Mauretania Tingitana* and *Asia*, he became *praefectus praetorio* for twenty years during the reign of Antoninus Pius, dying before the emperor ended his reign, possibly about AD 158–161¹². In turn, *L. Cammius Secundinus* had been *legionarius* in *Vindobona* in the early 2nd century¹³. After the gradual development of his career as centurion, he became *primus pilus* and *praefectus legionis* in the *legio X Geminae*, and finally *procurator Augusti*, almost certainly in the province of *Noricum*. In this case both individuals belonged to the equestrian order and, therefore, from a social point of view it was a link between peers. Additionally, both men were in the emperor’s trust, although *M. Gavius Maximus*’s position was higher. Thanks to the greater influence and power of the hono-

⁵ Nr. 13, 27, 62, 68, 69, 75, 89.

⁶ Nr. 2, 7, 55, 15, 17, 19, 45, 58, 78, 88.

⁷ Nr. 3, 37, 44, 54.

⁸ Nr. 18, 50, 60, 67, 70, 81, 90, 92.

⁹ Nr. 59, 71.

¹⁰ *M(arco) Gavi[o] / Maxim[o] / praefect[o] / praetor[io] / L(ucius) Cammiu[s] / Secundi[nus] / p(rimus)p(ilus) pra[e]f(ectus) leg(ionis) [X G(eminae)] / proc(urator) Aug(usti) / amico* (CIL III 5328).

¹¹ Caldelli 2001, 22.

¹² SHA Ant. Pius VIII 7.

¹³ PIR² C 370. He is identified with the *Cam... Secu...*, mentioned on a *tegula* of the *legio XIII Gemina* from *Vindobona* (CIL III 4660, 5), where this legion moved under Trajan. For this person, cf. Winkler 1969, 64–66; Alföldy 1974, 274.

ratus, *Secundinus* was able to guarantee advantages and privileges benefitting his function as *procurator*, while *M. Gavius Maximus* received a statue and a pedestal which ensured the memory of his honour. In short, the basis of this relationship can be found in reasons of a political order.

However, friendship was not always *inter pares*. The case of the epigraph dedicated in *Nedinum* to the most famous juriconsult in the Flavian period, *Iavolenus Priscus*, is an example¹⁴. The brilliant senatorial career of *Iavolenus* is well-known; it includes military, political, and religious positions, the governorship of four provinces and also the consulate *suffectus* in AD 86¹⁵. In contrast, we know nothing about the dedicator and *amicus*, *P. Mutilius P. f. Cla. Crispinus*, who came from *Nedinum* as the *Claudia* tribe illustrates. No other examples of the *gens Mutilia* are known in the city, only in other parts of *Dalmatia*¹⁶, and especially in the *regio X*, above all in the *Aquileia-Tergeste-Pola-Nesactium* area¹⁷. This suggests that the family came from the Cisalpine area. In any case, *Crispinus* was not related to the governing classes in the city and much less to members of the upper *ordines* of Roman society. Equally, no details are known about the origin of the bond between the two men¹⁸, but perhaps the explanation lies in them both coming from *Nedinum*. In fact, *L. Iavolenus Priscus*, whose full name is only known thanks to this inscription, has been connected with the *Octavii* in *Nedinum*, the city's main gens, which supplied many of the *aediles* and *duoviri* documented there. It is therefore possible that the jurist was born in *Nedinum* under *Claudius*¹⁹.

In this case, the inequality is demonstrated by the lack of information about *Crispinus*, his position or profession, and also by the impossibility of associating him with a notable family of the same rank as the honoured man, a member of the *ordo senatorius*. Additionally, the fact that the dedicator addresses the other as *amicus carissimus*, and

¹⁴ *C(aio) Octavio / Tidio Tossia/no Ia[v]oleno / Prisco leg(ato) leg(ionis) IV Flav(iae) / leg(ato) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) iuridic(o) pro/vinc(iae) Brit{t}anniae leg(ato) consu/lari provinc(iae) Germ(aniae) superi/oris legato consulari pro/vinc(iae) Syriae proconsuli / provinc(iae) Africae pontifici / P(ublius) Mutilius P(ubli) filius Cla(udia) Crispin(us) / i(esta-mento) p(oni) i(ussit) / amicus carissimo* (CIL III 2864 = CIL III 9960).

¹⁵ Cf. PIR² I 14.

¹⁶ *Scardona* (CIL III 2806) and *Varvaria* (ILJug II 823).

¹⁷ Six examples of *Mutillii* are known in *Aquileia* (CIL V 822; CIL V 1342 = InscrAq 1383; InscrAq 147; InscrAq 676; AE 1996, 692), two in *Tergeste* (CIL V 515 = InscrIt X 4, 6; InscrIt X 4, 343), one in *Pola* (CIL V 93 = InscrIt X 1, 169) and another one in *Nesactium* (CIL V 8128 = InscrIt X 1, 687).

¹⁸ According to J. M. Serrano Delgado, a possible solution is found in a military diploma from Worms (CIL XVI 36), which documents the *honesta missio* of the members of a series of units that had served in *Germania superior* under the command of *Iavolenus Priscus*, including the *cohors III Delmatarum*. As Serrano Delgado posits, perhaps the dedicator of the *Nedinum* epigraph, or a relative of his, was a veteran of this unit who, as part of the aristocracy in his home city, maintained a relationship of dependency with his former general under the form of *amicitia* (Serrano Delgado 1987–88, 354–355). In contrast, J. J. Wilkes suggests that the origin of their friendship may have been in *Burnum*, when *Priscus* was in command of the *legio IV Flavia* for a period of three years (Wilkes 1969, 332).

¹⁹ Cf. Wilkes 1969, 213–213, 312, 332.

gives full details of his *cursus*, raises suspicions of inequality. *Amicitia* with a superior of senatorial rank was an opportunity for the *amicus minor* to possess an intermediary with Rome and the central power, perhaps to obtain favours for the city they had in common or for other types of interests. What did the *amicus maior* obtain in exchange? On this occasion, at least a statue raised in his honour in his home town.

Together with these examples of friendship between and with high-ranking individuals, other cases of *amicitiae* arose in more humble contexts, like those of slaves and freedmen. Belonging to the same libertine family was a favourable situation for forming ties of friendship, as shown by the epitaph of *C. Catenius Phileto* in *Salona*, dedicated by three of his freedmen, who define themselves as *amici*²⁰. Other times, the freed friends were not part of the same family, as seen in a funerary inscription in *Aquincum* which contains the epitaph of the freedman *A. Vettius A. I. Crescens*²¹. The *titulum memoriae* was placed by his freedwoman and wife, *Vettia A. I. Nome*, but the final production of the monument was carried out (*faciendum curavit*) by his friend, *L. Vipstanus L. I. Senecio*. The two men enjoyed the same legal condition but, in view of the difference between the *nomina*, it seems that their friendship was unconnected with the family circle. The origin of the link may have been related to them sharing the same profession.

At other times, friendship might be inherited from father to son, or shared between relatives. This is seen in a marble votive altar from Spodnje Hoce, in *Noricum*²². The text is dedicated to *Mithra pro salute* of three members of the same family: the brothers *M. Aurelius Felicianus* and *Aurelius Felicianus iunior*, and *M. Aurelius Felicissimus*, son of the former. The dedicator was *Philumenus, amicus eorundem*, who, judging by the onomastic, was a slave or perhaps a freedman who silenced his *praenomen* and *nomen*. Therefore, this was friendship shared by two brothers and which was also handed down from father to son demonstrating how ties might extend between different members of the same family. *Philumenus* cannot have been *servus* or *libertus* of the *Aurelii*, and was tied to them by another kind of relationship. We might think of a friendship born out of the convenience of *Philumenus'* *dominus* or *patronus*, perhaps as a way of guaranteeing patronage links with other individuals in the city to strengthen his socio-political position or to obtain advantages in business.

Additionally, consolidation of *amicitiae* allowed freedmen considerable possibilities of social advancement if they were associated with influential members of the local aristocracy. This was a way to overcome or mitigate the memory of a past in slavery.

²⁰ *C(aio) Catenio Phileto patrono / C(aius) Catenius Demetrius et C(aius) Ca/tenius Primus et Catenia Fus/ca b(ene) m(erenti) / [a]mici optimi / avete et valete / felix lapis* (CIL III 2277).

²¹ *A(ulus) Vettius / A(uli) l(ibertus) Crescens / an(norum) L hic s(itus) e(st) / Vettia A(uli) l(iberta) Nome / patrono et coniugi / suo pientissimo viva / t(itulum) m(emoriae) p(osuit) / L(ucius) Vipstanus L(uci) l(ibertus) Senecio / amicus faciundu(m) curavit* (CIL III 3607 = CIL III 10387).

²² *D(eo) S(oli) I(nvicto) M(ithrae) / pro salute / M(arci) Aur(eli) Felician(i) / M(arci) Aur(eli) Felicissim[i] / fili(i) eius et Aurel(i) / Feliciani iuniori[s] / [P]hilumenus ami[cus] / [eo]rundem ex voto / posuit* (ILLPRON 1900).

In short, *amicitia* ran through all the *ordines* and was practiced in all areas and social milieu in the Danubian provinces. However, it should be stressed that over a third of the inscriptions (32 out of 92, nearly 35%) refer to people named in concise epitaphs that reveal no information about their socio-legal or professional condition.

The origin of friendship, where and how?

It would be especially interesting to understand the objective conditions that determined the origin of the link; discover where and how the friendship formed and the basis on which it grew. In epigraphic texts we never find explicit allusions to this but, in some cases, it is possible to propose a hypothesis. Situations like belonging to the same family, sharing the same profession or workplace, or even a common home country were favourable circumstances. The importance of a military background was also extremely propitious for the emergence of *amicitiae* in the whole Roman Empire²³.

A large body of documentation is available about friendship relations between soldiers in the Danubian provinces. Of the 92 inscriptions, 24 (26%) refer to links formed by soldiers, either between two soldiers or with civilians²⁴. The proportion is higher in the two *Pannoniae*, where over half of the texts (nine out of fifteen epigraphs) refer to soldiers. The daily life shared during years of service led to feelings of brotherhood and gave rise to different fraternal relations between *commilitones*, including *amicitia*²⁵. The death of a companion in service sometimes created the opportunity to immortalise the memory of the link in an epitaph, as seen in the epigraph of *miles C. Valerius C. f. Fab. Silvinus Val.*²⁶ After 34 years' service in the army, this soldier died in *Carnuntum*, where his unit, the *legio X Gemina*, was garrisoned in AD 63–68²⁷. Until then, this legion had been in *Hispania Tarraconensis*, where *Silvinus* enlisted between AD 29 and 34, as can be deduced from his origin in the colony of *Valentia*²⁸. The *amici* mentioned in the sixth line of the inscription were surely his companions in the legion and as friends they took charge of administering his last will, as *Silvinus* died without family in a foreign land.

²³ Reali 1998, 17.

²⁴ Friendship between soldiers is more common than of a soldier with a civilian. Examples of both friendship between soldiers and between soldier-civilian are distributed as follows: one in *Raetia* (nr. 1), one in *Noricum* (nr. 4), seven in *Dalmatia* (nr. 12–13, 27, 56, 58, 61–62), nine in *Pannonia* (nr. 64–66, 68–70, 72, 74, 76), two in *Dacia* (nr. 82, 84) and four in *Moesia* (nr. 87, 90–92).

²⁵ Two factors might act as a stimulus for soldiers when forming closer bonds during service: a common home town or the performance of similar duties within the army (Serrano Delgado 1987–88, 354–355).

²⁶ *C(aius) Valerius / C(aii) f(ilius) Fab(ia) Silvi(nus) Val(entia) mil(es) leg(ionis) / (centuria) Rutili(i) an(norum) LX / aer(um) XXXIII / amic(is) ex t(estamento) / cur(antibus) h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / c(arus) s(uis) t(ibi) t(erra)* (CIL III 4486).

²⁷ Ritterling 1925, 1680.

²⁸ Lőrincz 2002, 115–116.

The friend in charge of the dedication often explicitly mentioned belonging to the same legion as the deceased in the epitaph, as did for example *Fabius Baritio* in the text dedicated to *M. Tullius Fortunatus* in *Lussonium*²⁹. The deceased was a *veteranus cohortis quingenariae Maurorum* originally from Africa, and at the end of the inscription, *Baritio* states he is *veteranus cohortis eiusdem, heres eius amicus*. We find a very similar expression in the epitaph of *P. Aelius Cl. Lucus*, originally from Thessalonica and who died in *Aquincum*³⁰. Both he and the dedicator, also friend and heir, were veterans of the *legio II Adiutrix*. Coincidence of friend and heir appears in another four epigraphs in the corpus, all referring to soldiers³¹. This reflects a general reality across the Empire, where the epigraphic record indicates connections between heir and deceased particularly in the military milieu. Indeed, the identification of *amicus et heres* is attested almost exclusively among soldiers³². In such cases, the term *amicus* does not aim to define a social feeling but rather to establish the relationship between testator and heir and consequently *amicus* is really a form of legal information³³. This circumstance is explained by the frequent absence of family or kinship ties amongst soldiers. However this was not always so, as a case is known in which the *heres* extended the dedication to the wife and children of the *amicus*³⁴.

Another favourable situation for the emergence of *amicitiae* was in the municipal elite. In the corpus, nine inscriptions (9.78%)³⁵ provide information about friendships formed among members of local aristocracies. The proportion is especially high in the provinces of *Dacia*, with three examples out of the six inscriptions in the region, and *Moesia superior*, with four examples out of five attesting to friendship between local aristocrats.

²⁹ *D(is) M(anibus) / M(arcus) Tul(l)ius Fortuna(t)us, / vet(eranus) c(o)h(ortis) (quingenariae) Mau(rorum) d(omo) Africa / vix(it) an(nos) LXX, Sep(timiae) Dubita/[tae] con[ui]gi et filis eorum Fabius Baritio / [v]et(eranus) coh(ortis) eiusdem heres ei(us) amico bene / mere[n]titit[ul]um* (CIL III 3324).

³⁰ *D(is) M(anibus) // P(ublius) Ael(ius) Cl(audia) Lucus / Thessa(lonica) vet(eranus) leg(ionis) / II Ad(iutricis) et P(ublius) Ael(ius) / Lycus vet(eranus) leg(ionis) / eiusd(em) (h){a}eres / amico / bene merenti / fecit* (CIL III 10500).

³¹ Nr. 62, 66, 77, 82. In AE 2010, 1329 (nr. 77), the text says ----- / *secundus her(es) et / amicus faciendum / curavit*, and therefore a military origin is not certain, although it is likely since the text comes from *Aquincum*.

³² A good example is the case of the city of Rome, where out of a total of 155 texts referring to military *amici*, the explicit indication of the term *heres* is only missing from 50 of them (Ricci 2001, 47).

³³ C. Ricci speaks of testamentary friendship, strongly conditioned by economic aspects as well as by the need to receive a burial. Thus, where inscriptions explicitly cite the coexistence of friendship and the condition of heir, it is not unimaginable that when naming a soldier as *heres*, the agreement was formalised in the presence of witnesses at the time of writing the will (Ricci 2001, 47).

³⁴ Cf. *supra* nt. 29.

³⁵ Nr. 45, 80–81, 83, 85, 87–90.

In the forum of *Apulum*, a marble pedestal from the time of Marcus Aurelius is inscribed on the front and left side³⁶. The honoured man, *C. Cervonius Pap. Sabinus*, was *quinquennalis* in the *colonia Dacica Sarmizegetusa*, *decurio* in *Apulum* and patron of a *collegium fabri* common to both cities. The dedication was made by his friend *Sex. Sentinas Maximus*, of whom we know of no post in the town, but for whom friendship with one of the decurions would undoubtedly have brought advantages. On the left side, the epigraph states that the reason for the dedication was to thank *Cervonius* for building public baths in the town, although the dedicator must have had more private and personal reasons. One curious aspect is the final formula in the text, L.D.D.D., which not only shows that the decision to raise the statue and the choice of its position was sanctioned by order of the decurions but also that the link between *C. Cervonius Pap. Sabinus* and *Sex. Sentinas Maximus* was recognised publicly by the city authorities. The mention of *amici* in an official context suggests that this was more than a simple friendship. In this case, it may have been a patronage-type association³⁷: to have friends among the decurions, and also among those who were honoured with the *ornamenta decurionalia*, as seen in three cases in *Moesia superior*³⁸, or among municipal magistrates and other influential people in the city, was useful to open the way towards public office and fulfil aspirations of rising in society. Friendship ties were a basis for political strength and solidity in patronage networks within a city.

Epigraphic documentation of *amicitia* in *Salona*

Salona is the city that has contributed the most examples of inscriptions referring to *amicitia*. The 43 epigraphs recorded in the capital of *Dalmatia* amount to 46.74% of the total catalogued in the Danubian area and 75.44% of the inscriptions in the province. It is a particularly high number, not only in comparison with other Danubian provinces but also in comparison to other parts of the Empire, as it is the city with the most epigraphs referring to *amicitia* after Rome itself³⁹. This should be considered an advantage allowing the differentiation of particularities about *amicitia* that is not possible in other cities.

³⁶ *C(aio) Cervoni[o] / Pap(iria) Sabino q(uin)[q(uennali) ?] / col(oniae) Dac(icae) dec(uri-
oni) mun[i/c]ipi Apul(ensis) / patron(o) / [c]ollegi(i) fabr(um) col(oniae) / [et m]unicipi s(upra)
s(criptorum) pa/[tro]no causarum / [piis?]simo am[ico] / rarissim[o] / Sex(tus) Sentinas
Maxi/mus anno primo / [f]acti municipi / posuit // [Ob] cuius / [sta]tuae dedi/[cat]ionem Lu/[ci]a
Iulia uxor / [C]ervoni per / omnes balne/[as] populo pu/blice oleum / posuit / l(oco) d(ato) d(ecu-
rionum) d(ecreto) (CIL III 7805).*

³⁷ For the acceptance of the term *amicus* in the sense of *cliens*, cf. Saller 1989; Konstan 1995; Verboven 2002; Winterling 2008.

³⁸ Nr. 85, 88–89.

³⁹ In Rome, the term *amicus* appears in 475 inscriptions (Caldelli 2001, 21). After *Salona*, the cities where the most cases are known are *Aquileia*, *Mediolanum* and *Brixia*, with 31, 25 and 23 examples each (Gregori 2001, 31). In Gaul, the city with the most epigraphs referring to *amici* is *Lugdunum*, with 22 examples (Mathieu 2012, 382).

The proportion of funerary epigraphs is greater in *Salona* than in the rest of the Danubian provinces, as there are only two votive inscriptions⁴⁰. They are generally texts that provide no further information than the names of the dedicator and dedicatee and the condition of *amici* that connected them (24 out of 43, over 55%). There are no examples of members of senatorial or equestrian *ordines*, or statues raised in honour of friends⁴¹. Four epigraphs mention soldiers⁴², but only in one of them the soldier is the person involved in the relationship of friendship⁴³. As regards the municipal elite, there is only one example of the epitaph of a *sevir Augustalis* who had a tomb built for himself, his wife, children, and freedmen, also including an *amicus*⁴⁴.

In most cases the individuals are in a situation of equality and share a similar onomastic structure and also probably the same social condition. The friendship often co-exists with kinship links. In fact, wife and husband are frequently linked with the *amicitia*⁴⁵, and it always occupies a preeminent position, demonstrating the dignity that friendship enjoyed, together with blood or acquired kinship⁴⁶. Additionally, *Salona* is the only place in the Danubian provinces where *amicitia* between a man and a woman is recorded⁴⁷. This circumstance might indicate an intimate relationship, either inside or outside marriage, or perhaps a common-law marriage⁴⁸.

⁴⁰ These are two ex-votos consecrated to Mithra. One was raised by *Terentius Dalmata in honorem amicorum suorum* (nr. 11), and the other was placed by *L. Cornelius Apalaustus pro salute* his friend *M. Vivus Crestus* (nr. 26).

⁴¹ This can be compared with the situation in *Brixia*, where out of a corpus of 23 texts referring to *amici*, nine of them are dedications on statues (Gregori 2001, 33).

⁴² Nr. 12–14, 27.

⁴³ This is the epitaph of the *veteranus legionis VII Claudiae Fidelis L. Fabius L. f. Saturninus*, to whom *C. Titius Restitutus* donated the *locus sepulturae* that the soldier shared with his wife (nr. 13). Possibly also in CIL III 8738 (nr. 27), the soldier was involved in the *amicitia*, although the epigraph is badly fragmented.

⁴⁴ *M(arcus) Satrius M(arci) l(ibertus) Valens / VTv(ir) f(ecit) sibi et Satriae Eufrosyn(a)e / co(n)iugi pientissimae et Satrio / Floro f(ilio) Satriae Valentinae f(iliae) liber/tis libertab(us)que eor(um) h(oc) m(onumentum) h(eredem) n(on) s(equetur) / commune est una cum Stator(io) Festo / posterisq(ue) eor(um) et Calpurnio Callisto ami(co) / in f(ron)te p(edes) XV in ag(ro) p(edes) L (ILJug II 682).*

⁴⁵ Six examples are known of *amicitia* between a man and a couple (nr. 13, 16, 24–25, 32, 46), and none between a woman and a couple.

⁴⁶ Caldelli 2001, 28.

⁴⁷ Nr. 18, 20, 22, 29, 34, 39–40.

⁴⁸ *Amicitia* between a man and a woman is known in other cities in the Empire. Determining the exact type of relationship is not easy. On the one hand it is possible that in some cases they are *contubernium*, *concubinatus* or even *iustae nuptiae* situations, as it is unlikely they would refer to a passing sexual relationship as this would rarely be made explicit in an epitaph (Caldelli 2001, 25–26). On the other hand, it is possible that friendship with a woman would be through her father or husband (Gregori 2001, 33 nt. 18). In contrast, C. A. Williams considers that there is nothing in the inscriptions that suggests the *amicitia* between a man and a woman was a different kind of link than the relationship between two male friends or two female friends, that is to say, a simple friendship (cf. Williams 2012, 96–107).

Most of the inscriptions in *Salona* appear to reflect private friendship relationships⁴⁹, mostly among lower social classes and especially concerned with funerary aspects, as indicated by such expressions as *locum donavit amicus* and *locum concessit*. In short, in light of the variety of relationships found in the Danubian provinces as a whole, and considering the homogeneity of the inscriptions in *Salona*, in this city *amicitia* may have had a very restricted meaning, referring to affectionate or fraternal types of relationships rather than to patronage links aimed at strengthening networks of influence in society.

Appendix I: Inscriptions of *amici* in the Roman Danubian Provinces

Raetia: 1) CIL III 5955. Regensburg.

Noricum: 2) CIL III 4913 = ILLPRON 433. *Municipium Claudium Virunum (ager)*; 3) CIL III 5217 = ILLPRON 1678. *Celeia*; 4) CIL III 5328 = ILLPRON 1357. *Flavia Solva*; 5) CIL III 5662 = CIL III 11805 = ILLPRON 855. Hürm; 6) ILLPRON 1900. Spodnje Hoce.

Dalmatia: 7–9) *Doclea* (Podgorica): 7) CIL III 12690; 8) CIL III 12702 = CIL III 13822 = AE 1897, 9 = ILJug III 1831; 9) AE 1976, 525; 10) CIL III 14232. *Pituntium*; 11–53): *Colonia Martia Iulia Salonae* (Solin): 11) AE 1989, 601; 12) CIL III 2006; 13) CIL III 2022; 14) CIL III 2046; 15) CIL III 2131; 16) CIL III 2245; 17) CIL III 2277; 18) CIL III 2307; 19) CIL III 2344; 20) CIL III 2357 = CIL V *198; 21) CIL III 2381; 22) CIL III 2387; 23) CIL III 2475 = CIL III 8635 = CIL V *125,2; 24) CIL III 2522; 25) CIL III 2525; 26) CIL III 8678; 27) CIL III 8738; 28) CIL III 8928; 29) CIL III 9019; 30) CIL III 9074; 31) CIL III 9239; 32) CIL III 9292; 33) CIL III 9351; 34) CIL III 9365; 35) CIL III 9399; 36) CIL III 9488; 37) CIL III 9496; 38) CIL III 12944; 39) CIL III 12953; 40) CIL III 13927; 41) CIL III 13959; 42) CIL III 14804; 43) CIL III 14827, 1; 44) CIL III 14886; 45) ILJug II 682; 46) ILJug II 713; 47) ILJug III 2022; 48) ILJug III 2142; 49) ILJug III 2197; 50) ILJug III 2617 = AE 1934, 284; 51) ILJug III 2728; 52) ILJug III 2745; 53) AE 2001, 1623; 54) CIL III 9926b. *Burnum*; 55) K. A. Giunio, *Asseria* 5 (2007) 155–156, n° 4. *Asseria*; 56) CIL III 2864 = CIL III 9960. *Nedinum*; 57) CIL III 9962. *Nedinum*; 58) CIL III 2916 = CIL III 9984. *Iader* (Zadar); 59) CIL III 8361 = CIL III 12721. *Domavia* (Srebrenica); 60) CIL III 15068. *Raetinium* (Bihac); 61) ILJug III 1930. *Hardomilje*; 62) ILJug III 2956 = AE 1980, 689. *Punta Križa*; 63) CIL III 3174a = CIL V *198. *Dalmatia Incerta*.

Pannonia superior: 64) CIL III 10880 = AE 1891, 38. *Poetovio*; 65) CIL III 4148. *Alsolendva*; 66) RIU II 546. *Brigetio*; 67) RIU Sup. 114 = AE 1995, 1260. *Bánom*; 68) CIL III 4486. *Carnuntum*; 69) AE 1983, 760. *Carnuntum*.

⁴⁹ As occurs in the provinces of Gaul and Germania, where most of the 130 inscriptions that record *amicitiae* associate the link with the private and personal sphere (cf. Mathieu 2012, 379–380).

Pannonia inferior: 70) AE 1990, 856. *Sirmium* (Sremska Mitrovica); 71) AE 1998, 1052. *Sirmium* (Sremska Mitrovica); 72) CIL III 3324 = RIU IV 1012 = RIU IV 1037 = AE 1990, 825. *Lussonium*; 73) RIU V 1212 = AE 1975, 702 = AE 1977, 639. *Intercisa*; 74) RIU V 1253 = AE 1988, 942. *Intercisa*; 75) CIL III 3607 = CIL III 10387 = TitAq II 744. *Aquincum*; 76) CIL III 10500 = TitAq II 509. *Aquincum*; 77) TitAq II 808 = AE 2010, 1329. *Aquincum*; 78) RIU III 911. *Ulcisia castra*.

Dacia: 79) CIL III 1027 = IDR III 5, 97. *Apulum*; 80) CIL III 7805 = AE 1996, 1276 = IDR III 5, 446. *Apulum*; 81) CIL III 1495 = IDR III 2, 126. *Sarmizegetusa*; 82) CIL III 14216, 7 = IDR II 43. *Drobeta* (Turnu-Severin); 83) IDR II 50 = AE 1944, 61 = AE 1980, 775. *Drobeta* (Turnu-Severin); 84) ILD 784. *Samum*.

Moesia superior; 85) CIL III 14501, 1. *Ratiaria*; 86) ILJug II 516. *Municipium Dardanorum*; 87) AE 1973, 477 = IMS VI 31. *Scupi* (Zlokucane); 88) CIL III 7422. *Almus* 89) IMS 2 25 = ILJug III 1317. *Timacum Minus* (Ravna).

Moesia inferior: 90) CIL III 14416 = AE 1900, 155 = AE 1961, 208 = AE 1999, 1326. *Oescus* (Gigen); 91) AE 1939, 121. *Novae* (Svishtov); 92) AE 2004, 1278. *Capidava* (Crucea).

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L. MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA — A. IBBA *

Vicus Bad[---] : la contribution de l'épigraphie
à la reconstruction du tissu socio-culturel d'un village
de la *Moesia Inferior* (I^{er}–III^e siècle ap. J.-C.)

Planches 1–5

Introduction

Ces dernières années, grâce à une collaboration entre les Universités de Sassari et de Iași et l'Institut de Recherche Éco-Muséale de Tulcea, les recherches de surface effectuées dans la zone de Mihai Bravu (Pl. 1, Fig. 1) ont mis au jour non seulement des vestiges archéologiques, mais aussi de nouvelles inscriptions. Les inscriptions inédites, auxquelles s'ajoutent les anciens textes déjà publiés provenant de Mihai Bravu, forment aujourd'hui un petit corpus qui nous offre une image assez cohérente de l'organisation et de la population de l'ancien village. Dans cet article, nous donnerons un bref aperçu sur l'archéologie du site, une présentation des inscriptions, en les groupant par catégorie (textes concernant l'organisation du *vicus*, inscriptions votives et épitaphes) et enfin les conclusions historiques sur les aspects sociaux, juridiques et économiques qui ressortent de l'analyse des textes. En annexe, un catalogue de sources présentera les détails techniques de chaque inscription et un petit commentaire. Les inscriptions de notre corpus apparaissent dans notre texte avec l'abréviation T, suivie par le numéro inscrit dans le catalogue.

* Cette enquête a été menée dans le cadre du projet de recherche « *(L)Ibida. Una città romana ai confini dell'impero, le sue necropoli, il suo territorio* », coordonné par Mihaela Iacob et Dorel Paraschiv (ICEM de Tulcea en Roumanie) et par Alessandro Teatini e Antonio Ibba, (Dipartimento di Scienze Umanistiche e Sociali, Uniss, en Italie), selon un accord signé le 21/01/2013 entre l'Université de Sassari (UNISS) et l'Institut de Recherche Éco-Muséale de Tulcea (ICEM). (http://www.arheologie-ibida.eu/echipa_de_cercetare-i6), avec la contribution du Ministero degli Affari Esteri Italiano (MAECI), et du projet PN-III-P4-ID-PCE-2020-0383, financé par le Conseil National de la Recherche Scientifique de Roumanie (CNCS). Nous remercions Mihaela Iacob de nous avoir confié l'étude de ce nouveau matériel, nos amis Andrei Opaïț, Alexandru Avram, Ioan Piso, Radu Ardevan et Alessandro Teatini pour avoir partagé avec nous leurs observations sur le site de Mihai Bravu. Bien que conçu conjointement, les §§ 1.2.1, 2.4 sont signés par Antonio Ibba, l'Introduction et les §§ 2.2–2.3, 3 par Lucrețiu Mihailescu-Bîrliba. Dans le Catalogue Ibba a signé les notices T1–T2, T9–T14 ; Mihailescu-Bîrliba les notices T3–T8.

1. Le fort romain et son histoire

Entre les villages de Mihai Bravu et de Turda, dans le département de Tulcea, en Dobroudja¹ (le nord de la province romaine de Mésie, puis de *Moesia Inferior*, qui deviendra, à l'époque du Bas-Empire, la nouvelle province *Scythia Minor*), sur un mamelon situé immédiatement à gauche de la route 229, au long de la fertile vallée de Taița, les restes d'un *quadriburgium*, déjà identifié en 1917 par Konrad Škorpil et étudié entre 1987–1990 par Andrei Opaïț² sont bien visibles (Pl. 1, Fig. 2).

La structure (40 x 34 m ; murs peut-être hauts de 3 m), érigée contre les incursions des Carpes et des Goths probablement par Constantin après sa victoire sur Licinius, présente quatre tours d'angle circulaires (Pl. 1, Fig. 3)³ et faisait partie d'un vaste système intégré de défense le long de la route qui reliait *Ibida* à *Troesmis* et *Noviodunum* et qui comprenait aussi les forts de Cerna, Izvoarele et Niculițel ainsi que les *horrea* de Enisala (*Constantiana*), de Babadag (*Tropaichioi*) et de Horia⁴.

Une cinquantaine de mètres au sud du mamelon, les recherches de surface ont mené à l'identification d'un vaste habitat rural (peut-être un carré 800 x 800 m), daté entre le milieu du I^{er} siècle ap. J.-C. et la fin du IV^e siècle, sur lequel nous avons malheureusement peu d'informations archéologiques⁵, mais d'où provient une douzaine d'inscriptions, chronologiquement homogènes, en partie remployées dans les structures du fort⁶ et pour la plupart inédites. Elles constituent une source précieuse pour la reconstruction partielle de la vie institutionnelle et sociale de ce *vicus*, l'une des nombreuses agglomérations apparues entre le I^{er} et le III^e siècle ap. J.-C. dans cette région⁷.

Après la bataille d'Adrianople, le *quadriburgium* fut vraisemblablement abandonné, de même probablement que le *vicus*, qui s'était développé à ses côtés : en effet, vers le début du V^e siècle la traditionnelle organisation du territoire en *villae* et *vici*, qui avait caractérisée la période précédente, prend fin, et la population rurale

¹ TIR L 35, Bukarest 1969, 51, plus précisément à 800 m de Mihai Bravu et à 1260 m de Turda, à 7 km au nord-ouest de la ville de Babadag.

² Opaïț 1989, 364 ; Opaïț *et al.* 1991, 192 nt. 1 ; Opaïț *et al.* 1992, 107 ; Opaïț 2004, 109 ; Băjenaru 2010, 30, 154, 171 ; Lungu 2015, 35.

³ Sur cette typologie des fortifications, voir Băjenaru 2010, 78, 172–173, 227.

⁴ Aparaschivei 2010, 154 ; Băjenaru 2010, 30–31 ; pour *Troemis*, *Noviodoum* et *Ibida*, voir Lungu 2015, 105–112, 119–122.

⁵ Opaïț *et al.* 1992, 107 ; Vizauer *et al.* 2001, 144–145 ; Opaïț 2004, 109 ; Aparaschivei 2010, 107. Parmi le matériel découvert, nous pouvons évoquer des fragments d'amphore « Late Roman 2 », en usage entre le IV^e et le VII^e siècle ap. J.-C. ; Mihaela Iacob a identifié des pièces de monnaie en circulation entre Claude et le IV^e siècle ap. J.-C.

⁶ Outre les inscriptions présentées dans ce catalogue, une recherche de surface menée en 2016 a révélé parmi les structures d'une tour du *burgus* les fragments d'une colonne de calcaire, provenant d'un bâtiment public ou privé du *vicus*.

⁷ Bărbulescu 2001, 88–96.

semble avoir cherché refuge dans les villes fortifiées et dans les *castra*, qui demeuraient inexpugnables pour les Goths⁸.

2.1. Le vicus et ses *magistri*

Le nom du village est fourni par une petite plaque fragmentaire de calcaire local (T1), inédite et exposée au Musée de Tulcea. Elle portait probablement une dédicace à une divinité ou à l'empereur, ou pour tous les deux, placé par les *veterani et cives Romani consistentes vico Bad[---]*⁹.

La paléographie invite à dater le monument entre les époques antonine et sévérienne. L'inscription a été rédigée *sub cura agente* ou *agentibus*, variante d'une formule attestée probablement dans une deuxième dédicace trouvée à Mihai Bravu (T2) et aujourd'hui perdue. La formule, bien connue dans l'Empire, se référait fréquemment aux fonctionnaires impériaux, mais en *Moesia Inferior* elle était utilisée aussi pour les *magistri*, pour le *quaestor* du vicus ou pour les *archontes* de la *regio* d'*Istros*¹⁰ : *Aelius Carinus* (T2) était probablement un *magister* de vicus *Bad[---]*, la plus haute autorité dans le village¹¹, en charge à un moment entre le fin du II^e et le début du III^e siècle, comme le suggère le gentilice *Aelius*, vraisemblablement lié à la citoyenneté romaine donnée (à lui-même ou à son père) par Hadrien ou Antonin le Pieux¹² : son origine est incertaine¹³, mais d'après les inscriptions nous savons que les *magistri* des *vici*

⁸ Băjenaru 2010, 23, 185 ; Poulter 2013, 63–76, en particulier 73–74 ; Lungu 2015, 34–35. D'autre part, il n'y a aucune trace d'établissements Goths dans cette partie du bassin du Danube jusqu'à 408 ap. J.-C.

⁹ Courtes notes dans Opaïț *et al.* 1992, 107 ; Bărbulescu 1998, 240 ; Bărbulescu 2001, 94, 179 ; Avram 2007, 97, 107 no. 17 ; Aparaschivei 2010, 107.

¹⁰ Mancini 1922, 1322–1324 : *sub cura agente / agentibus* (ou, plus fréquemment, *sub cura* + génitif), indiquaient l'attribution de missions limitées dans les temps pour l'exercice d'une fonction publique ; mis à part notre T1 et peut-être T2, on connaît en *Moesia inferior* seulement les expressions *cura(m)* ou *cura agente / agentibus* voir p. e. AE 1966, 356 ; 1988, 986–989 ; 2003, 1550 ; IScM I 324–326, 344–347, 349, 351 ; IScM V 123, 268 ; dans le vicus *Novus*, donc pas loin du vicus *Bad[---]* on connaît *sub cura{m}* + ablatif (IScM V 233). Pour aperçu général sur les *vici*, voir Avram 2007, 104–109.

¹¹ Poulter 1980, 734–735 ; Bérard 1992, 101–102 ; Aparaschivei 2015, 28–30, 40–43.

¹² Les *Aelii* sont bien attestés en *Moesia Inferior*, en particulier à *Istros* et dans son territoire : on les retrouve p.e. à *Tomis* (IScM II, 200), *Callatis* (AE 1981, 753), *Istros* (IScM II 268 et 302 ; IV 98), dans le vicus *Quintionis* (IScM I 326–327 et 330, peut-être 340), dans le vicus *Clementianensis* (IScM II 134 = V 92), à *Ulmetum* (IScM V 90 : un *buleuta* de *Istros*), Cius (IScM V 123–124), *Troesmis* (IScM V 159, 164–165 170–172), *Noviodunum* (IScM V 276), *Halmyris* (AE 1991, 1382, 1384 et 1388 ; 2010, 1428 et 1432–1433). On pourrait penser soit à un immigré (voir *infra*) soit à un affranchi impérial, à un soldat des troupes auxiliaires ou à un pérégrin promu à titre personnel sous Hadrien ou Antonin le Pieux, cf. e. g. Aparaschivei 2010, 377 et les réflexions de Mihailescu-Birliba 2012, 93–94.

¹³ Il porte un surnom d'origine latine (Kajanto 1965, 284) dérivé de *Carus*, mais attesté surtout dans les Gaules ; en Mésie Inférieure, le non est connu seulement à *Halmyris* (CIL III 14214.24 : *exarchus bis*) ; toutefois le choix d'un anthroponyme qui fait référence au monde romain pouvait être lié non à l'origine de son porteur, mais à une décision délibérée « politique » (*infra*, § 2.4), bien compréhensible dans le chef d'un notable local comme un *magister*.

« civiles » pouvaient être soit des *cives Romani* ou *Latini*, ou bien des *peregrini*, en particulier des Thraces et des Grecs, dont certains peut-être étaient des *Getae* hellénisés¹⁴.

Sur la formule *veterani et cives Romani consistentes*, dont le dossier pour la Dobroudja a été récemment repris par Avram¹⁵, et sur les différents types de *vicus*¹⁶ on a développé au cours des vingt dernières années un débat qui ne peut pas être résumé ici. Dans notre cas, le *vicus* a été habitée par des *veterani*, anciens légionnaires de la *V Macedonica* (qui stationnait à *Troesmis*) ou anciens auxiliaires ou *classarii* de *Noviodunum*¹⁷, récompensés à la fin du service avec un domaine, et par des *cives Romani consistentes*, probablement identifiables avec des commerçants et des colons immigrés dans cette partie de la province, organisés en *conventus* dans le village, mais sans y avoir le *domicilium*. Il est vraisemblable que cette « association », constituée pour défendre les intérêts communs des Romains, ait collaboré avec les *vicani*, en particulier dans la construction de bâtiments ou pour exprimer leur loyauté à Rome et à l'empereur¹⁸.

Les *vici*, en dépit de leurs magistrats, dépendaient administrativement d'un centre plus grand et autonome, qui ne possédait pas forcément des institutions romaines, ou dépendaient du *patrimonium principis*¹⁹ : dans notre cas on pourrait supposer que la petite agglomération de Mihai Bravu dépendait de *Troesmis*²⁰, d'*Istros*²¹, moins

¹⁴ Petculescu 2005, 36–38 ; Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2012, 93–95 ; Aparaschivei 2015, 28–30 ; Ibba 2016, 365, 369–370.

¹⁵ Sur les *cives Romani consistentes*, cf. Bounegru 1986 ; Bérard 1993 ; Kovács 2000 ; van Andringa 2003 ; Avram 2007 ; Bourigault 2011.

¹⁶ Sur les *vici*, voir les différentes opinions défendues par Tarpin 2002, 7–14, 53–86, 261–280 ; Letta 2005 ; Letta 2008 ; Todisco 2011, 9–27, 57–132 ; Leveau 2012 ; Aparaschivei 2015, 30–32 ; Ibba 2016. Assez bien répandus en Mésie Inférieure entre l'époque des Antonins et le III^e siècle, ils se trouvaient surtout près des routes principales (Poulter 1980, 729–738 ; Aparaschivei 2010, 238–246). Cette caractéristique se retrouve aussi pour le de *vicus Bad[---]*.

¹⁷ Sur l'armée en *Moesia Inferior* avant la tétrarchie, voir Matei-Popescu 2010, 35–53, 167–249 ; voir aussi *infra* § 2.2.

¹⁸ Bérard 1992, 92–95 ; van Andringa 2003, 49–52, 57–59 ; Bourigault 2011, 65–67, 69–71, 78, 83–86 (cf. *infra* § 2.3).

¹⁹ Ibba 2016, 365–372 ; pour les *vici* dans le *patrimonium Caesaris* voir aussi Bérard 1993, 72–74. L'hypothèse a été reprise également par Ioan Piso lors du Congrès dans la discussion qui a suivi cette présentation : nous le remercions pour cette suggestion.

²⁰ Sur le territoire de *Troesmis* : Aparaschivei 2010, 105–113, 144–145, 197–205 ; voir aussi Bărbulescu 2001, 84–91 : toutefois il est douteux qu'il ait correspondu aux anciens *prata legionis* (p.ex. avec différentes opinions : Mócsy 1974 ; Vittinghoff 1974 ; Bérard 1992 ; Kovács 2000, 41–50). La ville obtint le statut municipal peut-être sous Marc Aurèle.

²¹ À la colonie grecque d'*Istros*, sur la côte ouest du *Pontus*, fut attribuée une *regio* étendue (Bărbulescu 2001, 31–47, 72, 99, 109, 139–151 ; Avram 2006, 66–67 ; Avram 2007, 97, 101 ; Matei-Popescu 2013, 212–227) qui comprenait des *vici* où habitaient *veterani et cives Romani consistentes*, certains avec une forte présence de Thraces (cf. *supra* nt. 12, 14) ; un notable du *vicus Quintionis*, lui aussi un Thrace, avait des intérêts à *Ibida* (IScM I 326 de 149 ap. J.-C. ; V 229, cf. Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2011, 108–109, 118), donc dans une zone adjacente à Mihai Bravu.

probablement de la très voisine *Ibida*²² ou, à une plus grande distance, de *Noviodunum*²³, sans que l'on puisse écarter la possibilité d'un village fondé sur les *praedia* impériales²⁴.

La documentation disponible ne permet pas de trouver une solution définitive à cette question. On notera toutefois que, contrairement aux autres *vici* de la Dobroudja, notre village ne porte pas un nom d'origine latine ou grecque, qui dans de nombreux cas est attribuable aux anciens propriétaires ou aux *conductores* des *praedia* privés²⁵, mais pourrait se connecter au substrat thrace ou celtique²⁶, comme c'est aussi le cas dans la Bulgarie du nord (la partie méridionale de la Mésie Inférieure)²⁷. Il pourrait être dérivé du théonyme *Badoniae*, mentionné exclusivement à *Apulum* et dont on propose une origine celte²⁸. Il est donc possible que, comme dans le nord de la Bulgarie, entre *Oescus* et *Odessos*, cette agglomération rurale se soit formée au cours du I^{er} siècle ap. J.-C. à partir d'éléments d'origine thrace²⁹.

2.2 Les inscriptions concernant les militaires

Comme nous l'avons mentionné auparavant, le *vicus Bad[---]* a probablement été fondé au I^{er} siècle ap. J.-C., à la même époque que d'autres villages connus entre *Oescus* et *Odessos*, et aurait été habité originellement par des éléments d'origine thrace³⁰ : cette hypothèse est confirmée, à notre avis, par le diplôme militaire (T3) trouvé dans le

²² Opaïț *et al.* 1992, 104, 107 ; Bărbulescu 2001, 91–96, en particulier 94 ; Aparaschivei 2010, 239 nt. 16. En raison de l'importance de la cité au Bas-Empire, on a supposé qu'*Ibida* était une *civitas stipendiaria* déjà à la moitié du II^e siècle ap. J.-C. (Suceveanu 1977, 71–72) et que dans son territoire furent fondés *vicus Novus* (Babadag?) et *vicus Petrae* (Camena) : cf. Aparaschivei 2010, 239–240. Toutefois il n'y a pas de preuves certaines de l'existence d'une *civitas* pendant le Haut-Empire (Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2011, 115–120 ; Iacob *et al.* 2015, 559–560).

²³ Sur le territoire de *Noviodunum*, municipale à partir de l'époque sévérienne, cf. Bărbulescu 2001, 76–83 ; Aparaschivei 2010, 115–117. L'hypothèse que le *vicus Bad[---]* dépendait de la ville est de Avram 2007, 97, 107 nr. 17.

²⁴ En *Moesia Inferior* nous pouvons penser aux établissements des *regiones Montanensium* et *Dimensium* (cf. Bérard 1992, 91–92 ; Matei-Popescu 2014, 187–188 ; voir aussi Ivanov / Luka *et al.* 2015, 204–205, 221, 244) et de Kovachevsko Kale, au sud de *Abritus* en Bulgarie ; en Dobroudja un texte de *vicus Clementianensis* (IScM II 160) mentionne un affranchi ou un procureur impérial, peut-être engagé dans la gestion du patrimoine du *princeps*.

²⁵ Poulter 1980, 734–735 ; Bărbulescu 2001, 139–196 ; Aparaschivei 2015, 32–33.

²⁶ Voir *infra* § 2.2.

²⁷ Poulter 1980, 734. Voir les toponymes de certains *vici* en Bulgarie du nord : *vicus Longinopara* (ILBulg 209, Băltăc 2011, 257) ; *vicus Bres[---]* (RMD V 317 ; Băltăc 2011, 259) ; *vicus Dizerpera* (RMD V 463 ; Băltăc 2011, 259) ; *vicus Sapisara* (CIL VI 2933, Băltăc 2011, 259) ; *vicus Zinesdina Maior* (RMD V 311, Băltăc 2011, 259–260) etc.

²⁸ CIL III 14471 = IDR III.5 37 = ILS 9335 = AE 1901, 29 (*Apulum*), cf. Sanie 1970, 295–298, *contra* Nemeti 2013, 140–141. Pour les toponymes d'origine celtique, voir Bărbulescu 2001, 99, 131.

²⁹ Poulter 1980, 733–734, 738. Pour la présence de Thraces à *vicus Bad[---]*, voir *infra* § 2.2.

³⁰ Poulter 1980, 734.

village de Mihai Bravu, attribué au *tesserarius Tarsa*, fils de *Duzius*, un marin de la flotte de Ravenne, probablement un *Bessus* selon la restitution proposée par Petolescu et Popescu³¹, et à son fils *Macedo*, dont le nom est latinisé. Nous ne reprenons pas en détail le commentaire de ce diplôme : cela a été fait à l'occasion de sa publication. Qu'il suffise de rappeler ici que le document s'inscrit dans une série des constitutions impériales promulguées par Vespasien pour les marins en récompense de leur support durant la guerre civile (du 26 février 70 au 5 avril 71).

Il est évident que le marin, qui avait atteint le rang de *tesserarius*³², rentre chez lui. Il n'est pas entièrement certain que sa maison ait été à Mihai Bravu, mais la présence de Thraces dans les milieux villageois de Mésie Inférieure est habituelle. Il faut rappeler les communautés des *Bessi consistentes* et des *Lai consistentes* sur le territoire d'*Istros*³³ et les *Lai consistentes* sur les territoires d'*Istros* et de *Tomis*. Petolescu et Popescu ont proposé, pour le deuxième fragment du diplôme, la restitution *Besso*, ce qui est plausible. La date du document permet de déduire que *Tarsa* était établi dans la région au moins du temps de Néron, avant son recrutement. Vers la même époque, d'autres Thraces sont encore mentionnés dans les sources en tant que recrues de la flotte : *Sparticus*, fils de *Diuzenus*, soldat de la flotte de Misène, a été libéré en 54³⁴ ; *Tyraesus*³⁵ et *Dules*, fils de *Datus*³⁶, ont fini leur service dans la *legio I Adiutrix*, en 68 et 70, or la légion était formée d'anciens marins. *Hezbenus*, fils de *Dulazenus*, soldat de la flotte de Misène, est libéré le 9 février 71³⁷. *Tyraesus* était aussi rentré dans son village.

Pour conclure, on peut dire que *Tarsa* est retourné vivre dans une communauté de Thraces habitant, selon toutes probabilités, le village de Mihai Bravu. Dans cette perspective, on pourra restituer à la ligne 1 du T1 : *c(ives) R(omani) et Bessi consistentes* (Pl. 2, Fig. 6), mais en l'absence de tout autre élément, nous préférons restituer la forme non-abrégée *c(ives) Romani consistentes*³⁸.

Tout comme dans la localité voisine de Nifon, où on retrouve des *beneficiarii* du temps de Marc Aurèle et d'Élagabale³⁹, il est probable qu'une *statio* fut établie à proximité du *vicus Bad[---]*, avec pour mission de contrôler la voie qui menait d'*Ibida*

³¹ Sur *Tarsa*, Detschew 1957, 492–494 ; Moretti 1978, 39 ; Mócsy 1983, 282 ; Solin 1995, 436 ; Eck / Pangerl 2004, 261.

³² Sur les *tesserarii* et notamment sur les *tesserarii* dans la flotte romaine, voir la discussion avec la bibliographie dans Chiriac *et al.* 2004, 267–268.

³³ Pour les *Bessi consistentes*, IScM I, 324, 326–328, 330, 332. Pour les *Lai consistentes* dans le territoire d'*Istros*, voir IScM I 343–347, 349. Voir aussi Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2012, 94–95.

³⁴ CIL XVI 1. Voir aussi Mihailescu-Bîrliba / Dumitrache 2012, 10–11.

³⁵ RMD III 136. Voir aussi Mihailescu-Bîrliba / Dumitrache 2012, 11–12.

³⁶ CIL XVI 10. Voir aussi Mihailescu-Bîrliba / Dumitrache 2012, 13–14.

³⁷ CIL XVI 12. Voir aussi Mihailescu-Bîrliba / Dumitrache 2012, 12.

³⁸ Voir toutefois le commentaire à T1 dans le catalogue : la formule *c(ives) R(omani) et Bessi* était plus courante que celle *c(ives) R(omani)* avec le mot *Romani* abrégé.

³⁹ IScM V, 247, 248 ; de Nifon provient aussi une fibule à inscription, présente seulement dans le milieu militaire : Mihailescu-Bîrliba / Chiriac 2006, 423–430.

à *Noviodunum*⁴⁰. Un texte de Mihai Bravu (T4) rappelle l'*ex voto pro salute* accompli par *T. Caelius Cat[us]*⁴¹, *beneficiarius* des gouverneurs *Cn. Suellius Rufus* et *Cosconius Gentianus* : la formule utilisée peut suggérer un rapport personnel entre *Catus* et les deux *legati Augusti*⁴².

Sur *Cosconius Gentianus* en tant que gouverneur de la Mésie Inférieure, cette inscription même a donné lieu à une discussion assez longue. Ce personnage était connu par l'intermédiaire de monnaies de *Marcianopolis* et de *Nicopolis ad Istrum* datables du règne de Septime Sévère⁴³. D'autres documents épigraphiques sont venus enrichir le dossier de *Cosconius Gentianus*. Il a été identifié dans une inscription d'*Olbia*, datée de 197 (mais où son nom est conservé dans un état fragmentaire)⁴⁴ et dans un fragment d'inscription à Barboși⁴⁵. Un autre texte, dédié à la déesse Fortune à *Oescus* et daté par la titulature de Commode entre 189 et 191, a déterminé E. Doruțiu-Boilă à considérer [*Su]jellius Rufus* comme la même personne que *Cosconius Gentianus* et à dater l'exercice de son gouvernement en Mésie Inférieure entre 191 et 194⁴⁶. Contre cette explication et contre cette datation s'est prononcé P. M. M. Leunissen, qui pense pour sa part, d'après un passage de l'*Historia Augusta*⁴⁷, que le gouverneur de cette période fut *P. Septimius Geta*⁴⁸. Il voit donc en *Cn. Suellius Rufus* et *Cosconius Gentianus* deux personnages distincts et considère, que le premier a été gouverneur de 184 à 192 et le deuxième de 197 à 198. Son avis est partagé par D. Boteva⁴⁹. Un document relativement récent, rédigé en grec et trouvé à *Callatis*, mentionne un gouverneur *Gentianus Ge[---] J*⁵⁰. Les éditeurs du texte, A. Avram et M. Bărbulescu, se sont ralliés à l'opinion de Leunissen et de Boteva. Les éditeurs de la *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* enfin ont également rejeté l'opinion d'E. Doruțiu-Boilă, en considérant qu'on ne peut pas lier les deux noms⁵¹. Nous nous rallions aussi à ces conclusions : il s'agit donc de deux sénateurs différents, *Rufus*, gouverneur de 184 à 192, et *Gentianus*, *legatus Augusti* de

⁴⁰ Opaïț *et al.* 1992, 107. Voir aussi Poulter 1980, 736–737 sur la fondation des *stationes* afin de garantir la sécurité de la campagne. La faible densité de la population rendait nécessaire cette fondation : voir aussi une inscription d'*Ulmelum* attestant l'implication des villageois dans la réfection d'une voie publique (IScM V, 60).

⁴¹ Doruțiu-Boilă 1985, 197–203. Voir aussi CBFIR 642 = CERom V 352 = AE 1985, 725 ; Opaïț 1992, 107 ; Aparaschivei 2010, 107. On pourrait aussi penser à un *Casto*.

⁴² Il est intéressant d'observer que la formule utilisée n'est pas celle qui était devenue habituelle après la réforme censée être entrée en vigueur entre 155 et 170 (Dise 1997, 273–283), lorsque les *beneficiarii* sont devenus des éléments plus stables de l'*officium* du gouverneur. C'est ce qui fait supposer que, dans ce cas-ci, le *beneficiarius* a probablement voulu exprimer un rapport personnel avec les deux gouverneurs.

⁴³ Pick 1898, 198–199.

⁴⁴ IOSPE I², 174 = IGRR I 854.

⁴⁵ IScM V 294.

⁴⁶ AE 1987, 893 + AE 2006, 1202.

⁴⁷ SHA, *Severus*, 8, 10.

⁴⁸ Leunissen 1989, 198. Voir aussi Wachtel 1987, 284–287 ; Ivanov 1987, 35.

⁴⁹ Boteva 1996, 239–241.

⁵⁰ Avram / Bărbulescu 1992, 178–181.

⁵¹ PIR² VII.2 S 591–592.

197 à 198. L'association de leurs noms dans ce texte peut indiquer que *Catus* a servi dans la *statio* à deux moments différents, comme cela est attesté dans d'autres cas⁵².

Comme nous l'avons déjà rappelé, deux autres *beneficiarii* sont également connus à Nifon, non loin de Mihai Bravu dans des textes datant de Marc Aurèle et d'Héliogabale⁵³. De Nifon provient aussi une fibule inscrite, que l'on ne retrouve que dans le milieu militaire⁵⁴. La présence du *beneficiarius* à Mihai Bravu, village situé sur la route d'*Ibida* à *Noviodunum*, plaide donc en faveur de l'existence d'une *statio* dans ce village. En prenant en compte l'établissement des militaires avec la communauté villageoise, formée également de citoyens, il semble probable que l'inscription est postérieure à 198.

2.3. Autres inscriptions votives

La présence de soldats et de vétérans a certainement favorisé la diffusion du culte de *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus*, auquel sont consacrés de nombreux textes votifs en Mésie Inférieure, surtout dans le milieu rural, et qui était l'objet d'une piété particulière dans ce segment de la population⁵⁵ : il s'agit de monuments datables du III^e siècle, érigés dans certains cas par des *sacerdotes* hellénophones, orientaux ou sémitiques. Dans le *vicus Bad[---]* une telle dédicace est attestée par l'intermédiaire d'un autel aujourd'hui perdu, mais signalé par A. Opaïț et A. Avram (T5), voué par un anonyme pour le salut de Caracalla et de Iulia Domna (212–217)⁵⁶, et par un *ex voto* simple érigé par un certain *Atidius*, probablement au III^e siècle (T6)⁵⁷. En ce qui concerne la première inscription, l'état de conservation de la pierre et la photo ne nous permettent pas de dire si le nom du dédicant était mentionné.

Dans le milieu rural de Mésie Inférieure, les textes consacrés à Jupiter Dolichenus ne sont pas rares. Ainsi, à Cerna et dans le *vicus Quintionis*, des *sacerdotes* de cette divinité font ériger des autels votifs⁵⁸. Des *sacerdotes* du dieu syrien sont également connus à Sacidava⁵⁹, Niculițel⁶⁰, Valea Teilor⁶¹ et Gorsko Kosovo (*Emporium*

⁵² Par exemple CIL III 3949 = AIJ 533 = CBI 310 ; CBI 169 = AE 1996, 1163 ; RSO 92 = CBI 173 = AE 1978, 525.

⁵³ IScM V 247, 248. Sur les *beneficiarii* dans les cités grecques de Mésie Inférieure, voir aussi Matei-Popescu 2014, 184–185.

⁵⁴ Mihailescu-Bîrliba / Chiriac 2006, 423–430.

⁵⁵ Sur le culte de *Dolichenus* en Mésie Inférieure, voir Poulter 1980, 735 ; Bărbulescu 2001, 247–248, 250.

⁵⁶ Opaïț *et al.* 1992, 107 ; Aparaschivei 2010, 107. Le texte (212–217) est perdu mais on dispose d'une photo et d'une transcription.

⁵⁷ Opaïț *et al.* 1992, 107 et Aparaschivei 2010, 107 y font juste une allusion sans examiner le fond de l'inscription.

⁵⁸ Cerna : IScM V 219 (principat de Sévère Alexandre) ; *vicus Quintionis* : IScM I 340 (règne de Caracalla).

⁵⁹ AE 1998, 1144 (III^e s.).

⁶⁰ IScM V 249 (époque de Caracalla).

⁶¹ IScM V 245 (règne de Sévère Alexandre).

Piretensium)⁶². On remarque ainsi la pénétration du culte dans le milieu rural et *vicus Bad[---]* ne fait pas exception.

Certains de ces *sacerdotes* portent des noms révélant leur appartenance à un milieu hellénophone, oriental ou sémitique (*Iulius Alexander* à Sacidava, *Polydeuces Theophili* à Niculițel, *Aurelius Antiochianus* à Gorsko Kosovo, *Flavius Damas* et *Aurelius Barsemon* à Valea Teilor). Il faut aussi signaler que tous les textes datent du III^e siècle. Le nom du dédicant de Mihai Bravu n'est pas conservé sur la pierre, mais le texte date du règne de Caracalla. Quant au deuxième vœu pour Jupiter Dolichenus, la formule peu habituelle *votum libens merito solvit* n'est pas mentionnée en Dobroudja ou en Mésie Inférieure, mais on la retrouve dans la *statio* de *Samum* en Dacie, dans un milieu militaire⁶³. Le nom d'*Atidius*, qui n'est pas très répandu⁶⁴, est complètement absent dans les provinces danubiennes, mais bien attesté seulement en Ombrie⁶⁵ et à Rome⁶⁶. Dans ce cas on peut plus probablement parler d'un oriental arrivé dans le *vicus Bad[---]* dans la première moitié du III^e siècle. Il est probable qu'il y avait dans le village un temple ou un sanctuaire plus simple où les fidèles, au nom de la communauté ou en leur nom propre (comme ici) accomplissaient leurs vœux.

Un autre vœu fut réalisé par un autre anonyme pendant le consulat d'un nouveau couple consulaire (T7) ; l'inscription peut être datée par la paléographie entre Marc Aurèle et l'époque des Sévères⁶⁷. On peut lire sur la pierre *CESTIO* et *QVINTILLO* ou *QVINTILIO*. Nous avons identifié *Cestius* avec *L. Cestius Gallus*, consul à la fin du II^e ou au début du III^e siècle⁶⁸.

Un autre texte est représenté par une inscription probablement votive sur un cippe-autel en calcaire dur local, duquel seulement la partie médiane est conservée (T8) ; l'inscription a été érigée par un certain *Rammius*. Le personnage a un gentilice peu commun, appartenant soit à un vétéran habitant le milieu rural de Mihai Bravu⁶⁹, ou bien à un Thraco-Gète qui avait pris intentionnellement un nom de tradition archaïque ou avait latinisé son ancien nom pérégrin, selon une pratique habituelle chez les

⁶² CIL III 14427=ILBulg 399 (après Caracalla).

⁶³ ILD 00769 = CBI 00525 = Isac 1994, nr. 13 (la paléographie et le support épigraphiques sont pareils) ; CIL III 822 = Isac 1994, nr. 2.

⁶⁴ Solin / Salomies 1994, 25.

⁶⁵ CIL XI 5676–5677, 5680 ; CIL XI 6179 ; CIL XI 7884.

⁶⁶ AE 2003, 266 ; BCAR 1923 82 ; CIL VI 12712–12713 ; AE 1993, 203 ; NSA-1923-378 ; CIL VI 2004.

⁶⁷ Pour comparer les formules, voir IScM V 233 = AE 1901, 51 de Babadag ; AE 1988, 986.

⁶⁸ PIR² II, C 692. Degrassi (1952, 117) pense qu'il a été consul sous Marc Aurèle ou sous Commode. Plus de détails, dans le commentaire du T7.

⁶⁹ L'anthroponyme peut être celte : *Ramius* / *Rammius* est attesté en Bretagne à *Salinae* (RMD I 8 = RIB I 2401.3 = AE 1962, 253) et à Brampton (CIL VII 332 = RIB I 2063 = ILS 4640).

nouveaux *cives*⁷⁰. Dans la *regio Histriae*, deux textes mentionnent un *vicus Rami[ani?]* et un *vicus Vero[...Jrittiani]*⁷¹.

2.4. Les épitaphes

Une autre source d'information sur la population du *vicus* est fournie par les fragments de six stèles funéraires en calcaire, elles-mêmes remployées dans les murs du *quadriburgium*. Ce type d'épitaphes simples est spécifique en Mésie Inférieure pour la période située entre la première moitié du II^e et la première moitié du III^e siècle ap. J.-C.⁷² Elles sont caractérisées par un champ épigraphique rabaissé, relié à la corniche par une moulure à gorge égyptienne et par un couronnement à sommet triangulaire (comme probablement dans les fragments T11–T12) ou peut-être arrondi ; dans le fragment T12 le tympan était vraisemblablement orné d'une couronne *vittata* en relief⁷³. La corniche est pourvue d'une décoration à pampres et grappes, lourde et grossièrement taillée (T9 et T12), ou de feuilles de lierre (T10), qui dans la plupart des cas connus par ailleurs sortent d'un canthare en relief, dans la partie inférieure de la stèle, en dehors du champ épigraphique (peut-être T11)⁷⁴. Le rapport semble évident avec les productions contemporaines de *Troesmis*, présentes également à *Ibida*, *Aegyssos* et *Halmyris*, mais moins à *Istros* et dans ses *vici*. On pourrait donc supposer un lien étroit des entre les artisans qui travaillaient à Mihai Bravu et les *officinae* réunies autour du camp de la *V Macedonica*.

Si nous disposons de peu d'éléments pour interpréter les épitaphes T10, T11, et peut-être T14, trop endommagées notamment par le mortier utilisé dans le remploi des stèles⁷⁵, on peut en dire davantage sur le texte T9, épitaphe gravée pour le petit *Claudius Fuscus*, mort à six ans et enterré par ses parents *Claudius Metrodorus* et *Sura*. Le texte évoquait peut-être un quatrième personnage, probablement un parent de *Fuscus*⁷⁶. Seul le fils porte un surnom latin⁷⁷, tandis que son père a un *cognomen* grec⁷⁸ ; la mère, peut-être une pérégrine ou une affranchie, porte un nom, *Sura*, qui semble trahir encore une fois une origine orientale⁷⁹.

Iulius Silvanus porte également un surnom latin (T12) : son épitaphe a été trouvée à Turda. Le nom fait référence au culte de *Silvanus* (attesté surtout dans les villes

⁷⁰ Sur ce dernier aspect, voir aussi Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2012, 95.

⁷¹. Voir la discussion chez Matei-Popescu / Falileyev 2007, 324 ; Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2015, 161.

⁷² Conrad 2004, 40–43, 46–47 tab. nr. 11.

⁷³ Conrad 2004, 93–94.

⁷⁴ Conrad 2004, 95.

⁷⁵ Pour T10, cf. Solin / Salomies 1994, 282, 465, 467.

⁷⁶ Toutefois, on ne peut exclure la présence d'un court *elogium* du défunt avec des adjectifs qui célébraient ses qualités.

⁷⁷ Kajanto 1965, 238.

⁷⁸ Solin 2003, 450.

⁷⁹ *Sura* pour *Syra*, anthroponyme peut être relatif à l'origine de la femme (Solin 2003, 669–670).

fortement romanisées, mois à campagne)⁸⁰, ou à l'origine du défunt, résidant dans les *silvae*⁸¹. Le texte est trop fragmentaire pour tirer des conclusions, mais le formulaire, la paléographie et le support feraient penser à une épitaphe de la fin du II^e ou du début du III^e siècle.

Toujours de Turda provient la stèle de *Iulius Epiphanes*, qui est mort à 102 ans, probablement au cours du III^e siècle (T13). Encore une fois, comme dans T3 et T9, on observe l'alternance entre surnoms d'origine grecque (*Epiphanes*⁸² et *Onesimus*⁸³) pour les personnages de première génération, et latine (*Iulianus*, dérivé du nom de sa mère *Iulia* ou du gentilice de son grand-père), pour ceux de la deuxième.

Selon Victor Baumann⁸⁴, *Epiphanes* serait le père de *Iulia* (qui porte donc, soit un nom unique, soit un surnom identique à son gentilice)⁸⁵ et le grand-père de (*Flavius*) *Iulianus*, fils de *Iulia* et de *Flavius Onesimus* : dans ce cas *pater* aurait ici la signification de « chef de la famille ». On observe dans ce contexte l'association au sein d'un même groupe de deux des gentilices les plus fréquents dans le monde romain, *Iulii* et *Flavii*, eux-mêmes très répandus en Mésie Inférieure. Leurs porteurs étaient, comme les *Aelii* et les *Claudii* (T2 et T9), immigrés à *vicus Bad[---]*, probablement au début du II^e siècle, afin de participer à l'exploitation agricole de la région⁸⁶.

Le groupe de lettres *OPPI* (l. 4) a été interprété par Baumann comme un ensemble de termes abrégés, *o(ratrix)* ou *o(ratrices) p(ro) pi(etate)*, expression utilisée pour désigner le attestée par ailleurs. Une explication plus plausible consiste à y voir le mot *opus*, parfois utilisé pour désigner le monument funéraire⁸⁷, en conjonction au plus commun *pi(um)*, mais l'expression est aussi sans correspondance dans l'épigraphie latine.

Face à ces perplexités, il est peut-être plus facile de supposer que *OPPI* est le pluriel de *Oppius*, *nomen* certes rare, mais déjà attesté en Mésie Inférieure⁸⁸ qui se référerait ici à *Iulia* et *Iulianus*. On pourrait alors supposer que *Iulia* avait pris le nom de sa mère, une *Oppia*, peut-être parce que cette dernière, au contraire d'*Epiphanes*, était une *ingenua*, voire une descendante d'immigrés italiens⁸⁹. *Iulianus* aurait également pris le gentilice de sa mère, peut-être parce qu'il a été reconnu sur le tard par *Onesimus* ou parce qu'à l'époque de sa naissance *Onesimus* n'avait pas encore la citoyenneté

⁸⁰ Alexandrov 2009, 143.

⁸¹ Cette hypothèse est déjà chez Kajanto 1965, 130.

⁸² Solin 2003, 866.

⁸³ Solin 2003, 986.

⁸⁴ Baumann 1984, 229.

⁸⁵ Cette situation est très rare, mais attestée par exemple à *Aquincum* (CIL III 3550) ; le nom de la mère est au contraire très souvent rappelé dans le surnom, surtout si elle appartenait à une famille locale importante (Kajanto, 1963, 18–21).

⁸⁶ Voir *supra* § 2.1.

⁸⁷ Voir AE 1992, 1796 de *Giufi* en Proconsulaire, CIL XII 22 de *Vintium* dans les *Alpes Maritimae*, etc.

⁸⁸ Par exemple, AE 1995, 1362 de *Nicopolis ad Istrum* ; IScMV 91 de *Durostorum*.

⁸⁹ Sur la *gens*, cf. Cazzona *et al.* 2003, 171–178.

romaine⁹⁰. Si cette hypothèse se confirmait, nous aurions là le reflet d'une société très dynamique, sans réelles barrières sociales, comme cela arrivait souvent au niveau provincial.

3. Conclusions

Le *vicus Bad[---]* est situé sur le territoire de l'actuel village de Mihai Bravu. Nous avons envisagé plusieurs rattachements possibles : *Troesmis*, *Istros*, *Ibida*. Avram pensait pour sa part qu'il pouvait s'agir d'une dépendance de *Noviodunum*⁹¹. À notre avis, vu que la limite septentrionale du territoire d'*Istros* est *Argamum*⁹² et comme Mihai Bravu est situé plus près de *Troesmis* et d'*Ibida* que de *Noviodunum*, seules ces dernières deux possibilités rentrent en ligne de compte. *Troesmis* est une *civitas* au milieu du III^e siècle⁹³ et devient peu après un municipale. Le statut d'*Ibida* n'est, lui, malheureusement pas connu, mais en raison de la taille de la ville romaine tardive et des inscriptions qui y ont été trouvées, on suppose qu'*Ibida* a eu le statut de *civitas*. On ne peut donc pas l'exclure comme cité dont le territoire incluait *vicus Bad[---]*.

Les vétérans et les citoyens Romains colonisés sont attestés dans les *vici* en Mésie Inférieure dans la *regio Histriae* (parfois avec des Thraces colonisés dans les zones rurales)⁹⁴, à *vicus Novus* (peut-être dans le territoire de *Noviodunum*)⁹⁵ et dans un *vicus* appartenant à une probable *regio Tomitana*⁹⁶. Si, dans le cas des cités grecques, Alexandre Avram considère la *regio* comme une solution administrative pour les citoyens Romains et pour les vétérans d'échapper à l'autorité pérégrine, ce n'est pas le cas pour les cités romaines. L'inscription (T1) de Mihai Bravu représente une nouvelle pièce à ajouter à ce dossier. La colonisation romaine est évidente dans ce *vicus*. Les vétérans peuvent avoir appartenu à la V^e légion *Macedonica*, stationnée à *Troesmis*. La restitution du même texte est liée à la question de la présence de Thraces dans la région. Le diplôme du 5 avril 71 (T3) atteste la colonisation des *Bessi* dès le début de l'installation des Romains dans la province. Non loin de Mihai Bravu, à *Ibida*, une communauté des Thraces est attestée⁹⁷. Parmi eux, *Durises Bithi*, est mentionné comme *magister vici* dans le *vicus Quintionis*⁹⁸. Nous avons avancé la possibilité que les *Bessi* aient été colonisés pour les exploitations minières de surface, mais dans le cas du *vicus Bad[---]*, il est sûr qu'à côté des vétérans et des citoyens Romains, il y avait également des *Bessi*. L'ancien *tesserarius*, *Tarsa*, qui rentre chez lui après avoir été libéré de la flotte en 71, en constitue un exemple.

⁹⁰ Pour ces mécanismes, voir p.e. les réflexions d'Edmondson 2004, 358–359.

⁹¹ Avram 2007, 97, 107, nr. 17.

⁹² IScM I 67–68 ; voir aussi Avram 1990.

⁹³ IScM V 158 ; voir Avram 2007, 93.

⁹⁴ CIL III 14442, IScM I 138 (*veterani et cives Romani consistentes*) ; IScM I 324, 326–328, 330–332 (avec les *Bessi* colonisés dans le territoire d'*Istros*). Voir aussi Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2012, 91–98.

⁹⁵ IScM V 233.

⁹⁶ CIL III 14441.

⁹⁷ IScM V 228–229 ; voir aussi Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2011, 107–109.

⁹⁸ IScM I 326. L'inscription d'*Ibida* est IScM V 229.

Le vicus Bad[---] a eu ses *magistri*, comme le montre l'inscription d'*Aelius Carinus* (T2) et comme le suggère le texte attestant le nom du village (*cura agentibus ...*). Il est possible, comme les inscriptions du territoire d'*Istros* en font preuve, qu'il y avait aussi des questeurs. Malheureusement, ce type d'informations manque dans notre dossier épigraphique.

Il faut aussi signaler que, vers la fin du II^e siècle, une *statio* des *beneficiarii* est installée à proximité du village (T4). Il s'agit sans doute d'un point de contrôle de l'armée sur la route *Ibida-Noviodunum*. La structure sociale du village s'enrichit donc de la présence de l'armée. Il faut aussi remarquer que le *beneficiarius*, *T. Caelius Cat[us]*, est assigné à l'office du gouverneur.

Les citoyens Romains sont représentés par les *Aelii* (*Aelius Carinus*), par les *Iulii* (un *Iulius Epiphanes* et sa famille, un *Iulius Silvanus*) par les *Flavii* (*Flavius Onesimus*) et par les *Claudii* (*Claudius Metrodorus* qui fait ériger l'épithaphe pour son fils *Claudius Fuscus*). Les surnoms grecs (*Epiphanes*, *Metrodorus*, *Onesimus*, *Sura*) suggèrent qu'une part de la population provient de cités hellénophones, mais leurs porteurs avaient la citoyenneté depuis plusieurs générations. Il n'est pas exclu, non plus, que la femme de *Metrodorus* (*Sura*), qui pourrait porter le même gentilice que son mari, soit une affranchie. De même, *Atidius*, fidèle de Jupiter Dolichenus, peut être soit un affranchi, soit une personne originaire d'une province hellénophone. Quant au culte de Jupiter Dolichenus, il faut souligner que deux dédicaces à cette divinité proviennent de Mihai Bravu, ce qui suppose l'existence d'une communauté de fidèles, voire d'un lieu de culte, symbole du loyalisme des *vikani* à l'empereur et à Rome⁹⁹.

Le petit corpus épigraphique du vicus Bad[---] révèle ainsi l'existence d'une communauté villageoise où citoyens Romains, vétérans et Thraces (*Bessi*) côtoyaient la population indigène. Les *cives Romani* et les *veterani* étaient constitués en *conventus*. On ne sait si les Thraces y étaient inclus. Le vicus était organisé comme les autres communautés villageoises en Mésie Inférieure et était dirigé par des *magistri*; des questeurs s'occupaient probablement des questions financières.

Un texte de ce corpus enfin, même s'il ne fait pas référence au village, se signale, indépendamment des variantes de lecture, par la mention d'un couple de consuls qui n'était pas connu jusqu'à présent et qui date probablement de la fin du II^e siècle.

Les textes provenant du vicus Bad[---] nous fournissent donc des informations précieuses sur l'organisation de l'habitat, sur la structure sociale et sur le cadre historique qui l'a vu se développer. Ces informations ont un caractère provisoire, vu le petit nombre de documents disponibles. Pourtant, on découvre déjà l'image partielle d'une organisation villageoise qui peut être raccordée au tableau plus général de la vie rurale à l'époque du Haut-Empire en Mésie Inférieure.

⁹⁹ Alexandrov 2009, 142.

Catalogue

T1. Inscription trouvée avant 1991 à Mihai Bravu, probablement remployée dans les murs du *quadriburgium*. Plaque en calcaire jaunâtre, brisée en cinq fragments jointifs et complète seulement à gauche ; la face postérieure, irrégulière, est grossièrement taillée ; la surface épigraphique est très usée (Pl. 2, Figs. 4–6). Dimensions : 31 x 47 x 4,54 cm. Champ épigraphique libre. Capitale allongée ; gravure profonde et soignée ; lettres rubriquées. *Vacat* à la l. 2 (l. 6,5 cm). Une *hedera* maladroite à la l. 1¹⁰⁰. Lettres : 5,88–4,18 cm.

Lieu de conservation : Musée de Tulcea, inv. 41336.

Bibliographie : Opaïț *et al.* 1992, 107 ; Avram 2007, 97, 107 n. 17 ; Aparaschivei 2010, 239.

Datation : époque antonine ou sévérienne.

----- / *ve[t(erani)] et c(ives) R[-c 4-] con(vacat)sist[entes] / vico Bad[-c. 4-] sub cura [agen(tibus) ?] / -----.*

On pourrait supposer une dédicace à l'empereur ou à une divinité (Juppiter Dolichenus comme dans T5–T6) faite par les *magistri* du *vicus*. A la l. 1 on pourrait reconstituer soit *R[omani]* (Pl. 2, Fig. 5), qui est formule peu courante (CIL III 12266), soit *R(omani) [et Bes(si)]* (Pl. 2, Fig. 6) comme dans IScM I 331–332 de *vicus Quintionis*. Le nom du village est partiellement connu : *Bad[---]*, avec une lacune de quatre ou cinq lettres : par exemple *Bad[ense]* ou *Bad[onen(se)]*.

T2. Inscription trouvée avant 1991 à Mihai Bravu, remployée dans les murs du *quadriburgium* et signalée par Opaïț à Alexandru Avram. Autel probablement en calcaire brisé en haut et en bas. Capitale ; gravure peu profonde.

Lieu de conservation : perdue.

Bibliographie : inédit.

----- / *cura(m) [age]n/tibus Aeli(o) / [C]arino et / -----*

On pourrait aussi reconnaître à la ligne 1 l'expression *sub cura agentibus* (CIL III 3413 = AE 2008, 1123 de Xanten en *Germania Inferior* ; IScM V 233 de *Vicus Novus* ; voir aussi *supra* T1) ou, en suivant les notes de Opaïț et Avram, *cura[ge]n/tibus* comme dans CIL III 3096 (p. 1038) de *Brattia* en *Dalmatia (curagens theatri)*, CIL XI 671 de *Forum Cornelii* dans la *regio VIII (curagente)*, CIL XIII 7613 = ILS 9183a de Idstein en *Germania Superior (sub curagente)* et en Mésie dans CIL III 7506 = IScM V 194 de *Troesmis ([c]uragente)*. L'inscription témoigne irréfutablement de la présence à *vicus Bad[---]* d'une paire de *magistri* (l'existence d'un *quaestor* est plus douteuse), dont le nom du premier seulement est conservé ; on notera l'usage du gentilice abrégé.

T3. (Pl. 2, Figs. 7–8) Les deux fragments d'un diplôme publiés séparément ; il s'agit du même texte. Le premier fragment a comme lieu de provenance Mihai Bravu, ce qui

¹⁰⁰ Pour des comparaisons, voir p. ex. Hübner 1885, nr. 423, 563, 1095, Conrad 2004, nr. 234, 241, 243, 308, 380. On pourrait supposer une maladresse dans la disposition du texte par un lapicide peu expérimenté.

permet de localiser le lieu de provenance du document. Dimensions du premier fragment : 7,2 x 3,7 x 0,1 cm ; hauteur des lettres : 0,3–0,5 cm. Deuxième fragment : 7,5 x 5 x 0,2 cm ; hauteur des lettres : 0,3–0,5 cm.

Lieu de conservation : Musée de Constanța.

Bibliographie : Chiriac *et al.* 2004, 265–269 + Petolescu / Popescu 2007, 147–149 = AE 2004, 1282 + 2007, 1232.

Intus :

[Imp(erator) Caesar Vespasianus Augustus, pont(ifex) max(imus), trib(unicia pot(estate) II, imp(erator) VI, p(ater) p(atriciae) co(n)s(ul) III, design(atus) IIII, nauarchis et trierarchis et remigibus qui militauerunt in classe Ravennate sub Sex. Lucilio] Basso et ant[e emerit]ta [stipendia, quod se in ex]peditio[n]e belli forti[ter industrieque] gesserant, ex]auctorati sunt et [deducti in Pannoniam, quo]rum nomina subscr[ipta] sunt, ipsis liberis poste]risque eorum ciui[tatem] dedit et conubium cum] uxoribus, quas tunc [habuissent, cum est ciuitas]

Extrinsecus :

[iis] data, aut siqui caelibes essent, cum iis quas potea duxissent, dumtaxat singul(i) singul]as. Non[is] April(ibus)], Caesare Aug(usti) f(ilio) Domitiano, [Cn(aeo) pedio Casco co(ns)s(ulibus)], tesserar[rio] Tarsae Duzi f(ilio) [Besso?] et Macedoni f(ilio) [eius]. Romae in Capitolio ad a[ram] gentis Iuliae --- ex]trinsecus podi parte sin[ist]riore tab(ula) ... pag(ina)...] loc(o) XX

Une heureuse coïncidence fait que la datation (le 5 avril 71), le nom du bénéficiaire et de son fils, ainsi que le rang du premier dans la flotte de Ravenne ont été conservés. Il faut rappeler que le document s'inscrit dans une série des constitutions impériales promulguées par Vespasien pour les marins en tant que récompense pour leur support dans la guerre civile (du 26 février 70 au 5 avril 71). Le bénéficiaire s'appelle *Tarsa*, fils de *Duzius*, est son origine est thrace. Son fils porte le nom de *Macedo*. Il n'est pas entièrement certain que sa résidence ait été à Mihai Bravu, mais la présence de Thraces dans les milieux villageois de Mésie Inférieure est habituelle. C. C. Petolescu et A. T. Popescu proposent, pour le deuxième fragment du diplôme, la restitution *Besso*, ce qui est plausible.

T4. Inscription votive (Pl. 3, Fig. 9) Dimensions : 42 x 42 x 4 cm. Gravure soignée.

Bibliographie : Doruțiu-Boilă 1985, 197–203 = AE 1985, 725 = CBI 642 = CERom V 352.

Datation : après 198, mais sous Septime Sévère et ses fils.

[---] / [pro salute ?] Cn(aei) Sue[l(li) Rufi] / Cos(oni) Gen(tiani) I[eg(atorum)] / T(itus) Cael(ius) Cat[us ?] / b(ene)f(iciarius) eius ex / v(oto) p(osuit)

Il s'agit de deux gouverneurs : *T. Caelius Cat[us]* ou *Ca[to]* a probablement dans le service servi sous l'autorité de l'un et de l'autre. Le prénom possessif *eius* montre que le *beneficiarius* se trouvait au moment de la rédaction du texte dans le service de *Cosconius Gentianus*. La présence du bénéficiaire à Mihai Bravu, village situé sur la

route d'*Ibida* à *Noviodunum*, plaide en faveur de l'existence d'une *statio* dans ce village.

T5. Autel votif trouvé avant le 1991 à Mihai Bravu, remployé dans les murs du *quadriburgium*. Autel probablement en calcaire blanchâtre brisé de tous les côtés. Écriture en capitales ; gravure peu profonde.

Lieu de conservation : perdue.

Bibliographie : inédite.

Datation : 212–217 ap. J.-C.

[I(oui) O(ptimo) M(aximo)] / Dolic[he]no p[ro / s]alute Imp(eratoris) M(arci) / Aurel(ii) Seu[e]ri / Anton[ini Aug(usti)] / et Iu[liae / Domnae]

L'état de conservation de la pierre et la photo ne nous permettent pas de dire si le nom du dédicant était donné. Dans le milieu rural de Mésie Inférieure, les textes consacrés à Jupiter Dolichenus ne sont pas rares. Certains des *sacerdotes* du dieu dans la région portent des noms grecs, orientaux ou sémitiques (*Iulius Alexander* à Sacidava, *Polydeuces Theophili* à Niculițel, *Aurelius Antiochianus* à Gorsko Kosovo, *Flavius Damas* et *Aurelius Barsemon* à Valea Teilor). Il faut également noter que tous les textes datent du III^e siècle. Le nom du dédicant de Mihai Bravu n'est pas conservé sur la pierre, mais le texte date du règne de Caracalla.

T6. (Pl. 3, Fig. 10–11) Autel votif en calcaire, trouvé à Mihai Bravu avant 1991, remployé probablement dans les murs du *quadriburgium*. La partie centrale est raccordée au couronnement et au socle par des moulures. Dimensions conservées : 48 x 25,8 x 22 cm. Lettres : 3,25–3,8 cm. Champ épigraphique libre et justifié. Dimensions du champ épigraphique : 27 x 19,5 cm. Écriture en capitales allongées. Ponctuations en épines de roses. Ligature HE (l. 2).

Lieu de conservation : Musée de Tulcea.

Bibliographie : inédite.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) [M(aximo)] / Dolich[ē]no Ati/dius v(otum) / l(ibens) m(erito) s(olvit)

Lignes 2–3 : on pourrait penser aussi à *Dolich(e)no*, comme à propose Avram dans ses notes. Il semble pourtant voir l'haste inférieure d'un E à la ligne 2.

T7. Autel probablement votif en calcaire gris, mentionnant un couple de consuls. Trouvé à Mihai Bravu avant 1991, remployé dans les murs du *quadriburgium*. Autel mouluré, brisé en haut, avec des traces de marteau (Pl. 4, Fig. 12–13). Très mauvais état de conservation en raison du emploi de la pierre. Une partie du socle a été enlevée. Dimensions : 75 x 60 x 15 cm. Champ épigraphique libre et justifié. Écriture en capitales. Lettres : 3,3–4,66 cm.

Lieu de conservation : Musée de Tulcea.

Bibliographie : inédite.

Datation : probablement fin du II^e–début du III^e s.

----- / *Cestio / et Quin[tian]o sive Quin[till]o / co(n)s(ulibus)*

Les consuls connus portant le nom *Quintil(l)us* ou *Quintil(li)us* sont *Sex. Quintilius Condius* (PIR² VII.2 Q 21) et *Sex. Quintilius Valerius Maximus* (PIR² VII.2 Q 27 :

en 151), *Plautius Quintillus* (PIR² VII.1 P 473), consul en 159 avec *M. Staius Priscus, Sex. Quintilius Maximus* (PIR² VII.2 Q 24), collègue de consulat avec *Ser. Calpurnius Scipio Orfitus* en 172, *M. Peducaeus Plautius Quintillus* (PIR² VII.1 P 474), consul en 177 avec Commode, *Sex. Quintillus Condianus* (PIR² VII.2 Q 22), collègue de *C. Bruttius Praesens* en 180. En revanche, pour le II^e et le III^e siècles, un seul *Cestius* est connu : *Lucius Cestius Gallus Cerrinius Iustus Lutatius Natalis*, consul à la fin du II^e ou au début du III^e siècle (PIR² II C 692)¹⁰¹, ce qui peut correspondre à la datation suggérée par l'écriture. Il convient donc d'identifier *Cestius* avec *L. Cestius Gallus* dont on sait et maintenant que le collègue de consulat était nommé *Quintil(i)us* ou *Quintil(li)us*.

T8. Autel en calcaire grisâtre, trouvé à Mihai Bravu, réemployé dans les murs du *quadriburgium* (Pl. 5, Fig. 14). Le côté gauche est presque intégralement conservé, mais les autres côtés sont très abîmés. Les moulures sont de type *cyma recta diricta*. La surface est partiellement détruite ; on distingue des traces de marteau. Le champ épigraphique est fortement détérioré, ce qui affecte la lecture du texte. En général, l'état de conservation de la pierre est mauvais. Dimensions : 89 x 52 x 21 cm. Écriture en capitale allongées. Dimensions des lettres : 4,7–3,4 cm.

Lieu de conservation : Slava Rusă, inv. MB003.

Bibliographie : inédite.

Datation : probablement la deuxième moitié du II^e s.–première moitié du III^e s. ap. J.-C.

----- / vacat V vacat S vacat [---] / *Rammius S[---] / ++[---] EÇ[---] / -----*

T9. Trouvée en 2014 à Mihai Bravu, en emploi dans les murs du *quadriburgium*. Stèle en calcaire jaunâtre, intégralement conservée seulement à droite. La face antérieure est polie mais fortement usée et recouverte par du mortier, surtout à droite ; la face postérieure, irrégulière, est grossièrement taillée (Pl. 4, Fig. 15–16). Dimensions : 104 x 97 x 21 cm. Champ épigraphique très endommagé et usé, justifié, rabaisé et encadré par une moulure à gorge égyptienne, décorée de pampres et de grappes en relief, conservée seulement à droite (l. 15 cm). Dimensions : 104 x 42,5 cm. Écriture en capitales allongées ; gravure soignée. Ligature ET (l. 8). Ponctuation ; *hedera* (?) à la l. 8. Dimension des lettres : 7–5,7 cm.

Lieu de conservation : Slava Rusă, inv. MB002.

Bibliographie : inédite.

Datation : II^e siècle ap. J.-C.

----- / [--- *Claudi*]/ø (?) *Fusçø / vix(it) an(nis) VI / ÇI(audius) Metro/dorus et / Sura par/en[te]s fili/ø + B[---] eī / +[---] L / -----*

Le texte n'est pas bien organisé, avec des mots coupés maladroitement en fin de ligne (ll. 1–2, 6–8).

¹⁰¹ Degrassi (1952, 117) pense qu'il a été consul sous Marc Aurèle ou sous Commode.

L'épithaphe a été dédiés par les parents du petit *Fuscus*, mort à 6 ans, et peut-être par un autre personnage désormais impossible à identifier. Le père, dont le gentilice est abrégé, porte un surnom d'origine grecque tout comme sa femme, peut-être une pérégrine ou une affranchie ; on notera la forme *Sura* pour *Syra*.

T10. Découvert en 2014 à Mihai Bravu, en remploi dans les murs du *quadriburgium*. Fragment de stèle en calcaire jaunâtre, complet seulement à droite ; la pierre comportait probablement un fronton triangulaire rabaissé, encadré par une moulure, qui n'est cependant plus visible aujourd'hui. La face antérieure est parfaitement polie, mais est parsemée de grumeaux de mortier ; la face postérieure, irrégulière, est grossièrement taillée (Pl. 5, Fig. 17). Dimensions : 44,5 x 43,5 x 27 cm. Champ épigraphique rabaissé et encadré par une moulure à gorge égyptienne (l. 15 cm), décorée de volutes et feuilles de lierres en relief. Dimensions : 12,5 x 22 cm. Capitale allongée ; gravure soignée, K avec long bras. *Vacat* à la l. 1 (l. 8,2 cm). Dimensions des lettres : 5,7 cm (résiduelles).

Lieu de conservation : Slava Rusă, inv. MB004.

Bibliographie : inédite.

Datation : II^e siècle ap. J.-C. (?)

[---] (vacat) KA/ [---]++NQ /-----

On pourrait supposer à la l. 2 [---]sino ou [---]cino, partie centrale ou finale d'un anthroponyme. Il n'y a pas de place à la l. 1 pour l'invocation aux Dieux Manes, qui pourrait avoir été gravée sur la corniche comme dans T12.

T11. Découvert en 2014 à Mihai Bravu, en remploi dans les murs du *quadriburgium*. Stèle en calcaire blanchâtre, endommagée en haut. La face antérieure est fort usée et en partie couverte par du mortier ; en bas, en dehors du champ épigraphique, probablement un canthare en relief, désormais pratiquement invisible. La face postérieure est grossièrement taillée (Pl. 5, Fig. 18). Dimensions : 113 x 73,5 x 15 cm. Champ épigraphique très endommagé et usé, rabaissé et encadré par une moulure à gorge égyptienne décorée de pampres et peut-être de grappes en relief, à peine visible à droite et à gauche (l. 13,5 cm). Dimensions : 48 x 37,5 cm. Écriture en capitales (?). Dimensions des lettres : 4,6 cm.

Lieu de conservation : Slava Rusă, inv. MB001.

Bibliographie : inédit.

Datation : II^e siècle ap. J.-C. (?)

----- / V[---] /-----

La datation est établie d'après le support et la décoration.

T12. Découvert avant 1980 à Turda, vraisemblablement en remploi. Stèle fragmentaire en calcaire jaunâtre, complète seulement à gauche, surmontée probablement par un tympan triangulaire entre acrotères (seul celui de g. est partiellement visible ; il était peut-être orné d'une palmette) ; au centre du tympan probablement une couronne *vittata* en relief. La surface est en partie couverte par du mortier (Pl. 5, Fig. 19). Dimensions : 77 x 80 x 13 cm. Champ épigraphique justifié,

rabaisé et encadré par une moulure à gorge égyptienne décorée de pampres et de grappes en relief, visible à g. La l. 1 est gravée sur la moulure. Capitale ; lettres fines. Dimensions des lettres : 6,5–4,3 cm.

Lieu de conservation : Crama Muzeul Murfatlar.

Bibliographie : IScM V 237 ; AE 1980, 827 ; <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=21003>; EDCS-08900622 [31/08/2016].

Datation : II^e siècle ap. J.-C. (?).

D(is) M(anibus). // Iul(ius) Silva/nuş [---] / -----

Doruțiu-Boilă (IScM V p. 254) a proposé à la l. 3 [*v(ixit) an(nis) ---*], mais on ne peut exclure d'autres restitutions. On notera l'absence du prénom du défunt.

T13. Découvert en 1977 à Turda par le prof. Gh. Mihalcea de Horia. Stèle en calcaire de Baschioi, brisée en haut et en bas, complète seulement à g. et à d. La surface est polie (Pl. 5, Fig. 20). Dimensions : 66 x 86,5 x 14 cm. Champ épigraphique endommagé en haut et en bas, poli et justifié, rabaisé et encadré par une moulure à gorge égyptienne décorée maladroitement de pampres et de grappes en relief. Capitale allongée ; lettres fines et de module variable ; II de CII (l. 3), I de FILIA (l. 4), S de ONESIMVS (l. 6) plus petites, F avec longue haste verticale. Ligatures NE (l. 2), AN (l. 3), ET, AN, NE (l. 5), ET, NE, MV (l. 6), TR (l. 7). Points triangulaire et *hederae* (ll. 2.3). Dimensions : 6–3 cm.

Lieu de conservation : Musée de Tulcea, inv. 24511.

Bibliographie : Baumann 1984, 229 n° 17 fig. 70.

Datation : première moitié du III^e siècle ap. J.-C. (?).

----- / Iul(ius) Epiphā/nēs vixit / ānnis CII. / OPPI Iul(ia) filia / et Iulianūs nēp(os) / et Fl(avius) Onesimūs / b(ene) m(erenti) patri p(osuerunt)

Avant la l. 1 se trouvait probablement la formule *Dis Manibus sacrum*.

Selon Baumann, *OPPI* (l. 4) pourrait être interprété comme *o(ratrix)* ou *o(ratrices) p(ro) pi(etate)* et *Iulianus*, fils de *Iulia* et de *Onesimus* serait lui aussi un *Flavius*.

Plus vraisemblablement, on pourrait supposer une formule comme *op(us) pi(um)* ou plutôt, vu que les autres gentilices sont aussi abrégés, le gentilice *Oppi(i)* qui se référerait soit à *Iulia filia* soit à *Iulianus nepos*. Dans ce cas *Iulia* et *Iulianus* ne porteraient pas le gentilice du père (respectivement *Iulius* et *Flavius*) mais celui de la mère, moins commun et peut-être plus prestigieux à *vicus Bad[---]*. Dans tous les cas, on notera la romanisation progressive de l'onomastique de ces personnages, probablement hellénophones à l'origine.

T14 (Pl. 5, Fig. 21). Trouvée en 2014 près du *quadriburgium*. Fragment de plaque (?) en calcaire jaunâtre ; la surface épigraphique est polie mais fort usée. Dimensions : 9,41 x 11,7 x 1,91 cm. Champ épigraphique très endommagé. Capitale allongée ; gravure profonde ; lettres rubriquées. Dimensions des lettres : 5 cm.

Lieu de conservation : Slava Rusă.

Bibliographie : inédite.

----- / [---]VIN[---] / -----

On pourrait penser à une partie d'un anthroponyme, sans exclure d'autres restitutions ; on notera la gravure irrégulière du *N*, avec deux jambes de longueur différentes.

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The Reconstruction Process of the Civil Settlement near Novae (Moesia inferior). The Epigraphic Evidence*

Plates 6–8

The earliest archaeological remains of the camp at Novae in Moesia in modern-day northern Bulgaria (Pl. 6, Fig. 1) are dated to the reign of Nero and belong to the *legio VIII Augusta* sent to put down the Thracian rebellion in AD 46.¹ In AD 71/72, the *legio I Italica* arrived in Novae and replaced the former unit. Its presence in this location has been attested epigraphically as having lasted until the 430s.²

The camp in Novae was laid out on an extensive plateau on top of a high Danubian escarpment, between two gullies. The stone fortress, rearranged during Trajan's reign, was planned on three terraces sloping downward toward the Danube, with its highest point at about 70 m a.s.l. at the southern end to about 40 m a.s.l. at the northern end, covering a total of 17.99 ha. The western side of the fortress is adjacent to a flat terrain, while the terrain on its eastern side is more irregular; with flat land and a deep gully in the north-east and elevated terrain on the south-eastern side. The defensive potential of the elevated, south-eastern side of the fortress was taken advantage probably of toward the end of the 3rd century,³ when a new circuit of defensive walls was added there, enlarging the fortress by an additional 8 ha. The legionary camp and attached civil settlements developed into the Late Roman town.

An extramural settlement in a more permanent form developed in connection with the longer presence of its mother unit, i.e. the *legio I Italica*. The *canabae* evolved directly next to the fortress, outside the West and East Gate. Similarly to the case of other legionary bases, the second settlement (*vicus*) developed at a certain distance from the camp. At Novae, it was 2.7 km to the east of the *groma* in a place called Ostrite Mogili (Pl. 6, Fig. 2).⁴

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¹ Sarnowski 1981, 43–44; Genčeva 2002, 10–11.

² Sarnowski 2005.

³ This dating is based, however, on the discovery of coin dated to the second half of the 3rd century found in destruction layer under the foundations of the southern gate of the annex; see Dimitrov *et al.* 1970, 65 and fig. 12.

⁴ For the description of archaeological and epigraphic finds from the civil settlements near Novae see Tomas 2017, 31–92, 127–138 and 159–164.

The extramural settlement around Novae is difficult to trace. Since 1960 regular excavations and surveys have been carried out mainly in the fortress. However, over the years preceding regular archaeological research, many finds were moved and even transported as far as to Bucharest. Today, the archaeological park is densely forested and its surroundings are occupied by summer houses. Increasingly active looting results in damage to archaeological remains and discourages researchers from further investigations. Exploring civil settlement around Novae poses a real challenge and only integrated methods of archaeological prospection, archival studies, and mapping the finds analysed in the GIS database can bring relatively reliable results. A three-year project of surveys in the extramural area carried out in three spring seasons from 2012 to 2014 involved non-intrusive methods, supplemented by museum and archive investigations, as well as GIS analyses, including a re-evaluation of the epigraphic finds and their mapping.

The spread of the archaeological material visible on the surface outside the fortress and traces of architectural remains were marked with GPS hand-held devices. This allowed for the creation of a map of the extramural remains (Pl. 7, Fig. 3). Salvage excavations and field walkings carried out in the past years have revealed a sanctuary devoted to Dionysus / Liber Pater to the south-west of the fortress,⁵ *vicus*,⁶ smaller settlement units,⁷ and cemeteries.⁸ Repeated topographical observations and field walkings conducted in 2000 and more recently show that the principal part of the civil settlement stretched out to the west of the army camp.⁹ The only features of the *canabae* investigated more fully include the *villa* and late antique basilica with a burial ground located about 150 m to the west of the West Gate,¹⁰ as well as the Mithraeum discovered about 300 m to the south-west of the camp.¹¹

People in the epigraphic sources

The epigraphic finds from Novae provide quite a significant amount of people's names. If we exclude the names of people who lived at Novae in the Late Roman period and those who were active soldiers, 149 names remain of persons who might have lived *extra muros castrorum*. The majority of the identified persons were civilians or potential civilians, i.e. people who did not provide information about their military service or relation to the army (Chart 1). We know of at least 22 veterans¹² and 24 members of military families (Tab. 1), as well as 80 civilian inhabitants (Tab. 2) epigraphically

⁵ Mitova-Džonova 1961.

⁶ Tomas 2014 with literature.

⁷ Conrad / Stančev 2002, 676–677; Tomas 2016, 161–162.

⁸ Kołkówna 1961; Válov 1965.

⁹ Conrad / Stančev 2002, 676–677, figs. 2, 3, 5; Tomas 2016, figs. 32, 33. Conrad / Stančev 2002, 676–677, figs. 2, 3, 5.

¹⁰ Čičikova 1997; Vladkova 2006.

¹¹ Najdenova 1999; Tomas / Lemke 2015.

¹² One monument was set up by a group of veterans whose names are unknown (IGLNov 54).

attested at Novae during the first three centuries AD. Most probably, the majority of the 22 persons whose military or civilian status is difficult to identify should be added to this list (Tab. 3).¹³ Civilians and veterans with their families form a group that left significantly more inscribed monuments than active soldiers (Chart 1). This might perhaps result from the fact that such inhabitants lived in the surroundings of the military camp for longer periods, in contrast to soldiers, who were a mobile group and could complete their service in several places, usually leaving their bases upon retirement. The dating of the inscriptions in which these names are mentioned indicates that the 2nd century was the moment of the greatest boom, during which the extramural settlement flourished and the epigraphic habit peaked (Charts 2 and 3).

Families

The gravestones from Novae commemorate mostly men, very rarely children (Charts 4 and 5). Tombstones depicting the deceased were infrequent and it is worth noting that we do not know of any portrait of a child from Novae, while in Dacia funerary reliefs from various military bases show military families with children.¹⁴ The quality of the stone should not be considered as the reason behind such differences. Funerary monuments from Novae were usually carved using relatively high-quality limestone, while those from Dacia were made not only with limestone, but also sandstone and andesite of an inconvenient porphyritic texture. We can assume that the funerary habit either was not focused on portraying the deceased or the local workshops were not specialized in such reliefs.¹⁵ Moreover, among the few portraits discovered at Novae the majority had been intentionally damaged at some point in the past.

Military

Relatively few names of military family members are known when compared to the number of attested civilians (cf. Tab. 1 and 2). This is quite astonishing as Novae was a military garrison. The reasons for this may be threefold. Firstly, active soldiers (*militēs*), apart from officers and perhaps centurions, were not legally able to enter into marriage with full rights (*iustum matrimonium*), and — in consequence — their informal family had no claim to their estate unless they were named heirs in the will.¹⁶ Secondly,

¹³ These numbers refer to the persons known from inscriptions published before 2015.

¹⁴ E.g. Mander 2012, Nos. 796–814 (Apulum); 826 (Gherla); 830–836 (Deva); 837–839 (Micia); 847 (Porolissum); 852–855 (Potaissa); 857–858 (Tibiscum); 871 (Resculum); 878 (Tihău).

¹⁵ S. Conrad, who collected a catalogue of funerary monuments from Lower Moesia, drew attention to several types of stelae from the surroundings of Novae. All of them bear floral motifs. See Conrad 2004, 83 and 94–95.

¹⁶ The soldiers were not able to enter *matrimonium iustum* probably until AD 197. According to Herodianus (Hdn. III 8.4–5), Septimius Severus granted soldiers permission to live with their wives (ἐπέτρεψε γυναῖζί τε συνοικεῖν). This formula is unclear, however, and has been interpreted as a concession to cohabitation outside the garrison or /and the right to legitimate marriage. Some scholars consider it a myth as auxiliary soldiers were still granted *conubium* after

the women married to veterans were usually much younger and if they remarried after the death of their first husband, it was possible that they would be commemorated by their second husband or children, leaving no traces of their military relationships on the tombstones.¹⁷ Thirdly, the children of soldiers and of veterans who married civilians were commemorated by their own families, leaving no traces of their military parents.

Only 12 out of the 41 women known from Novae were certainly related to the military; five have been confirmed as the kin of veterans, while five were relatives of possibly active soldiers or officers.¹⁸ There are two cases of presumably active soldiers who commemorated their wives. The first involves a freedwoman commemorated by a trumpeter (*cornicen*), most probably of the *legio I Italica* (Tab. 1, No. 1, and Pl. 7, Fig. 4). The reading of the inscription has been the matter of some debate: J. Kolendo saw CONIVGI BE[ne merenti] and S. Conrad CONTVBE[rnali].¹⁹ Although active soldiers in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD were not able to marry legally, the first reading seems to be more convincing. We should possibly reconsider either the dating of this monument or the status of a *cornicen*, who in fact was a veteran or a centurion and who was allowed to marry.²⁰ Such an interpretation can be applied to the second case — a *centurio* who was a member of the equestrian order (*eques*, see Tab. 1, No. 36) commemorating his one-year-old son. This monument does not necessarily have to be dated to the 3rd century, as centurions with families are attested before the end of the 2nd century.²¹

Observations made in other parts of the Empire seem to confirm that veterans tended to choose Roman freeborn women with whom they could form a *matrimonium iustum*.²² Women in relationships with legionaries and veterans seem to have been mainly of free status (Chart 7), and this applies not only to Novae but also to other sites in Lower Moesia and in Lower Pannonia.²³ Nevertheless, at Novae we find Valeria

AD 197 and archaeological evidence seems to exclude the cohabitation of soldiers' wives in military bases (Haynes 2013, 90; Hodgeson 2014, 27; for the same conclusions concerning Novae, see Tomas 2011). For essential publications concerning military relationships, see Scheidel 2007 with literature. The scholars agree that it was Claudius who introduced the possibility to establish heirs in the soldiers' wills, including children born in illegitimate relationships. This privilege is described in the *Institutiones* by Gaius, a Roman jurist living in the times of Hadrian, and by Cassius Dio (Gai. Inst. 2.110; Cass. Dio LX 24.3).

¹⁷ Phang 2002, 873–878; Tomas 2015, 103.

¹⁸ Tomas 2015, 94–95.

¹⁹ Kolendo 1999, 26–28, No. 4, cf. Conrad 2004, 228, No. 380.

²⁰ It is not clear whether centurions were allowed to marry, but archaeological and epigraphic evidence puts some questions to this topic; see Hassal 1999, 35–40; Reuter 2008, 92; Hodgeson 2014, 27.

²¹ Le Bohec 2012 (centurions from equestrian order and municipal aristocracy). The monument from Novae was dated in IGLNov by J. Kolendo to AD 201–250, but F. Feraudi-Gruénais in the Epigraphik Datenbank Heidelberg (henceforth: EDH) follows the dating to AD 151–200 as proposed by Conrad, 2004, 232, No. 393; Taf. 102, 4 (EDH, No. HD42193).

²² James 2001, 187–209.

²³ Piftor 2007–2008, 144. For a similar result but different interpretation, see Scheidel 2007, 422–423.

Elphis (No. 32) and Iulia (No. 27), who were the former slaves of their military husbands. Furthermore, Iulia Tyche lived in Oescus at the beginning of the 2nd century and was the wife and freedwoman of C. Iulius Celer, veteran of the Fifth Macedonian Legion and the mother of C. Iulius Crescens, centurion of the *legio I Italica*. However, one should not exclude that in some other similar cases the same *gentilicium* was the result of marriage to a distant family member or of the acquisition of citizenship at the same time and place.²⁴

The perspective of receiving *ius conubii* after the completion of military service encouraged finding a partner with the same legal abilities, i.e., freeborn Roman citizen. Nevertheless, the names of some (few) of the veterans' female partners indicate their servile origins or peregrine status, yet they are called *coniux* or *uxor* in the inscriptions and their children's names sound as if they were legitimate. Perhaps in some of these cases *ius conubii* with a peregrine was granted as a type of reward or special allowance, e.g. preceded by the payment of a ransom. It is difficult to judge whether it is a coincidence but in the case of the rare commemoration of children at Novae, such occurrences are better attested with regards to military families. Such children, however, would have been Roman citizens, indicating that their social status as determined by birth was high.

Civilians

Civilian inhabitants came to Novae from various parts of the Empire. One of the earliest monuments is a tombstone of an Etruscan family *domo Crustumiae Arniae ex Thuscia* (sic!). The family undoubtedly lived in the *canabae*, but nothing can be said about their professions or social position, apart from the fact that they were Roman citizens, either connected to the *legio VIII Augusta* or to the subsequent *legio I Italica*.²⁵ Etruscan origin has also been attested for a producer of clay pipes through stamps bearing the name 'Arrius' and dated to the Flavian period (Tab. 3, No. 3). The Arrii family has been attested in the rural hinterland of Novae, namely at Boutovo, which was a big production centre for pottery and building materials, hence it has been suggested that the family was involved in clay manufacturing there.²⁶ It is possible that Arrius started his business in the *canabae* and his descendants developed it in Boutovo, which had strong economic ties with the legionary fortress.²⁷ Apart from people from Italy,

²⁴ This applies esp. to No. 23 (P. Pompeius P.f. Aemilia Magnus, Stobis and Pompeia Marcia). Sextus Pompeius was a proconsul of Macedonia in AD 9 and a landowner who significantly contributed to the Romanization of the province's inhabitants; see Tomas 2016, 124 and Appendix 2, Nos. E.15, E.16.

²⁵ The monument was found together with another gravestone of a *cornicen leg. VIII Aug.* (IGLNov 81). Such a find context became the basis for an argument presented by G. Forni that the commemorated family not only may have lived in the *canabae* of the *legio VIII Augusta*, but even might have been related to an individual from the military of that legion, but J. Kolendo evaluated this argument as too weak. See Forni 1992, 88 and cf. IGLNov, ad No. 93.

²⁶ Kolendo / Kowal 2011, 71.

²⁷ Tomas 2016, 56, 72.

Spanish Asturiae also lived at Novae, serving in Moesia in the 1st century AD.²⁸ Quite a significant number of the 1st-century inhabitants of the *canabae* were freedmen, some of them of wealthy Italic families, i.e. Granii, Metelli, and Paccii, involved in business (Tab. 2, Nos. 28, 67; 38; 40, 69, 70, 71). Wine merchants (*negotiatores vinarii*), active in long-distance trade with the use of barrels, are attested at the turn of the 1st and 2nd centuries AD (Tab. 2, Nos. 34 and 68).²⁹ Their tombstones decorated with images instead of an informative inscription was explained as the result of poor writing skills among the civilians in the first period of the Roman presence in Novae,³⁰ but the habit of using images rather than inscriptions is not observable in other monuments of the discussed period. The number of inscriptions dated to the 2nd century is high enough to bring more substantial information about the inhabitants of Novae. Among them, we find a civilian medic, local wine producers, and veterans originating from various provinces. This last group includes former soldiers who did not serve in the *legio I Italica*, but decided to settle down at Novae. A certain Thracian named Tarsa Bassus, a former *miles cohortis I Tyrriorum sagittariorum*, lived somewhere near Novae just after Trajan's Dacian Wars (Tab. 1, No. 14).³¹ A former *centurio*, who had served in the *legio XI Claudia*, decided to settle down in Novae and not Durostorum, which was the base of his mother unit (Tab. 1, No. 18).³² In the first half of the 2nd century, a soldier previously enrolled in Claudian municipium Virunum in Noricum (now Zollfeld in Austria) retired and died at Novae, where he was buried by his friend (Tab. 1, No. 6).³³ Another veteran born in Ancyra lived at Novae until he was a very old man (Tab. 1, No. 12).³⁴ Somewhere in the 2nd century AD, a certain Aurelius Victor arrived in Novae from distant Piroburidava and raised a family with Aelia Dionysia (Tab. 2, Nos. 15, 59, 60). It is noteworthy that their daughter inherited her mother's name, which can result either from the fact that the child had been from her previous relationship or that the relationship with Aurelius was for some reason unofficial. The latter might have been the case if, for example, Aurelius were an active soldier.³⁵

²⁸ C. Aurelius Vegetus served in *cohors V Asturum* and was transferred to *legio I Italica* (AE 1999, 1333), and Ti. Bassus, probably a *decurio* of *ala I Asturum*, retired and died in Novae (IGLNov 56). For *ala I Asturum* in Moesia, see Matei-Popescu 2010, 167–169.

²⁹ Kolendo 1965, 136–137; Kolendo 2011, 28–31, fig. 7a–b.

³⁰ Kolendo 2011, 33.

³¹ RMM 10.

³² IGLNov 88.

³³ IGLNov 79.

³⁴ IGLNov 83.

³⁵ The name Aurelius Victor was very common and popular among the soldiers. Two *milites* of the *legio I Italica* who bore such a name have been attested at Trăncovica in the rural hinterland of Novae (AE 1939, 252) and in Chersonesus Taurica on Crimea (CIL III 13751a). The same name was held for e.g. by a *miles coh. Aureliae* from Sopot in Moesia Superior (AE 1901, 21 = CIL III 14217.6), a *librarius leg. V Mac.* at Potaissa (AE 1967, 400), a veteran attested at Aquincum (AE 1979, 472), a *miles leg. VII Gemina* from León in Spain (AE 1907, 122 = CIL VI 37254).

The descendants of wealthy freedmen played a very important role in the local society as shown by the example of the Oppii attested at Novae (Tab. 2, No. 39) and Nicopolis ad Istrum. The altar discovered at Nicopolis set up by two members of this family — one of them a priest of Mater Deum (i.e. Cybele) and the second of Liber Pater — is very important evidence of the social and religious life of the *canabae*. The text of the inscription informs that the two priests set up an altar under (?) the standards of Novaesium Oppianorum.³⁶ It has been suggested that the Oppii could have been firemen as one of them was a priest of Cybele, in which *dendrophori* played an important role, and *dendrophori* were once considered to be involved in fire-fighting, the same as *fabri* and *centonarii*.³⁷ However, the theory about the connection between fire-fighting duties and the *fabri* (not *dendrophori*) based on Plinius' testimony has been rejected widely by scholars.³⁸ The *vexillum* was in all likelihood the standard of a sacral *collegium*,³⁹ not that of firemen or any other paramilitary association.⁴⁰ However, their religious positions may have been linked with some other activities in the *canabae*, e.g. social or economic. Jinyu Liu made a very interesting suggestion that the activities of the *centonarii* could have been connected with trade and the provision of supplies to frontier towns.⁴¹ The *collegia* of *dendrophori* and *fabri*, very often mentioned alongside *centonarii* or *navicularii*, sometimes shared the same patrons and appeared together as founders of monuments but did not share the same character.⁴² Perhaps in frontier towns the members of these *collegia* were active both in religious life and in business of various kinds. The Oppii from Novae could have been freedmen or descendants of freedmen of a very influential family involved in wine trade.⁴³ Wealthy members of the same family have also been attested at Durostorum.⁴⁴

At the turn of the 2nd and 3rd centuries, the people living at Novae formed a well-integrated society. This integration is visible not only in acculturation traceable e.g. in archaeological finds but also in the epigraphic evidence. Some of the inhabitants of Novae and other neighbouring towns had been local military families for generations.⁴⁵ This civilian-military society and the settlement itself were developed to an extent that

³⁶ AÉ 1995, 1362; Tsurov 1995, 11. Novaenses Oppiani probably presented themselves under the standards (*sub*) *vexillo*; see commentary in AÉ 1995, ad No. 1362 and a broader comment in Tomas 2017, 160.

³⁷ Tsurov 1995, 11.

³⁸ Plin. Ep. 10.33 and 34 and the theory presented in the fundamental work by J. P. Waltzing. This idea was challenged by O. van Nijf and J. Perry; see Liu 2009, 3–4 with literature. Other scholars ascribed this function to *centonarii*, but still the evidence is not clear; see Liu 2009, 125–160, esp. 128 and 159.

³⁹ Cf. SHA, Gall. duo, 8.6; Aurel. 34.4; AÉ 1995, ad No. 1362; Liu 2009, 52–54, 202.

⁴⁰ AÉ 1995, ad No. 1362; cf. Liu 2009, 202–203.

⁴¹ Liu 2009, 159–160.

⁴² Liu 2009, 50–55, 132, 136.

⁴³ Verboven 2001, 314 and n. 2.

⁴⁴ CIL III 7474, AD 139–161.

⁴⁵ IGLNov 82, CIL III 7428, Oescus.

enabled the granting of municipal rights,⁴⁶ most probably to the *canabae*.⁴⁷ Local religiosity also influenced the fortress as evidenced by dedications to indigenous deities, such as Apollo Kendrissos, the Thracian Horseman, Sabazius, and Deus Aeternus.⁴⁸ The connections with the rural hinterland are visible not only in the archaeological finds but also in the epigraphic evidence, namely people's names, which sound the same in the *canabae* and in the rural hinterland. One such case is the name 'Valerius Festus' listed in the Bacchic album from Boutovo, in the text of a votive tablet from Paskalevec in the rural hinterland, and on a funerary monument from Novae.⁴⁹ Perhaps this was one or two or even three different persons, but certainly such repetitive names are an expression of a change in the society which united autochthons and those living in the *canabae*.⁵⁰

Questioning the ethnic composition identified by names

People who bore the names of Roman citizens constitute the majority among the civilian inhabitants of Novae (Chart 8), while the smallest group is formed by people bearing peregrine names (5%), among them Thracian, Celtic, Etruscan, and possibly Illyrian.⁵¹ The Greek names slightly outnumber the Roman ones among those who were not recognized as soldiers' relatives, while among the military these proportions show a strong bias in favour of Roman names (Chart 9).⁵² Thracian names in the *canabae* are attested only in three cases and all of them belong to men (Tab. 1, Nos. 14, 40; Tab. 2, Nos. 33). Thracian and Dacian female names are absent among the civilians living near

⁴⁶ The municipal status of Novae is attested by two letters that appear on the altar to Hecate dedicated by *Iulius Statilis augustalis m(unicipii?) N(ovensium?)*; AE 1964, 224 = ILBulg 281 = IGLNov 39, AD 171–250. The stone was found to the north-east of the East Gate of the fortress within the Late Roman annex. It was discovered in 1959, prior to the start of excavations, and although the inscription is difficult to date, Boris Gerov who published it suggested that municipal rights were granted during the reign of M. Aurelius (Gerov 1964, 128–133). The municipal status is also attested by two letters in Dalmatia (CIL III 1909–1911).

⁴⁷ The questions of whether the *canabae* or the *vicus* were granted municipal rights and when it happened continue to be debated among scholars, e.g. Vittinghoff 1968, 116–117 (*canabae?*); Vulpe 1976, 294 (*canabae?* M. Aur.); Poulter 1983, 84 (*canabae*, Severan period); Mrozewicz 2010, 114 (*vicus*, beginning of the 3rd century). The difference in the sizes of the two settlements and lack of other evidence related to Novae's municipal status may indicate that this privilege was granted relatively late, at the beginning of the 3rd century, most probably to the *canabae*. For a detailed analysis of the subject, see Tomas 2017, 159–162.

⁴⁸ IGLNov 2 (Apollo Kendrissos), IGLNov 15 (Thracian Horseman), AE 1998, 1137 (Sabazius), IGLNov 9 (Deus Aeternus). Apollo Kendrissos was venerated in Philippopolis as a protector of the city (IGBulg III.1, 886 and 918). The relief from Novae shows the Thracian Horseman and a dog attacking a hare, which is an unknown motif.

⁴⁹ ILBulg 416, Paskalevec and cf. Kolendo 1999, 29–31. Although the name 'Valerius Festus' is quite colloquial (see *Nomenclator* 126), the monument from Novae commemorating Festus' wife is decorated with a vine motif.

⁵⁰ Tomas 2016, Appendix 2, No. E.86, E.116 and Kolendo 1999, 29–31.

⁵¹ Tomas 2015, 97–98 and Chart 4.

⁵² Tomas 2015, 97–98 and Chart 5.

the base. This, however, does not mean that the local population was a small minority absent in the *canabae*. It is quite obvious that the epigraphic habit is a phenomenon of Roman and Greek culture and was practiced by the Romans and those who were at least superficially Romanized. Those who were Romanized include people who changed their native names into Roman ones. Such a case is that of Aurelius Stianus (Tab. 1, No. 4), a soldier in a fleet, who most probably settled down in the surroundings of Novae, known from two inscriptions and stamped building materials, whose origin is recognized only thanks to a military diploma in which he is referred to as Apta.⁵³ In some cases, the names of children and other members of the family provide a hint suggesting the origins of a certain person. Such is the example of a boy from Novae whose name, Mampsalachanus (Tab. 1, No. 35), may be of African or eastern origin, while his parents bear common Roman names. Another case refers to a veteran of the *legio I Italica* who settled in the countryside. Although he bears a Roman name, his daughter's and brother's names are Thracian.⁵⁴ Similarly misleading is the case of a certain Antonia Optata from Novae, whose customary name, Maura, may indicate either a dark complexion or African roots, but this is not indicated in her 'official name'.⁵⁵ The majority of the families living in the *canabae* must have been ethnically mixed. Hence, a change of a name seems to have been unexceptional.⁵⁶ In the civilian-military environment of the *canabae*, new Roman citizens could and wanted to possess Roman-sounding names as an expression of their social promotion.

If we compare the names of people from Novae whom we can consider to have been civilians with the names of military family members, Greek names prevail among the civilians, while Roman ones are less numerous and Thracian very rare. Such observations may lead to the easy conclusion that the military families were Roman or Romanized citizens, while civilian inhabitants of the *canabae* were people of Greek or eastern origin. However, the names may be misleading. As shown by Heikki Solin with regards to the slaves from the city of Rome, six out of 10 slaves from Rome bore Roman names which made them undistinguishable among freeborn people.⁵⁷ Greek names appearing as *cognomina* seem to be more helpful in distinguishing people of servile origins. Slaves sold at the market at Ephesos, Delos, or Delphi were very often renamed on purpose to obliterate their origins or simply because it was fashionable to do so. As

⁵³ RMD IV 311 and see Sarnowski / Tomas 2007.

⁵⁴ CIL III 12408, Nedan. The wives of all the veterans (including from other military units) settled in Lower Moesia usually bear Balkan and Near-Eastern names; see Mrozewicz 1982, 85.

⁵⁵ IGLNov, p. 127, ad No. 92. The name Optatus appears in the western provinces, mainly in Hispania, southern Gallia, and Italia (*Nomenclator* 209). The assumptions concerning the participation of the *legio I Italica* in the revolt of the Mauri during the reign of Antoninus Pius are very doubtful, since they are based on two finds of stamped building materials: CIL VIII 10474, 13 et p. 911, Numidia, Constantine / Cirta, now lost, and the other, of doubtful provenance, kept in the Museum in St. Germain. On the stamps and their interpretation, see Ritterling 1925, 1407–1417.

⁵⁶ As was the case of a sailor serving in Egypt, see Weiß 2000, 279–285.

⁵⁷ Solin 1996.

shown by Solin, this trend introduced by the Romans did not follow the fashion attested for slaves in Attica.⁵⁸ Among the Greek names recorded in Novae, we find a group which indeed belonged or could have belonged to former slaves, such as T(itus) Aelius Glaphyrus (Tab. 2, No. 3), Aur(elius) Elpidephorus (No. 14), Cassius Q(uiti) I(iber-tus) Chresimus (No. 18), Dom[it]ius [T]imocra[tes] (No. 25), M(arcus) Granius M(arci) I(ibertus) Abascantus (No. 28), C(aius) Popillius Onesiphorus (No. 41), and C(ai) Vibii Eut[y]c[hes], Therapo and Nata[li]s (Nos. 48–50). The names of their family members, particularly their wives, may be helpful in determining the possible low social status or slave origins of people, and such is the case of C(aius) Popillius Onesiphorus and Paccia Euphro[syne ---] (Nos. 41 and 70).

Social status

A significant number of civilians from Novae are freedmen (Chart 6) who may be recognized by their *nomen gentile*.⁵⁹ Among people of servile origin, we find freedmen of wealthy Italic families operating in other Balkan provinces, i.e. Caeserni, Metelli, or Paccii, but also those who are probably related to imperial slaves. Caeserni originated from Aquileia, but in the 1st century they settled down in Emona, and later in other Pannonian cities, including the military sites of Brigetio and Aquincum.⁶⁰ In Novae, a couple bearing such a name is attested in the 2nd century (Tab. 2, No. 17 and 66). The name Char[a]gonia Arche[---]i (Tab. 2, No. 79) indicates that she might have been a freedwoman or a descendant of a slave belonging to Charagonius Philopalestrus, a custom duties contractor active in the Lower Danubian stations at the turn of the 1st and 2nd centuries.⁶¹ His slave, Melichrysus, who worked in Novae, set up a monument dedicated to Mithras, which is one of the earliest attestations of this cult in the Empire (Tab. 2, No. 54).⁶²

Some of the inhabitants of Novae enjoyed high social status and wealth. One of the tombs, as the inscription informs, was located on a plot measuring 80×80 *pedes*, i.e., over 560 sq. m. (Tab. 1, Nos. 17 and 29). It belonged to a veteran and was designated for himself and his wife, excluding the possibility of sharing it with their descendants.⁶³ However, not only men held high positions within local society. In the epigraphic evidence, women are usually recorded directly following the men. However, the women sometimes came first if they were the founders of the tombstone or the deceased to whom it was dedicated. In other cases, the reason behind such a placement might have been the higher social position of the women.⁶⁴ Aurelia Queta was mentioned first, before her husband, Flavius Decebalus, who was a veteran. The monument was

⁵⁸ Solin 2001, 307–330.

⁵⁹ Kolendo 1993, 131–140.

⁶⁰ Mócsy 1974, 120.

⁶¹ Tomas 2016, 105 and Tab. IX.

⁶² Beskow 1980; Tomas / Lemke 2015.

⁶³ Veterans were a relatively wealthy social group; see Królczyk 2009, 126–127.

⁶⁴ Boudreau Flory 1984, 216.

set up by their heirs, who carried her *gentilicium* (Aurelii) together with a certain Samonia Antonia (Tab. 1, Nos. 2, 10, 23, 30 and Tab. 2, No. 14).

Epigraphic evidence about the extramural landscape

The epigraphic finds provide us with information concerning the inhabitants but also the character of the extramural settlement and the landscape around the fortress. Two civilians, a woman and a man, set up a statue of Jupiter on a base and described the deity as *fructuorum conlator*.⁶⁵ One of the traditions appearing in ancient sources refers to the first fruit of a harvest which the Latins offered to the gods, particularly to Jupiter. According to tradition, the offerings consisted of wine or grapes. The act of consecration — in the form of a libation to Jupiter — took place on April 23, as *vinalia priora* or *urbana*, and on August 19, as *vinalia rustica*, and this latter day was dedicated also to Venus. It is possible that Jupiter described as ‘he who collects fruits’ was celebrated on one of these days.

Regardless of the festivals and reasons for celebration, it is obvious that the fruits of a harvest must have been grown around the fortress. Interestingly, the results of archaeological investigation support the presence of local wine production. Grape seeds were identified in soil samples dated to the pre-Roman period and all the subsequent layers of the legionary fortress, as well as in the contents of a local hand-made pot discovered in the earliest layers of the fortress.⁶⁶ Epigraphic sources provide us with the names of local wine producers — Atronii (Tab. 2, Nos. 11, 12, 65). The relief on their gravestone shows a *falx vinitoria* — a tool used in collecting grapes (a billhook).⁶⁷ The natural conditions in this area are conducive to the cultivation of grapes and wine production is still continued in Svištov Winery. Members of this family are listed on the *Bacchii vernaculi* album, i.e. members of Bacchic congregation, most probably originating from Boutovo.⁶⁸

Another interesting issue concerns the topography of the cult places in the *canabae*. One such site is known from salvage excavations carried out in the 1980s by the late Vărbinka Najdenova, who published a brief excavation report and a series of articles about oriental cults in Novae. According to Najdenova, the building was built at the beginning of the 2nd century, primarily as a Mithraeum, oriented east-west, and under Aurelian (270–275) it was rebuilt as a shrine of Sol Augustus, oriented north-south. The discovery has recently been documented once again and re-examined.⁶⁹ The remains still visible at the site seem to belong to a shrine which resembles a common Mithraeum, oriented north-south, with no preceding phase. The three altars discovered there, although indeed dedicated to Sol (one of them to Sol Invictus, one to Sol Augustus), were accompanied by other finds and features (votive reliefs, a large refuse pit) typical for other Mithraea, which is not surprising as the cult of Sol Invictus Mithras

⁶⁵ Vladkova 2015.

⁶⁶ Winter 2013.

⁶⁷ Kolendo 2011, 31–33.

⁶⁸ CIL III 6150 = 7437 = 12346 = ILBulg 438 = AE 2004, +1197.

⁶⁹ Tomas / Lemke 2015.

naturally mingled the mysteries with the adoration of the sun-god. According to some indications (the *tria nomina* of one of the dedicators, the shape of the letters), the altars should be dated no later than to the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd centuries. Such a dating for the shrine is confirmed by the stamped bricks used in its construction. Mapping the Mithraic finds, discovered inter alia reused in the western defensive walls, shows that with great probability these finds were moved from the shrine located to the south-west of the fortress (Pl. 8, Fig. 5).

Four inscriptions, three of them carved on columns, provide information about the cult of Deus Aeternus, a quite mysterious deity worshipped mainly in Dacia, very possibly jointly with a variety of deities believed to be powerful and eternal. The columns, which at first were interpreted as architectural elements of a sanctuary, may have been free-standing *vota* as known from other sites.⁷⁰ Two out of the three columns dedicated to Deus Aeternus were discovered in the Episcopal basilica, thus it is possible that they originate from the western side of the fortress (Pl. 8, Fig. 6).

Another inscription from Novae informs about the renovation of a water source (*fons*) by two veterans, certainly inhabitants of the *canabae* (Tab. 1, Nos. 15 and 19). The inhabitants of the *canabae* must have used additional sources of water from wells, as confirmed by recent discoveries.⁷¹

The topography of the extramural settlement may be supplemented by two altars dedicated to Quadriviae — protective deities of crossroads. Both monuments were discovered near the West Gate.⁷² The crossroads could have been located somewhere to the west of the fortress, although the exact place could not have been situated just outside the West Gate. All these indications, combined with the spread of the archaeological finds visible on the surface, lead to the conclusion that the main part of the *canabae* was situated to the west of the fortress. Interestingly, the only monument informing about the municipal status of Novae was found to the east, not to the west of the fortress. Regrettably, the exact circumstances of its discovery are not very well known — it was discovered two years prior to the start of excavations during work in a park situated in the northern part of the so-called Novae annex which is an additional line of defensive walls built most probably toward the end of the 3rd century.

The evolution of the extramural settlement at Novae

The earliest evidence for the extramural settlement is dated generally to the 1st century AD, and a more permanent settlement is associated with the longer presence of the *legio I Italica*.⁷³ Among its inhabitants, we encounter traders, veterans and their families, and a substantial number of freedmen. In the 1st century AD, the lack of local

⁷⁰ Bartels / Kolb 2011, 421. One of the most generous followers of Aeternus at Novae was the above-mentioned Aurelius Stianus.

⁷¹ A Roman well was unearthed by looters to the south of Novae. Numerous modern wells are in use now in the surrounding area of the archaeological site.

⁷² IGLNov 22; IGLNov 41 (here Tab. 2, No. 27).

⁷³ Tomas 2017, 150.

production centres was a great opportunity to start a new business or introduce long-distance trade. Funerary monuments show that some settlers may have been the agents of wealthy and influential families originating, among other places, from Italy.

The 2nd century was a period of the greatest prosperity, and the largest group of people is known from the inscriptions dated to that time. The foundation of Nicopolis in northern Thrace, the long period of peace resulting in the development of urban and rural settlement, as well as the imperial policies of Hadrian and his successors, emphasizing the importance of all the nations living in the Empire,⁷⁴ constituted the main stimulus which allowed for the establishment and the development of the local society living along the border of the Empire. The *canabae* at Novae was a multicultural place at the crossroads of the East, West, and North with the Mediterranean South.

By the end of the 2nd and the first half of the 3rd centuries AD, many of the legionaries serving in the *legio I Italica* were very often of Thracian or Dacian origin.⁷⁵ The *canabae* inhabitants were not foreign mobile groups of tradesmen and craftsmen, but mainly a multicultural, civilian-military population, which was gradually absorbing the autochthons. This phenomenon was stimulated and prompted by the Severan reform, which — as commonly agreed — provided active soldiers with the legal ability to enter into legitimate marriage (*matrimonium iustum*). It is disputable whether soldiers could marry or literally live with their wives. Regardless, we should treat this moment as the beginning of a new settlement structure, where civilian and military dwellings stood next to each other. Ultimately, the disastrous barbarian raids occurring in Lower Moesia from the 230s onwards ended with the cohabitation of civilians and soldiers in the enlarged fortress.

Conclusions

Inscribed monuments may provide more extensive evidence concerning the character of a settlement than only about the social and ethnic composition of its inhabitants. Collected data may allow for reproducing, at least partly, other elements such as the landscape, topography, religious life, and the nature of the settlement itself. A statistical approach provides further information concerning the development and prosperity of such a settlement.

The civilian population of the *canabae* at Novae was multicultural and consisted of a mixture of various social strata. A detailed analysis shows that the majority of the freedwomen living at Novae were in relationships with civilians, not soldiers. This phenomenon seems to indicate that the soldiers and veterans made deliberate choices to find citizen wives and did not shun other social groups.⁷⁶ Former soldiers, who very

⁷⁴ Tomas 2016, 112.

⁷⁵ Sarnowski 2013, 142; Mihailescu-Birliba 2015, 83–84. Some inscriptions from the rural hinterland also indicate such origins, see e.g. CIL III 12408 = ILBulg 430.

⁷⁶ This is rarely documented in Lower Moesia (see Mrozewicz 1982, 86), but the same conclusions apply to Africa, Britannia, and Dalmatia, as well as other provinces (Tomas 2015, 105; Scheidel 2007, 423–424).

often had Balkan roots, held on to Roman culture not by constraint, but above all by choice.⁷⁷ The first settlers who left evidence of their presence were generally foreign traders and their representatives, but also veterans and their families. The end of the 1st and the 2nd centuries were a time of opportunity to develop local business. The profits of this development were still visible in the prosperity of the Severan period, which was finally stopped by the barbarian raids of the 230s and 250s. Depopulation and the destruction of the *canabae* and the *vicus* combined with the consequences of a series of reforms resulted in the emergence of the Late Roman town of Novae.

TABLE 1. MEMBERS OF MILITARY FAMILIES (WITHOUT ACTIVE SOLDIERS AND OFFICERS) MENTIONED IN THE INSCRIPTIONS FROM NOVAE

LP	NAME	REFERENCE	DATING***
MEN			
VETERANS			
1	C(aius) Annius Fuscus	AE 1999, 1334	1 st c. (AE, Kolendo) 151–200 (EDH) 200–230 (Tomas)
2	Aurelius Ianuarius	IGLNov 82	222–235
3	Aurelius Macenius	IGLNov 76	201–250
4	Aur(elius) Statianus	1) IGLNov 8 = ILNov 4 = AE 1989, 635 2) IGLNov 9 = ILNov 5 = AE 1989, 636	both after AD 225
5	Tiberius Bassus Dec(imus?)	IGLNov 78	80–130 (Kolendo) 101–130 (EDH)
6	C. Bruttius Goutus	IGLNov 79	80–130
7	C. Caeselius Vitalis	AE 1998, 1136	101–200
8	L. Cornelius Fronto	IGLNov 80	151–250
9	C(aius) Curt(ius) Veg(etus)	AE 2004, 1249 = E. Bunsch / J. Kolendo / J. Żelazowski, <i>Archeologia</i> 54 (2003) 59–60, Nr. 7 cf. F. Matei-Popescu, <i>Note epigrafice</i> , <i>SCIVA</i> 3/4 (2014) 342–344.	101–250
10	Flavius Decebalus	IGLNov 82	222–235

⁷⁷ The same conclusions have been reached concerning veterans, see Mrozewicz 1982, 88; Królczyk 2009, 179.

11	M(arcus) Flavius Epstela	AE 1998, 735	151–200
12	C(aius) Iulius Magnus	IGLNov 83	ca. 150
13	C(aius) Staboratius	IGLNov 24	205–211
14	Tarsa Tarsae f(ilius) Bassus	RMM 10	13 May 105
15	C(aius) Val(erius) Longinus	IGLNov 64	222–235
16	[--- Er]inius	IGLNov 104bis	201–150
17	[---] Severus	IGLNov 89	151–200
18	[---] Tauriscus	IGLNov 88	151–200
19	[---] Valens	IGLNov 64	222–235
20	Ignotus	IGLNov 28	151–250
21	Ignotus	IGLNov 43	151–200
22	Ignotus	IGLNov 109bis	101–250
WOMEN			
23	Aurelia Quieta	IGLNov 82	222–235 (Kolendo, EDH)
24	Catonia Ingenua	AE 1999, 1335 = 2006, 1203	201–250 (Kolendo, AE) 151–200 (EDH)
25	Flavia Longina	IGLNov 78	80–130 (Kolendo) 101–130 (EDH) 60–120
26	Flavia Vivia	ILBulg 312 = CIL III 6233 = 7598	101–250
27	Iulia	IGLNov 99 = AE 2006, 1203	131–150 (Kolendo) 131–170 (EDH)
28	Iulia Longina	ILBulg 312 = CIL III 6233 = 7598	101–250
29	Marcia Marcella	IGLNov 89	151–200 (Kolendo, EDH)
30	Sammonia Antonia	IGLNov 82	222–235 (Kolendo, EDH)

31	Suriana	IGLNov 104bis = AE 1993, 1366	201–250 (Mrozewicz, EDH)
32	Valeria Elphis	AE 1999, 1334 = 2002, +1245	1st c. (AE, Kolendo) 151–200 (EDH)
33	Vibia Marcia	IGLNov 80 = AE 2006, 1203	180–250 (Kolendo) 171–230 (EDH)
34	Ignota	IGLNov 168	201–250 (Kolendo, EDH)
CHILDREN			
35	L(ucius) Cornelius Mampsalachanus	IGLNov 80 = CIL III 756 (p. 993, 1338) = ILBulg 302 = Conrad 384 = AE 26, +1203 = 2010, +1410	171–230
36	Fl(avius) Acceptus	AE 1999, 1335 = AE 2006, 1203	151–200
37	Flavius Valerius	ILBulg 312 = CIL III 6233 = 7598	101–250
38	Flavius V[er]jus	ILBulg 312 = CIL III 6233 = 7598	101–250
39	Flavius Vitalis	ILBulg 312 = CIL III 6233 = 7598	101–250
OTHER			
40	Cl(audius) Surianus	IGLNov 104bis = AE 1993, 01366	201–250 (Mrozewicz, EDH)
41	Publius Ferox	IGLNov 81 = Conrad 376 = ILBulg 3 = AE 1914, 93 = 1919, 79	45–69 (EDH) 60–100
42	Publius Vitalis	IGLNov 81 = Conrad 376 = ILBulg 3 = AE 1914, 93 = 1919, 79	45–69 (EDH) 60–100
43	Titius [---]r	IGLNov 104bis = AE 1993, 1366	210–250 (Mrozewicz, EDH)
44	Titius Heraclius [---]erini	IGLNov 104bis = AE 1993, 1366	210–250 (Mrozewicz, EDH)
45	M(arcus) Val(erius)	IGLNov 76 = ILBulg 309 = IDRE II 325 = AE 1987, 861	201–250
46	Valerius L(uci?) f(ilius) Claudia [---]	IGLNov 85 = Conrad 405 = ILBulg 329 = ILNov 59	71–130
47	Ignotus	IGLNov 109a = AE 1993, 1367	

TABLE 2. CIVILIANS FROM NOVAE

LP	NAME	REFERENCE	DATING
MEN			
1	Ael(ius) Alexander	IGLNov 9 = ILNov 5 AE 1989, 636	after AD 225
2	Ae(lius) Macedo	AE 1998, 1134 = AE 2003, +1541	131–200
3	T(itus) Aelius Glaphyrus	IGLNov 92 = Conrad 407 = ILBulg 319	151–200
4	C(aius) Antonius Celer	Vladkova 2015	101–200
5	M(arcus) Antonius Super	IGLNov 20 = ILNov 10 = AE 1994, 1522	101–200
6	M(arcus) Antonius M(arci) f(ilius) Aprio	IGLNov 93 = Conrad 399 = ILBulg 313 = AE 1914, 92 = AE 1919, 80	51–100
7	M[arcus] [Antoni]us M(arci) f(ilius) [---]	AE 1999, 1338 = AE 22, +1245	101–250
8	M(arcus) Antonius Valentinus	IGLNov 93 = Conrad 399 = ILBulg 313 = AE 1914, 92 = 1919, 80	51–100
9	M(arcus) Anto[nius ---]r	AE 1999, 1338 = AE 22, +1245	101–250
10	[Ant]oni[us ---]	AE 1999, 1338 = AE 22, +1245	101–250
11	M(arcus) Atronius Hermes	IGLNov 94 = Conrad 388 = ILNov 53 = ILBulg 326	101–150
12	M(arcus) Atronius Valens	IGLNov 94	101–150
13	A(ulus ?) Iun[ius ---]	IGLNov 115 = ILBulg 274	101–250
14	Aur(elius) Elpidephorus	IGLNov 82 = Conrad 395 = ILNov 54	222–235
15	Aurel(ius) Victor	IGLNov 91 = Conrad 379 = ILBulg 317 = AE 1939, 123 = 1944, +16 = 1966, 352 = 1969/70, +565 = 2006, +1203	140–200 151–250 (EDH)
16	[-] Auxilius [---]ut[u]s	IGLNov 1 = ILNov 1 = AE 1994, 1520	101–250
17	Sex(tus) Caesernius Epitynchanus	IGLNov 95 = Conrad 390 = ILBulg 324	101–150
18	Cassius Q(uinti) l(ibertus) Chresimus	IGLNov 97 = Conrad 385 = ILBulg 314 = AE 2006, +1203	51–100

19	Q(uintus) Cassius Mode[stus]	IGLNov 114 = CIL III 758 = ILBulg 269a	80–150 (IGLNov) 71–200 (EDH)
20	Q(uintus) Cassius Sever[us]	IGLNov 114 = CIL III 758 = ILBulg 269a	80–150 (IGLNov) 71–200 (EDH)
21	Q(uintus) Cassius V[---]	IGLNov 114 = CIL III 758 = ILBulg 269a	80–150 (IGLNov) 71–200 (EDH)
22	(Quintus Cassius)	IGLNov 97 = Conrad 385 = ILBulg 314 = AE 2006, +1203	51–100
23	C(aius) Cornelius Te[---]	IGLNov 114 = CIL III 758 = ILBulg 269a	80–150 (IGLNov) 71–200 (EDH)
24	C(aius) C(---) Exa(---?)	IGLNov 23 = ILNov 11 = 43 = AE 1994, 1523	101–250
25	Dom[it]ius [T]imocra[tes]	AE 2004, 1251	101–300
26	Fla(vius) Fuscinus	IGLNov 96 = Conrad 397 = ILNov 57 = AE 1987, 864 = 2006, +1203	101–200
27	Fortunatius Lucilius	IGLNov 41 = ILNov 22 = AE 1994, +1524	101–250
28	M(arcus) Granius M(arci) l(ibertus) Abascantus	IGLNov 98 = Conrad 410 = ILBulg 315	71–130
29	L(ucius) Hebeius Rufu[s]	IGLNov 114 = CIL III 758 = ILBulg 269a	80–150 (IGLNov) 71–200 (EDH)
30	C(aius) Iemonius La[---]	IGLNov 114 = CIL III 758 = ILBulg 269a	80–150 (IGLNov) 71–200 (EDH)
31	C(aius) Iulius Castinus	IGLNov 21 = ILBulg 271 = AE 1932, 54	101–250
32	Tib(erius) Iul(ius) Ar(t)emo	IGLNov 115 = ILBulg 274	101–250
33	Iulius Dole(n)s	AE 1998, 1137	230–300
34	Iulius Iero <i>vel</i> (H)iero	IGLNov 100 = CIL III 7442 = Conrad 411 = ILBulg 320 = AE 1966, 350 = AE 1969/70, +565	51–130
35	Iulius Statilis	IGLNov 39 = ILBulg 281 = AE 1964, 224	171–250
36	[L]icinius Rena[tus]	IGLNov 15 = ILBulg 287	201–250
37	Q(uintus) Memmius	IGLNov 22 = CIL III 7439 = ILBulg 270	101–250
38	L(ucius) Metellus Papiriae (!) Iustus	IGLNov 101 = CIL III 757 (p. 993, 1338) = ILBulg 328	51–130
39	L(ucius) Oppius Maximus	IGLNoe 34 = ILBulg 295 = AE 1929, 120 = 1930, +76 = 1949, 202 = 1987, 859	101–250
40	(Marcus Paccius)	IGLNov 102 = Conrad 413 = ILBulg 323	51–200

41	C(aius) Popillius Onesiphorus	IGLNov 103 = Conrad 387 = ILBulg 303 = AE 1944, +16 = 1966, 351 = 2006, +1203	101–200
42	Q(uintus) Pullius Agathias	IGLNov 104 = Conrad 391 = ILBulg 316 = AE 1944, +16 = AE 2006, +1203	101–200
43	Pullius Agathias	IGLNov 104 = Conrad 391 = ILBulg 316 = AE 1944, +16 = AE 2006, +1203	101–200
44	Pullius Agathodorus	IGLNov 104 = Conrad 391 = ILBulg 316 = AE 1944, +16 = AE 2006, +1203	101–200
45	C(aius) Valerius C(ai) f(ilius) Festus	AE 1999, 1336 = AE 2002, +1245 = AE 2003, +1541 = Conrad 381	131–170
46	Val(erius) Eutyches	IGLNov 43 = ILNov 24 = RICIS II 6180201	101–250
47	L(ucius) Valerius Iucun(dus)	IGLNov 42 = ILBulg 298b = AE 1985,734	101–250
48	C(aius) Vibius Eut[y]c[hes]	IGLNov 114 = CIL III 758 = ILBulg 269a	80–150 (IGLNov) 71–200 (EDH)
49	C(aius) Vibius Nata[is]	IGLNov 114 = CIL III 758 = ILBulg 269a	80–150 (IGLNov) 71–200 (EDH)
50	C(aius) Vibius Therapo	IGLNov 79 = Conrad 404 = ILBulg 307 = AE 1939, 121 = 2006, +1203	101–150
51	[- V]inicius [---] [---]ictus	IGLNov 106 = CIL III 760 = CIL III 7443 = ILBulg 327	101–200
PEREGRINI AND SLAVES			
52	Basileus	IGLNov 107 = Conrad 398 = ILBulg 325 = CLEMoes 035 = SEG-47, 1153 = AE 2006, +1203	201–250
53	Kyzicius (Kyzikios)	IGLNov 107 = Conrad 398 = ILBulg 325 = CLEMoes 035 = SEG-47, 1153 = AE 2006, +1203	201–250
54	Melichrysus P(ubli) Caragoni Philopalaestri	IGLNov 35 = ILBulg 289 = CIMRM II 2269 = AE 1940, 100	100
55	Nestor Demetri	IGLNov 48 = ILNov 21 = AE 1989, 637	101–200

UNKNOWN STATUS			
56/ 57	Ignoti (filii)	IGLNov 101 = CIL III 757 (p. 993, 1338) = ILBulg 328	51–130
WOMEN			
58	[A]cutia [L]iberalis	IGLNov 11	101–250
59	Aelia Dionysia	IGLNov 91 = AE 26, 1203	140–200 151–250 (EDH)
60	Aelia Publia	IGLNov 91 = AE 26, 1203	140–200 151–250 (EDH)
61	Antonia Aprulla	IGLNov 93 = Conrad 399 = ILBulg 313 = AE 1914, 92 = 1919, 80	51–100
62	Antonia Optata quae Maura	IGLNov 92	130–200
63	Flora(?) [Ant]onia	AE 1999, 1338 = AE 22, +1245	101–250 (EDH)
64	Atilia C(h)ryside (Atilia C. f. Chryside)	AE 1999, 1336	131–170 (EDH)
65	Atronia Tycheni	IGLNov 94	101–130
66	Caesernia Victoria	IGLNov 95	101–150
67	Grania Fusca	IGLNov 98	81–100
68	Iul[ia ---]	IGLNov 100	71–100 51–130 (EDH)
69	Metella Felicia	IGLNov 101	51–130
70	Paccia Euphro[syne ---]	IGLNov 103 = AE 2006, 1203	101–200
71	Pa[cci]a Severa	IGLNov 102	81–100
72	Pullia Agathe	IGLNov 104 = AE 26, 1203	Principate 101–150 (EDH)
73	Tannonia Valetina	IGLNov 93 = Conrad 399 = ILBulg 313 = AE 1914, 92 = 1919, 80	51–100
74	Tetteia C(ai) f(ilia) Maximia	AE 2013, 1338	151–200
75	Val(eria) Iulia	IGLNov 96 = AE 1987, 864 = AE 26, +1203	101–200
76	Viccia Saturnina	Vladkova 2015	101–200

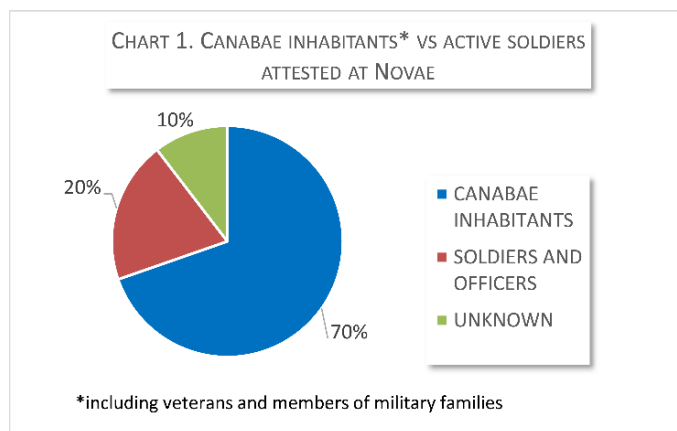
77	Vi[n]icia M[et][el]la?	IGLNov 106	101–200
PEREGRINAE AND FEMALE SLAVES			
78	Εὐχρωτίς	IGLNov 181	151–200
79	Char[a]gonia Arche[---]i	AE 2004, 1251	101–300
80	Hedone Nyphi(i?)	IGLNov 48	101–200

TABLE 3. PEOPLE OF UNKNOWN STATUS (MILITARY OR CIVILIAN / FREE OR SLAVES)

LP	NAME	REFERENCE	DATING
MEN			
1	C. Anton(ius) Mag(nus)	Tomas 2016, 190, Appendix 3, No. S.1	151–300
2	Antonius	ILNovae 106 = IGLNov 119	unknown
3	Arrius	AE 2011, 1124a; J. Kolendo. T. Kowal, <i>Novensia</i> 22, 2011, 67–71; Fig. 3	Flavian
4	C(aius) At[t]ius Ius[---]	IGLNovae 105 = CIL III 759 = ILBulg 321	51–250
5	Aur(elius) Val(---)	AE 2011, 1126	
6	[V]aleriu[s] M(arci) f(ilius) Fab(ia) Mer[---]	IGLNovae 105 = CIL III 759 = ILBulg 321	51–250
7	Val(erius) Victor	AE 2008, 1185	151–270
8	Vinulu(s)	IGLNov 115 = ILBulg 274	101–250
9	[--- Pr]ocul[us(?) ---]	AE 2004, 1247	101–250
10	[---]gius Celsus	IGLNov 37 = ILNov 19 = AE 1999, +1329	101–250
11	[---]tius Er[---]nus	AE 2011, 1128	
12	[---]us Maxim[ianus?]	IGLNov 37 = ILNov 19 = AE 1999, +1329	101–250
13	[---]us Vitalis	IGLNov 116 = ILNovae 105	
14	[---] Crescens	AE 2011, 1128	

15	[---]nius Phr(---)	IGLNov 2 = ILBulg 278 = AE 1944, 17 = AE 1950, 1	101–250
16	Ignotus	AE 1999, 1337	101–200 (EDH)
WOMEN			
17	Secunda	IGLNov 107 = IGBulg 5262 = AE 26, 1203	151–250 201–250 (EDH)
18	Titiana	AE 1999, 1337	101–200 (EDH)
19	[Ti]tini(a)	AE 1999, 1337	101–200 (EDH)
20	[---]ia Crep[---]	AE 2011, 1130	unknown
21	Ignota	IGLNov 112 =AE 26, 1203	220–235 201–250 (EDH)
22	Ignota	IGLNov 107 =IGBulg 5262=AE 26, 1203	151–250 201–250 (EDH)

Appendix



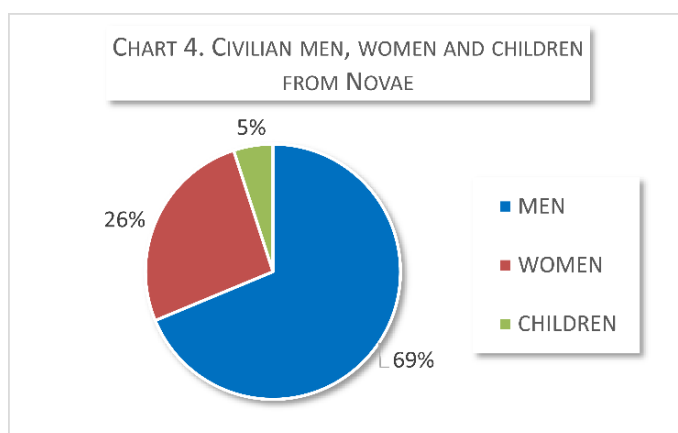
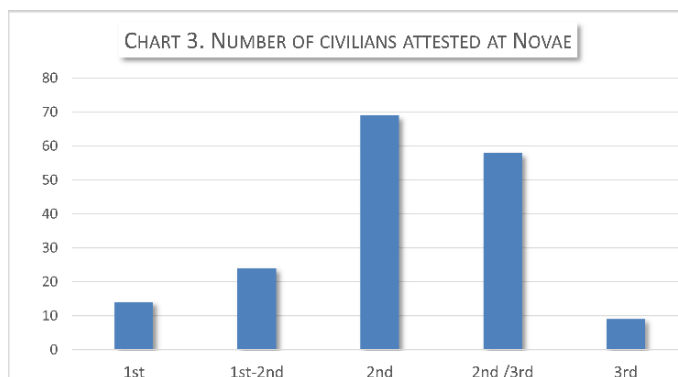
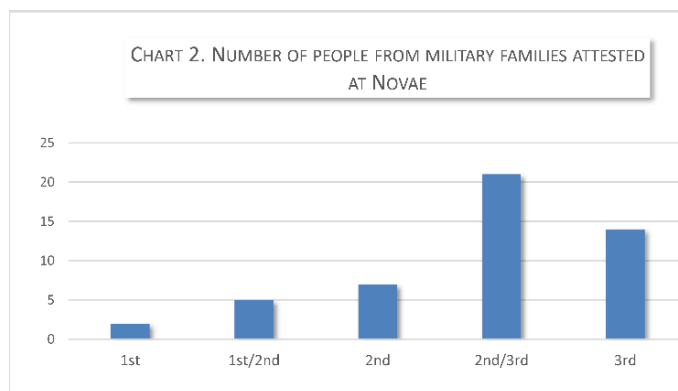


CHART 5. MEMBERS OF THE MILITARY FAMILIES FROM NOVAE

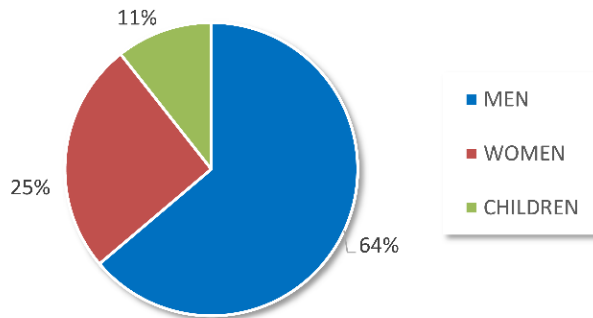


CHART 6. SOCIAL STATUS OF CIVILIAN INHABITANTS OF NOVAE

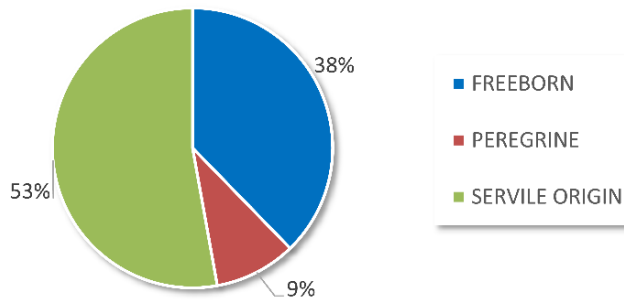
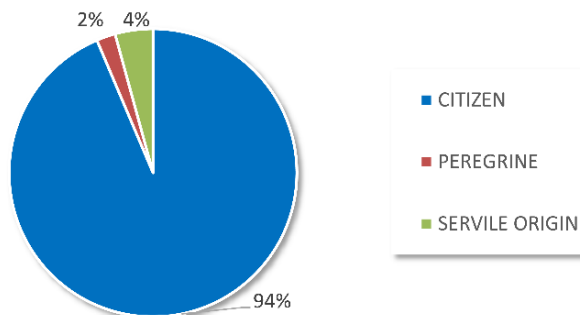
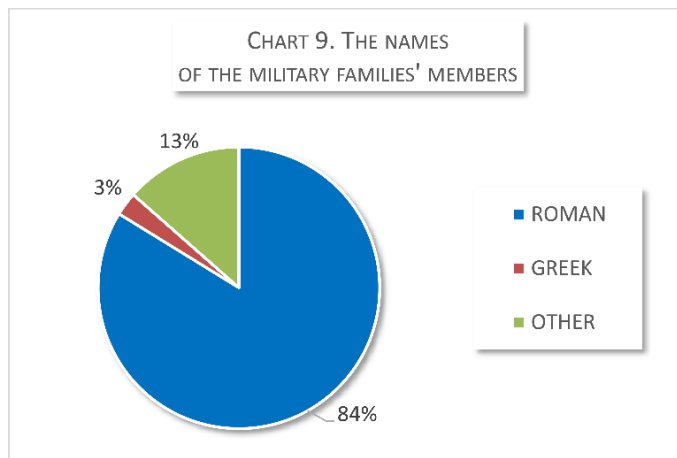
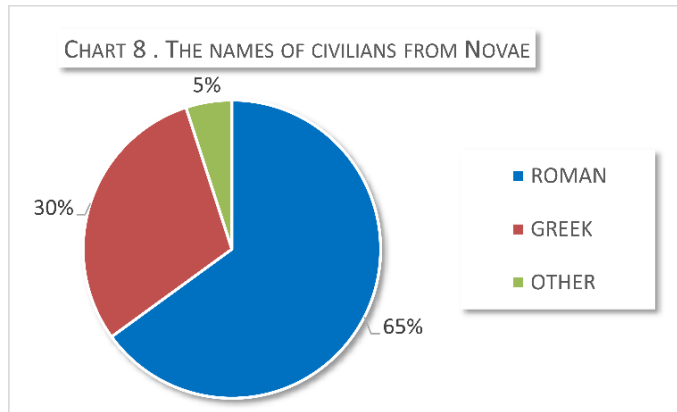


CHART 7. SOCIAL STATUS OF THE MEMBERS OF MILITARY FAMILIES FROM NOVAE





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I V O T O P A L I L O V

A New Funerary Stele from Ratiaria*

Plate 9

In 2014, during the archaeological excavation of the so-called “Praetorium” at Late antique Ratiaria in northwestern Bulgaria a funerary stele was found in the debris of massive destructions caused by treasure-hunting in the previous decade.¹ The stele is among the earliest ones found in Ratiaria, and in its specifics it differs from what is known so far from the region.² The interest increases also if one considers the date of the monument itself in the very early colonial period where the evidence is scanty and every new inscription is of great importance. Therefore, the main goal of this study is to publish the stele itself which may shed some light on the early colonial society in Ratiaria.

The stele is of rectangular shape, broken in its lower part (Pl. 9, fig. 1).³ It has two fields – the upper one which is a framed inscription and the lower one with no relief. The inscription field is also of a rectangular shape with 39 cm height and 25 cm width, double framed. The inscription fills the entire inner space, divided into four lines and easily readable as follows:

C. TREBIVS VA-
LERIANVS
FRATRI PIEN-
TISSIMO.

“C(arius) Trebius Valerianus to his very pious brother.” (Pl. 9, fig. 2)

The size of the letters of the first two lines mentioning the name of the deceased’s brother is bigger than those in the next two lines (l. 1–2: 5 cm; l. 3–4: 4 cm).

The lower part of the stele comprises another field which is concave and unframed, without any decoration. Its dimensions differ from the inscription field (48/42 cm).

* My sincere thanks to Hannsjörg Ubl, Adam Kemezis, Hadrien Bru, and the anonymous reviewer for their valuable assistance in preparing this paper.

¹ On the building, its identification, features, development, various construction levels in the late 3rd–6th century — see Kuzmanov 2000, 27–43.

² On the funerary stelae found in Ratiaria and its vicinity — see mostly Димитров 1942; Геров 1949; Стоев 2014.

³ Height: 115 cm, width: 69 cm, depth: 28 cm.

The stele had no other decoration with one exception. An obscure object is depicted on the left side of the frame (Pl. 9, fig. 3). It will be discussed below.

The interpretation of the stele raises some questions regarding both iconographical and onomastic aspects as the stele is unfinished. Some comments on these problems follow in the next paragraphs.

Let us start with the iconographical questions raised by the stele. Despite its anomalous features, possibly due to the fact that the stele is unfinished, it seems that our funerary stele belongs to the type with an inscription field in the upper part and a relief field on the lower part. In this type the stelae differ in their pediment which may be triangular, semi-circular, or horizontal. It seems that in our case it is horizontal.

This type appears although not very frequently in the Danube provinces as well as in Lower Danube provinces.⁴ In the funerary stelae found in the necropolises of Ratiaria and its vicinity, the lower field is usually treated as a socle which contains the vase-and-tendrils motif,⁵ a motif which appeared at Ratiaria at the beginning of the 2nd century AD⁶ and spread over its vicinity.⁷ It seems that these and other motifs were all adopted from southern Pannonia.⁸ The deeper curved field of our stele, however, may indicate that the motif was not engraved, moreover, the lower field is bigger than the usual socle which contains the vase-and-tendrils motifs. With such a big lower field, our stele differs significantly from the other stelae known from Ratiaria.

The type of stele which is typically “military” and the manner of its shaping, decoration, curving, including the specifics of the frame but also the ductus and layout of the letters and the epitaph, I would not hesitate to date to the beginning/first decade of the 2nd century AD.

The identification of the obscure object presented on the left side of the stele seems to be more difficult. The poor preservation does not allow its certain identification. Unfortunately, the epitaph does not supply any information about the profession of the deceased. It seems to me, however, that two main hypotheses may be proposed which differ significantly in their nature and purpose: a *vitis* and a tool of a sculptor or stone-cutter.

If we suppose that in our case we are dealing with a *vitis*, what is most striking is that it appears too straight and regular for a vine branch; such a presentation is physically impossible.

As it may be observed when studying the funerary stelae in the Lower Danube, the image of a *vitis* is not among the images commonly seen, even on the centurions’ stelae. In fact, only two images have so far been identified as such, both deriving from stelae

⁴ On the funerary stelae from Moesia Inferior — see Conrad 2004; see also Димитров 1942; on the funerary stelae in Lower Pannonia — see Dautova-Ruševljan 1983; Schober 1923; on the funerary stelae in Dalmatia — see recently Затовић 1995.

⁵ See Димитров 1942, 30–31, Nrs. 30, 32, 33, 34, 37, 38, 39.

⁶ See Димитров 1942, 23, Nr. 6.

⁷ See for instance the tombstone of *Trebia Lucia* from Timacum minus – CIL III 14586 = ILJug 1307 = IMS III/2 59.

⁸ See Mócsy 2014, 180.

from Novae. In the first case, an object similar to ours is depicted in the lower part of the inscription field of a stele dated to the late 1st/beginning of the 2nd century,⁹ while in the second it is presented with a *gladius*, again dated to the end of the 1st century.¹⁰ Both images are identified as *vitis*,¹¹ but some discrepancies may be observed. This is important, since both images come from the same workshop at the same time. Thus, in sharp contrast to the first case, the vine branch in the second case is presented exceptionally realistic with its roughness. The image of the first case is more stylized, just as that one in Ratiaria and according to the epitaph the deceased was not a *centurio* but rather an ordinary soldier. This unusual shape of the *vitis* raises the question whether the object itself was a *vitis* at all. In a sense, this monument is analogous to ours with a framed inscription field and the presentation of a single object.

The examples mentioned here as well as those found in Thrace, where the *vitis* is depicted,¹² clearly reveal that no tradition for the depiction of the *vitis* was established in Lower Moesia or Thrace; the images differ significantly due to the abilities of the craftsman or other reasons.

The second hypothesis is that the obscure object may be interpreted as a sculptor's or stone-cutter's tool, perhaps a chisel.¹³ Similar images of a *scalprum*, *tornus* or *caelum* are known from archaeological excavations, but also from paintings in the House of the *Vettii* in Pompeii and funerary stelae. Their types display a variety of shapes in the rear part of the tool. They can also be broad- or narrow-bladed. It seems that a chisel with the shape of the obscure object from the stele from Ratiaria belongs to a type of which more than 18 examples have been discovered so far in Thrace and both Moesian provinces in what is now Bulgaria with a major concentration near Roman fortresses along the Danube.¹⁴ It is usual, however, for such images to include all of the stone-cutter's tools which is not the case with our stele.

The poor quality of the object's depiction contrasts with the inscription and frame of that field. It allows for another interpretation of the object, linked again with stone-cutting. In this case it can be identified as a *cuneus* (wedge), found almost everywhere in Thrace and both Moesiae.¹⁵

The case, however, could be more mundane. Judging from the lower part of the stele, it seems it is unfinished. The lack of the name of the deceased in the epitaph also may suggest that this is in fact a partially completed stele, which accordingly may have never been in use. If this is so, another line of interpretation becomes plausible, as John Bodel pointed out to me. He is inclined to interpret the object as a mason's mark, made for indicating where a stone is to be inserted in the building. This possibility should not

⁹ Conrad 2004, 235, Nr. 405.

¹⁰ Conrad 2004, 235, Nr. 406.

¹¹ Conrad 2004, 88.

¹² See the examples in Topalilov 2002, 59–65 and Slawisch 2007, 181, Nr. P 32, Taf. 9; 187, Nr. Rh 2, Taf. 17.

¹³ My sincere thanks go to John Clarke for sharing this idea with me.

¹⁴ See Чолаков 2010, 105–106, fig. 168.

¹⁵ See Чолаков 2010, 112–114, figs. 186, 188.

be excluded considering the place where the stele was found — in the debris of a late antique ‘Residence’, undoubtedly one of the most important buildings in Ratiaria at that time.

Keeping all these observations in mind, but also the similarity between this object and the one interpreted as a *vitis* on a stele from Novae, I am inclined to accept that the obscure object depicted on the left on the stele found in Ratiaria is a depiction of a *centurio*’s mark rather than a stone-cutter’s tool, if it is not a mason’s mark added at a later period.¹⁶

The epitaph also raises a question difficult to answer: the identification of C(aius) Trebius Valerianus as the deceased or the name of the person who set up the stele.

It is clear that in the 1st century in Lower Danube the name of the deceased is in the nominative case and the text is divided into several simple sentences. By the late 1st to the beginning of the 2nd century, however, some changes occurred and it was more common to use the dative case instead of the nominative when the deceased is presented and the sentences increased in length.¹⁷ In these cases the name of the person who set up the stele/monument is in the nominative case while the relation between him and the deceased is given in the dative case. This is particularly observed in the funerary stelae dated to the first half of the 2nd century.¹⁸ It is unclear when the change in the case of the deceased’s name took place since the old practice continued at least until the mid-2nd century and later.

If we follow the scheme observed it seems that in the case of C. Trebius Valerianus and his unnamed brother we are dealing with the rare cases where the name of the deceased is missing in his own funeral epitaph, but instead the name of the person who set up the monument appeared.¹⁹ It is not, however, the only peculiarity of the inscription. As one may observe, the epigraphic formula DM which is very characteristic for the Ratiarian stelae of late 1st – first half of 2nd century is also missing.²⁰ All this may imply that the inscription is uncomplete or incorrect. If it is the former, we should expect a second part with the name of the deceased and the usual DM formula. As the stele has been left unfinished, however, I am inclined to accept that the inscription itself is in fact incorrect which might have caused the abandoning of the stele which remained unfinished and apparently might have not been in use at all. So, it seems that C. Trebius Valerianus set up the stele for his *frater pientissimus* who remains unnamed, but who was most probably another C. Trebius or of this sort.

¹⁶ On similar depictions of the *vitis* dated from late 1st century onward — see Ubl 2013, 399. An analysis of this kind of depiction — see Ubl 2013, 231–249.

¹⁷ Димитров 1942, 18–19.

¹⁸ See for instance AE 1938, 95: *D.M. / C. Valerio C. fil. Pap. Firmo...C. Val. Firmus dec. col. eiusd. patri pientissim. f. c.*

¹⁹ A similar example may be found in AE 1976, 00667: *D(is) M(anibus) / filio / Iul(ius) Cel/sus mil(es) / leg(ionis) IIII Fl(aviae)*. I thank Werner Eck for showing me this example.

²⁰ See Гепов 1953, 357, Nrs. 9, 12, 13; 368, Nrs. 183, 184, 185, 186 etc.

Nonetheless, the stele, despite its obscure character, provides information about the origin of *gens Trebia* which belonged to the society of newly established *colonia Ulpia Traiana Ratiaria*²¹ in light of the person mentioned: C. Trebius Valerianus. The simple mention of the latter only by name shows that he and his *gens* were easily recognised in the colonial society.

Despite the fact that the gentile name of Trebius originated from the Oscan onomastic²² (regio II),²³ and was widespread in Campania,²⁴ it seems that *Trebi* on the Danube provinces originated from the northern part of Italia, possibly from Aquileia where they are attested as early as the first half of the 1st century,²⁵ and Bononia (Bologna) where they were assigned to the tribe *Lemonia* in the second half of that century.²⁶ The resettlement of the *Trebi* to the Lower Danube provinces was undoubtedly through the Roman army. There is a number of inscriptions that mention the *Trebi* from the 1st century found in Dalmatia with the earliest among them dated to AD 37–41.²⁷ Almost all known examples deal with the military and their families,²⁸ of which C. Trebius Firmus, the veteran of *leg. XI* of Zadar has the same *praenomen* and *nomen* as that in Ratiaria. Another C. Trebius Firmus is also attested in northern Italia, e. g. Patavium,²⁹ which may be a clue for the origin of the aforementioned veteran of the *leg. XI*. The name of C. Trebius Valerianus of Ratiaria suggests that the person had some ties to the military milieu and a possible connection to the aforementioned C. Trebius Firmus of Zadar should not be excluded.³⁰

It is assumed that the foundation of the first cities in Pannonia and Moesia Superior was based either on settlements of veterans or existing settlements of Roman citizens. It seems that the colonies from the time of Flavians were founded by *deductio*, as the cases of Siscia, Sirmium, and Scupi reveal.³¹ It is not, however, the case with Trajanic colonies albeit they are regarded usually as examples of such cities. For instance, the inscriptions found in Poetovio in which veterans from at least three legions are attested do not provide any crucial evidence for a single mass settlement of veterans undertaken when the colony was founded. It was perhaps the urban development which had begun in the vicinity of the legionary fortress which form the basis of the new city.³²

²¹ CIL III 14499; 14500.

²² Salomies 1987, 94, 158, 160; Birley 1999, 244; AE 2003, 518.

²³ In that region *Trebi* is found in several inscriptions such as AE 1976, 167; 1983, 211; CIL I 425.

²⁴ In some studies this *gentilicium* is identified as Campanian — see for instance AE 1999, 1777.

²⁵ See the *amphorae* with stamp *L. Tre. Optati* — AE 2002, 269.

²⁶ See the inscription AE 1988, 565.

²⁷ CIL III 8472.

²⁸ CIL III 3127; 2917; 2918.

²⁹ CIL V 2790.

³⁰ Another Trebius is also attested in Zadar — M. Trebius Proculus — see CIL III 2931.

³¹ See Mócsy 2014, 112–117.

³² See Mócsy 2014, 118–119.

This is probably also the case with Ratiaria. Thus, B. Gerov is inclined to believe that it was the older Moesian settlement which rapidly developed throughout the 1st century, but without an urban status, that played a significant role in the establishment of the Roman colony.³³ The intense trade and military life of the settlement led to the creation of a river port by which after the end of the Dacian wars the Roman colony was established.³⁴ Veterans were settled at Ratiaria as the inscriptions reveal, but no *deductio* is attested so far. Initially, they mostly came from the *legio VII Claudia*,³⁵ although some other legions are also attested sporadically and became the elite of Ratiaria and most probably some of them were granted with *decuriones*' status.³⁶ It is very likely that both *Trebi* discussed here, also belonged to the *legio VII Claudia* or to a probable *vexillation* that was stationed in the area in the last decades of the 1st century as numerous stamped bricks reveal.³⁷ It is known that in the time of Claudius the *legio VII* was stationed in Dalmatia, but as late as AD 57–58 it was transferred to Moesia probably to replace the departing *leg. III Scythica*. As may be observed, the movement of the name *Trebius* seems to coincide with the movement of the legion through Dalmatia to Moesia. It remains unclear if the unknown brother of C. Trebius Valerianus, who was a centurion, gained his *honesta missio* and entered the *ordo decurionum*. The very typical 'military' type stele may suggest that he was in fact still in military service like the active soldiers known also from the funerary stelae found in Ratiaria among which the centurions Coelius Ingenuus, Q. Cornelius Graptus, and C. Numitorius Seneca are attested.³⁸ It seems, however, that if not him, at least his brother settled in Ratiaria had become a member of the colonial elite and some *Trebi* are known from the region of later time. Indeed, they are not numerous, as only two examples are attested so far, both found in Timacum minus. The first one is a certain *Trebia Lucia*, who was a wife of the veteran *Sall(ustius) Vale(n)s*³⁹ and whose funerary stele is dated roughly to the 2nd century while the second one is *Trebia Marcellina* attested in the epitaph set up by her husband, *M. Aurelius Augustinus*,⁴⁰ who is also known by his epitaph as a praetorian veteran.⁴¹ The latter epitaph is dated between the last quarter of 2nd and the middle of the 3rd century.

³³ Геров 1952, 18; 69–70.

³⁴ It currently remains unclear where the Roman colony was located. The recent excavations prove that the provincial capital was built on the place where probably a military camp from the first half of the 1st century was located — see Topalilov 2013/2014, 95–104; Dimitrov 2013/2014, 105–119; Dimitrov 2014, 497–506; Dimitrov 2015a, 185–196; Dimitrov 2015b, 563–579; Dimitrov 2015c, 1022–1035; Dimitrov 2016, 205–230. A clue for the location of the colony might be the two inscriptions which refer to a sanctuary of Diana from the first half – mid-2nd century found in the locality of 'Babuya' — see Topalilov / Bru 2016, 217–223; Topalilov 2017, 292–296; on the 'Babuya' locality — see also Luka 2014, 59–61.

³⁵ Геров 1949, 30.

³⁶ See AE 1938, 95; Mócsy 1970, 162–163.

³⁷ On them — see Иванов 2014, 147–170.

³⁸ CIL III 6293; 12649; Mócsy 1970, 169.

³⁹ CIL III 14586 = ILJug 1307 = IMS III/2 59.

⁴⁰ ILJug 1293 = IMS III/2 55.

⁴¹ ILJug 1292 = IMS III/2 27.

Timacum minus is known as an auxiliary fort which was garrisoned at least already during the reign of Vespasian by the *cohors I Thracum Syriaca*.⁴² In the time of Hadrian, however, this unit seems to have been transferred to Moesia inferior as a military diploma issued on January 19, 136 implies⁴³ and probably replaced by *cohors II Aurelia Dardanorum*.⁴⁴ Despite this, it remains an auxiliary fort and an important centre as some epitaphs of the municipal elite of Ratiaria are also attested.⁴⁵ The aforementioned epitaphs reveal that members of *gens Trebia* also settled in the area, and while *M. Aurelius Augustinus* was a pretorian veteran, *Sall(ustius) Vale(n)s* might have been a veteran from the military unit stationed there. As no other *Trebi* are attested in the province of Moesia Superior, and the neighboring Moesia Inferior and Pannonia Inferior so far, I think that a clear link between the two *Trebi* brothers we know from Ratiaria and those from Timacum minus may be established, with the latter regarded as heirs. If so, we may conclude that *gens Trebia* attested in Ratiaria and its administrative territory has a military milieu and date back to the very beginning of the establishment of the colony itself. It is also possible that at least C. Trebius Valerianus gained the *honesta missio* and settled in the area, possibly entering the *ordo decurionum* in Ratiaria and established the *gens Trebia* in the colonial and provincial society.

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⁴² Mócsy 2014, 97.

⁴³ Eck / Mugnai 2016, 218–222.

⁴⁴ See IMS III/2 44; 45; 46.

⁴⁵ CIL III 14580; 14588.

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INGRID WEBER - H I D E N

Die epigraphischen Zeugnisse von Freigelassenen
in Carnuntum und seinem Hinterland
Überlegungen zur möglichen wirtschaftlichen Bedeutung
der Freigelassenen

Tafeln 10–11

Grundlage der vorliegenden Untersuchung sind die circa 1700 Inschriften aus Carnuntum und seinem Hinterland. Die Studie geht von der Überlegung aus, dass die Errichtung von Grabmonumenten — Weihinschriften von Freigelassenen sind nur in extrem kleiner Zahl aus Carnuntum¹ und gar nicht aus dem Hinterland belegt — eine gewisse finanzielle Potenz voraussetzt. Als Einkommensquelle sind im Wesentlichen Handel und Gewerbe anzunehmen, wie uns die Vergleiche etwa aus Noricum zeigen. Dort spielten Freigelassene in der Wirtschaft in den sich gerade bildenden Städten eine große Rolle. Zeugnisse dafür kennen wir vor allem vom Magdalensberg² und Flavia Solva³, wo besonders in den frühen Phasen Grabinschriften für Freigelassene vor allem von Händlern aus Oberitalien überwiegen, aber wie sieht das weiter nördlich in Carnuntum und in seinem Umland aus?

Betrachtet man die ältesten Grabstelen aus Carnuntum aus claudischer⁴, wenn nicht sogar tiberischer⁵ Zeit, so zeigt sich, dass solche vor allem für Soldaten aus Oberitalien errichtet wurden, aber auch für mehrere Freigelassene. Charakteristisch für die frühe Phase sind eine schlichte Stelenform mit oben abgerundetem Abschluss, die man in einer Vielzahl auch in Aquileia finden kann⁶, sowie das Fehlen von *cog-*

¹ CIL III 4423, 4447 und 11089.

² Weber-Hiden 2013b, 585–610, Harding / Jacobsen 1988, 123.

³ Harding / Jacobsen 1988, 135.

⁴ Bislang wurde die Anwesenheit der *legio XV Apollinaris* wegen der Funde aus dem Legionslager ab 40 n. Chr. angenommen, also in claudischer Zeit, so Mosser 2003, 14 und zuletzt Humer 2014, 37.

⁵ Antike Autoren erwähnen ein Winterlager in Carnuntum unter Tiberius: Vell. Pat., *Historia Romana* II 109.5, 110.1 und Plin., *HN* IV 80. Ein solches ist möglicherweise mit einem bei geophysikalischen Untersuchungen westlich von Petronell entdeckten Lager unter späteren Hausresten zu identifizieren. Eine Karte mit den Ergebnissen in: Humer / Wachter 2016, 45 Abb. 11.

⁶ Die Verbindung zu Aquileia wird auch durch eine Veteranen vexillation der 15. Legion unterstrichen.

nomina und die Absenz von Veteranen. Auch die Tatsache, dass ein Militärtribun (Taf. 10, Abb. 1) lediglich eine schmucklose Grabstele dieser Form erhalten hat, spricht dafür, dass diese einfachen Grabmonumente zu einer Zeit erschaffen wurden, als das Angebot noch sehr bescheiden war und die Werkstätten nicht mit gut geschultem Personal bestückt waren. Vor Ort gab es noch keine oder zumindest keine adäquaten Produktionsstätten für künstlerisch anspruchsvolle Grabmonumente, sodass die Werkstätten nicht nur für Militärangehörige, sondern auch für Zivilpersonen, die wie der *lixa* Gaius Aemilius⁷ mit dem Militärtross nach Carnuntum gekommen sind, arbeiten mussten.

Der interessante Begriff *lixa* konnte bislang nur auf vier Inschriften gefunden werden, wobei allen gemeinsam ist, dass ein deutlicher militärischer Bezug hergestellt werden kann⁸. Die Interpretation des Begriffes reicht vom einfachen Kaufmann bis zum Sklavenhändler und für einen ganzen Militärtross⁹. Sehr wahrscheinlich kann man unter einem *lixa* einen Marketender verstehen, der sich dem Heerestross angeschlossen hatte und in den *canabae* sein Geschäft führte. Sie waren oft die einzige Bezugsquelle für nichtmilitärische Güter und hatten nicht selten sogar ein Monopol auf Waren wie Öl, Wein oder Terra Sigillata. Solche Marketender mussten nicht nur Soldaten, sondern auch Reisende mit allen möglichen Dingen versorgen, wobei man auch die Freizeitgestaltung nicht vergessen darf, also Spielen, Trinken und ein Angebot an Prostituierten.

Völlig schmucklose Grabstelen erhielten in Carnuntum neben dem bereits erwähnten *tribunus*¹⁰ drei Soldaten und besagter *lixa* aus Patavium¹¹ (Taf. 10, Abb. 2), dem heutigen Padova, und Melphomene¹², *liberta* des Lucius Petronius. Es ist also nicht auszuschließen, dass diese wie der *lixa* zum Militärtross gehörte.

Die bescheidene Form der Grabsteine muss nicht auf beschränkte finanzielle Mittel der Verstorbenen zurückzuführen sein, sondern war wohl eher dem alternativlosen Angebot zu verdanken. Leider war es gerade in der Frühphase von Carnuntum nicht üblich, den Steinsetzer zu nennen, sodass wir über die Auftraggeber keinerlei Informationen besitzen.

⁷ CIL III 11259.

⁸ CIL XIII 8732 aus Neviomagus (Germania inferior), AE 1996, 1336 in Oescus (Moesia inferior) und AE 1990, 1012 aus Syria.

⁹ Als literarischen Beleg für *lixa* ist Quintilian heranzuziehen: Quint., Inst. 8, 6, 42: *nam fit (oratio) longa et impedita, ubi congestrioribus eam iungas similem agmini totidem lixas habenti quot milites, cui et numerus est duplex nec duplum virium.*

¹⁰ AE 2002, 1150: *L(ucius) Cossutius / L(ucii) f(ilius) Sab(atina) Costa / trib(unus) mil(itum) / leg(ionis) XV Apol(linaris).*

¹¹ CIL III 11259: *C(aius) Aemilius / C(aii) f(ilius) Fab(ia) Pata(vio) / lixa an(norum) XXV / h(ic) s(itus) e(st). / Ex testamen/to fieri iussit.*

¹² CIL III 11277: *Petronia L(ucii) l(iberta) Mel/phomene ann(orum) XXX / h(ic) [s(ita)] e(st).*

Zumindest ein gerahmtes Inschriftenfeld schmückt die Grabstele des L. Cominius Firmus¹³, ein weiterer *lixa* aus Ateste, dem heutigen Este in Oberitalien, die von seinen Brüdern errichtet wurde.

Abgesehen von Soldaten und den erwähnten *lixae* erhielten auch *libertae* solche einfachen Grabstelen mit einem abgerundeten oberen Abschluss. Eine dieser Freigelassenen war Marcana¹⁴, deren etruskischer Name einen Hinweis auf ihre Herkunft gibt und eine weitere war Fausta¹⁵, die sogar zwei Grabstelen finanzierte, eine für ihre *patrona*, die bereits genannte Marcana und eine für sich, auf der auch noch weitere Freigelassene erwähnt werden, das Mädchen Nobilis und Q. Miccio Q. I. Felix. Die unter den Zivilpersonen überwiegenden freigelassenen Frauen auf den ältesten Grabdenkmälern von Carnuntum, lassen uns an bestimmte Tätigkeiten in Zusammenhang mit der stationierten Legion denken, vielleicht der Art, wie sie in Berthold Brechts „Mutter Courage und ihre Kinder“ beschrieben wird.

Freilich dürfen nicht alle Freigelassenen mit solchen Aufgaben wie Unterhaltung und Versorgung der Soldaten in Verbindung gebracht werden, denn ab der 2. Hälfte des 1. Jh. gibt es nur noch Belege für *libertae*, die von ihren Männern oder Vätern freigelassen wurden, wobei die *patroni* ausnahmslos Veteranen waren. Diese freigelassenen Frauen hatten im Gegensatz zu der oben erwähnten Marcana oder der Fausta keinerlei wirtschaftliche Bedeutung. Das gilt auch für die ersten freigelassenen Männer in Carnuntum, die auf schlichten Grabstelen des Typus A mit gerahmtem Inschriftenfeld bezeugt sind. Einer dieser *liberti* war ein sechzehnjähriger Knabe¹⁶, der andere war neunzehn Jahre alt¹⁷, ein Angehöriger des Germanenstammes der *Hermunduri*. Eine Interpretation als Händler ist daher wenig überzeugend.

Die ab der 2. Hälfte des 1. Jh. bezeugten männlichen Libertinen wurden mehrheitlich von Soldaten freigelassen und hatten die Pflicht, für den Grabstein ihres *patronus* zu sorgen, aber erstaunlicherweise taten sie das nie allein. Entweder finanzierten zwei *liberti* den Grabstein, wie Ianuarius und Modestus für den *centurio* Helvius¹⁸ oder ein

¹³ AE 2008, 1099: *L(ucius) Cominius / T(iti) f(ilius) Romil(ia) / Firmus lixa / annor(um) XXV / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / T(itus) et C(aius) Comini / fratri posuerunt. / Cominius hic iaceo / sed morte peremptu[s] / [optab]am in patriam [de] / [hinc] cum fratribus / [ve]r[ti] quos liqui et / [m]orti debita fata dedi. / O utinam Italiae poti[us] mea fata dedissent, / quam premeret cine[re]s / [barbara terra meos].*

¹⁴ AE 2008, 1098: *Marcana / L(uci) l(iberta) Chrysario / an(norum) XXXV / h(ic) s(ita) e(st) / Fausta l(iberta) / [p]os(u)[i]t[?]- - -].*

¹⁵ AE 1977, 618: *V(iva) f(ecit) / Marcana / Fausta (mulieris) l(iberta) / sibi et Nobilini / l(ibertae) suae an(norum) XXV / et Q(uinto) Miccioni(o) / Q(uinti) l(iberto) Felici / an(norum) XXXV / h(ic) s(itus) e(st).*

¹⁶ CIL III 11265: *Fabius Q(uinti) l(ibertus) / Chrysanthus / ann(orum) XVI / h(ic) s(itus) e(st). P(atronus) p(osuit).*

¹⁷ CIL III 14359⁴: *Vibius Cn(aei) l(ibertus) / Logus / an(norum) XIX nat(ione) / [Her]mundur(us) / - - -.*

¹⁸ AE 2001, 1650: *C(aius) Helvius / L(uci) f(ilius) Pol(lia) Fus(cus) (centurio) leg(ionis) XV / Apol(linaris) ann(orum) / LV h(ic) s(itus) e(st). / Ianuarius / et Modestus / liberti p(osuerunt).*

römischer Bürger zusammen mit einem *libertus* als Erben, wie Sucesus und M. Minicius¹⁹ sowie Bassus und L. Cluvius²⁰. Rechtliche Gründe gab es dafür nicht, sodass man vielleicht finanzielle Probleme als Hintergrund für diese Besonderheit vermuten darf.

Grabdenkmäler für freigelassene Männer sind in Carnuntum nicht gerade häufig zu finden und die Mehrheit gehört in das 2. Jh., wohingegen freigelassene Frauen deutlich öfter in der 1. Hälfte des 1. Jh. vertreten sind, und im Gegensatz zu ihren männlichen Kollegen waren sie auch in der Lage, Grabstelen alleine zu finanzieren²¹. Welche Tätigkeit sie auch immer ausführten, sie verdienten dabei auf jeden Fall recht gut. Allen gemein ist aber, dass sie eng mit dem Heer verbunden waren.

Eine ganz andere Situation haben wir am Magdalensberg, wo deutlich mehr männliche Freigelassene belegt sind, die als Stellvertreter ihrer Patrone die Geschäfte führten²². Die meisten lassen sich auf Handelshäuser in Aquileia zurückführen, wohingegen die wenigen weiblichen Freigelassenen keltische Namen tragen und dementsprechend der lokalen Bevölkerung angehörten.

Ein Legionsstandort mit den dazugehörigen *canabae* hat demnach ein anderes gesellschaftliches Spektrum als eine zivile Siedlung. Der Einfluss des Militärs macht sich auch im Umland von Carnuntum oder auch von Vindobona bemerkbar. So lässt sich beobachten, dass die meines Erachtens heereigenen Werkstätten in Carnuntum Grabstelen für die einheimische Bevölkerung lieferten oder sie zumindest in der äußeren Form beeinflussten. Die Grabstele des Reuso aus Mödling²³ (Taf. 10, Abb. 3) etwa zeigt deutliche Parallelen sowohl in Form als auch Schrift mit solchen von Soldaten aus Carnuntum²⁴ (Taf. 10, Abb. 4), sodass man davon ausgehen kann, dass sie auch in Carnuntum hergestellt wurde, wo der Verstorbene möglicherweise im Dienst der Armee als Maurer tätig war. Reuso hat einen als pannonisch bezeichneten Namen, wohingegen sein Vater einen keltischen mit der Bedeutung „der Dicke“ oder „der Spaßmacher“ führt.

Ähnlich im Stil, vor allem im äußeren Aufbau, aber deutlich schlechter in der Ausführung sind die Grabsteine, die in Katzelsdorf und in Velm gefunden wurden. Aus Katzelsdorf²⁵ stammt die Grabstele für einen Sklaven und eine Freigelassene, die den

¹⁹ Vorbeck 1980a, Nr. 161: *C(aius) Attius C(aii) f(ilius) / Voturia Exor/atus miles leg(ionis) XV / Apol(linaris) anno(rum) XXXXIV / stipend(iorum) XXIII / h(ic) s(itus) e(st). / M(arcus) Minicius et / Sucesus (!) l(ibertus) / posierunt.*

²⁰ CIL III 13483: *C(aius) Iulius / C(aii) f(ilius) Corne(lia) / Thessal(onica) / mil(es) leg(ionis) XV / Apolli(naris) ann(orum) / XXXI stip(endiorum) XII / h(ic) s(itus) e(st). / C(aius) Cl(u)vius / et Bassus / l(ibertus) h(eredes) p(osuerunt).*

²¹ Eine Liste der Grabsteine von Freigelassenen aus Carnuntum bei Weber-Hiden 2013b, 602.

²² Weber-Hiden 2013a, 593–597.

²³ CIL III 11304: *Reuso / Druti f(ilius) / ann(orum) L / structor / fuit / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / Utto filius / posuit.*

²⁴ Siehe unter anderen die Grabstele des Cassius AE 2002, 1152.

²⁵ CIL III 4551: *Cassus Musa(e) / ser(vus) annor(um) C / Strubilo Scalleonis / lib(erta) uxor ann(orum) LXXX / h(ic) s(ita) e(st). Fili(i) posierun(t).*

germanischen Namen Strubilo trägt, was so viel wie blond bedeutet. Ihr Patronus, „der Kahlkopf“, hat ebenfalls einen germanischen Namen, was oft mit der Ansiedlung von Elbgermanen unter Vannius in Verbindung gebracht wurde²⁶.

Das zweite Beispiel für eine ähnliche Grabstele aus Velm²⁷ (Taf. 11, Abb. 5) gehörte einem peregrinen Mann, dessen Name Ancluiuccus genauso wenig sprachlich erklärbar ist wie der seines Vaters Tricua.

Eindeutig keltische Namen lassen sich aber auch auf Grabstelen im Umland von Carnuntum und Vindobona nachweisen, deren Stil ebenfalls den frühen Grabsteinen aus Carnuntum nachempfunden ist, wobei allerdings neben den obligatorischen Porträts sehr oft Tierdarstellungen, Reiter und Jagdszenen zu finden sind (Taf. 11, Abb. 5, Taf. 11, Abb. 6). Die Verstorbenen haben meist sehr sprechende, eindrucksvolle Namen, wie Atpomarus „groß im Hilfe herbeiholen“ und sein Bruder Brogimarus „groß an Grundbesitz“, Verclovus „der äußerst berühmte“ oder Cenumarus „als Großer geboren“. Diese Männer haben vielleicht das Militär mit Fleisch beliefert, wie die dargestellten Tiere vermuten lassen und wurden so zu wichtigen Versorgungspartnern. Unter Vespasian führte diese „Geschäftsverbindung“ sogar zur Verleihung des römischen Bürgerrechtes an T. Flavius Cobromarus, einem keltischen Anführer und, wie sein Name „Groß im Sammeln“ vermittelt, dürfte er auch über einigen Besitz verfügt haben. Cobromarus ist auf vier Grabinschriften aus Au am Leithaberge zu finden. Einmal auf einer überdurchschnittlich hohen Grabstele für den Freigelassenen Uxavilus²⁸, dessen keltischer Name „von hohen Ahnen abstammend“²⁹ bedeutet sowie auf stark beschädigten Grabsteinen für weitere ehemalige Sklaven wie die Amasia³⁰ und einem unbekanntem Mann³¹. Auf einer Grabplatte wird die Mutter des T. Flavius Cobromarus genannt, Summa³², aber von ihm selbst gibt es kein Grabmonument. Die meisten der in Au am Leithaberge gefundenen Grabsteine des 1. Jh. gehörten Freigelassenen, Sklaven und einigen wenigen Peregrinen in keltischer Tracht und mit keltischen Namen. Die bekannteste Grabstele ist die der Umma³³, einer Dame, deren Pelzhut und Schmuck höchst qualitativ wiedergegeben sind. Die Form der Grabstele hat wiederum deutliche Parallelen in Carnuntum und dürfte demnach auch dort gearbeitet worden sein.

²⁶ Urban 1985, 92–109.

²⁷ CIL III 15196: *Tricuai Ancl/uiuccus an(norum) XXV / Cossia an(norum) XV / frater / possuit (!)*.

²⁸ AE 1920, 67: *T(itus) Flavius T(iti) Flavi(i) / Cobromari libe(rtus) / Uxavilus an(norum) XL / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / Primio f(ilius) p(atr) p(osuit)*.

²⁹ Meid 2005, 177, 301.

³⁰ Schober 1914, 226–228.

³¹ Schober 1914, 230–232.

³² Hild 1968, 173–174 Nr. 249: *Summa Cal/itigis f(ilia) an(norum) LXXX / h(ic) s(ita) e(st). T(itus) F(lavius) Cobro/marus f(ilius) e(ius) et Mam/ua et Tincomara / matri p(osuerunt)*.

³³ AE 1920, 66: *Umma Tabiconis / f(ilia) an(norum) XLV h(ic) s(ita) e(st) / Illo Itedonis f(ilius) / coniugi d(e) p(ecunia) s(ua) p(osuit)*.

Die mehrfach belegten *liberti* in dem eindeutig keltischen Umfeld werfen die Frage auf, was der Grund für die Freilassung war und welche Funktionen diese *liberti* hatten. In der antiken Literatur finden wir darauf keine Antwort. Es sind schon für Sklaven innerhalb der keltischen Gesellschaft kaum Hinweise zu finden, oft wird sogar die Existenz solcher angezweifelt und Freigelassene bleiben gänzlich unerwähnt.

Betrachtet man die Belege für *liberti* aus dem Hinterland von Carnuntum so zeigt sich, dass wir mehrere Kategorien unterscheiden müssen, nämlich Freigelassene von römischen Bürgern und solchen von einheimischen Peregrinen, sowie Männer und Frauen, die wohl verschiedene Aufgaben erfüllten und die jeweiligen Fundorte ihrer Grabsteine.

Libertae von römischen Bürgern sind in Grabinschriften des 1. Jh. n. Chr. in Walbersdorf, Wulkaprodersdorf, St. Georgen und Neusiedl genannt, weitere Belege aus dem 2. Jh. kommen aus Donnerskirchen, Potzneusiedl und Bruckneudorf (Taf. 11, Abb. 7: gelb). Alle wurden im Gebiet zwischen dem Leithagebirge und dem Neusiedlersee gefunden, wo die Hauptstraße zwischen Scarbantia und Carnuntum lag und in dem Gebiet, wo die meisten römischen Bürger außerhalb der urbanen Zentren sowohl epigraphisch bezeugt sind als auch durch ihre *villae rusticae*³⁴.

Die freigelassenen Damen von römischen Bürgern an den genannten Orten waren in erster Linie Ehefrauen — so Urbana, Gattin eines Veteranen in Walbersdorf³⁵ — und Mütter — wie Daeipora aus Walbersdorf³⁶, deren Freilassung wohl rein persönliche und keine wirtschaftlichen Gründe hatte.

Über Optata³⁷, die Freigelassene eines Domitius, die eine Grabstele im „carnuntiner Stil“ aus claudischer Zeit bekam, wissen wir weder etwas über ihre Tätigkeit noch über den Auftraggeber ihres Grabdenkmals. Ihr Grabstein wurde in Wulkaprodersdorf gefunden, wo einige römische Bürger bezeugt sind, was wohl mit der Lage des Ortes zum einen am Fluss Wulka und zum anderen an der Bernsteinstraße zusammenhängen dürfte.

In Neusiedl am See wurde die Grabstele der Candida³⁸, *liberta* eines Ti. Claudius, gefunden, die sie für sich und ihren Mann errichten ließ. Ihrer Kleidung nach war sie

³⁴ Zu den einzelnen Siedlungen im Bezirk Neusiedl am See siehe Ployer 2007, 55–119 und Ployer 2012, 1–35 und zu demographischen Beobachtungen in diesem Raum: Weber-Hiden 2016, 222–230.

³⁵ AE 1909, 200: *C(aius) Petroni/us C(ai) f(i)lius / domo Mop/sisto an(norum) LXXXIII / stip(endiorum) XXVI missus / ala(e) Gemelliana(e) / h(ic) s(itus) e(st). / Urbana lib(erta) et / coniux pos(u)it.*

³⁶ AE 1909, 199: *Daeipora / Calaeti l(iberta) an(norum) / XXC Hispana / Dextri serva / an(norum) XXX h(ic) s(itae) s(unt). / C(aius) Petronius Dom/esticus et Ambat/us fratres matri / et Ambati coniugi / posuerunt.*

³⁷ AE 2002, 1142: *Domitia / L(ucii) l(iberta) Optata / ann(orum) LXX / h(ic) s(ita) e(st).*

³⁸ AEA 1982, 28: *Claudia Tib(erii) l(ib(erta) Can]/dida viva p(osuit) s(ibi) e[. . . .] / Florentini ser[vo-]/no con(iugi) suo an(norum) [- - -].*

eine Einheimische, die offenbar über ausreichend Mittel verfügte, sich so einen Grabstein leisten zu können.

Alle Belege für freigelassene Frauen von römischen Bürgern sind demnach im privaten Umfeld zu suchen, alle an Orten nahe der Bernsteinstraße und alle im 1. Jh. n. Chr. Eindeutig dieser Zeitphase zuordenbare männliche Freigelassene von römischen Bürgern sind im Hinterland nicht belegt, aber die wenigen Belege, wohl aus dem 2. Jh. n. Chr., sind ebenfalls an der Bernsteinstraße zu finden³⁹.

Einen anderen regionalen Schwerpunkt haben Freigelassene keltischer Eliten (Taf. 11, Abb. 7: blau), die unter Vespasian das Bürgerrecht bekamen, wie T. Flavius Cobromarus⁴⁰ und T. Flavius Vegetus. Diese gibt es nur in Au am Leithaberge, wo auch noch einige *liberti* von Peregrinen bezeugt sind. Das Besondere an den Grabsteinen dieser Freigelassenen ist, dass wir die *patroni* nur durch die Inschriften für ihre Dienerschaft kennen, wobei allein für T. Flavius Cobromarus zwei *liberti* und ein Sklave genannt werden können. Besonders eindrucksvoll ist die Grabstele des Uxavilus⁴¹, dessen keltischer Name so viel wie „von hoher Abstammung“ bedeutet und der sich, seinen Sohn und vielleicht ein Ahnenporträt auf einer hohen Grabstele abbilden ließ. Die Häufung von Freigelassenen und die Qualität der Grabsteine zeigen, dass der keltische Fürst anscheinend seine enge Beziehung zu Rom durch die Übernahme römischer Sitten wie die Freilassung von Sklaven beweisen wollte.

Eine größere Streuung lässt sich für Freigelassene von Peregrinen beobachten (Taf. 11, Abb. 7: rot). Eine dem Stil nach den frühesten Grabdenkmälern aus Carnuntum folgende Grabstele bekam Belatusa⁴², deren wertvoller Schmuck und die typische keltische Pelzhaube auf dem Stein dargestellt wurden. Ihr Patron war ein Angehöriger des keltischen Stammes der Boier. Boius ist allerdings auch als Personennamen selbst belegt und zeugt wortwörtlich von der Hauptnahrungsquelle des Stammes, nämlich Rinder. Viehwirtschaft dürfte eine der wichtigsten Aufgaben der Boier gewesen sein, da Darstellungen von Tieren und Reitern ihre Porträts auf den Grabsteinen sehr oft begleiten (Taf. 11, Abb. 5 und 6).

³⁹ In Schattendorf CIL III 4246: *[C(aius)] Statius / C(ai) l(ibertus) Gratus / ann(or)um XXXV / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / C(aius) Statius / Severus >(centurio) leg(ionis) / XIII patron(us) / posuit*.

In Donnerskirchen AE 2002, 1137: *Dagilla / Criniti filia posui[t] / Antilio Prim/o liberto ann(or)um / L et Calegon/i et Primigen/eio (!) et Lupon[i] / et Ingenuo f(ilius) / et Valentin/[ae] ffil(iae) pientis[simae]?*

In Potzneusiedl CIL III 4537a: *P(ublius) Aelius Messini lib(ertus) / Fuscus an(norum) L h(ic) s(itus) {est}. Aelii / Florus et Lupus p(atri) l(iberti/ibentes) p(osuerunt)*.

⁴⁰ Auf dem Militärdiplom RMD IV 205 wird ein *Cobromarus Tosiae filius* als Zeuge und als *princeps Boiorum* genannt.

⁴¹ AE 1920, 67: *T(itus) Flavius T(iti) Flavi(i) / Cobromari libe(rtus) / Uxavilus an(norum) XL / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / Primio f(ilius) p(atri) p(osuit)*.

⁴² CIL III 14359²³: *Belatusa Cau/ti l(iberta) Boius pos/uit an(n)oru(m) XXX / hic sita / est*.

Die Verteilung der Grabsteine von Freigelassenen von Peregrinen zeigt, dass abgesehen von einer Stele aus Jois⁴³ alle entweder am westlichen Abhang des Leithagebirges oder auffallend weit von den städtischen Zentren und auch den wichtigsten Straßenverbindungen gefunden wurden. Weit im Süden liegt etwa Offenegg mit der fragmentierten Grabstele zweier Liberti einer Frau mit keltischem Namen⁴⁴.

Interessant ist nicht nur der geographische Aspekt, sondern auch die Geschlechterverteilung. Unter den Freigelassenen gibt es annähernd gleich viele Frauen wie Männer, sowohl unter den ehemaligen Sklaven als auch unter den Freilassenden. Vergleicht man das mit Carnuntum, so hatten wir dort deutlich mehr weibliche Freigelassene und keine einzige römische Bürgerin als *patrona*, wohingegen unter den keltischen Frauen einige ihre Sklaven freigelassen haben⁴⁵. Bei den *libertae* im ländlichen Raum handelte es sich meist um alte Frauen, deren Kinder für die schlichten Grabsteine sorgten. Den Grund für die Freilassung können wir nicht mehr eruieren, genauso wenig wie ihre Aufgaben. Bei den *liberti* einheimischer Frauen könnte man in Versuchung geraten, deren Namen als Hinweis auf entsprechende Tätigkeiten zu nehmen. So bedeutet der in Au am Leithaberge bezeugte Name Vasso⁴⁶ nichts anderes als Diener, Unterstellter⁴⁷ und Bussuro, „der Küsser“ aus Bruckneudorf⁴⁸ hat einen besonders sprechenden Namen mit viel Platz für Phantasien.

Sklaven, die von peregrinen Männern freigelassen wurden, sind die oben bereits erwähnten Strubilo in Katzelsdorf⁴⁹ und Belatusa in Bruckneudorf⁵⁰ sowie ein weiterer Bussuro in Leithaprodersdorf⁵¹, alle mit Grabsteinen im Stil der Carnuntiner Grabstelen der claudischen Zeit. Man gewinnt den Eindruck, dass die von Männern freigelassenen aufwendigere Grabsteine bekommen hätten als die ehemaligen Sklaven von peregrinen Frauen, aber allein die Tatsache, dass diese keltischen Damen über eigenes Personal verfügten und über dieses offensichtlich auch bestimmen konnten, zeigt ihre hohe Stellung in der keltischen Gesellschaft, die auch durch die thronende Position so mancher Verstorbener⁵² auf ihrem Grabstein demonstriert wird.

⁴³ Eine schmucklose Stele bekam die achtzigjährige Gadaptissa, die Freigelassene der Devognata, von ihren Kindern, siehe AEA 1982, 386.

⁴⁴ lupa.at/20006: *Ianu[arius] / Derv[ae lib(ertus?) h(ic)?] / e(st) s(itus) et Tatu[ca? - -] / Dervae lib[- -]* (hier gegenüber der Lupa korrigierte Lesung).

⁴⁵ Derva aus Offenegg siehe Anm. 42, Devognata aus Jois siehe Anm. 41, Marica in Sommerein: AE 1978, 599: *Vextila / liberta / Marices an(norum) LX / hi(c) s(ita est). F(ilia/ilius) m(atri) p(osuit)*.

⁴⁶ Hild 1968, Nr. 271: *Vas[so] Aicae / l(ibertus) an(norum) LXX h(ic) s(itus) e(st)*.

⁴⁷ Meid 2005, 209–210.

⁴⁸ CIL III 14359¹⁷: *Bussuro At[t]/uae libertus / ann(or)um) LVII[.]/- -*.

⁴⁹ CIL III 4551, siehe Anm. 23.

⁵⁰ CIL III 14359²³, siehe Anm. 42.

⁵¹ AE 2002, 1139 mit korrigierter Lesung: *Bussuro / Brigi libert(us) / anno(rum) LX h(ic) s(itus) e(st)*.

⁵² Beispielsweise Matta in Gols, CIL III 4392 oder die Vala in Neudörfel, lupa.at/430.

Die Inschriften auf den Grabsteinen für Freigelassene von Peregrinen zeigen, dass mit Ausnahme der Belatusa⁵³ alle ein hohes Alter — zwischen 60 und 80 Jahre — erreichten, und dass die Kinder als Stifter der Grabsteine genannt werden, aber Hinweise auf ihre Tätigkeit und den Anlass für ihre Freilassung geben die Inschriften nicht.

Die doch bemerkenswerte Verteilung der Belege für *liberti* könnte bei der Frage, warum Sklaven im Hinterland der urbanen Zentren freigelassen wurden, helfen.

Die größte Anzahl von Freigelassenen konnte in Au am Leithaberge bezeugt werden, wo T. Flavius Cobromarus, ein *princeps Boiorum*, seine hohe Stellung und guten Kontakte mit Rom durch die Übernahme römischer Sitten — dazu zählte eben auch die Freilassung von Sklaven — beweisen wollte. Dafür spricht auch, dass alle Belege, abgesehen von zwei *liberti*, einer im Süden von Wien aus Mödling⁵⁴ und einer am westlichen Abhang des Leithagebirges aus Mannersdorf⁵⁵, in das 1. Jh. n. Chr. gehören, also in die Zeit der Romanisierung der einheimischen Bevölkerung.

Die Freilassung von Sklaven hatte im ländlichen Raum eigentlich wenig Sinn — man benötigte eigentlich keine loyalen Stellvertreter auf den Gütern, da mit der Anwesenheit der Besitzer gerechnet werden darf — und auch keine rechtliche Basis, sodass die keltische Aristokratie und die vermögenden Peregrinen auch bald wieder von dieser Sitte abkamen. Im Gegensatz zu den römischen Handelshäusern, die loyale Vertreter in weit entfernten Gebieten brauchten, bestand für die eher agrarisch geprägte Gesellschaft der Kelten keine Notwendigkeit verlässliche Diener durch Freilassung an den Klan zu binden. Abgesehen von den Almhirten hielt sich die Dienerschaft wohl in unmittelbarer Nähe und unter Kontrolle der Herrschaft auf. Wenn man nun die Freigelassenen in dem weit entfernten und höher gelegenen Offenegg beachtet, könnte man die Funktion der *liberti* dort mit Almwirtschaft in Verbindung bringen, ähnlich wie die Freigelassenen von Peregrinen in der Oststeiermark, die ebenfalls ausschließlich in höher gelegenen Orten wie Fladnitz an der Teichalpe⁵⁶ und in Sankt Kathrein am Offenegg⁵⁷ zu finden sind. Mit der Freilassung konnte man die sonst nicht leicht kontrollierbaren Männer und Frauen emotional an die Herrschaft binden, ihre Loyalität gewinnen und vielleicht auch ihre Produktivität steigern.

⁵³ Siehe Anm. 42.

⁵⁴ Catus Primi libertus aus Mödling, siehe CIL III 15196¹, hier mit korrigierter Lesung.

⁵⁵ Tenua Auli libertus aus Mannersdorf, siehe lupa.at/9269.

⁵⁶ Calventius Mausonis libertus, CIL III 14368²⁶.

⁵⁷ Tacita Proculi liberta: CIL III 5508.

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Inscriptions and the Roman army

NICOLÒ GIUSEPPE BRANCATO

Una presenza *sui generis* nella società romana danubiana:
gli *alumni militum*

Il termine *alumnus*, presente come voce in quasi tutti i dizionari dedicati all'antico mondo romano¹, oltre a qualche sporadico interesse durante il primo quarto dello scorso secolo², ha suscitato negli anni '80-'90 e alla fine del millennio una fioritura di interventi volti a chiarire il senso del termine e a collocare questa particolare categoria nella società romana. L'argomento è stato ripreso in *Una componente trasversale nella società romana: gli alumni*³, in cui è riferita la bibliografia ragionata sull'argomento e sono state sottoposte a verifica le varie opinioni sullo *status* dei "nutriti" e sul significato del relativo termine⁴.

L'analisi massiva della documentazione epigrafica ivi raccolta ha evidenziato la trasversalità degli *alumni*, che possono essere stati sia ingenui che liberti (per lo più manomessi in tenerissima età) che, meno frequentemente, *servi*⁵, e ciò in contrasto con quanto asserito in precedenza da non pochi studiosi⁶.

Le iscrizioni loro relative sono presenti in quasi tutte le province bagnate dal Danubio, ad eccezione della Rezia, omogeneamente imperiali. Esse sono caratterizzate da una presenza di *alumni* che per intensità statistica le colloca, rispetto alle altre province, in una posizione intermedia tra la bassa incidenza della Germania inferiore e la considerevole frequenza registrata ad Ostia⁷.

¹ Mau 1893, 1706; de Ruggiero 1895, 437-440; Mess 1900, 1793-1798; Olcott 1904, 262-266; Harrod 1909; Leclerc 1924, 1288-1306; Josi 1948; Forcellini 1965, 203-204.

² Maroi 1925, 388-391; Bachi 1925, 145-147.

³ Brancato 2015.

⁴ Brancato 2015, 7-8 nt. 4 e *Pars II, passim*.

⁵ Brancato 2015, 249-270. Si sono utilizzati i termini originari *servus/i* e *servitus* al posto di "schiavo", "schiavitù" perché questi ultimi non rispecchiano con esattezza l'antica situazione.

⁶ Vedasi Mau 1893, preceduto da Allard 1876, 353 e seguito da Grossi Gondi 1920, 103-104; Leclerc 1924, e ancora: Josi 1948, 946-948; Descombres 1985, 353, 355; più recentemente Whittaker 1990, 165 e Bradley 1991, 90. Peraltro Gauthier 1975, 300 aveva affermato a proposito dell'iscrizione n. 106 (= Brancato 2015, nr. 36) "*Alumnus* ... est ici l'exact synonyme du *famulus* de la l. 2 car les enfants ainsi recueillis étaient le plus souvent élevés en vue d'en faire des esclaves"; non si distacca da questa posizione Ruggiero 1895, 438 ("Prevalgono i servi e i liberti così tra gli alunni, come tra coloro verso di cui essi son tali"). Vedono invece nell'alunnato una forma di adozione Nielsen 1987, 141-188; Gamberale 1989, 53; Stawoska 1992, 247-258; Salmon 1999, 80; Edmondson 2000, 311; Curchin 2000-2001, 541.

⁷ Brancato 2015, 283-284.

Ora, una consistente parte dei *tituli* danubiani riguarda gli *alumni militum*. Questa tipologia di *tituli*, pur essendo attestata in diverse zone dell'impero romano, è massicciamente concentrata nelle nostre province.

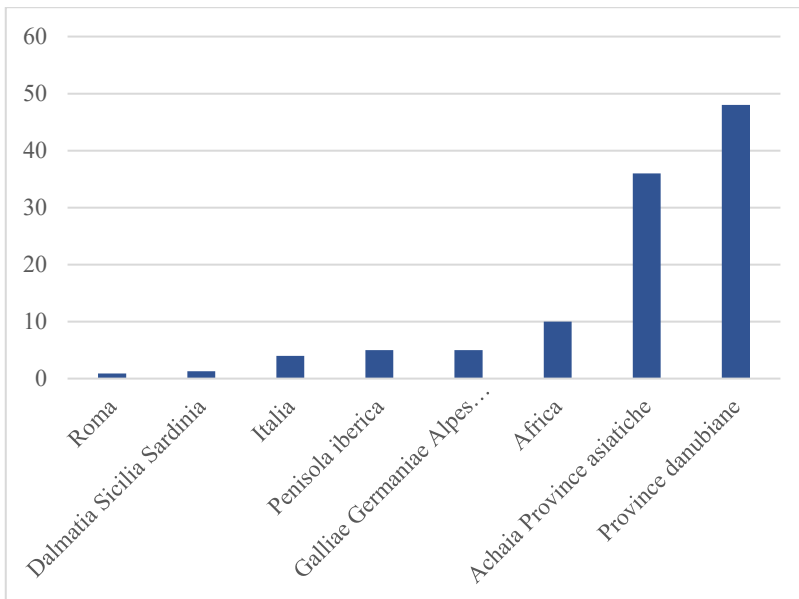
I dati statistici

Tale particolare situazione richiede di conoscere la percentuale di *milites nutritores* presenti anche nelle altre zone dell'impero. Affinché l'analisi possa dare risultati scientificamente utili, dovrà essere integrata: si esamineranno cioè i vari dati sotto tre diverse angolature per compensare la modestia del modulo ed annullare, o quanto meno limitare al massimo, le possibili varianze e gli errori accidentali. A tal fine si utilizzerà la documentazione analitica fornita dalla pubblicazione citata a nota 3.

1. *Alumni militum* in zone geografiche raggruppate per vicinanza e congiuntamente per similitudine di comportamenti:

Zone	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Quantità	5/578	1/76	10/262	1/21	3/65	5/47	4/11	11/23
Percentuali	0,9%	1,3%	4%	5%	5%	10%	36%	48%

1 = Roma – 2 = Dalmazia, Sicilia, Sardinia – 3 = Italia – 4 = Penisola iberica – 5 = Galliae, Germaniae, Alpes Maritimae, Britannia – 6 = Africa – 7 = Achaia, province asiatiche – 8 = Province danubiane



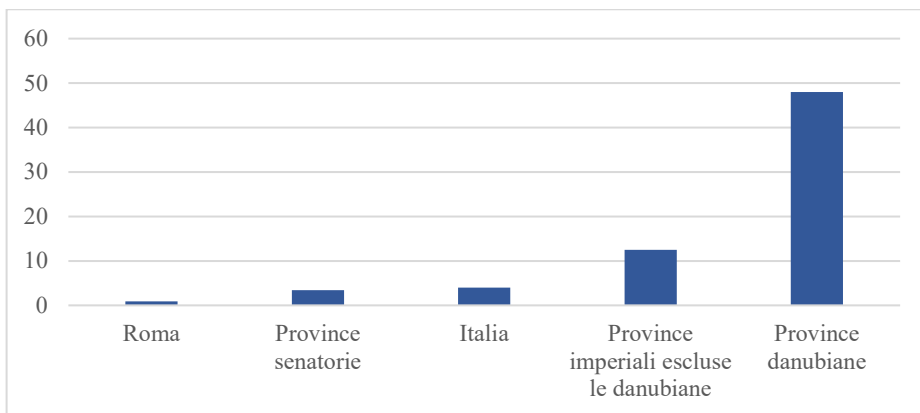
È evidente la forte incidenza registrata nelle province di nostro interesse; è pur vero che il modulo esaminato è limitato, ma è altrettanto innegabile che l'incidenza è diffusa

e notevole in tutte: si va dal 25% della Dacia al 66% della Mesia inferiore: l'attendibilità dunque del dato relativo alle province danubiane è rafforzata e confermata dalla costanza di una forte presenza in ognuna di esse.

Non è scientificamente opportuno considerare isolatamente il notevole 36% registrato a colonna 7 perché, comprendendo in egual modo province sia senatorie che imperiali, sia di confine che viciniori e derivando da un modulo esiguo, può generare errate deduzioni: i pochi dati che lo compongono sono stati ammortizzati riconducendoli ai rispettivi raggruppamenti nei successivi punti 2 e 3. Comunque, ammettendo che il dato possa considerarsi statisticamente valido, tale incidenza sembrerebbe rispondere più ad un uso locale che alla tipologia di province, come invece constateremo nelle pagine seguenti per le nostre zone.

2. *Alumni militum* in: Roma; province senatorie; Italia; province imperiali eccetto le nostre; province imperiali danubiane (nel caso di province la cui amministrazione sia passata da imperiale a senatoria o viceversa si è tenuta presente la datazione dei documenti eventualmente presente):

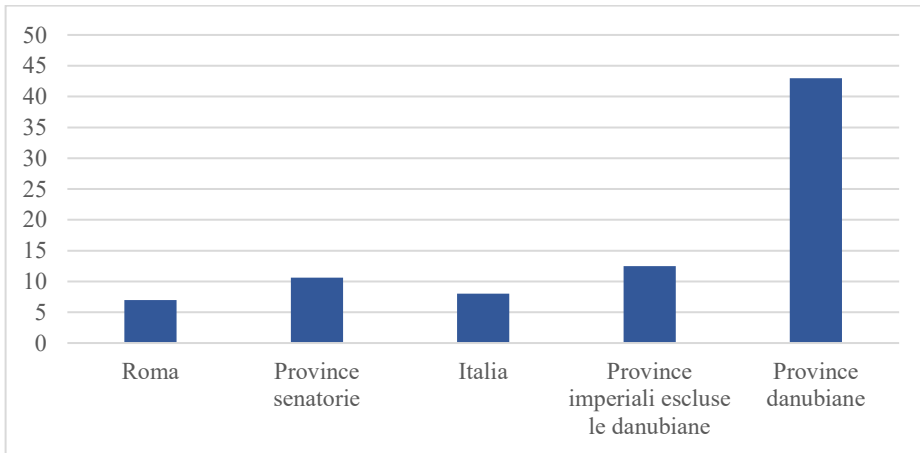
Zone	Roma	Province senatorie	Italia	Province imperiali escluse le danubiane	Province danubiane
Quantità	5/578	5/148	10/262	9/72	11/23
Percentuali	0,9%	3,4%	4%	12,5%	48%



Le più alte concentrazioni di *milites* nutritori si registrano nelle province imperiali; tuttavia ciò, da solo, non spiega la notevolissima differenza statistica tra le province danubiane e le altre province imperiali. Anche volendo espandere il modulo computando tutte le province imperiali, danubiane comprese, la differenza rimarrebbe ugualmente rilevante: avremmo 20 *tituli* su 95 e quindi una percentuale del 21%, ben lontana dal 48% delle sole province danubiane.

3. Consistenza epigrafica totale di militari nelle stesse zone⁸: Verifichiamo ora la presenza militare, indipendentemente dall'esistenza o meno di *tituli* attestanti *alumni*. Si considereranno i risultati registrati in un recente studio sulla trasmissione dei gentilizi che, pur esaminando le sole attestazioni con due o più parenti in linea retta dei quali siano riportati i gentilizi, è attualmente l'unico a fornire la documentazione relativa. I risultati percentuali ivi contenuti sono peraltro statisticamente certi: si tratta infatti di un modulo consistente, pari a diverse migliaia di documenti:

Zone	Roma	Province senatorie	Italia	Province imperiali escluse le danubiane	Province danubiane
Quantità	241/3510	256/2419	273/3434	157/1256	384/897
Percentuali	7%	10,6%	8%	12,5%	43%



Eccettuato lo scostamento delle province senatorie, i tre grafici sembrerebbero sovrapponibili e, a primo acchito, darebbero l'impressione che la presenza di alunni di militari sia direttamente proporzionale alla presenza di militari in assoluto.

Tale deduzione è errata: la tabella è infatti divisibile in due blocchi omogenei, quello delle province imperiali e quello delle altre zone dell'impero. A Roma le percentuali di *alumni militum* si abbattano dal 7% di presenze militari allo sparutissimo 0,9%, nelle province senatorie si riducono ad un terzo (dal 10,6 al 3,4%), in Italia si dimezzano passando dal quasi 8% al 4%.

Di contro, nelle province imperiali escluse le danubiane vi è un'esatta corrispondenza tra la percentuale di soldati in assoluto e quella di militari nutritori (12,5% in entrambi i casi); nelle danubiane assistiamo, a fronte di una ben più che consistente percentuale di presenze militari (43%), ad un aumento di 5 punti della percentuale

⁸ Brancato 2011, 386.

relativa alla presenza di alunni che, per quanto modesta, riveste una interessante rilevanza.

Se, dunque, nelle province imperiali la presenza di *alumni militum* risulta direttamente proporzionale alla percentuale di militari in assoluto ed è consistentemente maggiore che nelle altre zone, è chiaro che la presenza militare giustifica il quasi 50% delle province bagnate dal Danubio; ma anche ammettendo che lo scarto di 5 punti percentuali in più registrato in queste ultime possa subire variazioni per la scoperta di ulteriori documenti, rimane evidente la singolarità della situazione danubiana.

Tale maggiore concentrazione può trovare spiegazione nella marginalità geografica di queste zone e nella lontananza dai luoghi di origine, maggiore che in altre province. Ma dovremmo cercare altre motivazioni che, affiancandosi a quanto già osservato, possano dare ulteriori risposte. Esamineremo quindi la situazione sotto altri aspetti.

Altre evidenze

Età: la citazione dell'età degli alunni è presente in un solo caso (7 anni, CIL III 8115, da *Viminacium*)⁹: *D(is) M(anibus) / P(ublius) Ael(ius) Antiochus veter(anus) / leg(ionis) VII Cl(audiae) v(ixit) a(nnis) / LX et P(ublius) Aelius / Donatus al(u)m(nus) eius v(ixit) a(nnis) VII / P(ublius) Ael(ius) Agathan(gelus) et P(ublius) Ael(ius) / Primitiv<u=O>s lib(erti) / et heredes / f(aciundum) c(uraverunt).*

Generica invece è l'indicazione *infantes* dell'AE 1977, 762 da *Noviodunum* ma per la quale vedasi quanto osservato *infra*, nel paragrafo "Funzioni".

Qualche utile indicazione possono fornirci un'iscrizione votiva *pro salute nutritoris* da *Apulum* (CIL III 1149: *Silvano / Domestico / pro s(alute) T(iti) Flavi / Crescentis / praef(ecti) n(umeri) M(aurorum) Hisp(anorum) / Titus Fl(avius) Felicianus / domus illius alumnus*) e una funeraria da *Tomis* con un numero imprecisato di alunni di un veterano ottantenne, nominati suoi eredi perché il nutritore è deceduto *sine liberis* (AE 1966, 372, come trascritta nell'EDCS: *D(is) M(anibus) / et perpetuae securitati{s} hic [3] / VIS[3]ER est semper quem [3]/de querentem questus [3 a]<t=D>que que / [brevis(?)] lectu [Cl]audius nomine / quem [3 flor]entem(?) posuerunt paren/tes pr(a)enomen Aurel(ius) nomenque / Claudiu[s] habebat veteranus quidem / leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae) certus octiens(!) decies / subito fata rapuerunt tenebris / et li[c]et(?) sine liber<i=O>s alumn<i=O>s / hered<ibu=E>s remisi et modo post / ob[it]um reddo meae vitis rationem / [n]unc opto ut hic lap<i=E>s aeterna/[m] sedem quiescat et me salvum / [pi]us et heres Hermes patrono titu/lum posuit honorandum sepulcro); la CIL III 4855 da *Virunum* con una dedica funeraria di due alunni al loro nutritore primipilare: (*Memoriae / Val(erii) Cl(audii) Quinti / p(rimi) p(ili) leg(ionis) II Ital(icae) / duci leg(ionis) III Ital(icae) / duci et praep(osito) leg(ionis) III / Aug(ustae) viro innocen/tissimo / Iul(ius) Eutygianus / et Iul(ius) Auxanon / alumn(i));* e l'iscrizione votiva, mutila ma verosimilmente *pro salute nutritoris*, posta da un alunno a *Praetorium Latobicorum* (CIL III 3913: *] QRP [3] / coh(ortis) III Aqu[it(anorum)] / Gaianus / alumnus / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) / Cilone it(erum) co(n)s(ule).**

⁹ Le trascrizioni delle epigrafi qui riferite ed i segni diacritici sono quelli dell'EDCS.

Possiamo infatti ragionevolmente ritenere che i quattro alunni delle CIL III 1149, 2913 e 4899 rientrino in una fascia di età che consentisse di affrontare i relativi impegni e quindi a quella decisamente successiva all'assunzione della toga virile. La tarda età del nutrito della AE 1966, 372 ci autorizza ad inserire in questa fascia anche i suoi alunni che non sono inferiori a due: avremmo così almeno sei appartenenti alla fascia 16 anni e oltre (66%), contrapposti a tre giovanissimi, uno di 7 anni e gli altri due non molto più grandi, essendo definiti *infantes* (34%)¹⁰; ma dedurre una minore mortalità tra gli alunni di militari attivi nelle province danubiane rispetto a quella riscontrata nel resto del mondo romano sembrerebbe tuttavia imprudente, perché si tratta di un modulo di sole 9 situazioni utili. Senonché, esaminando le età degli alunni di *militēs* in tutto l'impero, si sono registrati gli stessi risultati: 16 anni ed oltre, 19 epigrafi e 22 casi pari al 66%; < di 16 anni 11 casi su altrettante epigrafi pari al 34%¹¹. La situazione danubiana dunque documenta una maggiore longevità degli *alumni* di militari per lo più appartenenti a ranghi elevati¹² (e possiamo supporre per analogia, degli alunni di nutritori appartenenti alle classi più agiate): ed infatti, se consideriamo la totalità della documentazione disponibile comprendendovi conseguenzialmente le classi sociali più umili, l'età del loro decesso si abbassa drasticamente, rappresentando gli alunni con meno di 16 anni il 71,1%¹³, percentuale questa che si alzerebbe ancora se estrapolassimo le categorie benestanti, e che va a coincidere, seppure non alla perfezione, con quella relativa ai figli¹⁴.

Sesso: i *tituli* utili ad individuare il sesso di questi alunni ci dicono che costoro sono in gran parte maschi, con una percentuale dell'82% per i maschi (9 casi su 11), essendo documentata la presenza femminile solo in CIL III 14509.1 da *Viminacium*, dedicata da una coppia di coniugi di cui lui centurione di legione ad una *Aurelianenis* (*D(is) M(anibus) / Aurel(ius) Ale/xander (centurio) / leg(ionis) VII Cl(audiae) et Iu(lia) Onesime / coni(unx) eius Au/relianeni / alumnae / suae bene / merenti po/[suerunt]*) e in CIL III 4459 da *Carnuntum* (*D(is) M(anibus) / Aur(eliae) Sextin(a)e dom/o Ger(mania) sup(eriore) nur(ui) et Aur(elio) / Valentino mil(iti) leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae) / mar(ito) eius et Aur(elio) Magno mil(iti) leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae) / fil(io) eius et Aureli(i)s / Micuni et Valenti(a)e alumnis*).

Questa percentuale naturalmente va assunta con una certa riserva, perché soggetta ad errori accidentali per l'eventuale scoperta anche di un solo nuovo documento, ma rimane comunque indicativa, confortata com'è dalle simili risultanze registrate — pur a fronte di un modulo esiguo e con tutte le riserve già espresse del caso — nelle province asiatiche ove pure si è constatata un'alta percentuale di *alumni militum*.

¹⁰ Ma vedasi quanto dettagliatamente detto *infra*, paragrafo "Funzioni".

¹¹ Brancato 2015, *Pars I, passim*.

¹² *Infra*, paragrafo "Gerarchia".

¹³ Brancato 2015, 273.

¹⁴ Wilkinson 1961, 134.

Questo ci orienta a ritenere che i militari di stanza nelle zone bagnate dal Danubio preferissero aver vicino (o “adottare” come vuole Nielsen¹⁵) alunni di sesso maschile, perché più idonei a condividere le durezze della vita militare: non per nulla i due casi di alunne di sesso femminile sono relativi a coppie di coniugi le quali, costituendo una famiglia, potevano più confacentemente affigliolarsi una alunna. A conferma di ciò anche nelle altre zone dell’impero in ambiente militare la scelta privilegiata cade prevalentemente sui maschi¹⁶.

Sesso	Roma	Province senatorie	Italia	Province equestri escluse le danubiane	Province danubiane	Totali
Maschi	2: 40%	4: 80%	9: 90%	7: 87,5%	8: 80%	30: 80%
Femmine	3: 60%	1: 20%	1: 10%	1: 12,5%	2: 20%	8: 20%

Al di là degli errori accidentali (il caso di Roma ove, è bene precisare, i nutritori non appartengono ai ranghi elevati della gerarchia, è reso inattendibile dall’esiguità del modulo, e lo sarebbe anche quello delle province senatorie se la risultanza non concordasse con quella degli altri tre moduli), la percentuale di maschi è costantemente pari o superiore all’80% e nel suo complesso si attesta su tale percentuale. Il dato delle province asiatiche, ove gli alunni di militari sono tutti di sesso maschile, pur concorrendo a quantificare i moduli provinciali, non è da considerare isolatamente per l’esiguità dei casi registrati, solo quattro e quindi ancor meno che a Roma.

Per verificare ulteriormente quanto riferito è comunque opportuno effettuare un confronto con i dati emergenti dai *tituli* di alunni i cui nutritori non sono indicati come militari. Abbiamo escluso i casi in cui il termine *alumnus* ha diatesi attiva, i *tituli* incerti, quelli in cui l’uso è metaforico e quelli in cui è locativo¹⁷.

Maschi fuori Roma	Femmine fuori Roma ¹⁸	Maschi Roma	Femmine Roma
271	168	352	199
62%	38% ¹⁸	64%	36%

Registriamo dunque, tra la popolazione civile, una costante maggiore disponibilità ad allevare alunne, con risultati che vanno dal 34% di presenze femminili nel modulo *Dalmatia/Sicilia/Sardinia* al 47% della *Cisalpinia* e addirittura al 54% delle province

¹⁵ Nielsen 1987, 141–188.

¹⁶ Brancato 2015, *Pars I, passim*.

¹⁷ Brancato 2015, *Pars I, passim*.

¹⁸ Il dato delle province bagnate dal Danubio, preso isolatamente, darebbe una presenza femminile limitata al 15%, ma esso, trattandosi di un modulo esiguo, non è confortato né sorretto da altri elementi: va quindi ammortizzato aggiungendolo alle risultanze delle altre zone. Dobbiamo tuttavia considerare che la dislocazione geografica e la non completa pacificazione delle province in questione può giustificare questa percentuale.

africane; nel loro complesso sono definitivi trattandosi di un modulo di 439 dati se si eccettua Roma e 990 comprendendola¹⁹; la risultanza di tutte le situazioni è di 367 femmine e 623 maschi, con una percentuale media femminile totale del 37%.

Quanto sopra dettagliatamente esposto conferma l'assunto che in ambiente militare la scelta dei nutritori cade su bambini di sesso maschile più spesso di quanto accada in altri ambienti e ciò non soltanto per la particolare durezza della vita dell'ambiente militare in quanto tale, poco adatta alla presenza di bimbe: anche se, debbo precisare, non tutti gli alunni vivevano necessariamente nei *castra*, potendo anche essere alloggiati nelle *canabae*; si aggiunga come possibile elemento sociologico, che la preferenza verso i bimbi poteva essere motivata dal fatto che essi, una volta cresciuti, avrebbero potuto essere di sostegno ai propri nutritori, mentre le femminucce non avrebbero potuto ricambiare l'impegno economico sostenuto dai loro nutritori perché, ad esempio, presumibilmente destinate ad un matrimonio che, a sua volta, avrebbe richiesto la costituzione di una dote.

Gerarchia: tra i nutritori abbiamo, in ordine di grado: 1 *nescimus cuius rei cohortis*, 1 *miles legionis*, 2 *veterani legionis nude*, 1 *veteranus ex beneficiarius*, 2 *centuriones legionis*, 2 *primipilares*, 1 *praefectus numeri* ed 1 *praefectus classis*. Dalla presenza di 3 *veterani* non possiamo trarre deduzioni: nulla ci dice se gli alunni siano stati accolti durante il servizio o dopo, anche se il fatto che abbiano dedicato una sepoltura o una dedica votiva ci suggerisce, come sottolineato a proposito dell'età, che essi non erano più giovani: conseguentemente non sarebbe illogico che essi fossero stati accolti già durante il servizio dei nutritori. Per il resto, fatta salva l'iscrizione in cui il ruolo di un *miles cohortis* è perduto e quella relativa ad un *miles legionis*, siamo dinanzi alla preponderante presenza di alti gradi: dal centurionato al primipilato alla prefettura. Possiamo ragionevolmente ritenere, di conseguenza, che l'affigliamento di questi bambini sia avvenuto soprattutto da parte di chi godeva di una buona posizione lavorativa ed economica.

Onomastica: togliendo tre *tituli* in cui l'onomastica dei nutriti è assente, la presenza dell'onomastica completa è limitata a tre sole iscrizioni, il cui testo è riportato sotto il paragrafo "Età", relative agli *alumni* di un *praefectus numeri* (con identità di gentilizio e prenome, CIL III 1149), di un primipilare (con diversità di gentilizio, CIL III 4855) e di un veterano di legione (CIL III 8115 con identità di gentilizio e prenome); i due alunni di CIL III 1149 e 8115 presentano cognomi latini, i due di 4855 grecanici, ma in questo caso la diversità di gentilizio con il nutritore dovrebbe escludere un rapporto di *ex-servitus*. Altri 5 *tituli* ci forniscono i soli cognomi, che risultano così distribuiti: 8 latini e 5 grecanici, di cui uno dalla Mesia inferiore, e gli altri quattro paritariamente dal Norico e dalla Pannonia superiore. Tali dati sono riferiti a titolo informativo, non potendosene dedurre utili conclusioni.

¹⁹ Brancato 2009, 26.

Funzione: veniamo al problema funzionale/semantico, e cioè al ruolo ed al conseguente significato che è stato attribuito al sostantivo *alumnus*: è infatti il caso di chiarire un equivoco relativo al ruolo di questi *alumni*, quello cioè di ritenerli “apprendisti di un’arte o professione” o “subalterni di un ufficiale” come aveva affermato de Ruggiero²⁰, e come è stato fatto per la mesica AE 1977, 762 (= AE 1989, 639, etc., da *Noviodunum*), che recita: *Jav[3]iuv[3]a[3] / [K]rystallus alumnus / Postumi praef(ecti) class(is) / apu<d=T> fluentem I[s]t[r]ic(um) / Romanus infans editus / alumnus castris Mart[iis] / Hibera postquam videri[t] / et Maura longe moenia / facta quiescit Moesica / primaeve pubis indigus / ut verna florum germin[a] / vento feruntur Thracico / Achelous alumnus Postumi praef(ecti) c(lassis) / extima Cappadocum Ponti / qua(e) iungitur orae me genuit / tellus moenia sunt Tyan[ae] / Hermogenes genitor nom[en] / [mihi erat] Acheloo artibus / [Romanus infan]s editus ingen[3] / [3f]orma homine[s 3] / iam gemitu /*

Si tratta di un primo *carmen epigraphicum* in dimetri giambici relativo all’alunno *Krystallus* (per Gamberale *Crystallus* e non *Krystallus*²¹) e di un secondo in distici elegiaci che ha per dedicatario un altro alunno di nome *Achelous*²², voluti dal loro nutrittore *praefectus classis*. Il *titulus* ha attirato a più riprese l’attenzione degli studiosi, da Barnea a Solin (che si è occupato della lettura del testo, ma non è entrato nel merito del presente argomento²³) a Vassileiou, da Donati a Cugusi a Gamberale.

Il primo editore, Barnea, aveva ritenuto di individuare nei due *alumni* di un *praefectus classis* “piuttosto che un’accezione servile, ... un rapporto di professione e di officio” supponendo che i due dedicatari siano stati prima allievi e poi subalterni del loro nutrittore²⁴. Tale convinzione ritengo possa derivare da una coincidenza, e cioè dal particolare che il termine si è trasferito nell’italiano (ma anche in altre lingue neolatine) con il significato non più di “nutrito”, bensì con quello traslato di scolaro, allievo, studente.

La dizione deruggieriana recepita dal Barnea è stata condivisa dallo Zucca²⁵, dalla Donati²⁶ e dal Cugusi²⁷, mentre di parere opposto sono stati Vassileiou e Gamberale. Vassileiou ha ricondotto il termine *alumnus* alla sua radice e gli ha quindi restituito il solo senso di “nutrito”: “Nous prendrions plutôt simplement *alumnus* dans ses rapports avec le verb *alere*: il s’agit de deux jeunes garçons ou adolescents, nourris et élèves par

²⁰ De Ruggiero 1895, 438.

²¹ Gamberale 1989, 45; ma il fatto che sia *Krystallus* che il successivo *Achelous* siano anche due fiumi non esclude la trascrizione da noi riportata.

²² Doruțiu-Boilă 1980, nr. 281

²³ Solin 1981, 116–121; Solin 1985, 198–200.

²⁴ Barnea 1975, 260, 260 nt. 20.

²⁵ Zucca 1984, 240.

²⁶ Donati 1987, 129.

²⁷ Cugusi 1985, 228–231; Cugusi 1986, 86–89; Cugusi 1995, 284–285.

le préfet. Il nous semble risqué de tirer des conclusions sur la « condition d'élèves » à qui on aurait confié des missions communes de la flotte et de l'armée de terre²⁸.

Gamberale ha considerato il nutrito un “padre adottivo”: per il primo dedicatario, *infans*, chiarisce che “l'*alumnus* ha trascorso la sua infanzia (o fanciullezza) al seguito del suo “foster-father”, funzionario militare, e non che ha servito come soldato²⁹ e parlando del secondo afferma che “nessuno dei due è stato un soldato, ma entrambi hanno seguito il proprio ‘adottante’ nei suoi viaggi di servizio³⁰”.

Il problema dei significati attribuiti all'alunnato romano, dalla scolarità all'apprendistato alla subalternità, non è naturalmente circoscritto a questi due *carmina epigraphica*, ma coinvolge tutti gli argomenti e la documentazione del de Ruggiero. Per quanto concerne il nostro *titulus*, altri motivi si aggiungono a quelli adottati dai due studiosi e smentiscono ulteriormente l'esistenza di un rapporto di discenza e di subalternità in un *officium* militare all'interno dell'istituzione dell'alunnato: dalla troppo giovane età del primo alunno che è definito *infans* ed è morto quindi prima della pubertà e probabilmente anche del secondo, all'assenza di documentazione che attesti un rapporto di discenza professionale o di subalternità di tipo militare a carattere privato; dalla absurdità che anche le alunne di militari avrebbero dovuto essere preparate ad una impossibile carriera militare, al particolare che i “discenti” presso l'esercito romano sono una categoria ben definita, sono le “reclute” da formare, chiamate propriamente *discentes* o *tirones*, ed i subalterni non sono definiti *alumni* ma con il loro ruolo gerarchico³¹.

Si aggiunga a tutto ciò il particolare che per nessuno degli alunni di militari danubiani, neanche per quelli che non dovrebbero essere più tanto giovani (e che sono la maggior parte) si accenna ad una milizia.

* * *

Da quanto sopra si può dedurre:

che, come si ricava dalla documentazione riferita al paragrafo “Età”, gli *alumni* di soldati rivestenti importanti ruoli gerarchici avevano, sia nelle province danubiane che nel resto del mondo romano, migliori prospettive di vita rispetto ai nutriti i cui nutritori non disponessero di redditi medio/alti;

che questa migliore prospettiva era collegata alla buona condizione economica dei loro nutritori;

che la durezza della vita militare unita a fattori sociologici di cui al paragrafo “Sesso” sconsigliava di “nutrire” alunni di sesso femminile;

che la situazione geografica e militare delle province imperiali coincide con una maggiore presenza percentuale di alunni di militari;

²⁸ Vassileiou 1983, 77.

²⁹ Gamberale 1989, 46.

³⁰ Gamberale 1989, 53.

³¹ Vedi anche Brancato 2015, 218.

che il ruolo di questi ultimi era affettivo, e che è da condividere la nozione di “*quasi-Adoption*” sostenuta e documentata da Nielsen³², mentre sono da escludere ruoli di discendenza, di subalternità o di dipendenza;

che il loro *status* sociale solo minoritariamente poteva essere quello servile e che, se lo era, si trattava comunque di una condizione privilegiata rispetto a quella della normale *servitus*, come documenta la loro stessa definizione: *alumni* e non *servi*;

non credo, infine, sia illegittimo considerare il lato umano ed affettivo, e cioè il particolare che la marginalità delle nostre province induceva più che altrove i militari che avevano sufficienti possibilità economiche ad integrare gli affetti lontani con l’affigliamento di alunni.

Relativamente a quest’ultimo punto infatti sappiamo che la lontananza dai luoghi di origine, per i gradi inferiori il divieto di contrarre un matrimonio legittimo (per quanto limitato ai primi due secoli dell’era volgare se è vero che Settimio Severo lo abolì) che tuttavia poteva essere surrogato dal concubinato, e la pesantezza del mestiere esercitato spingevano i militari a stabilire dei rapporti affettivi sostitutivi con i propri commilitoni, che frequentemente venivano designati come primi o secondi eredi ed altrettanto frequentemente erano dedicanti o dedicatari delle rispettive sepolture, tant’è che, riprendendo un quesito posto da Kerpatová³³, Silvio Panciera aveva attribuito al termine *frater* riferito a compagni d’armi con diverso gentilizio il senso di “commilitone”³⁴, presupponendo, ritengo, un rapporto affettivo con questi colleghi così forte da assimilarli a membri laterali della famiglia.

Possiamo pertanto realisticamente supporre che i militari ricostituissero un certo tipo di rapporto familiare all’interno dell’accampamento considerando i colleghi con cui dividevano la tenda alla stregua di propri congiunti. Ma chi se lo poteva permettere perché si trovava in una posizione gerarchica ed economica di medio o alto livello poteva ricorrere all’accoglimento degli alunni che, così, venivano assimilati ai figli e riempivano quel vuoto che il duro lavoro delle milizie comportava: considerare un collega “quasi parente” infatti non comportava impegni economici duraturi, ciò che invece era necessario accogliendo un nutrito; e la dedica di una sepoltura da parte di un collega era un atto *post-mortem* e non presupponeva costi mentre il commilitone era in vita.

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³² Nielsen 1987, 141–188.

³³ Kerpatová 1986, 11–14.

³⁴ Panciera 1993, 261–276. Ma vedasi Brancato 2009, 345–346.

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CHIARA CENATI

L'indicazione dell'*origo* nelle iscrizioni dei soldati di provenienza danubiana e balcanica a Roma

I soldati costituiscono, insieme a mercanti e pellegrini, uno dei gruppi sociali che più di tutti nel mondo antico si contraddistingue per un alto livello di mobilità: non stupisce quindi che essi tendano a menzionare nei propri monumenti con frequenza e precisione la loro provenienza o quella dei commilitoni¹.

In questo contributo si cercherà di fornire una panoramica sulle modalità dell'indicazione dell'*origo* nelle iscrizioni urbane dei soldati di origine danubiana e balcanica di stanza a Roma tra I e III secolo d.C., basandosi sui più di 300 monumenti sacri e sepolcrali², in cui la provenienza è esplicitamente indicata³.

L'arruolamento sistematico dei soldati delle milizie urbane dal bacino danubiano inizia nel 193 d.C. in seguito alla riorganizzazione dell'antico corpo pretoriano attuata da Settimio Severo, il quale sostituisce i membri delle coorti pretorie, prima di origine quasi esclusivamente italiana, con i legionari delle truppe da lui comandate, dopo che queste avevano sostenuto Didio Giuliano all'indomani dell'assassinio di Pertinace⁴. Se in seguito alla riforma severiana è ravvisabile un arruolamento in massa dei provinciali, i documenti relativi non solo ad *equites singulares Augusti* e *classarii*, già presenti in gran numero a Roma, ma anche a pretoriani e urbaniciani sono tutt'altro che scarsi.

Mentre nel I secolo la provenienza di soldati di origine italiana viene tendenzialmente espressa con il semplice nome della città di origine, talvolta

¹ La questione dell'*origo* di soldati di provenienza danubiana a Roma ha attirato l'interesse di numerosi studiosi già a partire da Mateescu 1923 e Durry 1938, 251–256 fino a Ricci 1993, 175–208, Kovács 2013 per la Pannonia; Tatscheva 1997, Tatscheva 1999, Topalilov 2013 per la Tracia.

² Le due classi epigrafiche vengono trattate insieme: l'*origo* è attestata tuttavia in prevalenza nelle iscrizioni sepolcrali, che rappresentano più dell'80% del campione preso in esame. Non vengono invece trattati nel dettaglio i cosiddetti *laterculi*, nei quali la provenienza è espressa in maniera standardizzata attraverso il nome del centro di origine (vedi *infra*).

³ Per la redazione del dossier si è usato come punto di partenza l'elenco redatto da Cecilia Ricci (Ricci 1993), a cui sono state applicati aggiornamenti e modifiche. Dal momento che i dati presentati sono in ogni momento sensibili di variazioni, si è talvolta preferito arrotondare le cifre per eccesso o per difetto. Nelle iscrizioni prese in considerazione non mancano infatti casi dubbi, derivanti da problemi di lettura e di interpretazione delle iscrizioni stesse o da questioni più generali.

⁴ Passerini 1939, 171–203; Bingham 2013, 43–46.

introdotta dalla forma *domo*⁵, nei monumenti dei provinciali dei due secoli successivi essa è indicata prevalentemente attraverso il nome della provincia preceduto dal termine *natione*⁶, con il nome di un centro urbano⁷, con le due nozioni insieme⁸ o in varie altre combinazioni che si analizzeranno di seguito. Nel testo è generalmente fornita solo la provenienza del soldato defunto⁹, che talvolta può coincidere con quella dei dedicanti¹⁰.

Soldati di provenienza norica¹¹ si trovano in 44 iscrizioni (tab. 1). Oltre agli *equites singulares Augusti*¹², che venivano reclutati già nel II secolo tra i provinciali, non sono pochi i monumenti relativi a pretoriani norici databili anteriormente alla riforma severiana¹³, in accordo con quanto testimoniato in Cassio Dione sull'area di reclutamento di questo corpo selezionato dall'Italia, dalla penisola iberica, dalla Macedonia e, appunto, dal Norico¹⁴. L'espressione dell'*origo* dei Norici non subisce variazioni nel corso dei secoli. Nella maggior parte dei casi il soldato viene identificato con l'espressione *Noricus/provincia Norica*¹⁵, 16 volte con l'indicazione di una città (*Virunum, Iuvavum, Celeia, Aguntum, Solva, Ovilava*)¹⁶, in 8 casi con la

⁵ L'espressione pare poi ricomparire nel III secolo avanzato (cfr. Benefiel 2001, 229).

⁶ La stretta corrispondenza instauratasi tra il nome della provincia e il termine *natio* nel II secolo lascia intendere che quest'ultimo venga utilizzato come sinonimo di provincia. Quest'ultima viene indicata infatti nella maggior parte dei casi nelle forme *natione, oriundus ex provincia/in provincia* (ad es. CIL VI 2482, 2494a, 2544, 2602, 3204, 3293, 32804a). In rari casi il nome della provincia si trova invece accostato a *civis* (CIL VI 2501, 31176), *domo* (CIL VI 2698, 3216) o è indicato da solo (ad es. CIL VI 3588).

⁷ Anche il nome della città può essere introdotto da *natione* (AE 1946, 148; Speidel 1994, 258, nr. 415), oltre che dalle più usuali forme *domo* (ad es. CIL VI 2534) e da *civis* (ad es. CIL VI 3196, 32635).

⁸ Cfr. ad esempio *natione Pannonius, domu Flavia Sirmio* (CIL VI 3184); *domo Septimia Aquinci ex Pannonia inferiore* (CIL VI 3431).

⁹ Sono state incluse nel dossier anche alcune iscrizioni in cui la provenienza si riferisce a familiari defunti dei soldati, in cui si fa comunque uso di un formulario di tipo militare (vedi *infra*).

¹⁰ Cfr. espressioni come *municeps* (CIL VI 2520, 3177, 3304) e *convicanus* (CIL VI 3177).

¹¹ Sull'organizzazione territoriale del Norico in età imperiale cfr. Alföldy 1974 e Alföldy 1989.

¹² Sulla presenza di soldati norici tra le fila degli *equites Singulares Augusti* cfr. Speidel 1981/1982.

¹³ Pretoriani norici già nel II secolo si trovano in CIL VI 2453, 2483, 2522, 2619, 2751, 32681; AE 1924, 107.

¹⁴ Cass. Dio 75, 2.

¹⁵ CIL VI 2482, 2712, 3206, 3211, 3229 (schiavo di un *eques singularis*), 3253, 3283, 3295, 3229, 32867t, 32797, 32813, 32822, 32844; Ferrua 1951, 105, nr. 23; 110, nr. 50; Guyon 1977, 203, nr. 3; AE 1993, 165; Speidel 326, nr. 594; AE 2011, 140.

¹⁶ CIL VI 209, 2483, 2522, 2534, 2543, 2547, 2751, 3225, 3259, 32655, 32681, 37218, 37228; AE 1924, 107; AE 1983, 69; Ferrua 1951, 120, nr. 94.

combinazione di provincia e città¹⁷. L'indicazione della provincia sembra essere più frequente nel caso degli *equites singulares Augusti*, mentre i pretoriani preferiscono fornire il nome di un *municipium*, come i pretoriani italici.

Nelle 35 iscrizioni che fanno riferimento a soldati della Rezia¹⁸ (tab. 2) si trova prevalentemente l'indicazione della provincia (*natione Raetus*)¹⁹, mentre molto più raramente viene ricordata la città *Aelia Augusta*, città principale della *Raetia* e unico centro urbano a comparire nelle iscrizioni di Roma, da sola (sia nella forma *Augusta Vindelicum* che come *Aelia Augusta* dopo la fondazione del municipio adrianeo)²⁰ o in combinazione con il nome della provincia²¹.

La Pannonia²² con più di cento attestazioni mostra una grande varietà nell'espressione dell'*origo* (tab. 3), che compare in molteplici forme, in cui l'indicazione della provincia senza altra specificazione²³, insieme al nome di una città²⁴ o di unità territoriali minori²⁵ è comunque spesso presente. Il nome della provincia si trova prevalentemente associato al termine *natio* (*natione Pannonius/Pannonia/Pannonia inferior/Pannonia superior*)²⁶.

¹⁷ CIL VI 3304, 3588, 32805; Mancini 1922, 142, nrr. 4–5; AE 1948, 68; Ferrua 1951, 113, nr. 62; 119, nr. 89; Speidel 1994, 210, nr. 285.

¹⁸ Sull'organizzazione della *Raetia* cfr. Gottlieb 1989, 75–87.

¹⁹ CIL VI 3190, 3208, 3210, 3213, 3218, 3224, 3228, 3233 (schiavo di un *equus singularis*), 3247, 3273, 3282, 3317, 3430, 3576 (liberto o parente di un *equus singularis*), 3601, 32804, 31144, 32796 (schiavo di un *equus singularis*), 32837f [frg. a] + 32852 [frg. b], 32848, 33025; Ferrua 1951, 118, nr. 84; Speidel 1994, 140, nr. 133; AE 1990, 61.

²⁰ CIL VI 3353; AE 1973, 53 e 54; Speidel 1994, 147, nr. 145; 189, nr. 232; AE 2011, 144.

²¹ CIL VI 32840; Ferrua 1951, 117–118, nr. 80; 119, nr. 91; 128, nr. 111; Speidel 1994, 203, nr. 267.

²² Per una recente analisi sulla storia della Pannonia e i suoi centri urbani, in aggiornamento a Mócsy 1974, cfr. Kovács 2013 e Kovács 2014 (in particolare 93, 112 sulla questione delle *civitates peregrinae*), con bibliografia precedente.

²³ CIL VI 2488, 2501 (moglie di un pretoriano), 2521, 2673, 2697, 2708 (moglie di un pretoriano), 2746, 2758, 3146, 3156.3157, 3183, 3186, 3204, 3222, 3232, 3239, 3256, 3264, 3266, 3267, 3270, 3285, 3286, 3293, 3307, 3411, 3472, 3489, 32657, 32793, 32798, 32807, 32808, 37271 (moglie di un pretoriano); Ferrua 1951, 98–99, nr. 1; 112, nr. 53; 113, nr. 59; 127, nr. 108; AE 1954, 79 e 81; AE 1983, 48; Virgili 1985, 418; Speidel 1994, 205, nr. 273 [frgg. a+b]; 218, nr. 306; 242, nr. 365 (frgg. a+b); 309, nr. 564.

²⁴ CIL VI 3184, 3214, 3272, 3431, 32680, 32804a, 32862; AE 1954, 77; AE 1993, 335 e 336; Speidel 1994, 138, nr. 128; 141–142, nr. 135 (frg. a+CIL VI 32859); 144, nr. 139; 258, nr. 415; AE 2008, 211.

²⁵ *Provincia+civitas peregrina*: CIL VI 32544, 32557; *provincia+pes*: CIL VI 2494a, 3241; *provincia+pagus*: CIL VI 37224; *provincia+pes+pagus+vicus*: CIL VI 37213; *provincia+città+civitas peregrina*: CIL VI 32542; *provincia+città+vicus*: CIL VI 3300; *provincia+città+pagus+vicus*: CIL VI 3297; *provincia+città+canabae*: CIL VI 3198; *provincia+castellum*: CIL VI 2544; AE 1968, 31.

²⁶ *Natio* viene usato anche in modo improprio accanto a nomi di città (cfr. CIL VI 3192: *natione Savaria*; CIL VI 3454: *natione Acuicesem* (!); CIL VI 2552: *natione Petoviensis*) o di *civitates peregrinae* (CIL VI 32785a: *natione Varcianus*; CIL VI 3308: *natione Boius*).

Il nome di un municipio o di una colonia senza ulteriori aggiunte compare invece una trentina di volte²⁷.

Mentre nel II secolo si riconosce una certa regolarità nell'esprimere l'*origo* con il nome della provincia, di un centro urbano o di entrambi, nel III secolo compaiono unità territoriali più specifiche. Per riferirsi non al centro urbano, ma al suo territorio viene usata ad esempio l'espressione *pes*, che si incontra nel caso del *pes Faustinianus*²⁸, toponimo che ricompare nell'iscrizione di un *civis Faustianus* e con cui si intende il territorio di un *municipium*²⁹, e in un'iscrizione in cui si indica il territorio di *Sirmium (pes Sirmensis)*³⁰.

In alcune iscrizioni si riscontra inoltre l'indicazione di *pagi*³¹ (*Traiani*³², *Martius*³³, *Iovista*³⁴) e *vici* (*Budalia*³⁵, *Cocconetibus*³⁶, *Voleucionis*³⁷), mentre in un paio di casi viene fornita un'*origo* da *vici* militari o *canabae*³⁸. In cinque iscrizioni, infine, si menzionano le *civitates Varcianorum*³⁹, *Boiorum*⁴⁰ e *Cotinorum*⁴¹.

²⁷ *Poetovio*: CIL VI 2552, 2571, 2579; *Siscia*: CIL VI 2644, 2689, 3180, AE 1984, 68; *Savaria*: CIL VI 2710, 2877, 3192, 3276, 3287, 3336, 32538, 37206, Mancini 1924, 47, nr. 3, AE 1946, 148, AE 1967, 33, AE 1993, 334 e 337, Speidel 1994, 171, nr. 199, 200, nr. 261, 232, nr. 346, 250, nr. 391; *Mursa*: CIL VI 3235, AE 1948, 68, AE 2011, 139; *Aquincum*: CIL VI 3454 (moglie di un pretoriano), 37208; *Carnuntum*: CIL VI 3625; *Sirmium*: CIL VI 31146, Speidel 1994, 219, nr. 309. L'attribuzione di *Emona* alla *regio X* è ormai un dato acquisito, per questo motivo si è deciso di non includere la città nel presente studio (cfr. Šašel Kos 2012, 79–80 e da ultimo Šašel Kos 2016).

²⁸ CIL VI 2494a.

²⁹ CIL VI 3241. Per il *municipium Faustianum*, forse non lontano da *Siscia*, cfr. CIL III 3974, CIL VI 1788 e 3241 e vedi Galsterer-Kröll 1972, 124.

³⁰ CIL VI 37213.

³¹ Per la nozione di *pagus* cfr. in particolare Tarpin 2002, 188–189.

³² CIL VI 37224.

³³ CIL VI 37213.

³⁴ CIL VI 3297. Il *pagus* corrisponde forse al territorio della *mutatio Iovia*, per cui cfr. Itin. Ant. 130, 2: *Iovia*; Itin. Hierosolym. 561, 10: *civitas Iovia*; Geogr. Rav., 4, 19, 14.

³⁵ CIL VI 37213.

³⁶ CIL VI 3297. Il *vicus* dovrebbe corrispondere con la già nota *mutatio Cocconis* (Itin. Hierosolym. 562, 4) Secondo Delamarre (2009, 93) si tratta di un nome derivante da un etimo celtico.

³⁷ CIL VI 3300.

³⁸ AE 1968, 31: *nat(ione) Pann(onia) inferior(e), natus ca[---] / ala pret(oria) (!)*; CIL VI 3198: *natus in Pa/nonia inferiore, domo Briget(i)/one, at (!) legione(m) prima(m) At[fi]utri(cem) (!)* e CIL VI 2544: *oriundus ex pro/vincia Panno(nia) inferiore, / natus castello Vixillo. Cives Romani consistentes ad legionem II Adiutricem* sono menzionati anche in un'iscrizione di *Aquincum* (CIL III 3505). Per un'analisi sullo stato giuridico dei *cives consistentes ad legionem* e *ad canabas* cfr. Mócsy 1965, Bérard 1993, Todisco 2007, 1447–1453.

³⁹ CIL VI 32785a.

⁴⁰ CIL VI 3308.

⁴¹ CIL VI 32542, 32544 e 32557 e vedi *infra*.

Nel caso delle quasi 30 iscrizioni di soldati provenienti dalla Dacia⁴² (tab. 4) si nota chiaramente come l'*origo* venga indicata quasi esclusivamente sotto forma di *provincia/natio*⁴³. Le città, da sole⁴⁴ o in combinazione con la provincia⁴⁵, sono menzionate molto raramente. *Vici, pagi* e altre unità territoriali, a differenza di quanto accade in Pannonia, sono completamente assenti. In un'unica iscrizione si ha l'indicazione di un'*origo* dalle *canabae* della *legio XIII Gemina ad Apulum*⁴⁶.

Un caso a sé è costituito da due monumenti di fine III secolo, in cui sono menzionate la *regio Scodriensis* e la *regio Serdica*⁴⁷, con le quali si intendono i territori delle città di *Scodra* e *Serdica*, che in quest'epoca sono rispettivamente le capitali della *Praevalitana* e della Dacia Mediterranea, ma che fino a pochi decenni prima facevano parte delle province di Dalmazia e Tracia.

Nelle 16 iscrizioni di soldati dalmati⁴⁸ (tab. 5) la provenienza è espressa tramite la *provincia/natio*⁴⁹ soprattutto nel caso dei *classarii* e dei pretoriani reclutati nel III secolo, mentre pretoriani e urbanici di I e II secolo tendono a fare riferimento a colonie o municipi (*Aenona, Flanona, Salona, Iader, Senia*)⁵⁰, come i loro commilitoni reclutati dai centri dell'Italia.

I Macedoni vengono reclutati già a partire dal I secolo, quasi esclusivamente per il pretorio e le coorti urbane, mentre solo un soldato originario di questa provincia è attestato tra gli *equites singulares Augusti*. I *milites* macedoni di stanza a Roma vengono scelti tra le élite urbane, secondo una prassi che ricorda il reclutamento dai centri italici e, proprio come nelle iscrizioni dei pretoriani reclutati dall'Italia, nei loro monumenti (tab. 6) si menziona sempre un centro urbano (*Dyrrachium, Philippi*,

⁴² Sulla nascita della provincia e le sue caratteristiche amministrative cfr. Piso 2008, con bibliografia precedente.

⁴³ *Dacus/Dacia/provincia Dacia*: CIL VI 2495, 2602, 2696, 3191, 3200, 3227 (liberto di un *eques*), 3234, 3238, 3268, 3277, 3288, 3320; 3419, 3456, 37252; AE 1993, 331 (moglie di un *evocatus*) e 333. In CIL VI 32845b, 32791, 37258a; AE 1983, 82 la lacuna *Da[---]* potrebbe anche essere integrata con *Da[matia]* o *Da[rданus]*, tuttavia i Daci sono più numerosi tra gli *equites singulares*, al cui corpo appartengono i soldati in questione, e dunque una provenienza da questa provincia risulta più probabile.

⁴⁴ CIL VI 269 e 32538.

⁴⁵ CIL VI 3236; Speidel 1994, 150, nr. 151.

⁴⁶ CIL VI 2425: *nat(us) provinc(ia) Dacia, / leg(ione) XIII Gem(ina)*. Le stesse *canabae* sono note anche da un'iscrizione della Dacia: *c(ives) R(omani) consist(ent)es / kan(abis) leg(ionis) eiusd(em)*. Sulle *canabae* in Dacia cfr. Piso 1991, 141; 148–149.

⁴⁷ CIL VI 2605 e 2698.

⁴⁸ Sulla Dalmazia cfr. soprattutto Wilkes 1977 e da ultimo Sanader 2009.

⁴⁹ *Dalmatia/dalmata/dalmaticus*: CIL VI 2633, 3108, 3126, 3149, 3261, 3663, 32588; AE 1912, 184; AE 1988, 1138; Mancini 1922, 142, nr. 3.

⁵⁰ CIL VI 209, 221, 2451, 30881, 32895; AE 1984, 63.

Stobi, Thessalonica, Doberus, Amphipolis)⁵¹, mentre la provincia è indicata solo due volte, nel caso di un vigile e dell'unico *equus singularis*⁵².

Ai soldati originari da *Moesia superior* e *Moesia inferior* sono da attribuire in totale una ventina di iscrizioni (tab. 7). In cinque casi la provenienza viene espressa solo tramite il riferimento alla provincia⁵³, mentre più spesso tale indicazione è completata dall'aggiunta di una città⁵⁴, di una *regio*⁵⁵, di un *vicus*⁵⁶, o di *regio+vicus*⁵⁷. In un unico caso si trova solo l'indicazione della *regio*⁵⁸. In tre iscrizioni si indica un'*origo* dalla *Dardania*, con cui si fa riferimento al distretto aurifero in *Moesia superior*⁵⁹ o alla provincia tardoantica con capoluogo a *Naissus*, una volta nella forma *Naissus Dardaniae*⁶⁰ e un'altra accompagnata dal nome di alcuni *vici*⁶¹.

La menzione di una città senza altra specificazione si riscontra nel caso della principale comunità cittadina della *Moesia superior*, *Viminacium*⁶², del *municipium Scupi*⁶³ e di *Oescus*, unica colonia della *Moesia inferior*⁶⁴. In una iscrizione troviamo invece *Nicopolis*, molto probabilmente da identificare con *Nicopolis ad Istrum*⁶⁵. È degno di nota il monumento di un soldato *Fl(avia) Scupis nat(ione) Bessus*⁶⁶: egli, pur

⁵¹ CIL VI 218a, 2520, 2611, 2645, 2646, 2679, 2715, 2767, 2790, 2886, 2916, 30719, 32738, 40556; Paribeni 1915, 41, nr. 7. Nei monumenti posti in occasione del congedo compaiono spesso le due colonie della provincia, *Dyrrachium* e *Philippi*.

⁵² CIL VI 220 e Ferrua 1951, 128, nr. 112.

⁵³ *Moesus* o *Moesia superior/inferior*: CIL VI 3199, 3271, 3292, 31164; Speidel 1994, 194, nr. 246.

⁵⁴ CIL VI 2760: *nat(ione) Mesia (!) inferiore, domo Escum (!)*; Mancini 1924, 46, nr. 2: *nat(ione) Mojesus Uljia Oesci*; CIL VI 13352 (in questo caso l'*origo* da *Remesiana*, riferita alla moglie di un pretoriano, è associata alla *natio Thrax*).

⁵⁵ CIL VI 32549: *provincia Mysia (!) inferiore, regione Dimesi*.

⁵⁶ CIL VI 32589: *nationem (!) Mesacus, vico (vacat)*.

⁵⁷ CIL VI 2730: *natione Mysia superiore, regione Ratiarese, vico C[a]nisco*; con la stessa accezione si usa il termine *civis* in CIL VI 2736: *natione Mesacus civis Meletinus, vico Perepro*.

⁵⁸ CIL VI 32583: *ex regione Marcianopolitana cives. Marcianopolis* e *Nicopolis* passano alla fine del II secolo dalla *Thracia* alla *Moesia inferior*. Dal momento che le iscrizioni qui trattate sono relative sicuramente al III secolo, si è preferito attribuire i monumenti al gruppo della *Moesia*.

⁵⁹ CIL VI 32800: *natione Dardanus*; cfr. Mócsy 1974, 131–134 e 223; Petrović 2007, 7–23.

⁶⁰ CIL VI 32937b.

⁶¹ CIL VI 32605: *ex Dardania ex vico Perdica et ex vico Titis*. Per altre iscrizioni in cui si intende la provincia tardoantica cfr. CIL V 898, CIL VI 32937, CIL XIII 6823.

⁶² CIL VI 2525.

⁶³ CIL VI 533.

⁶⁴ CIL VI 3342, 31146.

⁶⁵ AE 1980, 141: *domo Nicopoli*. Potrebbe potenzialmente trattarsi anche di *Nicopolis ad Nestum*, in Tracia. La *Nicopolis* di CIL VI 375 è invece con ogni probabilità il centro dell'Epiro.

⁶⁶ CIL VI 3205.

essendo originario della colonia in *Moesia superior*, è designato come *Bessus*, etnico con cui vengono individuati gli abitanti del territorio a sud di *Serdica* e che fino almeno alla riforma amministrativa di Traiano era organizzato nella strategia Βεσσιική. La presenza di un *Bessus* nel territorio di *Scupi* testimonia che i *Bessi* non si trovavano solo in Tracia, ma anche nella Macedonia orientale e nella parte della *Moesia superior* prossima alla Tracia.

Da ultimo la Tracia, che, insieme alla Pannonia, costituisce la provincia più interessante per quanto riguarda l'indicazione dell'*origo* (tab. 8).

Soldati di origine trace a Roma sono attestati da più di 60 iscrizioni. La provincia compare una decina di volte quale unica indicazione di origine⁶⁷, in altrettanti casi si riscontra solo il nome della città⁶⁸, in sette monumenti provincia e città sono abbinate (*Serdica*, *Philippopolis/Trimontium*, *Beroe/Augusta Traiana*, *Traianopolis*, *Ulpia Tonzus*)⁶⁹ e in una sola iscrizione la provincia accompagna direttamente il nome di un *vicus*⁷¹. Analogamente alla *Moesia*, anche per i soldati di origine trace ricorrono spesso, soprattutto nelle iscrizioni sacre di III secolo, l'uso del termine *regio* o l'indicazione di un territorio rurale, che possono essere completati dalla specificazione di un *vicus*⁷². Con il termine *regio* in particolare si intende, forse, nelle iscrizioni di ambito militare di III secolo provenienti da Roma, il territorio che gravita intorno a una città o una regione rurale priva di un centro urbano. Un riferimento di questo genere si trova ad esempio nell'iscrizione dedicata dai *cives Usdicenses*, il cui nome ricorda una delle strategie in cui era organizzata la provincia fino al II secolo (Οὐσδικησιική)⁷³.

Accanto alla menzione della provincia si riscontra in una ventina di iscrizioni l'uso dall'etnonimo *Bessus*⁷⁴, che per due volte accompagna il nome di una città⁷⁵ e in

⁶⁷ CIL VI 2461, 3195, 3201, 3216, 3217, 3250, 31147; 31157 [frg. b] + 31176 [frg. a], 31162, 33005; Ferrua 1951, 104, nr. 16 [frg. a] + p. 105, nr. 22 [frgg. b+c]; AE 1983, 49; Speidel 1994, 311, nr. 567.

⁶⁸ *Perinthos*: CIL VI 209; *Philippopolis/Trimontium*: CIL VI 2566, 2785, 32635; *Pautalia*: CIL VI 2616, 2671; *Serdica*: CIL VI 2638, 3314, 32714; AE 1983, 50.

⁶⁹ Sull'identificazione del centro di *Ulpia Tonzus* che compare solo in AE 1981, 94 cfr. Panciera 1981, 465–474 = Panciera 2006, 1384–1388. Sull'uso e abuso dell'epiteto *Ulpia* nelle iscrizioni di Roma in associazione alle città della Tracia cfr. Topalilov 2015, 157–177.

⁷⁰ CIL VI 2570, 2601, 2742, 2954, 3176, 3196; AE 1981, 94.

⁷¹ Il nome della provincia è in questo caso introdotto dal termine *regio: regionis Tracia* (!) *vico Statuis* (CIL VI 36846), per cui cfr. Cenati in corso di stampa.

⁷² *provincia+regio+vicus*: CIL VI 32567; *regio+vicus*: CIL VI 2772, ICUR VII 20202; territorio rurale privo di centro urbano: CIL VI 32582; città+ *vici*: CIL VI 32543 (*cives Philippopolitani* da vari *vici* del territorio). Sui *vici* della Tracia cfr. Velkov 1993, 173–187. Sulla peculiare organizzazione rurale delle province di *Thracia* e *Moesia inferior* cfr. Băltăc 2011.

⁷³ Ptol. 3. 11. 8–10; Plin. HN, 4. 40. Sull'organizzazione della Tracia in strategie e sulla loro abolizione cfr. Gerov 1970 (1980) e più di recente Parissaki 2009 e 2013.

⁷⁴ CIL VI 2486, 2699, 3097, 3103, 3107, 3128, 3141 [frg. a] +33040 [frg. b], 3142, 3145, 3163, 3303, 3447, 7466, 37257; AE 1931, 89; AE 1946, 145; AE 1973, 51; Ferrua 1951, 117, nr. 74; 127, nr. 109; Speidel 1994, 193, nr. 243; 196, nr. 253; 299, nr. 545.

un caso compare insieme alla *regio* e a un *vicus*⁷⁶. Molti dei *Bessi* a Roma militarono tra i *classiari* della flotta di Miseno, ma un buon numero fu anche arruolato nel corpo degli *equites singulares Augusti*⁷⁷. L'etnonimo, noto a Roma già a partire dal I secolo, è testimoniato nella città fino al III secolo e conferma il mantenimento di caratteri culturali propri, che garantiscono la sopravvivenza del gruppo etnico⁷⁸.

Le iscrizioni sacre, già incluse fino a qui nella trattazione, meritano qualche considerazione a parte. Nelle scarse dediche poste da Reti⁷⁹, Daci⁸⁰ e Dalmati⁸¹ non sono ravvisabili grandi sorprese: vengono prevalentemente indicate la città o la provincia di provenienza in analogia alle iscrizioni funerarie.

Le iscrizioni sacre di Pannoni, Mesi e Traci mostrano invece elementi peculiari.

Alcuni monumenti posti dai *cives Thracas* congedati dagli *equites singulares Augusti*⁸² e da soldati originari di *Sirmium* e *Oescus*⁸³ si contraddistinguono per una caratteristica precipua nel nucleo omogeneo delle dediche sacre dei *castra priora*⁸⁴, nelle quali l'*origo* dei *militēs missi honesta missione* è solo saltuariamente indicata. Qui, al contrario, la provenienza non solo è menzionata, ma sembra avere un significato di primo piano, interpretabile probabilmente con la comune *origo* di gruppi di commilitoni.

Un secondo nucleo compatto di *tituli sacri* proviene invece dagli scavi dell'Esquilino⁸⁵. Si tratta nella maggior parte dei casi di dediche collettive di natura non ufficiale, databili nel III secolo avanzato, nelle quali la provenienza è espressa attraverso forme peculiari: proprio in questi testi vengono indicate, infatti, unità territoriali corrispondenti a *civitates peregrinae* o *regiones*. Soldati di origine pannonica, che si identificano come *cives Cotini ex Pannonia inferiore*, sono i dedicanti di un gruppo di basi, purtroppo frammentarie, *pro salute Imperatoris*⁸⁶. Dai

⁷⁵ CIL VI 3177 e 37257, oltre all'iscrizione del soldato di *Scupi* (vd. nt. 65).

⁷⁶ CIL X 8754.

⁷⁷ Sui *Bessi* nell'esercito cfr. Tatscheva 1997, 199–210; Tatscheva 1999, 863–872; Zahariade 2009.

⁷⁸ Tatscheva 1999, 872.

⁷⁹ CIL VI 31144; AE 1983, 69.

⁸⁰ CIL VI 269.

⁸¹ Per quanto riguarda i soldati dalmati ci sono pervenute quattro dediche sacre: una a *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus* da parte di *cives Dalmatae* (CIL VI 32588), altre tre al *Genius Centuriae* (CIL VI 209, 221, 30881).

⁸² CIL VI 31147, 31162, 31176 [frg. a]. + VI 31157 [frg. b].

⁸³ CIL VI 31146.

⁸⁴ Sulle iscrizioni sacre degli *equites singulares Augusti* e sul loro contesto di ritrovamento cfr. Speidel 1994, 28–33.

⁸⁵ Per le iscrizioni rinvenute durante gli scavi di Piazza Manfredo Fanti e dintorni cfr. Lanciani 1875, 77–82. Delle dediche sacre qui ritrovate si sono già occupati Granino Cecere / Ricci 2009, 185–201; Dana / Ricci 2013, 20–35; Dana / Ricci 2014 e Cenati 2016.

⁸⁶ CIL VI 32542, 32544 (è interessante come in questa iscrizione i soldati specificano oltre alla *civitas peregrina* la città di provenienza), 32557.

vici del territorio di *Philippopolis* (in CIL VI 32543 in particolare ne sono menzionati ben 15)⁸⁷ provengono i pretoriani dedicanti di alcune iscrizioni ad *Asclepius Zimidrenus*⁸⁸, uno dei tanti nomi con cui era designato il cavaliere trace, al quale era consacrato un importante santuario proprio nei pressi di *Philippopolis*⁸⁹. Altre dediche collettive sono poste da soldati originari della *regio Dimensis* in *Moesia*⁹⁰, da *cives* delle *regiones Marcianopolitana*⁹¹, *Serdicensis*⁹² e da *cives Usdicenses*⁹³.

Essenziali per l'indicazione della provenienza sono i cosiddetti *laterculi*, ovvero tutti quei monumenti che riportano elenchi di soldati, i quali, a vario titolo, ma prevalentemente in seguito al congedo, pongono una dedica sacra o intitolano una statua all'imperatore regnante⁹⁴. Questi monumenti non vengono trattati qui nel dettaglio, ma si rivelano utili per comprendere meglio le varie forme di espressione dell'*origo* analizzate fin ora.

Se si confrontano le provenienze fornite in questi testi⁹⁵ con quelle contenute nelle iscrizioni funerarie e sacre, risulta chiaro come nei *latercoli* sia stato effettuato un tentativo di omologazione delle *origines*. Il modello fu una pratica stabilitasi già agli inizi del II secolo, quando il reclutamento avveniva a larga maggioranza in Italia e i pretoriani erano registrati tramite l'indicazione della tribù elettorale e il nome della città di origine. Questa forma standardizzata nella composizione delle liste si mantiene inalterata anche con l'inizio del reclutamento dalle province.

I pretoriani di area danubiana, tuttavia, non provenivano sempre da centri urbani, ma anche, come si è visto, dalle aree rurali circostanti. Ai soldati doveva essere

⁸⁷ CIL VI 32543 è un esempio di come molti toponimi traci siano noti esclusivamente dalle iscrizioni di Roma, le quali, insieme ai diplomi militari forniscono elementi essenziali per la conoscenza della geografia e della situazione sociale-amministrativa delle province.

⁸⁸ CIL VI 16 e 32543.

⁸⁹ Da questo importante centro religioso proviene un ricco dossier epigrafico documentante il culto in una vasta gamma di varianti grafiche dello stesso epiteto. La maggior parte delle dediche è in greco ed è stata posta da cittadini romani o romanizzati (cfr. IGBulg. III.1, 117–118 e nrr. 1114–1296).

⁹⁰ CIL VI 32549.

⁹¹ CIL VI 32583: in questa iscrizione e in CIL VI 32549 la provenienza non si riferisce direttamente ai soldati. In CIL VI 32549 si trova isolata nella prima riga, qui è invece apposta al nome della divinità.

⁹² CIL VI 32567.

⁹³ Dedicanti, questi ultimi, di un monumento a *Heros Brigantius* (CIL VI 32582). In quest'ultima iscrizione, in un monumento ad un *Apollo Cicanos regionis Thracia vico Statuis* (CIL VI 32546) e forse in una dedica a *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus [---]ncies* (CIL VI 2819) sono probabilmente ravvisabili divinità autoctone portatrici di epiteti toponomastici.

⁹⁴ Queste iscrizioni meritano un attento riesame, già impostato da Rebecca Benefiel (cfr. Benefiel 2001).

⁹⁵ I *latercoli* in cui l'origine danubiana e balcanica dei soldati è conservata ed esplicita sono: CIL VI 3885, 31234, 32515, 32516, 32518–32520, 32525, 32526, 32531, 32533, 32536, 32561, 32563, 32599, 32623–32630, 32632a, 32634, 32638, 32640, 32642, 32644, 37184, 32904–32905, 32908–32910, 32912, 32914; AE 1933, 95; AE 1940, 82; AE 2001, 555, Giacobelli 2013, 418–419.

attribuita al momento del reclutamento una *origo ficta*⁹⁶, che doveva corrispondere di norma alla città nel cui territorio rientrava l'area rurale di provenienza o, in alcuni casi, al capoluogo della provincia⁹⁷. All'*origo* reale o *ficta* veniva inoltre associata nei latercoli la tribù o una pseudo-tribù, derivante dall'epiteto della città⁹⁸. I *laterculi*, pur essendo monumenti di natura non ufficiale, dovevano condividere con i registri dell'esercito l'indicazione di una formula onomastica completa di tribù e *origo*. È tuttavia probabile che, al fine di non creare ambiguità, i soldati di II e III secolo venissero registrati dagli uffici militari con il nome della città a cui erano stati attribuiti in combinazione con la provincia, come traspare anche dalla ChLA X 422 (*per nationes et patrias*)⁹⁹.

Risulta così evidente il motivo della forte discrepanza tra le attestazioni delle iscrizioni funerarie e sacre da una parte, dove la provenienza compare anche sotto forma di provincia o territori rurali, e quelle dei latercoli dall'altra, dove si incontrano solo centri urbani¹⁰⁰.

Inoltre, l'assenza del nome della provincia nelle dediche collettive di Roma, insieme alla pratica di abbreviare il nome della città, doveva creare già in antico non poca confusione e oggi rende ad esempio difficoltosa la distinzione tra la *Beroe* in Tracia e quella in Macedonia, tra *Traianopolis* e *Augusta Traiana, Philippi* e *Philippopolis*¹⁰¹.

La costanza con cui compaiono il nome della provincia e della città nelle iscrizioni sepolcrali permette di pensare che i soldati venissero immatricolati nei registri ufficiali *per nationes et patrias* ovvero indicando la provincia e la città di provenienza. Questi due elementi sarebbero stati quindi utilizzati dagli eredi, prevalentemente commilitoni, singolarmente o in associazione l'uno con l'altro, per indicare l'origine del defunto. Non trattandosi però di documenti ufficiali, questa prassi non viene sempre seguita.

Le variazioni nell'indicazione dell'*origo* nelle iscrizioni sembrano dipendere essenzialmente dai seguenti fattori: corpo di appartenenza, provincia di origine dei *milites*, tipologia ed epoca dell'erezione del monumento.

⁹⁶ Cfr. Dig. L, 1, 1, 30: *qui ex vico ortus est, eam patriam intellegitur habere, cui rei publicae vicus respondet* sulla registrazione dei soldati secondo la provincia e il municipio/colonia di diritto romano di riferimento.

⁹⁷ Un caso a sé è rappresentato invece dalla controversa *origo castris* per cui cfr. Mócsy 1965, 425–431 e più di recente Krawczyk 2015, 103–115.

⁹⁸ Sulla genesi della pseudo-tribù e sull'ambivalenza di tribù ed epiteto della città cfr. Galsterer-Kröll 1972 e Forni 1985, 23–46.

⁹⁹ Su questo papiro cfr. Speidel 2007, 281–295, Mitthof 2012, 68–69 e da ultimo Grafl 2015. Sui ruolini in cui venivano registrati i soldati e sui documenti dell'amministrazione dell'esercito cfr. Fink 1971.

¹⁰⁰ Casi emblematici sono *Sarmizegetusa*, *Serdica* e *Scupi*. *Sarmizegetusa* è nota tredici volte dai latercoli e tre dalle altre iscrizioni; *Serdica* diciassette volte nei latercoli, otto in testi sacri e onorari, *Scupi* diciotto volte nei latercoli contro tre nei restanti monumenti e così via.

¹⁰¹ Cfr. Topalilov 2013, 287–300 e Redaelli 2017.

Soprattutto nel caso dei pretoriani reclutati dalle province che fornivano soldati alla capitale già tra I e II secolo (Norico e Macedonia) si nota una predilezione per l'indicazione del *municipium* e della *colonia* di provenienza, secondo l'uso dei loro commilitoni italici.

La variabilità relativa alla provincia di origine non sembra invece dipendere dall'epoca della romanizzazione, quanto piuttosto dal tipo di amministrazione del territorio.

La regolarità nell'espressione dell'*origo* degli abitanti del Norico attraverso il nome della provincia e/o di una città è dovuta all'organizzazione del territorio in municipi¹⁰². Nel suo studio sul reclutamento nel Norico Speidel ipotizza inoltre l'assegnazione d'ufficio dell'*origo ficta* dal capoluogo *Virunum*; in questo modo si spiegherebbe il numero consistente di *equites singulares Augusti* originari di questa città¹⁰³. Questa formulazione può essere condivisibile, con le dovute precauzioni e previa analisi delle singole casistiche, anche per quanto riguarda la *Raetia*. Per quest'ultima provincia infatti compare come unica città di origine dei soldati, oltre alla provincia, solo il capoluogo *Augusta Vindelicum*. L'assenza di altri centri può essere ravvisabile nella connotazione prettamente militare che la Rezia mantenne per tutta l'età imperiale come avamposto sul Danubio e nella sua scarsa urbanizzazione¹⁰⁴: *Augusta Vindelicum* rimase di fatto l'unico centro urbano della provincia, mentre i restanti abitati (*Cambodunum*, *Curia*, *Brigantium*) conservarono un carattere prevalentemente vicario.

La molteplicità di indicazioni della provenienza nei monumenti dei soldati pannonici, in particolare nel III secolo, è invece giustificata dall'organizzazione del territorio in *pagi* e *vici*. La sopravvivenza di forme di *civitates peregrinae*, attestate nelle iscrizioni di Roma molto dopo il loro assorbimento nei territori urbani, si riscontra anche nei diplomi militari¹⁰⁵. Queste, pur scomparendo amministrativamente in seguito all'urbanizzazione della provincia, che termina con Adriano, continuarono a sopravvivere sotto forma di comunità, forse di tipo religioso¹⁰⁶.

Al contrario, la mancata attestazione in Dacia di unità amministrative che preservassero l'organizzazione territoriale precedente, come le *civitates peregrinae*, pare essere confermata anche nelle modalità utilizzate per indicare l'*origo* dei soldati a Roma: essa sarebbe una conseguenza dell'immediata dissoluzione dell'*élite* locale e

¹⁰² Alföldy 1989, 37–55.

¹⁰³ Speidel 1981/1982, 223–227.

¹⁰⁴ Gottlieb 1989, 75–87.

¹⁰⁵ Cfr. Kovács 2013, 131–154. Per un'analisi dell'indicazione della provenienza nei diplomi militari attraverso l'indicazione di etnico, *civitas peregrina*, città o provincia cfr. Speidel 1986, 467–481.

¹⁰⁶ Cfr. Fitz 1993, 414–427 sull'organizzazione municipale della Pannonia nel II secolo.

dell'intensa colonizzazione successiva alla conquista romana, che avrebbe causato la relativa scomparsa di unità amministrative autoctone¹⁰⁷.

Il problema dell'*origo* espressa solo con la provincia sotto forma di *natio*, fenomeno particolarmente consistente per i soldati di origine dacica, non può essere spiegato con la provenienza di questi da un territorio posto al di fuori dell'organizzazione amministrativa romana per almeno tre ragioni. Innanzitutto, la Dacia era una provincia altamente urbanizzata, perciò i soldati di Roma dovevano essere stati reclutati, se non dai centri urbani, dai territori a questi assegnati. Inoltre, il solo nome della provincia compare frequentemente non solo tra gli *equites singulares Augusti*, che potevano non essere cittadini romani, ma anche tra i pretoriani, per i quali la cittadinanza romana, anche se attribuita solo al momento del reclutamento, era una condizione necessaria. Un tale presupposto renderebbe infine inspiegabile l'indicazione costante delle città nei latercoli dei pretoriani. Sembra piuttosto, come nota anche Speidel in riferimento al Norico¹⁰⁸, che la provincia compaia più frequentemente nelle iscrizioni funerarie, mentre municipi e colonie siano documentati principalmente nelle liste di congedo e nelle dediche collettive.

Per quanto riguarda la cronologia, pare in effetti, che, come già sostenuto da Forni,¹⁰⁹ ci sia nel III secolo una maggiore libertà nell'espressione dell'*origo*, probabilmente come effetto della *Constitutio Antoniniana*, grazie alla quale potenzialmente tutti i centri potevano essere indicati ufficialmente come luogo di origine. D'altra parte, nel caso dei monumenti privati potrebbe essersi sviluppata nei soldati e nei loro familiari una volontà di esprimere la propria effettiva provenienza attraverso l'indicazione dei *vici*¹¹⁰.

Si nota infine una sostanziale differenza tra monumenti posti in ambito pubblico e in contesti privati per via di una necessità di standardizzazione da una parte e della soggettività delle singole dediche dall'altra.

Nelle iscrizioni funerarie l'indicazione della struttura amministrativa romana si sovrappone alla percezione dei dedicanti, che spesso non riescono a nascondere la propria confusione all'interno dell'organizzazione romana in un periodo di transizione segnato dall'intensa urbanizzazione della metà del II secolo e di inizio III secolo.

Nei monumenti sacri collettivi del III secolo avanzato, posti da gruppi di pretoriani che si identificano sotto uno specifico culto autoctono, invece, traspaiono non di rado

¹⁰⁷ Cfr. Piso 2008, 317–318. Sull'esistenza di unità tribali in Dacia nel II secolo cfr. Nemeti 2006, 86–98. Secondo Ardevan unità territoriali prive di centri urbani sarebbero esistite, anche se non sono attestate epigraficamente (Ardevan 1998, 95–103).

¹⁰⁸ Speidel 1981/1982, 224–225. Il giudizio di Speidel sul Norico può essere esteso anche alle altre province. D'accordo è anche Alföldy 1989, 52; contrario Forni 1978, 192.

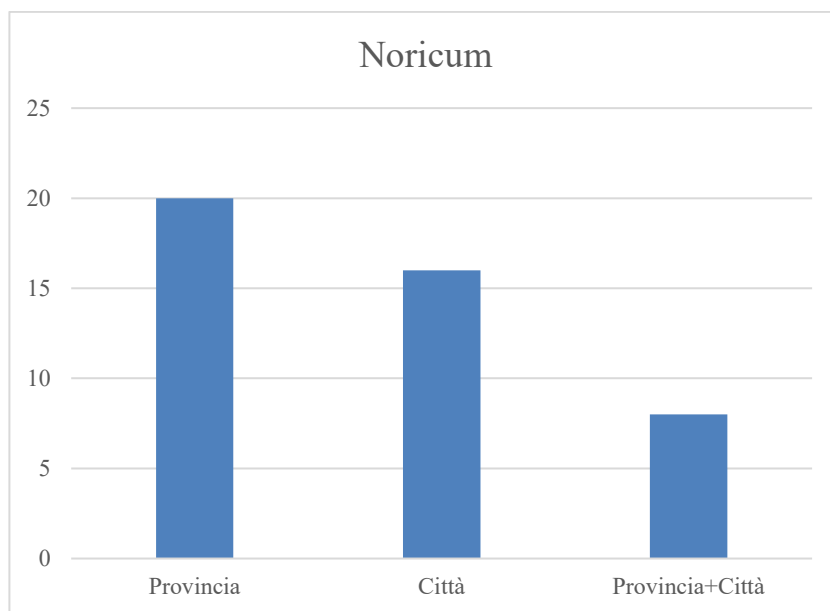
¹⁰⁹ Forni 1978, 207.

¹¹⁰ La menzione di *vici* e *regiones* nel III secolo può anche essere vista, al contrario, come prova del fatto che, anche in seguito alla *Constitutio Antoniniana*, non tutti gli abitanti dell'impero avessero ricevuto la cittadinanza. Sul rispecchiarsi di questo fenomeno nella produzione dei diplomi militari e nelle iscrizioni, soprattutto quelle dei Traci a Roma, cfr. Herz 2005, 397–420, in particolare 410–414.

entità regionali. Tali espressioni, frequenti soprattutto nelle dediche di soldati originari di Mesia e Tracia sono presenti esclusivamente a Roma. Esse non sarebbero, a mio avviso, da identificare con reali unità amministrative, ma indicherebbero piuttosto la formazione di comunità regionali nella capitale nel corso del III secolo. Luoghi comuni di culto avrebbero in questo senso svolto un ruolo fondamentale nella creazione di questi gruppi¹¹¹.

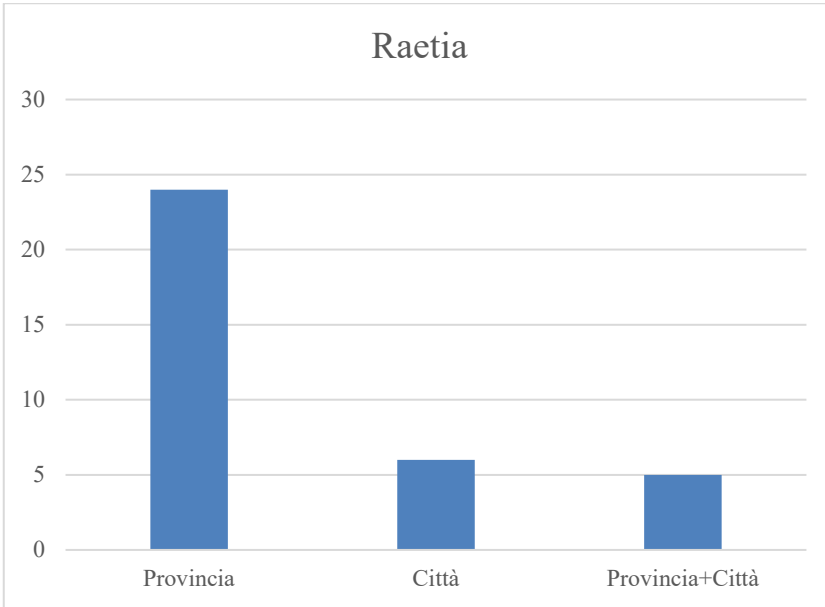
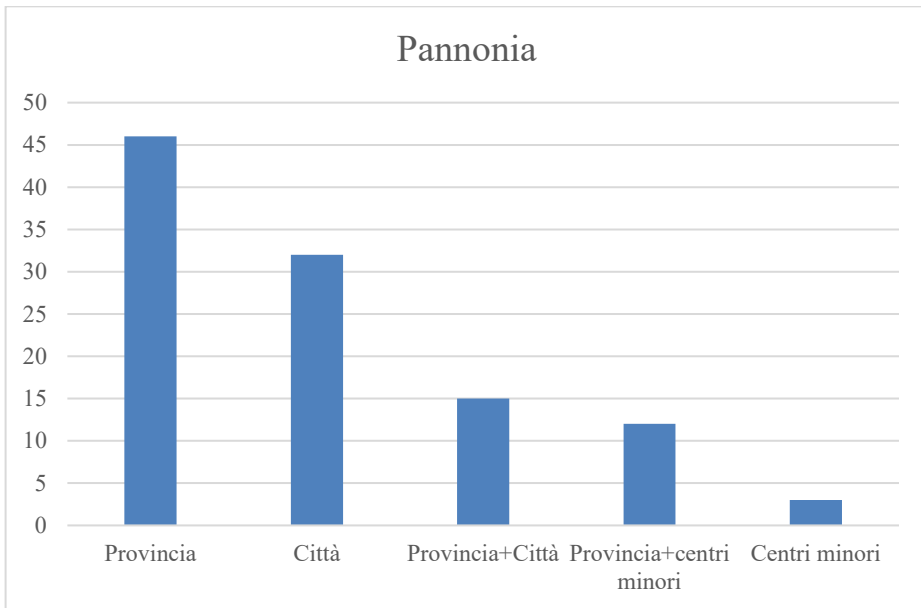
La complessità nell'indicazione dell'*origo*, insomma, non sembra riflettere un particolare attaccamento alla patria da parte di provinciali provenienti dalla periferia dell'impero o una necessità di sottolineare la propria origine davanti agli abitanti di Roma. Pare piuttosto che attraverso questa varietà si riveli l'identità multipla dei soldati, i quali, nel tentativo di una complessa autodefinizione, fondono diversi livelli di appartenenza e si fanno testimoni del continuo processo di costituzione dell'identità romana, che passa prima e soprattutto attraverso il servizio militare.

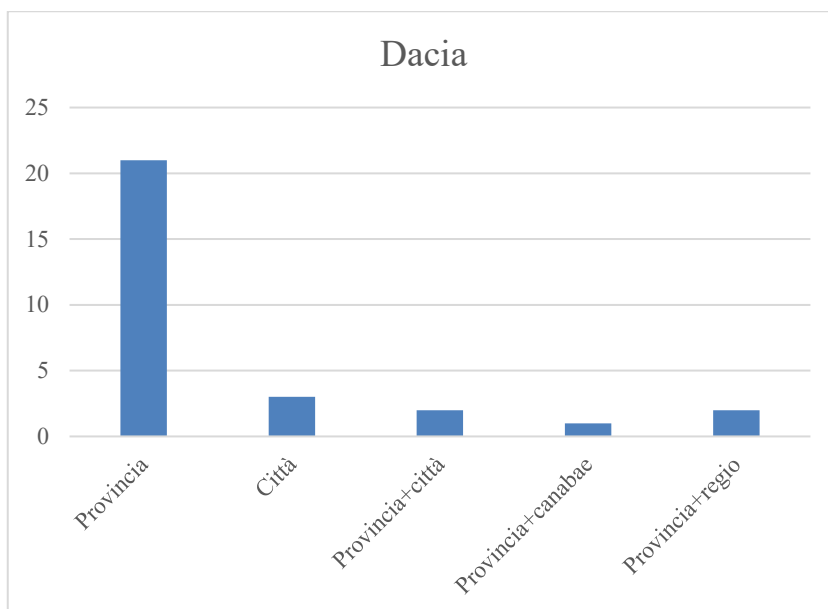
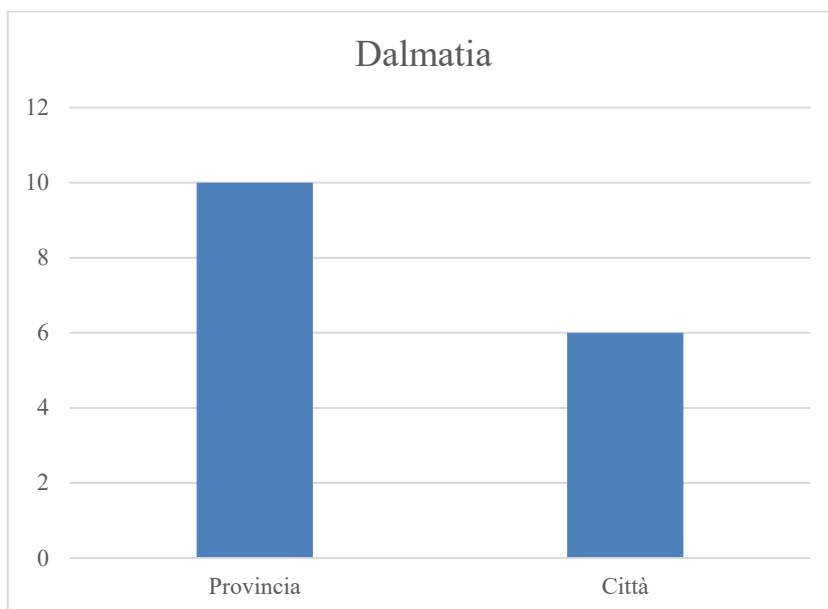
Appendice

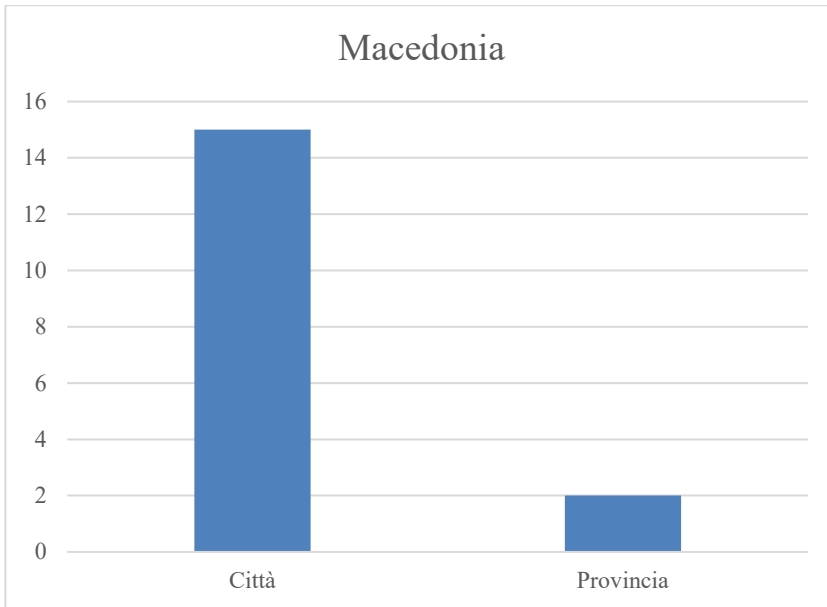


Tab. 1: L'*origo* dei soldati norici.

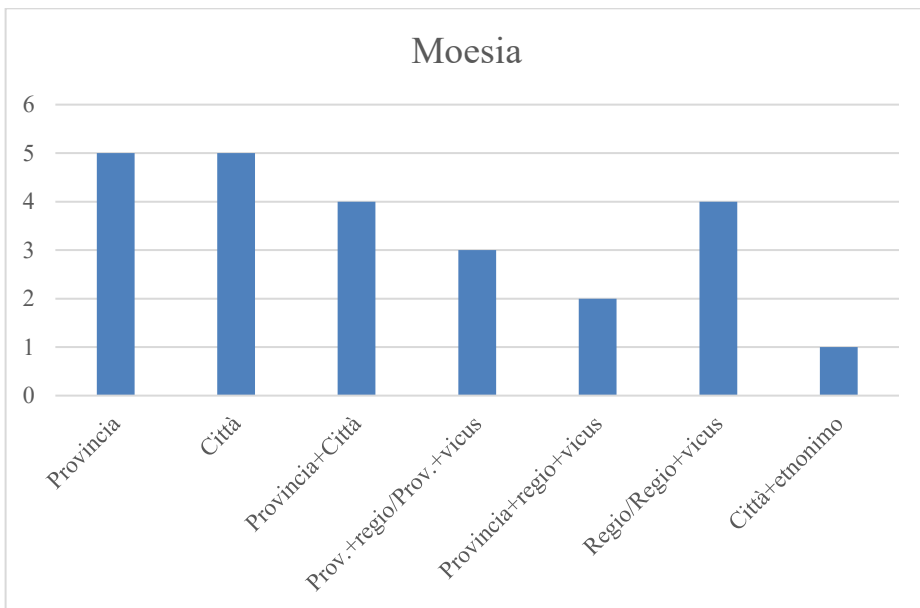
¹¹¹ Cfr. Cenati 2018.

Tab. 2: *L'origo* dei soldati reti.Tab. 3: *L'origo* dei soldati pannoni.

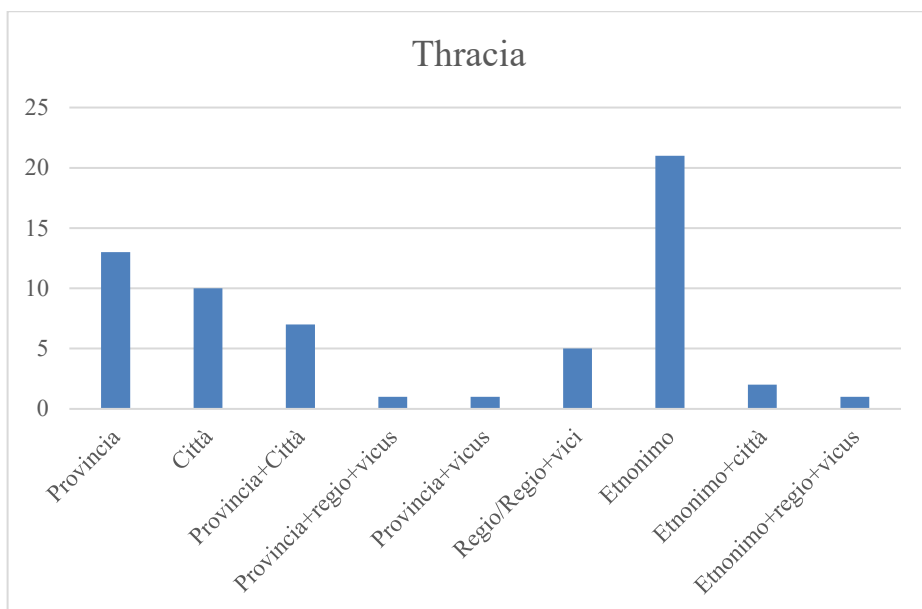
Tab. 4: L'*origo* dei soldati daci.Tab. 5: L'*origo* dei soldati dalmati.



Tab. 6: L'origo dei soldati macedoni.



Tab. 7: L'origo dei soldati mesi.



Tab. 8: L'origo dei soldati traci.

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ADAM ŁAJTAR

Two Greek Dedications by *primipilarii* Recently Discovered in Novae*

Plates 12–15

The two statue bases with inscriptions in Greek published below were found in January 2014 in the area of the *principia* of the *legio I Italica* during preparatory fieldwork preceding the implementation of a conservation and visualisation project in the central zone of the legionary fortress (Pl. 12, Fig. 1). The bases had been thrown into loess pits dug in the former *forum militare* in late antiquity, probably in the 6th to 7th centuries.¹ The original placement of the objects cannot be established exactly; nevertheless, it is nearly certain that they stood in the *principia* themselves, not far from their find-spot. The inscriptions of the bases make clear that we are dealing with Late Antique dedications by *primipilarii* set up after the successful completion of the transportation of supplies to the soldiers of *legio I Italica*. Novae has already yielded nine objects of this kind with inscriptions in either Latin or Greek, dated to the 4th/first half of the 5th century.² The two inscriptions published here together with two Latin items increase their number to thirteen.

* The present article grew out of the project 2016/21/B/HS3/00030 of the National Science Centre of the Republic of Poland. The publication of the inscriptions was prepared solely on the basis of photographs. I would like to thank Tadeusz Sarnowski for inviting me to publish the inscriptions, providing me with all necessary information and documentation, and discussing with me all questions connected with Novae and the institution of *pastus militum*. I also thank Jerzy Danielewicz (Poznań), Heikki Solin (Helsinki), Mika Kajava (Helsinki) and an anonymous reviewer of my paper for suggestions concerning the reading and interpretation of the inscriptions, and Giovanni Ruffini (New York) for correcting the English of the paper.

¹ Three statue bases with inscriptions in Latin, among them two dedications by *primipilarii*, were found at the same time and under the same circumstances. The publication of the Latin inscriptions is under preparation by Agnieszka Tomas and her collaborators.

² For a list of these inscriptions, see Łajtar 2013, 109–111. Number 12 of the list — a Greek metric dedication of a statue of Phoibos/Apollo by a single *primipilarius* whose name is not preserved — was published in Łajtar 2015.

1. Dedication of a statue of Dionysos by Theodoros and Palladios, *primipilarii* of the province of Hellespont

The object is a slab made of local yellowish sandstone of very bad quality (Pl. 13, Fig. 2). The dimensions of the slab are: height: 123 cm, width: 45.5 cm–55 cm, depth: 24.5–26 cm. The slab is considerably damaged. The upper and the lower corners of its front side are broken off, chippings are visible on many spots, especially in the lower part of the front side at the level of lines 13–14 of the inscription. The back side of the slab is only roughly dressed. The object had at least two stages of use. Originally it was a thick block, which was used horizontally, possibly in a construction. It is with this stage of use that a big *tabula ansata* executed in carving on the front face is connected. At a certain moment the block was turned by 90° for the purpose of its secondary use as a statue base and the inscription was executed at right angles to the *tabula ansata*. Finally, the back side of the block was cut off thus giving it the shape of a slab. However, it is possible that cutting off the back side of the block occurred earlier, in connection with its secondary use. The slab is definitely too narrow to be a statue base by itself; it must have been set together with another similar slab in this case. Near the top and the bottom edges of the slab, more or less in mid-width, round holes are visible in the front face. The function of these holes is unknown. The bottom face of the slab has three rectangular holes placed along its longitudinal axis at regular intervals (Pl. 12, Fig. 3). Two similar holes are found on the upper surface close to the front face (Pl. 12, Fig. 4). These rectangular holes are probably connected with the secondary use of the object. They were destined for inserting (wooden?) dowels connecting the statue base with a plinth (holes in the bottom face) and the statue (holes in the upper face). The first two lines of the inscription are carved across one of the *ansae*, the rest of the text within the *tabula*. The inscription is rather clumsily executed. The letters are of uneven height, varying from line to line, the highest being in line 4 (4 cm), the smallest in line 6 (3 cm). *Epsilon*, *sigma*, and *omega* have square forms; *theta* and *omicron* are both square and round. The inscription has numerous ligatures (marked by underlining involved letters in the edition below). Two times the stonemason abbreviated a noun designating two persons by doubling its initial letter(s): ΔΔ for δ(εσποτῶν δύο) in line 3 and [ΠΠ]PP for [π]ρ(ιμπιλάριοι δύο) in line 13. This way of abbreviating is unusual for the Greek scribal practices and is undoubtedly due to the influence of Latin epigraphy.³

³ See Avi-Yonah 1940, 41. According to Avi-Yonah doubling the last preserved letter was used in Greek inscriptions “mostly in connection with imperial titles held by several co-regents”. The earliest example listed by him comes from AD 199.

- θεοῦ πρωνοί[α]
 ὑπὲρ νείκης
 τῶν δδ(εσποτῶν) ἡμῶν
 4 τόνδε τὸν βο-
 τρυοκομον Σε-
 μελήιον κισσο-
 στεφῆν δίγονον
 8 θιασῶν μύστην
 Θεόδωρον καὶ
 Παλλάδιον οἱ
 τῆς ζ' ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) Ἑλ-
 12 [λη]σπόντου
 [ππ]ρρ(ιμπιλάριοι) θρέψαν-
 [τες - - - - -] . .
 [- - - - - Ἴτα]-
 16 λικὴν ἀνε-
 θήκαμεν.

By the providence of the god, for the victory of our Lords, we, Theodoros and Palladios, primipilarii of (the province of) Hellespont for the seventh indiction, after feeding the First Italic Legion set up this statue of the one who is cultivating grapes (alternatively: the one with grape-like hair), son of Semele, crowned with ivy, twice-born, initiated in thiasoi.

The inscription commemorates the erection of a statue by two *primipilarii*, Palladios and Theodoros, from the province of Hellespont, which is already known as the supplier of the *legio I Italica* in Novae.⁴ Interestingly, the *primipilarii* are qualified as being designated for the seventh indiction, a clear proof of the temporary character of their function, which lasted for one civil year.

The use of the indiction to designate a year has a chronological value. Originally the indiction referred to the periodic reassessment for an agricultural or land tax but started to be used to reference a year in the 320s, initially together with other dating systems such as the consulate, and then, with the middle of the century, also independently.⁵ This shows that the inscription under consideration, in which the year is designated solely as an indiction, should not be earlier than ca. 350. This supposition is further confirmed by the fact of *primipilarii* occurring in pairs. At the beginning of the existence of the system of *pastus primipilarii*, in the first half of the 4th century, *legio I Italica* was supplied by only one *primipilarius*; two *primipilarii* were probably introduced towards the end of the rule of the Constantinian dynasty, perhaps in con-

⁴ See Sarnowski 2005, 224–225, and Łajtar 2013, 109–111.

⁵ For the introduction and the development of the indictional system on the basis of the Egyptian material, see Bagnall / Worp 2004, 7–21.

nection with the division of the legion in two parts, of which one garrisoned in Novae and the other in Sexaginta Prista (modern Ruse).⁶ On the other hand, the pagan character of the dedication shows that it was likely set up not later than the rule of Theodosius the Great, the author of the edict of 392 forbidding pagan cults. Within these theoretic limits, ca. 350–392, the seventh indiction fell on 348/349, 363/364, and 378/379. According to line 3, the inscription was set up when there were two emperors reigning together. Such a situation occurred throughout the entire indictional year 348/349, when the Roman Empire was co-ruled by Constantius II and Constans, in the second half of the indictional year 363/364 with Valentinian I and Valens as co-rulers,⁷ and between January 1–19, 379 when the co-emperors were Gratian and Valentinian II. It looks as if the third possibility is excluded in our case. The period of coregency of two emperors is very short in the indictional year 378/379. More importantly it falls in the middle of winter, when navigation, which undoubtedly was the principal means of transportation between the Hellespont and Novae, was hardly possible because of the dangerous sea. Consequently, our inscription must date either to 348/349 or 363/364 and the latter possibility seems more probable to me.

The statue dedicated by the *primipilarii* was that of Dionysos.⁸ The name of the god is not mentioned *expressis verbis*, but his identity is obvious from the epithets ascribed to him. These include: Σεμελῆιος, “son of Semele”, κισσοστεφής, “crowned with ivy”, δίγονος, “twice born”, θιασῶν μύστης, “initiated in *thiasoi*”, and the fifth epithet, mentioned in the first place in the list, the reading of which is not entirely clear, either βοτρυοκόμος, “cultivating grapes”, or βοτρυόκομος, “with the grape-like hair” (see commentary below). It should be stressed that the epithets ascribed to Dionysos by the anonymous redactor of the inscription have a clear literary and more precisely poetic overtone. They occur as such throughout the Greek poetry from the great dramatic poetry of the Classical period until Nonnus’ *Dionysiaka*, and are especially characteristic of hymns, which frequently play with the polyonymy of gods. Not only the epithet themselves but also the asyndetic style in listing them is common to the hymns. The closest analogies are found in the so-called Orphic hymns, especially hymn 52 addressed to amphietos Bakchos, “an annual Bacchus”, and a strange poem contained in *Anthologia Graeca* (*Anth. Pal.* IX 524), which, in alphabetic order, lists as many as ninety-six epithets of Dionysos. Among them are: βοτρυοχαίτης (*Anth. Pal.* IX 524, 3), δίγονος (*Anth. Pal.* IX 524, 5), θιασώτης (*Anth. Pal.* IX 524, 8), κισσοστέφανος (*Anth. Pal.* IX 524, 11), μύστης (*Anth. Pal.* IX 524, 13), Σεμεληγενέτης (*Anth. Pal.* IX 524, 19), and Σεμελεύς (*Anth. Pal.* IX 524, 19). Some of them are identical to epithets occurring in the inscription discussed here; others are close to them in formal and semantic terms. There is no doubt that the editor of our

⁶ See Sarnowski 2013, 145.

⁷ Valens was declared co-ruler by his brother Valentinian on March 28, 364. The new eighth indiction started on September 23, 364 assuming that the indictional year was that of Constantinopolitan type.

⁸ For a possible reconstruction of the shape of the statue, see above, note 4.

inscription knew the literary tradition concerning Dionysos. One can even venture the statement that he was well aware of hymnic poetry in honour of Dionysos as represented by Orphic Hymns and *Anth. Pal.* IX 524.

1. The concept of divine providence, θεοῦ (θεία) πρόνοια, was present in antiquity in both pagan, especially Stoic, and Judeo-Christian thought. As far as inscriptions are concerned, however, θεοῦ (θεία) πρόνοια is found essentially in the Christian context where it expresses the belief that an event — the death of a man, a construction, a miracle, etc. — took place as a result of God's intervention in human matters. It normally occurs at the beginning of an inscription as a standard formula, almost a confession of the belief in the omniscience and omnipotence of One God. Pagan attestations of θεοῦ (θεία) πρόνοια are extremely rare. As one of a very few examples one can cite *I.Kourion* 125 (late 2nd/early 3rd century) — a dedication to Apollo Hylates by a man who had been saved from an illness θεοῦ πρόνοια τε καὶ ἀρετῆ. Another example is IK III 97 (Ilion, between 293 and 305) — a dedication of a silver statue of Asklepios to Athena Ilias by the emperors Diocletian and Maximinus Daia θεία πρόνοια τ<ω>ν ἀν[τῶ]ν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν. The pagan use of θεοῦ (θεία) πρόνοια as illustrated by these two attestations differ from the Christian one in that it is less formal and more descriptive. This is partly due to the anonymity of the formula, which requires additional information about the god, whose identity would otherwise have remained hidden. The use of the θεοῦ πρόνοια formula in our inscription very much resembles the Christian one; however, the dedication must be pagan as shown by the subject of the statue.⁹ Obviously the formulaic language of pagan and Christian inscriptions became more similar in the 4th century. The god referred to anonymously in the θεοῦ πρόνοια formula is likely to have been Dionysos whose statue was set up by the *primipilarii* Palladios and Theodoros. His divine πρόνοια intervened probably both in the successful transportation of the supplies from the province of Hellespont to faraway Novae and the presentation of the statue at the end of the mission. Another possibility is that the Imperial πρόνοια was meant here. This possibility seems less probable to me as the πρόνοια-formula mentions only one god whereas there were two emperors reigning together at the moment of the placement of the inscription; one should rather expect θεία πρόνοια in that case.

2. The formula ὑπὲρ νείκης (τῶν) δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν as an indication of the reason for setting up the statue is found in another dedication by *primipilarii* from Novae, dated probably to AD 367/368; cf. Bresson *et al.* 1995. The anonymous character of this formula suggests that it did not refer to a specific victory won by Emperors but quite generally to the Imperial Victory. Generally, for references to Imperial Victory in inscriptions, see Veyne 1962, 67–68; Dobiáš 1964, 39–40.

⁹ The possibility of the statue of a pagan god being dedicated by Christians should definitely be ruled out. Christians of Late Antiquity were highly reluctant to dedicate statues of pagan gods considering them to be dwelling place of demons.

4–5. The first epithet of Dionysos is recorded as βοτρυοκομον on the stone. The word βοτρυοκομος has not been attested so far; however, we know a similar term βοτρυόκοσμος, “decked with grapes”, attested as an epithet of Dionysos in *Hymn. Orph.* 52,11. Either the stonemason made a mistake omitting the *sigma* (thus βοτρυόκσ(σ)μον), or we are dealing with a new word, either βοτρυοκόμος, “cultivating grapes”, or βοτρυόκομος, “with grape-like hair”. In the first case, the second element of the composition should be derived from κομέω, “take care of”. An analogy for this composition is the adjective σταχυηκόμος, “cultivating ears of corn”, attested as an epithet of Demeter in Nonnus, *Dion.* 1.104. In the second case, the second element should be derived from κόμη, “hair of the head”. Several adjectives of a similar composition are known even if not all of them were used with reference to men or gods. Among them one has: ἵπποκομος, “decked with horsehair”, κυπαρισσόκομος “with cypress foliage” (cf. *P.Oxy.* XXXV 2736, fr. 2 (b). 12), οὐλόκομος = οὐλόθριξ, “with crisp, curly hair; having thick, bushy foliage” (Alexander Rhetor 324.1; Hephaestio Astrologus 2.2), φυλλόκομος, “thick-leaved” (Ar. *Av.* 742). As far as the meaning is concerned, one can compare the adjective βοτρυοχαίτης, “with clustering hair”, attested as an epithet of Dionysos in *Anth. Pal.* IX 524, 3.

5–6. The epithet Σεμελῆιος, “son of Semele”, occurs in a ritual acclamation of Dionysos quoted in a scholion to Aristophanes’ *Ranae*, verse 479: Σεμελήι’ Ἰακχε πλουτοδότα. According to the scholiast the acclamation was pronounced during the feast of Lenaia. The epithet Σεμελῆιος is also found in Damascius, *In Phaedonem* (versio 2), 8, 2 (οὗτος δὲ ἦν ὁ Σεμελῆιος Διόνυσος) and in Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Carmina quae spectant ad alios*, PG XXXVII, p. 1571, line 12 (Βάκχοι τ’ ἀμφὶ γόνον Σεμελῆιον οὐρεσιφοῖται). The alphabetic poem *Anth. Pal.* IX 524 quoted above calls the god Σεμεληγενέτης and Σεμελεύς. Semele was the mortal mother of Dionysos by Zeus according to one version of his myth. According to the other version she was the second bearer of Dionysos, begotten by Zeus of Persephone, after he was destroyed by the Titans.

6–7. The epithet κισσοστεφής for Dionysos is found in *Anacreontea* 48, 5: κισσοστεφής δὲ κείμεναι, πατῶ δ’ ἅπαντα θυμῶν. A parallel epithet κισσοστέφανος is ascribed to the god in *Anth. Pal.* IX 524, 11, a. Dionysos is invoked as κισσοφόρε βακχεῖ in Ar. *Thesm.* 988, whereas he is qualified as κισσόβρυον and κισσοχαρής in *Hymn. Orph.* 30, 4 and 52, 6 respectively. He had the epithet κισσοκόμης in Amorgos, and κισσός in Acharnai; cf. Kern 1903. The god is frequently represented wearing the ivy crown as his followers are as well; cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 81–82: κισσῶν τε στεφανῶθεις Διόνυσον θεραπεύει.

7. Dionysos was commonly considered as “twice-born” in Greek mythological thought. In one version of his myth he appeared to light first from the womb of Semele and then from the heap of Zeus, according to the other, his first bearer was Persephone, the second Semele. These mythological ideas found expression in the god’s epithets such as διμήτωρ, διθύραμβος, and δίγονος. The latter is found in Eur. *Hipp.* 560, and in *Anth. Pal.* IX 524, 5.

8. As far as I can see the epithet θιασῶν μύστης for Dionysos occurs only here; however, other epithets alluding to mysteries and *thiasoi* are found with relation to

him. He is called θιασώτης in *Anth. Pal.* IX 524, 9, μύστης in *Anth. Pal.* IX 524, 13 and in Tegea (cf. Kern 1903).

13–14. The verb τρέφω, “to feed”, is used to designate the action of transportation of provision from the supplying province to Novae in the next inscription as well (lines 3–4), in a metric dedication of a statue of Phoibos/Apollo by an unknown *primipilarius* (Łajtar 2015, 277–282), and in a dedication of a statue of Dionysos by Flavios [- - -]anos, *primipilarius* of the province of Hellespont (Łajtar 2015, 282–285). In all cases it occurs as a male participle in the aorist active, either singular or plural, depending on the number of *primipilarii* (either one or two).

14–16. One is tempted to read: λεγιῶ]να | [πρώτην Ἴτα]λικήν. Unfortunately traces of two (or three) letters at the end of line 14 do not match this reading.

2. Dedication of a statue by Avianius, a *primipilarius*

The object is a statue base made of Hotnitsa limestone. It has the form of a parallelepiped shaft supported by a massive plinth and surmounted with a profiled cornice (Pl. 14, Fig. 5); note that the profile is present only on the front side and is indicated only by grooves on the lateral sides. The total height of the base amounts to 143 cm, of which half (more accurately 73 cm) falls on the shaft and half on the plinth together with the cornice (35 cm + 35 cm). The plinth is 63.5 cm wide and 40 cm thick; the appropriate dimensions of the cornice are: 60 cm x 40 cm. The shaft is 30 cm thick. The upper surface of the cornice has six small rectangular holes for inserting statues, arranged in three pairs, two in the front and one behind them. One can suppose that some of them are connected with the original use of the base and some with the secondary one (see below); however, it is unknown which are which. Consequently, it is difficult to attempt a reconstruction of the statue(s) set up by the *primipilarii*. The only certain thing is that it (they) was (were) made of bronze. The inscription suggests that it (they) might have shown an emperor (emperors). The base was initially inscribed in Latin. Traces of this original Latin inscription are preserved at the height of line 5 of the later Greek inscription. Three letters can be identified: I at the beginning of the line and SV at its end. Of the later inscription in Greek the two first lines were located on the fillets of the cornice and the rest in the upper part of the shaft (Pl. 15, Fig. 6–7). The Greek inscription was erased at some point, however, not very carefully thus allowing a partial reading of the text. Judging by the preserved remnants, the inscription was executed rather clumsily. Letters were 3–4 cm high (slightly larger in the first two lines, slightly smaller in the remaining ones). *Epsilon*, *sigma*, and *omega* were round.

EM -----
 μεγαλοσθενέων βασιλίων
 Πρώτην Ἴταλικήν λεγεῶνα θρέ-
 4 ψας κατὰ κόσμον ΑΝΘ . ΤΟ
 .ΑΡΙΑΝΟ ΝΙΚΡ . .

 εὐτυχῶς

[- - -] of the mighty kings, NN (erected this statue) after he duly fed the First Italic Legion [- - -]. Good luck.

The fragmentary state of preservation of the inscription makes its complete evaluation impossible. In the *primipilarii* dedications from Novae the participle *θρέψας* has been found to designate the action of transporting provisions from the supplying province to the legionaries on the Danube demonstrating¹⁰ that this inscription also belongs to the same group. The singular *θρέψας* shows that the inscription mentioned only one *primipilarius*. This suggests a dating at the beginning of the existence of the system of *pastus primipilarii*, before ca. 350, when supplies for Novae started to be transported by two *primipilarii*.¹¹

The inscription shows elements of dactylic metre; however, it was probably not metric in its entirety. Nevertheless, the use of the poetic epithet *μεγαλοσθενής* and the epic *βασιλῆες* used with relations to emperors demonstrate that the author of the text (the *primipilarius* or someone commissioned by him) tried to confer a literary overtone upon it.

2. *μεγαλοσθενής* is a relatively rare word, occurring mainly in poetry (Homeric epigrams, Bacchylides, Pindar, Corinna, epigraphic poetry), but also in prose (*Macchabaeorum III*). It was used mainly with reference to gods (Zeus, Poseidon, Heracles, Horus, Hermes, Isis [actually her name], Yahweh [actually his hand]), less frequently to men. The *Oracula Sybillina*, where the word occurs in a by-form *μεγαλόσθενος*, use it with relation to cities (Memphis, Rome). Lexicographers (Apolonius Sophistes, Hesychius, *Scholia in Iliadem*) explain *μεγαλοσθενής* as a counterpart of *ἔρισθενής*, *μεγαλοδύναμος*, *μεγαλακτής*, *ἰσχυρός*. Before *μεγαλοσθενέων βασιλῆων*, one expects the article in genitive plural, but the traces of letters at the end of line 1 do not match *τῶν*. *μεγαλοσθενεῖς βασιλῆες* are obviously emperors. The plural makes it clear that the dedication was made when there were at least two emperors reigning together. The situation occurs too often in the first half of the 4th century to be used for establishing the date of the inscription.

3–4. *θρέψας κατὰ κόσμον* may be compared to *θρέψας ὡς ἐπέοικε*, which is found in another *primipilarius*' dedication from Novae, also composed in dactylic metre; for this inscription, see Łajtar 2015, 277–282.

4–5. These lines probably gave the name of the *primipilarius*. Quite tentatively I suggest the reading Ἀνθέστιο[ς] | Μαριανός, under the assumption that the letters of the *genilitium* were either cramped or ligatured. The occurrence of the *nomen gentile* Antestius — providing the above reading is correct — is worth stressing. It agrees with a relatively early date of the inscription, apparently the first half the 4th century, when the old Roman name system was still widely used.

¹⁰ See commentary to lines 13–14 of the preceding inscription.

¹¹ See general commentary on the preceding inscription.

The two *primipilarii* dedications from Novae presented above bring no new information about the system of supplying the *legio I Italica* in the 4th and first half of the 5th centuries. The system as reconstructed on the basis of previous finds¹² was organized on a yearly basis. The legion had its own supplying provinces lying in a distance from Novae. One of these supplying provinces was Hellespont, located in northwest Asia Minor. The provisions were transported to Novae by *primipilarii* who were praesidial officials of the supplying province. *Primipilarii* acted either alone or in pairs, whereby the number of acting officials probably has a chronological value: one *primipilarius* occurs in the first half of the 4th century, two *primipilarii* from ca. 350 onwards. *Primipilarii* dedicated statues to the *legio I Italica* and the city of Novae at the end of the successful mission of the supplies transportation. The statues were set up in the legionary *principia*, which, at the same time, played also the role of the municipal centre. What makes these two inscriptions different from the *primipilarii* dedications previously known from Novae is their literary overtone, testifying to the high cultural tastes of their authors, either *primipilarii* themselves or some inhabitants of Novae.

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¹² See especially Sarnowski 2013 and Łajtar 2013.

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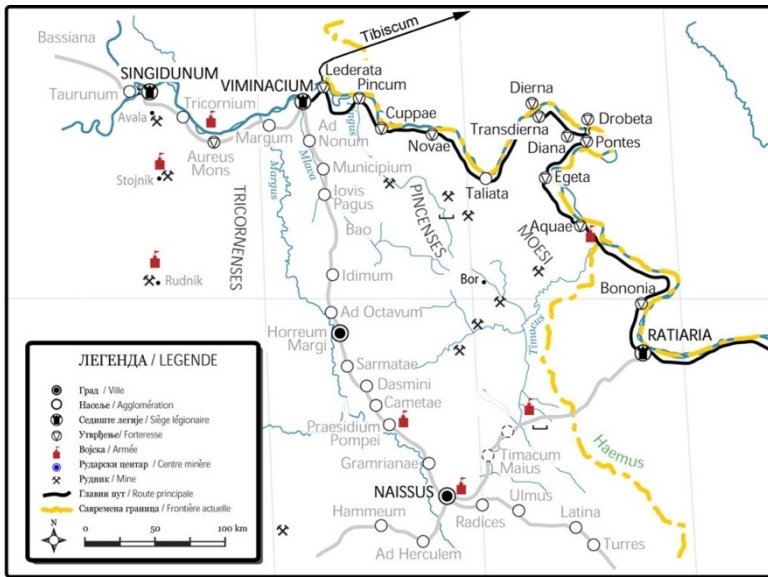
The *cohors I Cretum* between (Upper) Moesia and Dacia: *
New Epigraphic Testimonies
from *Timacum Maius* and *Lederata*¹

The bold hypothesis put forward at the very beginning of the excavation in Niševac by Svrljig in the Timok River Valley (eastern Serbia) in 2008, that the site might be identified as the Roman settlement of *Timacum Maius*, the first station on the Roman itinerary road connecting *Naissus* (modern Niš, Serbia) and *Ratiaria* (modern Archar, Bulgaria), Central Balkans and Danube, was becoming more and more substantiated by the significant results of every excavation campaign (see map). Among the discoveries made so far it is worth mentioning the following: the building with a hypocaust and wall-embedded tubes (*tubuli*), a section of a main road running through the settlement, sewers, a portion of the very well preserved and early built baths (*thermae*), and plentiful and diverse small finds (pottery, including fine *terra sigillata*, coins, jewellery, weapons etc.). The interesting epigraphic monuments that derive from this area have been published and re-discussed in recently published scholarly works and monographs. It is indicative that we are investigating the sizeable Roman settlement which had been founded in the mid-first century and continued to be occupied without a break until the Hunnic invasion of 441, when it was ravaged and burnt down, as was the nearby city of Naissus. Yet, what remained unknown was which military unit had been garrisoned there, taking part in the construction of public and military structures.²

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¹ The archaeological investigation has been carried out by the Belgrade-based Institute for Balkan Studies and is funded by the Ministry of Culture and Information of the Republic of Serbia, the Municipality of Svrljig, and the Centre for Tourism, Culture and Sport of Svrljig. Since 2013 it has been carried out jointly by the Institute for Balkan Studies and the Bordeaux-based Ausonius Institute as part of a Serbo-French research project.

² Petrović / Filipović 2008, 29–43; Petrović / Filipović 2009, 25–30; Petrović *et al.* 2012, 73–112; Petrović / Filipović 2013, 35–50; Petrović *et al.* 2014, 97–142.



Map of the Roman Roads and Settlements in Moesia Superior.

During the 2014 season we discovered nine bricks bearing the stamps of the *cohors I Cretum* embedded in the walls of the baths (*thermae*). The stamp inscriptions read: *coh(ors) I Cret(um)*. This auxiliary unit of the Roman army had been created in pre-Flavian times and had some five hundred soldiers, infantry, and cavalymen.³ The *cohors I Cretum* is epigraphically attested in the province of Moesia only from the Flavian period, but it might have been the part of Moesian army even earlier, as its veterans seem to have been discharged by Nero.⁴

Until the latest discoveries, the only known epigraphic evidence for the *cohors I Cretum* in the interior of Upper Moesia was an inscription from *Naissus*⁵ and the military diploma from modern Tetovo near *Scupi*.⁶ The inscription from *Naissus*, which is in Latin and informs us of a certain *Tiberius Claudius Valerius*, a veteran of the *cohors I Cretum* born in *Hierapytna* (modern Ierapetra) in Crete, dates to the second half of the 1st century but most probably is not earlier than Vespasian's age. The veteran lived in *Naissus* towards the end of the 1st century, apparently before his cohort was pulled into Trajan's Dacian campaign. The presence of a veteran in *Naissus* at that particular time is indirectly indicative of the city's significant growth because retired soldiers usually settled in one of the main centres of a province, not far from the place where they had served. *Naissus* certainly had a military camp and a civilian settlement at the time,

³ *Equites* and *pedites* are mentioned in the military diploma AE 2011, 1118 = AE 2012, 1256.

⁴ AE 1977, 722; AE 2011, 1118 = AE 2012, 1256; Matei-Popescu 2013, 223–224.

⁵ IMS IV 34 = AE 1964, 262.

⁶ AE 2011, 1118 = AE 2012, 1256.

but the considerable number of inscriptions on the bricks of the *cohors I Cretum* recovered from the baths at *Timacum Maius* gives grounds to assume that the cohort, or at least a part of it, was stationed there, not far from *Naissus* and in its territory from the middle of the 1st century. If it was, a 1st century military fort may be expected to be located in the area of the site of *Timacum Maius*.



Fig. 1. Photo of the brick with the stamped inscription of the *cohors I Cretum*, from the baths of *Timacum Maius*.

The *cohors I Cretum*, was transferred first to Upper Moesia and then took part in Trajan's Second Dacian War, according to the epigraphic evidence from Dacia: *Apulum*, *Sucidava*, *Banatska Palanka*, and *Drobeta*⁷ and military diplomas.⁸

It seems appropriate here to add to the list of epigraphic testimonies of the *cohors I Cretum*, the one brick stamped with the inscription from the fortress of *Ram (Lederata)* in modern-day Serbia, on the Upper Moesian limes, that has not yet been published.⁹ The stamped inscription mentions the *cohors I Cretum* and it reads: *coh(ors) I Cr(etum)*. The brick is unfortunately damaged and its right part is missing. The letters of the inscription within a *tabula ansata* are beautifully carved and its palaeographical elements do not oppose to the early dating of the inscription in the eve of Trajan's Dacian campaign.

⁷ *Apulum*: CIL III 1163; *Sucidava*: AE 1975, 726, 2; *Banatska Palanka*: AE 1912, 78; *Drobeta*: CIL III 1703, 2; Marcu 2004, 13–14.

⁸ From AD 110: CIL XVI 163 and 114 AD: RMD IV 226.

⁹ The brick with the stamped inscription from *Lederata* belongs to the legacy of Prof. Dr. Aleksandar Jovanović from the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade. We are very grateful for the permission to publish it which was given to us by his successor Prof. Dr. Miroslav Vujović.



Fig. 2. Photo of the brick with the stamped inscription of the *cohors I Cretum*, from Lederata.

Lederata is situated at a suitable crossing point over the Danube, and it is assumed that Trajan, maybe led by *exemplum Alexandri*, started his conquest of Dacia using the very appropriate communication line: *Lederata* (Ram) – Banatska Palanka (*Zeugma*?).¹⁰ It is worth adding that one brick with the stamped inscription of the *cohors I Cretum* also originates from Banatska Palanka, just across the Danube in Dacia.¹¹ In this area it was very easy to cross the Danube, not only because of the proximity of the left Dacian bank of the river, but also because of the existence of one natural fact, the river island of Sapaja, that obviously facilitated the movement of the army to the other river side. This natural island does not exist anymore, as it was flooded in modern times by the construction of the hydro-electrical power plant Iron Gate I. Maybe the well-known representations of the pontoon bridge from Trajan's column in Rome originates from this point, that immediately later became a part of the itinerary road that connected *Viminacium* (Kostolac – Drmno) and *Tibiscum* (Jupa), as it is noticed in *Tabula Peutingeriana*: *Viminacio X Lederata XII Apofl(uvio) XII Arcidava XII Centum Putea XII Bersovia XII Ahihis III Caput Bubali X Tivisco*.

However, it is evident that *cohors I Cretum*, previously located in the area of *Naisus* and *Timacum Maius*, was transferred along the Upper Moesian limes, maybe to *Lederata* in the eve of Trajan's military campaign and was part of the Roman army that conquered and maintained the order in Dacia. It was transferred back to Upper Moesia under Hadrian and in the 2nd and 3rd centuries was stationed in *Egeta* (modern Brza Palanka) on the Danube¹² and was assigned to guard the strategic intersection of two Roman roads: the famous Trajan's limes road which connected the forts along the Iron

¹⁰ Jovanović 2007, 89–90.

¹¹ AE 1912, 78.

¹² AE 1966, 336 = AE 1968, 453.

Gates section of the Empire's border on the south bank of the Danube and the road which ran further inland and, circumventing the large river bend and the Iron Gates, led from *Taliata* (modern Gornji Milanovac) and across the ore-rich south slopes of Mt Miroč with the stations *Gerulata* and *Unum*, to Egeta.¹³

By way of conclusion, it must be emphasised that the inscriptions of the *cohors I Cretum* from *Timacum Maius*, testify to its earliest known position in Upper Moesia as well as the character, chronology, and history of this Roman settlement in the territory of *Naissus*. The Roman unit, or at least a detachment of it, could have been stationed at *Timacum Maius* to secure the important intersection of the Roman roads running from *Naissus* and *Pautalia* in the west of Thrace.¹⁴ As we have seen, it would subsequently be on a similar assignment at *Egeta* on the Danube. It seems correct to assume that the *cohors I Cretum* was engaged in building major military and civilian structures and facilities, including the discovered baths in *Timacum Maius*. Its participation in Trajan's army that conquered Dacia may have been more offensive, but its confirmed presence at the strategic points such as *Lederata*, on the major communication line between Upper Moesia and Dacia, lead to the conclusion that no matter the circumstances, its role always remained about the same: maintaining the order in the most important strategic locations.

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¹³ Petrović 2015, 274–278.

¹⁴ Petrović / Grbić 2014, 96.

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DAVIDE REDAELLI

La presenza e il ruolo di soldati e veterani delle milizie urbane nelle società di Pannonia, Mesia e Dacia

Tavole 16–17

Le milizie urbane, nate con lo scopo di proteggere la città di Roma e il *princeps* che in essa risiedeva, erano acquisite nell'Urbe, principalmente nei diversi *castra* costruiti a partire dal 23 d.C.¹. Le fonti letterarie e la documentazione epigrafica mostrano tuttavia come la mobilità dei soldati di questi particolari corpi fosse un fenomeno diffuso e i periodi di servizio lontani dall'Urbe potessero essere anche piuttosto lunghi². A ciò si aggiungano le testimonianze dei veterani che decidevano di stanziarsi al di fuori dell'area dove avevano militato per la maggior parte della ferma e quei *milites* che decidevano di farsi seppellire nella propria patria³ o che avevano un ruolo attivo nella vita civica della comunità di provenienza⁴, sia accedendo alle classi dirigenti prima del reclutamento sia sfruttando le licenze temporanee che permettevano di far visita ai propri familiari (il *commeatus*)⁵. La documentazione, *in primis* epigrafica ma anche quella letteraria, permette dunque di rispondere a questioni riguardanti le ragioni del trasferimento dei soldati delle milizie urbane fuori Roma, quanti veterani decidessero di tornare in patria dopo il servizio e quanti invece compissero una scelta diversa, il rapporto tra questi soldati (o ex soldati) e la popolazione civile e infine l'estrazione sociale delle reclute. L'area danubiana compresa tra le province di Pannonia, Mesia e Dacia offre in particolare una documentazione piuttosto ricca della presenza di soldati e veterani dei corpi acquisite a Roma, un dossier che consente di provare a rispondere agli interrogativi appena delineati. Questa indagine è stata dunque primariamente condotta sulle iscrizioni di pretoriani, urbaniciani ed *equites singulares Augusti* attestati in Pannonia, Mesia e Dacia.

La scelta di questi tre corpi dipende, oltre che dalla posizione privilegiata in termini di condizioni di servizio e stipendio per quanto riguarda soprattutto le coorti pretorie e urbane, da motivi di ordine quantitativo, ossia l'esistenza di un buon nume-

¹ Sulla presenza militare a Roma vd. in generale Busch 2007; Busch 2011.

² Un quadro dei motivi di servizio che potevano portare a un trasferimento dei soldati delle milizie urbane lontano da Roma si trova in Ricci 1994, 17–19; Redaelli 2016.

³ Ricci 1994, 14–16.

⁴ Nélis-Clement 1989; Nélis-Clement 2000, 305; Traverso 2006, 259–260.

⁵ Sartori 2000, 632.

ro di attestazioni di soldati e veterani di queste unità lontano da Roma e più nello specifico nella macroregione oggetto del nostro interesse. Si sono considerate le iscrizioni di soldati, centurioni e tribuni che hanno sicuramente prestato servizio nelle tre formazioni in esame; a costoro si sono aggiunti gli evocati e anche gli *evocati legionis*. È infatti attualmente aperto il dibattito su quest'ultima figura, in particolare sulla possibilità che in età imperiale gli evocati fossero richiamati in servizio esclusivamente dalle milizie urbane o anche dalle legioni⁶; la formula *evocatus legionis* sembrerebbe indicare un inserimento dell'individuo in un'unità legionaria dopo il richiamo alle armi, fatto che non esclude la possibilità di un'iniziale ferma svolta nelle truppe acuartierate a Roma⁷. Questi criteri hanno portato ad individuare un *corpus* di 76 iscrizioni: 41 tra queste sono pertinenti alla Pannonia, 28 alla Mesia, 4 alla Dacia e infine 3 *tituli* sono forse riferibili all'area qui trattata, ma non è nota la precisa provenienza. Per quanto riguarda il grado, 35 iscrizioni (18 provenienti dalla Pannonia, 16 dalla Mesia e una da località incerta) concernono veterani; 26 (18 provenienti dalla Pannonia, 6 dalla Mesia, una dalla Dacia e una da zona imprecisata) riguardano soldati e ufficiali delle milizie urbane; due (una proveniente dalla Pannonia e una dalla Mesia) sono riferibili a evocati rimasti in servizio nel pretorio. Un *titulus* di incerta provenienza, inoltre, potrebbe essere ascritto a un veterano pretoriano, ma la lettura non è sicura⁸. 17 *tituli*, infine (8 provenienti dalla Pannonia, 6 dalla Mesia e 3 dalla Dacia), menzionano evocati richiamati in servizio nelle legioni ed eventualmente divenuti centurioni⁹; questi individui sono però stati conteggiati a parte poiché, come detto, in questi casi non vi è certezza di una militanza nelle truppe urbane prima dell'*evocatio*.

⁶ Domaszewski 1967, 76; Birley 1981; Bérard 1994a, 390–391; Perea Yébenes 1998, 292–298; Traverso 1999.

⁷ Resta in pratica ancora non del tutto chiaro il valore da attribuire al genitivo dopo *evocatus*. In quelle iscrizioni in cui viene riportata la loro carriera militare completa gli evocati risultano essere tutti ex soldati delle milizie urbane almeno dall'età flavia in poi (vd. nota precedente). Ma la formula con cui sono connotati è *evocatus* senza altra specificazione o *evocatus Augusti* (o *Augustorum*); gli *evocati legionis* non specificano mai il *cursus* precedente all'*evocatio*. Il genitivo farebbe dunque riferimento alle unità in cui svolsero i compiti di evocati o a quelle in cui effettuarono il periodo ordinario di servizio? Si noti come Demicheli 2015, 60–62 nr. 1 nella ricostruzione della carriera dell'*evocatus* e poi centurione *M. Herennius Valens* (nr. 2 Ev, *Cibalae*) si mostri convinto della militanza del personaggio nelle legioni prima dell'*evocatio*; d'altronde i due evocati del nostro dossier, dei quali è possibile ricostruire la carriera precedente al richiamo (nrr. 22, forse 35), furono pretoriani ed è ipotizzabile che anche *P. Tarrutenius Proculus, evocatus* della *II Adiutrix*, il quale ricorda di avere servito complessivamente per 46 anni (nr. 1 Ev), potesse avere servito per 16 o 20 anni a Roma, come pretoriano o urbaniciano, e poi 26–30 anni nella legione.

⁸ Nr. 59: l'iscrizione è fortemente mutila e di non facile lettura. *Aurelius Victor* potrebbe essere un *ve(teranus) ex p(raetoriano)* o un *v(ir) e(gregius) ex p(rocuratore)*. Si rileva, a sostegno della prima ipotesi, come un testimone del diploma RMD V 473 = nr. 60 si chiamasse proprio *Aurelius Victor*.

⁹ Come si vedrà un buon numero di iscrizioni menziona più individui che hanno prestato servizio nelle milizie urbane.

Le fonti letterarie informano soprattutto sugli episodi storici più rilevanti, ossia le operazioni militari su vasta scala che si svolsero nella zona analizzata, uno dei settori strategicamente più importanti di tutto l'impero. Tacito menziona esplicitamente come due coorti pretorie abbiano accompagnato Druso a reprimere la rivolta delle legioni scoppiata alla morte di Augusto¹⁰; da ciò si può ricavare come i pretoriani, incaricati di scortare l'imperatore e i membri della famiglia imperiale¹¹, potrebbero aver partecipato anche alle precedenti campagne danubiane guidate da Tiberio e che si conclusero con l'annessione di Pannonia e Mesia¹². Un'iscrizione funeraria proveniente da *Emona* testimonierebbe il decesso di un pretoriano e la conseguente presenza delle milizie urbane *trans Alpes* nel corso di queste operazioni belliche (ILJug I 305)¹³.

Le milizie urbane furono attive nella zona danubiana anche durante le guerre di Domiziano e la conquista della Dacia ad opera di Traiano. Emblematici in questo senso sono diverse rappresentazioni di pretoriani nei rilievi della Colonna Traiana¹⁴ e l'episodio di *Q. Cornelius Fuscus*, prefetto del pretorio che nell'86 d.C. subì una drammatica sconfitta, perdendo la vita e con tutta probabilità alcune coorti pretorie¹⁵. Nel contesto di queste guerre si inquadra anche il trofeo di Adamclisi (*Tropaeum Traiani*), monumento trionfale eretto dall'imperatore Traiano per commemorare le guerre contro i Daci; nelle sue immediate vicinanze è stato rinvenuto un grande altare funerario elevato su cinque gradini, che reca un'iscrizione che ricorda i soldati morti durante i conflitti in Dacia. Il testo, sul quale è ancora aperto il dibattito se si riferisca alla sconfitta di Fusco o ai caduti delle guerre di Traiano, dovrebbe riportare i nomi dei *milites* del pretorio deceduti durante l'impresa (nr. 33)¹⁶. Ma anche le coorti urba-

¹⁰ Tac. Ann. I, 24: [...] *ut Drusum filium cum primoribus civitatis duabusque praetoriis cohortibus mitteret* [...].

¹¹ Ricci 2004; Bingham 2013, 40–41, 82–87.

¹² Tiberio in effetti pose il suo quartier generale a *Carnuntum*, da intendersi però forse con l'*oppidum* celtico che si trovava allora nel Norico. Vell. II 109, 5: *ipse a Carnunto, qui locus Norici regni proximus ab hac parte erat, exercitum, qui in Illyrico merebat, ducere in Marcomanos orsus est*.

¹³ Cfr. EDR073752; RINMS 37; Redaelli 2016, 126; se ormai appare assai probabile che *Emona* fu inclusa nell'Italia e nella *regio X* fin dalla sua deduzione, in età augustea o tiberiana (Šašel Kos 2002; Šašel Kos 2003) questa iscrizione potrebbe darsi a un periodo precedente alla fondazione della colonia; per Plin. HN III 147 *Emona* era una colonia della Pannonia, termine forse da intendere come regione geografica senza riferimenti al territorio provinciale.

¹⁴ Lepper / Frere 1988, pl. VII, VIII, XVIII; Rossi 1971, 100–102, 161–162, 182; figg. 19, 53, 86.

¹⁵ Suet. Dom. VI 1; Juv. IV 111–112; Eutr. VII 23, 4; Oros. VII 10, 4; Jord. Get. 76–78; Cass. Dio. LXVII 6, 5–6; Wheeler 2010, 1208, 1219; Stefan 2005, 403–406; Strobel 1984, 50–53, 66–67; Patsch 1937, 5–19; sulla figura di Cornelio Fusco vd. soprattutto Colin 1956.

¹⁶ La bibliografia sul monumento di *Tropaeum Traiani* e la vicina iscrizione è amplissima. Qui si segnala CIL III 14214; ILS 9107; Tocilescu *et al.* 1895; Antonescu 1905; Doruțiu 1961 = AE 1963, 98–102; Bobu Florescu 1965; Condurachi 1980 = AE 1980, 794; Sâmpetru 1984; Barbu 1987; Alexandrescu Vianu 1995–1996; Barbu / Schuster 2008; Gostar 2008 = AE 2008, 1192.

ne furono utilizzate in queste circostanze: sicuramente la XIII coorte urbana, i cui ufficiali furono decorati per avere preso parte ai conflitti danubiani di Domiziano¹⁷. Questa unità non fu più acquarterata a Roma dai Flavi in poi: tra fine I e inizio II secolo d.C. operò in Africa e nell'area balcanica per poi essere collocata stabilmente a *Lugdunum* nei primi decenni del II secolo d.C.¹⁸. Un documento di recentissima pubblicazione informa di come la XIII coorte urbana avesse sede in Africa nel 79¹⁹ e pone così nuove problematiche: la coorte risulta essere infatti in Africa ancora nell'85 d.C.²⁰, ma la nuova evidenza dimostra come la presenza del reparto in questa provincia non debba necessariamente legarsi alla soppressione della rivolta in Mauretania, avvenuta probabilmente tra l'85 e l'87/88²¹. Ne uscirebbe ridimensionata l'opinione, sostenuta soprattutto da Bérard, che la XIII coorte urbana fosse una sorta di unità mobile spostata di volta in volta all'interno dell'impero sulla base delle contingenti necessità tattico-strategiche²². La formazione potrebbe invece aver costituito il nerbo delle forze armate a disposizione del proconsole d'Africa in età flavia, e forse anche all'inizio dell'età antonina²³, senza che ciò impedisse temporanei trasferimenti, magari solo di *vexillationes*, presso i teatri delle operazioni belliche. La documentazione non consente tuttavia di capire la durata della permanenza lungo il Danubio e se alcuni elementi di questa unità avessero preso parte alle primissime fasi delle campagne daciche di Domiziano (84–85); il problema è ancora più importante per questo contributo in quanto il veterano della XIII coorte urbana *L. Flavius L.f. Cla. Sabinus*, originario di *Savaria* e il cui diploma militare è stato rinvenuto a *Sirmium* (nr. 17), potrebbe essere transitato per l'antica *Sremska Mitrovica*²⁴ proprio all'inizio della guerra dacica di Domiziano e aver poi deciso di stabilirsi in questa località dopo il congedo avvenuto nell'85. Allo stato attuale delle nostre conoscenze, tuttavia, una partecipazione della XIII coorte urbana alle primissime fasi delle campagne intraprese da Domiziano non può essere provata; appare pertanto più ragionevole supporre che *L.*

¹⁷ CIL VIII 1026; ILS 9200 = AE 1903, 368 (sulla carriera di quest'ultimo ufficiale Kennedy 1983; Strobel 1986).

¹⁸ Freis 1967, 31–36; Bérard 1988; Bérard 1995; Ricci 2011, 491–492, 494, 495, 496; Bérard 2015.

¹⁹ Eck / Pangerl 2016.

²⁰ RMD IV 213, copia della stessa costituzione da cui è tratto CIL XVI 18 (nr. 17).

²¹ Kennedy 1983, 191–192; Strobel 1986, 275–277, 280.

²² Bérard 1988; Bérard 1994b, 228–229; Bérard 2015, 37–57.

²³ Questa osservazione ridarebbe così una forte consistenza alla ricostruzione di Freis 1967, 14, 31–36, tenendo tuttavia ben presente che è impossibile pensare che nei primi decenni del II secolo d.C. si ebbe un simultaneo trasferimento della I coorte urbana a Cartagine e della XIII a *Lugdunum*.

²⁴ *Sirmium* si trovava lungo importanti arterie stradali e fluviali che collegavano il Danubio con i porti dell'Adriatico; l'importante ruolo strategico della città si denota sia dal ruolo di base arretrata di numerose campagne militari di età imperiale sia dalla presenza, a partire dall'età traianea, di un'importante *statio* presidiata da *beneficarii*: Mirković 1971; Mirković 1990; Mirković 1991; Mirković 1994; Nélis-Clement 2000, 141–148.

Flavius Sabinus avesse avuto modo di stazionare o attraversare *Sirmium* prima del 68–69, momento in cui egli avrebbe potuto essere un legionario²⁵.

Non è invece attualmente possibile sostenere l'utilizzo della XIV coorte urbana nelle guerre danubiane di Domiziano o Traiano. Questa ipotesi si potrebbe basare sul ritrovamento di una dedica in onore di Ercole posta da un soldato della XIV coorte urbana, *C. Valerius Meleager* (nr. 58). L'interpretazione del documento è però molto problematica. Il formulario dell'iscrizione lascerebbe infatti pensare ad una datazione a fine I–inizio II secolo d.C., ma non è noto il luogo di ritrovamento dell'epigrafe né tantomeno come essa sia confluita nella collezione epigrafica dell'Istituto di Archeologia Vasile Pârvan a Bucarest (potrebbe essere stata acquisita dall'Italia a fine XIX secolo); non sono inoltre note altre testimonianze di questa unità nella zona. L'unica attestazione di un soldato di questa coorte deceduto per motivi di servizio lontano dalla penisola italiana è quella di uno *stationarius* distaccato in Africa, ma nel III secolo²⁶. Mancano dunque prove decisive non solo per pensare a un incarico di *C. Valerius Meleager* connesso con le attività belliche, ma anche a considerare il suo monumento pertinente all'area che qui si sta esaminando.

Un ulteriore momento di presenza delle truppe urbane nell'area in circostanze belliche è il principato di Marco Aurelio. Come è noto l'imperatore-filosofo combatté per molti anni sul fronte danubiano e pose il suo quartier generale in Pannonia²⁷, soprattutto a *Carnuntum*²⁸. Proprio in questa città sono state rinvenute alcune iscrizioni di nostro interesse: la prima è relativa a un *eques singularis Augusti* ed è databile proprio agli anni del principato di Marco Aurelio (nr. 4, Tav. 16, Fig. 1); la seconda riguarda uno, o due, soldati della VII coorte pretoria (nrr. 5–6)²⁹. Quest'ultima testimonianza è databile con precisione agli anni della presenza dell'imperatore a *Carnuntum*: il defunto, *C. Titius C.f. Pap. Verus*, e il *fiduciarius T. Trabenna Marcellinus*, dedicante dell'iscrizione, sono menzionati anche in un latercolo e risultano essersi

²⁵ Numerose reclute della XIII coorte urbana che prestarono servizio in età flavia risultano originarie di colonie fondate da Claudio in Pannonia e in Tracia (proviene da *Apri* il congedato in Eck / Pangerl 2016); la tesi di Bérard 2015, 54–56 di un reclutamento di questi urbanici dai classiari appare infondata e sembra invece più probabile che essi passarono dalle legioni alle coorti urbane: Eck / Pangerl 2016, 178.

²⁶ CIL VIII 5230.

²⁷ In generale sulle guerre combattute da Marco Aurelio sul fronte danubiano vd. Birley 1966, 217–251, 323–327; i contributi in Friesinger *et al.* 1994, soprattutto 7–83; Strobel 2001; Frascchetti 2008, 74–92; Kovács 2009, 181–250.

²⁸ Cass. Dio. LXXI 11, 1; SHA Verus 9; SHA Marc. 14, 1–8.

²⁹ L'iscrizione in cui essi vengono menzionati è inedita. Ringrazio Chiara Cenati e Franziska Beutler, che si sta occupando della pubblicazione del documento, per la segnalazione; a Franziska Beutler sono in particolare molto grato anche per avermi comunicato alcuni dei risultati delle sue ricerche (come l'identificazione dei due personaggi del *titulus* carnuntino con i due soldati del latercolo di Roma), compiute in vista della pubblicazione dell'iscrizione, e che mi hanno aiutato anche per altri miei lavori, come quello apparso su *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 209 (2019).

arruolati rispettivamente nel 153 e 154³⁰. Ciò consente di datare l'iscrizione di *Carnuntum*, il cui testo specifica che la morte di *C. Titius Verus* avvenne dopo che costui ebbe ricevuto diciotto *stipendia*, al 171–172. L'epigrafe qui analizzata può inoltre essere raffrontata con un *carmen epigraphicum* aquileiese degli stessi anni³¹, la dedica funeraria di un centurione della medesima VII coorte pretoria, mostrando come questa unità pretoriana facesse parte del corpo di spedizione di Marco Aurelio. Esiste un'altra testimonianza della VII coorte pretoria a *Carnuntum*, una tessera in bronzo, che doveva originariamente essere attaccata ad un pezzo di equipaggiamento militare, recante il nome di *C. Viselius* (nr. 1). Costui militò in una *centuria Nepotis*, reparto attestato per la coorte in esame tra fine I–inizio II secolo d.C.³², ed ebbe forse modo di prestare servizio nella città della Pannonia durante il principato di Traiano, precisamente nel corso del viaggio lungo il *limes* danubiano compiuto dall'*optimus princeps* all'inizio del suo regno³³.

Nel III secolo gli imperatori furono presenti con sempre maggiore frequenza nell'area oggetto del nostro studio, impegnati in campagne militari nel quadro di una situazione di maggiore instabilità rispetto ai secoli precedenti. La documentazione mostra come fossero sempre accompagnati dalle milizie urbane, ormai sempre più attive nelle operazioni militari³⁴. In particolare alcune iscrizioni sono riconducibili con una certa precisione al conflitto nel quale gli ufficiali o i *militēs* delle truppe metropolitane furono utilizzati o trovarono la morte. Si segnala così un altare in marmo posto da un tribuno della X coorte pretoria a *Poetovio* (nr. 7, Tav. 16, Fig. 2) e dedicato *iussu principis* a Giove mentre il comandante era in viaggio per andare a contrastare la *factio Gallica*, dunque era impegnato nella campagna che Settimio Severo condusse contro Clodio Albino³⁵. Il nome del tribuno è stato successivamente eraso: potrebbe trattarsi, secondo un'opinione espressa per primo da Premerstein e generalmente condivisa nella letteratura a lui posteriore³⁶, di *C. Fulvius Plautianus*, che negli anni seguenti alla dedica diventerà prefetto del pretorio, senatore e console³⁷. Una

³⁰ CIL VI 32522, b, I, 4; b, I, 7; con la specificazione che nel testo del latercolo vi è una L nella filiazione di [-] *Titius L.f. Pap. Verus* e che *Trabenna Marcellinus* diventa *Prabenna Marcellinus*.

³¹ CIL V 923 = InscrAq II 2842 = CLE 1320 = ILS 2671 = lupa 13588 = EDR144860.

³² CIL XI 5937 = EDR140241, databile a fine I–inizio II secolo; AE 2008, 258 = EDR103670, databile al II secolo d.C. Il medesimo *Nepos* fu probabilmente centurione nell'XI coorte urbana prima del trasferimento nella VII coorte pretoria: AE 2000, 242 = EDR106004; vd. Redaelli 2016, 126 e nt. 38.

³³ Plin., Ep. VIII 23, 5; Pan. 12, 16, 17; ILS 1019; cfr. Eck 1982, 328, 332; Kienast 1990, 122; Stefan 2005, 539–540; Morelli 2013, 189–192, il quale ricorda anche le fonti numismatiche e iconografiche che commemorano questo viaggio di Traiano lungo il Danubio.

³⁴ Birley 1969b, 64–67; Faure 2012, soprattutto 403–404 per il ruolo delle milizie urbane nelle campagne del III secolo.

³⁵ Birley 1969a, 265–280; Birley 1988, 121–128; Urban 1999, 85–87.

³⁶ Premerstein 1888; Weber 1969, 424–425 nr. 388; Hudeczek 2004, 95 nr. 71; FPA IV 64 nr. 14; Handy 2009, 45.

³⁷ PIR² F 554.

nuova e altrettanto convincente proposta integrativa di Faure vorrebbe però identificare il tribuno pretoriano con *Iulius Crispus*³⁸.

Due diplomi di pretoriani congedati nel 244–245, un ignoto stabilitosi a *Taurunum* dopo il congedo (nr. 31) e un originario di *Mursa* o *Siscia* stabilitosi nelle vicinanze di *Sirmium* (nr. 32), potrebbero essere un indizio della scelta dei due veterani di ritirarsi in località dove stazionarono mentre erano impegnati nelle guerre di Massimino il Trace lungo il *limes* germanico e pannonic³⁹. Una dedica di un pretoriano a Giove Ottimo Massimo fu rinvenuta a *Naissus* in stato molto frammentario ed è inoltre andata perduta, cosicché ogni proposta di datazione risulta molto ardua (nr. 38); sarebbe suggestivo, ma purtroppo non dimostrabile, pensare che fosse stata posta da un membro dell'esercito che prese parte alla battaglia del 269 d.C.⁴⁰ Si segnala infine l'iscrizione funeraria in onore di *P. Ael(ius) Proculinus* (nr. 16, Tav. 17, Fig. 3). La lettura del testo è molto incerta a causa di una frattura e della conseguente mancanza della parte destra del monumento, ma egli decedette sicuramente nel 246–247, nel corso della guerra condotta da Filippo l'Arabo contro i Carpi⁴¹, mentre era ufficiale del pretorio, tribuno o più probabilmente centurione. In questa sede si vuole porre in evidenza soprattutto la recente e convincente proposta di integrare *magister* anziché *centurio* alla seconda riga, in accordo con la lettura di Janniard⁴². Sono noti in effetti

³⁸ Faure 2013, 815; ringrazio Patrice Faure per avermi comunicato che è in corso di preparazione un suo contributo in cui verrà spiegata in maniera più esaustiva la proposta integrativa. Il tribuno *Iulius Crispus* fu messo a morte durante l'assedio di *Hatra* per essersi lamentato della lunga guerra citando dei versi di Virgilio (Cass. Dio. LXXVI 10, 2).

³⁹ SHA Max. 13, 3; Hdn. 7, 2, 9 ricordano esplicitamente come nel 235–236 Massimino fissò il suo quartier generale invernale a *Sirmium*; la campagna contro i Sarmati potrebbe anche essere del 236–237: Lorient 1975, 675–676; Lippold 1991, 229–230, 232, 461–468; sulle forze a disposizione di Massimino vd. di recente Wiegels 2014.

⁴⁰ Zos. 1, 42–46; SHA Claud. 6–12; cfr. Kotula 1991; Kettenhofen 1992; Goltz / Hartmann 2008, 284–285; Hartmann 2008, 303–304.

⁴¹ Zos. 1, 20, 1; Jord. Get. 16, 92; Piso 2005.

⁴² Soproni 1963; Soproni 1965. Fitz 1965 = AE 1965, 223 e Fitz 1966 ha proposto l'integrazione con *centurio* della *cohors Hemesorum*; questa soluzione è stata accettata da Fitz 1972, 236–246 = AE 1971, 326; Lörincz 2001, 254 nr. 321; FPA V 109 nr. 11 ha dunque pensato che fosse diventato *tribunus* della coorte pretoria, raggiungendo effettivamente il rango equestre, come la possibile integrazione *e(gregiae) m(emoriae) v(iro)* potrebbe sottendere. L'integrazione più corretta della carica ricoperta nella *cohors Hemesorum* appare tuttavia quella di Janniard 2012, 269–270 con *magister*; sembra invece più difficile stabilire se l'incarico di *exercitator equitum legionis* fosse stato seguito da due centurionati o due tribunati nelle milizie urbane. Le testimonianze note mostrano come gli *exercitatores equitum praetorianorum* (o *speculatorum*) ottenessero talvolta incarichi di rango equestre subito dopo aver provveduto all'addestramento degli *equites* delle coorti pretorie (CIL X 1127; CIL XI 395); questi *exercitatores* erano tuttavia sicuramente più importanti nella scala gerarchica rispetto agli *exercitatores* delle legioni. Ciò suggerirebbe, quindi, che questi ultimi dovessero ricoprire altri centurionati nelle milizie urbane prima di accedere all'eventuale carriera equestre: Durry 1938, 123, 132–133, 137, 191; Łuc 2004, 118–119.

magistri primi a livello epigrafico, anche se l'unico sicuro è di età tarda⁴³, mentre la carica di *centurio primus* è sconosciuta; la mansione di *exercitator equitum legionis* costituirebbe inoltre un proseguimento coerente di carriera, nel senso che egli mantenne compiti legati all'addestramento delle reclute anche nelle unità legionarie. L'ufficiale pretoriano cadde combattendo presso *Castellum Carporum*, toponimo di difficile localizzazione e forse da identificare con una delle roccaforti costruite dai Carpi nella provincia di Dacia⁴⁴. Venne poi onorato nella sua patria, a Intercisa, dai genitori probabilmente per mezzo di un cenotafio; il padre era a sua volta un soldato, centurione o veterano.

Le testimonianze epigrafiche consentono inoltre di indagare le relazioni tra i soldati e i civili e l'estrazione sociale dei *militēs* nelle regioni danubiane che qui si stanno analizzando. Una prima rilevante osservazione concerne la cronologia della documentazione: la maggior parte delle iscrizioni che si riferiscono alle truppe metropolitane, 46, si data al III secolo; il numero sale a 60 con i *tituli* che si datano a un periodo compreso tra il II e il III secolo. Questa evidenza è la conseguenza della riforma del pretorio operata da Settimio Severo nel 193. Egli sciolse le vecchie coorti pretorie e le ricostituì con uomini tratti dalle truppe a lui fedeli, legioni e *auxilia*⁴⁵. A fine II secolo ormai il reclutamento si era progressivamente localizzato e ogni unità arruolava al proprio interno reclute provenienti dalla provincia in cui era stanziata l'unità stessa⁴⁶; dal 193 in poi le coorti pretorie furono così composte da uomini tratti principalmente dalle formazioni acquisite lungo il *limes* danubiano e quindi da molti individui originari della zona in esame.

Dall'età severiana in avanti si assiste così a due fenomeni: per prima cosa un aumento della presenza di veterani, soprattutto pretoriani. Nei primi due secoli dell'età imperiale i veterani presenti nella zona sono rari: un ignoto *eques singularis Augusti* (nr. 43), il quale però militava in un corpo che fin dalla sua nascita trovò nell'area danubiana un ottimo serbatoio di reclutamento⁴⁷ e potrebbe quindi essere tornato in patria dopo il servizio, un ex urbaniciano (nr. 17) e due o tre ex pretoriani (nr. 41, 42 e forse 18). Le reclute delle coorti pretorie e urbane provenivano in questo periodo

⁴³ CIL V 8750 da Concordia, databile a fine IV secolo; forse RIU II 410; si noti anche CIL III 10307, altro *magister* della *cohors I milliaria Hemesorum*. Sui *magistri* in ambito militare nei primi secoli dell'età imperiale Breeze 1976; il contributo di Janniard 2012 è invece più focalizzato sul basso impero.

⁴⁴ Diversi tentativi di localizzazione del *Castellum Carporum* in Soproni 1963; Soproni 1965; Fitz 1972, 236–246; un *Vicus Carporum* si trovava vicino a *Carsium*, nella *Scythia Minor*, ma non può essere collegato al *castellum*: cfr. Amm. Marc. 27, 5, 5; Adamesteanu 1979, 201; Lenski 2002, 129–130; Piso 2005, 54–56.

⁴⁵ Durry 1938, 247–251; Birley 1969b, 64–67; Šašel 1972, 476–477; Smith 1972, 494–496; Bingham 2013, 45–46; sulla possibilità di trasferimenti dalle truppe ausiliarie al pretorio si vedano gli esempi di Eck *et al.* 2014a, 249–250 (non tutti necessariamente riferibili a Settimio Severo o a un'epoca successiva, come del resto mostra il nr. 35 del dossier).

⁴⁶ Forni 1953, 65–75, 119–129; Forni 1974, 380–390; Forni 1992, 53–61.

⁴⁷ Mugnai 2011; sul reclutamento Speidel 1994, 14–17.

soprattutto dall'Italia o al massimo dalle province romanizzate più rapidamente⁴⁸. I pochi veterani di questi due corpi stabilitisi nella zona danubiana potevano così avere svolto missioni speciali oppure aver partecipato a guerre in queste province o alla deduzione di colonie, soprattutto in età flavia. La loro presenza può tuttavia anche testimoniare come in alcune circostanze il reclutamento delle coorti pretorie e urbane fosse allargato anche ad abitanti dell'area balcanico-danubiana già nel I e nel II secolo, precisando così l'indicazione di Cassio Dione⁴⁹. La prima motivazione potrebbe spiegare la presenza di un ex *speculator* pretoriano originario di *Aquae Statiellae*, *L. Ennius L.f. Ferox*, a *Tomis* (nr. 41). Costui, noto grazie ad un diploma militare, potrebbe però anche essere stato inviato in Mesia come *evocatus* per proseguire il suo servizio militare nelle legioni; a tal proposito Petolescu ha proposto di identificare il centurione *Ferox*, testimoniato in un'iscrizione pertinente alla Mesia⁵⁰, con il beneficiario del diploma di *Tomis*⁵¹. Si è già parlato dell'ex urbaniciano, *L. Flavius L.f. Sabinus* (nr. 17), un provinciale reclutato nelle milizie urbane nella convulsa fase delle guerre civili; anche *Aelius Messius*, forse anch'egli nato in una provincia balcanica⁵², potrebbe essere entrato nelle coorti pretorie grazie a un reclutamento straordinario forse dettato da circostanze belliche (nr. 18). La concessione della *missio agraria* nelle colonie di veterani potrebbe invece essere la ragione del ritiro del pretoriano [*M. An*]tonius *M.f. Marius*, proveniente da Pelagonia in Macedonia, a *Scupi*, colonia dedotta in età flavia⁵³ (nr. 42).

Nel III secolo, invece, nella grandissima maggioranza dei casi i veterani erano originari della provincia in cui ritornavano dopo il servizio. Questa asserzione sembrerebbe non valida per gli *equites singulares Augusti*, dal momento che gli unici due diplomi in cui si leggono onomastica e *origines* dei due beneficiari⁵⁴ mostrano come entrambi abbiano preso residenza in una provincia diversa da quella di nascita, ossia nella *Moesia Inferior*. Ma uno (nr. 50) proveniva da *Serdica* in Tracia e dunque non si allontanò troppo dalla propria patria; inoltre è molto probabile che i due diplomi nei quali non si è conservata la parte di testo con l'onomastica dei beneficiari si riferissero a dei "tornati a casa"⁵⁵. I congedati rientrati nella provincia d'origine compivano in

⁴⁸ Passerini 1939, 148–183; Łuc 2004, 155–169 per i pretoriani; Freis 1967, 50–62 per gli urbaniciani.

⁴⁹ Secondo cui nel II secolo i pretoriani venivano reclutati in Italia, Spagna, Norico e Macedonia: Cass. Dio. LXXIV, 2, 4; tale indicazione risulta comunque inesatta in base ai latercoli CIL VI 32516; 32519; 32522; 32628; AE 1933, 95.

⁵⁰ CIL III 8048: il preciso luogo di ritrovamento dell'iscrizione è sconosciuto, ma in ogni caso essa non dovrebbe riferirsi alla Dacia che non era ancora diventata provincia al momento dell'erezione del *titulus*.

⁵¹ Petolescu 2000; concorda Matei-Popescu 2010, 53–54.

⁵² *Messius* è cognome celtico: Delamarre 2007, 132; come detto nel testo, la datazione dell'iscrizione a una fase pre severiana non è certa.

⁵³ Birley 1986; Dušanić 1996; Ferjančić 2002, 70–78; 214–215; Królczyk 2005, 109–110; 111; 112; Stoev 2007; Królczyk 2009, 80–82.

⁵⁴ Nrr. 50–51.

⁵⁵ Nrr. 28, 55.

ogni caso due scelte: prendevano nuovamente residenza nella propria patria o si stabilivano nei pressi degli accampamenti dove con tutta probabilità avevano iniziato il servizio prima del trasferimento nelle truppe acquisite a Roma⁵⁶. In alcuni casi le due scelte si sovrapponevano, nel senso che i veterani erano nati all'interno degli accampamenti legionari o ausiliari: emblematico l'esempio dei due pretoriani *Aurelius Caesianus* e *Aurelius Caesius*, rispettivamente veterano ed *exercitator* dei cavalieri pretoriani, il cui padre fu soldato dell'*ala I Thracum* (nrr. 15, 24) e nati con ogni probabilità a Campona, quartier generale del corpo in cui prestò servizio il loro genitore⁵⁷. Un secondo e meno nutrito gruppo di veterani non era originario delle province in esame⁵⁸; costoro dovrebbero essersi stanziati in territori visti durante il servizio, più precisamente mentre erano impegnati lungo la frontiera danubiana o mentre si stavano trasferendo dall'Europa all'Oriente al seguito dei diversi imperatori. *Ael. Aurelius Aelf. Atticus*, ad esempio, servì nel pretorio verosimilmente tra il 216/217 e il 233 d.C. (nr. 56) e potrebbe essere transitato per il territorio di *Histria*, scelto come residenza al termine della ferma, sotto Elagabalo nel 219 o sotto Alessandro Severo nel 231⁵⁹; i due *equites singulares Augusti* sistematisi a *Storgosia* e congedati sotto Settimio Severo (nrr. 50–51) avrebbero a loro volta avuto diverse occasioni per vedere le città e i villaggi della Mesia mentre costituivano il seguito dell'imperatore o di membri della famiglia imperiale: la campagna del 193 contro Pescennio Nigro, la visita imperiale del 194–195, un soggiorno di Caracalla e forse di Giulia Domna nel 198, infine il ritorno della famiglia imperiale verso Roma per celebrare i *decennalia* di Settimio Severo⁶⁰. Poiché la documentazione relativa a questo secondo gruppo, costituita da diplomi militari (nrr. 50, 51, 56, 60), dovrebbe provenire da aree della Mesia Inferiore di grande vivacità economica, poste lungo il mar Nero (*Histria* e il suo *ager*) o nelle vicinanze di fiumi e contraddistinte da un fitto popolamento vicanico con una non trascurabile componente di veterani⁶¹ e visto che questi *vici* erano centri di pro-

⁵⁶ Questa è la scelta di *C. Iulius C.f. Martinus* (nr. 20), originario di *Poetovio* e stabilitosi a *Brigetio*, e *C. Iulius C.f. Passar* (nr. 21), originario dei *Mogiones* e stabilitosi a *Bakonycsérnye* nei pressi di *Brigetio*: potrebbe trattarsi di legionari della *I Adiutrix* o di un legionario e un ausiliario passati tra i pretoriani nel 193 e poi congedati nel 206.

⁵⁷ Sul *castellum* di *Campona* vd. Strobel 1987, 264–266; Lőrincz 2001, 24–25; Kocsis 2003; anche *Q. Valerius Severianus* (nr. 10) era con ogni probabilità originario della zona prossima al forte ausiliario di *Cuccium*, sul quale cfr. Sanader 2003, 142; Lőrincz 2005, 63–65; Rendić-Miočević 2009, 98–101.

⁵⁸ Considerazioni simili sono svolte anche da Ferjančić 2009 nel suo lavoro sui veterani pretoriani nelle province balcaniche centrali; l'area scelta per l'analisi ha permesso di comprendere le due Mesie.

⁵⁹ Halfmann 1986, 228, 232; per la campagna orientale di Alessandro Severo Wiegels 2014, 97–100.

⁶⁰ Su queste presenze imperiali e le fonti, letterarie e numismatiche, che provverebbero questi viaggi lungo il Danubio vd. Boteva 2010, 231–242.

⁶¹ Boyanov 2008; Królczyk 2009, 91–106; più nello specifico sull'area compresa tra i fiumi Ogosta e Jantra e il popolamento di veterani cfr. Poulter 1983, 92–94; Poulter 1992, 77–81; Tomas 2007.

duzione che si occupavano anche dei rifornimenti degli eserciti⁶², appare evidente come anche gli ex soldati delle milizie urbane preferissero scegliere di radicarsi in località che garantivano i migliori vantaggi economici possibili e dove avrebbero potuto ritrovare altre persone che condividevano il loro orizzonte culturale permeato dei valori della vita militare. In queste zone erano altresì presenti con ogni probabilità estesi possedimenti fondiari imperiali⁶³: sarebbe dunque interessante capire se i veterani si fossero radicati su terre di proprietà imperiale, che essi avrebbero potuto mettere a coltura e rendere più produttive. Questo rapporto tra i veterani e la proprietà imperiale è stato ampiamente dibattuto e verificato per molte aree dell'impero, senza però riuscire a capire in maniera definitiva se gli ex soldati avessero acquisito proprietà fondiarie nelle vicinanze delle terre pertinenti al fisco o avessero invece acquistato proprietà imperiali o ancora coltivassero fondi imperiali la cui proprietà eminente era rimasta al *princeps*⁶⁴.

L'altro fenomeno su cui si vuole porre l'accento, iniziato già nel II secolo ma di maggiore rilevanza nel III, è l'ereditarietà del mestiere militare: i figli di soldati o i fratelli che si arruolarono nelle milizie urbane sono piuttosto numerosi. Un'unica testimonianza riferibile con certezza a una fase precedente alla riforma di Settimio Severo mostra come il pretoriano *L. Fabricius Clemens* fosse figlio di un evocato, quest'ultimo però di probabile origine italica (nrr. 3, 3Ev)⁶⁵. Dopo la riforma del pretorio operata da Settimio Severo i documenti provenienti dall'area qui trattata diventano tuttavia più numerosi: si è già detto dei due fratelli pretoriani di Campona il

⁶² Ad esempio la ceramica prodotta nella zona di Butovo (forse da identificare con *Emporium Piretensium*) è stata ritrovata anche negli accampamenti militari: cfr. Sultov 1983; Sultov 1985; Poulter 1992, 83–84; Tomas 2007, 40 e note 66–67 con ulteriore bibliografia in polacco.

⁶³ Fântânele, località dove è stato ritrovato il diploma di *Ael. Aurelius Atticus* (CIL XVI 145 = nr. 56), era con tutta probabilità compreso nella *regio Histriae*, la quale era probabilmente un'ampia zona di proprietà imperiale (Avram 1981–1982, 113–120; Matei-Popescu 2014, 186–190); i due diplomi relativi agli *equites singulares Augusti* (RMD V 453 = nr. 50; RMD V 454 = nr. 51) sono stati rinvenuti nella parte settentrionale della regione di Pleven, in un territorio posto tra *Novae* e *Oescus* e che doveva connotarsi a sua volta per l'esistenza di consistenti fondi di proprietà imperiale: Sarnowski 1985, 116–117; Henning 1994, 468; Tomas 2007, 41. Se l'iscrizione CIL III 14211, 2 = ILBulg 16, citata dagli ultimi due autori, attesta l'esistenza di un *praefectus saltus* ma non è dirimente per la presenza di proprietà imperiali (Bartels 2008), esiste tuttavia un indizio più consistente, cioè l'attestazione di un *dispensator Augustorum* a Nikopol, a ovest di *Oescus* (CIL III 754 = 7436). Ci sarebbe poi da chiedersi se le varie *stationes* doganali presenti nella regione di Pleven non servissero anche allo scopo di sorvegliare le proprietà imperiali: cfr. De Laet 1949, 202–203; Ørsted 1985, 270–274, 314–315, 319–320.

⁶⁴ D'Escurac Doisy 1962; Chevallier 1974, 315; Romanelli 1974, 189; Drinkwater 1983, 66–67; Todisco 1999, 216–217, 238–245; Di Fazio 2002; Zerbini 2007; Maiuro 2012, 158, 268, 282, 288, 294–295, 303, 334–335, 355.

⁶⁵ La datazione di CIL III 4487, erroneamente attribuita al III secolo dai diversi commentatori (cfr. Vorbeck 1980, p. 105 nr. 295; lupa 1847; EDCS-28800831 con ulteriore bibliografia), al II secolo è indicativa, poiché non si è potuto compiere alcun esame autoptico sull'iscrizione. Il formulario e la tipologia del monumento orientano comunque a collocare il *titulus* al massimo a poco oltre la metà del II secolo.

cui padre era ausiliario (nrr. 15, 24); il pretoriano *Valerius Lucilianus* era verosimilmente fratello di un centurione e figlio di un *signifer* legionario (nr. 14)⁶⁶; i pretoriani *Mullonius Secundianus* (nr. 11), *Aemilianus Vitalis* (nr. 37) e *C. Iulius Fronto* (nr. 57) erano figli di veterani legionari (*Fronto* era anche fratello di un *beneficiarius consularis*); un ultimo pretoriano, infine, discendeva da un *interprex*, ossia un civile ingaggiato dall'esercito⁶⁷. Altre due reclute del pretorio, inoltre, avevano fratelli che a loro volta divennero *milites* (nrr. 13, 39, 44). Si deve infine sicuramente citare il caso della *domus Heraclitiana* attestata a *Intercisa* in età severiana in numerose iscrizioni: il primo membro di questa famiglia, *M. Aurelius Heraclitus*, dovrebbe essere stato un abitante della parte orientale dell'impero trasferitosi a *Intercisa* al seguito della *cohors I milliaria Hemesorum*, della quale divenne centurione (nr. 8/A); l'omonimo figlio si arruolò nella legione *VII Claudia*, dove divenne *principalis (hastatus)*, poi passò all'XI coorte urbana sotto Alessandro Severo e fu infine promosso all'ufficialità in qualità di *centurio statorum praetorianorum* (è noto grazie a tre diverse epigrafi: nrr. 8/B, 8/C, 8/D)⁶⁸; il cognato dell'ufficiale delle milizie urbane era infine *evocatus* (nr. 8Ev). Questa breve rassegna mostra come alcuni soldati delle milizie urbane discendessero da *principales*, la categoria di *milites* meglio remunerata, e inoltre potessero appartenere alle classi dirigenti locali o intrattenere rapporti con personaggi piuttosto in vista a livello locale e non solo: il veterano della *XIII Gemina Severiana*, padre di *C. Iulius Fronto*, divenne decurione e magistrato di *Sarmizegetusa* e i figli ereditarono il rango decurionale; il cognato dei due fratelli pretoriani *C. Valerius Pudens* e *C. Iulius Celer* era un augustale a Scupi (nrr. 39, 44); la famiglia del veterano del pretorio *M. Aurelius Augustinus* era molto vicina ai *Maii* di rango equestre a *Timacum Minus* (nr. 46)⁶⁹. Ciò porta a ridimensionare una delle asserzioni più comunemente accettate in letteratura, ossia la bassa estrazione sociale dei pretoriani nel III secolo

⁶⁶ Redaelli 2016, 134 a causa di una svista dice che questo pretoriano era figlio del centurione; il diverso gentilizio del pretoriano rispetto al *Cocceius* del *signifer* e del centurione significa che il soldato del pretorio era un figlio illegittimo, nato mentre il padre era ancora *miles*, oppure che il legionario era il suo patrigno, soluzione forse preferibile, visto il gentilizio *Septimia* della madre. Si noti come questa iscrizione e quella relativa al nr. 43 potrebbero riferirsi anche a una fase precedente al 193.

⁶⁷ RIU II 590 (nr. 9) = Méa 2012, 208 nr. 6; si rinvia a quest'ultimo contributo per la figura dell'*interprex* come un *salariarius* dell'esercito romano; il padre di questo pretoriano è menzionato anche in una dedica a Giove databile tra il 211 e il 222 (CIL III 10988); Szabó 2014 per una diversa interpretazione del rango di *salariarius*.

⁶⁸ Su questa *domus*, parola da intendersi con un significato simile a quello di *gens*, vd. Fitz 1968; Agócs 2013, 22–23; sulla *cohors I milliaria Hemesorum* vd. Spaul 2000, 411–414; Lőrincz 2001, 35–36; 243 nr. 285; 247–266 nrr. 298–368. Vd. inoltre *supra*, 163–164, *P. Aelius Proculinus*, altro ufficiale delle milizie urbane figlio di un militare (nr. 16).

⁶⁹ In IMS III/2 27 (nr. 46) compare un personaggio, la cui onomastica è purtroppo incompleta, che era probabilmente l'ultimo dedicante dell'epitaffio in onore del veterano; è stata proposta la sua identificazione con *Maius Cle[mentinus]*, *eques Romanus* noto in un'altra iscrizione di *Timacum Minus* (IMS III/2 106). La lacuna del documento non permette però di confermare con certezza l'identificazione e di capire che tipo di rapporti intercorressero tra le due famiglie.

d.C.⁷⁰ La situazione doveva essere più eterogenea: se in effetti lo studio di Feldmann, basato sui latercoli e le testimonianze epigrafiche dei veterani pretoriani in Pannonia, dimostra in maniera convincente come questi ex soldati, provenienti dalla Pannonia stessa, erano con ogni probabilità di estrazione rurale e molti di loro avevano ricevuto *origines fictae* e forse non godevano della cittadinanza romana prima dell'arruolamento, almeno fino al 212⁷¹, è altrettanto vero che i casi appena menzionati comproverebbero come alcuni pretoriani (in effetti una minoranza) provenissero da famiglie piuttosto benestanti e appartenenti al "ceto medio" delle società in cui vivevano. Ma il punto fondamentale è che non appare molto sensato postulare una sorta di imbarbarimento del pretorio successivo alla riforma di Settimio Severo. Pur essendo originari dalle aree di più antica romanizzazione, infatti, anche molti pretoriani di I e II secolo d.C. erano di bassa estrazione sociale, discendenti di liberti e di non sicura nascita ingenua⁷². La quasi totale assenza di schiavi e liberti tra i dedicanti e i destinatari delle iscrizioni relative all'area danubiana⁷³ potrebbe invece costituire un indizio di una minore ricchezza di *militēs* e veterani del pretorio nel III secolo rispetto all'epoca precedente.

L'onomastica dei *parentes* e i gentilizi imperiali costituiscono altri indizi per individuare l'estrazione sociale delle reclute del pretorio, ma non sembrano essere sempre dirimenti. Nessuno dei genitori menzionati nei testi epigrafici reca infatti filiazione e tribù, ma l'indicazione di questi elementi onomastici è praticamente assente dall'epigrafia di area danubiana nel II e III secolo d.C. In un solo caso i nomi epicorici dei *parentes*, *Scaris Busila* e *Sura Pyrula*, sono spie decisive per ipotizzare l'origine peregrina del pretoriano *Aurelius Longinus* (nr. 40). Inoltre, se escludiamo il caso particolare dell'urbaniciano *L. Flavius Sabinus* (nr. 17), che potrebbe avere ricevuto la cittadinanza e il *nomen* quando si arruolò o passò dalle legioni alle coorti urbane durante le guerre civili del 69, l'unico gentilizio imperiale che potrebbe provare una recente romanizzazione di un *miles* dei reparti acuartierati a Roma è *Aurelius*; ma gli *Aurelii* per i quali è possibile precisare la cronologia della permanenza nell'esercito⁷⁴ si arruolarono in età severiana e dunque potrebbe trattarsi di discendenti di famiglie che ottennero la cittadinanza romana sotto Marco Aurelio, o anche precedentemente, e non necessariamente di individui di condizione peregrina prima della *Constitutio Antoniniana*. Appare una prova più forte la combinazione di questo gentilizio con

⁷⁰ Feldmann 1980; Mócsy 1986, 446–447; Acrudoae 2012.

⁷¹ Feldmann 1980.

⁷² Panciera 1993; Ricci 1994.

⁷³ Gli schiavi/liberti compaiono in due sole iscrizioni; si noti però come una si riferisca a un veterano pretoriano originario della Macedonia (nr. 42) e l'altra a un *evocatus legionis* e poi *centurio* proveniente da Salona (nr. 2Ev); mancano, in altre parole, attestazioni di soldati delle milizie urbane originari della macroregione in esame onorati da schiavi o liberti.

⁷⁴ *M. Aurelius Marcus* (nr. 52, congedato nel 226), *Aurelius Diophanes* (nr. 53, congedato pochi anni prima del 227), *M. Aurelius Secundus* (nr. 54, congedato nel 228), *Ael. Aurelius Atticus* (nr. 56, congedato nel 233), *M. Aurelius Iovini[anus]* (nr. 60, congedato nel 247).

cognomi indigeni degli ex soldati o delle loro spose o altre particolarità onomastiche⁷⁵.

Si dovrebbe invece operare una più proficua distinzione tra il reclutamento nei momenti di stabilità e durante situazioni di emergenza dovute a guerre. In questi ultimi casi la necessità di avere rapidamente uomini a disposizione poteva effettivamente portare all'ingresso di un buon numero di uomini di bassa estrazione sociale nelle coorti pretorie e nelle coorti urbane. Questo accadeva però già nel I e nel II secolo d.C. come mostrano forse i casi già descritti di *L. Flavius Sabinus* e *Aelius Messius* e soprattutto dei diplomi militari che costituiscono delle copie di una costituzione di Adriano del 119 d.C.⁷⁶ Questi diplomi riconoscevano la cittadinanza romana a quei pretoriani che ne erano sprovvisti. È possibile che le guerre orientali di Traiano, e forse già le guerre daciche, avessero provocato molte perdite tra i pretoriani e per rimpiazzarle velocemente si fosse ricorso a *dilectus* straordinari o a passaggi di uomini dalle legioni senza un'adeguata verifica delle qualità delle reclute⁷⁷; in questo modo molti non cittadini potrebbero essere entrati nelle truppe metropolitane più selezionate⁷⁸. All'interno del dossier un altro individuo, *M. Iunius M.f. Claud. Montanus* (nr. 35), potrebbe essere passato dagli *auxilia* al pretorio in circostanze di guerra in età traiana, dunque in una fase precedente a Settimio Severo. Il suo *titulus* funerario si data infatti al pieno II secolo; prima di essere inquadrato nei ranghi della II coorte pretoria il soldato prestò servizio in una coorte di cui resta solo il numerale (o una parte di esso), XXII, che può verosimilmente riferirsi solo a una *cohors Voluntariorum* (nr. 35)⁷⁹.

Il ruolo di soldati e veterani delle milizie urbane nella vita civica delle province danubiane oggetto di questo studio appare infine molto marginale. Solamente due pretoriani riuscirono ad entrare nelle classi dirigenti locali e a ricoprire cariche pubbliche. Oltre al già citato *C. Iulius Fronto* a *Sarmizegetusa* (nr. 57), infatti, un altro pretoriano divenne *quinquennalis* a *Oescus* (nr. 36). L'epigrafe relativa a quest'ultimo individuo è priva del lato sinistro e della parte superiore e così l'onomastica del personaggio è sconosciuta e la carriera di difficile ricostruzione. Il soldato in questione

⁷⁵ I cognomi *Dalenus*, o *Dalenis*, e *Uthis*, rispettivamente di un ex pretoriano e della sua *uxor* (CIL III 13743 = nr. 48); il cognome *Sispiris* di una sposa (AE 1998, 1140 = nr. 47), l'utilizzo di *Aelius* come prenome (nr. 56); il cognome *Passar* di un ex pretoriano (nr. 21), quest'ultimo però in combinazione con il gentilizio *Iulius*.

⁷⁶ Attualmente ne esistono 4 esemplari editi: Mrav / Vida 2013b = Eck *et al.* 2014a; Eck 2013; Eck *et al.* 2014b; Eck 2017. Si noti come anche gli ultimi tre esemplari dovrebbero provenire dall'area balcanica e dunque potrebbero far riferimento all'area che qui si sta analizzando; i luoghi di ritrovamento non sono però noti.

⁷⁷ Circostanze cui fanno riferimento i documenti stessi: *vel ex dilectu probati parum examinata origine parentium vel ex alia qua causa translati*.

⁷⁸ Opinione condivisa da Eck *et al.* 2014a, 249–251.

⁷⁹ Per la datazione vd. Conrad 2004, nr. 461. Esclusivamente le *cohortes Voluntariorum civium Romanorum* raggiungevano una numerazione così alta; sono infatti attestate una *cohors XXIV*, una *cohors XXVI*, una *cohors XXX* (CIL III 6758) e una *cohors XXXII* denominate *Voluntariorum c.R.*: vd. Holder 2002, 294.

doveva essere un *evocatus*; ciò si evince dalla forte possibilità che il numerale ventisei alla prima riga leggibile debba riferirsi agli anni di servizio. Alla linea 4, infatti, è possibile integrare con *[exercitato]r eqq(uitum) praetor(ianorum)*, da preferire a *campidoctor*⁸⁰, termine quest'ultimo non molto diffuso nell'epigrafia e non necessariamente seguito da un genitivo⁸¹. Come già detto⁸², gli *exercitatores equitum praetorianorum* erano individui che avevano rivestito precedentemente altri centurionati, nelle legioni e nelle milizie urbane; tale carriera militare esclude un breve periodo di ferma e una morte in giovane età dell'ignoto ufficiale. Un'ultima testimonianza della partecipazione di *militēs* e veterani delle truppe di stanza a Roma alla vita civica delle province in esame attesta l'ingresso di un veterano pretoriano in un collegio dedito al culto di Bacco a *Nicopolis ad Istrum* (nr. 53). Come per i colleghi legionari è ipotizzabile che i veterani delle milizie urbane preferissero non ricoprire cariche pubbliche e ritirarsi sulle loro terre per godere dei privilegi connessi al loro *status*⁸³.

Un'altra modalità attraverso la quale soldati e veterani delle milizie urbane utilizzavano la propria disponibilità economica era la realizzazione di dediche in onore di divinità; pur trattandosi di atti di pietà per lo più individuali, *ex voto* e *pro salute* dei propri cari o della famiglia imperiale, e dunque non configurandosi come evergesie, i monumenti in onore degli dei costituiscono delle espressioni di un impegno finanziario, specie se accompagnate da espressioni come *sua pecunia* o *impensa sua*, formula che compare in una delle tre iscrizioni poste dall'ex pretoriano *M. Aurelius Constantinus* a Diana nel santuario di Csákvár (nr. 23/A)⁸⁴, e dell'interesse dei dedicanti per il decoro del santuario che ospitava le epigrafi sacre. L'area qui trattata si caratterizza per un numero piuttosto alto di *tituli* sacri posti da soldati ed ex soldati: 26 iscrizioni, di cui una incerta, in cui compaiono 20 individui differenti che potrebbero aver prestato servizio nelle milizie di stanza a Roma; in un caso colui che aveva probabilm-

⁸⁰ Così integrano ILBulg 66; Ferjančić 2009, 118.

⁸¹ L'unico sicuro *campidoctor* attestato nelle iscrizioni è in realtà CIL II 4083 e il vocabolo non è seguito da alcun genitivo; un'altra attestazione potrebbe essere alla riga 3 del lato destro di CIL VI 31150: *Aelius Nigrinus* potrebbe essere *c(ampi)d(octor) s(agittariorum)*; ma Dobson 1978, 250 nr. 129; Speidel 1994, 49–51 nr. 14; Sablayrolles 1996, 487–488 nr. 13; EDR156886 (a cura di Chiara Cenati) si mostrano tutti non sicuri dell'integrazione.

⁸² Vd. nota 42.

⁸³ Wolff 1986; Wesch-Klein 1998, 191–194; Link 1989, 72–133; Wesch-Klein 2007, 439–444; più nello specifico per i veterani delle milizie urbane Link 1989, 36–47; 60–64 (con un'eccessiva concentrazione sui diplomi); Phang 2001, 66–75; 313–316. Il desiderio di non rinunciare ai *munera publica* come motivazione della bassa percentuale dei veterani inseriti nella vita amministrativa locale è opinione largamente espressa nella letteratura: tra gli altri Dupuis 1991; Demougin 1999, 367–372; Todisco 1999, 215; Kehoe 2008, 87–89; 213 nota 80; Wesch-Klein 1998, 198–200.

⁸⁴ Le prime edizioni, CIL III 3365, RIU VI 1391, Alföldy 2004, 15–16 (AE 2004, 1163) consideravano come un'unica iscrizione quelli che in realtà andrebbero considerati come due testi separati, come fa Fehér 2010, 188–190, nrr. 1–2 (nr. 23/A e 23/B); sempre Fehér 2010, 190–193, nr. 3 (nr. 23/C) ha pubblicato una terza iscrizione che si riferisce sempre a *M. Aurelius Constantinus*; secondo Alföldy 2004, 15–16 gli *Aurelii Constantini* sarebbero stati due, il padre veterano e un figlio pretoriano.

te militato nelle truppe urbane non è il dedicante: *medicus Mar(cius?) Marcellus sub cap(sario) Va[l(erio)] Praesente evok(ato)*⁸⁵ (nr. 7Ev). Si deve rilevare soprattutto come solo due dedicanti fossero *milites*, mentre sei erano evocati, quattro centurioni (due legionari e due dei corpi di Roma), un tribuno e sei veterani (tra cui un *veteranus ex evocato*). Coloro che disponevano di maggiore ricchezza a causa di uno *stipendium* più alto (graduati e ufficiali) o dopo aver ricevuto il premio di congedo (veterani) erano dunque i soggetti più propensi a mettersi in mostra tramite l'espressione dei loro atti religiosi, talvolta tramite monumenti molto costosi ed eleganti, come ad esempio l'ex voto che l'*evocatus* e poi centurione *Atilius Primus* sciolse a Giove Ottimo Massimo Dolicheno a *Carnuntum* (nr. 6Ev, Tav. 17, Fig. 4). L'opera si compone di un altare sormontato dalla stele con l'iscrizione e al centro la rappresentazione della divinità. Bisognerebbe infine interrogarsi, tenendo sempre ben presente che la zona che si sta esaminando era sede di numerose unità militari, quanto possa influire sul dato quantitativo e sulle categorie di soldati rappresentati il fatto che molte iscrizioni sacre potessero essere gli ex voto sciolti al termine del servizio militare, in santuari in cui i giovani *tirones* si erano recati all'inizio della propria ferma, o di una campagna. Recenti lavori sull'area dacica mostrano una stretta connessione tra le dediche sacre *pro salute imperatoris* (o *imperatorum*) con gli eventi militari che interessarono la macroregione che si sta analizzando⁸⁶; l'unico sicuro veterano ex evocato, *Iulius Iulianus*, potrebbe inoltre essere identificato con un *evocatus Augusti* originario di *Aquincum* la cui sepoltura fu posta a Roma dai figli⁸⁷, lasciando così intendere che il congedato avesse compiuto un viaggio in patria per sciogliere un voto subito dopo il termine della ferma⁸⁸. Questi indizi suggerirebbero una risposta positiva al problema appena delineato.

L'analisi degli altri personaggi presenti nelle iscrizioni accanto a soldati ed ex soldati delle milizie urbane non porta a sostanziali novità rispetto al quadro offerto da altre aree dell'impero⁸⁹, se non in parte per l'elenco dei membri del *collegium* che si occupava dei culti in onore di Bacco nel territorio di *Nicopolis ad Istrum* (nr. 53), unica esplicita testimonianza proveniente dalle province⁹⁰ dell'inserimento di un

⁸⁵ La nuova lettura, al posto di *sub c(ura) a(gente)*, è di Szabó 2008, 155–156 nr. 1 = AE 2008, 1123.

⁸⁶ Szabó 2003; Popescu 2004; Alexandrov 2009; Nemeti 2015.

⁸⁷ CIL VI 3431 = EDR152489; l'iscrizione è ricordata da Póczy 2003 tra quelle attinenti ai soldati originari della Pannonia che prestarono servizio a Roma sotto Settimio Severo.

⁸⁸ Il culto delle divinità onorate, *Liber* e *Libera*, fu favorito dalla dinastia severiana, soprattutto da Settimio Severo; molte dediche provenienti da *Aquincum* e più in generale dalla Pannonia, infatti, si datano al principato del fondatore della dinastia e furono poste da ufficiali e soldati: da ultimo vd. Mráv 2008, soprattutto 126–127.

⁸⁹ Ricci 1994, 28–33; Phang 2001, 159–164, 408–409; Pitillas Salañer 2011.

⁹⁰ In Italia invece *L. Marculeius Saturninus* (CIL IX 3923) fu quinquennale del collegio dei *fabri tignarii* ad *Alba Fucens*, *T. Salenus T.f. Sedatus* ad *Auximum* (CIL IX 5843) e *Q. Iunius Q.f. Severianus* ad Ascoli (CIL IX 5189) divennero patroni dei rispettivi *collegia centonariorum*, *L. Caecilius Aemilianus* (AE 1940, 64) fu membro del *corpus importatorum et nego-*

veterano delle milizie urbane in un'associazione collegiale diversa da quelle costituite dagli ex soldati.

La categoria di individui maggiormente menzionati nei testi epigrafici sono i genitori: almeno uno dei due è presente in ben 13 *tituli*, tra i quali solo due si riferiscono anche a veterani⁹¹; i fratelli compaiono in sette *tituli*, e in quattro di questi sono *militēs*⁹², le sorelle in due, altri parenti in tre, mentre in un caso lo stato frammentario dell'epigrafe non consente di individuare il grado di parentela. L'altra categoria decisamente rappresentata sono i compagni d'armi: escludendo le iscrizioni in cui fratelli e padri si sono arruolati nell'esercito, i commilitoni sono ricordati almeno in otto casi (per un totale di 11 iscrizioni)⁹³, includendo anche il *titulus* sacro del *medicus*, inteso verosimilmente come medico militare (nr. 7Ev)⁹⁴; sussiste inoltre il forte dubbio che l'*heres* del già citato *eques singularis Augusti T. Aurelius Primus* (nr. 4, Tav. 16, Fig. 1) fosse a sua volta *miles*. Va però precisato come sei iscrizioni tra queste si riferiscano a evocati inquadrati in unità legionarie dopo il richiamo alle armi.

Gli altri protagonisti principali sono le mogli, menzionate in quattro iscrizioni, tre relative a veterani del pretorio e una a un *evocatus*, poi centurione legionario e verosimilmente congedato, e definite tre volte *coniunx* e una *uxor*⁹⁵; e i figli, presenti in tre casi pertinenti sempre a congedati⁹⁶. Le due categorie sono dunque le più rappresentative dell'epigrafia relativa ai veterani⁹⁷. Il dato più rilevante che emerge è tuttavia che, su una documentazione totale relativa ai soli veterani, esclusi anche i centurioni, costituita da 35 attestazioni, delle quali però 20 sono diplomi e non possono dare indicazioni riguardo alle relazioni sociali da loro intessute, in nove testimonianze delle 15 restanti (riferibili però a 13 veterani) i congedati non sono gli unici personaggi dei testi. Ciò potrebbe essere spia di una buona capacità di integrazione nel tessuto

tiantium vinariorum di Ostia e infine *L. Granus Pudens* fu con tutta probabilità *sodalis* di un'associazione religiosa in onore di Mitra nella zona di *Clusium* (CIL XI 2596).

⁹¹ CIL III 4487 (Nrr. 3, 3Ev), RIU V 1186 (nr. 8/A), RIU II 590 (nr. 9), CIL III 3265 (nr. 10), ILJug I 332 (nr. 11), CIL III 4001 (nr. 13), CIL III 4114 (nr. 14), RIU V 1155 (nr. 16), TitAq II 1019 (nrr. 15, 24), CIL III 7421 (nr. 37), ILBulg 171 (nr. 40), IMS VI 34 (nrr. 39, 44), IDR III/2 113 (nr. 57).

⁹² CIL III 7421 (nr. 37), IMS III/2 27 (nr. 46); i fratelli sono a loro volta soldati in CIL III 4001 (nr. 13); TitAq II 1019 (nrr. 15, 24), IMS VI 34 (nrr. 39, 44), IDR III/2 113 (nr. 57)

⁹³ Due di queste iscrizioni riguardano infatti l'*evocatus M. Vibius Verinus*, che compare con lo stesso *salariarius*, figura come detto connessa con l'esercito ma forse non propriamente *miles* (nrr. 14Ev/A-B), e tre l'*evocatus Orfius Sabinus* (nrr. 9Ev/A-C); le altre sono l'inedita di *Carnuntum* (nrr. 5-6), CIL III 3470 (nr. 5Ev), CIL III 3565 (nr. 1Ev) e le due iscrizioni poste da più soldati: CIL III 14409, 1 (in cui compaiono i due evocati nrr. 10Ev-11Ev) e CIL III 14214 (nr. 33: si tratta dell'iscrizione del trofeo di Adamclisi).

⁹⁴ Non sempre nelle iscrizioni riguardanti i medici operanti nell'esercito il vocabolo *medicus* è accompagnato dal genitivo del reparto su cui egli aveva responsabilità (ad esempio CIL III 7449); Davies 1969; Wilmanns 1995; Baker 2004.

⁹⁵ Nrr. 18, 35 (si tratta dell'evocato), 47, 48 (*uxor*).

⁹⁶ Nrr. 27 (senza i nomi), 46, 47.

⁹⁷ Ricci 1994, 29 distingue in questo senso in maniera molto pertinente i personaggi presenti nelle epigrafi dei *militēs* da quelli menzionati nell'epigrafia dei veterani.

sociale delle province danubiane oggetto della nostra attenzione. Ma questa capacità era con ogni probabilità propria soprattutto delle “società militari” di fine II–III secolo d.C. poste nel raggio di pochi chilometri dalle sedi permanenti delle unità militari⁹⁸ e di coloro che rientravano in patria; e a questo proposito, infatti, tre militari che dichiarano esplicitamente la propria *origo* da città poste al di fuori della provincia in cui lasciarono tracce di loro stessi compaiono quali unici personaggi dell’iscrizione (*Q. Trebellius Maximus* di Roma a *Tomis*)⁹⁹ o vengono ricordati da liberti (*M. Herennius Valens* di Salona a *Cibalae* e il già citato veterano pretoriano di *Pelagonia* a *Scupi*)¹⁰⁰, a dimostrazione di una possibile difficoltà nell’allargare le proprie conoscenze al di fuori del ristretto *entourage*.

Per concludere: i soldati in servizio e i congedati mantenevano legami piuttosto forti con la città o la provincia di origine e con i propri parenti. Nel quadro di quelle che sono state chiamate “società militari”, in cui i civili avevano modo di interagire costantemente con i militari e l’integrazione tra le due realtà doveva essere un fatto reale, il ricordo e anche l’esibizione della propria militanza a Roma dovevano essere fatti positivi e segni concreti di ascesa sociale. Il reinserimento nella vita civile d’altro canto doveva essere facilitato dalla presenza non solo del proprio nucleo familiare ma anche di società in cui numerose persone avevano diretta conoscenza di cosa fosse la vita militare ed erano consapevoli che l’esercito non era solo uno strumento di oppressione come il pensiero di matrice senatoria voleva¹⁰¹. Il servizio a Roma poteva anche rendere il soldato delle milizie urbane una sorta di raccordo tra centro e periferia, in quanto visto dai civili come una figura più vicina all’imperatore; il famoso caso del pretoriano incaricato di rappresentare il villaggio della Tracia di *Skaptopara* presso il *princeps* ne è l’esempio più celebre (CIL III 12336)¹⁰².

Tutto questo vale per il III secolo e soprattutto per i pretoriani, il corpo meglio documentato, con la specificazione che sarebbe auspicabile avere a disposizione più attestazioni degli *equites singulares Augusti*: nei primi due secoli l’immagine positiva del soldato che serviva vicino all’imperatore era forse già propria di questi ambienti provinciali, visto anche che molti degli ufficiali legionari con cui i civili avevano modo di interagire erano tratti proprio dalle milizie urbane. L’isolamento dei *milites* delle truppe di stanza a Roma rispetto alla popolazione civile sembra tuttavia il modello prevalente nei primi due secoli dell’età imperiale ed è il risultato del fatto che gli unici momenti di incontro tra le due realtà avvenissero nel corso di guerre o durante lo

⁹⁸ Alföldy 2000, 44–55; Alföldy 2011, 239–242; ricorda come anche nelle province con guarnigioni militari le dinamiche di interazione tra civili e militari siano profondamente diverse tra le zone di confine e quelle più interne Speidel 2009, 473–500.

⁹⁹ CIL III 7534 (nr. 34); costui era forse ancora in servizio, o era appena stato congedato, al momento della realizzazione dell’iscrizione sacra.

¹⁰⁰ Nrr. 2Ev, 42; anche *M. Herennius Valens, evocatus* e poi centurione in diverse legioni (nr. 2Ev), dovrebbe essere un veterano.

¹⁰¹ Carrié 1989; sulla grande presenza di veterani nelle province danubiane Królczyk 2005; Królczyk 2009.

¹⁰² Su questa celebre iscrizione vd. Magioncalda 2010.

svolgimento di mansioni molto particolari e specializzate. Queste situazioni contingenti evidentemente non favorivano gli scambi reciproci e un'apertura dei soldati delle milizie urbane verso un mondo che non fosse quello proprio dei *castra*.

Tabella 1: Pannonia

Nr.	Nome	Grado e corpo	Tipologia iscrizione	Bibliografia	Luogo di ritrovamento (Ager / Città)	Datazione
1	C. Viselius	Miles praetorianus	Militaria	AE 1953, 126 = Hild 1968, nr. 350 = EDH018578	Carnuntum	Fine I–inizio II s. d.C.
2	P. Ati[--- P.] f. Pap. Nepos	Miles praetorianus	Diploma	Mráv / Vida 2013b = Eck <i>et al.</i> 2014a = AE 2013, 2182	Carpazi occidentali?	119 d.C.
3	L. Fabricius Clemens	Miles praetorianus	Sepolcrale	CIL III 4487 = CIL III 11095 = CLE 1121 = Vorbeck 1980, nr. 295 = lupa 1847	Carnuntum	II s. d.C.
4	T. Aur(elius) Primus	Eques singularis Augusti	Sepolcrale	CIL III 11212 = Vorbeck 1980, 296 = Speidel 1994, 368 nr. 685 = lupa 1804	Carnuntum	Fine II s. d.C.
5	C. Titius C.f. Pap. Verus	Miles praetorianus	Sepolcrale	Inedita	Carnuntum	171–172 d.C.
6	T. Traবেনna Marcellinus	Miles praetorianus?	Sepolcrale	Inedita	Carnuntum	171–172 d.C.
7	Ignoto	Tribunus praetorianus	Sacra	CIL III 4037 = CIL III 10868 = ILS 3029 = lupa 4962 = EDH066121	Poetovio	Fine II s. d.C.
8/A	M. Aurelius Heraclitus	Centurio urbanicianus, centurio statutorum praetorianorum	Sepolcrale	RIU V 1186 = AE 1910, 136 = Lórinéz 2001, 252 nr. 316 = lupa 3536 = EDH029853	Intercisa	Primi decenni III s. d.C.
8/B	M. Aurelius Heraclitus	Centurio urbanic., centurio statutorum praetorianor.	Sepolcrale	RIU V 1162 = AE 1906, 113 = lupa 3519 = EDH021923	Intercisa	Primi decenni III s. d.C.
8/C	M. Aurelius Heraclitus	Centurio urbanic., centurio statutorum praetorianor.	Sacra	RIU V 1063 = lupa 8057 = EDH037152	Intercisa	Primi decenni III s.

8/D	M. Aurelius Heraclitus	Centurio urbanicianus, centurio statutorum praetorianorum	Sacra	RIU V 1069 = lupa 8989 = EDH037156	Intercisa	Primi decenni III s. d.C.
9	M. Ulp(ius) Romanus	Primoscrinius praefectorum praetorii	Sepolcrale	RIU II 590 = IDRE II 273 = AE 1951, 103 = lupa 3484 = EDH019364	Brigetio	III s. d.C.
10	Q. Val(erius) Severianus	Eques praetorianus	Sepolcrale	CIL III 3265 = ILJug I 293 = lupa 4300	Cuccium	III s. d.C.
11	Mullonius Secundianus	Miles praetorianus	Sepolcrale	ILJug I 332 = ILSlov 65 = EDH068441	Neviodunum	III s. d.C.
12	M. Aur(elius) Mamaeanus	Miles praetorianus	Sepolcrale?	RIU VI 1470 = AE 1993, 1268 = AE 2001,1662b = EDH032056	Annamatia	III s. d.C.
13	Fl(avius) Val(erius)	Miles praetorianus	Sepolcrale	CIL III 4001 = CIL III 10865 = AIJ 588	Aquae Balis-sae	III s. d.C.
14	Val(erius) Lucilianus	Miles praetorianus	Sepolcrale	CIL III 4114 = CIL III 10888 = lupa 3110 = EDH068798	Poetovio	III s. d.C.
15	Aurelius Caesius	Evocatus, exercitator equitum praetorianorum	Sepolcrale	CIL III 3395 = CIL III 10378 = TitAq II 1019 Lőrincz 2001, 215 nr. 190; lupa2784	Campona, Aquincum	III s. d.C.
16	P. Aelius Proculus	Tribunus (?) sive centurio (?) praetorianus	Sepolcrale	RIU V 1155= IDRE II 286 = AE 1965, 223 = 1971, 326 = Lőrincz 2001, 254 nr. 321 = lupa 3515 = EDH018244	Intercisa	246–247 d.C.
17	L. Flavius L.f. Cla. Sabinus	Veteranus urbanicianus	Diploma	CIL XVI 18= EDH032916	Sirmium	85 d.C.
18	Aelius Messius	Veteranus praetorianus	Sepolcrale	CIL III 6453 = CIL III 10286 = RIU IV 989 = lupa 3503 = EDH037504	Sopianae	Metà II – metà III s. d.C.
19	Iul(ius) I[a]nuarius	Veteranus praetorianus	Sacra	CIL III 3220 = CIL III 10198	Bassianae	Fine II–III s. d.C.
20	C. Iulius C.f. Pap. Martinus Poetovio	Veteranus praetorianus	Diploma	RMD III 188= AE 1997,1268 = EDH063896	Brigetio	206 d.C.

21	C. Iulius C.f. Ael. Passar	Veteranus praetorianus	Diploma	RMD IV 303= AE 2002,1182 = EDH039349	Mogetiana	206 d.C.
22	[I]ulius Iulianus	Veteranus ex evocato	Sacra	TitAq I 205 = AE 1937, 195 = lupa 10526= EDH023505	Aquincum	Primi decen- ni III s. d.C.
23/ A	M. Aur(elius) Constanti- nus	Veteranus praetorianus	Sacra	CIL III 3365 = RIU VI 1391= AE 1939, 156 = 2004, 1163 = 2010, 1349 = Fehér 2010, 188-189 nr. 1 = lupa 10068 = EDH022719	Csákvár, Aquincum	III s. d.C.
23/ B	A(urelius) Con[sta]n- tinus	Veteranus praetorianus	Sacra	Fehér 2010, 189-190nr. 2= AE 2010,1350	Csákvár, Aquincum	III s. d.C.
23/ C	[- Au]rel[i]u[s ---] Constan[---]	Veteranus praetorianus	Sacra?	Fehér 2010, 190-193 nr. 3 = AE 2010, 1351	Csákvár, Aquincum	III s. d.C.
24	Aurelius Caesianus	Veteranus praetorianus	Sepolcrale	CIL III 3395 = 10378 = TitAq II 1019; Lőrincz 2001, 215 nr. 190; lupa 2784	Campona, Aquincum	III s. d.C.
25	C. Iulius Val[eri f. ---]	Veteranus praetorianus	Diploma	CIL XVI 136	Aquincum	212 d.C.?
26	Ignoto	Veteranus praetorianus / urbanicianus	Diploma	RMD V 460 = AE 2000,1203 = EDH055823	Brigetio	221- 222 d.C.
27	M. Vale- rius Ma(n)- suetus	Veteranus praetorianus	Sepolcrale	Betz 1955 = Hild 1968, nr. 264 = lupa 11418 = EDH017282	Carnuntum	1ª metà III s. d.C.
28	Ignoto	Veteranus eques singula- ris Augusti	Diploma	RMD II 134 = AE 1983, 775 = Speidel 1994, 106- 107 nr. 78 = EDH000499	Salla	223- 235 d.C.
29	[- ---] Florianus	Veteranus praetorianus	Diploma	RMD II 135 = AE 1982, 789 = Speidel 1994, 107- 108 nr. 79 = EDH001621	Niederleis	223- 235 d.C.
30	[- Pe]- tronius (?) Val.f. Pap. Marti(alis?)	Veteranus praetorianus	Diploma	CIL XVI 142	Aquincum	225 d.C.

31	Ignoto	Veteranus praetorianus	Diploma	CIL XVI 148	Taurunum	244 d.C.
32	[--- Sev]erus (?)	Veteranus praetorianus	Diploma	Mráv / Vida 2013a = AE 2013, 1252	Sirmium?	245 d.C.
1 Ev	P. Tarrutenius Stel. Proculus	Evocatus	Sepolcrale	CIL III 3565 = ILS 2393 = TitAq II 707 = lupa 2966 = EDH068671	Aquincum	1 ^a metà II s. d.C.
2 Ev	M. Herennius Tromentina Valens	Evocatus legionis, centurio legionis	Sepolcrale	CIL III 13360 = lupa 3593 = EDH057034	Cibalae	1 ^a metà II s. d.C.
3 Ev	L. Fabricius	Evocatus	Sepolcrale	CIL III 4487 = CIL III 11095 = CLE 1121 = Vorbeck 1980, nr. 295 = lupa 1847	Carnuntum	II s. d.C.
4 Ev	L. Val(erius) Titovius	Evocatus	Sacra	CIL III 14072 = Vorbeck 1980, nr. 311 = lupa 4927 = EDH022214	Carnuntum	2 ^a metà II–III s. d.C.
5 Ev	C. Cusp(ius) Secundus	Evocatus, centurio, exercitator leg(ionis)	Sacra	CIL III 3470 = ILS 2453 = TitAq I 212 = EDH067988	Aquincum	2 ^a metà II–inizio III s. d.C.
6 Ev	Atilius Primus	Evocatus legionis, centurio legionis	Sacra	CIL III 11129 = ILS 4309 = Vorbeck 1980, nr. 45 = CCID 222 = lupa 6675	Carnuntum	Fine II s. d.C.
7 Ev	P. Val[erius] Praesens	Evocatus capsarius	Sacra	CIL III 3413 = TitAq I 33 = AE 2008, 1123 = EDH067064	Aquincum	Fine II–inizio III s. d.C.
8 Ev	Epp(ius sive -idius) Flavianus	Evocatus	Sepolcrale	RIU V 1162 = AE 1906, 113 = lupa 3519 = EDH021923	Intercisa	Primi decenni III s. d.C.

Tabella 2: Moesia

Nr.	Nome	Grado e corpo	Tipologia iscrizione	Bibliografia	Luogo di ritrovamento (<i>Ager</i> / Città)	Datazione
33	149 milites	Milites Praetoriani?	Sepolcrale?	CIL III14214 = IScM IV 8 = lupa 15396 EDH017350	Tropaeum Traiani	Inizio II s. d.C.
34	Q. Trebellius Q.f. Fab. Maximus	Centurio praetorianus	Sacra	CIL III 7534 = ILS 4063 = IScM II 140 = EDH043002	Tomis	II s. d.C.
35	M. Iunius M. [f. Cl]a. Montanu[s]	Miles praetorianus, evocatus?, cent. leg.	Sepolcrale	ILBulg 65 = Conrad2004, 461	Oescus	II s. d.C.
36	Ignoto	Miles praet., evocatus, exercitator equitum praetorianor.	Sepolcrale	ILBulg 66 = AE 1957, 296 = EDH017570	Oescus	II–iniz. III s. d.C.
37	(A)emil(ianus) Vitalis	Miles praetorianus	Sepolcrale	CIL III 7421 = EDH042989	Almus	2 ^a metà II–III s. d.C.
38	[---] Proc[---]-nus	Miles praetorianus	Sacra	CIL III 12671 = CIL III 14560 = IMS IV 15	Naissus	II–III s. d.C.
39	C. Iul(ius) Celer	Miles praetorianus	Sepolcrale	IMS VI 34 = ILJug I 36 = EDH032809	Scupi	Fine II–III s. d.C.
40	Aureli(us) Longinus	Miles praetorianus	Sepolcrale	ILBulg 171 = Conrad 2004, nr. 506 = EDH042424	Comakovci	III s. d.C.
41	L. Ennius L.f. Tro. Ferox	Veteranus praetorianus	Diploma	CIL XVI 21 = IScM II 8 = ILS 1993	Tomis	76 d.C.
42	[M. An]tonius (?) M.f. Maecia Marcus	Veteranus praetorianus	Sepolcrale	IMS VI 33 = ILJug I 38 = EDH032815	Scupi	Fine I s. d.C.
43	Ignoto	Veteranus eques singularis Augusti	Diploma	Mugnai 2011 = AE 2011, 1104	Vidin?	133 d.C.
44	C. Valerius Pudens	Veteranus praetorianus	Sepolcrale	IMS VI 34 = ILJug I 36 = EDH032809	Scupi	Fine II–III s. d.C.
45	M. Iulius Frontinianus	Veteranus Augustorum	Sacra	ILBulg 214 = EDH027975	Ad Putea	Fine II–iniz. III s.

46	M. Aur(e)-lius) Aug-ustinus	Veteranus praetorianus	Sepolcrale	IMS III/2 27 = ILJug III 1292 = EDH012964	Timacum Minus	Fine II–III s. d.C.
47	Au-rel(ius) Marcus	Veteranus praetorianus	Sepolcrale	Scorpan 1980, 211–212 = AE 1998, 1140 = Conrad 2004, nr. 284	Sacidava	III s. d.C.
48	Aur. Dalenus	Veteranus? praetorianus	Sepolcrale	CIL III13743 = Conrad 2004, 123 = IScM II 266	Urluchioi, Tomis	III s. d.C.
49	Ignoto	Veteranus praetorianus	Diploma	RMD IV 305 = AE 1995, 1337b = EDH055904	Iatrus (Novae?)	203/207 d.C.
50	C. Vale-rius Dolentis f. Valens	Veteranus eques singula-ris Augusti	Diploma	RMD V 453 = RGZM 47 = AE 2003, 1543	Storgosia	205 d.C.
51	M. Vale-rius M.f. Apol-li[naris]	Veteranus eques singula-ris Augusti	Diploma	RMD V 454 = RGZM 2 = AE 2003, 1544	Storgosia	207 d.C.
52	M. Aure-lius M.f. Ulp. Marcus	Veteranus praetorianus	Diploma	CIL XVI 143	Nicopolis ad Istrum	226 d.C.
53	Aurelius Diophanes	Veteranus praetorianus	Sacra (dedi-ca colle-gium)	CIL III 6150= 7437 =12346 = ILBulg 438 = ILS 4060 = IDRE II 327 = AE 2004,1197 =EDH042833	Nicopolis ad Istrum	227 d.C.
54	M. Aure-lius M.f. Ulp. Secundus	Veteranus praetorianus	Diploma	RMD II 132	Nicopolis ad Istrum	228 d.C.
55	Ignoto	Veteranus eques singula-ris Augusti	Diploma	RMD III 197 = AE 1987, 855 = Speidel 1994, 104–106 nr. 77 = EDH012728	Ad Pontes	230 d.C.
56	Ael. Aurelius Ael.f. Atticus	Veteranus praetorianus	Diploma	CIL XVI 145 = AE 1914, 259 = IScM I 323 = EDH021530	Histria	233 d.C.
9	Orfius Ev/ A Sab(inus)	Evocatus legionis	Sacra	CIL III 14214, 3a = IScM IV 42a	Tropaeum Traiani	2 ^a metà II–III s.

9 Ev/ B	Orfius Sab(inus)	Evocatus legionis	Sacra	CIL III 14214, 3b = IScM IV 42b	Tropaeum Traiani	2 ^a metà II–III s. d.C.
9 Ev/ C	[Orfi]us Sab(inus)	Evocatus legionis	Sacra	CIL III 14214, 3c = IScM IV 42c	Tropaeum Traiani	2 ^a metà II–III s. d.C.
10 Ev	Geminus Severus	Evocatus legionis	Sacra?	CIL III 14409, 1 = EDH032010	Almus	III s. d.C.
11 Ev	Iul(ius) Rus(---)	Evocatus	Sacra?	CIL III 14409, 1 = EDH032010	Almus	III s. d.C.
12 Ev	[--- Muca]- por (?)	Evocatus legionis	?	Tudor 1956, 614	Moesia Inferior	II–III s. d.C.?

Tabella 3: Dacia

Nr.	Nome	Grado e corpo	Tipologia iscrizione	Bibliografia	Luogo di ritrovamento (<i>Ager</i> / Città)	Data- zione
57	C. Iulius Fronto	Miles praeto- rianus	Sepolcrale	IDR III/2 113 = AE 1933, 248 = EDH024141	Sarmizegetusa	1 ^a metà III s. d.C.
13 Ev	Iul(ius) Cani[nus]	Evocatus	Sacra	CIL III 1592 = CIL III 8028 = IDR II 336 = EDH046834	Romula	Fine II–III s. d.C.
14 Ev/ A	M. Vib(ius) Verinus	Evocatus legionis	Sacra	Ciobanu / Bounegru 2012, 41–42 = Szabó 2014, nr. I	Apulum	1 ^a metà III s. d.C.
14 Ev/ B	M. Vi- bius Verinus	Evocatus legionis	Sacra	Ciobanu/Bou- negru 2012, 43–44 = Szabó 2014, nr. II	Apulum	1 ^a metà III s.

Tabella 4: Località incerta

Nr.	Nome	Grado e corpo	Tipologia iscrizione	Bibliografia	Luogo di ritro- vamento (<i>Ager</i> / Città)	Data- zione
58	C. Vale- rius Me- l(e)ager	Miles urbani- cianus	Sacra	CIL III14496, 1= IDR II 642 = AE 1972, 496 = 1974, 543	Dacia?	Fine I– inizio II s. d.C.
59	Aur. Vict(or)	Veteranus? praetorianus?	Sacra	CIL III 7596 = CIMRM II 2192 = EDH043487	Moesia Infe- rior? Dacia?	III s. d.C.

60	M(arcus) Aurelius Iovni[a- nus] Ulp.	Veteranus praetorianus	Diploma	RMD V 473 = AE 2003, 1545 = EDH055710	Serdica, Thracia sive Oescus, Moesia Inferior	247 d.C.
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Material culture, trade, travel,
and socio-economic conditions

R A D U A R D E V A N

„Dakische Steinblöcke“ im römischen Kontext: ein Problem der Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte der Provinz Dakien

Tafeln 18–22

Die Archäologie Rumäniens kennt ziemlich gut und behandelt recht oft die Steinblöcke, welche die Daker im 1. Jh. v. Chr. für die Errichtung von zweischaligen Umfassungs- und Stützmauern verwendet haben. Es handelt sich um Blöcke aus Kalkstein in Gestalt von Parallepipeda, die mit schwalbenschwanzförmigen Schlitzern versehen sind. Für den Bau einer solchen Mauer wurden zwei parallel verlaufende Reihen dieser Steinblöcke aufgeschichtet und mit Holzbalken verbunden; der Zwischenraum wurde mit Erdreich und Steinschutt aufgefüllt (*emplecton*-Mauerwerk). Dies ist der so genannte *murus Dacicus*, ein typisches Element der vorrömischen Kultur Dakiens¹ (siehe Taf. 18–19, Abb. 1–4²). Für die rumänischen Archäologen galt die Auffindung solcher Blöcke, in Gruppen oder als Einzelstücke, stets als ein sicherer Beleg für die Existenz einer dakischen Festung am Fundplatz selbst oder in dessen näherer Umgebung³. Die Forschungen der letzten Jahrzehnte erlauben es nunmehr, diesen Befund weiter zu präzisieren. Heute weiß man, dass diese Art von dakischer Mauer nur im südwestlichen Siebenbürgen anzutreffen ist⁴. Ansonsten aber bleibt die ältere Anschauung bestehen; vor allem ist bislang keine alternative Deutung der zufälligen Streufunde solcher Blöcke erwogen worden. Der vorliegende Beitrag hat genau dies zum Ziel, nämlich für solche Einzelfunde eine neue Interpretation vorzuschlagen.

¹ Glodariu 1983, 27–28. 36. 82–108. 114–116. 123–125. 133–134. *Murus Dacicus* ist die in der rumänischen Forschung etablierte Bezeichnung dieser Form von Mauerwerk. Es sollte allerdings beachtet werden, dass Steinquader dieses Typs ebenso wie das Prinzip des durch Holzbalken verstärkten Mauerwerks auch außerhalb des Bereichs der dakischen Kultur begegnen, so etwa in Histria, und dass umgekehrt die betreffenden Steinquader im dakischen Raum oftmals griechische Buchstaben aufweisen. Dies alles deutet auf eine Entlehnung der Technik aus der griechisch-hellenistischen Welt, und vielleicht sollte daher eher von *murus Graecus* gesprochen werden.

² Wir bedanken uns herzlich bei Răzvan Mateescu, Archäologe am Nationalmuseum für die Geschichte Siebenbürgens zu Cluj-Napoca, der uns großzügigerweise seine eigenen Photos der dakischen Mauer in der Festung Blidaru (Kreis Hunedoara) zur Verfügung gestellt hat. Siehe auch Pescaru *et al.* 2014, 4. 6–7. 9–10.

³ Glodariu 1983, 116.

⁴ Pupeză 2011, 149–150.

Im Jahre 1973 berichtete Dr. Octavian Floca, der damalige Direktor des Kreismuseums Hunedoara im südwestlichen Siebenbürgen, über die Entdeckung von zwei dakischen Steinblöcken, die die typischen schwalbenschwanzförmigen Schlitze aufwiesen, in der Umgebung von Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa. Seiner Meinung nach war diese Entdeckung ein Beweis für die Existenz einer dakischen Festung irgendwo in der Nähe der römischen Stadt⁵. Leider sind beide Blöcke kurz darauf verlorengegangen, ohne studiert bzw. veröffentlicht zu werden⁶. Trotzdem ist die Richtigkeit der Fundnachricht kaum zu bezweifeln. Solche Steinblöcke waren den rumänischen Fachleuten gut bekannt, und Floca hatte mehrmals solche Mauern selbst erforscht⁷, sodass wir annehmen können, dass der Fund tatsächlich stattgefunden hat. Allerdings existieren keine Spuren einer dakischen Siedlung der vorrömischen Zeit in der Gegend von Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa. Obwohl die Archäologen mehrmals danach gesucht haben, kamen niemals entsprechende Funde ans Licht⁸. Infolgedessen dürften die besagten Steine anders zu deuten sein.

Eine zweite ähnliche Entdeckung geschah schon früher, während der 50er Jahre, in der mittelalterlichen Festung von Moldovenești (ung. Várfalva), Kreis Cluj. Hier wurde eine Burg aus dem 11.–13. Jh. teilweise ausgegraben und in vorläufiger Form veröffentlicht⁹. Ihre Umfassungsmauer bestand ebenfalls aus zwei Schalen von parallelepipedonförmigen Steinblöcken mit Holzverstrebungen und Füllmaterial dazwischen¹⁰. Die Mauer wurde allerdings nie vollständig erforscht, und es gibt auch keine genaue Beschreibung der Blöcke. Es ist aber bemerkt worden, dass manche Steine ebenfalls Schlitze zur Befestigung mit Holzbalken bzw. Eisendübel aufwiesen¹¹. Laut der Meinung eines Archäologen, der die Festung mehrmals erforscht hat, gab es darunter auch typische „dakische Steinblöcke“, die er als wiederverwendetes antikes Baumaterial betrachtete¹². Die Siedlung von Moldovenești liegt in der Nähe der antiken Stadt Potaissa. Viele römische Spolien sind in der mittelalterlichen Festung und im heutigen Dorf zu finden¹³. Es gab in diesem Raum eine römerzeitliche Ortschaft¹⁴, aber sicherlich keine dakische Siedlung¹⁵. Also ist die soeben beschriebene Fundsituation derjenigen von Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa ähnlich.

⁵ Floca 1973.

⁶ Als wir in den 90er Jahren diese Steine gesucht haben, waren sie im Museum nicht mehr zu finden. Gleichfalls gab es kein weiteres schriftliches Zeugnis darüber.

⁷ Über sein Leben und seine Leistungen siehe Lazăr 1982–1983 und Mărghitan 2013.

⁸ Ardevan 1998, 43 Anm. 146.

⁹ Horedt 1958, 133–143; Rusu 1971, 201; Rusu 1978, 162–163.

¹⁰ Horedt 1958, 141; Rusu 1978, 163.

¹¹ Horedt 1958, 141.

¹² Mündliche Mitteilung vor ungefähr 30 Jahren des Dr. M. Rusu (1928–1999; siehe Glodariu 1998 und Stanciu 1998), dem wir nochmals unsere Dankbarkeit ausdrücken. Leider verstarb er, ohne die Ausgrabungen von Moldovenești veröffentlicht zu haben.

¹³ Horedt 1958, 138. 141–142.

¹⁴ Horedt 1958, 142; RepCluj, 283.

¹⁵ RepCluj, 283.

Ein dritter Fall bleibt sehr unsicher. Es geht um die mittelalterliche Festung von Dăbâca (ung. Doboka) bei Cluj-Napoca/Klausenburg. Diese Anlage ist in mancher Hinsicht der Burg von Moldovenești ähnlich und datiert aus derselben Zeit. Auch an diesem Platz wurden wichtige archäologische Forschungen durchgeführt, die aber nur vorläufig veröffentlicht worden sind¹⁶. Unter den Steinblöcken der Umfassungsmauer habe ich selbst als Student im Sommer des Jahres 1972 ein Stück eines rechteckigen Kalksteins mit schwalbenschwanzförmigen Schlitzten gesehen. Leider habe ich diese Beobachtung nicht schriftlich festgehalten, d. h. dass diese Information nicht mehr eindeutig belegt werden kann. Immerhin sei bemerkt, dass in Dăbâca weder dakische noch römische Spuren nachgewiesen sind; jedoch befindet sich der Ort in der Nähe der antiken Römerstadt Napoca¹⁷.

Somit sind zwei, eventuell sogar drei Fälle zu verzeichnen, in denen Steinblöcke entdeckt wurden, die zwar denen des *murus Dacicus* sehr ähneln, deren Deutung als dakische Bauelemente aus den angeführten Gründen aber höchst unwahrscheinlich ist. Was diese Steinblöcke in Wirklichkeit darstellen dürften, darauf wurde ich zufälligerweise von dem berühmten Professor Robert Etienne aus Bordeaux aufmerksam gemacht. Als dieser in Sarmizegetusa archäologische Forschungen in Zusammenarbeit mit der Universität zu Klausenburg betrieb¹⁸, hat er auch nach Gewichtsteinen antiker Kelteranlagen gesucht und hierzu traditionelle bäuerliche Weinpressen der Neuzeit überprüft. Bei dieser Gelegenheit bin ich darauf aufmerksam geworden, dass die Kelteranlagen der Römerzeit steinerne Gegengewichte (lat. *stela*¹⁹) besaßen, die den dakischen Steinblöcken sehr ähnlich sehen²⁰ — ein gutes Beispiel bieten entsprechende Entdeckungen aus Caesarea in Mauretanien²¹. Erst viel später dann, als ich die Fachliteratur des Forschungsfeldes einsehen konnte, habe ich mich davon überzeugt, dass solche Steinblöcke zu römischen Kelteranlagen gehört haben dürften.

Die antiken Zivilisationen rund um das Mittelmeer stützten sich weitgehend auf eine spezifische Form der Landwirtschaft, in deren Mittelpunkt die Produktion von Weizen, Olivenöl und Wein stand²². Wein- und Ölpresen bildeten daher unverzichtbare Apparate der Landwirtschaft. Die Erforschung solcher Anlagen im antiken Mittelmeerraum ist in der modernen Forschung mittlerweile weit fortgeschritten. Es gibt wichtige synthetische Arbeiten zu diesem Thema²³. Seit Jahrzehnten wurden viele solche *torcularia* entdeckt, ausgegraben und sorgfältig untersucht²⁴. Ihre archäologi-

¹⁶ Pascu *et al.* 1968; Gáll 2013, 160–163.

¹⁷ RepCluj, 174–178.

¹⁸ Piso 2006, 9–10.

¹⁹ Baratta 2005, 47 (das Wort erscheint bei Plin. nat. hist. 18, 317).

²⁰ Ardevan 1998, 43.

²¹ Leveau 1984, 429–434 und Abb. 231.

²² Siehe z. B.: Amouretti / Brun 1993; Celestino 1995; Celestino 1999; Frankel 1999; Etienne / Mayet 2000; Brun 2004.

²³ Eine kleine Auswahl: Saglio 1907; Jardé 1919; Drachmann 1932; Bruneau 1984; Gonzalez Blanco 1993; Jameson 2001; Lewit 2012.

²⁴ Neuere Synthesen: Baratta 2005; Peña Cervantes 2010.

schen Spuren sind zwar zahlreich, aber manchmal nur schwer bemerkbar²⁵; trotzdem ist heute eine riesige Zahl solcher Befunde bekannt, die selbstverständlich nur einen geringen Prozentsatz der ehemaligen Anlagen darstellt²⁶.

Zu den vergleichsweise gut erkennbaren Überbleibseln der antiken *torcularia* gehören die großen Keltersteine, die beim Pressen als Gegengewicht dienten²⁷. Solche Steine sind besonders für den älteren Keltertyp, die so genannte Baumkelter (Taf. 22, Abb. 9), unverzichtbar gewesen²⁸. Oftmals bestanden sie aus parallelepipedonförmigen Kalksteinblöcken, die manchmal auch Nuten bzw. Schlitze in Form eines Schwalbenschwanzes zeigen²⁹. Das heißt, dass sie den „dakischen Steinblöcken“ sehr ähnlich sind (s. auch Taf. 19–21, Abb. 5–8), und dass man beide sehr leicht miteinander verwechseln kann.

Kelteranlagen der Römerzeit wurden bisher sowohl im westlichen europäischen Mittelmeerraum als auch in Nordafrika, in der Levante und vor allem im Moseltal ausführlich erforscht³⁰. Im nördlichen Europa bzw. in den dortigen Limesprovinzen wurden hingegen kaum Bestrebungen in dieser Hinsicht entwickelt. Die Entdeckungen von *torcularia* bleiben in diesen Regionen spärlich, und es gibt keine als solche veröffentlichten Keltersteine³¹. Wir vermuten, dass es sich lediglich um eine Lücke im Kenntnisstand handelt, die aus mangelndem Interesse oder ungenügender Aufmerksamkeit seitens der bisherigen Forschung resultiert. Da auch in solchen europäischen Provinzen, für die noch keine entsprechenden Befunde vorliegen, in römischer Zeit zumindest zeitweise Wein erzeugt worden ist, ist kaum zu bezweifeln, dass weitere Forschungen Überbleibsel von *torcularia* mit Keltersteinen ans Licht bringen werden.

Der Fall des römischen Dakien nährt diesen Verdacht. Die Agrargeschichte der Provinz ist noch immer zu wenig erforscht³². Es ist bemerkenswert, dass in der Fachliteratur bislang nur einige Dutzend Villen erwähnt werden, von denen nur wenige umfassend ausgegraben und publiziert worden sind³³. In den relevanten Studien zur Thematik finden wir kein *torcular* bzw. steinernes Gegengewicht einer Kelter erwähnt³⁴; lediglich eine *cella vinaria*³⁵ in der Nähe der Stadt Potaissa wurde ausführ-

²⁵ Man entdeckt sie fast nie *in situ*, sondern als Streufunde oder eben als *spolia* (Baratta 2005, 96).

²⁶ Baratta 2005, 133–135.

²⁷ Baratta 2005, 75; Peña Cervantes 2010, 43.

²⁸ Callot *et al.* 1986; Krier 1992; Frankel 1993; Morandini 1997; Baratta 2005, 43, 55–57, 67, 75, 86, 96, 98–99; Peña Cervantes 2010, 43, 70–72, 96–98, 117–118.

²⁹ Baratta 2005, 98, 99; Peña Cervantes 2010, 71, 117; Lewit 2012, 138–142.

³⁰ Baratta 2005, 22, 99.

³¹ In Obermoesien z. B. kennt man bisher nur zwei *torcularia* und keinen Kelterstein (Pilipović 2013, 27). Siehe auch Dyczek 2007 für Niedermoesien.

³² Gudea 2008, 21–28; eine gute Synthese auch bei Oltean 2007.

³³ Gudea 2008, 115–122; siehe auch Şandru 1999.

³⁴ Gudea 2008, 33–34, 39, 42, 68–69.

³⁵ Peña Cervantes 2010, 33 (sie bildet eine Sonderabteilung eines *torcular*).

lich erforscht³⁶. Es verwundert daher auch nicht, dass die Keltersteine bislang nie als solche erkannt wurden, umso mehr, als die Fachleute geneigt waren, sie als „dakische Steinblöcke“ zu deuten.

Wir vermuten also, dass die zwei, vielleicht auch drei oben erwähnten Beispiele von „dakischen Steinblöcken“ in Wirklichkeit Steingewichte von römischen Kelteranlagen darstellen. Sie dürften das Vorhandensein solcher Anlagen in den ruralen Zonen des römischen Dakien bezeugen. Diese Erkenntnis wirft ein neues Licht auf die Entwicklung der römisch-dakischen Landwirtschaft, die damit den anderen Provinzen viel ähnlicher wäre³⁷. Da in Nord- und Mitteleuropa kein Olivenanbau in Frage kommt, ist anzunehmen, dass die Kelterner Dakiens der Gewinnung entweder von Wein oder aber anderer Öle dienen sollten³⁸.

Ungeachtet der hier behandelten möglichen Fälle bliebe aber die Zahl der nachweisbaren Kelteranlagen im römischen Dakien immer noch sehr gering. Und die Situation in anderen nord- und mitteleuropäischen Provinzen ist ähnlich³⁹. Um dies zu erklären, ließe sich etwa mutmaßen, dass der Gegenstand in diesen Gebieten noch nicht ausreichend erforscht ist, oder dass die Gewichtsteine der Pressen später für andere Zwecke wiederbenutzt wurden⁴⁰. Die strukturelle Differenz zu anderen Regionen des Reiches bliebe aber bestehen, was für sich genommen wenig plausibel ist⁴¹. Das heißt, dass ein weiterer Grund zu suchen ist, der die geringe Zahl von Kelteranlagen in Dakien und anderen nördlichen Limesprovinzen erklären könnte.

Die neueren Forschungen haben gezeigt, dass Kelteranlagen nur dort anzutreffen sind, wo Produktion für einen größeren Absatzmarkt intendiert war⁴². Man könnte sogar sagen, dass sie einen Indikator für solche ökonomischen Strukturen darstellen. Nun ist aber gewiss, dass es im römischen Dakien keine ausgedehnten *latifundia* gab, wie sie in anderen Teilen des Reiches vorkamen⁴³; deshalb wurden aus der Gesellschaft dieser Provinz auch so gut wie keine Mitglieder in den Senatorenstand befördert⁴⁴. Die Güter der römisch-dakischen Elite dürften somit wesentlich bescheideneren Umfangs gewesen sein. Dies gilt auch für andere europäische Limesprovinzen,

³⁶ Cătinaş / Bărbulescu 1979.

³⁷ Die in Dakien bemerkten Steinblöcke sollen zu Baumkellern bzw. Haspelbaumkellern gehört haben. Diese Typen wurden häufiger im Ostmittelmeerraum als im Westen benutzt (Peña Cervantes 2010, 45–46).

³⁸ Baratta 2005, 131–132. Es ist äußerst schwer, die Kelter nach ihrem Nutzen zu trennen, da sie die gleiche Struktur hatten; siehe Baratta 2005, 69. 123–132. 137.

³⁹ Keine Belege bei Baratta 2005, 22. Siehe auch: Matijasić 1993; Savvonidi 1993; Dyczek 2007; Pilipović 2013.

⁴⁰ Baratta 2005, 96; Peña Cervantes 2010, 72.

⁴¹ Es sei daran erinnert, daß in Gallien ungefähr 105 mit Kelteranlagen ausgerüstete Siedlungen, bzw. nur in der Gegend von Cherchell (Nordafrika) 55 solche Ortschaften bekannt sind (Baratta 2005, 99). Darüber hinaus gibt es je ein paar hundert ähnliche Entdeckungen in Italien (Baratta 2005, 133, 145–268) und in Hispanien (Peña Cervantes 2010, 71–72. 158–184).

⁴² Baratta 2005, 136; Peña Cervantes 2010, 40.

⁴³ Piso 1995, 441–444; Ardevan 1998, 218–221.

⁴⁴ Piso 1993, 325; Ardevan 1998, 220.

die hinsichtlich der sozio-ökonomischen Strukturen ein ähnliches Bild bieten⁴⁵. Vielleicht trägt also die eher geringe Ausdehnung von Grundbesitz zumindest eine Mitschuld daran, dass die Kelteranlagen in diesen Provinzen nicht so gut vertreten sind.

Nicht zufällig stammen die oben erwähnten mutmaßlichen Keltersteine aus der Nachbarschaft wichtiger Städte Dakiens⁴⁶. Deren Markt dürfte die Weinproduktion in großem Stil attraktiv gemacht haben. Es ist auch erkennbar, dass die Keltern im römischen Dakien denen aus Norditalien ähnlich sind⁴⁷, eine Eigenschaft, die nochmals die besondere Rolle dieser Region für die Entwicklung des römischen Dakien unterstreicht⁴⁸. Es hat somit den Anschein, dass in Dakien durchaus römische Kelteranlagen existiert haben, wenn auch in geringerer Zahl als in den Westprovinzen. Die zukünftigen Forschungen sollen diese Hypothese überprüfen.

Zuletzt eine Bemerkung zu einem weiteren Aspekt der Thematik. Die Mehrheit der Keltersteine in den westlichen Provinzen besteht aus zylinderförmigen, manchmal mit Nuten oder Rinnen ausgerüsteten Gegengewichten. Solche Steinblöcke weisen immer ein rundförmiges Loch auf der Oberseite auf. Offenkundig wurden sie in Spindelkeltern verwendet⁴⁹ (siehe Taf. 21–22, Abb. 8, 10). Allerdings gelang die Erkenntnis, dass es sich hierbei um Keltersteine handelt, der Forschung erst ziemlich spät, nach vielen Fehleinschätzungen.⁵⁰ Dieser fortgeschrittene Typ von Kelter ist bisher in den Donauprovinzen nicht nachgewiesen. Aber derartige Steinblöcke sind in manchen römerzeitlichen Siedlungen von Dakien öfter anzutreffen; die Archäologen betrachten sie allerdings stets als Fragmente von Säulen⁵¹. Unseres Erachtens ist es durchaus möglich, dass zumindest einige dieser Steinblöcke Gegengewichte aus Spindelkeltern darstellen. Deshalb denken wir, dass eine erneute Überprüfung dieser vernachlässigten Evidenz notwendig wäre. Eine solche Studie könnte weiteren Aufschluss über die Wein- und Ölgewinnung im römischen Dakien erbringen.

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⁴⁵ Alföldy 2004, 217–219.

⁴⁶ Siehe Ardevan 1998, 74–81. 188–207 (Sarmizegetusa). 55–61. 182–183 (Potaisa). 61–65. 183–187 (Napoca).

⁴⁷ Baratta 2005, 134, 137.

⁴⁸ Ardevan 1998, 348.

⁴⁹ Baratta 2005, 97. 98. 132–137; Peña Cervantes 2010, 43–46; Lewit 2012, 144–146.

⁵⁰ Liverani 1987, 122–125; Morandini 1997, 198–200; Baratta 2005, 97.

⁵¹ Aus persönlicher Erfahrung kann ich behaupten, dass solche Stücke oft nicht bemerkt oder veröffentlicht wurden.

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MAURIZIO BUORA

Prodotti dell'area danubiana o d'Italia?
Cornici quadrangolari in piombo per specchi con teste
e con fioroni agli angoli

Con un'appendice a cura di ELENA PETTENÒ e CECILIA ROSSI

Tavole 23–28

L'attenzione per le cornici in piombo di specchi è stata ravvivata recentemente da una serie di studi. Si può dire che l'argomento è letteralmente esploso negli ultimi anni, in più regioni d'Europa¹. Numerosi rinvenimenti recenti hanno promosso nuove indagini.

All'interno del vasto complesso² delle cornici di specchio spicca una serie alquanto limitata costituita da cornici quadrangolari (quadrotte e non necessariamente quadrate). Ve ne sono di diversi tipi, alcuni dei quali hanno una diffusione sostanzialmente regionale. Alcune lisce paiono presenti solo nella pianura padana. Altre con iscrizioni in greco e dediche ad Afrodite furono prodotte ad Arles da un artigiano che diffondeva i suoi prodotti anche in Britannia³. Un tipo con fori circolari è abbastanza diffuso dall'Oriente alla Gallia: due esemplari nelle collezioni del museo di Nimega sono inseriti nel gruppo Y della Lloyd-Morgan, un terzo si trovava nell'Antikensammlung di Berlino⁴, altri tre si conservano nel Museo nazionale di

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¹ Per ultimi ricordiamo gli studi di Marina Uboldi (2015) e di Fernando López Bravo e Sandrine Delaporte (2015).

² Il cui numero complessivo è forse vicino alle duemila unità (cfr. Baratta 2010, 91).

³ Barruol 1985; Barruol 1987.

⁴ Loyd-Morgan 1981, 104–106.

Budapest⁵. Lo stesso museo poi comprende numerose altre cornici rettangolari con decorazioni molto vivaci, formate da epigrafi, raffigurazioni di elementi vegetali, animali etc., le quali tuttavia non sembrano essersi sparse al di fuori dell'area propriamente medio danubiana.

Un recente riesame delle cornici di specchio in piombo da Aquileia⁶, ha riconsiderato anche i due tipi di cornici quadrangolari. Il primo, di cui esistevano *in loco* almeno due esemplari, presenta teste agli angoli. Il secondo ha agli angoli un fiorone con un numero variabile di petali. Questo articolo è dedicato all'approfondimento della tematica relativa ai due tipi (Tav. 23, figg. I.1–4).

Delle cornici con quattro teste agli angoli si sono occupati da ultimo Nikolai Vinokurov e Mikhail Treister a proposito di un recente (2013) rinvenimento in Crimea⁷. Il presente contributo prende in esame un numero maggiore di esemplari: purtroppo solo per alcuni è stato possibile effettuare osservazioni su foto di alta qualità. Molti esemplari infatti sono editi mediante disegni — non molto dettagliati — o con riproduzioni fotografiche da cui non è possibile riconoscere i dettagli decorativi.

Misure

In linea di massima le cornici hanno tre diversi formati. Nelle pubblicazioni non sempre le misure sono indicate con accuratezza: spesso si tratta di oggetti spezzati o comunque deformati, per cui non è facile una misurazione precisa. Inoltre nelle misure influisce il fatto che alcune cornici presentano un margine rialzato, mentre altre ne sono prive: ciò lascia pensare che esse fossero prodotti velocemente, senza troppa cura per i dettagli.

Il tipo con teste agli angoli ha un lato che varia da cm 5 a 7,6. La seguente tabella riporta le misure note degli esemplari della serie. Va rilevato che spesso le cornici non formano un quadrato o una figura quadrangolare perfetta, ma hanno lati non paralleli. In tal modo le misure possono variare nella medesima cornice.

Le cornici decorate ai lati da fioroni hanno per lo più un lato di circa 7,5 cm, mentre in quelle con quattro cerchi vuoti agli angoli esso misura circa 8,8 cm.

Località	Lato NS	Lato EO	Ø. foroNS	Ø. foroEO	Cornice
Ostia, inv. n. 4227	7,6 (?)	7,2 (?)	6	5,5	II
Ravenna	6,4	6,4	5		II
<i>Emona</i>	6	6			?
Majs, tomba 36	6	5,8	5,2	5	II
Nagykanisza, tomba 14	6	5,5			liscia
<i>Intercisa</i> , tomba 14	5,9	5,9	4,9		?
<i>Callatis</i>	5,9	5,8	4,8	4,2	I
Palmira	5,9	5,8	4,6	4,4	II

⁵ Bózsza-Szabó 2013, 48–49, tipi I, 5; I, 8 e I, 9.

⁶ Buora / Magnani 2015.

⁷ Vinokurov / Treister 2015.

Nagykanisza, tomba 35	5,8	5,8	4,4		I
<i>Durostorum</i>	5,78– 5,83	5,74–5,8	4,8	4,94	I
Roma, Vigna Pia	5,7	5,7	4,5		I
Calderara di Reno	5,7 ? ⁸				I
Visegrad-Lepence, cimitero	5,7	5,7	4,8		II
<i>Aquincum</i> , Bécsy road	5,68	5,86	4,8		I
Mosca, Pushkin, coll. Sviatlovskij	5,6	5,7	4,5		II
Auch	5,6	5,7	4,4		I
<i>Neviodunum</i>	5,6	5,7			II
Ostia 1914	5,6	5,6	4,4		II
<i>Aelium Cetium</i>	5,6	5,6			II
Aquileia, inv. n. 94.956	5,5	5,9	4,2	4,5	I
Visegrad-Lepence, tomba 23	5,5	5,6	4,5	–	II
Olbia	5,5	5,5	3,8		II
<i>Carnuntum</i> , Traun	5,4	5,8	3,7	4,3	II
<i>Gerulata</i>	5,32	5,5	4,24	4,32	II
Aquileia	5	6			II
<i>Intercisa</i> , tomba 6	5	5	3		II
<i>Tomis</i> , tomba 22	5		3,5		I

Le cornici

La fascia intorno all'apertura centrale può avere due diversi tipi di ornamento. Il primo è costituito da linee radiali, variamente disposte. Si distinguono almeno tre varianti: la prima è compresa entro una fascia che ha una nervatura liscia verso l'interno e una linea di puntini a rilievo all'esterno (Tav. 24, figg. II.1–2), la seconda al contrario ha una fila di puntini all'interno e una nervatura liscia all'esterno (Tav. 24, figg. II.3–7), mentre la terza ha file di puntini – di diversa grandezza – all'interno e all'esterno (Tav. 24, figg. II.8–9). Per ora riusciamo ad accoppiare cornici identiche nel caso di Roma, vigna Pia e di Calderara di Reno⁹; identiche paiono anche le cornici di *Callatis* e di Motto di Massa Finalese: molto simile è un frammento di Aquileia, ma il disegno delle teste non corrisponde. Inoltre del tutto simili sono le fasce di Auch, *Aquincum* e *Neviodunum*.

Il secondo tipo di fascia ornamentale presenta viticci, i quali sembrano alquanto simili (Tav. 24, figg. II.10–20). Come per il tipo a linee radiali, solo in pochi esemplari è possibile avere una definizione precisa dell'andamento e del disegno. La

⁸ L'editore (Trocchi 2000) non comunica le misure, limitandosi a produrre foto e disegno, indicandone la scala 1:1. Ciò tuttavia non pare del tutto persuasivo, considerata la sostanziale identità con la cornice romana di Vigna Pia, che è più piccola.

⁹ Ma si veda sopra per quanto riguarda le dimensioni.

chiara indicazione di questo dettaglio nel disegno di una cornice da Coscogno di Pavullo sul Frignano¹⁰ – in cui peraltro non sono state riconosciute teste agli angoli – permette di collocare anche questa cornice nel nostro gruppo. Va rilevato che due esemplari di Visegrad-Lepence hanno identica fascia.

Dalle riproduzioni a stampa parrebbe di poter dedurre l'esistenza di un terzo tipo di cornice, con fascia liscia entro due bordi puntinati, come ad es. nella tomba 246 di *Emona*, in quella n. 14 di *Intercisa* o in quella di Casteggio e infine nella tomba n. 14 di Nagykánisza, ma non è stato possibile verificare il dato.

L'interpretazione delle figure

Nel 1914 Guido Calza¹¹ propone una sua interpretazione delle immagini. “Agli angoli, quattro testine, tra cui riconoscerei Pan con il *pedum*, Dioniso col tirso. Delle altre due e degli attributi che le accompagnano rimane incerta, per me, l'identificazione”. Nel 2011 Margherita Bolla vede nell'esemplare di Casteggio quattro visi umani a bassorilievo (di cui uno solo è leggibile) e li ritiene *gorgoneia*¹². Michail Treister nel 1996 intende in alto a sinistra il giovane Bacco con petaso e tirso, in alto a destra un satiro con il *pedum*, in basso a sinistra un sileno con l'*aspergillum* e in basso a destra Pan con un cantaro¹³.

La medesima identificazione ricorre nella dettagliata l'analisi di Schaad. Il busto di Dioniso, in alto a sinistra, sarebbe riconoscibile dai tratti giovanili e dall'acconciatura a riccioli che termina con una crocchia da cui sfugge una lunga “mèche”: dinanzi un tirso con un nastro annodato. Sulla sua testa una cista mistica indicata da un tratto orizzontale da cui parte un fallo inquadrato da punti che indicherebbero senza dubbio frutta. La testa di Sileno (in alto a destra) ha fronte calva, orecchio d'equide e lungo mustacchio ricadente su una ampia barba, preceduta da un *aspergillum*.

Il busto di satiro imberbe, in basso a sinistra, ha riccioli e corti ciuffi volti all'indietro e anteriormente un *pedum*. Infine in basso a destra la testa di Pan, con una barba irsuta ampia capigliatura a ricci da cui spuntano due corna di capra, tiene davanti una *syrix*.

Daniel Schaad esaminando la cornice rinvenuta nel 1985 in una sepoltura ad Auch, l'antica *Augusta* capitale del territorio degli *Ausci*, presso i Pirenei e non lontana dal golfo di Guascogna, ne sottolinea l'identità del disegno con gli esemplari a *Carnuntum* e a *Gerulata*. Pertanto l'autore ipotizza che l'oggetto, fabbricato a *Carnuntum*, sia stato portato con sé da un militare nel suo luogo di origine, distante circa mille miglia romane. Eventuali rapporti tra i prodotti presenti a *Intercisa* e altri

¹⁰ Scheda 67 in Sistemonet, portale geografico del territorio modenese (<http://www.sistemonet.it/incoming/viewArchaeology-action.do?id=1199¤tPage=5&popup=no> visitato in data 30 aprile 2016).

¹¹ Calza 1914, 254.

¹² Bolla 2011, 80.

¹³ Treister 1996, 121.

di probabile (ancorché ipotetico) ambito balcanico erano già stati ipotizzati da Peter Weiss¹⁴. Già nel 1910 Eduard Nowotny aveva rilevato la presenza di cornici assai simili, per non dire identiche, ad Aquileia e in altre località, come *Poetovio* e *Neviodunum*, oltre che a *Carnuntum*. Di recente Carla Corti ha osservato acutamente che talora le teste si possono leggere da due punti di vista opposti, esattamente come i *grylloi* e altre gemme¹⁵. Nondimeno questo fatto non sembra possibile per ogni testa.

I tipi di decorazione e le varie matrici

È possibile che le dimensioni del foro centrale, se non identiche, siano molto simili. Ciò raramente è verificabile, a motivo di una non sempre esatta misurazione e delle deformazioni subite dai pezzi nel corso del tempo. Si aggiunga che spesso le immagini edite, ad esempio quelle delle cornici di *Intercisa*, non consentono di apprezzare i dettagli, per cui possiamo dire che esistono più tipi di matrici: è possibile che all'interno di ciascun tipo esistessero più matrici con dimensioni diverse del foro centrale e altre possibili varianti.

Le bellissime fotografie gentilmente messe a disposizione da Katalyna Boruzs per gli esemplari di Visegrad e quelle fornite da altre istituzioni¹⁶ e studiosi¹⁷ consentono di raggruppare alcune delle cornici note in più gruppi, derivati da una stessa matrice (o da più matrici, identiche, di un medesimo tipo). Ciò appare particolarmente significativo per quanto riguarda lo studio delle teste e della loro differente realizzazione. Si tratta, è bene precisarlo, di figurazioni che misurano solo pochi millimetri, disposte su fragili lastre di piombo facilmente esposte a corrosione, pertanto raramente ben leggibili. Va poi osservato che la disposizione delle teste può essere differente in alcuni esemplari, come la loro realizzazione, che pare predisposta mediante l'uso di diversi punzoni. Sulla base della documentazione disponibile (peraltro in generale alquanto carente e non di buona qualità né sicura, specie quando si tratta di disegni) cerchiamo di suddividere almeno in via provvisoria, in attesa di una documentazione migliore che permetta analisi più raffinate, le raffigurazioni note in diversi gruppi, come indicato nella Tav. 25, fig. III.

Abbiamo compreso il gruppo più numeroso — da sette sicuri a forse dieci esemplari — nel tipo IIa della tav. 25, fig. III. La cornice completa e fresca dalla tomba 23 di Visegrad-Lepence consente di apprezzare meglio in alto a sinistra il profilo di Dioniso, di cui si vede molto bene la grossa banda di capelli che circonda il capo, l'elaborato nodo posteriore e le trecce che scendono sul collo. Si nota anche un dettaglio, ovvero una sorta di globetto che affianca la terminazione a punta del

¹⁴ Weiss 1992, 196.

¹⁵ Corti 2016.

¹⁶ Tra cui il Narodni Muzej di Ljubljana e soprattutto la Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio di Bologna (in particolare nella persona di Valentina Manzelli), che ha fatto eseguire appositamente belle fotografie di una cornice dopo aver provveduto al restauro.

¹⁷ Tra questi meritano di essere citati, per un particolare ringraziamento, Peter Scherrer (Graz), René Ployer (Wien) e Carla Corti (Modena).

copricapo. Esso, che evidentemente deriva da un piccolo cratere nella matrice, si trova nelle due cornici di Visegrad, in quella di Auch, a *Gerulata*, quindi a *Tomis* e forse nella cornice del museo Pushkin e in quella da Artezian. Altri elementi consentono di riportare le cornici indicate alla medesima matrice. Tali sono la vicinanza del tiaso al busto e il taglio del busto stesso. La presenza di monete di Alessandro Severo nella tomba 22 di *Tomis* che includeva un frammento di una cornice di questo tipo consente di stabilire che essa era in circolazione nel primo terzo del III secolo d.C.

Abbiamo distinto un'altra matrice (tipo IIb), evidenziata nella testa di Dioniso dell'esemplare di Ravenna, ove noi troviamo una sorta di treccia o forse di bordo ricamato della veste sul collo, in basso, elemento che non compare nelle precedenti cornici.

Negli esemplari del tipo IIa il Sileno in alto a destra, forse un Papposileno, appare calvo e fornito di una barba rigonfia e sembra si possa distinguere l'orecchio appuntito. Dinanzi a lui un *aspergillum* angolato. Qualche cornice, come quella di *Aelium Cetium*, presenta i tratti di questo volto in maniera parziale, forse perché la cornice stessa fu prodotta con una matrice stanca. Un altro elemento caratteristico di questo gruppo è la presenza di un *pedum*, in basso a sinistra, con terminazione ricurva e solo in parte piegato. In tutte poi la testa in basso a destra ha due corna curve e dinanzi a sé un oggetto ad angolo ottuso.

L'esemplare di Ravenna, che a nostro avviso documenta il tipo IIb, ha un *pedum* piegato a S e le corna della testa in basso a destra hanno andamento diverso rispetto a quelle degli esemplari del tipo IIa.

Nel tipo VI la testa di Dioniso ha un differente copricapo, con il tirso posto lontano dal volto.

Esemplari praticamente identici, che indichiamo come appartenenti al tipo V, si sono trovati ad *Aquincum*, nella tomba di Bécsy road, a *Durostorum* e a *Callatis*: anche per questi è probabile una cronologia al primo terzo del III secolo d.C.

Nonostante la scarsa confrontabilità delle riproduzioni, sembra di poter notare una sorta di parentela tra alcune cornici. Così per il tipo I le due da Aquileia (inv. n. 94.956) e Motto di Massa Finalese n. 1, per il tipo IV quella di Roma, vigna Pia (tra l'altro l'unica che presenti una protezione circolare nel retro per lo specchio vitreo) e quella di Calderara di Reno. Merita di essere sottolineata la particolarità delle teste che sono presenti in una cornice da *Neviodunum* e che abbiamo indicato con il numero VII nello schema della tav. 25, fig. III. È facile notare che queste si discostano alquanto dalle altre, tanto da far supporre che si tratti di una imitazione locale.

Infine va rilevato che una cornice frammentaria da Ostia (inv. n. 4727) presenta intorno alle teste un cerchio formato da puntini a rilievo, carattere che finora non è dato di incontrare in nessun altro esemplare. Ciò sembra far supporre una produzione locale, o comunque nell'area della città di Roma.

Per quanto riguarda le teste non è sempre facile, sulla base della documentazione edita, riconoscere esattamente il tipo: pertanto le osservazioni qui presentate sono da intendere come effettuate sugli esemplari o le loro parti più riconoscibili. I disegni poi non sono sempre fedeli, come dimostrano non solo quello del 1914 dell'esemplare di

Ostia, ma anche altri¹⁸, senza contare poi il fatto che talvolta foto e disegni sono stati pubblicati con orientamento sbagliato.

La distribuzione

Si nota l'assenza delle cornici con quattro teste agli angoli nelle regioni che affacciano sulla riva meridionale del Mediterraneo, dall'attuale Marocco alla Palestina, ma anche in Spagna e in Grecia come del resto anche in Britannia. La distribuzione, in base ai dati finora noti, sembra collocarsi in una fascia che parte dalla Francia meridionale e arriva fin verso il Mar Nero e la Siria, a sud (Tav. 26, fig. IV.3). Oltre il 38% degli esemplari segnalati nella letteratura proviene dall'Italia (Tav. 26, fig. IV.2), mentre poco più del 23% ha una provenienza dalla Pannonia: una concentrazione si ha presso la riva del Danubio, in prossimità del gomito del fiume (Tav. 26, fig. IV.1).

Sulla base della letteratura disponibile, la produzione di cornici in piombo per specchietti — di varia forma — sembra essere stata prediletta in Pannonia¹⁹. Essa va di pari passo con un'ampia disponibilità di piombo e con l'abitudine di utilizzarlo per fabbricare a stampo numerosi altri oggetti, tra cui figurine di vario tipo, elementi votivi etc. La carta di distribuzione delle figurine in piombo presentata nel 2012 da Stefan Pop-Lazić²⁰, pur bisognosa di alcune integrazioni, rende bene l'idea della concentrazione presso il gomito del Danubio e nell'area tra *Sirmium* e *Viminacium*.

Si è discusso più volte se il piombo fosse esclusivamente — o prevalentemente — usato per raffigurazioni di divinità degli inferi o dialoghi con esse. Gli specchietti con teste dionisiache sono stati rinvenuti, per quanto le informazioni di scavo ci sono note, in buona parte in sepolture femminili: possiamo contarne 17 ovvero circa il 36% degli esemplari noti. In genere si tratta di deposizioni con corredi dispendiosi, in cui talora le cornici fanno il paio con “tavolette” per preparare e mescolare i cosmetici. Nondimeno alcune sono state rinvenute in area di abitato.

I pochi esemplari rinvenuti in area germanica presentano teste di fattura più grossolana e sembrano imitazioni locali.

Datazione

Le cornici quadrangolari con teste agli angoli presentano modello e dimensioni molto simili e alcuni dettagli in comune, ad esempio nella fascia decorativa intorno all'apertura centrale. Ciò autorizza l'ipotesi di una produzione contemporanea.

Non sempre le sepolture con cornice in piombo hanno un corredo funerario che ne consenta la determinazione cronologica: è questo il caso di una sepoltura rinvenuta a Ravenna nel 1990 nello scavo di viale Europa (per sottopassaggio ferroviario). Allora

¹⁸ Tali quelli effettuati da Daniel Schaad (Schaad 2013) per l'esemplare di Auch, edito da Barrool 1987, o quello della cornice di *Neviodunum* (Petru /Petru 1978, tav. XXII, 15) o ancora quello della cornice di Majs (Burger 1972, fig. 31,5).

¹⁹ Una discussione in Buora / Magnani 2015.

²⁰ Pop-Lazić 2012, 152.

la sepoltura — una tomba a inumazione — venne indicata con il numero 79; dopo la completa revisione dello scavo effettuata da Giovanna Montevocchi per il dottorato la numerazione è cambiata e la tomba ha ricevuto il n. 135. Entro una fossa semplice, sotto la parete ovest dello scavo, vi era lo scheletro mancante della parte inferiore degli arti. La cornice era deposta nella zona del cranio, vicino alla bocca²¹.

Fortunatamente altre tombe scavate nel Novecento permettono una determinazione sicura.

La tomba 28 rinvenuta nel 1980 nella necropoli occidentale di *Aquincum*, in Bécsey road, in occasione dei lavori per le fognature urbane, conteneva lo scheletro di una ragazza o giovane donna con un ricco corredo di cui facevano parte tra l'altro, 12 vaghi di collana in pasta vitrea, una *bullā* in bronzo, un balsamario in vetro, un asse o un dupondio emesso a nome di Lucilla (dopo il 164 d.C.). Tra gli oggetti deposti vi era anche una cornice quadrata con agli angoli quattro teste, con scarse tracce di vetro sottile. In base al corredo Judit Topál attribuisce la sepoltura al primo terzo del III secolo d.C.²²

La tomba a cremazione n. 135 di *Gerulata*²³ attribuita al II secolo conteneva una cornice identica. Del corredo facevano parte numerosi oggetti tra cui una "Firmalampe" con marchio *Crescens* e un bicchiere a depressioni, caratteristico della produzione renana e datato al II secolo²⁴.

La cornice di Majs, viene da una necropoli scavata tra 1964 e 1965, con la scoperta di 53 tombe. Essa era posta sotto il ginocchio destro, sopra la tibia, di una donna sepolta nella tomba n. 36. La sepoltura era posta nella parte orientale, vicino alla tomba di un *infans*. Nel corredo si trovava, tra l'altro, una moneta emessa a nome di Lucilla. Secondo l'autrice dello scavo, Alice Burger, la necropoli sarebbe stata in uso dalla fine del III secolo, mentre un gruppo di tombe con orientamento E-O, come appunto la n. 36, sarebbero appartenute all'avanzato IV secolo.

La cornice di Auch faceva parte del corredo di una deposizione in cassa di piombo, datata al III secolo²⁵.

La tomba a cremazione n. XXXI dell'area Pleba di *Clastidium*-Casteggio conteneva tra altri oggetti tipici di un corredo femminile una cornice dello stesso tipo; "al momento del ritrovamento, sul foro centrale della cornice era collocato un elemento in vetro di forma grosso modo ottagonale, a bordi ritagliati, con il lato concavo rivolto verso l'alto". La deposizione è stata datata tra 168 e 230 d.C. circa, probabilmente alla fine del II—inizi del III secolo d.C.²⁶.

²¹ Informazione di Giovanna Montevocchi con mail del 20 marzo 2017, che qui si ringrazia di cuore. Prime notizie sullo scavo in Montevocchi, Leoni 1999. Sulla tomba Montevocchi 2009, 411.

²² Topál 1993, 15.

²³ Pichlerová 1981, 172, tavv. CLII, 2 e CLXXXVIII, 12.

²⁴ Bruckner 1981, 180 e tav. 58, 10.

²⁵ Schaad 2013.

²⁶ Bolla 2011, 78.

Infine anche l'esemplare di Ostia, rinvenuto nell'ambito della casa di Diana e non datato, si rinvenne insieme con un complesso di oggetti di cui molti erano databili nel corso del III secolo²⁷. La cornice dalle Terme del Nuotatore si rinvenne in strati di spoliazione dell'edificio databili tra 235 e 250 d.C. Per altri due esemplari, da Roma (Vigna Pia) e Ostia, non è stata proposta alcuna datazione.

La tomba a camera n. 3 di *Callatis* conteneva uno scheletro lungo cm 157 e un ricco corredo formato da lucerne e vasellame in vetro. La datazione proposta dall'autrice che ne curò la pubblicazione (fine II – inizio III secolo) va certo spostata verso la fine del III secolo, data la presenza di una fiala fusiforme, frammentata, di tipo de Tommaso 57 che si rinviene a partire dalla fine di quel secolo. Alla medesima datazione ci riporta una bottiglia globulare di tipo Isings 101. La tomba sarà quindi databile all'età tetrarchica.

Anche il rinvenimento di *Aelium Cetium* consente solo una generica attribuzione nel II/III secolo d.C. Non datata è la cornice di vigna Pia, a Roma. Una datazione alla fine del II e forse all'inizio del III — provvisoria, in attesa del restauro del materiale — viene da una tomba scavata a *Patavium*, di cui danno notizia qui Cecilia Rossi ed Elena Pettenò, in appendice.

In conclusione della cinquantina di esemplari a noi noti in questo momento, almeno un terzo provengono da tombe femminili, di cui due a cremazione e tre a inumazione, datate per lo più dalla fine del II agli inizi del III secolo, ma anche in epoca tetrarchica. La tomba n. 35, da Nagyskaniza, potrebbe tuttavia essere stata maschile e aver contenuto un individuo di 30–40 anni.

Le cornici con teste dionisiache agli angoli sono presenti soprattutto in Italia settentrionale, ma anche a Roma e a Ostia. Ciò può dipendere in particolar modo dalla intensità delle indagini. Numerose presenze sono poi attestate in Pannonia e in generale lungo il corso del Danubio, ma questi oggetti giunsero fino alla Crimea, a Cipro e alla Siria.

Per poter stabilire i centri di produzione occorrerebbe avere un rilievo fotografico accurato di ogni esemplare, cosa che attualmente non è possibile. In base ai dati disponibili si osserva che vi è una forte dispersione nella pianura padana e in generale nell'Italia centro-settentrionale, con un allargamento verso l'area mediodanubiana. Una produzione nell'area della città di Roma sembra probabile, almeno per alcuni oggetti; in altri casi una produzione della Pannonia è innegabile, come appare chiaro da una cornice di *Neviodunum* (nostro tipo VII), la quale sembra tuttavia essere imitazione locale di un modello di importazione.

Le cornici con quattro fioroni

Un altro gruppo ben caratterizzato è rappresentato dalle cornici con quattro fioroni agli angoli (Tav. 27, fig. V.1–4). Esso corrisponde al tipo XIV della classificazione di

²⁷ Calza 1914, 254.

Jeno Fitz. Il tipo, molto meno attestato, sembra presente soprattutto in area panonica, da dove via terra giunge ad Aquileia e forse lungo il Danubio viaggia fino alla Crimea e all'Egeo orientale (Cipro).

Balza subito agli occhi il fatto che esistono almeno due sottogruppi, con dimensioni diverse — rispettivamente lato di cm 5,9 e 7,5 — e fiore di forma differente (Tav. 27, fig. V). In realtà la forma del fiore può variare anche nella medesima cornice, come ben mostra quella rinvenuta nella tomba 24 di Visegrad-Lepence (Tav. 27, fig. V): in questo esemplare anche la fascia intorno al foro centrale mostra di non essere stata completata nella matrice. In generale, dunque, gli esemplari con fiorone si rivelano meno accurati e quello della tomba 24 in modo particolare. Ci si domanda se ciò possa dipendere da una produzione ormai corsiva e attardata.

Questo secondo tipo di cornice appare prevalentemente diffuso in Pannonia: da qui raggiunse Aquileia e probabilmente fu trasportato lungo il Danubio verso la Crimea e l'Egeo orientale (Cipro) (Tav. 27, fig. V). Riteniamo che questa constatazione sia sufficiente per considerarlo un'invenzione panonica²⁸.

La datazione di questo tipo non è chiara. Per la cornice dalla tomba 15 di *Intercisa* e per quella da *Neviodunum* il Fitz dice di non poter offrire elementi di datazione. I dati sopra esposti non permettono di sapere se sia precedente il tipo con quattro fioroni (pannonico) o quello con quattro teste (forse italico, probabilmente imitato in area danubiana).

	Località	Alt.	Lungh.	Ø foro	Ø foro	Bibliografia
1	<i>Panticapaeum</i>	7,6		6		Kalashnik 1979
2	Aquileia	7,5		6,3	6,8	Buora, Magnani 2015, n. 31
3	<i>Neviodunum</i>	6,1	6,15	5		Müllner 1900; Nowotny 1910a, 64; Fitz 1957, 389
4	<i>Neviodunum</i>					Fitz 1957, 389
5	<i>Intercisa</i> , tomba 15	5,9	5,9	4,9		Fitz 1957, 395, n. 19
6	Visegrad-Lepence, tomba 24	5,7	5,8	4,8		Inedito (inf. K. Boruzs)
7	<i>Carnuntum</i> , coll. Traun					Nowotny 1910a, 120, fig. 47
8	Aquileia					Nowotny 1910a, 263
9	Salamina di Cipro					Palma di Cesnola 1884

²⁸ Tra gli esemplari conservati nel museo di Budapest vi sono anche cornici con fioroni agli angoli (tipo Bózsza / Szabó 2013 I.6 cat. n. 10 e al centro dei lati piccoli fori circolari o, al contrario, fioroni al centro di ogni lato e grandi fori circolari agli angoli (tipo Bózsza / Szabó 2013 I.5 cat. n. 9. La datazione proposta per la cornice con fiorone agli angoli è I-II secolo d.C., sulla scorta dell'articolo di M. Treister del 1994, datazione che non appare accettabile dal confronto con altri esemplari.

Catalogo delle cornici con teste dionisiache

Francia

- 1) Olbia, Hyères, Var (presso un sarcofago in piombo). (Barruol 1985, 365–366, fig. 22; Barruol 1987, 418, nota 12; Treister 1996, 124, n. 11; Schaad 2013).
- 2) Auch, Gers. (Barruol 1987, p. 418, fig. 3; Treister 1996, p. 124, n. 12; Schaad 2013).

Italia

- 3) Ostia (Calza 1914, 254).
- 4) Ostia, inv. n. 4227 (Bellelli / Messineo 1989, 73, solo foto).
- 5) Ostia (*Ostia*, II, 256, fig. 657).
- 6) Ostia (*Ostia*, III, 643, fig. 773).
- 7) Roma, vigna Pia (Grossi 2006).
- 8) Ravenna, necropoli di via dei Poggi (Maioli 2010, 100).
- 9) Calderara di Reno (Trocchi 2000, 82–84).
- 10) Imola? (Trocchi 2000, 84).
- 11) Russi? (Trocchi 2000, 84).
- 12) Classe? (Trocchi 2000, 84).
- 13) Rimini? (Trocchi 2000, 84).
- 14) Motto di Massa Finalese (Corti 2016).
- 15) Motto di Massa Finalese (Corti 2016).
- 16) Padova (Rossi, in appendice).
- 17) MAN Aquileia, inv. n. 94.956 (Buora / Magnani 2015, n. 32 e tav. VI, 32).
- 18) MAN Aquileia, inv. n. 11.745 (Buora / Magnani 2015, n. 34).
- 19) Casteggio (Bolla 2011).
- 20) Coscogno di Pavullo nel Frignano (Sistemonet, portale geografico del territorio modenese, scheda PA 67)
<http://www.sistemonet.it/incoming/viewArchaeology-action.do?id=1199¤tPage=5&popup=no> ultimo accesso 3 dicembre 2019.

Slovenia

- 21) Da *Nevodunum*, Narodni Muzei, R616 (Müllner 1900, Pl. LIV; Nowotny 1910a, 121, fig. 47; Nowotny 1910b, 284, fig. 157; Petru / Petru 1978, Pl. XXII, 15; Treister 1996, 124, n. 2).
- 22) Da *Emona*, tomba n. 246, Narodni Muzei, R. 5553 (Petru 1972, 40. 154, tav. XXV 1).

Austria

- 23) Traun (Nowotny 1910a, 120, fig. 47).
- 24) *Aelium Cetium* (St. Pölten), Inv. n. 88/220. (Jilek *et al.* 2005, 64, n. 257).

Ungheria

- 25) Da *Intercisa*, Tomba 14 (Fitz 1957, tav. LXXVI, 2).
- 26) Da *Intercisa*, Tomba 6 (Fitz 1957, tav. LXXV, 5).
- 27) *Aquincum*, tomba femminile 28 di Bécsy Road (Topál 1993, II, 15).
- 28) Majs, tomba n. 36, presso il ginocchio sinistro (Burger 1972, fig. 31,5).
- 29) Pannonia (Mus. Naz. Budapest, prov. sconosciuta. (Fitz 1957, 389).
- 30) Visegrád-Lepence, tomba n. 23 (Boruzs 2007, 225, fig. 7; Niezabitowska-Wiśniewska 2012, fig. 35, 6; Boruzs 2013, 7, fig. 13).

- 31) Visegrád-Lepence, dalla necropoli, frammento con due teste (Inedito, inf. Katalin Boruzs, con lettera del 20 luglio 2015).
- 32) Visegrád-Lepence, dall'abitato, frammento con una testa (Inedito, inf. Katalin Boruzs, con lettera del 20 luglio 2015).
- 33) Nagykanizsa, dal corredo della tomba n. 14 di donna di 52–56 anni (Horváth 2003, 83, 94 fig. 9: 2; Eke / Horváth 2006, 78–79, 86 fig. 6: 4; Eke / Horváth 2010, fig. 5, 19;).
- 34) Nagykanizsa, dal corredo della tomba n. 35, forse maschile, di un individuo di 30–40 anni (Eke / Horváth 2010, fig. 27, 8; Niezabitowska-Wisniewska 2012, 223 e fig. 35, 5).
- 35) *Brigetio* (Paulovics 1941, 163, pl. XXVIII: 3; Kállay 1990, pl. XXXIII; Niezabitowska-Wisniewska 2012, 223).

Slovacchia

- 36) *Gerulata*, tomba a cremazione n. 135 (Pichlerová 1981, 172–173, tav. CLXXXVIII, 12 e 191, tav. CLII, 2; Kolník 1984, fig. 59; Niezabitowska-Wisniewska 2012, 223).

Bulgaria

- 37) *Durostorum* (Mușeteanu / Elefterescu 1978, 108, n. 13).

Romania

- 38) *Callatis*, tomba 3 (Barladeanu-Zavatin 1977, 131, fig. 2; Treister 1996, 121–124; Niezabitowska-Wisniewska 2012, 223).
- 39) *Tomis*, necropoli sudoccidentale, tomba n. 22, con 6 monete da Vespasiano a Marco Aurelio, Commodo e Alessandro Severo. (Bucovala / Pașca 1991, testo 224, immagine 200, pl. V).

Crimea

- 40) Balta-Čokrak, presso il villaggio di Skalistoe, tomba 12, scavi 2003 (Zajcev *et al.* 2005, 172–173, 176, 190 fig. 12,14; Niezabitowska-Wisniewska 2012, 229 e fig. 34, 1).
- 41) Chersoneso, dall'opera di Kadeev 1996 (Niezabitowska-Wisniewska 2012, fig. 33,4).
- 42) Artezian (Vinokurov / Treister 2015).

Asia Minore

- 43) Smirne, British Museum inv. n. 1873, 0620 (Vinokurov / Treister 2015, 50, fig. 4,4).

Cipro

- 44) Salamina di Cipro (Palma di Cesnola 1884, 69, P. VI,4).

Siria

- 45) Palmira (Ployer 2013, 228, n. 45, fig. 162).

Prov. ignota

- 46) Mosca, già coll. Kadeev (Kadeev 1996, 69; Niezabitowska-Wisniewska 2012, 230).
- 47) Mosca, mus. Pushkin. Già coll. Sviatoslavskij (Treister 1994, 422, fig. 5,4; Niezabitowska-Wisniewska 2012, 338, fig. 33,8).

Con quattro fioroni agli angoli

- 1) MAN Aquileia, inv. n. 11.732 (Nowotny 1910b, 264, fig. 157; artefacts.mom.fr scheda MRR-4002; Buora / Magnani 2015, n. 31 e tav. VI, 31).
- 2) Aquileia (Nowotny 1910b, 263).
- 3) *Intercisa* (Fitz 1957, tav. LXXXVI, 1).
- 4) *Neviodunum* (Fitz 1957, 389).
- 5) *Neviodunum* (Fitz 1957, 389).
- 6) Visegrad- Lepence (inf. Katalin Boruzs 2015).
- 7) *Durostorum* (Muşeteanu / Elefterescu 1978, 108, n. 14; Elefterescu 2012, 154).
- 8) Kertsch – *Panticapeum*, scavi 1872 sul versante settentrionale del tumulo di Mitridate, catacomba con 12 scheletri (Kalashnik 1979, 119, fig. 1; Treister 1994, 422, fig. 5,3).
- 9) Salamina di Cipro (Palma di Cesnola 1884, 69, P. VI,4).

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Appendice: Una cornice quadrangolare con teste da una sepoltura di Padova
a cura di ELENA PETTENÒ e CECILIA ROSSI

Nel dicembre 2015, a Padova, è stato portato alla luce, all'interno di una sepoltura a cremazione, uno specchio con superficie riflettente in vetro e cornice quadrangolare in piombo con teste di soggetto dionisiaco agli angoli; esso è del tutto assimilabile ai tipi presi in esame in questo contributo.

Il manufatto è attualmente in fase di restauro con gli altri oggetti di corredo presso il laboratorio di restauro della Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio del Veneto. La presente nota, va quindi intesa come una presentazione preliminare, finalizzata a dare tempestivamente notizia del manufatto, nell'ambito del *corpus* puntualmente redatto, in attesa di uno studio più approfondito, da svolgersi sull'intero contesto, ad analisi concluse.

La sepoltura faceva parte di un nucleo funerario composto da otto deposizioni, rinvenute durante un'estesa indagine di archeologia urbana, in corrispondenza del numero civico 195 di Corso Vittorio Emanuele II (Tav. 28, fig. 1). L'areale non è estraneo a ritrovamenti di carattere funerario. Come dimostrano le numerose scoperte susseguitesi in questo settore della città moderna dall'Ottocento agli ultimi anni, la zona gravitava sulla strada diretta da Padova a Bologna, oggi per l'appunto ripercorsa dal corso cittadino: era pertanto parte integrante della vasta area di necropoli che si estendeva nel suburbio meridionale dell'abitato antico²⁹. Il nucleo scoperto nel 2015 si collocava quasi a ridosso della strada, ribadendo la stretta correlazione tra le necropoli romane e i principali assi di transito, espressione e garanzia di visibilità, nonché prolungamento della memoria dei defunti.

L'analisi preliminare dei reperti di corredo suggerisce una datazione compresa tra la seconda metà del I secolo d.C. e la fine del II, se non gli inizi del III secolo d.C. La tomba, cui pertiene lo specchio, rientrava tra quelle più tarde; intaccata solo marginalmente dagli interventi edilizi di epoca medievale, si presentava al recupero in uno stato di conservazione quasi ottimale. Le ossa combuste, accompagnate da un asse molto corroso di prima età imperiale, erano contenute nella porzione inferiore di un'anfora segata, collocata al centro di una semplice fossa ovale. Un'altra mezza anfora, di tipo Dressel 6B, fungeva da coperchio, deposta capovolta a chiusura della precedente. Il resto della fossa era riempito con abbondante terra di rogo, mentre i materiali di corredo trovavano posto all'esterno del contenitore fittile, raggruppati in testa ai residui del rogo (Tav. 28, fig. 2).

La giacitura dei manufatti, rinvenuti serratamente sovrapposti, rende probabile l'originaria collocazione all'interno di un piccolo contenitore in materiale deperibile, un cofanetto porta-gioie o, più probabilmente, un sacchetto di tela. Del nucleo facevano parte, oltre al piccolo specchio quadrangolare, dieci aghi crinali in osso con testa a globetto leggermente ovoidale di tipo Béal A XX, 7, un manufatto di forma

²⁹ Rossi 2014, 300–302; Pettenò *et al.* 2014; Pettenò / Rossi 2015, 208–215; Rossi 2016.

sub-rettangolare in bronzo, di funzione poco chiara, e diverse perline in vetro con foglia metallica d'oro e d'argento, verosimilmente parte di una collana.

Il corredo suggerisce nel suo insieme la pertinenza della sepoltura alla sfera muliebre, aspetto che trova conferma nel dato antropologico derivante da una preliminare analisi delle ossa, queste ultime compatibili con un giovane individuo di sesso femminile.

L'insieme dei reperti rende plausibile una datazione alla seconda metà del II secolo d.C., confermando la cronologia sopra illustrata per gli specchi in piombo con cornice quadrangolare decorata agli angoli da testine. Ulteriori precisazioni e puntualizzazioni saranno delineate solo al termine delle operazioni di restauro, analisi e studio³⁰.

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³⁰ Nelle more della pubblicazione del presente contributo, il restauro del corredo è stato completato e lo specchio è stato sottoposto ad analisi di dettaglio. Gli esiti sono illustrati nel seguente lavoro, recentemente edito (Rossi *et al.* 2018).

Z D R A V K O D I M I T R O V

New Archaeological Data from Ratiaria:
Public and Private Baths as an Essential Element in the
Development of Roman Society along the Danubian Limes

Plates 29–35

In 2013, our archaeological team resumed regular archaeological excavations of the Roman military and civic centre of Ratiaria after an interruption of a quarter of a century and an almost complete looting of the site by illicit excavators¹.

As a result of three field seasons (2013–2015), our team unearthed a hitherto unknown late antique bath house². It consists of three rooms and an entrance hall. The main question is whether the baths were private or public³. The baths are located at a short distance from the most impressive structure of Ratiaria — the residence of the provincial governor of Dacia Ripensis. The existence of the bathhouse attests to the rapid economic development of Ratiaria in the 4th and 5th cent. AD. It was built in the *opus mixtum* technique, with solid walls and an impressive interior decoration: some well-shaped pools, marble slabs, and architectural details in the Ionic order. Even parts of mosaic floors made of small polygonal ceramic segments were discovered.

There is another thermal complex in the southern part of Ratiaria⁴. These are probably the largest Roman baths of the so-called “Imperial type” preserved in Bulgaria (almost 110 meters in length and 75 m in width — see Pl. 33, fig. 9 and below in this study). Excavations are planned for the next years, but it is already possible to present some of the most impressive architectural details of the complex — Corinthian capitals, cornices, columns and bases. The materials are of high quality limestone and marbles, and it must have taken considerable financial resources to have them made. Services of Anatolian stonemasons were used for the interior decoration.

At present we can state that it is essential to continue studying Ratiaria both for scholars and for the future presentation of the ruins.

¹ Dimitrov 2014, 105–119; Topalilov 2014, 95–105; Dimitrov 2015a, 185–196.

² Dimitrov 2014, 107, fig. 7–8; Dimitrov 2015a, 189–192, fig. 4–7.

³ Regarding the different kinds and functions of the bath complexes in the Roman town (*balnea publica*, *balnea meritoria* and others) see Heinz 1983, 23–29; especially on the functions (public, private, military or other baths) see Brödner 1983, 163–197.

⁴ Giorgetti 1987, Tav. A, B.

Main problems and prospects of the present study

During the last 25 years the ancient city has been subject to rampant looting unparalleled on the Balkans. Due to this the whole area has been ploughed by earth-diggers, and the site's stratification has been almost completely destroyed.

A good deal of the architectural complexes have also been raided or severely damaged, and it is for this reason that an urgent conservation and restoration effort is required. The methods applied in case of resumed excavations are quite different from the usual ones applied to sites not damaged by looters. Most of the findings from the mounds made by looters were moved with construction machinery to the storehouses outside of the archaeological site. Subsequently, the team started exploring deeper levels where fragmented cultural remains, architectural details from buildings, from fortress walls, and from the street network were found.

Notwithstanding the hard circumstances under which the resumed excavations in Ratiaria started, the team expects significant progress to be made. In a first step, however, the huge quantity of archaeological finds containing valuable scholarly data have to be gathered: ceramics, including *terra sigillata*, glass and metal items, immense quantities of architectural elements, and epigraphic monuments.

In terms of immovable cultural heritage, Ratiaria remains of substantial significance. A number of large architectural complexes, surviving in authentic height, can actually be displayed and contextualized, e.g. the governor's residence, the Large *Thermae* of the so-called Imperial type, some temples, the fortress walls to the north and west, the streets of the city, and the northern *thermae* which were recently unearthed.

The most serious problems that scholars studying the *thermae* in Ratiaria are facing at present stem from the fact that these abundant architectural remains and valuable finds have been systematically destroyed by treasure-hunters with the purpose to rob the site. Currently, it is rather difficult and even dangerous to gain access to the rooms of the complex. Nonetheless the explorations must continue and they will deliver vital information about the past of Ratiaria.

So far three architectural complexes of the type of public or private baths — Roman *thermae* — have been localised in Ratiaria (Pl. 29, fig. 1A–C). The first baths and the few buildings surrounding were examined as early as the 70s and 80s by Yordanka Atanassova and Janka Mladenova, behind the Western Gate of the city⁵. These baths must have been either private baths, i.e. belonging to an individual building, or baths of the so-called “military type”, used by the soldiers⁶. They were constructed as an ordinary building of rectangular layout, divided into several rooms and equipped with a hypocaust system. These *thermae* date to late antiquity.

⁵ Atanassova 1995, 76–78; Dinchev 2015, 186, fig. 7 (nr. 3).

⁶ Brödner 1983, 179–186; the general plan of the rooms in this bath are similar to the Roman military baths studied in Germany — Weissenburg (Bayern) and Walldürn (Baden-Württemberg), see again in Brödner 1983, 183–184, Zeichnungen 50–51.

A second *thermae* complex, also of late antique origin, was unearthed by our team in 2013 and completely explored over the course of the last three archaeological seasons⁷. They are situated at a distance of one *insula* to the north of the governor's residence.

The largest *thermae* (as well as the earliest ones so far) in Ratiaria are the so-called Large *Thermae* of the Imperial type⁸. Judging by the general aerial photograph of the site of 1976 they would appear to have been even larger than the *thermae* in Odessos, the present day town of Varna, meaning that, with a view to their expanse, they were the largest *thermae* in Bulgaria from the Roman period. Regrettably they have not as yet been explored from an archaeological perspective. However, a significant number of archaeological finds have been gathered from these *thermae*⁹.

Results from the excavations of the late antique *thermae* in Ratiaria,
situated to the north of the governor's residence

Whether the late antique *thermae* were a public or private complex must remain an open question for now because we have only found three well preserved rooms in the southernmost part of this architectural structure (Pl. 29, fig. 2). Today these three large rooms of the baths can be seen in the field. They are built of fairly massive walls. The width of the wall structure varies from 0.75 to 0.85/0.90 m. The size of each room is about 22–23 square meters. Without a doubt, these rooms fulfilled the function of the *caldaria* in the Roman *thermae*. The whole complex was included into the general plan of Ratiaria from the late 3rd to the 5th/6th cent. AD, when Ratiaria was the capital of the province Dacia Ripensis.

Unfortunately, the entire northern part of these baths has now been completely destroyed as a result of the activity of treasure-hunters, and there is no way to establish the exact layout of this part of the building. The three southern rooms ended in apse-like walls which form *exedrae* internally. There are large areas of the bath *suspensurae* (Pl. 30, fig. 3), seats and small *piscinae* placed in these *exedrae*.

In the overall plan of this bath we designated the rooms as No 1, 2 and 3. Room No 1 is best preserved in height. It is the best example of the construction technique used in the bath — namely *opus mixtum*. In this room we established the level of the individual *caldaria* and managed to document the hypocaust system of the thermal complex. A number of remains from the hypocaust of the *thermae* were found in the front part of the warm rooms.

In the case of room No 2, which is central for the bath, the walls are very badly preserved. We were able to document the walls and their outlines in depth — i.e. at the foundations of the apse-like curve of the wall in its southernmost end. Here the upper layers of the bath have been completely destroyed. However, inside the apse-

⁷ Dimitrov *et al.* 2014, 303–305; Dimitrov 2014, 107, fig. 7–8; Dimitrov 2015a, 189–192, fig. 4–7.

⁸ Giorgetti 1987, 41, Tav. A, B.

⁹ Dimitrov 2014, fig. 13; Dimitrov 2015b, pl. 1 (2–3), 3 (6–8), 4 (1–4).

like curve of room No 2, we were able to establish how the foundations of the entire southern part of the bath were made and how it was built. Thus, for instance engaged pillars at the end of each apse-like wall connected it with the other part of the construction of the bath. They marked the beginning of the internal wall which separated the *piscinae* and seats in the *exedrae* from the other part of the bath.

Room No 3, which is the easternmost room of the bath, is also very well preserved (Pl. 30, fig. 4). Here we were even able to take pictures and draw some completely preserved cultural layers. The whole room, as a general plan, is also preserved and provides a complete picture of the other similar parts of the bath. This is invaluable information in terms of future projects concerning the restoration of the architectural unit.

These southernmost parts of the bath ended in oblong apse-like sections (like *exedrae*), which were fully equipped with seats along the apse-like section of the wall. A long rectangular room spread in front of the seats. Its external walls were rather thick, and separate small pools — *piscinae* — were set in them (Pl. 30, fig. 4).

The external walls of room No 3 have survived undamaged to a considerable height, which inevitably contributes to the potential of the entire complex to be displayed. The construction technique again is *opus mixtum*, as the technique applied in the western part. Especially noteworthy are the first plinth rows of the constructed walls which were made of square blocks.

The connections between these external walls and the *piscinae* set in them have also survived in good shape. One of the little pools has survived completely *in situ*. This *piscina* is the most interesting architectural element from the interior of the *thermae*. It has an oval form and general dimensions of 0.70–0.80 metres. The inner surface was coated with a fairly thick layer of plaster.

Regarding room No 3, it is important to point out that inside the *exedrae* the stratigraphic layers were preserved. The control stratigraphic profile of the vertical section in front of the seats in this room shows five separate phases for the filling-in of the facility. Destructions, reconstructions, and the final abandonment of the bath complex could be dated to a period ranging from the 4th to about the mid-5th cent. AD. There are a few ceramics or other archaeological materials discovered that are datable to a time after the mid-5th century.

The entire internal part of room No 3 was laid over a hypocaust system, whose columns were round in shape at some places. They were not only made of the typical square bricks. The interior of the bath was fairly lavish. Large marble slabs were found. They were definitely part of the flooring. However, along with the marble slabs, hundreds of fragments of mosaic panels were found. What is unique in this case is that the mosaic panels were not made of square *tesserae*, but of small ceramic fragments of two types. The first type are hexagonal ceramic *tesserae*, some red in colour — the original colour after firing the clay —, others yellow, the colour of the type of clay used in sandy late antique ceramics (Pl. 35, fig. 12). The second type of clay fragments in the mosaic panels has an even more interesting form: arch-like and curved. These fragments are also red in colour (Pl. 35, fig. 13).

A very important element, determining the structure of the walls, is the tube. Some tubes reveal the wall heating system of the bath complex (Pl. 35, fig. 14). Three other ventilation and water supply tubes, preserved *in situ*, were found in room No 1 (Pl. 31, fig. 5).

Besides the architectural elements, the object finds from the late antique bath are very interesting too. They represent very diverse types. It's worth noting that many objects from other parts of Ratiaria were found in the upper layers of the complex; they were brought here by the treasure-hunters when digging with bulldozers. For example, *terra sigillata* from the 1st c. was found in the mounds around and inside the bath itself — while there are no layers of this period inside the structure.

Architectural elements from the bath

A pillar base in the Ionic order stands out among the rest¹⁰. It shows all the elements — the two *tori*, the *trochilos* and the listels between them. The base was engaged as a structure in the interior of this splendid bath from the late antique period, the time when Ratiaria was the capital of the province of Dacia Ripensis. This function in the organisation of the ensemble is clearly visible on the back side of the base, which is neither ornamented, nor indented, but it was left plainly uneven and rough, i.e. it was intended to lean against the wall structure.

Terra sigillata

As already mentioned, quite a few fragments of early plain *terra sigillata* were found in the area of the bath. The most characteristic forms are easy to recognize according to Dragendorff's classification — among others, we identified forms No 17, 24/25, 31¹¹. The main tableware distributed in Ratiaria, found around and in the bath complex, was made by Italian producers.

The ornamentation surviving on the surface of the *sigillata* artefacts from the region of the baths is very intriguing. In our excavations we found pieces with relief decoration showing images Medusa¹² and other figures (Pl. 31, fig. 6).

Plain *terra sigillata* has many stamps in the form of *planta pedis*. It is similarly of predominantly North Italian origin. Stamps of producers were also found. The majority of these artefacts can be attributed to Lucius Gellius, whose name is abbreviated L GE or [L] GEL (Pl. 32, fig. 7). These products by Gellius are datable to the Tiberian-

¹⁰ Dimitrov 2015a, 191, fig. 7.

¹¹ Dimitrova-Milčeva 2000, 5–6, Taf. 1–4, the models from Northern Italy: *ceramica Arretina*. *Terra sigillata* forms, like this in Ratiaria (D 17, 25, 31), are also found in Lower Pannonia and Upper Moesia (in modern Serbia) — see: Brukner 1981, 173–174, Tab. 3–6, 9–11; Bjelajac 1990, 120–121.

¹² Very common fragments we have from Novae (*scamnum tribunorium* and other places, see: Dimitrova-Milčeva 2000, 46–48, Nr. 55, 70, 72, 78, Taf. 3–4) and also from Pannonia and Upper Moesia, for example — Sirmium and Viminacium (see Brukner 1981, Tab.6, Nr. 18 and Tab. 11, Nr. 27; Bjelajac 1990, 120–121, T. 56–57).

Claudian period. This chronology is supported by parallels from other legionary and auxiliary camps along the Lower Danube, like Oescus, Novae, and Dimum¹³.

Lamps

Many fragmented and intact lamps were found in the late antique bath. Some of these items are from the busiest period of this public complex in the centre of Ratiaria: the 4th to the first half of the 5th c. AD¹⁴ (Pl. 32, fig. 8). When we were examining the site, we also unearthed a number of ordinary items documenting the everyday life of the inhabitants using this public bath: combs, *fibulae*, jewellery, several bronze rings and a weight for a vertical loom among other items.

Ceramics from the late antique bath

Certainly, the most accurate chronology of the entire public complex, the focus in the plan of the northern quarters of the late antique capital city of Ratiaria, can be determined on the basis of the most popular ceramic items: *amphorae*, deep bowls and jars. They are predominantly from the period of the 4th and 5th century. Some of the forms are also from the beginning of the 6th century, the latest period of the capital of Dacia Ripensis¹⁵.

Studies of the Large Thermae of Ratiaria

These largest baths of the Roman period on the territory of present day Bulgaria, were first documented in aerial photographs of Ratiaria from 1976 (see Pl. 33, Fig. 9 and 9a). Subsequently, they were referred to by D. Giorgetti as a sample master plan in his study from 1987 of the topography of Ratiaria¹⁶. However, the gravest problem is that they were never properly explored. Over the last three years we focused our efforts on gathering and preserving the architectural details of this complex, very large both in size and number.

In the village of Archar a new *lapidarium* was created for the architectural elements of the Large Thermae. There are late antique details — panels from doors, passageways and entrance-halls, colossal doorsteps, columns and bases — both from the Roman period and from the late antique period. As to the building materials visible in the field among the ruins, one now finds both local limestone and many marble details.

In 2011, four magnificent Corinthian capitals were found in Ratiaria (Pl. 34, fig. 10). They come from the area of the *thermae*, but it remains unclear of which archi-

¹³ Dimitrova-Milčeva 2000, 44–45, Nr. 21, 22, 34, Abb. 2; Kabakčieva 1996, 106–108, Abb. 9–10; Mitova-Džonova 1994, 61, Abb. 6.2; Sarnowski *et al.* 2014, 80, fig. 13.

¹⁴ About the dating, forms, and other types we have main analogues from the period of Late Antiquity in the Collection of the National Museum of Archaeology – Sofia (Kuzmanov 1992, 39–50).

¹⁵ Kuzmanov 1992, 39–50.

¹⁶ Giorgetti 1987, Tav. A and B.

tectural structure they were part of. This is also true for the pertaining semi-column bases. They could originate from temple buildings, but could also be from the structures of the Large Thermae. Similar is the situation with two other gorgeous architectural details, which were uncovered in the same area in 2014 — a magnificent corner Corinthian cornice and a huge top element from a pediment in the Corinthian order¹⁷.

The study of this architectural complex of exceptional significance, which in terms of structures, rooms and layout, is still well preserved, remains a task for the future.

Conclusion

Summarizing the results of our almost three-year regular excavations of the architectural complexes in Ratiaria, preceded by a quarter of a century of total destruction, we can point out that precisely the thermal complexes were among the best developed of the provincial capital city of Dacia Ripensis in late antiquity. The Large Thermae of the Roman colony apparently were in use in late antiquity as well, but this is not all. They were succeeded and supplemented by yet another large public complex — the late antique baths to the north of the residence of the provincial governor.

It can be stated that the thermal complexes in the western part of Ratiaria are the architectural buildings that stand out distinctly against the overall city environment.

The baths of the Imperial type and the late antique *thermae* near the governor's residence were certainly public; however, the baths near the Western Gate present a complicated issue. They are either of the so called "military type" or they are private baths appended to a large public complex. Unfortunately, their reconstruction is also a pending task for the next years, because for the time being they are buried under destroyed layers.

At the end of the paper I would like to mention two newly found inscriptions, which were unearthed in the northern part of the present day village of Archar in 2014 (Pl. 34, fig. 11). The two monuments obviously belonged to a sanctuary of the Roman goddess Diana situated in the colony of Ratiaria. According to the inscribed text they were dedicated by provincial governors of Moesia Superior in the 2nd c. AD: the one by P. Mummius Sisenna Rutilianus, the other by Minicius Opimianus. While it was already known that Rutilianus served as legate of Antoninus Pius in the period AD 149–152, the other inscription unveils entirely new scholarly data¹⁸. Minicius Opimianus has not been known as governor of Moesia Superior before. His relatives were legates in Africa during the reign of the emperor Hadrian.

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¹⁷ Dimitrov 2016, 209–211, pl. VI–XI.

¹⁸ Topalilov 2017, 292–296; Topalilov / Bru 2016, 217–223.

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DÉNES GABLER

Die Rolle der Binnenzölle im Spektrum der Importkeramik der Rhein- und Donauprovinzen

Die Ergebnisse der bisherigen Forschung beweisen, dass die durch Rom organisierten Verwaltungseinheiten nicht nur als politisch-strategische Einheiten funktionierten; viel mehr kamen durch sie häufig auch kulturelle und wirtschaftliche Blöcke zustande.¹ Das zeigt sich nicht nur in der unterschiedlichen Herkunft der Importe, d. h. mit Blick auf den Handel, sondern auch in der Entwicklung und im Warenspektrum des lokalen Gewerbes, dessen Produktion durch den Import in bedeutendem Maße beeinflusst war.

Die nordeuropäischen Provinzen des Römischen Reiches können in dieser Hinsicht zwei Blöcken zugeordnet werden, nämlich einerseits den gallisch-germanischen Provinzen² und andererseits den Donauprovinzen. Die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung dieser beiden Einheiten wies in den Jahrhunderten der Kaiserzeit deutliche Unterschiede auf. Besonders bedeutsam ist in diesem Zusammenhang das Zeugnis der Keramik, deren Herkunft und Produktionsstätten ziemlich sicher bestimmt werden können. Am besten stechen die Unterschiede bei der in einem großen Teil des Reiches und sogar außerhalb der Grenzen des Imperium Romanum verbreiteten Importkeramik ins Auge. Bei der Entwicklung der besagten wirtschaftlichen Einheiten hat die Etablierung der inneren Zollbezirke — mit einer entsprechenden Organisation und Verwaltung — eine bedeutende Rolle gespielt.

Während die frühere Forschung die Frage der Zollbezirke und -ämter nur mit Hilfe von epigraphischen, papyrologischen und sonstigen schriftlichen Quellen beantwortet hat,³ können aufgrund des heutigen Kenntnisstandes nunmehr auch die archäologischen Quellen in die Betrachtung einbezogen werden.⁴ In mehreren Fällen ist nämlich zu beobachten, dass die Verbreitung einzelner Warensorten und Keramiktypen und nur bis zur Grenze des jeweiligen Zollbezirks verfolgbar ist. Demnach galt die Grenze der einzelnen Zollbezirke als ein Faktor, der — auch weil es kein Stapelrecht gab — das Spektrum, die Herkunft und das Verhältnis der einzelnen Typen beiderseits der Grenze beeinflussen konnte. Der die Donauprovinzen umfassende illyrische Zollbezirk wird zwar

¹ Schnurbein 1982a, 15.

² Petrikovits 1970, 403.

³ de Laet 1949; Vittinghoff 1953, 346–399, Gerov 1980, 119–130; Ørsted 1985, 251–347; Carlsen 1995, 49–51; Zaccaria 2010, 53–78; Šašel Kos 2014, 139–165.

⁴ Ulbert 1971, 109; Gabler 1985, 3–29. Über die Zollstationen im Spiegel der Archäologie s. Matz 2015, 243–251; Rothenhöfer 2015, 179–194.

erst unter Claudius in den Quellen erwähnt,⁵ aber es ist mit Recht anzunehmen, dass die Einrichtung auf einem älteren System basierte.⁶ Jedenfalls kann die Etablierung der *quadragesima Galliarum* bereits aus der augusteischen Zollpolitik abgeleitet werden.⁷ In dieser Hinsicht verdient auch die Verbreitung der augusteisch-tiberischen Sigillatentypen Beachtung.

Die nach Westen und in die Donauprovinzen liefernden italischen Produktionsstätten

Die Produkte der norditalischen Werkstätten, die schon in der augusteischen Zeit in großen Quantitäten Waren nach Noricum und Pannonien exportierten und deren Erzeugnisse im Keramikmaterial der Donauprovinzen in entscheidender Zahl fassbar sind, waren in den gallisch-germanischen Provinzen nicht verbreitet.⁸ Zugleich bedeutet das völlige Fehlen der in der Werkstatt von Puteoli hergestellten Produkte in den Donauprovinzen einen weiteren Unterschied im italischen Sigillatenspektrum der beiden Absatzgebiete. Das sog. Fabrikat C vom Magdalensberg, das früher mit dieser Töpferei in Verbindung gebracht wurde, weist die Qualitätsmerkmale einer Produktionsstätte der Pogegegend auf. Im gallisch-germanischen Gebiet haben dagegen die Waren aus Pisa einen bedeutenden Anteil.⁹ In mehreren mittlerweile bekannt gewordenen Werkstätten wie Via San Stefano, Via San Zeno und Isola di Migliarino arbeiteten überwiegend Freigelassene des Cn. Ateius,¹⁰ deren Produkte in der Donaugegend unbekannt sind. Auch auf dem Magdalensberg sind nur zwei Stempel mit einer Werkstatt dieses Unternehmers zu verbinden (Atei Eros).

Die Unterschiede werden durch eben dieses Fundmaterial vom Magdalensberg, das mehr als 2400 Stempel bezeugt, gut veranschaulicht. Unter diesen Stempeln gibt es nur 13–14 Stück, für die Analogien aus den gallisch-germanischen Provinzen bekannt sind. Außer den erwähnten Ateius-Stempeln gehören auch die Exemplare des über ein längeren Zeitraum produzierenden L. Gellius Quadratus von Arezzo hierher. Im gallisch-germanischen Raum sind nur seine frühen augusteischen Produkte bekannt, während die 212 Stücke vom Magdalensberg in den westlichen Gebieten kein einziges Analogstück haben. Bei einem Vergleich der Stempel, die sowohl in den gallischen Gebieten als auch auf dem Magdalensberg anzutreffen sind, stellt sich sehr häufig heraus, dass die betreffenden Waren aus verschiedenen Werkstätten stammen. Die Erzeugnisse des Sertorius Ocella treten z.B. auf dem Magdalensberg häufig auf, sie zeigen aber ausnahmslos die Merkmale des Fabrikats B der Pogegegend. Im Gegensatz dazu stammen die in Basel entdeckten Exemplare aus Arezzo. Als Ergebnis des Vergleichs ist also festzustellen, dass trotz der in großer Menge vorhandenen italischen Sigillatastempel

⁵ Dobó 1968, 180–182.

⁶ Šašel 1965, 198 ff.; Ørsted 1989, 182.

⁷ France 1993, 895–927; France 2001.

⁸ Schnurbein 1982b, 69.

⁹ Schnurbein 1982b, 83; Ettliger 1983, 72.

¹⁰ Kenrick 1997, 185–188; Bruni 1995, 271–461.

im Fundmaterial der rheinisch-gallischen Territorien einerseits und der ostalpinen und Donauprovinzen andererseits nur eine Überschneidung von kaum 5% nachzuweisen ist.

Vergleicht man die in den gallisch-germanischen Provinzen aufgefundenen italienischen Stempel mit dem Fundmaterial Pannoniens, dann ist der Unterschied noch auffallender. Von den 132 bezeugten Officinatoren exportierten nur P. Attius aus Pisa, L. Tar(quitius) aus Arezzo sowie M. Perennius und Rasinius in beide Gebiete. Im Falle von P. Attius ist aber gar nicht sicher, dass es sich um ein und dieselbe *figlina* handelt: Es ist nämlich nicht auszuschließen, dass die pannonischen und die rheinischen Truppenlager (bzw. die Lager jenseits des Rheins) von verschiedenen Filialen beliefert wurden. Die Untersuchung der Exemplare vom Magdalensberg ergab, dass die Filiale der Pogegegend den großen Umschlagsplatz beliefert hat.¹¹ Aus der *figlina* des L. Tar(quitius) erreichte ebenfalls nur ein einziges Exemplar das Basislager des gegen Maroboduus aufmarschierenden Heeres; schließlich gelangte es in eines der Objekte der befestigten Siedlung von Devín-Dévény. Von den in Haltern aufgefundenen 900 Töpferstempeln kommen nur drei oder vier Stück mit dem gleichen Namen in Pannonien vor, aber auch sie bezeichnen verschiedene Officinatoren. In den rheinisch-gallischen Provinzen ist die mit dem Stempel eines Sklaven der Familie des Cn. Ateius versehene Ware aus Arezzo, Lyon oder Pisa am häufigsten zu beobachten. Hiervon ist kein einziges Stück in Pannonien vertreten. Die viereckigen Stempeltypen des L. Gellius kommen nur in den westlichen Gebieten häufig vor; in den Donauprovinzen ist dagegen kein einziges Stück bekannt. Zugleich sind die in Noricum und Pannonien, ferner in Mösien aufgefundenen *planta pedis*-Stempel in den gallisch-germanischen Gebieten, mit Ausnahme von Rheingönheim, unbekannt. Aus dem Vorangehenden ist zu schließen, dass einerseits die gallisch-germanischen und andererseits die ostalpinen und Donauprovinzen von verschiedenen Manufakturen mit Keramik versorgt wurden. Sofern Transporte aus denselben Werkstätten sowohl in die Rhein- als auch die Donaugegend abgingen (z. B. Arretium), dann wurde die Keramik verschiedener *figlinae* geliefert, und dies zumeist auch nicht in der gleichen Zeitspanne. Während die italienischen Transporte in die Rheingegend aus der augusteischen Zeit oder vom Anfang der Regierung des Tiberius stammen, erreichte der italische Import in der Donaugegend seinen Höhepunkt in der tiberisch-claudischen Zeit. Es ist nicht auszuschließen, dass L. Gellius, L. Avillius und andere Unternehmer als Ersatz für verlorene westliche Märkte nun in den illyrischen Raum expandierten und dort nach neuen Absatzmöglichkeiten suchten.

Die bisherigen Ausführungen lassen vermuten, dass schon in der augusteischen Zeit mit der Existenz von spezialisierten Werkstätten zu rechnen ist, die entweder für die donauländischen oder aber für die gallisch-rheinischen Märkte produzierten. Auch im Fall der für den gesamten Mittelmeerraum produzierenden Manufakturen können solche, die in die rheinischen Provinzen exportierten, von jenen, die das Illyricum belieferten, unterschieden werden. Es kam nur selten vor, dass Ware aus ein und derselben

¹¹ Zabehlicky-Scheffenecker 1991, 96–97.

Töpferwerkstatt in beide Gebiete gelangte, und diese Fälle können als Ausnahmen betrachtet werden. So ist beispielsweise Ware der arretinischen Werkstatt (s. L. Tar[quinius]), die ansonsten nur in den westlichen Provinzen verbreitet war, zur Zeit des Aufmarsches gegen Maroboduus in Devín anzutreffen.¹² In Siscia, das als Stützpunkt des illyrischen Heeres galt, weisen die Stempel der Produzenten, die beide Gebiete versorgten, einen kaum 2-prozentigen Anteil auf.¹³

Während also Arezzo und Pisa in der augusteischen Zeit außer den mediterranen Märkten die gallisch-germanischen Lager und Siedlungen versorgten, lieferten die meisten padanischen Werkstätten in die ostalpinen und donauländischen Gebiete. Wegen der zunehmenden Nachfrage fanden auch die teureren Produkte von Arretium und in Teilen von Pisa in der tiberisch-claudischen Zeit ihren Weg ins Illyricum; zugleich verloren die etruskischen Manufakturen ihre Märkte im Westen.

Die Unterschiede im Keramikspektrum zwischen den westlichen und den donauländischen Provinzen am Beispiel der Aco-Sarius-Typen

Auch die Beobachtungen, die M. Vegas bei der Untersuchung der Verbreitung des eine eigenartige Gruppe dünnwandiger Keramik repräsentierenden Aco-Bechers machte, weisen in die Richtung der aus der Analyse des Sigillatamaterials gezogenen Folgerungen.¹⁴ Die Verteilung der gestempelten Exemplare ist auch in diesem Fall räumlich verschieden. Von den Aco-Offizinen lieferten Hilarus Aco, Chrysippus und Philarcus, C. Avius, T. C. Avius und ferner auch Philocrat(us) nach Gallien und Germanien, während Aco Acastus, Aco Diophanes, C. Aco Antiochus, C. Aco C. I. Eros, Buccio Norbani, Antiochus, Gellius Antiochus und Agatho außer Norditalien den Magdalensberg, Norddalmatien und Teile Pannoniens versorgten.¹⁵ In beiden Zonen tauchen also die Stempel verschiedener *liberti-officinatores* des Unternehmers auf, die ihre Werkstätten nahe dem Absatzmarkt betrieben. Die gallischen Gebiete wurden durch die Filiale von Aco aus Lyon versorgt,¹⁶ während die Erzeugnisse mehrerer Werkstätten, die im westlichen Teil des Po-Tales sowie in Cremona¹⁷ und Faenza¹⁸ produzierten, in Norditalien und den Donauprovinzen abgesetzt wurden.¹⁹

Wie bereits K. Kraft überzeugend nachgewiesen hat, stand Rätien in der augusteischen Zeit unter der Kommandantur des rheinischen Heeres; die Grenze dieses militärischen Bezirks endete am Fluss Inn.²⁰ Laut Kraft fungierte dieser strategisch-militärische Bezirk zugleich als wirtschaftliche Einheit. Der Prozess der Etablierung dieser

¹² Pieta / Zachar 1993, 197; Kuzmová 1997, 115, Nr. 7, Taf. 4.4.

¹³ Makjanić 1995, 43–83.

¹⁴ Vegas 1969/1970, 107–117.

¹⁵ Schindler-Kaudelka 1980, 83; Makjanić 1995, 61; Finocchiaro 1999, 146–159.

¹⁶ Vertet *et al.* 1968, 35–44.

¹⁷ Stenico 1963–1964, 51–59.

¹⁸ Righini 1979, 213–240.

¹⁹ Lavizzari-Pedrazzini 1987, 43–47.

²⁰ Kraft 1962, 150.

wirtschaftlichen Einheiten könnte also schon in der augusteischen Zeit begonnen haben²¹, und er könnte — wenn man Krafts Gedankengang folgt — das Erfordernis einer schnellen und problemlosen Versorgung von zwei wichtigen Heeresgruppen, nämlich der Rhein- und der Donau-Legionen, zum Hintergrund gehabt haben. Hieraus dürfte sich die klare Verteilung der Aufgaben und Verpflichtungen hinsichtlich der Belieferung der Truppen ergeben haben.

Auch in der tiberisch-claudischen Zeit blieben Herkunfts- und Absatzgebiete des Nachschubs voneinander getrennt. Die Märkte von Gallien, Germanien und Britannien wurden in dieser Zeit bereits von den Waren aus Montans und La Graufesenque beherrscht, während die norditalischen Werkstätten, zu denen neben Arezzo auch andere Plätze zählten, in den ostalpin-donauländischen Provinzen weiterhin ein Monopol innehatten. Die Verbreitung der gestempelten *planta pedis*-Sigillaten des L. Gellius von Arezzo zeugt von diesen Tendenzen in der Aufteilung der Absatzgebiete und der dabei eintretenden Änderungen. Nach dem Verlust seiner Absatzgebiete im Westen fand dieses Unternehmen neue Märkte nicht nur auf dem Magdalensberg, sondern auch in den vorgeschobenen Lagern entlang der Donau und in den entlang der Nachschubwege angelegten Stationen und Siedlungen sowohl Rätiens und Noricums als auch Pannoniens und Mösiens. Bei der Versorgung Rätiens spielte Italien ebenfalls eine bedeutende Rolle.

Die Unterschiede des Fundmaterials der westlichen und donauländischen Provinzen von der claudischen Zeit an

Das bisher Gesagte untermauert die Annahme, dass die gallisch-rheinischen und die donauländischen Gebiete schon in vor-claudischer Zeit hinsichtlich des Importes scharf voneinander abgesondert waren. Rätien dürfte eher zur westlichen Wirtschaftseinheit gehört haben, obwohl die italischen Produktionsstätten in der tiberisch-claudischen Zeit Sigillaten und andere Ware noch in recht bedeutender hierher Menge lieferten. Im Gegensatz zu den anderen donauländischen Provinzen tauchen hier aber dann rasch die Produkte der südgallischen Manufakturen auf.

Während für die vor-claudische Zeit nur gemutmaßt werden kann, dass der an der Grenze des Zollbezirks erhobene Zoll die Handelsströme gelenkt hat, lässt sich dies bei der Verbreitung der Typen in nach-claudischer Zeit klar nachweisen. Die westliche Grenze des Verbreitungsgebiets der in die zweite Hälfte des 1. bzw. an den Anfang des 2. Jahrhunderts datierbaren italischen Sigillaten bildete der Inn, der nicht nur die Grenze zwischen den Provinzen Rätien und Noricum, sondern auch zwischen dem *publicum portorii Illyrici* und der *quadragesima Galliarum* darstellte (Abb. 1).

²¹ France 1993, 895–927.

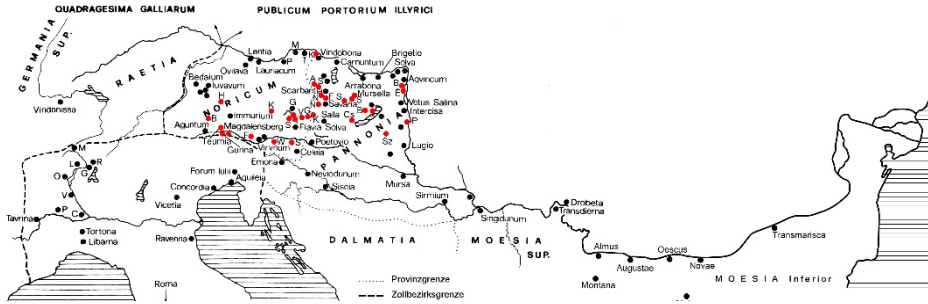


Abb. 1. Verbreitung der claudisch-trajanischen italischen Sigillaten.

Während die italische Ware in nach-claudischer Zeit westlich vom Inn fehlt, ist die Menge der südgallischen Sigillaten östlich vom Inn bis in die flavische Zeit unbedeutend. Das ist offensichtlich nicht durch eventuelle Schwierigkeiten beim Transport zu erklären, zeigen doch die Funde aus Juvavum und aus dem bayerischen Seebuck, dass italische Ware durchaus über die Alpen hinübergelange; folglich hat einzig die Konkurrenz der südgallischen Sigillaten die Verbreitung der italischen Waren nach Westen behindert.²² Diese Keramik kam in Rätien noch als zollfreie Ware an, aber ihr Weitertransport über den Inn nach Osten wurde durch den relativ hohen illyrischen Zoll behindert.²³ In den östlichen Gebieten erwies sich also die italische Ware als billiger, darum bedeutete La Graufesenque kaum eine Konkurrenz. Das lang anhaltende Monopol der Produkte aus italischer Produktion und das nur vereinzelte Auftauchen südgallischer Sigillaten östlich des Inns waren also dem relativ hohen illyrischen Zoll geschuldet, oder zumindest beeinflusste dieser Zolltarif den Preis der Keramik entscheidend.

Anders als in den gallisch-germanischen Provinzen kann die Verbreitung der italischen dünnwandigen Keramik im Donauraum wesentlich länger, mindestens bis in die trajanische Zeit, verfolgt werden; einzelne Typen sind sogar noch in Fundkomplexen aus der Mitte des 2. Jahrhunderts anzutreffen.²⁴ Als Produktionsstätten erscheinen Cremona,²⁵ Ravenna und Aquileia.²⁶

Solche Unterschiede im Profil der Importwaren zwischen den rheinischen und den donauländischen Provinzen sowie ihre Auswirkung auf die lokale Produktion in diesen Gebieten lassen sich auch bei Öllampen beobachten. Nach A. Leibundgut bilden Norditalien, Rätien und die Donauprovinzen hinsichtlich der Öllampen der Form Loeschcke I und Loeschcke X typologisch eine Einheit,²⁷ während sich die von den Prototypen

²² Gabler 1985, 15, 22.

²³ Mócsy 1962, 595. Auch zwei Inschriften informieren über das Maß des Zolles, s. CIL III 4288 = RIU II.389, RIU 575; s. weiters Buocz 1969, 300–304.

²⁴ Gassner 1990, 268–293.

²⁵ Masseroli / Volonté 2000, 159–164.

²⁶ Cervasini 2005, 305.

²⁷ Leibundgut 1977, 355–357.

abweichenden Produkte in den lokalen Betrieben der Rheingegend weiterentwickelten. So machte S. von Schnurbein etwa darauf aufmerksam, dass nur die Variante mit Henkel im Fall der Firmalampen in Germanien hergestellt wurde, während die henkellosen Varianten — abgesehen von einigen Ausnahmen — in der Donaugegend auftreten,²⁸ obwohl beide Typen weit verbreitet waren. Eine Überschneidung der beiden Blöcke ist bei der Verbreitung kaum wahrnehmbar. Die Grenze der Verbreitung beider Typen stimmt mit der Grenze zwischen *Germania superior* und Rätien überein.

Bei den Firmalampen lässt sich noch ein weiterer wesentlicher Unterschied beobachten, und zwar hinsichtlich der Namenstempel. Abgesehen von einigen häufig auftauchenden Töpfermarken wie *Communis*, *Fortis* oder *Strobilis* kommen in der Rheingegend ganz andere Namen als in der Donaugegend vor.²⁹ Der Grund ist vermutlich, dass einzelne norditalische Unternehmer anfänglich vornehmlich in die illyrischen Provinzen exportierten, während andere in der Rheingegend handelten.³⁰ Die Etablierung und weitere Entwicklung der lokalen Produktion wurden von den italischen Mutterunternehmen beeinflusst, die zuvor die jeweilige Zone beliefert hatten. Sie eröffneten Zweigbetriebe und verkauften Modelle oder Ausrüstungen für Werkstätten.

Die Reihe der soeben behandelten Beobachtungen wurde von S. von Schnurbein um eine weitere bereichert: Er bewies, dass es einen wesentlichen Unterschied zwischen den in Rätien und den in *Germania superior*, also zwei benachbarten Provinzen, im 2. Jahrhundert gebräuchlichen überzogenen Trinkbechern gibt. So taucht etwa die sog. rätische Keramik in der Neckargegend außergewöhnlich selten auf.³¹ Mit Ausnahme von Köngen und Welzheim, die in der Nähe zu Rätien lagen, sind die ältesten Typen, nämlich die Drexel 1-Gruppe, entlang des obergermanischen Limes nirgendwo anzutreffen; gleichzeitig ist dieselbe Keramik im Osten entlang der Donau, von *Noricum* und *Pannonien* bis in das Mündungsgebiet der *Drau*, und sogar im angrenzenden *Barbaricum* nachzuweisen.³²

Die Grenzen der Zollbezirke und ihre Umorganisierungen

Die erwähnten Parallelen weisen auf die enge Verbindung Rätiens mit den Donauprovinzen hin, was die Aufmerksamkeit auf die frühere Debatte über die Zugehörigkeit Rätiens hinsichtlich der Zollbezirke lenkt. Im Gegensatz zu den früheren Vorschlägen, die sich für die eine oder die andere Meinung aussprachen, würde ich als Hypothese die Möglichkeit erwägen, dass die im Keramikspektrum Rätiens und *Noricum-Pannoniens* vom Ende des 1. bis zur Mitte des 2. Jahrhunderts wahrnehmbaren gemeinsamen Merkmale, bzw. das Fehlen wesentlicher Unterschiede, durch die Zugehörigkeit Rätiens zum *publicum portorii Illyrici* im 2. Jahrhundert erklärbar sein könnte. Darauf

²⁸ Schnurbein 1977, 10.

²⁹ Bailey 1980, 279–291.

³⁰ Schnurbein 1977.

³¹ Czysz *et al.* 1981, 29; Oldenstein 1982, 105.

³² Bónis 1960, 104; Fülep 1977, 30, R/211; Gabler 1986, 100; Gassner 1990, 271; Kreković 1981, 374; Varga 2009, 210.

könnte auch die in der Forschung häufig diskutierte Angabe Appians hinweisen, wonach der illyrische Zollbezirk von der Quelle der Donau bis zur Mündung des Tyras in das Schwarze Meer reichte (Illyr. III.3.6). Akzeptiert man diese Angabe als gültig für das mittlere Drittel des 2. Jahrhunderts (also für die Zeit Appians um 160 n.Chr.),³³ dann wird verständlich, warum die Verbreitungsgrenze einiger interprovinzialer Keramiktypen mit der Grenze Rätiens und Obergermaniens übereinstimmt.

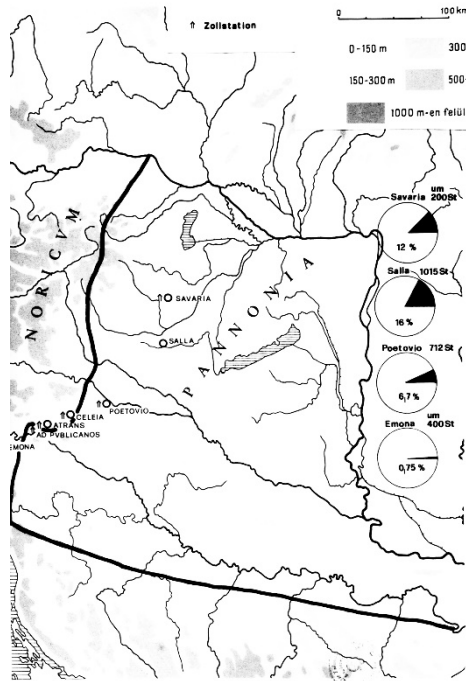


Abb. 2. Anteil der südgalischen Sigillaten im Fundmaterial der Städte an der Bernsteinstraße.

Ebenso ist die Übereinstimmung der Grenze des Zollbezirks und der Verbreitungsgrenze der gallisch-germanischen Sigillaten entlang der Bernsteinstraße zu beobachten. Obwohl diese Sigillatentypen mit verschiedener Häufigkeit bis zur Mündung der Donau in den Donauprovinzen überall zu finden sind, kommen sie in Emona und auf dessen Territorium nicht vor.³⁴ Sind die Waren der westlichen Sigillata-Manufakturen im südlichen Teil Noricum, in Flavia Solva,³⁵ Aguntum oder Celeia,³⁶ noch in relativ großer Menge anzutreffen, tauchen sie südwestlich der Zollstation zwischen Celeia und

³³ Zur Datierung von Appians Werk s. Šašel Kos 2005, 25–26.

³⁴ Curk 1977, 81; Gabler 1982, 52–53.

³⁵ Groh 1996, 108–114.

³⁶ Alzinger 1955, 11, Taf. I–II; Gabler 1985, 25.

Emona und selbst direkt an der Zollbezirksgrenze (Ad Publicanos) so gut wie gar nicht auf. Es ist daher mit Recht anzunehmen, dass die Verbreitung der gallisch-germanischen Ware auch an dieser Grenze durch den illyrischen Zoll aufgehalten wurde (Abb. 2).

Nach einer Angabe des Plinius gehörte Emona zu Pannonien (Nat. Hist. III.147), aber es kann sein, dass es zur Zeit des Vespasian Italien angegliedert wurde³⁷. Nach der Ansicht von P. Ørsted könnte die *statio portorii* eben in den 80er Jahren des 1. Jahrhunderts vor dem Trojana-Pass (Watsch-Vače) errichtet worden sein³⁸. Die gemeinsamen Merkmale der Kulturen Rätiens und der Donauprovinzen waren im 2. Jahrhundert am deutlichsten ausgebildet. Am Ende des 2. oder am Anfang des 3. Jahrhunderts wurde Rätien wahrscheinlich dem gallischen Zollbezirk angegliedert — vielleicht wegen der Umorganisation des Zollwesens, wegen dessen unmittelbarer Übernahme in Staatsverwaltung zur Zeit des Commodus³⁹. Damals verschwanden die für das frühe Spektrum kennzeichnenden gemeinsamen Züge, und wieder werden die Unterschiede in der materiellen Kultur der beiden benachbarten Provinzen, d. h. Rätiens und Noricum, sichtbar. Diese zeigen sich am besten bei der Verbreitung der Westerndorf-Pfaffenhofer Ware⁴⁰. Es handelte sich um eine bedeutende Töpfermanufaktur, die in der Mitte der 170er Jahre eben an der Grenze der beiden Provinzen entstand. Sie überschwemmte die Donauprovinzen mit ihrer Ware, bis zum Mündungsgebiet des Flusses.⁴¹ Die Westerndorfer Sigillaten tauchen an Fundplätzen wie Durostorum,⁴² Barboși⁴³ oder Nicopolis ad Istrum auf;⁴⁴ dem stehen nur sehr wenige Fundplätze westlich vom Inn gegenüber, wo solche Waren in höchst geringer Menge auftaucht, da diese Plätze der Werkstatt sehr nahe lagen⁴⁵ (Abb. 3).

Aus diesem Grund nahm G. Ulbert schon früher an, dass die Grenze der beiden Provinzen, mithin die der Zollbezirke, unmittelbar westlich von Westerndorf verlief,⁴⁶ was bedeutet, dass Rätien schon zur Blütezeit der Manufaktur der *quadregesima Gallicarum* angegliedert gewesen sein könnte.⁴⁷ Es ist nicht auszuschließen, dass die spätere rätische Ware (Drexel II b–III b-Gruppe, besonders die Drexel III-Gruppe)⁴⁸ in Germania superior häufiger und in Pannonien seltener auftaucht, weil die neue Zollgrenze, die

³⁷ Ørsted 1989, 185, 187. J. Fitz betrachtete Emona als eine zu Italien gehörende Kolonie Fitz 1993, 30, genauso Šašel Kos 2003, 11–19.

³⁸ Carlsen 1995, 49.

³⁹ Pflaum 1974, 30.

⁴⁰ Pferdehirt *et al.* 2006, 37.

⁴¹ Gabler 1985, 26–28.

⁴² Dimitrova-Milčeva 2000, 75.

⁴³ Sanie 1981, pl. 20,1,7.

⁴⁴ Gabler 1985, 22–28.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem.*

⁴⁶ Über den Grenzverlauf zuletzt s. Steidl 2011, 162–167.

⁴⁷ Ulbert 1971, 113. Kaiserliche Zollorganisation ab etwa 180 n.Chr. s. CIL V 5081.

⁴⁸ Fischer 1990, 56.

den Export nach Westen begünstigte, ein Hindernis nach Osten war. Die Markterweiterung nach Westen ist aber durchaus bemerkenswert, weil in dieser Zone starke Konkurrenz von lokalen Betrieben bestand, wie etwa den Keramikwerkstätten von Trier.⁴⁹



Abb. 3. Verbreitung der Westerndorf-Pfaffenhofener Sigillaten.

Solange keine umfassende Bearbeitung der rätischen Keramik, also eine vollständige Materialaufnahme und Bestimmung der Zeitfolge und des Exportradius der einzelnen Werkstätten, zur Verfügung steht, können die obigen Überlegungen nur eine Arbeitshypothese darstellen. Dennoch ist diese Hypothese gut begründet, wie eine in Westerndorf freigelegte, außer Sigillaten auch rätische Keramik herstellende Werkstatt zeigt.⁵⁰ In dieser Töpferwerkstatt wurde die späteste „rätische“ Keramik (Drexel III) produziert, die von der Mitte des 2. Jh. bis in die ersten Jahrzehnte des 3. Jh. datiert werden kann. Die einzelnen Unternehmer in Noricum und Pannonien versuchten durch lokale Produktion, dem illyrischen Zoll auszuweichen, d.h. den Import mit örtlicher Ware abzulösen.⁵¹

Die verfügbaren Daten zur Zugehörigkeit Rätiens hinsichtlich des Zollbezirks sind demnach widersprüchlich: Einzelne Elemente des Keramikspektrums stimmen mit denen der Donauprovinzen überein (z. B. italische Sigillaten aus der tiberisch-claudischen

⁴⁹ Künzl 1997, 18; Harsányi 2013.

⁵⁰ Kellner 1980, 175–181; die anderen rätischen Werkstätten sind Straubing, Günzburg, Aislingen, Schwabmünchen und Regensburg. Zu dieser Frage s. Edel 1981, 103–186; Fischer 1990, 56.

⁵¹ Die Werkstätten der ‚rätischen‘ Keramik in Pannonien sind: Poetovio: Curk *et al.* 1984, 61; Savaria: Szönyi 1973, 99; Varga 2009, 209–260; Vindobona: Gabler 1977, 124; Aquincum: Kuzsinszky 1932, 273; Varga 2016, 679.

Zeit, die Sarius-Tasse, die norditalische glasierte Keramik, die Öllampen, die älteste rätische Keramik), zugleich weisen andere Typen auf Unterschiede zu den Donauprovinzen hin (die späteren italischen Sigillaten, dünnwandige Keramik, Amphoren, Westerdorf-Pfaffenhofener Sigillaten, Trierer Ware usw.). Der sich aus diesem doppelten Befund ergebende Widerspruch kann aber vielleicht aufgelöst werden, wenn man einen Zusammenhang mit der Reorganisation des Zollbezirks annimmt. Die Übereinstimmungen könnten in eine Phase, als Rätien mit den Donauprovinzen einen gemeinsamen Zollbezirk bildete, während hingegen die Unterschiede im Warenspektrum die Existenz einer Zollgrenze zwischen Rätien und Noricum anzeigen können. In jedem Fall ist es überaus wahrscheinlich, dass der Zollbezirk eine wirtschaftliche Einheit bildete, die bei der Untersuchung der Verbreitung von interprovinzialen Fundtypen nicht außer Acht gelassen werden sollte.

Die Frage der Zölle im Spiegel der archäologischen Quellen

Die Frage der Existenz von Zöllen und Zollbezirken⁵² und ihrer Bedeutung für den Warenverkehr im Römischen Reich wurden in der früheren Forschung kaum mithilfe von archäologischen Quellen untersucht, obwohl das im Fall der westlichen Provinzen auch dadurch gerechtfertigt gewesen wäre, dass in den schriftlichen Quellen⁵³ Hinweise auf diese Provinzen nur selten vorkommen. Die epigraphischen Denkmäler beweisen lediglich das Bestehen von Zollstationen und können unsere Kenntnisse bezüglich ihrer Position und Organisation modifizieren. Auch die Angaben, die sich aus der Veröffentlichung der „writing tablets“ von Vindolanda ergeben haben,⁵⁴ beleuchten diese Thematik nur indirekt.

Anders sieht die Lage in den östlichen Provinzen aus, in denen unsere Kenntnisse hinsichtlich der Zollregeln, Privilegien oder auch der Zollfreiheit und ihrer Wirkung auf den Handel durch die Zollinschrift von Myra oder aber durch das sich auf die Provinz Asia beziehende Zollgesetz (*Monumentum Ephesenum*)⁵⁵ wesentlich bereichert wurden. Nach der Auswertung dieser Informationen schlossen die Forschung darauf, dass der römische Staat überwiegend die von den Territorien außerhalb des Reiches importierten Waren mit den Zöllen belegte, und unter anderem aus diesem Grund sei auch der von den Ptolemäern eingeführte hohe, 25-prozentige Zoll aufrechterhalten worden.⁵⁶ Nach den übereinstimmenden Angaben von Plinius (*Nat. Hist.* VI.101) und Strabon (IV.5.3) scheint Importware im Römischen Reich tatsächlich sehr teuer gewesen sein. Zugleich wurde betont, dass die Zollverwaltung durch den Staat — wenn er dies schon organisiert — eben im Interesse der Förderung des „Binnenhandels“ und der

⁵² Günther 2008, 14–21.

⁵³ de Laet 1949; Vittinghoff 1953, 346–399.

⁵⁴ Bowman / Thomas 1994.

⁵⁵ Engelmann / Knibbe 1989; Salomies 1991, 184–186; Heil 1991, 15; Nicolet 1993, 929–959.

⁵⁶ Harrauer / Sijpesteijn 1985, 124–155.

Belebung des Verkehrs der inneren Märkte geregelt wurde,⁵⁷ und um dies zu unterstützen, habe der Staat manchmal auf einen Teil der aus den Zöllen stammenden Einnahmen verzichtet⁵⁸ oder diese in anderer Form einkassiert.⁵⁹

Dementsprechend betonte H.-J. Drexhage die Flexibilität der römischen Regierung, die durch die Zollbegünstigungen dem inneren Warenverkehr einen Impuls geben wollte, um dadurch Handelshemmnissen vorzubeugen.⁶⁰ Eben darum seien die Zollvorschriften bei Änderungen des Wirtschaftslebens recht flexibel gewesen, und auf die Herausforderungen des Marktes sei durch die Festsetzung günstiger Tarife, Privilegien oder Befreiungen reagiert worden. Zugleich war das bürokratische Verfahren nach den Angaben der Papyri viel komplizierter. Die schriftlichen Dokumente decken ein viel breiteres Spektrum ab, als bis dahin gedacht.⁶¹

Zugleich bezweifelt Drexhage, dass die Binnenzölle einen wesentlichen Einfluss auf den Warenverkehr ausgeübt hätten.⁶² Die obigen Betrachtungen — also die Muster der Verbreitung der italischen Sigillaten in der augusteischen Zeit, die bedeutenden Unterschiede des Keramikspektrums zwischen den westlichen und den Donauprovinzen, die Verbreitung diverser Warensorten nur bis die Zollgrenzen — beweisen aber genau das Gegenteil, nämlich zum einen, dass anhand der archäologischen Quellen räumliche Verteilungsmuster klar zu erkennen sind, und zum anderen, dass die Zölle eine nicht zu unterschätzende, dem Stapelrecht ähnliche Wirkung auf den Warenverkehr ausgeübt haben dürften. Damit wollen wir nicht sagen, dass die Zölle im Grunde genommen den Handel behinderten und den Teilnehmern des römischen Binnenmarktes nur Lasten aufbürdeten, sondern vielmehr ihre regulierende, die Verteilung erleichternde Rolle hervorheben. Im 2. Jahrhundert dürften sie den reibungslosen Nachschub für zwei große Heeresgruppen, nämlich der rheinischen und der donauländischen, unterstützt und Schwierigkeiten bei der Belieferung der Truppen aus denselben Produktionsstätten vorgebeugt haben. Die Argumentation Drexhages lässt die aufgezählten Argumente außer Acht, und die Verbreitung der Westerndorfer Ware versucht er spekulativ mit anderen Gründen zu erklären.⁶³ Obwohl seine Argumentation auch in diesem Fall nicht überzeugend ist — selbst wenn man seine Argumentation zu Westerndorf akzeptierte, würden die Unterschiede in der Verteilung der italischen Sigillaten, der dünnwandigen Keramik, der rätischen Ware, der Öllampen und anderer Importwaren ohne Erklärung bleiben. Diese Muster lassen sich kaum dem Zufall zuschreiben. Der römische Handel war also auch von Binnenzöllen geprägt.

Nicht nur regulierte das Zollsysteem demnach den Handel, sondern er bestimmte auch seine Richtung und Intensität. Die Absicht war, den Warenverkehr zu lenken und

⁵⁷ Drexhage 1994, 2.

⁵⁸ Drexhage 1994, 7.

⁵⁹ Schäfer 1991, 193–198.

⁶⁰ Drexhage 1994, 7.

⁶¹ Freis 1984, Nr. 85.

⁶² Drexhage 1994, 12–13; Herz 1988, 20; von Freyberg 1988, 60.

⁶³ Drexhage 1994, 13.

dadurch den Handel in einer Weise zu fördern, die den Interessen des Reiches, und hierbei besonders den Erfordernissen des militärischen Nachschubs, entsprach. Ausnahmen gab es natürlich in allen Regelungen, sie sind auch im Monumentum Ephesenum zu erkennen. Der Warenverkehr und die Zusammensetzung der Transporte beweisen die Bedeutung der Zollbezirke. Die Reihe der aufgezählten Argumente könnte noch um die Unterscheidung der Absatzgebiete der nordafrikanischen Terra Sigillata Chiara oder der sog. Argonnenware erweitert werden.⁶⁴ Auf der Basis der Ergebnisse S. von Schnurbeins und der eigenen früheren Beobachtungen will der Verfasser dieser Zeilen die Zollbezirke in einer künftigen zusammenfassenden Arbeit⁶⁵ — vielleicht nicht ganz ohne bewusste Übertreibung — als voneinander unabhängige Wirtschaftseinheiten einstufen.

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⁶⁴ Petrikovits 1983, 31, 37–38. Zur nordafrikanischen Keramik s. noch Ladstätter 2000, 110.

⁶⁵ Jacobsen 1995.

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EVA KATARINA GLAZER

Society and Economy in the Croatian Danube Region at the End of the Iron Age

Introduction

In the mid-8th century BC new cultural influences coming from the East, which originated in the area of the steppes around Pontus, were evident in the region between the rivers Drava, Danube, and Sava. During the same period this region established contacts with the Balkans in the south and the south-eastern Alpine region in the west. Alongside new cultural orientations iron metallurgy was introduced, which brought about cultural and technological changes, thus marking the end of the Bronze Age.¹

The end of the 5th and the first half of the 4th century BC point to new and more complex relations in the course of the transformation of the region between the rivers Drava, Danube, and Sava from the late Hallstatt into the early La Tène culture.²

The Celts settled the area of the central Danubian basin in the second half of the 4th century BC mixing with the autochthonic Pannonian ethnic elements they found there.³ This conglomerate on the south-eastern border of the Celtic world gave birth to the Scordisci, who created a unique material culture that distinguished them from all known Celtic communities throughout Europe.

Their appearance also designated the start of the Late Iron Age period, characterized by new dominant material heritage, the La Tène culture, which represented a noteworthy advancement in civilization, since new technological achievements that would significantly improve the quality of everyday life were implemented together with new forms of weaponry, tools and jewellery.⁴

In the second half of the 2nd century BC, in the late phase of the middle La Tène period, changes took place in the organization of life and production, whose roots lay in the newly created economic structure and development.⁵

The Scordisci reached the peak of their development at the end of the 2nd century and in the 1st century BC, when they built a number of fortified settlements that evolved

¹ Cf. Majnarić-Pandžić 1998, 221.

² La Tène culture was formed in central and western Europe in the mid-5th century BC, following the period of great economic prosperity and acceptance of influences coming from the Mediterranean world. cf. Majnarić-Pandžić 1998, 327–329, Dizdar 2012, 117–118.

³ Cf. Majnarić-Pandžić 1998, 329.

⁴ Cf. Dizdar 2012, 117.

⁵ Dizdar 2001, 3.

into centres of administration, trade and craft. This prosperous culture was brought to an end by the Roman conquest at the end of the 1st century BC.

Our understanding of Late Iron Age comes from Greek and Roman sources, but only the results of archaeological excavations, together with new studies of known material kept in museum collections can provide detailed knowledge of the socio-political situation of the Croatian Danube region. That is why the goal of this paper is to present the problems concerning the current state of research, with an emphasis on models as well as goals for improving the future research concerning the society of the late Iron Age. Economic activities will be observed in the context of material finds from burial sites, settlements and others that can provide evidence of trade as the best example of economic activity.

Current state of research

Many historical sources contain reports describing the region of distribution of the Scordisci, for example Justin "... *manus quaedam in confluenta Danuvii et Savi consedit Scordiscosque se appellari voluit*" (XXXII 3.8) and Livy "... *Per Scordiscos iter esse ad mare Adriaticum*" (XL 57.7) but not a single source offers information about the form and manner of constructing settlements, as well as everyday life that took place in them.

As a result within the context of the "society of settlements" and especially their economic activities it is important to focus on the results of archaeological excavations in the region. Unfortunately, the excavations of the Croatian Danube region sites have witnessed many obstacles in the past. This is not the place for a detailed survey of the research history of the region, however, a brief overview of the research is helpful in order to better understand the current situation and its problems.

The interest for history in general and preservation of cultural and historical heritage developed during 19th century with individuals dedicated to collecting materials and the formation of the first museum collections.⁶ Viktor Hoffiller conducted research 1909–1911 at Dalj but unfortunately no burial units were preserved.⁷

By the Second World War no sites were investigated and only a few individual materials without proper contexts found their way into museums. During the war, German researcher Robert Rudolf Schmidt investigated the site Gradac near Sarvaš.⁸

Systematic excavations started after the Second World War with the study of Lijevo Bara in Vukovar during 1951. During those years there were rescue investigations of Paljevine near Donja Brebrina and a large necropolis was found at the Osijek brickyard.⁹ In the 50s there was a discovery of a La Tène settlement at Ervenica in Vinkovci followed by discoveries of other localities in Vinkovci and the surrounding area some

⁶ Most of the Celtic settlements were discovered and some were investigated in the time of the professor Josip Brunšmid, see Brunšmid 1902.

⁷ Hoffiller 1938.

⁸ Schmidt 1945.

⁹ Majnarić-Pandžić 1970, 9–14.

of which are still under systematic investigation.¹⁰ Batina, Vučedol, and Beli Manastir are just some of the sites that were researched during the 70s which provided remains of Late Iron Age culture. Those results lead to a first systematic overview of Celtic La Tène culture completed by Nives Majnarić Pandžić (one of the pioneer women archaeologists in Croatia and still one of the most important researchers of La Tène culture in the region).¹¹

One of the serious problems concerning the La Tène culture sites in Croatia is the lack of systematic research during the 80s and 90s. There were excavations but no large scale excavations. All of the material that was found during those excavations was collected and catalogued but only a small part of it was published. Although all of those small excavations referred to future research with notes and guidelines for future excavations most of the projects were not adequately financed and didn't continue. That is why some of the material never got published and why some of the material ended up in boxes in the museum depots waiting for further research. At an already poor situation during the 90s Croatia witnessed the war of independence and all of the archaeological research of the Danube region was put on hold.

Currently the situation is changing for the better with new generations of archaeologists who have carried out numerous excavations. The remaining problem is that the research done in the last 20 years has only been on a small scale or rescue excavations. Despite obstacles that have been a constant during the history of research of Late Iron Age in the Croatian Danube region there are many settlements, ritual, and burial sites that have provided sufficient information on the La Tène culture in the region as will be demonstrated through the following examples.

Evidence of economic activities — burials

Our knowledge of society and economy of the Late Iron Age must be focused on the late La Tène period burials because they offer the best insight into the social structure and economic relations of the ethnic communities of the area.¹²

The most prominent position belonged to the warrior elite with a prominent role of warrior-cavalryman. Their burials are recognisable by weaponry, horse gear or wagon elements, items of dress accessories, and rich offerings consisting of ceramic and bronze vessels. The importance of the cavalry aristocracy is further suggested by objects sacrificed to the war gods, most probably during initiation rituals or as a pledge for a success in battle.

One example comes from the recently discovered Scordiscan sanctuary in Osijek city on the river Drava. In Osijek a late Iron Age necropolis was discovered in 1952 and continuous excavations under Osijek museum have yielded important material.¹³

¹⁰ Dizdar 2001.

¹¹ Majnarić-Pandžić 1970.

¹² Dizdar 2012, 120.

¹³ Spajić 1954, 7–18; Spajić 1956, 47–53; Spajić 1962, 37–55.

That material was used for establishing the chronology as an important basis for typology.¹⁴ During autumn 2008 and spring/summer 2009, Slavica Filipović carried out archaeological salvage excavations at the site of the Education Faculty located in the north east part of the university campus, which is on the site of the former Drava Barracks in Osijek.¹⁵ The most important discovery was in the south east part of the excavations where the remains of an oval pit were found with finds of weaponry and human and animal bones. The remains of a ditch were picked out, containing fills with numerous finds of parts of weapons and riding equipment of the La Tène culture, while in somewhat smaller numbers there are parts of clothing, fragments of bronze vessels, parts of wheels, coins and fragments of ceramic vessels.¹⁶ This burial site provides important evidence for La Tène presence in Osijek but the characteristic of the material is more important and points out the need for further research. The finds of weapons, equestrian gear, and parts of wheels could not have belonged to the ordinary part of the Scordisci settlement. This part of the settlement obviously had a special function. Very probably, these finds can be ascribed to the remains of a religious place or some other cult site the central part of which was in the immediate vicinity of the excavated surface, most likely on the eastern side.¹⁷ Based on the finds, the explored part of the settlement can be dated to the period of the middle and late La Tène, that is, to the 2nd and 1st centuries BC.¹⁸

The weaponry found in La Tène warrior graves consisted of long iron swords carried in iron sheet scabbards and iron spears of various forms. In the second half of the 2nd century and the early 1st century BC the basic weapon used by warriors was a two-edged sword with a uniformly wide blade, sometimes more than 1 m long.¹⁹ The blade ended in a curved tip indicating that these swords were used in combat only for slashing.²⁰ So far, the only site in Croatia to yield this type of sword is Mali Bilač. Two iron swords in thin iron sheet scabbards found in Mali Bilač indicate the existence of the late La Tène cemetery in the area.²¹ The fact that they were banded suggests that they were part of the inventory of the cremation burials of Celtic warriors.²² The typology

¹⁴ Todorović 1968; Majnarić-Pandžić 1970.

¹⁵ Filipović 2010, 37.

¹⁶ Filipović 2010, 38–39.

¹⁷ Filipović 2010, 39.

¹⁸ Filipović 2010, 40.

¹⁹ Dizdar 2012, 121.

²⁰ Dizdar 2009.

²¹ The swords are 94 and 96 centimetres long, while the sheaths are 5 centimetres wide in the upper part. A central rib runs along the blade of regular width over the entire length. Their points are rounded or semi-circular while the thorn shaped handles end in small plates. The swords are in a thin iron sheet scabbards with a central rib and rounded shape. The scabbards are decorated with a double horizontal reclining S-shaped clasp, and there is also an attachment loop on the back side. Cf. Dizdar / Potrebica 2002, 113–114.

²² There is information that an umbo as well as several spears and other finds were found together with the swords, but unfortunately they are lost, cf. Dizdar / Potrebica 2002, 116.

of the swords suggests the dating of the burials into the early phase of the Late La Tène period, i.e. the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 1st century BC.²³

Although it is impossible to discuss about trade or other cultural exchange at this point of research it is possible to establish some analogies with the finds from the contemporary warrior graves of the Padea-Panagjurski kolonii group which is associated with warrior elite in the territory of south-eastern Pannonia and the neighbouring areas along the lower course of the Danube.²⁴

The most numerous finds in warrior graves are spears of various forms.²⁵ For example several spears were found in the Late La Tène graves in Sotin.²⁶ In the Sotin graves there was also a discovery of a long iron knife with a slightly curved blade, which is similar to knives of the *sica* type that are often found in the Dacian territory.²⁷

The Late La Tène warrior elite advertised their status by owning prestigious goods, most often imported bronze vessels from north-Italian workshops. These imports anticipated the starting point of the conquest that would take place a century later, but also determined the social category of south-Pannonian ethnic communities that would take an active part in these events. Bronze vessels, as part of symposium sets, were found in graves of Scordisci together with ceramic vessels of local origin.²⁸ A good example for the ceramic vessels of local origin is a Late La Tène kantharos discovered in Vinkovci that was most probably used for preparing and consuming wine during feasts.²⁹

There are several examples of bronze items found in burials that are indicative of a possession of prestigious goods as a fulfilment of social needs in terms of displaying one's status and position within the community. For example, the vessels found in the graves from Sotin³⁰ as well as a fragment of the vessel found in Vinkovci,³¹ Mali Bilač³² and probably also in Dalj.³³ Those bronze vessels could have reached the local elite as items of trade but also as gifts to prominent members of the community in order to establish political and economic relations and the control of important communication used in trade and in exchange of goods. The most frequent forms are buckets, pans,

²³ The swords from Mali Bilač indicate the need for test excavations that would establish time span and spatial distribution of the cemetery, as well as the elements of the burial rite. Cf. Dizdar / Potrebica 2002, 123.

²⁴ Rustoiu 2002, 15.

²⁵ The spears can be differentiated, for example the exceptional type of spear was the one with a pronounced central rib and short sockets sometimes more than 50 cm long which was used for close combat, and the type of the short-leafed spears that were probably used as throwing-spears or projectiles. Cf. Dizdar 2012, 121.

²⁶ Majnarić-Pandžić 1973, 58, 67.

²⁷ For the representation of the knife see Majnarić-Pandžić 1973, pl. IV. 2. More about the *sica* type knives and their symbolic signification see: Rustoiu 2002, 57–61.

²⁸ Dizdar 2012, 122.

²⁹ Dizdar 2001.

³⁰ Majnarić-Pandžić 1973, 56.

³¹ Dizdar / Radman-Livaja 2004, 39.

³² Potrebica / Dizdar 2003.

³³ Majnarić Pandžić 1970.

ladles, and sieves, while other forms appear less frequently.³⁴ The most frequent type of bronze vessels are buckets featuring two semi-circular fittings on the neck supporting the handle attachments with the handle ends inserted through their openings. A good example of this type of bucket was found in grave I in Sotin.³⁵ Such buckets are a good testimony for economic activities because they were distributed widely from Spain to France and Poland.³⁶ Those buckets are dated to the late 2nd and first half of the 1st centuries BC.³⁷

Presented finds from the graves of the prominent warriors of the Late La Tène point to a social system with circulation of goods as developed economic activity. It is presumed that most of the bronze vessels were products of north-Italian workshops, while some types could have been produced in local south-Pannonian workshops.³⁸

Evidence of economic activities — trade routes

Trade routes leading from Aquileia to Nauportus, where the goods were loaded onto ships and transported by the Ljubljanica and Sava Rivers to Segestica and then further down to the Danube region, is the best explanation how the aforementioned bronze vessels reached the Scordiscan territory. This communication route was well described by ancient authors, for example Strabo³⁹ or Pliny.⁴⁰

It is presumed that trade was dominated by rich Aquileian families and was certainly very profitable.⁴¹ The best evidence for economic activities comes from the coin finds. For example, coin finds of the Greek cities of Apollonia and Dyrrachium were found in hoards at Dalj and Vukovar and must have reached the Danube region at the beginning of the 1st century BC.⁴² Further evidence for this natural communication route between northern Italy and the south-eastern Alpine region with the Danube basin is substantiated by the finds of Republican coinage.⁴³

Coin finds are also very important because they testify not only to the long distance trade networks but also to the existence of a regional trade network. We can trace the finds of the eastern Norican coin type (type Đurđevac), associated with the Taurisci, on

³⁴ Dizdar 2012, 123.

³⁵ Majnarić-Pandžić 1973, 56.

³⁶ Bolla *et al.* 1991, 11–13.

³⁷ Bolla *et al.* 1991, 11–13.

³⁸ See: Majnarić-Pandžić 1973; Dizdar 2012, 123.

³⁹ Strab. IV 6.10.

⁴⁰ Pliny describes the same route in the context of the legend of the Argonauts, cf. Plin. NH 3.148, according to Alka Domić Kunić the legend probably reflects the contacts in earlier periods that were taking place along the same communication route, cf. Domić Kunić 2004.

⁴¹ Velleius Paterculus probably refers to their presence in southern Pannonia when he, referring to a somewhat later period, mentions the merchants as victims at the start of the Pannonian-Dalmatian rebellion, cf. Vell. Pat. II 110.4–5.

⁴² Mirnik 1981; Popović 1987.

⁴³ Dizdar 2012, 123.

the sites of the Scordisci, while the coinage of the Scordisci is found as far west as Donja Dolina in the mid-Sava region.⁴⁴

In addition to prestigious objects intended for the elite, the existence of exchange and trade between northern Italy, the south-eastern Alpine region and Central Europe on the one side, and southern Pannonia on the other, is documented by items of dress accessories and jewellery, that is, the objects owned by a wide array of social classes. A good example from the late 2nd and early 1st centuries BC is provided by the Vinkovci type of fibula with triangle- or leaf-shaped bow and unperforated rectangular or trapezoidal foot, appearing on the sites of the Scordisci as a substitute for brooches of the Nauheim II type.⁴⁵ Since these brooches were especially numerous on eastern-Slavonian sites, it is supposed that they were produced in workshops situated in fortified settlements that were also craft and trade centres and at the same time the source of the spread of the La Tène Culture. This is further supported by a number of variants of the type of brooches in question, some of which were distributed locally.⁴⁶

The society at the end of the Iron Age — settlement testimonies

Our knowledge of Early and Middle La Tène settlements is very scarce, contrary to numerous finds from contemporary graves.⁴⁷ Evidence provided by research indicates the existence of smaller-scale lowland settlements based on different economies.⁴⁸ In the Late La Tène due to enlarged war danger, the Scordisci built fortified settlements surrounded by earthen bulwarks.

Their fortified settlements became political, military, religious and economic centres of their respective areas, that is, smaller territorial districts. They were placed on important communication routes, on natural elevations, often on tel-type settlements formed during earlier prehistoric periods. Important settlements at Dalj, Vukovar, Sotin, and Ilok were placed along the Danube, further at Osijek and Sarvaš along the Drava, and finally at Donja Bebrina on the Sava.

The largest number of so far documented fortified settlements was located along the river Bosut and its tributaries in the area of Vinkovci.⁴⁹

The characteristic of these fortified settlements was the existence of a fortification system consisting of an earthen rampart and a wide ditch. There were workshops in these settlements, producing various goods to satisfy local demands, but also for trade and exchange with the neighbouring communities. The lowland-type settlements and farms, most probably relying on agriculture as a primary production activity, gravitated

⁴⁴ Popović 1987, 50.

⁴⁵ Dizdar 2012, 124.

⁴⁶ Dizdar 2003.

⁴⁷ The largest number of finds comes from Early and Middle La Tène graves of the Scordisci from Syrmia and eastern Slovenia, cf. Majnarić-Pandžić 1970.

⁴⁸ A good example is provided by Marko Dizdar's research of a Middle La Tène settlement at Ervenica in Vinkovci, see Dizdar 2001.

⁴⁹ Majnarić-Pandžić 1984; Dizdar 2001.

towards fortified settlements, although smaller workshops for the production of certain goods, especially ceramic vessels, presumably existed in them.

The fortified settlements of the Scordisci in the central Danubian region differ from the contemporaneous fortified settlements in central Europe in their lack of stone fortifications constructed in a special building technique because of which they cannot be termed *oppida*.⁵⁰ They utilized the pre-existing fortifications which they renovated in a traditional technique which consisted of an earthen rampart with a wooden superstructure at the top and a wide external ditch. A characteristic trait of those settlements is the firing of the top of the rampart in several layers to ensure strength and durability.⁵¹

Although the excavation of fortified settlements carried out to the present is insufficient for the creation of a more complex image of the developmental phases, Marko Dizdar suggested the existence of two chronologically different dwelling horizons of the fortified settlements on the basis of the typological-statistical analysis of the pottery finds.⁵²

The end of life at the fortified settlements of the Scordisci is tied to the even stronger Roman military presence in the central Danubian basin in the last third of the 1st century BC. The Scordisci had come into contact earlier through trade with goods of Roman provenience as is shown by the finds of bronze vessels of northern Italic origin in warrior graves. The destruction of the fortifications and the termination of dwelling horizons through major fires are considered to be the result of Roman military campaigns undertaken by Tiberius in 12–9 BC so as to extend the Roman state to the Danube. As finds were not discovered that would indicate their continued inhabitation it is considered that the settlements were abandoned while the inhabitants moved to the newly established Roman provincial centres.⁵³

Conclusion

The material record from the Iron Age shows a world of constantly changing communities in what was to become Roman southern Pannonia. The Early Iron Age cultural groups experienced significant changes of their cultural identities in the middle and late Iron Age. The change of culture does not appear only in the material record, but also in the change of burial customs and the ways elites chose to define themselves, developing stronger emphasis on warrior attributes. La Tène influences impacted various sub regions in different ways.

The region between Sava, Drava, and Danube show strong and peculiar ways of implementing new culture to local communities. Due to the complex ethnical system we must conclude that social relations of Scordisci had to have different characteristics

⁵⁰ Majnarić-Pandžić 1984, 23.

⁵¹ Majnarić-Pandžić 1984, 24–25.

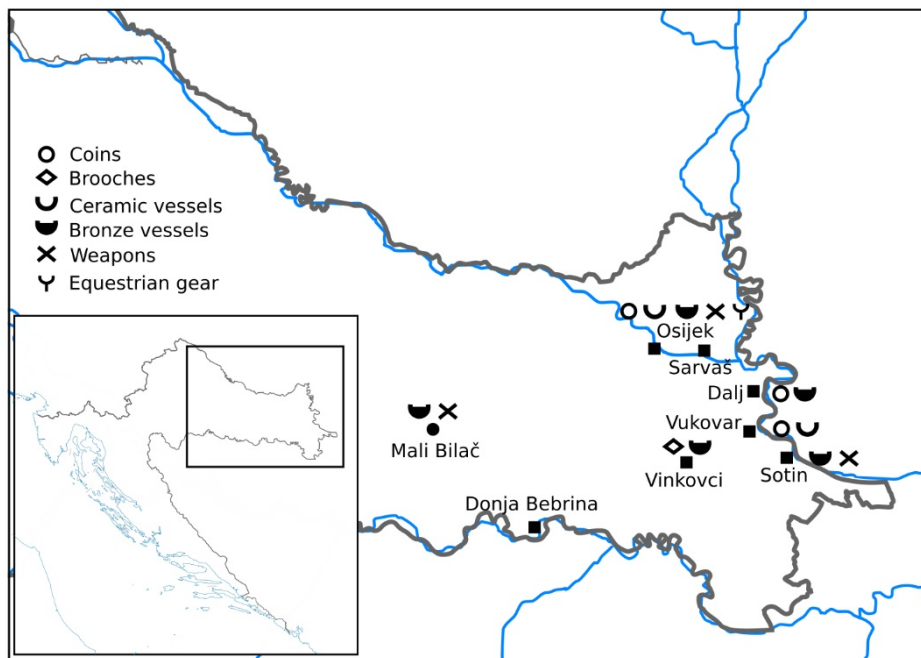
⁵² Dizdar 2001.

⁵³ The confirmation for such a course of events can be found in the considerable presence of pottery with La Tène-like characteristics. More on the process of romanization as evidenced in the burials see Glazer 2015.

from other Celts. Although the material culture of Scordisci has provincial characteristics compared to the culture of Celts in Central and Western Europe they played an important and strong economic force during the Late Iron Age. The strongest economic power of the Scordisci was the production of metal and ceramic products most of which were assigned to trade, which led to the money forging, the most important characteristic of their culture. Bronze vessels from other regions could have reached the local elite as items of trade but also as gifts to prominent members of the community in order to establish political and economic relations and the control of important communications used in trade and the exchange of goods.

Despite considerable efforts of certain noted individuals and the results of their research there is still a lack of systematic archaeological research in this area. It is encouraging to note the increase of rescue and test excavations being performed across the Croatian Danube region.

There is a better inter-institutional cooperation and more unpublished material from the museum depots is being re-evaluated. It is to be expected that the future research will provide a better understanding of the economy in the Croatian Danube region at the end of the Late Iron Age.



Map of the region (drawn by E. K. Glazer).

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LILY GROZDANOVA

The Coinage of Pautalia — Some Key Aspects

The Roman provincial coins were initially intended and created as means of payment. There is a complicated structure behind the civic issues combining the authorization of the emperor and his central administration, the control over the process by the provincial governor and the actual issuing, realized by the local city elites¹. This multileveled construct turns the originally economic element into an effective medium, serving both the interests of the central government and the local civic communities². This presents a specific research angle on the problem areas of the economy and society in the Roman Empire.

Through the coinage of Pautalia it is possible to examine questions concerning the provincial life in the Balkan territories of the Empire³. Though not directly situated in a province bordering the Danube, the characteristics of the city and the territory under its control, their location and itinerary connections make them a suitable research object within the thematic frame of the “3rd International Conference on the Roman Danubian Provinces. Society and Economy”. The more precise look upon the numismatic materials of the polis inevitably reveals aspects and processes potentially valid and applicable to the entire Thracian lower-Danubian region.

The ancient city and its historical development have been researched in a number of works⁴. Therefore, I would like to highlight just a few aspects concerning the economic life of Pautalia.

¹ The lack of explanatory sources about the structure and functioning of the provincial coinage authorization system makes its reconstruction an important but also very difficult task. See on the subject Ripolles *et al.* 1992, 1–54; Heuchert 2005, 29–56; Weiss 2005, 57–68.

² Howgego 2005, 1–17; Elkins 2009, 25–46; Manders 2012, 29–37; Horster 2013, 243–262 present some important observations on the functioning of the coins as medium of ideas.

³ Although it is a subject of diverse and intense research (see Eck 1999; Burton 2004, 311–342) the provincial system of the Empire and its administration continues to pose unsolved issues. This lack of deep and detailed understanding of every aspect of the provincial structure becomes even more tangible when researching particular regions or provinces, as in the current case, Thrace.

⁴ In his foundational work on the coinage of Pautalia Leon Ruzicka (1933) developed a classification for the denominations of the city. The author also provides the basic analysis and typology of the issues, a matter further developed in the dissertation of Valentina Grigorova (1995). She expanded the coin typology by processing and publishing new materials and presented an analysis of the city's economy. There are also numerous articles addressing particular questions of the city and the province development based on its coin issues for example:

Pautalia (present-day Kyustendil, SW Bulgaria) and the *territorium Pautaliense* directly neighboured not one but two provinces, Macedonia and Moesia Superior. Through several routes the city was connected to important towns within Thrace, directly to the provinces of Lower Moesia, Upper Moesia and Macedonia, and with the main roads in the region — Via Diagonalis and Via Egnatia⁵. The provincial mint was active from the time of the emperor Antoninus Pius (AD 138–161) till that of emperor Caracalla (AD 198–218)⁶.

Interpreting the numismatic data, gathered through the analysis both of the coin hoards and the single finds, the scholars tend to stress a few observations. The coinage issued by the mint of Pautalia seems to have circulated in the entire region under its control and dominated over the coins from other city mints. In contrast, the regional distribution of other archaeological materials, as for example the pottery finds and the small bronze objects produced in the city's workshops, seems to be limited to the city territory and its immediate surroundings⁷. As a result researchers consider Pautalia to have been the administrative and financial centre of the region⁸. The Pautalian

Прокопов 1983; Димитров 1985; Grigorova 1993; Ботева 1997, 143–152, 277–278; Филипова / Мешков 2002; Филипова 2002; Филипова / Тонев 2003; Varbanov 2005, 374–458; Филипова 2006; Woytek 2015; Woytek 2015a; Peter / Grozdanova 2021; Grigorova-Gencheva / Grozdanova 2017. Nevertheless, the die study of the city coinage is still lacking. This research would have the potential of shedding new light on the history of the town and even the region. The goal of our project currently in development B4-2 “Region and memoria: Local history and local myths on Thracian provincial coins” supported by the Excellence Cluster Topoi, Berlin and led by Ulrike Peter, is focused exactly on the publication of die studies for Pautalia and Philippopolis. Furthermore, the research is based on the implementation of new digital resources such as the CNT online portal <http://www.corpus-nummorum.eu/index.php>, developed by the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities, The Coin Cabinet of Berlin in collaboration with a hopefully constantly growing list of partners, combining the materials from different collections around the world.

⁵ Concerning the itinerary system of the region of Pautalia see Grigorova 1995, 42–44; Тачева 2004, 89–106; Кацарова 2005, 212–219; Katsarova 2012, 263–254.

⁶ Мушмов 1912 suggests that the mint issues include those for Elagabal (no. 4359–4367) and Gordianus III (no. 4368). Varbanov 2005, 457–458 also agrees with the identification of some specimens as minted for Elagabal. Nevertheless, the overall opinion of the majority of the researchers of the Pautalia coinage is that there is no material to convincingly attest to the activity of the mint after the rule of Caracalla (see Ruzicka 1933, 14–15; Grigorova 1995, 39).

⁷ Кацарова 2005, 224–236 provides an extensive and intriguing analysis on the pottery and bronze materials and their distribution in the region under the control of Pautalia. After comparing the data for them with that of the coinage, the author concludes that the centre of the administration and taxation system of the settlements in *territorium Pautaliense* was Pautalia, but the production workshops covering the daily needs of the population in the region were not all centralized in the main city.

⁸ Димитров 1985, 14 stresses that the coinage of Pautalia does not just freely circulate in the region under its control but also the coins have been used long after the city ceased issuing. In support of his thesis the author enlists for instance the coin hoard of village Lilyach, in the region of Kjustendil, dated to the end of the 3rd century AD which contains inclusively coins of Pautalia. It must be noted that the interpretation of such collective finds should be exercised with caution as often not just the reasoning behind the hoarding remains unclear, but also the

specimens are very well attested in multiple coin hoards not just from the province of Thrace but also from Lower Moesia. Furthermore, in the finds from the territory under Pautalia's control cities from provinces as Thrace, Lower Moesia, Upper Moesia, Macedonia and Bithynia are represented on the coins⁹. Without overinterpreting the meaning of the numismatic materials they do seem to indicate the active role of Pautalia in the economic life of the Thracian provinces in the lower-Danubian region¹⁰.

When working with the numismatic materials from Pautalia and the other cities of Thrace and the neighbouring provinces, the attention is often drawn to the similarities in the design and the workmanship of dies issued by the different towns¹¹. The data seems to indicate a common supply area, "Lieferbezirk" as postulated by Konrad Kraft¹² and further developed for the region of Thrace by Edith Schönert-Geiss¹³ and Hans-Dietrich Schultz¹⁴. It is important to stress that the observations of Kraft developed through the analysis of civic issues from Asia Minor are not directly applicable to the situation in the Thracian provinces. Still the idea of one workshop supplying several cities seems valid for the region of inner Thrace and towns such as Pautalia, Serdica, Philippopolis, Augusta Traiana, Hadrianopolis, Traianopolis, Plotinopolis, and Topeiros. The particular dimensions of this assumption, the exact principles for the workings of such a common workshop, its consequences on our reconstruction of the provincial monetary system, are just a few of the questions that need to be further explored.

Nevertheless, having in mind this theory while examining the coin hoards from the region of Thrace that include specimens of Pautalia one more intriguing aspect seems to be revealed. The coins of the cities potentially belonging to a common "Lieferbezirk" are very often recovered together. Of course mostly other cities are also represented in the finds. But it also appears that the hoards from the territory of a particular workshop contain mainly specimens of the cities it supplies. Hence, it is possible to suggest that the coin production of the workshops, though primarily intended for the needs of the internal urban market of the issuing city, obviously relatively easily circulated in the entire distribution area. Some of the coin hoards, where the specimens of Pautalia are the predominant material, were found at a distance of about or more

dating is debatable. On the subject of interpretation and dating of the coin hoards, especially in connection with the incursions of the Trans-Danubian tribes see Gerov 1977 and the attempt to re-evaluate the materials by Varbanov 2012.

⁹ On the issue of the economic connections of Pautalia based on the coin circulation, see Grigorova 1995, 58–80. More on the specifics of this activity of the city could potentially be revealed by the die analysis of the materials.

¹⁰ Димитров 1985 comments on the fact that most of the finds are situated near important itineraries which indicates the strong financial and merchant activity of the town.

¹¹ On the subject of particular resemblance between the materials of Philippopolis and Pautalia see Peter / Grozdanova 2021.

¹² Kraft 1972, 101.

¹³ Schönert-Geiss 1991, 16.

¹⁴ Schultz 1999.

than 200 km away from the city of interest¹⁵, a phenomenon that seems indicative of the circulation area of the coinage¹⁶.

The epigraphic and archaeological data attests to the development of different economic activities and practices in Pautalia and the territory under its administration¹⁷. Even more intriguing is that the city used its coinage to demonstrate and promote the natural resources of its territory. Good examples are specific coin types issued for emperor Caracalla (Fig. 1) and his mother Julia Domna. They represent the nymph of the Strymon region with four *genii*. The abundant natural resources — such as gold, silver, and the fertile soil — are attested by the text of the legend and by the depicted grape and grains. Further the presence in the design for the Empress of an additional element, a ship prow, is considered to be an indication for the navigability of the river Strymon in this period. There are also other motifs indicating the fecundity and the reaches of the region. The types with the river god Strymon (Fig. 2) are typical during the entire minting activity of the city.



Fig. 1. Coin of Emperor Caracalla (AD 198–217)
Rev. The nymph and the reaches of the Strymon
region. Pautalia,
CNT_3108, in: Corpus Nummorum Thracorum,
<https://www.corpus-nummorum.eu>



Fig. 2. Coin of Emperor Geta (AD 209–211)
Rev. The river god Strymon. Pautalia
CNT_7612, in: Corpus Nummorum Thracorum,
<http://www.corpus-nummorum.eu>

¹⁵ Intriguing examples are the coin hoard of Krepost from the region of Haskovo (Thrace) containing coins of — Pautalia (63), Serdica (61), Philippopolis (22) and in lesser quantity from Traianopolis (1), Augusta Traiana (13), Nicopolis ad Mestum (3), Deultum (2), Byzia (1), Nicopolis ad Istrum (1), Calchedon (1), Nicaea (1), Ancyra (1), Rome (1) — and the smaller find from Golyama Brestnitsa, region of Lovech (Lower Moesia) distributed as follows: Pautalia (10), Serdica (7), Philippopolis (4), Augusta Traiana (2), Anchialos (2), Nicopolis ad Mestum (1).

¹⁶ See Димитров 1985; Heuchert 2005, 31 no. 22; Klinger et al. 2016; Peter / Grozdanova 2021.

¹⁷ Grigorova 1995, 44–47 analyses the materials attesting to different types of production, crafts, stock-breeding, and agricultural activity in Pautalia and the area under its control.

They clearly indicate the importance of the river for the town and the possible existence of a cult in honour of this deity. The river god is often depicted holding corn ears, next to vines, and sometimes also with the *genius* harvesting gold from the water. Furthermore, types with grapes and baskets with fruits, also with deities such as Demeter and Homonoia, connected to the fertility and wellbeing also are very common issues. An interesting phenomenon present the types of one more deity connected to the economic activity of the city, namely Hermes. As a trade centre¹⁸ and part of the Roman Empire, and the province of Thrace¹⁹, such types in the coinage of Pautalia are no surprise. The more impressive aspect is the rich type variety for this particular deity. It includes designs like those with the young Hermes riding a ram and Hermes Discobolus that have almost no analogies from other cities except on the coinage of Philippopolis²⁰. The majority of the Hermes types were struck for the representatives of the Severan dynasty (Fig. 3).

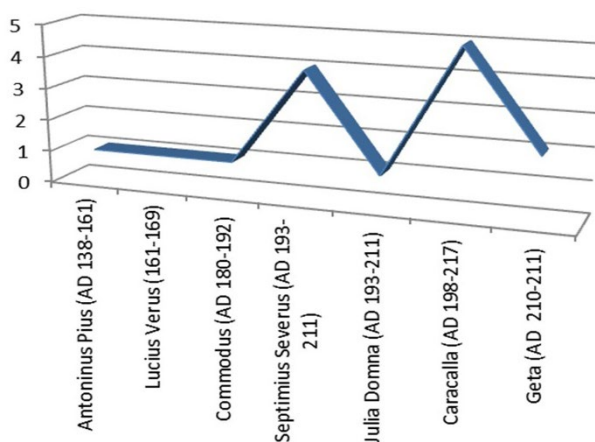


Fig. 3. Line chart of the Hermes types variety in the coinage of Pautalia.

A further intriguing aspect of the economic life of Pautalia can be found in the impressive diversity and quantity of the materials, especially the great coin motif variety, related to different aspects of the health cult in the city. The constant presence and prevalence of the health cult theme on the coins of Pautalia throughout the entire issuing period suggests that the cult was a part of the political manifesto of the city and furthermore probably strongly related and contributed to its economic life. Except

¹⁸ On the issue of the *emporion* in *territorium Pautaliense* see Grigorova 1995, 47–50; Кацарова 2005, 204–206.

¹⁹ Concerning the Hermes cult in Thrace see Oppermann 2010.

²⁰ See Peter / Grozdanova 2021.

honouring the main deity of the town Asclepius and the other health deities, the depictions were actually promoting one of the main resources of Pautalia, its thermal springs, and the balneological activity there. It is indicative that these types have become especially popular in the Severan period. Unconventional and locally specific designs, such as the one with Asclepius on a winged serpent (dragon), have been struck exactly for them. The presence of the members of the ruling family is well attested in Thrace²¹. According to some researchers Septimius Severus, his family, and associates visited the city and made use of the medical properties of the local thermal springs and the skills of the Pautalian healers²², also it is presumed that Caracalla²³ favoured the health cult. Hence, the intensification in the city minting and the representation of the balneology in Pautalia seems logically linked to their activities in the region.

To conclude: These were just some of the aspects concerning the economy of Pautalia, the territory under its control and how the city was involved in the economic relations in the region, that the analysis of the coinage is capable of revealing. At this point of the research it seems there are still more questions than answers. Yet, through the prism of the city coinage Pautalia appears to have developed dynamically during the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD. There is no interruption in the minting activity of the city in the period from Antoninus Pius (AD 138–161) to Caracalla (AD 195–217). An obvious peak in the issuing and the type diversity is clearly attested for under the Severan dynasty — a phenomenon characteristic for the provincial coinage as a whole. The change in the issuing intensity and the reverse typology during the Severan period, when the ruling family is believed to be in the region, testifies to the proactive, adequate, and aware political and economic attitude of the city. This indicates a certain degree of stability in the economic state of Pautalia which was able to produce coins so intensively. The quantity, quality and area of circulation of the issues appear to suggest that the polis had a key role in the economic and political system of the region. That is even more meaningful keeping in mind the border zone in which the town and the territory controlled by it were situated.

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²¹ Ботева 1997, 238–245; Grigorova 1995, 45; Ruzicka 1933, 11. Concerning the specific iconography see also Grozdanova 2018: 190, n. 2.

²² On the subject of the health cult in Pautalia, see Grigorova-Gencheva / Grozdanova 2021.

²³ Rowan 2012, 110–164 explores the issue for those attested in the sources of particular interest of Emperor Caracalla toward the healing deities and centres of medical activity.

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EMIL JĘCZMIENOWSKI

Upper Moesian Danube after the Roman Conquest of Dacia.
Transportation Routes for Minerals and Other Goods
as a Major Economic Reason
for Continued Military Presence*

Plate 36

In the period following the Roman annexation of Dacia, the Upper Moesian Danube, which previously served as the imperial frontier, became the internal border between Moesia superior and the newly annexed Dacia.¹ It would seem reasonable that the military would have abandoned their posts located along the Upper Moesian Danube, and in fact they did leave some of them, however, many continued to function during the period discussed in this paper (Pl. 36, Fig. 1). This lasted until around AD 270,² when Aurelian decided to abandon the province of Dacia.

When studying the Upper Moesian limes it is important to consider its diverse nature in both geographical and organizational terms. The section of the Danube under discussion is varied and is composed of the middle and lower sections of this river. Both parts flow through relatively flat areas, which are divided by the gorge of the Iron Gates, located between the present towns of Golubac and Drobeta-Turnu Severin. This ca. 130 km long section of the Danube has rapids and hard-to-reach banks. After crossing the gorge the river widens and its stream slows and enters the wide Wallachian Plain. The geographical division of the Upper Moesian Danube was reflected in its military organization. In general terms, before the conquest of Dacia the large (legionary camps) and medium (auxiliary forts) garrisons were located on the west and east, while in the Iron Gates only auxiliary forts, smaller fortlets and watch-towers were built. During the discussed period, however, many previously existing small posts were abandoned, while the larger and medium ones were still maintained to some extent,³ though their function was somewhat different than before.

Various aspects determined the continuity of these fortifications and their ability to function. The first aspect was associated with the strategic location of the province.

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¹ Mócsy 1974, 96.

² Jęczmienowski 2013, 32.

³ Jęczmienowski 2013, Tables: 1–5.

Troops garrisoned in the Upper Moesia, especially the legions *III Flavia* and *VII Claudia* from Singidunum and Viminacium, were a form of strategic reserve, which could be sent into other fronts if needed.⁴ Moreover, A. Mócsy has suggested that the section between Singidunum and Viminacium could still serve as the Roman-Barbarian border.⁵ The two other aspects were more directly connected with the economy. There was a willingness to preserve the control of transport and trade, both on the Danube and in the places where the river could be crossed, thus making the access to the interior possible,⁶ and to secure important mines lying in the interior of Upper Moesia.⁷

The transport network was crucial in order to make the internal and external trade possible. Apart from the road lying parallel to the Danube there were other important roads connecting the frontier area with the interior of the province (Pl. 36, Fig. 1). The main route connected with the western part of the frontier and ran along the Danube from Singidunum to Viminacium which was part of the very important road called *via diagonalis* or *via militaris*.⁸ It changed its direction in Viminacium where it turned south and headed to Horreum Margi. Further south it headed along the Morava river to Naissus, the most important city in the area, and then through Serdica, Philippopolis, and Adrianople directly to Byzantium.⁹ From Naissus another branch headed to the south and connected the city with the interior of the province and further with Macedonia.¹⁰ A. Mócsy also suggested the existence of the road running initially along the Danube from Singidunum to Aureus Mons¹¹ and then turning south to the interior through Horreum Margi;¹² the place where it merged with the *via diagonalis* and headed further south to Naissus.

The importance of the river section between Singidunum and Viminacium in west-east trade is signalled by the finds of tombstones of families that originally came from Aquileia.¹³ This link was important because it concerned the trade between Italy and Dacia as far as Dierna and Drobeta. In the second place two forts — Pontes and Drobeta — watched over the bridge of Apollodorus, which was an important connection between the Upper Moesia and Dacia.¹⁴ From Drobeta the principal route led to the legionary fortress at Apulum, the main settlement of Dacia, from which roads headed north to Napoca and further Porolissum,¹⁵ and west into the gold-mining region around

⁴ Gudea 2001, 44.

⁵ Mócsy 1974, 95–96.

⁶ Gudea 2001, 44

⁷ Mócsy 1974, 188.

⁸ Petrova 2012, 298.

⁹ ItAnt 132, 1–138, 5.

¹⁰ Danković 2015, 557.

¹¹ Aureus Mons was abandoned by the military after the conquest of Dacia (Gudea 2001, Tab. 2) and municipalized probably in the 3rd century (Mócsy 1974, 224).

¹² Mócsy 1974, Fig. 60.

¹³ Mócsy 1974, 130; CIL III 14505.

¹⁴ Ładomirski 1978, 59.

¹⁵ The road is depicted on *Tabula Peutingeriana*: Talbert 2010, Part 1 (Drobeta); Part 2 (Apulum); Part 3 (Porolissum); cf. [https://omnesviae.org/#\(Drvbetis – Apvla – Porolisso\)](https://omnesviae.org/#(Drvbetis-Apvla-Porolisso)).

Alburnus Maior.¹⁶ The matter of the bridge is controversial because Cassius Dio states that it was burned by Hadrian,¹⁷ however, contesting his account would make the further existence of these forts more meaningful.

About 20 km upstream on the Danube from Drobeta and Pontes two other forts — Transdierna and Dierna — probably still functioned.¹⁸ Their purpose was to control the traffic on the river and the road transport leading through Tibiscum to Sarmizegetusa Ulpia Traiana in Dacia.¹⁹ After reaching that point the road combined with the one from Drobeta.²⁰ Only the north bank had good inland connections, while the south bank could only be reached from the west along the cliff road and from the east along the Danube valley.²¹

The third place where the Upper Moesian Danube could be rather easily crossed was ca. 14 km downstream the river from Viminacium, in a place where both banks of the river were secured by the forts at Lederata and Translederata.²² These forts controlled another route heading north which led to Tibiscum, via Berzobis and then merged with the previously mentioned road.²³ It is of note that the road to Lederata is not a part of the main road along the river but only a branch of it. The main road headed directly from Viminacium to Pincus, while the branch started its way 1.1 km from the eastern gate of the fortress of the *legio VII Claudia*.²⁴ There was no direct connection between Lederata and Pincus which is clearly visible on the Tabula Peutingeriana.²⁵ As was first observed by Felix Kanitz, it could have been caused by the quick sands in that area.²⁶

The mouth of the Porečka river was the only place in the Iron Gates area which could be accessed from the interior of the province.²⁷ Not far west from it the auxiliary fort Taliata was located.²⁸ From this crossroad one road headed east to Egeta, where another auxiliary fort existed.²⁹ This road allowed people to bypass the cataracts of the Iron Gates and thus made the connection with the Lower Danube valley easier. Further downstream from Egeta the roads leading to the interior of the province are found near

¹⁶ Tentea 2003, 258 nt. 45.

¹⁷ Cass. Dio, LXVIII 13, 5–6.

¹⁸ Gudea 2001, 73–74.

¹⁹ Tab. Peut. (s. note 15): Tiertva – Tivisco – Sarmategte.

²⁰ Wilkes 2005, 152.

²¹ Mócsy 1974, 97.

²² Gudea 2001, 56–58.

²³ Tab. Peut. (s. note 15): Lederata – Tivisco. Tibiscum is mentioned in two places: as a destination point of the discussed road and as an intermediate point of the aforementioned route.

²⁴ Danković 2015, 558.

²⁵ Tab. Peut. (s. note 15) : Pvnicum.

²⁶ Kanitz 1904, 184–185.

²⁷ Mócsy 1974, 45, 96.

²⁸ Gudea 2001, 70–72.

²⁹ Gudea 2001, 87–89; ItAnt 218, 2–219, 3; Tab. Peut.(s. note 15): Faliatis – Egeta.

Aquae and Ratiaria.³⁰ Both these roads merged near Timacum Minus and then headed directly to Naissus.³¹

The importance of the Danubian link in the transportation system in the post-Trajanic period is emphasized by the maintenance of the structures lying along the river, especially these in the Iron Gates gorge. Even after the Dacian conflicts, previously mentioned major forts along this stretch of the Danube were still garrisoned, although technically it was no longer a frontier zone. Also, possibly still in use were the towpath on the south bank and the Sip barge canal.³² However, the whole problem of the Roman military presence in the discussed period is still controversial. It has also been suggested that the forts were initially abandoned and re-garrisoned some years later, maybe towards the end of the 2nd century.³³

The road network and location of forts was often associated with the tributaries of the Danube (Pl. 36, Fig. 1). Apart from the Porečka river, the important south tributaries are (from the west to the east): Sava, Morava, Mlava, Pek, Timok, and Arčar, while the north ones are Tamiš, Karaš, Nera, and Cerna. Unfortunately, many forts along the discussed section of the Danube are still unexcavated or not sufficiently researched,³⁴ so sometimes it is hard to say whether a fort ceased or continued to function after the Dacian wars.

All the previously mentioned routes were of great importance to the economy of the province. As A. Crnobrnja states in his paper about the use of the oil lamps in Moesia superior, there were two main routes for the external trade coming from the west and east.³⁵ The first one was the land route starting at the Appenines and following the road from Aquileia to Siscia and further by the Sava River to the Danube, while the east route started by the Black Sea up to the Danube estuary and then went upstream the Danube and then Sava. Along with the transportation of goods, transport of the mineral resources extracted in the Upper Moesian mines was important. The mineral resources represented both the industrial focus of the province and an economic factor of considerable importance to the Roman Empire as a whole.³⁶

Even though the Upper Moesian land road system could connect that section of the Danube with Italy³⁷ and theoretically made the seaways of the Adriatic accessible, it is very unlikely that it was used as the main way of transporting heavy and bulky goods. Due to the conceivably enormous costs, it is much more convincing that river transport was the most important and popular means of moving mineral resources. Thus, it would

³⁰ Mócsy 1974, Fig. 60.

³¹ Mócsy 1974, Fig. 60.

³² Werner 1986, 561.

³³ Mirković 1996, 39; Mirković 2002, 757; Tentea 2016, 89.

³⁴ Gudea 2001, 47–96.

³⁵ Crnobrnja 2008, 410.

³⁶ Werner 1986, 561.

³⁷ Danković 2015, 557.

appear that the Romans focused their transport on the southern tributaries of the Danube.³⁸

In the vicinity of the Danube we can distinguish three mining regions (Pl. 36, Fig. 1). One of the most important was on the west, near the Mount Kosmaj, circa 40 km south of Singidunum. This area, where silver was mined, first began production under Marcus Aurelius.³⁹ The resources extracted there could be transported to the Danube through the Velika Morava with the help of its direct (Jasenica) and indirect (Veliki Lug) tributaries. The source of the Jasenica is located near the Mount Rudnik, so resources mined there could be easily shipped to the Danube.

The second region is connected to the Pek river. It constituted one of the most important mining districts of the Danubian provinces. Not far from the Danube there are a few places located near this river, where mineral resources, such as copper, iron, gold, silver, and lead were extracted; namely Majdanpek, Kučajna, and Brodica.⁴⁰ In the nearby area resources were also extracted in Vitovnica, however, it is located closer to the Mlava river; so possibly the minerals were transported via this river. Exploitation of these mines in the period under discussion is testified for instance by the copper coins minted under Hadrian with the legend (*metalla*) *Aeliana Pincensia* which refers to the mining regions in the Pek (Pincus) and Mlava river valleys.⁴¹

The third region was in the eastern part of the Upper Moesian Danube, and was connected to the Timok river. Its mouth was secured by the fort in Dorticum.⁴² In the vicinity of the river, gold, silver, and copper were extracted in Valakonje, Zlot, Bor, and also Rusman.⁴³ The latter mine, however, is located closer to the Porečka River and thus probably this tributary was used to transport the minerals.⁴⁴ The operation of these mines can be indirectly confirmed by the location of the military units stationed in Timacum Minus (Ravna), administrative centre of the *territorium* which could have incorporated a number of silver and gold mines.⁴⁵ These units could be responsible not only for the protection of the important route but also of the mines. Initially, the *cohors I Thracum Syriaca* was stationed there (ca. AD 70–AD 105), while in the time of Marcus Aurelius (ca. AD 169) the fort was garrisoned by the newly formed *cohors II Aurelia Dardanorum* which retained its post till at least the 2nd quarter of the 3rd century.⁴⁶

These were the only resources coming from the mines located near the Danube. It cannot be forgotten, that the Danube could also be accessed from the deeper interior of the province. Thanks to the Great Morava and its direct and indirect tributaries, such as South Morava with Toplica and West Morava with Ibar, the mines near the Sočanica,

³⁸ Werner 1986, 561.

³⁹ Mócsy 1974, 133.

⁴⁰ Dušanić 1977a, 76.

⁴¹ Hirt 2010, 73.

⁴² Gudea 2001, 91.

⁴³ Dušanić 1977a, 75.

⁴⁴ Werner 1986, 562.

⁴⁵ Hirt 2010, 193.

⁴⁶ Dušanić 1977b, 236–237.

Kuršumljija, and Lipljan (Ulpiana) could be accessed.⁴⁷ Coins referring to various *metalla*⁴⁸ and dated to the times of Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius also testify to the operation of these mines in the discussed period.⁴⁹

Concerning the fortifications near the mouth of the rivers linked with the above-mentioned mining regions, the ones in Viminacium, Taliata, and Dorticum still functioned.⁵⁰ It seems that those near the mouths of the Great Morava (Margum⁵¹) and Pek (Pincus) were abandoned by the military after the Dacian Wars.⁵² The mouth of the Great Morava is, however, only 15 km west of Viminacium, and the mouth of Pek is situated between Lederata and Cuppae⁵³; so some sort of military supervision must have existed. Moreover, around AD 169, when the mines near Kosmaj were opened, Marcus Aurelius created four cohorts with the purpose of protecting the mines and inland transport.⁵⁴ Two of these cohorts were of *milliaria equitata* type — *II Aurelia nova* and already mentioned *II Aurelia Dardanorum*. Their garrisons are known and both were based in the interior: *II Aurelia nova* in Stojnik,⁵⁵ while *II Aurelia Dardanorum* in Timacum Minus (Ravna). Bases of the two remaining units, probably also *cohortes equitatae* — *I Aurelia nova* and *I Aurelia Dardanorum* are unknown, however, A. Mócsy suggested that the latter must have been located somewhere in the valley of the Morava north of Naissus.⁵⁶ Placement of the military units in the interior, along with the units stationed on the Danube emphasizes the effort of the central government in securing and controlling the mines and resources extracted and transported from them.

In conclusion, the annexation of Dacia brought substantial change for the Upper Moesian section of the Danube for it was no longer the imperial frontier. Though the presented relations constitute merely an outline of the complex role that the Upper Moesian Danube played in that period, it is sufficient to state that the military supervision of the discussed section of the Danube was still important. This concerned both the internal and external trade and transport of goods, especially the mineral resources extracted from the numerous mines in the Upper Moesia. The means taken to protect and control various elements of provincial infrastructure are testifying to the importance of the stretch of the Danube that, in the period under discussion, no longer served as a border and they show the close connection between the frontier defence, internal security, communication, and trade.

⁴⁷ Dušanić 1977a, 72,

⁴⁸ Even though it is sometimes hard to unambiguously connect the *metalla* with the specific regions.

⁴⁹ Dušanić 1977a, 57, 69–72.

⁵⁰ Gudea 2001, 53–56, 70–72, 91.

⁵¹ Municipalized probably under Marcus Aurelius (Mócsy 1974, 196).

⁵² Gudea 2001, Tab. 2.

⁵³ Cuppae, in contrary to Gudea's table (Gudea 2001, Tab. 2), appears to have served as military base throughout the 2nd century AD (Karavas 2001, 77).

⁵⁴ Mócsy 1974, 216.

⁵⁵ Dušanić 1977b, 237.

⁵⁶ Mócsy 1974, 195.

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TINO LELEKOVIĆ

Regionalism in Southern Pannonia

Plates 37–40

Specialists in Pannonian studies often share the perception that Pannonia used to be a uniform area with one historical narrative. Regional differences were mostly not considered, although the geography and historical developments in the region suggest otherwise. This paper will take a different approach. Its main objective is to explore the possibility of the existence of distinctive sub-regions within Pannonia, based on the example of the southern Pannonia area.

The delimitation between northern and southern Pannonia is the Drava River.¹ Until 1991, the border between those two regions corresponded to the northern border of the former Yugoslavia. Accordingly, Yugoslav archaeologists that worked on Roman Pannonian studies tended to conceptualize their studies within the context of southern Pannonia, providing that such context corresponded to the political reality of that time.² After the dissolution of Yugoslavia in 1991, southern Pannonia was divided among four countries: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Serbia, and Slovenia. With the new political situation, the concept of southern Pannonia started to be perceived as an artificial concept, which had no real basis in antiquity. It came to be seen that its sole purpose had been to serve the political context of the former Federation. Without Yugoslavia, there was no political reason for the existence of southern Pannonia as a distinctive Roman sub-region. One single archaeological community was fragmented into several smaller ones. The consequence was that studies made in these new political circumstances were often confined to new national borders, denying the concept of southern Pannonia. Recently, such a political situation was overcome by reintroducing southern Pannonia as a context for Roman provincial studies.³ The question of southern Pannonia being a distinctive economic and cultural entity again, gained its importance among archaeologist in the region.

The impact of current political situations on Roman provincial archaeology is nothing new in Central Europe. In the early days of Roman provincial archaeology, Pannonia was almost entirely part of the Austrian Empire, i.e. the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary. Roman Pannonia was treated as a part of the shared identity of the monarchy, particularly in its Hungarian half. A perception of one uniform Roman province was

¹ Migotti 2012b, 3.

² Brukner 1981; Dautova-Ruševljan 1983; Jovanović 1984.

³ Đurić *et al.* 2006; Migotti 2012a.

created to mirror the political situation of that time. However, this area was not evenly researched. Differences emerged among particular parts of Austria-Hungary as a consequence of uneven development and funding of archaeology. For example, only one archaeologist was employed in the museum in Zagreb who covered the entire Croatian part of Pannonia, which stretched from the Sutla River to Belgrade. This scientist had to take care of the archaeological heritage in the area, both as a curator and conservationist. The example of the Roman stone monuments shows that such task for so many specialists was overwhelming. The majority of stone monuments in Central Europe was collected during the rule of Austria-Hungary. Accordingly, the level of protection of those monuments can be detected by comparing their number among different Pannonian cities. Such analysis showed that the number of stone monuments from the Croatian part of Pannonia is conspicuously low, proving that the level of protection and awareness for cultural heritage in Croatia at that time was rather poor, and implying that many monuments were lost. Consequently, southern Pannonia provided less information from the Roman period than in the rest of Central Europe (Fig. 1), which resulted in better knowledge of the northern part of Pannonia when compared to its southern part.

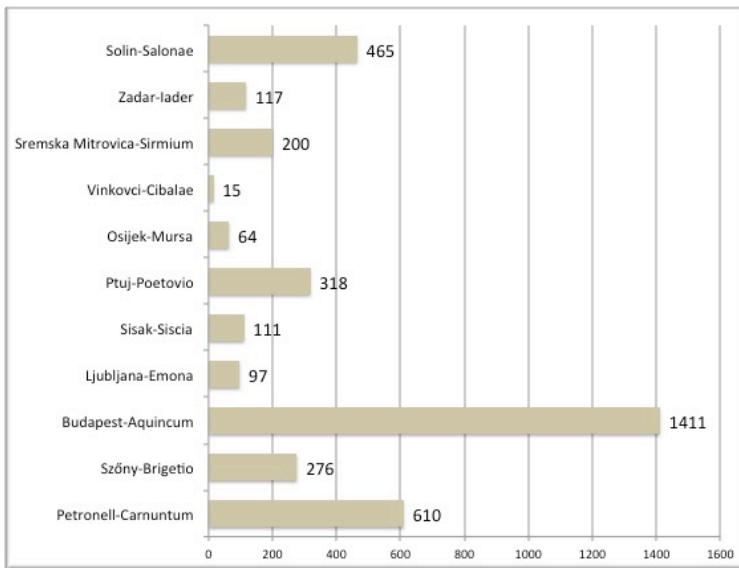


Fig. 1. Graph overview of the number of stone monuments found on the territory of the individual Pannonian towns (source used: www.ubi-erat-lupa.org) (T. Leleković).

Croatian archaeologists cherished communication and close relation with their *alma mater* in Vienna⁴, but divergence on the level of research between Austrian, Hungarian

⁴ Solter 2016, 47–111.

and Yugoslav parts of Pannonia grew after Austria-Hungary ended. The archaeological research in the southern part of Pannonia almost reached a halt between two wars, since archaeological institutions in Yugoslavia were significantly lesser funded than before. Therefore, standstill was even bigger than before of the research compared to the northern part of Pannonia. The number of archaeologists employed in these institutions declined, so the period between two world wars can be seen as a regression when compared to prior developments.⁵ Funding of archaeology in northern Pannonia continued, which is apparent from the number of publications covering Pannonian topics from that time.⁶ Although the situation of Yugoslav archaeology improved after 1945, the Roman archaeology of the Yugoslav part of Pannonia continued to struggle. The absence of comprehensive research and publications, both on national and regional levels, made this part of Pannonia almost invisible. The volume edited by B. Migotti improved this to a certain level, but only for the Croatian part of Pannonia.⁷ This volume showed the current level of research, but also it revealed how much we do not know, and the level of setback, in comparison to the rest of Pannonia. Contrary to this, continuous activities and publications of Hungarian archaeologists and historians resulted with their dominant position in both international and regional literature related to Roman Pannonia.⁸ Their deductions and theories were predominantly based on research conducted in the Hungarian part of the province. Research conducted south of the Drava River was only peripherally included in their studies and publications. This was expected considering the continuous lack of studies and publications from that part of Pannonia. The logical consequence was that theories established for the Hungarian part of Pannonia transgressed national borders. Historical, social, and economic developments established for the northern part became accepted as valid also for the south creating the perception that Pannonia was a region that developed uniformly without sub-regional characteristics. Even nowadays, such a generalisation in Pannonia persists for the most part.

Perhaps the most illustrative example of such a transgression is the period of Marcomannic Wars. Most archaeologists (in Croatia) believe that all cities and villages in Pannonia suffered pillage and destruction in the second half of the 2nd century due to the intrusions of Germanic nations. Consequently, such a perception turned the Marcomannic wars into a trap for Pannonian archaeology, as Branka Migotti wonderfully stated.⁹ As a rule, traces of destruction dated to that period were associated with those wars, although, they may have happened for entirely different reasons. One such example is the Roman colony of Mursa. The rescue excavation conducted east of the Roman city walls revealed a suburb that entirely consisted of wooden strip buildings (*Streifenhäuser*). Excavation showed that those buildings were completely destroyed in

⁵ Solter 2016, 139–161.

⁶ This period is well illustrated by the studies published within the series *Dissertationes Pannonicae*.

⁷ Migotti 2012a.

⁸ Mócsy 1974; Lengyel / Radan 1980; Fitz 1993/1994.

⁹ Migotti 2012b, 10–11.

the late Antonine period. After the fire, the suburb area was used as a garbage dump, resulting with a thick residual layer that provides today with an abundant source of information for the typology of the material culture of Mursa in that time. Several luxurious residential buildings were erected on the place of the former suburb, completely changing the appearance of that part of Mursa.¹⁰ Excavations on the western suburbia of Mursa, currently still unpublished, revealed the same development, showing that both suburbs on the opposite sides of the town were completely burned in approximately the same period. The question was, how had this happened? Several explanations were possible. First, Mursa suffered significant destruction during the Marcomannic wars when parts of the city outside the walls were completely destroyed. Second, suburbs were destroyed in an accidental fire or several subsequent fires. This was the reason why burned wooden structures were levelled and consequently replaced by buildings made of brick and stone. Third, the fire was simply a way to clear the wooden shanty city to make a place for more luxurious developments. All three explanations were possible. This is the nature of the *Marcomannic trap*. Therefore, it is necessary to search for additional proof.

The search for information on the Marcomannic wars in southern Pannonia is difficult. Excavations of Siscia, Mursa, and other cities in southern Pannonia during the 20th century have not revealed any significant amount of material from that period. This can be explained in two ways. First, the lack of such evidence illustrates that there were no significant disturbances of life in those cities during that period. Second, parts of the cities where such proofs were supposed to be found, had been rarely, if ever, excavated. The only site that deviates from this generalisation is Cibalae.¹¹ Luckily, the excavations in Siscia and Mursa revealed an important pattern that explains why that was so. Initially, all structures in southern Pannonian were built entirely out of wood. During that phase of development, garbage (archaeological material) was still deposited within the city walls. Buildings made of brick and stone gradually replaced those of wood. After the settlement reached the level of development in which brick and stone buildings filled the entire area of the city, garbage and all other refuse were deposited outside the city walls. Therefore, later archaeological layers do not appear within the city walls was concluded. Considering that for most cities in southern Pannonia, this happened before the Marcomannic wars, findings from upcoming periods were to be found outside the city walls. Nevertheless, excavations of those areas at southern Pannonian sites were exceptional. The underlying reason is the old understanding of Roman cities that recognised only the areas within the city walls as the actual settlement. Consequently, the established practice made rescue excavations mandatory only within the perimeter of the presumed city walls, while areas outside the city walls were under more flexible protection. There have been just a few excavations of suburbs and urban cemeteries due to such flexible protection. The law on the protection of cultural heritage changed in Croatia in 1999, marking the beginning of a new period for archaeology. It enabled the

¹⁰ Leleković 2008a.

¹¹ Iskra-Janošić 2004; Leleković 2008b; Ožanić Roguljić 2016.

excavations in Mursa to be the first extensive archaeological research of a Roman suburb in Croatia, maybe even in the broader region.¹² Soon, suburbs of other Roman cities in Croatia will follow.

Let us return to the excavations of Mursa. The dating of the destruction of suburbs was possible due to the numerous fragments of *terra sigillata* imported from East Gaul and Rheinzabern. Burned structures were levelled with thick layers of debris that contained *terra sigillata* from the 170s and 180s. These findings led to a valid dating of the destruction, but its sheer quantity also provided evidence of extensive import of luxuries of that period. Despite the presumed economic crisis and other impediments caused by the wars, the inhabitants of Mursa were obviously able to afford such goods. A similar pattern can be observed in nearby Cibalae where the import of *terra sigillata*, predominantly from Gaul and Germania, even increased during the Marcomannic Wars.¹³ Although the destroyed wooden structures in Mursa and Cibalae might suggest that cities along the Croatian part of the limes were also exposed to barbarian intrusions, simultaneously remnants of the import might suggest that the Marcomannic Wars in those cities were not a period of crises, but rather a period of prosperity and economic rise.¹⁴

This brings into question another assumption related to the Marcomannic Wars that has been widely accepted as a fact. Excavations in the Croatian part of Pannonia have witnessed the rise of the standard of living in the late 2nd and 3rd centuries,¹⁵ which was evident in all major southern cities through newly built houses and public facilities.¹⁶ This progress is commonly perceived as the Severan renaissance that followed repopulation of the area after the crises of the Antonine period.¹⁷ However, the above-mentioned evidence of the continuous import suggests that the Antonine crisis did not happen. To the contrary, the Marcomannic Wars triggered a boost for the economy in the southern part of the province. Although it may seem strange, this might be explained by the fact that southern cities took on the role of the supply chain for the Danubian armies. It has to be considered that all main military operations occurred in northern Pannonia, while southern Pannonia was spared. This would mean that the economy of this region did not suffer at all. Furthermore, the relation of Siscia towards the Roman iron mines in Bosnia might have made this city crucial for the supply of the armies.¹⁸ This assumption becomes even more logical when we take into consideration that cities along the Sava River played an important role as centres for inland transportation and in the direction of the harbours of the East Adriatic.¹⁹ Could this mean that the rise of

¹² Filipović 2005; Filipović 2006; Filipović 2008; Filipović 2009; Leleković 2008a.

¹³ Leleković 2008b.

¹⁴ Böhme 1975; Kovács 2014, 129, 135.

¹⁵ Lolić / Wiewegh 2012, 219.

¹⁶ Lolić / Wiewegh 2012, 216–217, 219.

¹⁷ Mócsy 1974, 194; Migotti 2012a.

¹⁸ Durman 1993; Durman 2002.

¹⁹ Bojanovski 1974, 41–124, 146–191; Migotti 2000.

the standard of living taking place in the Severan period was simply a stage of continuous economic growth, but also the consequence of profits that citizens and municipalities gained during the Marcomannic Wars?

The state of current research, and even more, the sheer amount of unpublished research are preventing the search for the answer to this question. However, the study of regional differences within Pannonia depends on correct insight to the Antonine era. It could be that the Marcomannic Wars were one of the crucial points of divergence for the development in Pannonia and that Pannonia could not exist as one entity with an equitable and balanced development, but as an area of separated regions defined by different developments, economies and identities. The aim of this paper is primarily to open new perspectives and to provide guidelines for further research on the Roman period in this part of the Danube region.

Southern Pannonia — A Separate Region?

The question remains: did “southern Pannonia” originally function as a distinctive region within Roman province(s) Pannonia(s), or is this term simply a consequence of the modern political situation? To find the answer to this question it is necessary to define the borders of this region. Roman Pannonia was an area stretching from the Dinaric Alps in the South, the Danube River in the North and the Alps in the West. In a way, Pannonia was the Roman name for their territories in the Carpathian basin. The distinctive geographical morphology divides this area into southern and northern parts. The southern part is defined by the basins of two major rivers; the Sava (*Savus*) and the Drava (*Dravus*), which stretched from the Alps in the West to the Danube River in the East. The northern part is defined by the Danube and the Balaton (*Pelso*) and Neusiedler Lakes.

The shortest land route between Italy and the eastern part of the Empire followed along the Sava basin and further through modern-day Serbia down to the Bosphorus strait. In the same way that the Amber route linked Aquileia with the Danube, the Sava road linked Aquileia with Byzantium/Constantinople, influencing the formation of southern Pannonia in the same way as the Amber route influenced the formation of its western part. Considering the importance of transportation between the East and the West, river transport has to be taken into account. The Drava and Sava rivers heavily influenced the economy of the southern part of the Carpathian in historic times, so the same has to be assumed for the ancient times as well.

The impact of the Sava and Drava rivers on the formation of Pannonia can be attested on two accounts. One is the relation between the positioning of major urban centres in the region with the morphology of these rivers. The geographical position of the first two colonies in southern Pannonia; Siscia (Sisak, Croatia) and Sirmium (Sremska Mitrovica, Serbia), corresponds with the points on the Sava River where the river itself meets the major regional transportation routes. Also, it is an important fact that Siscia was founded at the point where the Sava River begins to be navigable for heavier vessels. A significant part of the colonisers of those two colonies were veterans of the imperial fleets, which suggests a deliberate imperial policy of upgrading the Sava River

into the main regional transportation route.²⁰ A similar policy of urbanisation was introduced to the Drava basin in Ulpian times. Trajan founded the colony of Poetovio at the point where the Amber route crosses the Drava River,²¹ while Hadrian founded Mursa near the influx of the Drava into the Danube.²² Positions of all major cities in southern Pannonia were closely connected to shipping along the Drava and Sava rivers. Obviously, it can be assumed that all those cities functioned as major cross-points for shipping trade along these rivers.

The importance of the Sava and Drava rivers can be observed also in the relation between the provincial borders and the geomorphology of these rivers. Having their sources in the Alps, both rivers flow through peri-Alpine regions of Slovenia and Austria, retaining their mountainous character until they reach the Pannonian basin. In both cases, these mountainous parts of the courses were located outside of Pannonia. The upper stream of the Sava River was in Italia, while the upper stream of the Drava River was in Noricum.²³ Fast and unpredictable waters, narrow basins and gorges defined the courses of both rivers in those upper parts. The Sava River loses its mountainous character when it reaches the territory of the *municipium* Neviodunum in southwestern Pannonia, while the Drava River reaches its slow waters becoming a river suitable for shipping in the Pannonian city of Poetovio. The connection between the relief and the provincial border is obvious. The flat parts of the basins belonged to Pannonia, while the mountainous parts were outside of the provincial borders. Correspondingly, the navigable parts of the rivers were part of Pannonia, while those parts hard to navigate were positioned to the west of the province.

Although the southern border of Pannonia is much more difficult to chart, a similar rule may be also applied to this case. The tributaries of the Sava River that define the geography of the southernmost part of Pannonia have sources deep in the Dinaric Alps in modern Bosnia and Herzegovina. Due to the mountainous nature of that part of Pannonia, shipping along these rivers was very restricted. Nevertheless, there are indications that even such rivers influenced the demarcation of Dalmatia and Pannonia in a way that the limits of navigation along these rivers corresponded to the administrative borders of Pannonia.²⁴ The role of this part of Pannonia as a link between the Adriatic and the Danube region is attested through the road network built in the 1st century CE.²⁵ This would mean that transportation might have had a crucial role in the formation of this part of Pannonia. Although, it is logical to expect that extensive goods exchange existed between the Pannonia and Adriatic regions, transportation on Dalmatian roads towards the Sava River is heavily under-researched. Except for some individual case

²⁰ Mócsy 1974, 113.

²¹ Horvat *et al.* 2003, 155–158; Šašel Kos 2014, 145–148.

²² Mócsy 1974, 142–143, Pinterović 1978, 53–56.

²³ See the map of the provinces in: Šašel Kos 2003.

²⁴ Migotti 2012b, 5.

²⁵ Bojanovski 1974.

studies, the nature and extent of it is completely unknown.²⁶ Either way, those geographical and logistical characteristics were a good basis for the southern part of Pannonia to form into a separate sub-region, possibly with an enclosed economy and a particular identity within Pannonia as a larger region itself.

Romanisation and Occupation

Numerous rescue excavations that were conducted as part of the extensive construction of the highway network throughout Hungary, Croatia, and Slovenia provided insights into parts of Pannonia that prior to those developments were under-researched. One of the unexpected results of those rescue projects were the discrepancy in the number and nature of excavated sites. The northern part of the province, in the territory of Hungary, excavations predominantly revealed rural settlements dating back to the 1st and 2nd centuries. Most of them showed the gradual transformation of late La Tène societies into proper Roman societies, or, one might say, the process of Romanisation.²⁷ South of the Drava River, excavations revealed a completely different situation, uncovering the rural settlements built in the 2nd and 3rd centuries, reaching their peak during the later 3rd and 4th centuries.

To find an explanation for such a state of research, one has to focus on the time prior to the foundation of the first cities. With a fair amount of certainty, it can be stated that the area south of the Drava River was brought under full Roman control by Tiberius during the Pannonian War, at latest around the years 9/8 BCE.²⁸ Still the urbanisation and the colonisation of the area started only in the Flavian period around 80 years later. Why did it happen this way? What was the nature of the Roman government in this region during that period? Some authors suggest that the region between the Sava and Drava rivers was in some sort of limbo. It was a sort of military district (Lower Illyricum), not fully integrated into the Empire and placed under the command of a *legatus exercitus*.²⁹ This could explain the fact that the material remains of Roman presence before the Flavian period were almost negligible, restricted only to the military sites of Siscia and Poetovio. Until recently, only a handful of findings were discovered in pre-Flavian contexts even at those two sites. Only recent excavations of Poetovio revealed findings that are attributed to the camp of *legio XIII Gemina*, which was stationed there from the years 45/46.³⁰ In the same way, just in the past decade, several excavations finally revealed remains of the camp and *canabae* of Siscia. There have been many

²⁶ Migotti 2000.

²⁷ Gabler 2003b; Bíró 2015.

²⁸ Mócsy 1974, 34–37; Šašel Kos 1986, 155–160; Šašel Kos 1997, 31; Šašel Kos 2005, 458–465; Domić Kunić 2006; Radman-Livaja 2012, 162–165.

²⁹ Šašel Kos 2010, 220–221.

³⁰ Šašel Kos 2014, 141–145; Janežič 2015, 266–267.

speculations on the precise position thereof.³¹ One of such excavations, currently unpublished, has been done in the centre of Sisak, in the street named *Ulica Pavla i Stjepana Radića*. The earliest features on the site are residue layers and pits with mixed materials of the late Republic until the time of Augustus. The exact interpretation of these features is yet to be clarified, but for now they can be defined as remains of the non-permanent *Marschlager* or as a dump area of a smaller camp of the Augustan time. The oldest permanent structure found at that site was a wooden shack dated with a *terra sigillata* plate, type Consp. 20, that bears the stamp AEQVALIS. This stamp is listed in OCK under number 49, where its production is approximately dated to the year 15 CE.³² Although it is still to be determined whether this structure might be attributed to the legionary camp or to the *canabae*, there is proof that the permanent standing camp was built before the time of Tiberius, possibly during the time of the Pannonian-Dalmatian revolt. Furthermore, the excavation revealed eight subsequent layers of destruction showing that the camp/settlement suffered several destructions up to Flavian times (Pl. 37, Fig. 2). This could mean that this period was still not safe, and as such, unsuitable for large-scale colonisation. It has to be noted that in the earliest Roman layers indigenous La Tène pottery has also been found, but in later layers, particularly in those from the period of the colony, no such pottery was found. This would indicate that the first half of the 1st century CE is characterised by the gradual disappearance of the local population in Siscia. This event might be possibly connected to the establishment of the permanent Roman garrison. Materials from other excavations in Siscia are yet to be examined, so it is hard to draw any definite conclusions at this moment. However, a current study of the material found shows that Siscia, i.e. the area of the Segestani, was subjected to the ethnic cleansing of native people.

On the other hand, unlike in the northern part of the province, no example of a Romanised native village was found in southern Pannonia. This being a substantial fact, it leads to the speculation of mistreatment of the native people by the occupying force. Because a large part of southern Pannonia was involved in the great Pannonian-Dalmatian revolt, this was surely expected. Some Croatian archaeologists are trying to fill the gap between the time of occupation and the foundation of Roman cities with a strong predisposition for establishing continuity from the late La Tène to the Roman period. The central premise for such continuity is the idea that the ruling warrior elite collaborated with the Roman army to preserve its social position and wealth. The indigenous aristocracy presumably had a crucial role in recruiting auxiliary units and in establishing control over the native population.³³ Pieces of evidence of such collaboration, primarily through the findings of the warrior burials in the southern part of Pannonia, are

³¹ Faber 1973, 153–154; Nenadić 1987, 72–73; Buzov 1993, 49; Burkowsky 1999; Radman-Livaja 2007, 163, 17–168; Burkowsky *et al.* 2015.

³² OCK 84.

³³ Radman-Livaja / Dizdar 2010; Dizdar / Radman-Livaja 2015, 223.

the focus of the current research. The findings from the Scordiscan territory of the Serbian part of Pannonia are the basis of such an endeavour.³⁴ Unfortunately, unlike the Serbian part of Pannonia, such finds are extremely rare, even questionable, on the Croatian side. The best-known context from this period in Croatia is a grave in Ilok, in which a Roman *gladius* was found, together with some Roman and native pottery.³⁵ The second best is collective find of weapons from the *Vrtna ulica* in Vinkovci (Cibalae).³⁶ Vinkovci was the site of a large late La Tène settlement, which possibly operated as a border outpost of the Scordiscan state³⁷ Therefore, a large warrior cemetery of the local elite is expected there, providing a good basis for interpenetration of weapons found in *Vrtna ulica*. However, beside the publicised weapons, no other finds that could substantiate the existence of a La Tène cemetery were found on that location, for which such interpretation is dubious. The publication of *terra sigillata*³⁸ and a publication of pottery from the centre of the *municipium* Cibalae³⁹ as well as rural settlements around Cibalae,⁴⁰ does not provide any strong evidence that this area was populated before the 2nd century. To conclude, Vinkovci was probably an empty and unpopulated territory between the destruction of the late La Tène settlement and the establishment of the new Roman settlement. Therefore, the theory of the transformation of the native settlement in Vinkovci in to Roman town of Cibalae should be reconsidered, if not even omitted.

A similar case can be observed at the nearby site of Mursa (Osijek), yet another presumed Scordiscan outpost. Recently, a sanctuary was discovered on the southern periphery of the settlement, dated to the late La Tène period (LT D1 phase) — the period between the second half of the 2nd and the first third of the 1st centuries BCE.⁴¹ An ACCO beaker was discovered in a native context clearly from that same settlement, proving economic and cultural ties between the natives and the Romans in the 1st century BCE.⁴² The beaker is one of the main cornerstones of a perception that Romans settled in Osijek in the earliest times of the Roman conquest. The Roman wooden structures that were excavated at the site of the earlier Scordiscan sanctuary were interpreted as a Neronian settlement,⁴³ underlining the perception that Mursa was an example of the transition of a large La Tène settlement into a smaller Roman settlement, and consequently becoming a Roman colony. Yet, recent excavations showed that no such continuity existed. A layer 45 cm thick has been excavated, that clearly separated the late La Tène pit-houses and the first colonial layer. Both Roman and La Tène findings were

³⁴ Milošević 1985; Milošević 1987, 14–17; Dizdar / Radman-Livaja 2015, 221–223.

³⁵ Dizdar 2010; Dizdar / Radman-Livaja 2015, 219–221.

³⁶ Dizdar / Radman-Livaja 2004; Dizdar / Radman-Livaja 2015, 219.

³⁷ Dimitrijević 1979, 147; Dizdar 2001; Dizdar 2003, 341–342; Dizdar 2012, 119–120.

³⁸ Leleković 2008b.

³⁹ Ožanić Roguljić 2016.

⁴⁰ Ožanić Roguljić 2009.

⁴¹ Filipović 2010.

⁴² Tonc / Filipović 2010.

⁴³ Filipović 2010.

found in this layer, implying that it was probably formed during a longer period of time as the consequence of human activity (agriculture).

Both examples from Vinkovci and Osijek prove that the native settlement were inhabited until the turn of the millennia, but were probably abandoned before the time of Tiberius. A probably similar situation can be applied to entire southern Pannonia.

Burial Rites of the 2nd and 3rd Centuries

As far as the southern area of the Drava River is considered, the research of Roman cemeteries is showing deep regional differences. The southwest part of Pannonia predominantly revealed cremation burials of the 1st and the 2nd centuries,⁴⁴ while inhumations of the 3rd to the 5th centuries⁴⁵ prevail in those of the southeast territory. Although it is hard to draw a valid overview on burial practices on a regional level, some general observations can be made. Above all, burial practices clearly show that this aspect of social behaviour was done in several stages of development. The first stage is represented by cremation burials — the so-called *ustrinata*. In the entire region, the early phase lasted at least until the beginning of the 2nd century. The intermediate phase, represented with transitional cemeteries in which both cremation and inhumation were practiced, lasted from the mid- 2nd century until the end of the 3rd century. The late Roman cemeteries consisted exclusively of inhumations, dated to the 4th and 5th centuries, are considered the last phase of the Roman cemeteries in Pannonia.

The transitional cemeteries show interesting regional differences. During the first half of the 2nd century cremation was still the dominant form of practice, but the dominant role was gradually taken over by inhumation. At the beginning of the 3rd century, cremation was practiced only by a minority.⁴⁶ Cremations became diversified during this intermediate period. Distinctive local burial practices were developed in different parts of Pannonia during the 2nd and 3rd centuries.

Probably the best-known phenomena are known as the Norico-Pannonian *tumuli*. Although those burial features are typical of the eponymous provinces of Noricum and Pannonia, it is important to note that the presence of *tumuli* in Pannonia were limited only to the western part of the province. This form of burial appeared first in the 1st century in modern-day Austrian regions of Styria and in the south of Burgenland. From the late 1st until the mid-3rd century, this phenomena spread further, covering wider areas of eastern Austria, eastern Slovenia, western Hungary, and northwest Croatia.⁴⁷ Arguably, Croatian grave mounds represent the southeast peripheral zone of the

⁴⁴ Gregl 1989; Knez 1992; Gregl 1997; Istenič 1999; Wiewegh 2003; Gregl 2007; Božič 2008.

⁴⁵ Milošević 2001, 159–188; Leleković 2012, 342–353.

⁴⁶ Zsidi 2003; Leleković 2012.

⁴⁷ Mikl-Curk 1997, 32–36; Palágyi 2003b; Palágyi / Nagy 2003, 50–51, 154.

Norico-Pannonian *tumuli*.⁴⁸ In southern Pannonia, they stem only in upper parts of the Drava and Sava rivers, i.e. on the territory of the province of Pannonia Superior.

The Norico-Pannonian *tumuli* in Croatia are characteristic for cemeteries in rural settlements. They are probably of autochthonous origin. The excavated examples produced grave goods from the 2nd and 3rd centuries, showing that this was a custom which is not native to this part of Pannonia.⁴⁹ In order to understand this, it is important to consider two opposite theories on the origin of the Norico-Pannonian *tumuli*. The first theory suggests that this was a local custom, which derives from deep prehistoric roots. The other one posits that *tumuli* were a form of burial as a result of Romanisation, which was introduced from the imperial centre.⁵⁰ In light of this, it is interesting that the southernmost group of Norico-Pannonian *tumuli* is found on the presumed territory of the *municipium* Andautonia (Pl. 38, Fig. 4), whose distribution follows a presumed border of the municipal territory. Namely, not a single burial mound has yet been discovered south of this border, on the territory assigned to the *ager* of the colony of Siscia. It was also assumed that the limit of this group might have also been used to set territorial boundaries between territories of those two cities.⁵¹ This could also reveal the nature of this phenomena. The absence of *tumuli* from the areas containing lands assigned to colonists and veterans might be explained by the connection of *tumuli* with the native population. It seems that mounds were built by local elites, although, it seems that this practice does not represent the continuity of native burial practices. At least when southern Pannonia is concerned, this feature was accepted in the late 1st century, while its Iron Age origin remains to be questioned.⁵²

The burial mounds were also found in northeast Pannonia. Those are defined as a group of burial mounds with specific characteristics, which distinguish them from the Norico-Pannonian *tumuli*. Similarities between the Trans-Danubian *tumuli* and the Norico-Pannonian group are apparent, but they should be considered as a specific group which is endemic of the northeast part of Pannonia. The *tumuli* of northeast Pannonia stand out from those in the western part of Pannonia, above all on account of wagon burials. The depositions of wagons, horses, and weapons were not a part of the Roman rite. This is a custom that can only be detected in the northeast part. This rite probably derives from the tradition of elite warriors, typical for the La Tène period, and as such, associated with native aristocracy. However, in the 2nd and 3rd centuries, this tradition was probably kept alive by members of the local elite, who were wealthy enough to

⁴⁸ Sokol 1981, 169–178; Demo 1985, 119–120; Šarić 1986, 113, 116; Koščević / Makjanić 1988, 35; Gregl 1997, 23; Leleković 2012, 324–326.

⁴⁹ Demo 1985, 119–120; Šarić 1986, 113, 116; Šarić 1990, 111–113; Okroša-Rožić 2006, 186–187; Leleković 2012, 325.

⁵⁰ Wigg 1993, 15–17, 107; Hudeczek 2004; Hinker 2005.

⁵¹ Nemeth-Ehrlich / Kušan Špalj 2003, 107–110; Lolić 2003, 131–133; Leleković 2012, 326.

⁵² Mócsy 1974, 71–73.

continue this custom.⁵³ It is important to note that the Trans-Danubian *tumuli* were not found in the southeast part of Pannonia, south of the Drava River.

Excavations of some Roman cemeteries south of the Drava River revealed a specific form of cinerary grave known as *bustum*. It is a form of burial known also in other parts of the Empire, for which a pyre was made above the burial pit, so that burial pit is also the place of cremation. *Bustum* is distinguished from other cinerary graves by burned pit walls and their fill composed of pyre debris mixed with human and animal bone, as well as burned and/or melted grave goods.⁵⁴ One of the theories postulates that *busta* originated from northern Italy and that during the 1st century CE legionaries brought them to the provinces, especially those in the Rhineland and the Danube-Balkan regions. It is also assumed that the *bustum*, as a funerary feature, was introduced by the Oriental army and immigrants from the East.⁵⁵ On the other hand, Aleksandar Jovanović thought that *bustum* originated from the native Balkan ethnic communities (southeast Pannonia included). This postulation was based on the fact that *busta* reached a share of 60% up to 90% of the cemeteries of Moesia and southeast Pannonia (the territory of Sirmium in his case). The predomination of *busta* over other types of graves distinguishes the Danube-Balkan region from the rest of the Empire, indicating that this was the region of origin.⁵⁶ Recent excavations of sites along the Croatian part of the *limes* showed that *busta* were the dominant form of graves, further substantiating this theory. Interestingly, the excavated sites were military posts.⁵⁷ Such results are partially in accordance with the presumption that the Danubian armies disseminated this practice further along the *limes*. It is assumed that, while stationed in the Middle and Lower Danube during the 1st and 2nd centuries, the troops adopted the *bustum* as a burial custom and afterwards they spread it to the Rhineland and the rest of the Empire.⁵⁸ However, the problem is that newly discovered *busta* in southeast Pannonia are to be dated in the 2nd and the 3rd centuries. The earliest examples of the *busta* in that region are dated to the turn of the 1st century.⁵⁹ The fact that *busta* are found only in the transitional cemeteries seriously challenges the claim that southeast Pannonia was the region of their origin, suggesting that this type of burial was introduced to the region at the end of the 1st century at the earliest. Nevertheless, it has to be stated that earlier burials of Romanised populations, particularly those of native elites, are still missing. Therefore, it is impossible to establish a link between the prehistoric native customs and funerary habits used during the Roman period in southern Pannonia altogether.⁶⁰

⁵³ Palágyi 2003b, 257–258, 261.

⁵⁴ Gaitzsch / Werner 1993, 57–58; Leleković 2012, 321–323.

⁵⁵ Struck 1993, 90.

⁵⁶ Jovanović 2000, 205–206.

⁵⁷ Bojčić *et al.* 2010, 80–81; Hutinec 2010, 80–87.

⁵⁸ Pirling 2002, 524–526.

⁵⁹ Göricke-Lukić 2000, 17; Leleković 2008a, 46; Göricke-Lukić 2011, 26–27; Hutinec 2010, 29–33; Bojčić *et al.* 2010, 80–87; Leleković 2012, 321.

⁶⁰ Dizdar 2012, 128; Dizdar / Radman-Livaja 2015, 219–223.

A possibility that future excavations may reveal such a link is yet to be addressed. Although sporadic finds of *busta* are found throughout Pannonia,⁶¹ according to current level of research only in southeast Pannonia this burial custom became the dominant form of cremation in the 2nd century, and only in that region this way of burial persisted until the second half of the 3rd century. It is interesting to observe that cemeteries in which *busta* were dominant form of cinerary graves are located in the southern part of Pannonia, that is to say within the borders of province Pannonia Inferior.

There is an apparent pattern of dispersion of the above-mentioned types of burials. Although individual findings are scattered all over Pannonia, those features are concentrated in three distinctive areas. The Norico-Pannonian *tumuli* were represented in northwest Pannonia, which is the area north of the Kupa River (*Colapis*). The wagon burials and the Trans-Danubian *tumuli* were typical for northeast Pannonia, while the *bustum* had been a burial practice typical for southeast Pannonia. Although those types of burial do not represent the dominant burial practices, they are indicators that regional differences existed among populations of Pannonia during the 2nd and 3rd centuries. All three burial types were kept in use from the end of the 1st until the end of the 3rd century, showing certain continuity of the population. The only region where those three burial customs are not found is the part covered by the territories of Siscia and of the presumed *civitas* of Oseriates.⁶² In this area, during the 2nd century, only the common cinerary graves known as *ustrinata* were found, while the burials of the 3rd century were not found to reveal developments during that period. This again could invoke the possibility that the *busta* and the *tumuli* were used by Romanised local communities, while the colonised populations used only the common Roman ritual.

Coincidentally, a pattern becomes visible when the map of distribution of the *tumuli* and the *busta* is compared to the administrative division of Pannonia. When the first division of Pannonia is considered, it can be concluded that the Norico-Pannonian *tumuli* were confined to the borders of Pannonia Superior, while the *busta* and the Trans-Danubian *tumuli* were only found on the territory of Pannonia Inferior. Another pattern emerges when the division of Diocletian is considered. The Trans-Danubian *tumuli* are found concentrated in Valeria. Although some *tumuli* are found in *Pannonia Prima*, none have been found on the territory of *Pannonia Secunda*.⁶³ At the same time, *busta* were predominantly found in *Secunda*, while this type of burial was only found as an exception in the rest of Pannonia.⁶⁴ The Norico-Pannonian *tumuli* were found in both *Pannonia Prima* and *Pannonia Savia*, but it has to be noted that *tumuli* were found only on the northern part of *Savia*. It is important to emphasize that *tumuli* and *busta* were still in use when Diocletian's borders were drawn. This fact leads to the question regarding the nature of such a division of Pannonia. Maybe the resemblance of the areas of such seemingly endemic Pannonian features and the limits drawn by Diocletian's reforms are not accidental. They might be indications of distinctive sub-regions with

⁶¹ Bíró 2007, 40–54.

⁶² For administrative borders of Oseriatii see Bojanovski 1988, 337–338.

⁶³ See map Fig. 75 in Palágyi 2003b.

⁶⁴ Jovanović 1984, 102.

particular local identities as whole delimitations were formalised under Diocletian (Pl. 37, Fig. 3).

Rural Landscape

The consideration of the rural landscape is the final contribution to the discussion of regionalism of Roman Pannonia. The studies on the subject of rural landscape in Pannonia in a way did not recognise the geographical diversity of Pannonia, conceiving it as a rather uniform space covered with arable land and numerous rustic villas.⁶⁵ For the larger part, this image was the consequence of the factual situation in the Hungarian part of Pannonia. Out of the approximately 600 *villae rusticae* currently registered in Pannonia, more than 400 were located in Hungary.⁶⁶ Most of them were concentrated in areas around the Balaton and the Neusiedlersee,⁶⁷ some of which were large luxurious country estates like the Baláca⁶⁸, proving that the image of Pannonia as a cultivated landscape covered with large estates was an appropriate one.

Compared to the 400 estates found in Hungary, the 23 precisely ascertained rustic villas in the Croatian part of Pannonia seem almost negligible (Pl. 38, Fig. 4). This disparity becomes even more intriguing when we consider that all ascertained rustic villas were found in the southwest part of Pannonia, while not a single example of *villa rustica* has yet been confirmed in the southeast part of the province.⁶⁹ Although this could be the consequence of disparity in the level of research, it could also be a consequence of different administrative and geographical preconditions for the development of villa settlements.

The urbanisation of southern Pannonia was not a simple endeavour. It was a process that lasted at least two generations. As it was previously mentioned, despite the fact that entire area south of the Drava River was under Roman control at least since the end of the 1st century BCE, the urbanisation of the area was initiated by Vespasian after the year 70. By that time, this area was divided into *civitates peregrinae*, probably administrated by military *legates*.⁷⁰ Considering the position of the latterly established Roman cities, we may assume that this administrative division was used as the framework for the urbanisation that followed. The first area that was urbanised under the Flavians was the part of the Sava basin in Pannonia Superior. Only the area of the Sava basin downstream of its confluence with the Kupa River (*Colapis*) was not included in the Flavian urban network. The only city established in southeast Pannonia was Sirmium, which remained the only isle of civilization in south Pannonia Inferior for 50 years. The urbanisation of the Drava area was conducted a generation later, initiated by Trajan's

⁶⁵ Thomas 1964; Palágyi 2003a.

⁶⁶ Gabler 2003a, 235.

⁶⁷ See map Beilage 1 in Thomas 1964; Gabler 2003a.

⁶⁸ Palágyi 2003b.

⁶⁹ Leleković / Rendić-Miočević 2012, 279–280.

⁷⁰ Šašel Kos 2010; Domić-Kunić 2012, 44–45.

foundation of Poetovio at the turn of the century, and followed by Hadrian, who established the colony of Mursa. Hadrian was extremely important because he founded *municipia* Aquae Balissae, Bassianae, and Cibalae, enabling the colonization of the areas which were not directly connected to the Sava and Drava rivers⁷¹ (Pl. 38, Fig. 4). Such gradual development resulted in an uneven urbanisation. The southern part of Pannonia Superior was almost entirely divided among the founded *colonia* and *municipia*. The only exceptions were areas surrounding the settlements of Servitium (*Civitas Oseriarii?*)⁷² and Iovia (?)/Botivo,⁷³ the nature of which is yet to be investigated. However, the same cannot be stated for the southern part of Pannonia Inferior. The *municipia* and *coloniae* were founded only in the zone along the *limes*, while the rear remained divided in *civitates* (*peregrinae*).

A pattern emerges when the map of the above-mentioned administrative units is compared with the attested sites of villas. Almost all *villae rusticae* were found on the territories of *municipia* and colonies founded before the beginning of the 2nd century. The only exception from this rule could be two villas found west of the modern town of Nova Gradiška. In both cases it is not possible to determine whether these sites had been a part of the presumed territory of the aforementioned *civitas* of *Oseriarii*, or a part of the later Municipium Iasorum (Aquae Balissae), therefore it is not certain do they also fit into that pattern.⁷⁴ Furthermore, all attested sites of large rustic estates south of the Drava River were found in Pannonia Superior, while none has yet been confirmed in Pannonia Inferior. The only piece of information on large rustic villas in southeast Pannonia is connected to those around Sirmium and mentioned in ancient sources, but yet again, this was the area urbanised since the 1st century. Was the absence of rustic villas in southeast Pannonia connected to the fact that this part was only partially colonised? Has the approach towards the colonization in the 2nd century changed in comparison to the period before? Was the uneven urbanization in direct contact with the inability of the Roman state to deforest large areas simultaneously? Was the urbanisation of Pannonia unfinished due to the inability to cultivate certain parts of the land?

However, a contribution to this problem has to be added. Although Roman Pannonia is usually perceived as a settled land covered with county estates and villages, mostly based on the present appearance of that area, such perception is probably very wrong. Three main geographical features of Pannonia were found in the descriptions of classical authors – mountains, forests, and swamps. South Pannonia was described as “acorn-producing” (Plin. NH III 25, 147),⁷⁵ implying that the area was covered with vast oak forests. Such description resembles images found in the works of Josip Kozarac,⁷⁶ a Croatian forester and writer of the 19th century, who described the last remnants of

⁷¹ Mócsy 1974, 112–119.

⁷² Bojanovski 1988, 337–338.

⁷³ Gregl / Migotti 2003.

⁷⁴ Schejbal 2003.

⁷⁵ Domić-Kunić 2012, 31.

⁷⁶ Kozarac 1888.

virgin oak forests that still existed in his lifetime. Among other descriptions, he described how those forests were cut down and gradually turned into arable lands. A share comparison of modern maps with those made in the 18th century⁷⁷ shows how the processes of development and deforestation changed the landscape over the past 300 years. Unfortunately, there has been no scientific work carried out regarding the history of deforestation in Croatia. Therefore, there was no established pattern to be applied to Roman times. Though, one thing is certain: southern Pannonia, as described by the authors of the 1st century CE, was not a land suitable for large-scale colonisation.⁷⁸ In order to execute the colonisation, it was necessary to turn vast forests and swamps into arable lands. And above all, that was a gradual process. Therefore, it should be considered that gradual transformation of southern Pannonian *civitates peregrinae* into colonies and *municipia* might be seen as a consequence of the gradual deforestation and creation of new arable land that took place over the course of more than two generations⁷⁹ (Pl. 38, Fig. 4). This would also explain why the upper parts of the Sava and the Drava rivers were chosen for the initial stage of urbanisation. While until the rule of Hadrian the colony of Sirmium was the only large settlement in the southeast part, with the establishment of Poetovio under Trajan most of the southwest was allocated to the newly found towns. Southwest Pannonia was under direct control of the Roman army since the late Republic, therefore, it can be assumed that the army started with the deforestation already in the early 1st century. Hence, it is not surprising that this part was municipalised during the 1st century and that large estates were found. The southeast part was municipalised during the 2nd century, therefore, the deforestation was probably executed much later than in the southwest part. This might be the reason why southeast Pannonia is lacking evidence for the existence of rustic estates.

The area that could be used as a case study for such assumption is the area around the modern city of Đakovo (Croatia), presumed location of the Roman settlement Certissia. It was mentioned in itineraries as a crossroad on the main regional road Siscia – Sirmium. The administrative status of Certissia is not known, although it is presumed that Certissia had been the centre of local *civitas*.⁸⁰ It is located 30–40 km from the Roman cities of Mursa and Cibalae, so it is hard to determine whether Certissia was part of either of the municipal territories or was it an autonomous community. Mursa was a colony founded by Hadrian, while Cibalae gained its status of *municipium* under Hadrian or Antoninus Pius. Therefore, the territories of those two towns were settled during the 2nd century, meaning that most of the rural settlements should already exist by the mid-2nd century. However, extensive rescue excavations executed in Đakovo area in 2005–2008 before the construction of the 5C highway revealed only rural settlements dating to the 3rd and 4th centuries, with not a single excavated structure from the

⁷⁷ HTZ.

⁷⁸ Domić-Kunić 2012, 32.

⁷⁹ Kovács 2014, 265.

⁸⁰ Perinić 1998; Nagy 2004, 77–78; Migotti 2012c.

2nd century.⁸¹ Therefore, before the 3rd century, the area of Certissia was a rather desolate region, which was not part of the development as the rural areas around towns of Mursa and Cibalae. If the presumption on gradual deforestation is valid, then the Đakovo region probably went under the process of deforestation after the territories of Hadrianic cities were cultivated, and rural areas around those cities reached a certain level of development. Consequently, the presumed territory of civitas of Certissia could not be open for settlement before the late 2nd century. Current insight in that area shows that Certissia has originated as a country estate that was transformed into a small city, which then presumably became the centre of the micro-region during the late Roman period. Although little can be noted on this settlement, two examples of gilded glass vessels show that it was not an insignificant settlement, but current research shows that this was a gradual development that lasted two centuries.⁸²

This gradual development of settlements in the rural landscape is attested by the excavation on the site of Ivandvor situated only 6 km from ancient Certissia. Large-scale excavation revealed a Roman village. Its foundation can be probably related to the first half of the 3rd century. Initially, it was a small horse-breeding farm that occupied an area of 5 ha. In the first decades of the 4th century, this farm was transformed into a village spreading over an area of more than 20 ha. It was populated not only by “Romanised Pannonians”, but also by barbarians originating from across the Danube⁸³ (Pl. 38, Fig. 5). The fact that this rural area had a significant population growth in the 4th century corresponds to the historical fact that Pannonia was prepared for a large-scale settlement in the 3rd century. Relating to previous assumption on deforestation, it can be assumed that the postponed gradual development also indicated a postponed deforestation of this area.

Results of excavations in the Đakovo region revealed yet another aspect of life in the rural landscape. It is the impact of roads. Certissia was an important intersection along the Siscia–Sirmium road. This road, which connected Aquileia and Byzantium/Constantinople, was considered to be one of the main roads of the Roman Empire. The road passed through an area of strategic importance, and the trade in goods provided a sound basis for development and growth. Assuming that this road was built already in the 1st century, signs of Roman occupation should have been found along this road. However, this was the not case. All significant signs of Roman presence were dated from the 3rd and 4th centuries. The most illustrative are late Roman finds such as the abovementioned gilded sandwich glasses from Certissia,⁸⁴ or the find of three ceremonial helmets from the village Berkasovo in Serbia.⁸⁵ All those exquisite objects were found in 4th century contexts, in areas that might have been identified as underdeveloped regions only a century earlier. Excavations in Certissia and Ivandvor, but also in Sirmium and Cibalae, furthermore attested to an increase in population and economic

⁸¹ Haraša / Bekić 2007; Leleković 2008a; Leleković 2012, 292–293.

⁸² Migotti 2002; Migotti 2012c.

⁸³ Leleković 2012, 292, 296.

⁸⁴ Migotti 2002.

⁸⁵ Manojlović-Marijanski 1964.

growth of the areas along this road, which occurred during the 4th century. The road Siscia–Sirmium gained further importance in the 4th century, and this obviously had a strong impact on the surrounding areas.

Renaissance of the 4th century cannot be asserted in the same way in southwest Pannonia as it is in the southeaster part. In southwest the prevailing number of late Roman finds is concentrated in Siscia, while the rural landscape seems empty, at least according to current knowledge. There are few exceptions. One is the cemetery of Tekić/Treštanovci in the Slavonic mountains.⁸⁶ It was situated on the road connecting Siscia and Mursa. This late Roman site reveals that rural development in southern Pannonia was not only limited to areas around main rivers, but also took place in more remote regions. Although the question remains which areas might be perceived as remote around the road of Siscia–Mursa. The problem is that the site of Tekić/Treštanovci was situated close to the border line between *Pannonia Savia* and *Secunda*, so it is possible that it was positioned east of that demarcation line. In that case, the only sites that were showing development during the 4th century were the sites of Suvaja and Osekovo, also in *Savia*. A geophysical survey has shown that Osekovo was a complex consisting of stone and brick buildings with an area of 2 ha (Pl. 40, Fig. 7), but archaeological excavations showed that outside of this core complex, a villa had spread at least to the north with additional wooden extensions and buildings.⁸⁷ This one example of a large estate opens the perspective on Pannonia *Savia* that corresponds to the initial perception established for the northern part of Pannonia. This is a vision of a landscape with scattered large luxurious villas, which were probably centres of large estates owned by rich individuals or families in the provincial capital of Siscia. Another possible example of such estates is the site of Suvaja on the Bosnian and Herzegovinian side of the Siscian territory.⁸⁸ However, the level of research in the Bosnian and Herzegovinian part of Pannonia is an impediment for the Roman archaeology of southern Pannonia. Information on that part of Pannonia is scarce and rare, but would be of great importance for the understanding of the development of southern Pannonia and to conduct research into it. This can be seen in the example of two villas on the site of Benkovac near Nova Gradiška.⁸⁹ Those two luxurious villas were not in the territory of either of the nearby municipalities, but most probably within the borders of the presumed *civitas* of Oseriati. Ascribing those two villas to a *civitas* shows that it is not necessary to put *villae rusticae* in a causal relationship with colonies and *municipia*. However, their position opened up another question: regarding the nature, size, and wealth of the settlement, which had no administrative status. More specific, the centre of the presumed *civitas* *Oseriati* is Servitium,⁹⁰ the city that was the point where the

⁸⁶ Sokač-Štimac 2005.

⁸⁷ Bobovec 2005.

⁸⁸ Bojanovski 1988, 336–337; Gračanin 2010, 17; Leleković / Rendić-Miočević 2012, 303.

⁸⁹ Gorenc / Damevski 1984, 101; Mihaljević 2006, 202–203; Leleković / Rendić-Miočević 2012, 286–287.

⁹⁰ Bojanovski 1988, 336–337.

road from the port of Salonae entered the Sava basin. Due to the simple fact that this city operated as a transportation cross-point along the Sava River, through the Dinaric Alps and towards the Adriatic Sea,⁹¹ it was one of the most important logistics, transportation, and commercial centres, even though it had no administrative status.

Conclusion

This paper aimed to show the importance of the regional approach in the study of Roman Pannonia. Above all, new archaeological evidence shows that differences between the northern and southern parts are too overwhelming to ignore. Initially, the discrepancy between north and south was mostly a consequence of recent political events. The south of Pannonia was just another name for the Yugoslav part of Pannonia for a large part of the 20th century. Consequently, Roman provincial archaeologists who worked in Yugoslavia considered the Drava River as a natural and political border for their research. With the end of Yugoslavia, the question emerges whether the division between the northern and southern parts can be seen only as a leftover of that time. This paper followed the logic of defining cultural and economic differences within Pannonia, to determine specific sub-regions in southern Pannonia as defined territories with distinctive identities, economic and social development. The question that has to be examined is where the provincial borders in this part of the Empire arbitrary lines drawn in the imperial cabinet or were they established according to distinctive characteristics of communities that lived within each province.

For example, the opinion that Pannonia was divided into Superior and Inferior was primarily only to balance of military power and due to a different approach to the defence of the border still prevails among many other assumptions.⁹² The aim of this paper was not to deny the crucial impact of the military on life in Pannonia. It cannot be denied that limes had a considerable impact on life in the Danube area, while the inner part of the province was defined by daily civilian life. But, this paper aimed to discover other aspects of provincial life that could have caused the administrative separation of these two parts, primarily those revealed by current research: different burial rites, different levels of rural development, and different levels of urbanisation. As elaborated in the paper above, the division of Pannonia might also be a consequence of determining differences between these two parts, indicating that the border between Superior and Inferior had its basis on the socio-economic differences between these regions.

Confirmation of the influence of the actual situation on the definition of provincial borders became more evident when the areas of the distribution of such phenomena, particularly *busta* and *tumuli*, were correlated to the administrative boundaries of Diocletian. Péter Kovács suggested that the division of provinces was not an instant decision, but rather a process that lasted for one or two decades.⁹³ It should not be dismissed that local politicians and local communities tried to influence the establishment of new

⁹¹ Bojanovski 1974, 192–202; Migotti 2000, 197, 200.

⁹² Mócsy 1974, 92–93.

⁹³ Kovács 2015.

provinces to suit their needs and local identities. It is, therefore, to be assumed that those borders mirrored the existence of the regional communities with distinctive identities and characteristics.

In addition to this, it is essential to consider one more aspect of regionalism. It might be that the entire Pannonia shared one historical narrative, but along with its different narratives might have existed on sub-regional levels as well. The history of the south was probably different from the one of the north. History of southwest Pannonia did differ from that of the southeastern part. However, we also have to consider that some cities might have had their local histories that differed altogether from the provincial narrative(s). The best example is an important centre in southern Pannonia — Siscia. Facts show that this Pannonian metropolis was the oldest Roman post in the region, one of the most important commercial centres in the area, as well as the administrative seat of the Pannonian mines. Siscia was the location of the imperial mint. These facts require a more complex and deeper approach to the narrative of one city within regional history. Yet another example is the city of Cibalae. It became a *municipium* under Hadrian. Under Caracalla, it gained the status of a colony, but Cibalae reached its peak after the mid-4th century. Historical data and early Christian finds show that southern Pannonia experienced a renaissance of the 4th century along with the rest of Pannonia.⁹⁴ The thriving of cities is not surprising; particularly of Sirmium and Siscia, considering that they became the new provincial capitals. Yet, little is known about everyday life in the cities and the region itself. Studies conducted on stone monuments from Sirmium did show significant development from the end of the 3rd century onwards,⁹⁵ but similar data from other south Pannonian cities are unknown. Contexts and finds from the 4th and the 5th centuries are rare in the Roman towns south of the Drava, but this should not be surprising. The brick and stone buildings in the majority of cities were built in the 2nd and 3rd centuries, and mostly they were not abandoned at least until mid-5th century. Consequently, archaeological finds were not deposited within city-walls but were thrown out with the rest of the garbage and residue outside of the city. In a way, the absence of deposits and residual layers from this time only testify that the cities continued to live during this period. For most, there is no evidence that towns experience any significant growth either. The only exception, along with Sirmium, was the city of Cibalae. Archaeological investigation revealed numerous developments and beautifications of the town. The most impressive one was the church outside the city walls on the site of Kamenica, possibly a type of imperial foundation.⁹⁶ Another striking piece of evidence was the treasure found in Vinkovci in 2012, consisting of about 50 items: trays, bowls, plates, cups, and spoons, with a total mass of about 36 kg.⁹⁷ The sheer fact that the Valentinian dynasty originated from that city changed the history of this city completely. Might this have also been the case with Sirmium or Mursa? It is

⁹⁴ Mócsy 1974, 319–322; Jarak 1994; Migotti 1997; Buzov 2010.

⁹⁵ Đurić *et al.* 2006, 122.

⁹⁶ Rapan-Papeša 2011, 210–211.

⁹⁷ Finds are under restoration, currently published only in the public media and popular magazines.

yet to be considered whether similar developments could be observed in rest southeast Pannonia. Could the fact that some emperor originated from this region have influenced its development during the second half of the 3rd and the 4th century?

In the end, I have to explain myself. Excavations conducted in Mursa in the past 15 years have revealed the rich and complex local history of this city, which is yet to be fully appreciated. The example mentioned above of the eastern suburb of Mursa shows that cities experienced changes during their history. Luxurious residences of the Severan period replaced wooden shantytowns of the Antonine period, just to be abandoned altogether in the mid-3rd century⁹⁸ (Pl. 39, Fig. 6). Over a century, Mursa grew to double its original size, just to contract back to the perimeter of the original colony. Yet, according to the late Roman sources, Mursa continued to be an important centre even in the 4th century. It was the seat of the bishop and the post of the Danube fleet.⁹⁹ It is not possible to determine if this was the consequence of the decrease in population, but the contraction of life to the city walls did show the reduction in the level of security. The decline in size and safety certainly does not mean that Mursa diminished in its importance or administrative status. It was quite the contrary.

Only the history of this city may substantially change the perception and acknowledgements regarding the history of southeast Pannonia and the understanding of the developments on the Danubian limes. Consequently, any local histories can bring to question any regional or provincial generalisation. For this reason, I tried to distance myself from histories of individual cities in creating an overview, or, it could be said, creating a new perspective of the region, that is supposed to be a guideline for my future research. Only further research can either improve this vision of southern Pannonia or dismiss it altogether. Yet alone, the main aim of this paper is to show how a perception created decades ago still influences present research in a way that it should not. Opinions and acknowledgements have to be permanently re-examined and reconsidered alongside the material evidence. Alas, this is often not the case for the archaeology of southern Pannonia. Hopefully, this paper will succeed in offering some new perspectives but also open up some further questions.

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⁹⁸ Filipović 2006.; Leleković 2008a.

⁹⁹ Clemente 1968, 440–445; Not. Dign. [occ.] ed. Booking p. 92: “praefectus classis istricae Mursae”; Sardelić 2012, 77.

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IOAN PISO

Die Ziegelstempel als Quelle für die Geschichte der Provinz Dakien*

Tafel 41

Der vorliegende Aufsatz enthält zwei Teile: der erste bezieht sich auf das militärische Leben in der Provinz, das die gesamte Wirtschaft bedingt¹, der zweite auf die zivile Ziegelproduktion, die mit den wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Strukturen² nicht weniger fest verbunden ist.

Für alle Aspekte ist es besonders nützlich, den qualitativen Standard der römischen Ziegel in Erinnerung zu bringen. Der Kollege Florin Fodorean hat mich freundlicherweise auf eine BBC Dokumentation (*Roman Bath*) aufmerksam gemacht³. Ein Team, dem Spezialisten für römische Bäder, römische Bautechnik und Chemiker angehörten, hatte sich vorgenommen, ein römisches Bad in der antiken Technik und ausschließlich aus echten römischen Materialien zu bauen. Alles verlief reibungslos, bis auf eine Ausnahme: Trotz großer Sorgfalt zerbrachen manche Ziegel im Ofen, und einige explodierten sogar. Die Erklärung der Spezialisten war, dass die Römer die Ziegel monatelang trockneten, während die Teilnehmer am Projekt nur ein paar Wochen zur Verfügung hatten⁴. Dieses Beispiel beweist, was für ein komplizierter Vorgang das Herstellen von römischen Ziegeln und Dachziegeln war. Erforderlich war Ton bester Qualität, der nicht leicht zu finden und abzubauen war. Der Ton musste wie ein Teig ordentlich geknetet werden; das Trocknen der Ziegel nahm längere Zeit in Anspruch und musste überdies in einer günstigen Jahreszeit durchgeführt werden; der Ofen musste aus schon

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¹ Mócsy 1992, 143: „Das Militär war mit seinem fachmännischen Personal und mit seiner Produktivarbeit nicht nur im allgemeinen ein treibender Faktor im Wirtschaftsleben unserer Provinzen. Die provinziellen Behörden der Reichsregierung konnten von der Produktion der Truppen auch einen weiten Gebrauch im zivilen Bereich machen“.

² Siehe für die sozialen Strukturen während der Kaiserzeit Alföldy 2011, 118–272.

³ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ULgLy2MfYOg> (letzter Zugriff 23.03.2020).

⁴ Vgl. Warry 2006, 28, der meint, dass die Ziegel vor dem Brennen ungefähr zwei Wochen getrocknet wurden; Kurzmann 2006, 16: mehrere Tage. Demgegenüber schildert Vitruvius II 3, 2 die Technologie für die *lateres crudi*, die zwei Jahre bzw. fünf Jahre getrocknet werden mussten.

vorhandenen Bauziegeln bestehen, die von tadelloser Qualität waren; und der Brennvorgang musste perfekt verlaufen⁵. Es handelte sich um getrennte Arbeitsvorgänge, für die spezialisierte Handwerker benötigt wurden. Nur unter solchen Bedingungen ließ sich das hohe Qualitätsniveau römischer Ziegel erreichen. Dakien bildete diesbezüglich keine Ausnahme.

Wer sich dieser Tatsachen bewusst ist, wird leicht verstehen, dass die Entstehung einer Ziegelindustrie nur unter gewissen Bedingungen möglich war, das heißt in einem provinzialisierten Gebiet und nicht etwa während Kriegszügen oder im Zuge der militärischen Besetzung eines Territoriums, als die Truppen ganz andere Sorgen hatten. Wie schwierig es war, selbst nach erfolgter Provinzialisierung eine Ziegelindustrie in Betrieb zu setzen, ist am Beispiel Dalmatiens ersichtlich. Beginnend unter Claudius haben die dortigen Legionen und Auxiliärtruppen ihre eigenen Ziegel hergestellt und, abgesehen von wenigen Ausnahmen, zu militärischen Zwecken verwendet. Andererseits wurden im 1. Jahrhundert die Städte entlang der Küste und ihr nächstes Hinterland mit Ziegeln überflutet, die aus Kaiser- und Privatziegeleien aus dem Nordosten Italiens stammten und nach Dalmatien verschifft wurden⁶. Es war anscheinend der bequemste und der billigste Weg, sich Baumaterial zu verschaffen. Erst langsam hat sich auch hier eine eigene Produktion entwickelt.

Jedoch glauben einige Fachleute, dass die an den dakischen Kriegen beteiligten römischen Truppen anhand der Ziegel, die von ihnen während ihres Vormarsches produziert und verbreitet worden sein sollen, identifiziert werden können. Das würde heißen, dass die römischen Truppen im Feindesland, wenn sie nicht gerade gegen die Daker kämpften, keine bessere Beschäftigung hatten, als auf die oben beschriebene mühselige Weise Ziegel herzustellen; oder vielleicht haben sie die Ziegel mitgebracht, um, wie Hänsel und Gretel, den Rückweg zu markieren. So wurden die in den Thermen bei Buridava (Stolniceni) aufgefundenen Ziegelstempel P S = *P(editum) s(ingularium)* (Taf. 41, Abb. 1)⁷ der Garde des untermösischen Statthalters zur Zeit der dakischen Kriege zugewiesen⁸. Thermen während eines Feldzugs zu bauen zählte aber kaum zu den Aufgaben eines römischen Feldherrn. In Buridava haben wir es eher mit dem Sitz des unterdakischen Präsidialprokurators seit Hadrians Herrschaft zu tun⁹. Die Ausführungen von M. Zahariade und D. Lichiardopol bezüglich der Truppenbewegungen 101–105 in der Walachei dürften im Prinzip richtig sein¹⁰, aber sie basieren auf Ziegeln, die laut Verfassern in diesen Jahren hergestellt worden seien, was nicht bewiesen werden

⁵ Siehe zur Technologie der römischen Ziegelherstellung Spitzlberger 1968, 81, 101–103.

⁶ Siehe Wilkes 1979, 65–72.

⁷ IDR II 564; dazu noch die Ziegel der *cohors II Flavia Bessorum* (IDR II 561–562).

⁸ Tudor 1964, 347–351; Tudor 1978, 34, 217, 270; siehe auch Bichir 1985, 94–95; Bichir 1988, 101, 103 Abb. 1.

⁹ Piso 1993, 40–41.

¹⁰ Zahariade / Lichiardopol 2006, 121–133.

kann. In Wirklichkeit dürften diese Ziegel erst nach 106 in den Kastellen der Nordwalachei produziert oder eher noch in diese verbracht worden sein¹¹. In einem ausgesprochen polemischen Aufsatz bemerkt C. H. Opreanu Folgendes: „Das Hauptargument jener, die eine frühe Besetzung des Banats [ab 101] nicht akzeptieren, besteht in der Überzeugung, dass es in einem nicht provinzialisierten Gebiet keine Ziegel mit dem Stempel der Legion geben kann“¹². Er bezieht sich auf eine Behauptung von mir, mit welcher ich mich aber auf die dakischen Burgen bzw. auf die Landschaften Oltenien und Walachei bezog¹³. Ich habe auch nie an einer frühen römischen Besetzung des Banats gezweifelt. Wovon ich aber fest überzeugt bin, ist die Tatsache, dass während der dakischen Kriege keine militärische Ziegelproduktion möglich war¹⁴.

Eine ähnliche Konfusion besteht bezüglich der Anfänge der im Hatzeger Land gelegenen römischen *colonia Sarmizegetusa*. Aufgrund von Ziegelstempeln der *legio XIII Gemina* wurde vermutet, dass der künftigen Colonia ein Lager dieser Legion vorangegangen sei¹⁵. Nehmen wir als Beispiel folgenden Stempel, der sich auf quadratischen Hypokaustziegeln findet: *Leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae) / Pomponi(i) Fortis*, (Taf. 41, Abb. 2). Dieser Stempel ist in großer Zahl aus Apulum bekannt¹⁶, und er kommt auch in Aquae¹⁷ und Micia¹⁸ sowie in den Kastellen von Arcobadara (Ilișua)¹⁹ und Gilău²⁰ vor.

¹¹ Piso 2000, 213–214 mit Anm. 100 = Piso 2005a, 413 mit Anm. 100, mit der Literatur.

¹² Opreanu 2006, 54. Es geht hier in erster Linie um das große Lager von Berzobis (Berzovia); siehe dazu zuletzt Flutur 2006, 165–169.

¹³ Piso 2000, 213.

¹⁴ Für eine Parallele zu den Truppenlagern des Tiberius an Rhein und Lippe siehe Piso 2000, 209 mit Anm. 47 und 53 = Piso 2005a, 406–407 mit Anm. 47 und 53. Als Gegenargument führt Opreanu 2006, 55 die römischen Ziegel von Mušov, Stare Mesto und Mikulice nördlich der Donau an, wobei er aber die diesbezügliche Literatur nur oberflächlich kennt. Zu den Ziegeln von Mušov schreibt Bouzek 1994, 175: „Die Ziegel für das Dach und die Hypokausten des „Kommandantenhauses“ und des Bades wurden wohl mittels Booten über die March und Thaya nach Mušov transportiert“. Auch wurde in Mušov kein Ziegelstempel der *legio X Gemina*, wie Opreanu behauptet, sondern eine Verbindungsplatte einer Paraderüstung mit der Inschrift LEG X gefunden; siehe Teyral 1994, 300. Ein Ergebnis kann auch mittels eines „sokratischen“ Zwiegesprächs erreicht werden: „Ich bestehe darauf, dass die Ziegel während der dakischen Kriege hergestellt wurden“. „Und wo wurden sie gebrannt?“ „Selbstverständlich in Öfen“. „Und woraus bestanden diese Öfen?“ „Selbstverständlich aus Ziegeln“. „Und woher stammen diese Ziegel?“ „???“ „Wurden sie von den Legionen nach Dakien mitgebracht oder wurden sie den Römern vielleicht von den Dakern zur Verfügung gestellt?“.

¹⁵ Strobel 1984, 95–96, 201–202 mit Anm. 278; vgl. Strobel 2010, 250; Moga 1985, 61. Leider hat Băeștean 2012, 144–145 neulich dieselbe Theorie wiederum aufgegriffen.

¹⁶ CIL III 1629, 22 = 8065, 32 = IDR III/6, 239, sehr ähnlich mit IDR III/6, 240. Beide *signacula* wurden von derselben Hand hergestellt.

¹⁷ IDR III/3, 12, 1.

¹⁸ IDR III/3, 195, 20.

¹⁹ Protase *et al.* 1997, 55; Protase / Gaiu 1997, 418–419.

²⁰ IDR, App. II, LXXXVIII/2.

Er dürfte überdies nicht den ersten Jahre der Provinz, sondern vielleicht der Zeit Hadrians zuzuweisen sein²¹. Trotz der großen und vielfältigen Ziegelproduktion der Colonia Sarmizegetusa dürfte es manchmal vorgekommen sein, dass die lokalen Vorräte erschöpft waren oder dass es an speziellen Ziegeln, wie jenen, die für Heizanlagen gebraucht wurden, mangelte. Letztere Ziegel mussten mit besonderer Sorgfalt hergestellt werden²². Man brachte solches Baumaterial auf dem Fluss Mureş bis Petrae (Uroi) und von dort mit Pferde- oder Ochsenwagen nach Sarmizegetusa. Dies dauerte jedenfalls weniger lang, als die Ziegel an Ort und Stelle herzustellen.

Es kann somit keine Rede davon sein, dass im noch nicht provinzialisierten Dakien eine Ziegelindustrie entstanden wäre. Demzufolge wurden auch die Dachziegel der *legio IIII Flavia Felix*, mit denen die ersten Baracken und die ersten öffentlichen Gebäude von Sarmizegetusa bedeckt wurden, erst nach 106 hergestellt²³, und dies unabhängig von der Frage, ob wir es zuerst mit einem Legionslager²⁴ oder aber, wie wir eher glauben, von Anfang an mit einer Stadt zu tun haben²⁵.

Die Bautätigkeit der Legionen in Dakien unter Trajan war nicht nur auf die eigenen Lager, sondern auf den gesamten Limes ausgerichtet²⁶. Genauer zu betrachten ist die Frage, in welcher Form diese sich vollzog. Es gilt gemeinhin als Axiom, dass die zwei Legionen der neuen Provinz, nämlich die *legio IIII Flavia Felix* und die *legio XIII Gemina*, sich Dakien irgendwie aufteilten und dass ihre Vexillationen die Kastelle der Auxiliartruppen errichteten²⁷. Dieser Befund soll sich aus der räumlichen Streuung der Ziegelstempel der beiden Legionen ergeben. Die Theorie lässt sich bisher aber nur in Tihău belegen, allerdings nicht anhand von Ziegeln, sondern durch einen Steinblock, der die Inschrift *vexillat(io) / leg(ionis) XIII / Gem(inae)*²⁸ trägt. Nehmen wir aber das

²¹ Ad IDR, App. II, LXXXVIII/2; vgl. Opreanu 2011, 146, der eine viel spätere Datierung annimmt. Derselbe Autor meint, dass „the *centuria* seems to be specialised in building the baths“, vielleicht in der Annahme, dass eine *Centuria* der *legio XIII Gemina* überallhin geschickt wurde, wo Thermen gebaut wurden. Auch kann es sich kaum um eine *Centuria* handeln; vgl. AE 1939, 19 = IDR II 107: *Aurelius Mercurius milis c(ohor)tis I sagitt(ariorum) in / figlinis magis⁵ter / super milites LX. Scripsit / Aurelius Iulianus / milis co(ho)rtis prima(e)*. Pomponius Fortis war, wie auch andere Soldaten, die im selben Kontext auf Ziegeln erwähnt werden, ein *immunis*, der sich an der Spitze einer *figlina* befand; vgl. AE 1930, 33 (Bonna): *imm(unis) figl(inae)*; siehe hierzu Spitzlberger 1968, 80 mit Anm. 55.

²² Helen 1975, 50; Spitzlberger 1968, 101.

²³ Für die Typologie dieser Legionsstempel s. Piso 1996, 154–157 = Piso 2005a, 296–299.

²⁴ Kürzlich wurde diese Theorie von Băeştean 2012, 131–145 besonders polemisch vertreten.

²⁵ Man beachte die Diskussion bei Étienne *et al.* 2006, 72–76; siehe auch Piso 2000, 209–210 = Piso 2005a, 407–408.

²⁶ Für die Verteilung von Ziegeln der *legio III Italica*, ausgehend von den *figlinae* in Abbach, über den gesamten rätischen Limes s. Spitzlberger 1968, 89–96; im Falle Obergermaniens wurde das Baumaterial der *legio VIII Augusta* zwischen 70–90 n. Chr. auf einem Areal von ungefähr 120 x 40 km verbreitet; s. Delencre / Garcia 2011, 553–562.

²⁷ Für die *legio IIII Flavia Felix* s. Protase 1967, 65; vorsichtiger Glodariu 1966, 433; für die *legio XIII Gemina* Moga 1985, 54–75.

²⁸ AE 1994, 1484.

Beispiel von Porolissum. Hier wurden 7 Ziegelstempel gefunden, die zwei sehr ähnliche Typen repräsentieren: *Leg(ionis) XIII Ge(minae)* (Taf. 41, Abb. 3)²⁹. Diese Stempel sind mit einem bekannten Typ aus Apulum identisch³⁰. Laut N. Gudea soll in Porolissum kurz nach der römischen Eroberung eine Vexillation der *legio XIII Gemina* stationiert worden sein³¹. Sollte diese Vexillation das betreffende *signaculum* aus Apulum mitgebracht haben³²? Wahrscheinlicher ist, dass man Ziegeltransporte von Apulum nach Porolissum geschickt hat, was vielleicht eine Woche dauerte, als die Ziegel mühsam an Ort und Stelle herzustellen³³. Es sollte in diesem Zusammenhang auch bemerkt werden, dass es sich um Hypokaustziegel handelt, die, wie bereits erwähnt, mit äußerst großer Sorgfalt hergestellt wurden. Man dürfte sie für den Bau des *praetorium* oder der Thermen verwendet haben³⁴.

Die enorme Zahl der militärischen Stempel der Provinz Dakien erlaubt viele Folgerungen, die nicht nur für diese Provinz gelten³⁵. Gemeinsam mit Dan Deac wurden über 1400 Ziegelstempel aus dem Museum von Zalău³⁶, mit Felix Marcu über 600 Ziegelstempel aus dem Museum von Cluj³⁷ bearbeitet. Diese Studien ermöglichen uns eine wesentlich klarere Sicht auf die Truppengeschichte der Dacia Porolissensis. Ich bedanke mich bei den beiden Kollegen für die gelungene und fruchtbare Zusammenarbeit.

Eine der ersten Lehren, die wir aus diesen Forschungen gezogen haben, bestand darin, dass es nicht genügt, die einzelnen Ziegelstempel richtig zu lesen. Nicht weniger wichtig sind die Statistik der Stempel aller Truppen in einem Kastell, die Statistik aller Stempel derselben Truppe im selben Kastell, sowie die Statistik derselben Truppe in mehreren Kastellen. So wurde zum Beispiel festgestellt, dass fast alle von den Legionen hergestellten Ziegel gestempelt sind³⁸. Dies scheint im Falle der *legio IIII Flavia Felix* für die Ziegel von Sarmizegetusa³⁹ und vielleicht auch für die *legio V Macedonica* in Potaissa zuzutreffen. Bemerkenswert bei dieser zweiten Legion ist die große Zahl der verwendeten *signacula*. Es ist schwierig, zwei oder drei identische Stempel zu finden. Das heißt wahrscheinlich, dass für jede Ladung von Ziegeln ein neues *signaculum* aus

²⁹ CIL III 8064, 1 y-z = IDR, App. I, IX-X.

³⁰ IDR III/6, 95.

³¹ Gudea 1978, 66-67; Gudea 1989, 161-162.

³² Vgl. Spitzlberger 1968, 108: „Das Mitnehmen von Formstempeln bei Truppenverlegungen wird sich nur selten gelohnt haben“.

³³ Für das Problem siehe auch Kurzmann 2006, 4-5.

³⁴ Siehe IDR, App. I, ad IX-X.

³⁵ Es ist schade, dass in ihrem ansonsten ausgezeichneten Buch, in welchem sie die Ziegelindustrie des ganzen Reiches behandelt, Kurzmann (2006) über Dakien nur wenige Worte verliert; für die Produktion der *legio XIII Gemina* in Apulum begnügt sie sich mit einem Zitat aus Ritterling. Aus den ihr völlig unbekanntem IDR III/6, die das Instrumentum aus Apulum enthalten, hätte sie erfahren, dass sich hier die reichste legionäre Ziegelproduktion entwickelt hat.

³⁶ IDR, App. I.

³⁷ IDR, App. II.

³⁸ Für Britannien siehe Warry 2006, bes. 85. Das Verhältnis zwischen gestempelten und nicht gestempelten Ziegeln soll zwischen 1:1 und 1:80 liegen; s. Spitzlberger 1968, 82.

³⁹ Piso 1996, 154-157 = Piso 2005, 296-299.

Holz geschnitzt wurde. Deswegen sind diese Stempel so primitiv, und deswegen sind kaiserliche Epitheta auf ihnen so selten zu finden⁴⁰. Die Stempel der *legio XIII Gemina* sind ebenfalls sehr zahlreich⁴¹, aber die *signacula* wurden mit mehr Sorgfalt gefertigt und von den Arbeitsmannschaften länger benutzt. Es lassen sich also Unterschiede zwischen der Ziegelproduktion von zwei Legionen innerhalb derselben Provinz feststellen. Allerdings ist zu bemerken, dass die *legio XIII Gemina* bereits seit 106 und die *legio V Macedonica* erst seit 168/170 in Dakien aktiv waren, und dass die beiden Truppen aus jeweils verschiedenen Teilen des Reiches nach Dakien gekommen sind.

Eine andere Feststellung ist, dass erhabene Buchstaben auf Stempeln sowohl des 2. als auch des 3. Jahrhunderts erscheinen, während die Stempel mit eingepprägten Buchstaben in der Regel in das 3. Jahrhundert zu datieren sind⁴². Eine weitere allgemeine Feststellung ist, dass im 3. Jahrhundert die Qualität der Schrift stark abnimmt und in vielen Fällen die Buchstaben kaum noch zu erkennen sind, was auf die primitive und unprofessionelle Art, die *signacula* herzustellen, zurückzuführen ist. Wahrscheinlich wurde die Stempelung des Baumaterials um die Mitte des 3. Jahrhunderts auch in Dakien eingestellt⁴³. Was sich im Zuge der Erforschung der genannten Ziegelstempel ergeben hat, wird im Folgenden durch ausgewählte Beispiele veranschaulicht.

Im 2. Jahrhundert war im Kastell von Pomet bei Porolissum die *cohors I Brittonum* ∞ stationiert⁴⁴. Am Anfang des 3. Jahrhunderts bzw. am Anfang der Herrschaft Caracallas wurde die *cohors I Brittonum* ∞ von der *cohors III Campestris* ∞ abgelöst⁴⁵. Diese Cohors war es, die Caracalla in den *principia* eine Statue auf Quadriga errichtete⁴⁶. Aufgefunden wurden 6 Stempel mit erhabenen Buchstaben der *cohors I Brittonum* (Taf. 41, Abb. 4)⁴⁷ gegenüber 591 Stempeln einer *cohors III*, die ich mit der *cohors III Campestris* identifiziere⁴⁸. Die 591 Stempel, zumeist mit eingepprägten Buchstaben, sind fünf Typen zuzuweisen (Taf. 41, Abb. 5a–c) und bilden die absolute Mehrheit der in Porolissum aufgefundenen Ziegelstempel. Das Verhältnis von 6:591 der gefundenen Stempel entspricht zweifellos dem tatsächlichen Verhältnis zwischen den Ziegeln, die von beiden Truppen hergestellt wurden. Hervorzuheben ist, dass es sich nur um Dachziegel und nicht auch um Bauziegel handelt. Die nächstliegende Erklärung ist, dass anfänglich, nach der Einrichtung der Provinz, die *cohors I Brittonum* nur die *principia*, das *praetorium* und die Thermen mit Dachziegeln ausstattete, während die

⁴⁰ Siehe IDR App. II, VIII–LIX. Ein ähnlicher Fall ist jener der *legio III Italica*. Bei Spitzberger 1968, Taf. 5–11 sind 302 Typen von Stempeln dieser Legion zu finden.

⁴¹ IDR III/6, 1–268.

⁴² Eine ähnliche Meinung bei Spitzberger 1968, 99.

⁴³ Siehe für Britannien Darvill / McWhirr 1984, 245–246.

⁴⁴ Siehe das Wesentliche über die *cohors I Brittonum* ∞ bei Gudea 1977, 129–134; Spaul 2000, 195–197; Petolescu 2002, 87–88; IDR, App. I, S. 66–67; IDR, App. II, S. 99–100.

⁴⁵ Siehe Piso 2005b, 325–331; ferner für die Geschichte der Truppe, bevor sie nach Porolissum versetzt wurde, Spaul 2000, 30–31; Petolescu 2002, 92–95.

⁴⁶ AE 2001, 1707.

⁴⁷ IDR, App. I, XXVIII.

⁴⁸ IDR, App. I, XXX–XXXV.

Baracken mit Schindeln bedeckt wurden. Anlässlich des Besuches Caracallas im Jahre 213⁴⁹ — oder vielleicht auch erst infolge dieses Besuches — wurden die Baracken mit Dachziegeln bedeckt und auch andere Arbeiten verrichtet⁵⁰. Am Werk war diesmal vor allem die *cohors III Campestris*, aber eine Vexillation der hispanischen *legio VII Gemina* sowie die *cohors V Lingonum* und der *numerus Palmyenorum* haben sich an den Arbeiten beteiligt.

Zu ähnlichen Schlussfolgerungen gelangt man auch im Falle anderer Kastelle aus der Dacia Porolissensis, zum Beispiel im Falle von Bologna. Zwei Stempel der *cohors I Brittonum* ∞⁵¹ und drei Stempel der *cohors II Hispanorum*⁵², alle mit erhobenen Buchstaben, gehören ins 2. Jahrhundert. Demgegenüber wurden in Bologna 126 äußerst primitive, in 7 Typen unterteilte Ziegelstempel mit eingepprägten Buchstaben der *cohors II Hispanorum*⁵³ und 72 ähnliche, in 5 Typen unterteilte Ziegelstempel der *cohors I Aelia Gaesatorum*⁵⁴ aufgefunden. Es scheint plausibel, diesen Sachverhalt ähnlich wie in Porolissum zu erklären: Im 2. Jahrhundert wurden in Bologna nur die wichtigsten Gebäude, die außerdem aus Stein gebaut waren, von der *cohors I Brittonum* und von der *cohors II Hispanorum* mit Dachziegeln bedeckt, während im 3. Jahrhundert, vermutlich wiederum anlässlich des Besuches Caracallas, dasselbe mit den Baracken geschah⁵⁵. Es wird sich zeigen, ob die laufenden Grabungen, die von Felix Marcu geleitet werden, diese Hypothese bestätigt werden.

Was soeben über die Schindeldächer gesagt wurde, gilt nur für die Auxiliarkastelle. Die Dynamik der Funde zeigt, dass in den Legionslagern die Baracken von Anfang an mit Ziegeln bedeckt waren.

Was bedeutet es aber, wenn derselbe Stempeltyp in mehreren benachbarten Kastellen erscheint? Heißt das, dass die betreffende Truppe in allen diesen Kastellen stationiert war, gleichzeitig oder der Reihe nach? Nein, in solchen Fällen muss man damit rechnen, dass die Truppe nur in einem der Kastelle stationiert war und dass sie für dringende Arbeiten auch andere Truppen mit überschüssigem Baumaterial versorgte. Von den zahlreichen aus Dakien bekannten Beispielen soll eines genügen: Wir konnten beweisen, dass die *cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum* (CPAI) ihre Garnison im Kastell von Călugăreni hatte, von wo sie Ziegel nach Sărățeni schickte, wo die *cohors I Alpinorum*

⁴⁹ Daicoviciu 1965, 238–241; neue Stellungnahmen zu diesem Problem bei Kovács 2012, 381–394; Opreanu 2015, 16–20 und Piso 2015, 429 mit Anm. 14; Piso / Deac 2018, 756–762.

⁵⁰ IDR, App. I, S. 66, 95–96.

⁵¹ IDR, App. I, XXVII; IDR, App. II, CXIX.

⁵² IDR, App. I, LI; IDR, App. II, CXXXIV. Das Wesentliche über diese Truppe bei Gudea / Zahariade 1980, 66, Nr. 8; Spaul 2000, 129–130; Petolescu 2002, 113–114.

⁵³ IDR, App. I, LI–LIX; IDR, App. II, CXXXIV–CXL.

⁵⁴ IDR, App. I, XXXIX–XLIII; IDR, App. II, CXXVIII–CXXXII. Das Wesentliche über diese Truppen bei Gudea 1996, 87–96; Gudea 1997, 25–26; Spaul 2000, 479; Petolescu 2002, 103–104.

⁵⁵ IDR, App. II, S. 100, 119, 137.

(CPALP) stationiert war. Diese schickte wiederum ihre Ziegel nach Inlăceni, wo die *cohors III Hispanorum* (CIIIIHISP) lag⁵⁶.

Wenn man eine ganze Provinz im Auge behalten will, sollte man einige Grundideen in Erinnerung bringen. Beginnen wir damit, dass das römische Heer keine juristische Person war und rechtlich kein Eigentümer von Land sein konnte⁵⁷. Früher hat man angenommen, dass die Legionen über militärisches Nutzland verfügten, das als Baugrund für Lager, Amphitheater und Bäder diente und das auch Übungsplätze, Weiden, Steinbrüche, Kalkbrennereien, Ziegeleien und Töpfereien umfasste⁵⁸. Die Ausdehnung dieses Nutzlandes wurde anhand der räumlichen Streuung von Ziegelstempeln ermittelt⁵⁹, im Falle der *legio XIII Gemina* soll es eine Größe vom Umfang ganz Oberdakiens besessen haben⁶⁰. Auf eine ähnliche Weise wurde die Ausdehnung des Territoriums der Auxiliartruppen geschätzt. Militärisches Nutzland in solchen Dimensionen existierte aber nie⁶¹. Hingegen hat man der Legion einen Bereich *intra leugam*, das heißt innerhalb eines Radius von 2,2 km, zugewiesen, in dem sich das Lager, die *canabae* und alle militärischen und wirtschaftlichen Installationen, die dem Militär dienten, befanden⁶². Den Auxiliarformationen dürften strategische Bereiche mit einem kleineren Radius von etwa einer halben Meile zugewiesen worden sein⁶³. Innerhalb dieser Zonen entstanden die Kastelle und die *vici militares*. Selbstverständlich konnte der Kaiser den Truppen überall Tongruben und andere wirtschaftliche oder strategische Areale aus dem *ager publicus* zur Verfügung stellen. Bezeichnend ist, dass die Ziegelproduktion Eigentum des Heeres war, wobei der Stempel eine Art Besitzvermerk dargestellt haben dürfte⁶⁴. Deswegen sollte man den Namen der Truppen im Genitiv auflösen. Deswegen muss man auch die Möglichkeit erwägen, dass solches Baumaterial von der Armee an Zivilisten verkauft werden konnte⁶⁵.

Jede Diskussion über den Rechtsstatus des Territoriums einer Provinz hat als Ausgangspunkt Gaius II 7: *in eo (provinciali) solo dominium populi Romani est vel Caesaris*⁶⁶. In Dakien war das gesamte Gelände, mit Ausnahme des Territoriums der Städte, die mit *ius Italicum* ausgestattet wurden, *ager publicus*. Dieser wurde von den Gemeinden benutzt oder dem Heer oder dem Fiskus zugewiesen. Lenken wir unsere Aufmerksamkeit auf den Fiskus. Innerhalb der Mauern der *colonia Aurelia Napocensis*, in einem Gebäude, das ich mit dem *praetorium* des Finanzprokurators der Dacia Porolissensis

⁵⁶ Piso / Marcu 2006–2007, 172–176.

⁵⁷ Vittinghoff 1994, 129–130.

⁵⁸ Petrikovits 1981, 163–166.

⁵⁹ Siehe zum Beispiel Rüger 1968, 56–60.

⁶⁰ Moga 1985, 75–77.

⁶¹ Siehe schon die berechtigten Zweifel von Mócsy 1992, 139–144.

⁶² Piso 1991, 139–141 = Piso 2005a, 160–163.

⁶³ Piso 1991, 146–147 mit Anm. 98 = Piso 2005a, 173–174 mit Anm. 98.

⁶⁴ Siehe Spitzlberger 1968, 82.

⁶⁵ Mócsy 1992, 141: „Ein legaler Gebrauch von militärischen Ziegeln durch gewisse Teile der Zivilbevölkerung muß angenommen werden“.

⁶⁶ Siehe dazu besonders Bleicken 1974, 359–367.

identifiziert habe⁶⁷, wurden sieben Ziegelstempel *Fisc(i)* oder *Fisc(alis)* gefunden (Taf. 41, Abb. 6)⁶⁸. Die nächste Analogie, *Fiscal(is)*, ist in Rätien in Bad Gögging zu finden⁶⁹. Ein derartiger Stempel lässt nur eine Deutung zu: Der Ton wurde auf dem Grund des kaiserlichen Fiskus gewonnen, und die Ziegelbrennerei befand sich daselbst. Es scheint, dass die betreffenden Ziegel ausschließlich beim Bau des *praetorium* des Finanzprokurators von Napoca verwendet wurden.

Ein ähnlicher Fall begegnet im *praetorium* des Finanzprokurators der Dacia Apulensis in Sarmizegetusa. Der diesbezügliche Stempel lautet *C(ai) V(- - -) C(- - -) / pr(ocuratoris) Au(gusti)* (Taf. 41, Abb. 7)⁷⁰. Die Buchstaben C V C gehören entweder zum Namen des Finanzprokurators oder zu jenem des *officinator*.

Im Territorium einer Stadt konnte alles, was sich außerhalb des *ager centuriatus* befand, das heißt der *ager extra clusus*, die *loca relicta* oder *subseciva*, an Private verpachtet werden⁷¹. Aus Sarmizegetusa kennen wir mehrere Ziegelstempel, die dies bezeugen: *R(ei) p(ublicae) Amab(ilis)*⁷²; *R(ei) p(ublicae) A(- - -) Bel(- - -)* (Taf. 41, Abb. 8)⁷³; *R(ei) p(ublicae) A(- - -) Sec(undi?)*⁷⁴; *R(ei) p(ublicae) - - -*⁷⁵. In diesen Fällen gehörte das Grundstück der Gemeinde (*res publica*), während Amabilis und die übrigen als *conductores* (Pächter) zu verstehen sind. Einem ähnlichen Fall begegnen wir in Napoca: *R(ei) p(ublicae) N(apocensis)* (Taf. 41, Abb. 9)⁷⁶. Hier wird aber der *conductor* nicht genannt⁷⁷.

Ein viel besprochener Fall ist jener des Stempels PRCOS aus Sarmizegetusa (Taf. 41, Abb. 10)⁷⁸. Die nächste Analogie ist der Stempel COS aus Augusta Vindelicum⁷⁹, während die Buchstaben PR die übliche Abkürzung von *pr(aedia)* darstellen⁸⁰. Es würde uns zu viel Zeit kosten, alle Theorien zu diesem Stück darzulegen. Archäologisch hat man unbestreitbar festgestellt, dass diese Ziegelei ihren Betrieb zu Ende der Regierung Trajans bzw. zu Anfang der Regierung Hadrians ihren Betrieb aufnahm und dass sie massenhaft für öffentliche Bauten produziert hat⁸¹. Meines Erachtens haben

⁶⁷ Piso 2013b, 165–167.

⁶⁸ CIL III 8075, 24 = ILD 574 = IDR, App. II, CLVI.

⁶⁹ Spitzlberger 1968, 97, 169, Nr. 355–356; Czysz 1995, 214–215 Abb. 37/1; Dietz / Fischer 1996, 131.

⁷⁰ CIL III 8075, 5 = IDR III/2, 567 = Piso 1996, 159–160, Nr. 8 = Piso 2005a, 302, Nr. 8; siehe Piso 2013a, 179–180.

⁷¹ Ørsted 1985, 44, 88–90.

⁷² CIL III 8075, 12 = IDR III/2, 547 = Piso 1996, 162, Nr. 10 = Piso 2005a, 304, Nr. 10.

⁷³ IDR III/3, 379 = Piso 1996, 162–163, Nr. 11 = Piso 2005a, 305, Nr. 11.

⁷⁴ CIL III 8075, 13 = IDR III/2, 548 = Piso 1996, 163, Nr. 12 = Piso 2005a, 305–306, Nr. 12.

⁷⁵ Piso 1996, 163–164, Nr. 13 = Piso 2005a, 306, Nr. 13.

⁷⁶ Piso 1996, 197, Nr. 108 = Piso 2005a 341, Nr. 108 = IDR, App. II, CLIX.

⁷⁷ Ein ähnlicher Fall im Territorium von Glevum: AE 1969–1970, 315a = RIB 2486, 23: *R(ei) p(ublicae) G(levensium)*; siehe Darvill / McWhirr 1984, 248.

⁷⁸ Piso 1996, 160–162, Nr. 9 = Piso 2005a, 303–304, Nr. 9 = AE 1996, 1283.

⁷⁹ CIL III 6003; Czysz 1995, 214–215 Abb. 37/4.

⁸⁰ CIL XV, 1, *passim*; Helen 1975, 38.

⁸¹ Piso 2006, 321.

wir es entweder mit D. Terentius Scaurianus, dem Statthalter, unter welchem die Colonia Sarmizegetusa gegründet wurde⁸², oder aber mit seinem Sohn D. Terentius Gentianus⁸³, Patrizier und zugleich Patron der Colonia, zu tun⁸⁴. Es ist wahrscheinlich, dass die beiden im Territorium von Sarmizegetusa ein Grundstück erworben haben und dass sie aus dem hier abgebauten Ton Ziegel herstellten und verkauften.

Die Rolle der Ziegelproduktion in der Wirtschaft einer Provinz kann ohne die Deutung der Stempel von Privatziegeleien nicht verstanden werden. In Rom und in Latium erscheinen in den komplizierten Ziegeltexten zwei Namen. In solchen Fällen ist in der ersten Person der *dominus* und in der zweiten der *officinator* zu erkennen; zwischen diesen besteht das Rechtsverhältnis von *locatio – conductio*⁸⁵. Dagegen wird auf den Ziegeln von Dakien nur eine einzige Person genannt. Sie ist eindeutig mit dem *dominus*, das heißt mit dem Besitzer des *praedium*, in welchem der Ton abgebaut wurde, und auch der *figlina*, der dazu gehörenden Ziegelei⁸⁶, zu identifizieren⁸⁷. Das heißt für den kleineren und den mittleren Grundbesitz, dass der *dominus* zugleich *officinator* war. Grundlegend ist hier das Verhältnis zwischen der Ziegelproduktion und dem Grundbesitz. In der Regel wurden bei der Verbreitung des von Zivilpersonen produzierten keramischen Baumaterials die Grenzen des munizipalen Territoriums nicht überschritten; es war zumeist von lokaler Bedeutung⁸⁸.

Sarmizegetusa, wo nicht weniger als 37 Privatziegeleien bekannt sind⁸⁹, bietet uns hierfür das reichste Material. Eine derart hohe Zahl von Stempeln zeugt von einem regen wirtschaftlichen Verkehr und von Konkurrenz⁹⁰. Für den mittleren und den Großgrundbesitz bedeutete die Ziegelproduktion auch hier ein zusätzliches Einkommen; zugleich war Baumaterial für den eigenen Haushalt verfügbar⁹¹. So wurden die Stempel Ἀφ(- -) Φουος(- -)⁹², *L(ucii) D(omitii?) P(- -)*⁹³ und *M(anii) Ser(vilii?) Donati* (Taf. 41, Abb. 11)⁹⁴ in je einer *villa* gefunden⁹⁵. Besonders lehrreich ist der letzte Fall. Ziegel

⁸² CIL III 1443 = IDR III/2, 1 = Piso 2006, 214, Nr. 2; zur Laufbahn und Tätigkeit in Dakien dieses Konsulars siehe zuletzt Piso 1993, 13–18; A. Strobach, PIR² T 88; Piso 2013a, 13–15.

⁸³ CIL III 1463 = Dessau 1046 = IDR III/2, 99; siehe zuletzt A. Kriekhaus / M. Horster, PIR² T 71.

⁸⁴ Piso 2006, 321.

⁸⁵ Helen 1975, 130.

⁸⁶ Siehe dazu H. Dressel, CIL XV/1, S. 4; Spitzlberger 1968, 80; vgl. Helen 1975, 39–41.

⁸⁷ Piso 1996, 198 = Piso 2005a, 343.

⁸⁸ Siehe für Britannien Darvill / McWhirr 1984, 249–254.

⁸⁹ Piso 1996, 164–199 = Piso 2005a, 306–345.

⁹⁰ Vgl. Darvill / McWhirr 1984, 245: „the civilian brickmakers seem rather reluctant to stamp their products“, was zumindest auf dem Territorium von Sarmizegetusa nicht der Fall war.

⁹¹ Helen 1975, 112–13; Setälä 1977, 19–21; Piso 1996, 199 = Piso 2005a, 343–344.

⁹² Piso 1996, 164, Nr. 16 = Piso 2005a, 307, Nr. 16.

⁹³ CIL III 1633, 18 (= 8075, 7) = IDR III/2, 552 = Piso 1996, 172, Nr. 29 = Piso 2005a, 325–326, Nr. 29.

⁹⁴ CIL III 8075, 17 (= 12638) = IDR III/2, 565 = Piso 1996, 180, Nr. 45 = Piso 2005a, 334–335, Nr. 45.

⁹⁵ Für die eigene Produktion der Villen in Britannien siehe Darvill / McWhirr 1984, 242, 255–256.

mit diesem Stempel wurden noch im Ofen, in dem man sie brannte, in der Anlage der Villa auf Dealul Sucionilor bei Hobîța, 2 km südlich von Sarmizegetusa, entdeckt⁹⁶.

In Sarmizegetusa haben wir es vor allem mit dem Grundbesitz der Dekurionen zu tun⁹⁷. Demzufolge gehören die auf den Ziegeln vermerkten Namen zumeist Dekurionen von Sarmizegetusa beziehungsweise römischen Rittern. Einige von diesen Personen können identifiziert werden: Ein L. Antonius Rufus war *decurio* und *duumviralis* von Sarmizegetusa⁹⁸. Einer seiner Söhne, der homonyme L. Antonius Rufus, römischer Ritter, wurde zum *pontifex coloniae* und zum *fisci advocatus*⁹⁹. Einem der beiden gehörte die Ziegelei, welche die Ziegel mit dem Stempel *Ant(onii) Rufi* (Taf. 41, Abb. 12) herstellte¹⁰⁰.

Die L. Ophonii traten in Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen zu den einflussreichen L. Domitii. Ein Sprössling dieser Verbindung, L. Ophonius Pap(iria) Domitius Priscus, *duumvir coloniae*, baute unter Septimius Severus die zwei prächtigen Marmornymphäen vor dem Eingang zum Forum vetus¹⁰¹. Zwei Vertreter der Familie der L. Ophonii besaßen Ziegeleien, die Ziegel mit den Stempeln *L(ucii) Op(honii) A(- - -)* (Taf. 41, Abb. 13)¹⁰² und *L(ucii) Op(honii) L(- - -)*¹⁰³ herstellten.

P. Antonius Super war *decurio coloniae* unter Severus Alexander. Dachziegel mit dem Stempel *P(ublii) Ant(onii) S(uperi)* (Taf. 41, Abb. 14)¹⁰⁴ wurden im Forum vetus, und zwar in den Ruinen der *aedes Augustalium* gefunden. Dank einer Bauinschrift wissen wir, dass dieses Kultlokal um dieselbe Zeit wiederhergestellt wurde¹⁰⁵.

Ein M. Turranius Fronto ist als *decurio coloniae* bekannt¹⁰⁶. Diesem oder einem anderen Mitglied der Familie ist der Stempel *M(arci) Tur(anii) I[- - -]*¹⁰⁷ zuzuweisen.

Sowohl die M. Cominii als auch die M. Cornelii waren hoch angesehene Familien aus Sarmizegetusa. Zu einem Mitglied einer der beiden Familien dürfte der Stempel *M(arci) C(- - -) C(- - -)*¹⁰⁸ gehört haben.

⁹⁶ Floca 1941–1944, 431–440.

⁹⁷ Piso 1996, 199 = Piso 2005a, 344; für Großgrundbesitz in Dakien siehe Piso 1995a, 437–443.

⁹⁸ CIL III 1489 = IDR III/2, 375; IDR III/2, 104; CIL III 1490 = IDR III/2, 376.

⁹⁹ AE 2001, 1719; für die Geschichte dieser Familie, die sich über drei Generationen erstreckt, siehe Ardevan 1998, 199; Piso 2001, 363–370 = Piso 2005a, 459–466.

¹⁰⁰ CIL III/2, 8075, 4a–b = IDR III/2, 542 = Piso 1996, 165, Nr. 17 = Piso 2005a, 308, Nr. 17.

¹⁰¹ AE 2003, 1520 = Piso 2006, 243–244, Nr. 25; AE 2003, 1521 = Piso 2006, 245–247, Nr. 26.

¹⁰² CIL III 942 = IDR III/3, 317 (Ampelum); siehe für ihn Ardevan 1998, 547, Nr. 16; Piso 2002–2003, 215–218, Nr. 15.

¹⁰³ Piso 1996, 179, Nr. 43 = Piso 2005a, 333–334.

¹⁰⁴ AE 1933, 241 = IDR III/2, 134 = Piso 2006, 250, Nr. 30.

¹⁰⁵ IDR III/2, 5 = AE 1982, 832 = Piso 2006, 263, Nr. 41.

¹⁰⁶ CIL III 1511 = IDR III/2, 445.

¹⁰⁷ CIL III 12637 = IDR III/2, 556 = Piso 1996, 181, Nr. 47 = Piso 2005a, 335–336, Nr. 47; für die M. Turranii siehe Ardevan 1998, 199, 554, Nr. 98–99.

¹⁰⁸ IDR III/2, 549 = Piso 1996, 170, Nr. 25 = Piso 2005a, 312–313, Nr. 25. Für die M. Cominii siehe Ardevan 1993, 227–235; Ardevan 1998, 197, Nr. 1.

Die Stempel *C(ai) I(ulii) Val(- - -)*¹⁰⁹, *C(ai) I(ulii) V(al- - -)*¹¹⁰, *I(ulii) Val(- - -)*¹¹¹, *Iul(ii) Va(l- - -)*¹¹² und nochmals *I(ulii) Val(- - -)*¹¹³ lassen sich nicht mit Sicherheit einer bestimmten Person zuweisen. Dennoch sei bemerkt, dass wir in Sarmizegetusa einen C. Iulius Valens, *duumvir iure dicundo*¹¹⁴, und einen C. Iulius Valerius, *duumviralis coloniae*¹¹⁵, kennen.

Das Erscheinen von L. Domitii in Sarmizegetusa¹¹⁶ berechtigt, auch im Namen *L(u-cii) D(omitii) P(- - -)*¹¹⁷ ein hoch angesehenes Mitglied dieser Familie zu vermuten.

Andererseits deuten Cognomina wie *Asclepius*¹¹⁸, *Iulius*¹¹⁹ und *Marcus*¹²⁰ auf Grundbesitzer niederen Standes hin, das erste vielleicht auf einen Freigelassenen, aber keineswegs Sklaven¹²¹.

Ein großangelegtes industrielles Areal wurde ungefähr 400 m süd-östlich der Stadtmauern von Sarmizegetusa entdeckt. Zwei große Öfen für das Brennen von Ziegeln wurden dort ausgegraben und mehrere weitere identifiziert¹²². Es gibt leider keinen Hinweis auf den Großgrundbesitzer, der sich diese Anlagen hatte leisten können.

Trotz der riesigen militärischen Ziegelproduktion¹²³ waren in Apulum auch private Ziegeleien tätig. Unter den bisher acht bekannten Ziegeleien¹²⁴ dieser Art treten besonders die eines *P(ublili) Ael(ii) Teren(tiani?)* mit ihren sieben Stempelvarianten¹²⁵ und die eines *P(ublili) C(- - -) Lo(- - -)*¹²⁶ hervor. Auf die Ziegel des zweitgenannten Produzenten wurde auch der Stempel *Leg(ionis) XIII Ge(minae)* aufgedrückt, was heißt, dass er im Auftrag der Legion arbeitete¹²⁷. Ziegel mit diesem Stempel wurden auch nach

¹⁰⁹ CIL III 8075, 1a = IDR III/2, 540 = Piso 1996, 176, Nr. 36 = Piso 2005a, 330, Nr. 36.

¹¹⁰ CIL III 8075, 1b-c = IDR III/2, 560 = Piso 1996, 176-177, Nr. 37 = Piso 2005a, 330, Nr. 37.

¹¹¹ CIL III 8075, 1e = IDR III/2, 560 = Piso 1996, 177, Nr. 38 = Piso 2005a, 330-331.

¹¹² CIL III 8075, 1d, h = IDR III/2, 560 = Piso 1996, 177-178, Nr. 39 = Piso 2005a, 331, Nr. 39.

¹¹³ CIL III 8075, 1f-h = IDR III/2, 560 = Piso 1996, 178, Nr. 40 = Piso 2005a, 332, Nr. 40.

¹¹⁴ CIL III 1477 = 7979 = IDR III/2, 419.

¹¹⁵ AE 1933, 248 = IDR III/2, 113; siehe für seine Familie Ardevan 1998, 198-199.

¹¹⁶ CIL III 7952 = IDR III/2, 280; siehe oben auch den L. Ophonius Domitius Priscus, *duumvir coloniae*.

¹¹⁷ CIL III 1633, 18 (= 8075, 7) = IDR III/2, 552 = Piso 1996, 172, Nr. 29 = Piso 2005a, 325-326, Nr. 29.

¹¹⁸ CIL III 8075, 33-34 = IDR III/3, 21, 24, 277a = Piso 1996, 168-169, Nr. 22 = Piso 2005a, 311, Nr. 22.

¹¹⁹ IDR III/2, 557 = Piso 1996, 173, Nr. 30 = Piso 2005a, 326, Nr. 30.

¹²⁰ CIL III 8075, 18 = IDR III/2, 561 = Piso 1996, 178-179, Nr. 41 = Piso 2005a, 332-333, Nr. 41.

¹²¹ Piso 1996, 198 = Piso 2005a, 343.

¹²² Alicu 1984, 467-475.

¹²³ Siehe IDR III/6, 1-284.

¹²⁴ IDR III/6, 287-293, 296-304.

¹²⁵ IDR III/6, 296-302.

¹²⁶ IDR III/6, 303.

¹²⁷ Țețea / Voişian 2015, 33, Nr. 4. Das ist vielleicht die Erklärung dafür, dass in Alburnus Maior Stempel dieses Produzenten zusammen mit Stempeln der *legio XIII Gemina* (33-34, Nr.

Alburnus Maior geschickt. In Apulum konnte bislang kein Name eines Privatproduzenten mit einem bekannten zivilen Amtsträger der Stadt in Verbindung gebracht werden. In Porolissum wurde die private Ziegelproduktion von der Produktion des Militärs stark überschattet. Trotzdem finden wir auch hier ein Graffito *L(ucii) I(- - -) X(- - -)* (Taf. 41, Abb. 15), das einen militärischen Stempel nachahmt und einem privaten Produzenten zugeschrieben werden kann¹²⁸.

Die zivile Ziegelproduktion von Tibiscum wurde von der Militärproduktion keineswegs überschattet. In der älteren Literatur wurden Stempel wie *A E P*¹²⁹, *A I M*¹³⁰, *A R F*¹³¹, *G T I*¹³², *M A S Y*¹³³, *M I D*¹³⁴, *P C H*¹³⁵ und *T L V*¹³⁶ vermeintlichen oder sogar frei erfundenen Truppen zugeschrieben. Wir haben es aber zweifellos mit zivilen Produzenten zu tun¹³⁷. Die Tatsache, dass diese hier so zahlreich auftreten, ist damit zu erklären, dass außerhalb der strategischen Schutzzone um das Auxiliarkastell, die vielleicht einen Radius von einer halben Meile hatte¹³⁸, sich noch im 2. Jahrhundert das Territorium der Colonia Sarmizegetusa erstreckte; derselbe zum Banat gehörende Gebietsstreifen wurde im 3. Jahrhundert dem Municipium Tibiscum eingegliedert¹³⁹.

Was Napoca betrifft, so kennen wir aus dem Territorium der Stadt, dank den Stempeln *P(ublili) Ae(lii) Quieti*¹⁴⁰ und *Val(erii) Cat(- - -)*¹⁴¹, zivile Produzenten, die für ihre eigenen Villen und für die Nachbarschaft Ziegel herstellten. Innerhalb der Stadt wurden bislang keine privat fabrizierten Ziegel gefunden. Bemerkenswerterweise kamen hier mehrere Stempel *Ex(ercitus) D(aciae) P(orolissensis)* (Taf. 41, Abb. 16) an den Tag¹⁴². Bei Napoca gab es aber nie ein Auxiliarkastell. So dürften diese Ziegel von einem Kastell der Dacia Porolissensis, wo sie hergestellt wurden, am ehesten von Gilău, nach Napoca gebracht worden sein¹⁴³. Die beste Gelegenheit wäre die Gründung des Municipiums unter Hadrian¹⁴⁴ gewesen, als die Provinzbehörden die neue Stadt mit Baumaterial beliefert haben könnten.

1–3, 5–13) gefunden wurden. Von einer Vexillation dieser Legion in Alburnus Maior kann keine Rede sein; vgl. Ţentea 2015, 43–44.

¹²⁸ IDR, App. I, LXXXI/1–2.

¹²⁹ IDR III/1, 257.

¹³⁰ IDR III/1, 258.

¹³¹ IDR III/1, 259.

¹³² IDR III/1, 261.

¹³³ IDR III/1, 262.

¹³⁴ IDR III/1, 263.

¹³⁵ Ebenda.

¹³⁶ IDR III/1, 264.

¹³⁷ Siehe IDR App. III, 155–219, Nr. CIV–CXV; 223–238, Nr. CXXI–CXXIII.

¹³⁸ Siehe für die Hypothese einer solchen Schutzzone Piso 1993, 147, Anm. 98 = Piso 2005a, 174, Anm. 98.

¹³⁹ Piso 1995b, 79–80 = Piso 2005a, 289–290.

¹⁴⁰ Aus Viştea, IDR, App. II, CLXII/1–5.

¹⁴¹ Aus Chinteni, IDR, App. II, CLXIII.

¹⁴² IDR, App. II, XCII.

¹⁴³ IDR, App. II, ad XCII/XCIV.

¹⁴⁴ Eine knappe Geschichte der Stadt bei Ardevan 1998, 61–65.

Was in der Untersuchung des keramischen Baumaterials von Dakien bislang noch fehlt, sind petrographische Analysen des Tons, die uns die Herkunft und den Transport der Ziegel besser dokumentieren könnten.

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LYUBA RADULOVA

Problemi di *portorium* in Moesia Inferior — controversie e confini

1. Introduzione

Il presente lavoro intende concentrarsi su un singolo aspetto della tassazione romana — il *portorium*¹, l'imposta indiretta sulla circolazione delle merci destinate alla rivendita. L'obiettivo, tuttavia, non è porsi questioni generali sulla natura e le fondamenta giuridiche di questo tipo di imposta, ma focalizzarsi su due documenti epigrafici particolari della Moesia Inferior, i quali permettono di conoscere alcuni problemi concreti, legati al funzionamento pratico del *portorium* nella zona.

2. L'*immunitas* di Tyras. IOSPE I² 4.

La prima epigrafe che viene presa in esame risale al 201 d.C.², proviene dalla città di Tyras nella parte nord-orientale della Moesia Inferior³ ed è iscritta su una lastra di

¹ Sulla natura del *portorium* cfr. soprattutto Cagnat 1882; Dobó 1940; De Laet 1949; Vittinghoff 1953, 346–399; Berger 1953, 656, s.v. *portoria*; Tatscheva 1996, 177–182.

² Alle rr. 41–42 viene riportata la data 17 febbraio 201, espressa sia attraverso la formula tradizionale romana, costituita dalla datazione consolare, il mese e il giorno del mese calcolato in base alle *Kalendae*, sia usando un sistema locale. Sul problema se le tre lettere siano coeve e possono essere fatte risalire tutte al 201 d.C., le opinioni degli studiosi divergono. Basandosi sulla menzione di *divi Antonini parentis nostri; fratrum Imperatorum e Antonii Hiberi gravissimi praesidis* contenuta nella lettera a Eraclito, Becker (Becker 1850, 416–469) sostiene fermamente che essa sia stata redatta dall'imperatore Commodo, mentre le altre due lettere sarebbero una conferma dell'atto di Commodo fatta successivamente da Settimio Severo e Caracalla; secondo lo studioso, dunque, le tre lettere iscritte sulla stele di Tyras apparterebbero ad epoche diverse. Anche se Becker non offre prove sicure a favore di tale ipotesi, la sua opinione viene condivisa anche da Bruun (Bruun 1853, 47–66) e Mercklin (Mercklin 1853, 161–166). D'altro canto, invece, Henzen e Orellius (Henzen / Orellius 1856, 273, 642) osservano che il termine *parens* riferito a un *divus Antoninus* sembra essere adoperato piuttosto dai Severi e non da un figlio naturale quale Comodo. Egli sostiene inoltre che, se la lettera ad Eraclito fosse scritta da Commodo, i Severi non ne avrebbero allegato il testo per intero, ma l'avrebbero solo menzionata come fanno con gli altri privilegi precedenti. Così le tre lettere iscritte sul monumento di Tyras sarebbero coeve; tale opinione viene condivisa anche da Mommsen (CIL III 718 comm.) e Latyshev (IOSPE I² 4 comm). Dal momento che l'ipotesi di Henzen e Orellius sembra la più economica, essa viene accettata anche dal presente lavoro.

³ ILS 423; CIL III 781, 12509; FIRA 1909, 261, nr. 89; IOSPE I 3; IOSPE I² 4; FIRA 1941, 442–444, nr. 86; IGRPP 598; Abbott / Johnson 1926, 456–457, nr. 130; De Laet 1949, 405;

marmo bianco, mutila nella parte superiore (134 x 77 x 14; lettere: 2 cm) e trovata insieme alla base calcarea pertinente, non iscritta (26 x 97 x 91 cm).

L'iscrizione non riporta un singolo documento, bensì un dossier consistente di tre documenti diversi. I primi due⁴ sono redatti in lingua latina e appartengono alla tipologia delle lettere imperiali. Mittenti di entrambi sono gli imperatori Settimio Severo e Caracalla; il primo testo è indirizzato al *legatus Augusti pro praetore* della Moesia Inferior C. Ovinius Tertullus⁵, mentre il secondo ha come destinatario un certo Eraclito, probabilmente funzionario doganale. La terza lettera⁶ è redatta in greco ed è indirizzata dal governatore provinciale Tertullus alle autorità di Tyras. In realtà, però, l'analisi contenutistica dimostra che si ha un nucleo costituito da una singola lettera imperiale, quella indirizzata a Eraclito, che riguarda determinati problemi di *immunitas*, mentre le altre due lettere hanno solo la funzione di accompagnare la prima, introducendone il contenuto alle altre persone interessate.

Dai termini *immunitas*⁷, *privilegium*⁸ e *beneficium*⁹ risulta che oggetto della corrispondenza imperiale è un privilegio nella tassazione, concesso alla città di Tyras. La menzione di *res promercales*¹⁰, *fructum Illyricum*¹¹ e *professionibus ad discernenda munifica mercimoniorum*¹² rimanda alla terminologia attinente al *portorium*.

Conviene ricordare brevemente che il *portorium* è un tipo di imposta indiretta che riguarda la circolazione di merci, all'interno dell'Impero e prevede il versamento di una certa somma all'attraversamento dei confini di vari livelli. Oggetto del *portorium* sono le merci *promercales*, destinate cioè a essere rivendute sul mercato, mentre le merci *usuariae*, riservate a uso privato, ne sono esentate¹³. Centrale in questo senso è il ruolo

Johnson *et al.* 1961, 222–223, nr. 272; Bernhardt 1980, 190–207; Bernhardt 1982, 343–352; Conole / Milns 1983, 183–200; Gascou 1999, 47–61.

⁴ Rr. 1–7 e rr. 8–31.

⁵ PIR² O 127; Thomasson 1984, 139,107; Boteva 1996, 242; Stoev 2017, 115. Cfr. AE 2001, 1748; AE 1993, 1374; AE 1997, 1325; IScM II 84; IScM IV 216; CIL III 14428; CIL III 14447.

⁶ Rr. 32–45.

⁷ Rr. 1, 26.

⁸ Rr. 1, 20.

⁹ Rr. 10, 30.

¹⁰ R. 20.

¹¹ R. 23. La menzione dell'*Illyricus fructus*, infine, è un'ulteriore conferma del fatto che il beneficio in questione riguarda proprio il *portorium*; infatti per gli scopi della tassazione l'Impero Romano viene suddiviso in vari complessi doganali, che non coincidono con i confini delle province, ma spesso includono in sé province diverse. Uno di questi complessi è appunto quello dell'Illyrico che comprende, a parte l'Illyrico propriamente detto, anche le province della Dacia, Moesia Inferior e Superior, Pannonia Inferior e Superior, Dalmatia, Noricum, Raetia. Trovandosi in questo periodo nella Moesia Inferior, la città di Tyras ricade proprio all'interno di questo complesso doganale. Cfr. Cagnat 1882, 19–103; De Laet 1949, 175–242, soprattutto 209–210; Dobó 1940; Tatscheva 1996, 177–182.

¹² Rr. 21–22.

¹³ R. 20; cfr. Colum. 1.8.13: *Neve negotietur sibi pecuniamque domini aut animalibus aut rebus aliis promercalibus occupet...* Cfr. anche *res venales* (D. 39.4.16.3: *Marcianus l. S. de*

degli uffici doganali, davanti ai quali vengono fatte dichiarazioni riguardo la destinazione delle merci e del loro valore¹⁴. L'esenzione dal pagamento del *portorium* è automatica per l'imperatore¹⁵ e alcune categorie particolari di persone¹⁶. Come un beneficio straordinario, tuttavia, tale esenzione può essere concessa anche a certi individui, o ad intere comunità – è questo il caso attestato nel dossier mesiaco di Tyras.

Le *immunitates* concesse come beneficio straordinario possono dar luogo alla nascita di pretese false e infondate, avanzate da parte di comunità che non hanno il diritto a tali privilegi. Proprio questo è il problema centrale del dossier di Tyras. Si nota, infatti, che nelle lettere qui analizzate viene prestata particolare attenzione al problema delle origini di questo privilegio e della sua base legale. Viene messa in dubbio, infatti, la fondatezza delle pretese della città, la quale sostiene di essere titolare di *immunitas* del *portorium*.

Il passo *quoniam divi Antonini parentis nostri litte/ras sed et fratrum Imperatorum cogitamus item / Antonii Hiberi gravissimi praesidis quod attinet*¹⁷ suggerisce che il privilegio messo in dubbio non è nuovo, ma esiste almeno dall'età di Marco Aurelio ed è stato riconfermato da non meno di due imperatori successivi e da un governatore provinciale¹⁸. Ciò nonostante, le lettere imperiali severiane sottolineano più volte la mancanza di prove riguardo alla legittimità di tale privilegio, il quale viene, anzi, dichiarato usurpato appositamente o per errore¹⁹. Sembra dunque che tra la metà del II secolo d.C. e l'inizio del III secolo d.C., la città abbia goduto dell'esenzione del *portorium*, pur non essendo in grado di presentare le prove della fondatezza delle proprie pretese. Intorno al 201 d.C., invece, l'*immunitas* di Tyras si vede improvvisamente trasformata in un serio problema amministrativo-giuridico.

delator. Quotiens quis mancipia invecta professus non fuerit sive venalia sive usualia, poena commissi est). Cagnat 1882, 105–106; De Laet 1949, 425–431.

¹⁴ Sulle dichiarazioni doganali e l'evasione fiscale cfr. SEG XXXVI, 1027, rr. 15–16; 48–53; Quint. Declam. CCCXLI: *Quod quis per publicanos inprofessum transtulerit, commissum sit. Quidam rem furtivam transtulit per publicanos, non professus est. Deprehensa res est.*; D. 39.4.16.3: *Marcianus l.S. de delator. Quotiens quis mancipia invecta professus non fuerit sive venalia sive usualia, poena commissi est.* Sull'evasione fiscale nella *lex portus Asiae* cfr. Cottier / Corbier 2008, 32–33, 46–47, 106–107, 117. Sull'evasione fiscale in Moesia Inferior, cfr. Radulova 2016, 1–15.

¹⁵ Cagnat 1882, 120; De Laet 1949, 432; D. 49.14.6.1: *Quodcumque privilegii fisco competit, hoc idem et Caesaris ratio et Augustae habere solet.*

¹⁶ Gli ambasciatori di nazioni straniere (CJ 4.61.8: *A legatis gentium devotarum ex his tantum speciebus, quas de locis propriis, unde conveniunt, huc deportant, octavarii vectigal accipiant: quas vero ex Romano solo, quae sunt tamen lege concessae, ad propria deferunt, has habeant a praestatione immunes ac liberas.*), alcuni funzionari imperiali e i soldati, cfr. Cagnat 1882, 120–123; De Laet 1949, 432–435.

¹⁷ Rr. 13–15.

¹⁸ Per Antonius Hiberus cfr. PIR² A 836.

¹⁹ Rr. 9–11: *Quamquam Tyranorum civitas oregonem / dati beneficii non ostendat nec facile quae / per errorem aut licentiam usurpata...*

A questo proposito andrebbe menzionata in primo luogo un'osservazione di Bounegru²⁰, secondo il quale in età severiana è possibile osservare un potenziamento dell'interesse per le *immunitates* concesse a comunità orientali. Si potrebbe intravedere un legame tra questo riesame dell'*immunitas* della città e i fenomeni politici, amministrativi e fiscali che si osservano all'inizio del III secolo d.C. È noto, infatti, che nella politica fiscale dell'impero di età severiana si osserva la tendenza all'equiparazione della pressione tassativa nelle diverse province e all'unificazione dello *status* delle comunità provinciali attraverso l'estensione del peso delle imposte su tutti gli abitanti dell'Impero²¹. Tale tendenza, legata indubbiamente anche al bisogno di riempire il fisco imperiale, porterà infine alla *Constitutio Antoniniana*, la quale secondo Cassio Dione²² ha come scopo principale l'aumento del numero delle persone soggette al pagamento delle tasse²³.

L'ipotesi che iscrive la controversia di Tyras all'interno della tendenza alla revoca dei privilegi esistenti e al conseguente aumento del peso fiscale delle comunità provinciali, tuttavia, si concilia difficilmente con le disposizioni degli imperatori, la cui sentenza è in linea generale favorevole alla comunità di Tyras. Le pretese della città, infatti, vengono considerate infondate; ciononostante a Tyras viene permesso di conservare l'*immunitas*.

Una possibile interpretazione di questa discrepanza può essere offerta dall'analisi di un altro tipo di abuso che traspare nel documento esaminato. Dal passo *sed cum Illyrici fructum / per ambitionem deminui non oporteat sciant / eos qui posthac fuerint adsumpti fructum / immunitatis ita demum habituros si eos legatus / et amicus noster v(ir) c(larissimus) iure civitatis dignos esse de/creto pronuntiaverit*²⁴ risulta che l'*immunitas* dei cittadini di Tyras sia un privilegio altamente apprezzato e desiderato anche da persone non aventi il diritto alla *civitas Tyrana*. Sembra inoltre che il passo alluda all'esistenza di una prassi diffusa di concedere la cittadinanza a stranieri che intendono approfittarsi dei benefici fiscali da essa comportati. Certamente, tale concessione dovrebbe essere avvenuta beneficiando anche la comunità di Tyras.

Sono noti, infatti, diversi casi in cui il diritto alla *civitas* viene messo in vendita. A Roma, verso la metà del I secolo d.C. la vendita della *civitas Romana* diventa così comune che si arriva anche a un serio calo dei prezzi di tale servizio²⁵. La prassi di

²⁰ Bounegru 2007, 66–70.

²¹ Corbier 2005, 363–365. Sulla tendenza a sostituire nella seconda metà del II secolo d.C. la percezione coloniale dell'Impero con una visione più unitaria, cfr. Veyne 1980, 124.

²² Cass. Dio, LXXVIII, 9: ...ὄ ἔνεκα καὶ Ῥωμαίους πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτοῦ, λόγῳ μὲν τιμῶν, ἔργῳ δὲ ὅπως πλείω αὐτῶ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοιοῦτου προσίη διὰ τὸ τοὺς ξένους τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν μὴ συντελεῖν, ἀπέδειξεν.

²³ Cfr. la restrizione dell'Editto di Caracalla, secondo cui la concessione della cittadinanza romana non libera i nuovi cittadini dall'obbligo di continuare ad essere soggetti alle stesse tasse come prima. Corbier 2005, 363–364.

²⁴ Rr. 23–28.

²⁵ Cass. Dio LX 17, 4–7: ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ διαγνώσει ταύτῃ ἔποιετο δὲ αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἐπίθετο τῇ Λατίνων γλώσση τῶν πρεσβευτῶν τινος, Λυκίου μὲν τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄντος Ῥωμαίου δὲ γεγονότος: καὶ αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴ μὴ συνήκε τὸ λεχθέν, τὴν πολιτείαν ἀφείλετο, εἰπὼν μὴ δεῖν

vendere *civitates* locali, pur non essendo vista di buon occhio ed essendo sottoposta a divieti e limitazioni, sembra essere anch'essa abbastanza diffusa²⁶. Ivantchik e Son osservano, infatti, che anche quando non si tratta di compravendita diretta, “in all cases the city had an interest in attracting rich and influential people, potential *evergetai*, to become their citizens”²⁷.

Un interessante parallelo in questo senso potrebbe essere offerto da un'epigrafe risalente all'età di Alessandro Severo²⁸. Essa presenta un personaggio, cittadino romano di origine greca detto Marcus Aurelius Artemon, titolare di più *civitates*, di cui la prima menzionata (forse di Histria) sembra quella di nascita, mentre le altre (di Heraclea, Tyras e probabilmente di altre città cadute in lacuna) gli sono state concesse in un secondo momento. Egli ha compiuto un atto evergetico a Tyras, offrendo una statua all'imperatore secondo un decreto del consiglio e del popolo della città. Si osserva dunque un caso in cui la concessione della *civitas Tyrana* sia indubbiamente legata al finanziamento di progetti cittadini da parte del nuovo *civis*²⁹.

Qualsiasi sia la ragione della concessione esagerata della cittadinanza tirana, un compenso diretto o l'obbligo di compiere atti evergetici, si tratta comunque di un grave abuso da parte della città di Tyras del privilegio concesso, volto a servire gli interessi interni della comunità, danneggiando quelli del fisco imperiale.

Non sorprende, dunque, che a presentare la questione davanti alle autorità imperiali sia un funzionario doganale. Se si osserva la dinamica della corrispondenza, infatti, sembra che a porre il problema all'attenzione degli imperatori sia stato Eraclito, una

Ῥωμαῖον εἶναι τὸν μὴ καὶ τὴν διάλεξίν σφον ἐπιστάμενον. συχνοὺς δὲ δὴ καὶ ἄλλους καὶ ἀναξίους τῆς πολιτείας ἀπήλασε, καὶ ἑτέροις αὐτὴν καὶ πάνυ ἀνέδην, τοῖς μὲν κατ' ἄνδρα τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἀθρόοις, ἐδίδου. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν πᾶσιν ὡς εἶπεν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τῶν ξένων προετειμήντο, πολλοὶ αὐτὴν παρὰ τε αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖνου ἠτοῦντο καὶ παρὰ τῆς Μεσσαλίνης τῶν τε Καισαρείων ὠνοῦντο: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μεγάλων τὸ πρῶτον χρημάτων πραθεῖσα, ἔπειθ' οὕτως ὑπὸ τῆς εὐχερείας ἐπευωνίσθη ὥστε καὶ λογοποιηθῆναι ὅτι κἂν ὑάλινά τις σκευὴ συντετριμμένα δῶ τιμι πολίτης ἔσται. Cfr. Levick 2002, 154–155.

²⁶ Cfr. il divieto da Augusto sulla vendita della cittadinanza ateniese (Cass. Dio LIV 7, 2: καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους μὲν τοῖς τε Κυθήροις καὶ τῇ συσσιτία ἐτίμησεν, ὅτι ἡ Λιουία, ὅτε ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας σὺν τε τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ σὺν τῷ υἱεὶ ἔφυγεν, ἐκεῖ διέτριπεν: Ἀθηναίων δὲ τὴν τε Αἴγιναν καὶ τὴν Ἐρέτριαν ἔκαρποῦντο γὰρ αὐτάς, ὡς τινές φασιν, ἀφεύλετο, ὅτι τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐσπούδασαν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἀπηγόρευσε σφισι μηδένα πολίτην ἀργυρίου ποιεῖσθαι) e il divieto analogo concernente Tarso (Dio Chrys. 34, 23: τί οὖν σὺ κελεύεις ἡμᾶς; τοὺς ἅπαντας ἀναγράψαι πολίτας ναί φημι καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀξίους, ἅμα μηδὲ ὄνειδίζειν μηδὲ ἀπορρίπτειν, ἀλλὰ μέρος αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ εἰσί, νομίζειν. οὐ μὲν γάρ, ἂν τις καταβάλλῃ πεντακοσίας δραχμάς, δύναται φιλεῖν ὑμᾶς καὶ τῆς πόλεως εὐθὺς ἄξιος γεγονέναι: εἰ δὲ τις ἡ πένης ὧν ἡ πολιτογραφουντός τινος οὐ μετέλιψε τοῦ ὀνόματος, οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς παρ' ὑμῖν γεγονώς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν προγόνων, οὐχ οἷός ἐστιν ἀγαπᾶν τὴν πόλιν οὐδ' ἡγεῖσθαι πατρίδα, καὶ λίνον μὲν εἶ τις ἐργάζεται, χεῖρων ἐστὶν ἑτέρου καὶ δεῖ τοῦτο προφέρειν αὐτῷ καὶ λοιδορεῖσθαι). Cfr. Ivantchik / Son 2002, 12.

²⁷ Ivantchik / Son 2002, 12, n. 25.

²⁸ Ivantchik / Son 2002, 1–15.

²⁹ Per la concessione della *civitas Tyrana* a personaggi dell'élite di Moesia, cfr. CIL III 14416.

lettera del quale (purtroppo non pervenutaci) avrebbe provocato la risposta imperiale e le altre due epistole che la accompagnano.

L'identificazione di Eraclito è piuttosto problematica. Mommsen³⁰ suppone che egli sia stato un *procurator Augustorum Moesiae Inferioris*. La stessa ipotesi viene espressa da Petolescu³¹, il quale crede che Eraclito sia menzionato nel testo di Tyras nel 201 d.C. in qualità di *procurator provinciae* e sia da identificare con un *Aurelius Heraclitus procurator Augustorum trium*, menzionato in un'epigrafe della Dacia datata tra il 209 e il 211 d.C.³² L'identificazione tra i personaggi delle due iscrizioni viene condivisa anche da De Laet³³, Pflaum³⁴, Fitz³⁵ e Mihăilescu-Bîrliba³⁶. Lo stesso personaggio sembra essere divenuto di seguito governatore provinciale della Mauretania Cesariense³⁷.

Senza escludere che si tratti dello stesso personaggio, il quale ha ricoperto cariche diverse in Moesia, Dacia e Mauretania, va sottolineato che le informazioni riguardo alla sua carriera gettano luce sul percorso della sua vita, ma non risolvono chiaramente il problema del tipo di carica che egli ricopriva nel 201 d.C. Sembra probabile, tuttavia, che nel 201 d.C. Eraclito fosse un *procurator publici portorii Illyrici*. Come osserva Cagnat³⁸, infatti, il complesso doganale dell'Ilirico comprende otto province, ognuna delle quali ha un *procurator Augusti* diverso; i problemi della riscossione del *portorium*, tuttavia, vengono affidati a un'amministrazione centrale del *vectigal Illyrici* che fa capo a un *procurator* apposito. L'ipotesi che vede in Eraclito un *procurator publici portorii Illyrici* viene ampiamente condivisa³⁹ e sembra la più plausibile. Così egli dovrebbe essere direttamente interessato all'adempimento dei doveri rispetto al pagamento del *portorium* da parte della città di Tyras; egli sarebbe anche il funzionario, responsabile di porre i problemi riguardo agli abusi di Tyras all'attenzione delle autorità imperiali.

In relazione agli abusi summenzionati e in risposta al segnale di Eraclito gli imperatori impongono alcune restrizioni del privilegio di Tyras. La portata dell'*immunitas*, infatti, viene limitata ai soli cittadini di Tyras che erano già tali al

³⁰ CIL III 781 comm.

³¹ Petolescu 1995, 99, onde anche Găzdac 2010, 62.

³² IDR II 15 [- - - -] / [pro sal(ute)] Augustorum L(ucii) / [Septimii] Severi et M(arci) Aure/[li(i) Anto]nini et Publi(i) Se[ptimio] Get(a)e Caes(aris) sub / <c>ura Aurel(ii) Heracli(ti) proc(uratoris) Auggg(ustorum) / Euty/ches et Apulensis [ser(vi)] / vil(ici) tabularium a [solo] / fecerunt.

³³ De Laet 1949, 218, n. 1; 405, n. 1.

³⁴ Pflaum 1961, 684–687, nr. 253.

³⁵ Fitz 1990, 187, nr. 180a.

³⁶ Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 2006, 182.

³⁷ AE 1927, 24, 25; AE 1930, 228, 230. Cfr. Pflaum 1982, 144; Magioncalda 1989, 65; Fitz 1990, 187. Cfr. PIR² A 1521

³⁸ Cagnat 1882, 91.

³⁹ De Laet 1949, 218, n. 1; 405, n. 1; Pflaum 1961, 684–687, nr. 253; Fitz 1990, 187, nr. 180a; Magioncalda 1989, 65; Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 2006, 182.

momento della redazione della lettera imperiale, ma non a quelli che lo sarebbero diventati in seguito.

A prima vista le disposizioni imperiali sembrano impedire solo l'acquisizione automatica del detto privilegio da parte dei nuovi cittadini, i quali possono ottenerlo comunque per via di un decreto apposito del governatore provinciale. Bisogna sottolineare, comunque, che non si tratta di svincolare l'*immunitas* dalla *civitas Tyrana*, lasciando la concessione di quest'ultima alle autorità locali e riservando solo la prima al governatore provinciale. Il passo *et in poster[um] / decreta civium adsumendorum consil[iis] / praesidis provinciae c(larissimi) v(iri) perpenderentur[r]*⁴⁰, infatti, suggerisce che ogni decreto attraverso il quale viene concessa la *civitas*, deve essere sottoposto all'approvazione del governatore.

Inserendo tale provvedimento in un contesto storico-sociale più ampio, tuttavia, risulta che la limitazione del privilegio dei cittadini di Tyras rappresenta un grave colpo alla relativa indipendenza della città in quanto ad essa viene negato il diritto di prendere decisioni autonome riguardo all'ammissione di cittadini nuovi e di trasferire a loro, a propria discrezione, l'intero insieme di diritti e doveri contenuto nella cittadinanza tirana⁴¹. Per di più, se la concessione di *civitas* viene vista come uno strumento per la costruzione di legami politici "orizzontali" tra le comunità greche sulle coste del Mar Nero⁴², il provvedimento imperiale potrebbe essere inteso anche come una limitazione della politica estera della comunità, la quale viene posta sotto il controllo diretto delle autorità romane.

L'interpretazione dell'epistola imperiale come una restrizione politica e non come la conferma generosa di un privilegio mal documentato trova la sua prova nello stesso testo. Il passo *quos credimus satis a/bundequae sibi consultum si grati fuerint exi/stimatuos quod origine beneficium non quaesi/ta dignos honore cives fieri praeceperimus*⁴³ suggerisce che le autorità imperiali prevedono una reazione negativa della comunità locale e cercano di prevenirla, sottolineando che già le disposizioni proposte sono troppo generose. Traspare, dunque, una certa tensione tra le autorità di Tyras e quelle imperiali, dalla quale sembra che si possa intendere che il problema di fondo non sia tanto la fondatezza o meno del privilegio, quanto la concessione abusiva della *civitas* e la conseguente restrizione all'autonomia della città.

⁴⁰ Rr. 5–7.

⁴¹ Becker 1850, 428.

⁴² Cfr. Ivantchik / Son 2002, 13: "...the practice in the cities around the Black Sea of honouring individuals by granting rights of citizenship and membership of their councils not only to representatives of the Roman army, but also to the natives of other Greek poleis, which were not linked either with the Roman army or the Roman administration. These representatives of the Greek provincial élite obviously played an important part in the lives of the cities concerned, acting, in particular, as euergetai. This practice also testifies to the importance of 'horizontal' links between the cities in the various parts of the Pontic region, including those, which were part of various Roman provinces (such as Tyras, Istria and Herakleia)".

⁴³ Rr. 28–31.

La tendenza all'unificazione dello *status* delle comunità provinciali, di cui si è detto sopra, si traduce, dunque, nel caso di Tyras in un'apparente riconferma di un privilegio infondato, attraverso il quale, però, si arriva alla limitazione dell'indipendenza della *civitas* provinciale e al potenziamento del controllo delle autorità centrali. Si osserva, infatti un meccanismo di compenetrazione tra l'ambito economico e quello sociale, in virtù della quale i mezzi economico-fiscali vengono usati a fini politico-sociali e viceversa.

3. L'*immunitas* di Histria. IScM I 67–68.

La seconda iscrizione che viene presa in esame proviene da Histria⁴⁴ e contiene di nuovo non un singolo documento, ma un intero dossier, pervenutoci in due copie. Entrambe sono iscritte su blocchi di arenaria, esposti in punti diversi della *chora* della città, ove probabilmente servono a segnalarne i confini. La prima copia è gravemente danneggiata in alto, in basso e a sinistra (155 x 56 x 56 cm)⁴⁵, mentre la seconda è in uno stato di conservazione migliore, essendo interamente ricostruita da due frammenti che lasciano in lacuna le parti in basso e a destra⁴⁶.

Il dossier iscritto riporta la documentazione relativa a un conflitto, svoltosi a più riprese tra la metà e la fine del I secolo d.C. tra la città di Histria e i *conductores portorii* locali. Esso consiste di sette documenti, di cui cinque sono lettere dei *legati Augusti pro praetore* della provincia⁴⁷, in lingua greca, in cui viene riconfermata l'*immunitas* fiscale della città di Histria, precedentemente concessa. Alle lettere si aggiungono un

⁴⁴ Pârvan 1916, 556–559, nrr. 15, 16; AE 1919, 10; SEG I 329; Abbott / Johnson 1926, 384–386, nr. 68; AE 1950, 239; Pippidi 1958, 227–247; Johnson *et al.* 1961, 165–166, nr. 206a; Pippidi 1962, 133–153; Oliver 1965, 146–149; Pippidi 1967, 353–357; SEG XVIII 294; IScM I 67; SEG XXIV 1108; Bounegru 2006, 81–83; Avram 2007, 94; Bounegru 2007, 66–70; Bounegru 2009, 375–383; Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 2010, 145–153.

⁴⁵ IScM I 67.

⁴⁶ IScM I 68.

⁴⁷ Titus Flavius Sabinus, IScM I 67, rr. 5–10 = IScM I 68, rr. 9–14 e IScM I 67, rr. 10–23 = IScM I 68, rr. 15–27 (53–60 d.C., cfr. PIR² F 352); Pomponius Pius, IScM I 67, rr. 24–35 = IScM I 68, rr. 28–38 (67–68 d.C. cfr. PIR² P 745); Plautius Aelianus, IScM I 67, rr. 38–48 = IScM I 68, rr. 35–48 (60–67 d.C., cfr. PIR² P 480); Tullius Geminus, IScM I 67, rr. 48–62 = IScM I 68, rr. 49–61 (50–53 d.C., cfr. PIR I T 73).

verdetto⁴⁸ e una *determinatio*⁴⁹, redatti dal governatore provinciale Laberio Massimo⁵⁰ in lingua latina. Quest'ultimi riportano l'esito di un procedimento giudiziario, tentato nel 101 d.C. dal *conductor portorii* locale contro la città di Histria e riguardante di nuovo il problema dell'*immunitas*.

Oggetto della controversia sono i diritti sulla riscossione delle imposte indirette sulla circolazione di due prodotti, il pesce salato e il legno per la fabbricazione di torce, nella foce della delta del Danubio, detta Peuce. La città di Histria pretende di essere esente dal pagamento del *portorium* per quanto riguarda i detti prodotti, mentre i *conductores publici portorii* contestano tali pretese.

Particolare attenzione meritano, in primo luogo, le menzioni dei due tipi di merci. Il pesce salato compare più volte⁵¹, mentre il legno di pino compare una volta sola. Nella seconda lettera di Sabino essi vengono nominati uno accanto all'altro⁵², dando a prima vista l'impressione che si tratti di un singolo problema di *portorium* che riguarda nella stessa maniera i due prodotti in questione. Un esame attento del testo, tuttavia, dimostra che si è in presenza di due questioni separate che vengono trattate insieme.

Per quanto riguarda la pesca e la produzione di pesce salato, essa è definita "l'unica fonte di reddito della città"⁵³. È chiaro che si ha in mente un'attività a scopo commerciale; il pesce salato di Histria quindi rientra nella categoria delle *res promercales*⁵⁴, sottoposte al pagamento del *portorium*, salvo l'esistenza di privilegi particolari.

Un'attenta lettura del passo finale della lettera a Pomponio Pio⁵⁵ "ἵνα μὴ μόνον διαφυλαχθῆ ἀλλ[ὰ καὶ αὐξηθῆ] / τὰ τῶν πόλεων δίκαια ἐπέκρεια τὴν τ[ὼν κατὰ στόμα Πεύκης ἀλι]ευομένων ἰχθύων πρόσδορον ὑμετέραν εἶ[ναι, ᾧ δικαίῳ ταῦ]/τα τὰ τέλη οἱ πρόγονοι ὑμῶν καὶ πατέρε[ς] τ[ῆ] χάριτι τῶν Σεβαστῶν] / ἀδιαλείπτως ἔσχον", suggerisce che, per quanto riguarda la pesca e la produzione del pesce salato, non si ha un'*immunitas stricto sensu*, intesa come esenzione dal pagamento di tasse sulla

⁴⁸ IScM I 67, rr. 63–84 = IScM I 68, rr. 61–70. (100 d.C.) In entrambe le copie del dossier è presente una lacuna che interessa proprio la menzione della categoria di documenti alla quale il testo in questione appartiene. È chiaro comunque che si tratta di una copia del verdetto del *legatus* Laberius Maximus. Tale verdetto può avere generalmente la forma di un *decretum* o di un'*epistula*, (cfr. Elliott 2004, 11–17). Qui la formula *Exemplum* [- - -] *Mani Laberi Maximi*, ..., *descriptum et recognitum factum ex commentariis Mani Laberi Maximi* suggerisce che si tratti piuttosto di un *decretum* (cfr. Berger 1953, 398, s.v. *commentarii*; De Ruggiero 1900, 537–546; Louis-Lucas / Weiss 1896, 452–462; Hesky 1901, 2289–2306; Millar 1992, 238–240).

⁴⁹ IScM I 67, rr. 1–4 = IScM I 68, rr. 1–8 (100 d.C.). Sulla natura delle *horothesia* cfr. Abbott / Johnson 1926, 39–54; Elliott 2004, 14; sull'identificazione geografica dei toponimi cfr. Párvan 1916, 583–584; Avram 1991, 189–197.

⁵⁰ Stout 1911, 44; PIR² L 9; Thomasson 1984, 20, 66; Elliott 2004, 85–92.

⁵¹ IScM I 67, rr. 10–23 = IScM I 68, rr. 15–27. (53–60 d.C.); IScM I 67, rr. 24–35 = IScM I 68, rr. 28–38 (67–68 d.C.; indirettamente anche nella menzione dei "diritti sulla foce di Peuce" IScM I 67, rr. 5–10 = IScM I 68, rr. 9–14 [53–60 d.C.]).

⁵² IScM I 67, rr. 10–23; IScM I 68, rr. 15–27: *ταρειαυομένου ἰχθύος...τὴν δᾶδα*.

⁵³ IScM I 67, rr. 16–17 = IScM I 68, r. 21: *ἐκείνην μόνην εἶναι τῆς πόλεως πρόσδο[ρον]*.

⁵⁴ Cagnat 1882, 104–118; CIL III 781 comm.; IOSPE I² 4 comm.

⁵⁵ IScM I 67, rr. 30–35 = IScM I 68, rr. 34–48.

circolazione di merci, bensì un privilegio particolare che consiste nel cambiamento del destinatario delle imposte riscosse a favore di Histria e non dei *conductores*. Proprio in questo senso viene esplicitamente sottolineato il fatto che la ragione dell'*immunitas* consiste nella semplice necessità della comunità di tenere per sé il reddito, visibile nel passo ἐκείνην μόνην εἶναι τῆς πόλεως πρόσσο[δον τὴν ἐκ τοῦ] / ταπειχευομένου ἰχθύος⁵⁶.

Il secondo prodotto menzionato, il legno di pino per la produzione di torce, invece, presenta più problemi. Si suppone⁵⁷ che si tratti dell'esporto commerciale del legno all'estero, facendo così rientrare anche il legno nella categoria delle *res promercales* e equiparando quindi il problema a quello del pesce salato. Tuttavia, il passo “παρὰφ[έρειν τὴν δᾶδα] / εἰς τὴν ἐνὸς ἐκάστου χρεῖαν δίχα τέ[λους]”⁵⁸ offre spunti per un'altra lettura. La menzione del termine χρεῖα, deverbativo di χράομαι nel contesto del *portorium* sembra essere in rapporto diretto con il termine χρῆσις, un altro deverbativo dello stesso verbo. Tale termine, nella forma εἰς / πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν χρῆσιν, si trova presente nella *lex portorii Asiae* di Efeso⁵⁹ e nella *lex portorii provinciae Lyciae* di Kaunos⁶⁰. In entrambi i casi la frase rende la variante greca dell'espressione *usu suo*, presente nella *Lex censoria portus Siciliae*⁶¹, la quale serve a denotare le *res usuariae* in opposizione alle *res promercales*.

Sembra, dunque, che nella lettera di Histria la frase εἰς τὴν ἐνὸς ἐκάστου χρεῖαν serva a indicare che il legno in questione non sia destinato a uso commerciale, ma sia piuttosto una *res usuaria*. Conviene ricordare a questo proposito che dalle già citate fonti giuridiche⁶² risulta chiaramente che le merci, destinate a uso proprio non sono soggette al pagamento del *portorium*, a prescindere se si tratti di importazione, esportazione o trasporto del prodotto. Ne consegue, dunque, che il legno di pino per uso proprio a Histria sia esentato *a priori* dal pagamento del *portorium*.

Tale esenzione, tuttavia, non toglierebbe la necessità di dichiarare il legno in questione davanti all'ufficio doganale. È ben noto, infatti, che per evitare gli abusi, peraltro comunissimi, anche le merci esentate dovessero essere comunque dichiarate⁶³. Il passo seguente del testo di Histria, però, suggerisce che in questo caso anche tale dichiarazione non sia necessaria. Dal passo “γὰρ τῶν τῆς ὕλης χρεῖων ἀναμφισβήτη[τα ἔχετε ὄρια] / καὶ τὴν ἐξ ἐκείνων χρῆσιν πᾶσαν τῷ τέλε[ι ἀνυπεύθυνον]”⁶⁴ pare che la

⁵⁶ IScM I 67, rr. 16–17 = IScM I 68, r. 21.

⁵⁷ Bounegru 2009, 375–383.

⁵⁸ IScM I 67, rr. 20–21 = IScM I 68, rr. 24–25.

⁵⁹ SEG XXXVI 1027, rr. 81–83, cfr. Cottier / Corbier 2008, 58–59; 134–135.

⁶⁰ IKaunos 35, r. 15.

⁶¹ D. 50.16.203: *In lege censoria portus Siciliae ita scriptum erat: “Servos, quos domum quis ducet suo usu, pro is portorium ne dato.”*

⁶² SEG XXXVI 1027; IKaunos 35, r. 15; D. 50.16.203.

⁶³ Il passo del Digesto (D. 39.4.16.3: *Marcianus l.S. de delator. Quotiens quis mancipia invecta professus non fuerit sive venalia sive usualia, poena commissi est*) prevede la confisca per la mancata dichiarazione anche delle *res usuales*, le quali sono generalmente esentate dal *portorium*. Cfr. *supra*, n. 14.

⁶⁴ IScM I 67, rr. 22–23 = IScM I 68, rr. 26–27.

città ritenga che la zona da cui proviene il legno si trovi all'interno dei confini della *χώρα* di Histria e di conseguenza il legno non debba essere dichiarato al *conductor*, in quanto non viene attraversato nessun confine. Il termine *ἀντιπέθυρος*⁶⁵ denota appunto la dichiarazione davanti a un magistrato, equivalente al latino *professio*⁶⁶, e non il versamento dell'imposta. Il *praeses provinciae* riconferma le pretese territoriali della città, liberandola dalla procedura lenta e disturbante delle dichiarazioni doganali⁶⁷. Il conflitto intorno al legno di Histria, dunque, riguarda sia l'esenzione del prodotto dal *portorium*, in quanto *res usuaria*, sia il diritto della città a un trasporto più agevolato dal punto di vista burocratico.

Si può concludere dunque che il dossier di Histria contenga due problemi separati, accomunati dalla questione dei confini delle zone doganali e, più generalmente, della portata spaziale dei diritti di entrambe le parti. Proprio per questa ragione la soluzione di tale controversia è accompagnata anche da una *determinatio* dei confini.

Considerando il fatto che la *formula provinciae* e il contratto d'appalto del *conductor* dovrebbero prevenire la nascita di conflitti riguardo la portata spaziale dei diritti delle città e dei *conductores*, nasce la domanda perché sia sorta la controversia di Histria. Per rispondere a questo interrogativo bisogna inserire il problema in un contesto storico-geografico più ampio.

Infatti, come è stato già sottolineato, i documenti del dossier di Histria ricoprono un periodo assai lungo di quasi 50 anni — tra la metà e la fine del I secolo d.C. È chiaro dunque che il conflitto con Charagonius Philopalaestrus, contenuto nel più recente dei documenti, non sia che la fase finale di un problema durato più di mezzo secolo.

Un *terminus ante quem* per l'inizio di tale conflitto è dato dalla lettera più antica del dossier, databile al 50–53 d.C., con la quale il governatore provinciale T. Terentius Tullius Geminus⁶⁸ conferma il privilegio di Histria, in quel momento già esistente. La lettera in questione è indubbiamente legata alla riforma amministrativa del 46 d.C., con la quale viene creata ufficialmente la provincia di Thracia⁶⁹, e che porta a seri cambiamenti dei confini sia amministrativi che doganali nella zona riguardanti soprattutto le città greche come Histria.

Bisogna tenere presente, infatti, che le città greche della zona costiera vengono annesse all'Impero romano per lo meno qualche decennio prima del resto del territorio ed è dunque evidente che, come osserva Bounegru, “dal punto di vista doganale, queste città si trovassero in un organismo separato la cui denominazione e organizzazione per il momento ci sfugge. Nel quadro di questa circoscrizione, la città di Istria figurava, ben inteso, anch'essa con un ufficio doganale.”⁷⁰ Sarebbe dunque legittimo supporre che già prima del 46 d.C. le città greche abbiano avuto una prassi stabilita riguardo al

⁶⁵ Cfr. LSJ, s.v. ἀντιπέθυρος.

⁶⁶ Cfr. *supra*.

⁶⁷ Cagnat 1882, 128–134; De Laet 1949, 437–444.

⁶⁸ Il personaggio è *legatus Augusti pro praetore* della Moesia tra il 47 e il 53 d.C., probabilmente nel periodo 50–53 d.C.; cfr. Thomasson 1984, 20, 17; Elliott 2004, 85–92.

⁶⁹ Gerov 1972, 215.

⁷⁰ Bounegru 2006, 82.

pagamento delle imposte indirette e alle corrispondenti *immunitates* e confini doganali; l'inclusione della zona circostante nella *ripa Thraciae* in questo periodo fa sì che nasca un conflitto tra gli interessi delle città greche, protette dalla prassi precedente e i diritti sulla riscossione delle imposte dei *conductores*⁷¹.

L'esistenza delle lettere successive alla prima indica che la conferma dei privilegi di Histria da parte del *legatus* Tullius Geminus non sia sufficiente per risolvere permanentemente il problema. Infatti, la città si rivolge ai governatori provinciali successivi ben quattro volte fino al 68 d.C. Con la fine degli anni '60, tuttavia, sembra che tale prassi si interrompa per quasi trent'anni: il documento successivo incluso nel dossier, il verdetto e la *horothesia* di Laberius Maximus, risale solo al 100 d.C. È verosimile, dunque, che il problema giuridico che vi è contenuto, sia legato a un'ulteriore riforma nel sistema della riscossione delle tasse⁷². È assai probabile che un tale riforma abbia fatto risorgere il problema dei confini doganali della città di Histria dopo il periodo relativamente calmo negli anni '70-'90.

Concentrandosi sugli aspetti epigrafici del dossier di Histria, inoltre, è possibile notare come il verdetto di Laberius Maximus del 100 d.C. non risolva definitivamente il problema tra Histria e il *conductor portorii*. Gli editori concordano⁷³ che la paleografia del dossier di Histria rimanda all'età severiana e dunque l'iscrizione è di quasi un secolo posteriore ai testi che vi sono contenuti. Ciò indica chiaramente un rinnovamento dell'interesse per i documenti che confermano la validità dei privilegi doganali della città in concomitanza con le tendenze amministrative e fiscali di età severiana che portano al riesame delle *immunitates* delle comunità provinciali.

In base a quanto è stato detto finora è possibile riassumere che i due documenti esaminati rappresentano un punto d'intersezione tra i problemi economici, sociali e amministrativi della provincia di Moesia Inferior, gettando luce sui meccanismi secondo i quali i vari aspetti della vita dell'Impero romano si influenzano, compenetrandosi a vicenda.

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⁷¹ Slavova 1998, 104; Tatscheva 2001, 77–84; Tomas 2007, 31–47.

⁷² Nesselhauf 1939, 331–338; De Laet 1949, 381; Vittinghoff 1953, 388; Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 2010, 147; Spagnuolo Vigorita 2012, 240.

⁷³ Oliver 1965, 146–149; Bounegru 2007, 66–70, ma anche IScM I 68 comm.; Elliott 2004, 85–92.

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VIORICA RUSU-BOLINDEȚ

Local Production of Pottery Workshops from Roman Dacia Attested in Epigraphical and Archaeological Sources*

Plates 42–54

Introduction

The ceramic production of the workshops from the province of Dacia, attested through several categories of epigraphic and archaeological sources, was impressive. Thus, my analysis of the main production centres in Roman Dacia focuses on the following aspects, necessary in demonstrating the existence of local production and the possibility of identifying the inner organization of the workshops:

A. Archaeological evidence:

1. The existence of structures part of pottery workshops: kilns, clay extraction pits, equipment for clay preparation, refuse pits, other built structures of the workshops (areas for the drying and storage of vessels), wells etc.
2. The existence of moulds for various pottery categories and of potters' tools for their decoration.
3. Attested industrial-scale pottery production individualized either through the manufacture of pottery wares specific to a particular centre of production, the distribution of pottery products over a larger area, or through fabric analyses.

B. Epigraphic evidence:

1. Attested producers'/potters' names on pottery products — potters' stamps on local *terra sigillata*, on stamped pottery, lamps, and *mortaria*, less often on common pottery items.
2. *Graffiti* with potters' names — made before firing (*ante cocturam*).
3. Attested craftsmen or workshop owners in (funerary or votive) inscriptions.

The above mentioned epigraphic and archaeological sources have revealed the activity of more than 30 pottery workshops in Roman Dacia¹ (Pl. 42, fig. I).

* I am most grateful to Monica Gui, who translated this paper, and to Dana Gheorghe-Stefan and Ioana Mureșan, who processed the illustration.

Our study focuses on the most representative workshops, selected according to a two-fold criterion: the existence of archaeological and epigraphic sources that should be as conclusive as possible on the activity of the pottery production centres (according to the above mentioned criteria) and the different environments where the workshops were active (urban/rural, civilian/military), in order to thus observe both their general characteristics and, especially, the peculiarities of pottery production on the level of the entire province.

I will thus present the pottery workshops from: 1. Apulum — the political capital of Roman Dacia; 2. Ampelum — headquarter of the imperial administration of gold mining in the area of the Apuseni Mountains; 3. Micăsasa — a rural settlement in Dacia Apulensis².

Archaeological Evidence

1. APULUM is the most important urban centre in the province of Dacia located approximately in its central area (Pl. 42, fig. I); the city's impressive development was connected to the military presence there (the *legio XIII Gemina* was garrisoned there throughout the Roman rule over the province), the close proximity of the gold mines in Alburnus Maior and of the fertile valley of River Mureș, and due to its location along the axis of the imperial road.

In addition to the garrison of the *legio XIII Gemina* and its pertaining *canabae*, this complex urban settlement also included two separate towns — *colonia Aurelia Apulensis* and *municipium Septimium Apulense*, as well as the headquarters of the imperial administration of Roman Dacia after the administrative reform implemented by emperor Marcus Aurelius in AD 168, when the residence of the consular governor of the three Dacias was established there (Pl. 42, fig. II.1)³.

Local pottery production has been attested so far in three areas of the ancient settlement⁴. The first was documented by A. Cserni, who performed the first systematic archaeological excavation in the *colonia Aurelia Apulensis* in 1911–1912 (Pl. 42, fig. II.1, no. I). He discovered a complex building with at least 13 rooms, probably a workshop

¹ For a synthesis on the activity of the pottery workshops from Roman Dacia, see Benea 2007 and most recently Rusu-Bolindeț 2011. Also, a first volume of an Atlas of pottery workshops from the provinces Dacia and Lower Moesia / Scythia Minor, reflecting the synthesis and the up-to-date on the local production, was published on the occasion of the 31st Congress of the International Association Rei Cretariae Romane Fautores, held at Cluj-Napoca in 23rd–30th of September 2018 – see Rusu-Bolindeț *et al.* 2018a.

² The selection of the pottery workshops presented in our study was determined also by the restrictive length of it, comparable with the complexity of the topic.

³ Piso 1995, 203–209; Ardevan 1998, 45–50; Ciușescu 2005, 321; Rusu-Bolindeț 2011, 101–102.

⁴ For a recently up-to-date of the areas of the local pottery production from Apulum see Egri 2018, 115–121.

due to the kilns discovered in rooms H and I and the large quantity of refuse pottery⁵. A. Cserni discovered other kilns and refuse pits nearby on various plots inside the colony (the present-day district of Partoş)⁶.

Another pottery workshop was discovered in 1943 in the north-western part of the site, in the area of the *canabae* of the *legio XIII Gemina* (Pl. 42, fig. II.1, no. III). Archaeologists have found there a kiln for common pottery, dated to the mid-3rd century AD⁷.

A pottery workshop with impressive activity has recently been attested, also on the territory of the *colonia Aurelia Apulensis*, in the area where the Apulum Project team, coordinated by Al. Diaconescu, A. Schäfer, and I. Haynes uncovered a shrine of Liber Pater between 1998 and 2003 (Pl. 42, fig. II.1, no. II)⁸. Six pottery kilns were discovered there and a large quantity of pottery found especially in refuse pits (Pl. 42, fig. II.2). There was also a large variety of potters' tools: roulettes for decoration; potter's wheel fragments, tripod clay objects used to stack and support the vessels inside the kiln, *sigilla* and moulds for Samian bowls⁹.

In addition to fine pottery, all types of common pottery vessels were produced, most numerous among them being jars, lids, and storage flagons. At the same time, M. Ciuşescu's analyses of the common pottery found inside one of the refuse pits have revealed the fact that most items were reduced wares — representing 88.2% of the entire analysed lot. This pottery workshop was active during the second half of the 2nd century AD and then, towards the end of the same century, it was taken apart in preparation of the construction of the sanctuary of Liber Pater. Pottery production continued in close proximity of the sanctuary and closely connected to it. Kilns and pottery activity congregated around the religious edifices but did not encroach on their central areas. The activity of these workshops represents the final traces of the activity on the site during the 3rd century AD¹⁰.

North of the rectangular building of the shrine lay a broad passageway, where a series of cult pits — *favissae* — were recovered (Pl. 42, fig. II.2–3). They contained a range of objects: money boxes, table and cooking ware (Pl. 43, fig. III), *kantharoi*, facepots (Pl. 42, fig. II.4), *turibula/tazze* and Cam 306 terrines, locally produced. They were associated with ritual activity in the sanctuary since all vessels in the latter category were intentionally broken before being deposited in the pits¹¹. C. Höpken and M.

⁵ Cserni 1912, 112; 266–268; Ciuşescu 2005, 321; Rusu-Bolindeţ 2011, 100–101; Egri 2018, 115, fig. 1–2.

⁶ Cserni 1912, 282; Rusu-Bolindeţ 2011, 101, fig. 7, I; Egri 2018, 115, fig. 1, A.

⁷ Berciu 1949, 180–188, figs. 1–4; Rusu-Bolindeţ 2011, 101, fig. 7, III; Egri 2018, 116, figs. 1, D, 5/2.

⁸ Diaconescu *et al.* 2001; Ciuşescu 2005, 321; Rusu-Bolindeţ 2011, 101, fig. 7, II; Egri 2018, 115, fig. 1, B.

⁹ Ciuşescu 2005, 322, figs. 4–10; Rusu-Bolindeţ 2011, 101, 104, figs. 9, 1–7; Egri 2018, 115, figs. 1, B; 3.

¹⁰ Ciuşescu 2005, 323; Rusu-Bolindeţ 2011, 104; Egri 2018, 127.

¹¹ Fiedler 2005; Schäfer 2014.

Fiedler published the ritual pits of Liber Pater in several studies, more recently in 2014¹².

In addition to the three areas where pottery workshops have been attested¹³, a large quantity and diverse pottery assemblage has been discovered over the entire area of ancient Apulum: moulds for producing local *terra sigillata*¹⁴ (Pl. 44, fig. IV); moulds for vessels with applied decoration¹⁵, for producing medallions¹⁶ and lamps¹⁷; fine wares imitating *terra sigillata*, metal or glass forms, terracotta statuettes¹⁸ and common vessels.

During the systematic and rescue excavations organized inside the camp of the *legio XIII Gemina*, ceramic assemblages were discovered consisting of a diverse repertory of table wares (bowls, dishes, beakers, and cups), also numerous jars and flagons (Pl. 45, fig. V–VI) and some classes which might have had some religious significance (*kantbaroi*, *tazze/turibula* similar to the examples discovered in the shrine of Liber Pater)¹⁹. The various forms and techniques described as “legionary ware”²⁰ on the other military sites such as Vindonissa²¹, Carnuntum²², Nijmegen²³, Eboracum²⁴, Aquincum²⁵, Dražna de Sus²⁶, seem to be also present at the legionary fort at Apulum. The red slip wares, their repertory imitating mostly metal, glass or directly Samian vessels; fine rouletted beakers either imitating glass prototypes or decorated in barbotine or glazed techniques are very common drinking wares²⁷ (Pl. 45, fig. V.2).

¹² Fiedler / Höpken 2004; Fiedler 2005; Fiedler / Höpken 2007a; Fiedler / Höpken 2007b; Fiedler 2014; for a synthesis related to the deliberate destruction and ritual depositions in the Liber Pater shrine at Apulum see Schäfer 2011; Schäfer 2014.

¹³ According to M. Egri, after the most recently excavations, field surveys and geophysical investigations (magnetometry), the number of the areas where pottery workshops have been attested at Apulum are five – see Egri 2018, 115–117, fig. 1–5.

¹⁴ Isac *et al.* 1979, 237–239, 258–259, catalogue nos. 65–78, pl. VI/68–70; pl. IX/65; pl. X/67–77a–c; Gudea 1984, 88–96, Abb. 2/3–5; 3; 4/1; Băluță 1991; Băluță 1997; Rusu-Bolindeț 2014, 160–161, fig. 7/4–7; Rusu-Bolindeț 2016, 385, pl. XII/4–7; Egri 2018, 118–119, fig. 6/1–5; Rusu-Bolindeț *et al.* 2018b, 80, catalogue no. 199.

¹⁵ Anghel *et al.* 2011, Egri 2018, 119–120, fig. 8.

¹⁶ Egri 2018, 119–120, fig. 9.

¹⁷ Băluță 2001; Egri 2018, 120 and 124, fig. 11 (for thecal production of lamps).

¹⁸ Cserni 1912, fig. 20; Bounegru, Lascu 2011; Ota 2011; Anghel *et al.* 2011, catalogue nos. 1–16, 20–45; 47–50, 53–56, 58, 62–64, 80–134; Egri 2018, 124–125, fig. 12; for the thin sections of ceramic fabrics use for producing terracotta statuettes at Apulum see Anghel *et al.* 2014 and Egri 2018, 126–127 and fig. 13.

¹⁹ Ciaușescu 2006, 144–145; Ciaușescu 2008, 59–60; Egri 2018, 122–123, fig. 10.

²⁰ The literature about “legionary ware” is a selective one. For a recent approach to the topic, with previous and new literature see Cvejetičanin 2016; Petruț 2016.

²¹ Ettliger 1951; Ettliger / Simonett 1952; Meyer-Freuler 2013.

²² Gassner / Jilek 1997a; Gassner / Jilek 1997b.

²³ Haalebos / Thussen 1977; Haalebos 1992; Haalebos 2001.

²⁴ Greene 1977; Swan 2002; Swan 2004.

²⁵ Póczy 1956; Vamos 2012; Vamos 2016.

²⁶ Ștefan 1945–1947.

²⁷ Ciaușescu 2006, 146; Ciaușescu 2008, 59–60.

On the other side, no evidence for military pottery production has been recorded so far in Apulum except for ceramic building material what was found everywhere in Apulum and beyond, with *legio XIII Gemina* stamps²⁸ and with the name of governors' guard²⁹. At least 79 names of soldiers/centurions engaged in this production are known³⁰, even no military tiliary has yet recorded although³¹.

The pottery production from Apulum was partially published in archaeological reports³² or studies that focused on certain special categories of pottery discovered there³³. A monographic study of the pottery from the site is needed in order to achieve a complete image of the local production.

2. AMPELUM (Pl. 42, fig. I). The settlement enjoyed special status in Roman Dacia, as it was the headquarter of the imperial administration of gold mining in the Apuseni Mountains — *Aurariae Dacicae*, coordinated by a *procurator aurariarum*. The settlement was probably a *pagus* of Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa in the beginning, becoming a *municipium* under the rule of Septimius Severus³⁴. It was also one of the important pottery centres in the province.

No large-scale archaeological research has been performed on the site, as it was affected by modern industrial installations (Pl. 43, fig. VII). Archaeological rescue excavations performed in 1984 led to the discovery of the structures of a pottery workshop, delimited by walls, built in the *opus incertum* technique that protected the kilns and other annexed buildings³⁵. Three kilns, used concomitantly, were uncovered in this workshop. Two of them shared the same stoking pit while the third was located around 50 m west of the first two. All three were taken apart and turned into refuse pits, containing various pottery materials and household garbage³⁶. Subsequently, the pottery

²⁸ See Russu 1965; Moga 1998, 59–67; IDR III/6; Benea 2005; Ciaușescu 2006, 147; Ciaușescu 2008, 60; Benea 2010; Ota 2012, 80–83; Ota 2012a, 109–112; Gudea 2014; Oprea 2014; Egri 2018, 116–117 etc.

²⁹ Băluță 1980a; Băluță 1980b; Berciu / Băluță 1981; Băluță 1999.

³⁰ See Benea 2010.

³¹ See at Benea 2010; Ota 2012, 80–83 for the most recent hypothesis about the location of the tileries at Apulum and Egri 2018, 125–126. For the interdisciplinary investigation on building materials from Apulum and Alburnus Maior see Ionescu *et al.* 2006.

³² Ciobanu / Rodean 1997; Moga 1999; Ciobanu *et al.* 2000; Moga *et al.* 2000; Diaconescu *et al.* 2001; Ota 2012 etc.

³³ Băluță 1977; Moga 1978; Popa 1978; Băluță / Șerban 1979; Ruscu 1992; Bolindeț 1995; Băluță 1997; Diaconescu 1999–2000; Sonoc / Rodean 2000; Ciaușescu 2005; Ciaușescu 2006; Ciaușescu / Gligor 2006; Ciaușescu 2008; Timofan 2009; Anghel *et al.* 2011; Rusu-Bolindeț 2011, 100–104, figs. 7–10; Anghel *et al.* 2014; Rusu-Bolindeț 2014; Rusu-Bolindeț 2016, 385, pl. XII; for the most recently study, focused on the pottery production at Apulum see Egri 2018, *passim*.

³⁴ Russu 1984, 280–281; Lipovan / Băluță 1995, 137; Moga 1996, 9; Ardevan 1998, 51–53.

³⁵ Lipovan 1983–1984, 303–305, fig. 1–5; Lipovan / Băluță 1995, 137; Rusu-Bolindeț 2011, 110–111, fig. 1, tab. 1–2.

³⁶ Lipovan 1983–1984, 310, fig. 1; Popa *et al.* 1986, 109, 112, 115 and fig. 7; Lipovan / Băluță 1995, 137; Moga 1996, 10–11, fig. 2a–b.

workshop and other buildings part of the first habitation level of the settlement were destroyed — a fact attested by a consisted burnt layer that might indicate certain historical event, such as the Marcomannic attack of the gold extraction area of the Apuseni Mountains in AD 170³⁷. Stone buildings were discovered on top of the demolished workshop, part of the site's Severan period level³⁸. A large quantity of pottery products, extremely varied, was found in the pits of the demolished kilns, mostly consisting of production refuse³⁹. Thus, this pottery workshop produced: vessels with barbotine and applied decorations (Pl. 46, fig. VIII); terracotta and votive reliefs (Pl. 47, fig. IX)⁴⁰, lamps (Pl. 49, fig. XII), common pottery. The production of glazed pottery is very well attested, as such refuse vessels were in different stages of firing (Pl. 46–47, fig. VIII, IX.1–2, 5–6; pl. 48, fig. X, XI.2–3)⁴¹. The above mentioned workshops, the activity of which has been dated to the mid-2nd century AD, was led by *C(aius) Iul(ius) Pro(c)lus, -culus*). The name of this workshop owner, who was also a craftsman, features in several variants.

The most complete form with *tria nomina* was discovered as a *graffiti* made *ante cocturam* on the neck of a large pot, above the incision of a grape bunch and two intersecting stalks (Pl. 48, fig. XI.1a–b)⁴². The name also appears in abbreviated form, one of which — G.I.P.FE —, in an *ante cocturam graffiti*, features on the upper part of the base of a fragmentarily preserved small statuette depicting Attis (Pl. 48, fig. XI.2)⁴³. Another abbreviated variant, performed on an anthropomorphic lamp with a depiction of Priapus or Telesphorus (?), consists of a *graffiti* with the name inside a *tabula ansata* on the base of the item — GIPFE —, with the letter E flipped to the left and the side parts of the name framed on the left by a triangle and on the right by a wavy line⁴⁴ (Pl. 48, fig. XI.3).

³⁷ Popa *et al.* 1986, 109; Lipovan 1988, 187–188 and footnotes 20–22.

³⁸ Rusu-Bolindeț 2011, 110–111, with references.

³⁹ The varied ceramic material was published by I. T. Lipovan – see Lipovan 1982–1983; Lipovan 1983–1984; Lipovan 1984–1985; Lipovan 1988; Lipovan 1988–1991; Lipovan 1990; Lipovan 1992a; Lipovan 1992b; Lipovan 1992–1994a; Lipovan 1992–1994b; Lipovan 1994; Lipovan 1996; Lipovan / Băluță 1995. A synthesis about the activity of the pottery workshop discovered at Ampelum in the rescue excavations from 1984 at Moga 1996; Rusu-Bolindeț 2011, 110–111.

⁴⁰ Most recently included in an exhibition catalogue of the National Museum of Union, Alba Iulia — see Anghel *et al.* 2011, 40–41, no. 17–19 (Venus); 53, nos. 51–52 (Attis); 57, nos. 59–61 (Mithraic representations); 59, no. 65 (lion); 59–60, nos. 66–67 (Telesphorus); 82, 111 (rider); 87, no. 125 (rooster).

⁴¹ Lipovan 1983–1984, 303–304, pl. IV; X; Lipovan 1990; Lipovan / Băluță 1995; Moga 1996, 11.

⁴² Lipovan 1983–1984; Popa *et al.* 1986, 112, fig. 8/1; Moga 1996, 11, fig. 3.

⁴³ Popa *et al.* 1986, 112, fig. 8/2; Lipovan 1990, 289–290, nos. 39–40, pl. 4/2a–c; Lipovan / Băluță 1995, 139; Moga 1996, 11, fig. 4a; Anghel *et al.* 2011, 53, no. 52.

⁴⁴ Lipovan 1983–1984, 307–308, pl. V/4a–c; Popa *et al.* 1986, 112, fig. 8/3; Lipovan / Băluță 1995, 139; Moga 1996, fig. 4b; Anghel *et al.* 2011, 59, no. 66.

Several abbreviated variants, in the GIP form, mould-made, are attested on the bottom of Loeschke X-type lamps, with the name framed by grape leaves and grape bunches or ivy leaves, framed by concentric circles⁴⁵ (Pl. 49, fig. XII).

One must take into account the fact that specialists discovered the refuse material of a pottery workshop attested only by three kilns, which were probably in use during a single generation. In addition to the varied and impressively large pottery production, the above mentioned epigraphic sources are the most interesting proof of local production in the province of Dacia. The workshop's owner, *Caius Iulius Proclus, -culus*, was simultaneously the artisan who created the various pottery products discovered there, a fact attested by the *fecit* formula present on some of the vessels and terracotta. The name of the workshop's owner is also the only one with *tria nomina* known from Roman Dacia. Inscriptions related to the local aristocracy known in Ampelum include no mention of this man's status or of his possible inclusion in the group of rich land owners from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa⁴⁶ or Apulum.

At the same time, from the diverse pottery categories produced in this workshop, glazed pottery seems to have been the most important. It is varied and the only clearly attested producer of this pottery at the scale of the entire province. One must also mention the fact that after the kilns under analysis were put out of use in the second half of the 2nd century AD, the local pottery production continued; the kilns and the other structures of the workshops were probably moved to another part of the settlement⁴⁷. The new location remains unidentified archaeologically, but they certainly continued producing Roman pottery for the population of the new *municipium* during the Severan period.

3. MICĂSASA (Pl. 42, fig. I) — is the largest pottery production centre known from the province of Dacia. During antiquity it was a rural settlement located on the right bank of River Târnava Mare, ca. 60 km north-east of Apulum⁴⁸.

The Roman settlement extended over more than 20 hectares. During the 70s, 80s, and 90s, the archaeologist I. Mitrofan managed to research just 1.4% of the surface⁴⁹. The kilns and adjacent constructions, active during Trajan's reign and until the beginning of the 3rd century AD, were located approximately in the centre of the settlement (Pl. 50, fig. XIII).

Three habitation stages have been identified on the site through archaeological excavations:

⁴⁵ Moga 1996, 11, fig. 5b; a single fragmentary lamp with GIP stamp was discovered at Cristești – Man 2011, 174.

⁴⁶ *M. Opellius Adiutor* is an example along this idea. He owned a private brick-making workshop in Ampelum and was an *aedilis Ilvir iuris dicundi* in Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa — see IDR III/2, 116–117; Moga 1996, 9, fig. 1; Ardevan 1998, 52–53.

⁴⁷ Moga 1996, 12.

⁴⁸ Mitrofan 1990, 129; for an extensive presentation of the settlement and especially of the pottery workshops from Micăsasa, see Rusu-Bolindeț 2011, 92–99, figs. 2–6, with references; Rusu-Bolindeț 2014; Rusu-Bolindeț 2016, 384–385, pl. VIII/5–9; IX–XI.

⁴⁹ For the history of research of the site see Rusu-Bolindeț 2011, 92, fig. 2, with references.

The first stage, dated to the first half of the 2nd century AD, was founded on the virgin soil; this stage was attested over the entire surface of the settlement. The most important discoveries dated to this stage, identified in the southern and central parts of the site, are the traces of some burnt down barracks, three or four bread ovens, a pottery kiln, and numerous pottery fragments⁵⁰.

From the second stage of development onwards, the settlement was marked by a higher intensity of habitation. The level included buildings with cobblestone foundations, wooden or wattle walls, and sometimes tile roofs, 26 pottery kilns distributed across the entire researched area as well as the remains of pottery workshops with *opus signinum* pavements⁵¹.

Two concentrated areas of pottery workshops have been identified: one in the central and southern parts of the settlement and another in the north-western part of the site (Pl. 50, fig. XIII).

The pottery kilns were usually found in pairs sharing the same firing chamber⁵² in groups of five or even eight (the first large group from the parish church yard)⁵³ (Pl. 51, fig. XIV.1).

Numerous renewals have been noted on the firing chambers. Near the kilns archaeologists have discovered clay extraction pits and refuse pits (Pl. 51, fig. XIV.4)⁵⁴. Numerous vessels, whole or fragmentary, have been found around the kilns, on the grates, and inside the firing chambers in those cases where the grates had been destroyed (Pl. 51, fig. XIV.2–3). Some of the pottery that came in various shapes was charred and there were numerous discarded vessels⁵⁵.

The pottery workshops were destroyed during a strong fire and they were shut down and dismantled. The ground was levelled and the structures corresponding to the last Roman level of the settlement were built on top of them⁵⁶. This has led to the change of the site's profile. If previously it was based on the production and the selling of pottery, during this phase it was turned into an inhabited area of a quasi-urban type.

⁵⁰ Mitrofan 1990, 132, fig. 5/1–2; Mitrofan 1991, 173, fig. 3/1–2; Mitrofan 1993, 31, 169, pl. 13/1–3; Mitrofan 1999, 166, 168; Rusu-Bolindeț 2011, 92, 96.

⁵¹ Mitrofan 1990, 135, fig. 9; 21; Mitrofan 1991, 173, fig. 4/1–2; Mitrofan 1995a, 5, pl. 14/2; Mitrofan 1999, 170; Rusu-Bolindeț 2011, 96.

⁵² Mitrofan 1990, 132, fig. 7; Mitrofan 1993, 65–67, pl. 29/3; Mitrofan 1995a, 2, pl. 5/1; Mitrofan 1999, 170; Rusu-Bolindeț 2011, 96, fig. 4, 1–2.

⁵³ Mitrofan 1990, 132, 134–135, fig. 8; Mitrofan 1991, 173; Mitrofan 1993, 67–75, pls. 30/1–2; 32/1–3; Mitrofan 1995a, 2, 4, pl. 6/1–2; Mitrofan 1999, 166, 170; Rusu-Bolindeț 2011, 96, fig. 4, 1.

⁵⁴ Mitrofan 1990, 132–133, fig. 8; 10 Mitrofan 1991, 173, fig. 7; Mitrofan 1995a, 2, pls. 4/2; 6; 14/1; Mitrofan 1999, 166.

⁵⁵ Rusu-Bolindeț 2011, 96, fig. 3, 3.5; 6.5.

⁵⁶ Mitrofan 1990, 135; Mitrofan 1991, 175; Mitrofan 1993, 19–20, 23; Mitrofan 1995a, 6; Mitrofan 1999, 166–167.

The second stage corresponds to the period between the mid-2nd century and the first quarter of the 3rd century AD⁵⁷.

The third and final stage of the settlement was partially destroyed by modern interventions. The archaeologists have identified the remains of large buildings with foundations made of cobblestones and mortar. Some of these buildings had large rooms and rows of columns, probably from a portico, while others had *hypocaustum* systems, polychrome wall painting, and tile roofs⁵⁸. This stage was dated to the second and third quarters of the 3rd century AD⁵⁹.

For over a century when they were active, the pottery workshops from Micăsasa produced a wide range of ceramic categories, from those made according to the late La Tène tradition to Samian ware, stamped pottery, with relief decoration, pottery decorated in barbotine technique, glazed pottery, vessels with applied medallions, terracotta figurines, oil lamps, common ware etc.⁶⁰. The workshops supplied the urban centres around Micăsasa, especially Apulum, but also the auxiliary forts such as for example Războieni-Cetate.

From the great variety of pottery categories produced in these workshops, the most impressive is the *terra sigillata* production. Over 400 moulds and mould fragments have been discovered. There are more than 350 local Samian ware items produced in the moulds, entirely or fragmentarily preserved⁶¹.

Two decorative styles can be identified in the making of *terra sigillata* moulds in Micăsasa: one under the direct influence of the workshops from the western provinces of the Empire and from Moesia Superior, and a local style, with typical characteristics that make it unique among the other pottery production centres from Dacia and from the Empire.

As models the potters from Micăsasa used moulds or Samian ware produced in the western European or centres in closer proximity. They first created copies of imported

⁵⁷ Mitrofan 1990, 134; Mitrofan 1993, 20, 53; Mitrofan / Cociş 1995, 431 nt. 5; Mitrofan / Ardevan 1995, 121; Mitrofan 1999, 167.

⁵⁸ Mitrofan 1990, 133, figs. 11–12; Mitrofan 1991, 175, fig. 8; Mitrofan 1993, 20–24, pls. 4–8; Mitrofan 1995a, 6, fig. 12; Mitrofan 1999, 167.

⁵⁹ Mitrofan 1990, 134; Mitrofan 1993, 20, 53–54; Mitrofan / Ardevan 1995, 121, 123; Mitrofan 1999, 167.

⁶⁰ Mitrofan 1990, 134, 136–138, figs. 17–18; 23–27; 32; 36–37; Mitrofan 1991, 174, figs. 6; 10–13; 16/1–2; 20; Mitrofan 1993, 95–158, 171–172, pls. 42–54; 57–68; Mitrofan 1995a, 6, pls. 7/2–4; 11; 16; 18–23; Mitrofan 1999, 170–172; Rusu-Bolindeţ 2007, 27–28; Rusu-Bolindeţ 2011, 99; Rusu-Bolindeţ 2014, 159; Rusu-Bolindeţ *et al.* 2018b, 112–136, catalogue nos. 291–362.

⁶¹ Mitrofan 1990, 136–137, figs. 28–30; 31/1–3 — moulds for Samian ware; fig. 22 — local Samian ware; Mitrofan 1991, 176, fig. 9; 14–15; 16/1; Mitrofan 1993, 83–95, 177–178, pls. 37–41; 55–56; Mitrofan 1995a, 7, pls. 9–10; 17; 19/2; Mitrofan 1999, 170–172; Rusu-Bolindeţ 2007, 20; Rusu-Bolindeţ 2011, 99, figs. 5–6; Rusu-Bolindeţ 2014, 159; Rusu-Bolindeţ *et al.* 2018b, 104–109, catalogue nos. 269–284.

wares in order to create moulds, especially of the products from Lezoux (Pl. 52, fig. XV.1) or Rheinzabern⁶².

Then, they developed a unique style, original in respect to the decorative repertoire and the position of the motifs. Moulds created in the local style share traits with the usual decoration on stamped pottery, with animal, vegetal, and geometric motifs prevailing over anthropomorphic elements (Pl. 52, fig. XV.2–4a–b)⁶³.

Among the latter, one of the most frequently encountered and most particular representations created by the potters from Micăsasa is the bust of Minerva framed by an *aedicula*. The moulds include more variants of this representation, according to different decorative styles or using various combinations of the same motifs (Pl. 52, fig. XV.2a–b)⁶⁴.

The decorative motifs on Samian ware produced at Micăsasa are varied, ranging from figurative ones on which animal representations are the most common, to those with non-figural representations: ovolos, vegetal motifs (rosettes, leaves, branches), but also geometric ornaments, various depictions of vessels, furniture items, theatre masks, etc. They are very carefully made, with numerous and exact details⁶⁵ (Pl. 51, fig. XVI).

The preliminary repertoire of decorative motifs, established initially by investigating the ornaments illustrated on the most representative and complete *terra sigillata* moulds, is being and it will be improved by extending the research over the entire lot⁶⁶.

This decorative style was influenced by the workshops in central Gaul (Lezoux) and eastern Gaul (Rheinzabern), but especially by the workshops in closer proximity, such as those in Viminacium-Margum, in Upper Moesia. Thus, we encounter nearly identical ornaments used by the potters from both production centres, such as ovolos with tongues, some animals (boars, rabbits, panthers, lions), rosettes, leaves, V-shaped motifs, vine tendrils and grape bunches etc⁶⁷. The motifs are almost the same, but the decorative style seen in the three production centres differs. In the case of the potters from

⁶² Mitrofan 1990, 137, fig. 30; Mitrofan 1991, 176, fig. 15/3–4; Mitrofan 1993, 178, pl. 41/3–4; Mitrofan 1995a, 8, pl. 9/3; Mitrofan 1999, 172; Rusu-Bolindeț 2011, 99, fig. 5/3; Rusu-Bolindeț 2014, 159; Rusu-Bolindeț 2016, 385; Rusu-Bolindeț *et al.* 2018b, 107, catalogue no. 278.

⁶³ See also another moulds of *terra sigillata* produced at Micăsasa at Rusu-Bolindeț 2011, fig. 6/1a, 6; Rusu-Bolindeț 2014, figs. 3–4; Rusu-Bolindeț *et al.* 2018b, 104–105, catalogue nos. 269–271; 106–109, catalogue nos. 274–277, 279–282, 284 for moulds; local Samian ware produced in moulds – Rusu-Bolindeț *et al.* 2018b, 114–115, catalogue no. 296–298.

⁶⁴ Rusu-Bolindeț 2011, 99, fig. 5/4–5; Rusu-Bolindeț 2014, 159, fig. 5; 6/3; Rusu-Bolindeț 2016, 385, pl. X; Rusu-Bolindeț *et al.* 2018b, 105, catalogue no. 272; 106, catalogue no. 273; 109, catalogue no. 283 – for moulds; local Samian ware produced in moulds – Rusu-Bolindeț *et al.* 2018b, 113, catalogue no. 295.

⁶⁵ Rusu-Bolindeț 2011, 99, fig. 6, 1–2, 4; Rusu-Bolindeț 2014, 159, fig. 5; Rusu-Bolindeț 2016, 385, pl. XI.

⁶⁶ For the partial repertory of decorative motifs on Samian ware produced at Micăsasa, see Rusu-Bolindeț 2011, fig. 6/1–2, 4; Rusu-Bolindeț 2014, fig. 5.

⁶⁷ Bjelajac 1990, the motives: A15–17, D1–2, D20–21, D33, 35, D50, D63–65, D72, E31–33, E61–62, 67, G1–3, H20–24 etc. are very similar to the decorative motifs from the Samian ware produced at Micăsasa.

Micăsasa we can note a more careful manner of executing the moulds and *terra sigillata* vessels. Such influences are normal as the workshops in Micăsasa were contemporary with the peak flourishing period of these workshops, from the second half of the 2nd century to the first half of the 3rd century AD⁶⁸.

No potters' names have been identified so far on the basis of discovered moulds or positives of *terra sigillata*, either stamped or written in *graffiti*⁶⁹. Recently, the renewed reading of some *graffiti* made on the back of ceramic moulds with the representation of the Egyptian deities Isis (Pl. 53, fig. XIX.1a–b) and Serapis (Pl. 53, fig. XIX.2a–b), used for executing medallions applied on vessels, might indicate the name of a potter from Micăsasa who manufactured such moulds. This appears to be *Myrinus*, a potter of Graeco-Oriental origin, who might have been active towards the end of the 2nd and beginning of the 3rd century AD⁷⁰.

The large-scale production of Samian ware in Micăsasa made this settlement the most important workshop that produced this type of pottery in Dacia⁷¹. On the provincial level, a comparative approach to the activity of the workshops under discussion suggests that Micăsasa overwhelmed other centres in Dacia (diagram 2). Through its intense production it was able to compete with centres from other provinces, at least those in Viminacium-Margum and Aquincum, maybe even with the large western European workshops.

Epigraphical Evidence

There are no recent studies concerned with the epigraphic attestation of potters' names on ceramic products that would update the information brought to light by the archaeological excavations carried out over the last two decades. Apart from including these attestations in the *corpora* of inscriptions from Roman Dacia under the section titled *Instrumentum domesticum*⁷², a first synthesis of the ceramic production pertaining to the province was published in 1978 by N. Gudea. In his analysis, the author included all the stamps known at that time, belonging to civilian manufacturers and military *officinae*⁷³. A revision of the data regarding the private workshops from Dacia which produced Roman pottery (thus differentiated from the military) was realised by C. Pop in 1994. He established the existence of 85 potters' names, presumably active in 19 ceramic production centres⁷⁴. However, his analysis took into account not only the stamps seen on various ceramic products (including construction materials), but also the *graffiti* with potters' names made both prior to firing (*ante cocturam*) and afterwards

⁶⁸ Rusu-Bolindeț 2011, 99.

⁶⁹ Similar to Aquincum, at Pacatus' *sigillata* workshops — see Zsidi 2009, 61, 131–134, 208–209, nos. 576, 594, 596, 602.

⁷⁰ Deac 2016.

⁷¹ Rusu-Bolindeț 2011, 99, tabs. 1–2.

⁷² IDR III/2–6.

⁷³ Gudea 1978, 136–137, 140–144, fig. 1.

⁷⁴ Pop 1994, 46.

(*post cocturam*). In the latter case, the *graffiti* do not actually attest the name of a producer but rather the name of the recipient. This leads to a decrease in the number of potters known from Dacia.

The subject in question is complex and cannot be thoroughly analysed in the present paper. Therefore, we had to select the most important and recent discoveries, but an exhaustive study regarding this matter is being prepared⁷⁵.

C(aius) Iulius Pro(culus), attested by epigraphic sources in Ampelum is one of the rare cases when we have attested an owner of a pottery workshop in Roman Dacia⁷⁶. A potter's name is attested at Apulum, on the bottom of an indeterminate vessel of *terra sigillata*, on which was stamped twice, in cross, the name ILARIOFI, interpreted as *ILLARIVS*, *ILLARIO*⁷⁷, or (*H*)*ILLARI(I) OF(F)ICINA*⁷⁸. This potter was not documented in the western *terra sigillata* workshops⁷⁹, neither in the Danubian provinces and seems to be a local producer of *terra sigillata* at Apulum⁸⁰.

The names of some of the master potters from Porolissum are known, having been stamped on the walls of some common pottery items. They are *CL(AVDIVS) CLAVDIANVS ET AVR(ELIVS)* (Pl. 54, fig. XVIII.10). They are possibly two potters associated in the workshops from Porolissum⁸¹, and *SVED(IVS)*⁸² (Pl. 54, fig. XVIII.9) whose name features alone (but this might also be due to the fragmentary state of preservation of the vessel thus marked). It is nevertheless interesting to note that none of the stamped vessels from Porolissum, nor other types of locally produced ware, include the names of *officinatores* or artisans (like *Resatus*, *Respectus*, *Verus* etc. in Pannonia⁸³). If the interpretation of the association of the two craftsmen mentioned above (possibly co-owners of a workshop) is correct, then this would be the first evidence of its kind in the province of Dacia, providing interesting data on the organization of local production.

Names of local masters are also attested in Napoca, such as the names of a local lamp producer *RVSTIK(VS)* (Pl. 54, fig. XVIII.5–6); a fragment from the beginning or the end of the name of a potter who produced stamped pottery (Pl. 54, fig. XVIII.7)⁸⁴;

⁷⁵ For the potters' names and the local workshops producing lamps in Roman Dacia see Benea 2008a, with references; the comments on the status of the craftsmen involved in the artisanal activities, including pottery, by the same author — see Benea 2008b.

⁷⁶ For details related to the epigraphic data related to *C(aius) Iulius Pro(culus)* see the sub-chapter A.2 of this article and pl. 11–12.

⁷⁷ Isac *et al.* 1979, 238–239, no. 78, pl. XI/78.

⁷⁸ IDR III/6, 338, fig. 336.

⁷⁹ At La Grafesenque are attested the potters HILARIO/HILARIONI, HILARVS/ILARVS (Hartley / Dickinson 2009, 234–235), ILARIOXDVS?/ILARIOXDI (Hartley / Dickinson 2009, 262), but none of them seem to be the potter under discussion from Apulum. A potter with the name HILARIVS was attested in Pacatus' pottery workshop from Aquincum — Zsidi 2009, 61.

⁸⁰ For a different opinion see Egri 2018, 126.

⁸¹ Gudea 1980, 105, fig. 1; Gudea 1989, 195, 517, no. 2, pl. CXV/2; Filip 2008, 107.

⁸² Gudea 1980, 105, fig. 1; Gudea 1989, 195, 517, no. 1, pl. CXV/1.

⁸³ Maróti 2002, 119, pl. 14/1–5; Nagy 2014, 124–125, figs. 2/15; 7.

⁸⁴ Rusu-Bolindeț 2007, 47, pl. XIII/4.

a stamp bearing the name of a producer of *mortaria*-like vessels, *AELIVS* (Pl. 54, fig. XVIII.8)⁸⁵.

Also, the name of a potter called *FELIX*, active in the pottery centre in Cristești, is known from stamps on the walls of some stamped bowls (Pl. 54, fig. XVIII.1–3)⁸⁶; in the workshop of the auxiliary fort from Gilău, another master, called (*N*)*EPOS*, stamped his name on the walls of a bowl (Pl. 54, fig. XVIII.4)⁸⁷. On the same site, the name [N]IGRINI was stamped on a jug with handle from the common pottery category, attesting to another local artisan who was active in the pottery workshops from this settlement⁸⁸.

Tools for the decoration of pottery (*sigilla*, roulettes) have been discovered both in large pottery production centres and in smaller settlements where local production is only attested by a few isolated discoveries (Pl. 53, fig. XIX)⁸⁹. The graph that synthesises the ratio of potters' tool discovered until now in pottery workshops from Roman Dacia reflect the situation discussed above (diagram 1).

Conclusions

The analysis of pottery workshops from Roman Dacia provides an interesting overview of the matter, considering the present state of research and publication of materials. It can be noticed that the production centres identified up to the present date cluster in four main areas (Pl. 42, fig. I): in the central part (the centres at Micăsasa, Potaissa, Apulum, and Cristești, which revealed the greatest number of pottery kilns, workshop structures, *sigilla*, moulds for different types of vessels and a large quantity of fine and common pottery); the north-western parts (the important centres at Porolissum and Napoca, together with the workshops that supplied the auxiliary forts from Dacia Porolissensis — Ilișua⁹⁰, Cășeu⁹¹, Buciumi⁹², Bologa etc.); the southern area (with Romula) was the most important centre, with a significant influence on the surrounding workshops (Sucidava, Slăveni, Acidava-Enoșești) and south-western part of the province (the workshops from Tibiscum and Micia).

⁸⁵ Rusu-Bolindeț 2007, 43–45, pl. XIII/5.

⁸⁶ Man 2011, 96, 125, no. 127, pl. XLVIII/127; 134, LX/193; 107, LXXXI/207; Rusu-Bolindeț *et al.* 2018b, 94, catalogue no. 239.

⁸⁷ Isac 2001, 131, pl. IV/28; the reading of the author was IF POS[TVMVS, -I], which is less plausible.

⁸⁸ Isac 2001, 131, not illustrated.

⁸⁹ A synthesis of the potters' tools discovered in Roman Dacia since 1996 at Cociș 1996; new discoveries at Mitrofan 1997; Popilian 1997; Man 2000; Gaiu 2002; Căținaș 2007; Pișlaru 2007; Rusu-Bolindeț 2007, 40–47; Man 2011, 151–152, pl. XCII/1–6; Egri 2018, 118–119, fig. 6/1, 3; Lăzărescu, Sidó 2018, 34, fig. 3/1–12; Rusu-Bolindeț *et al.* 2018b, 45, catalogue no. 101 (Ilișua); 88–90, catalogue nos. 221–225 (Cristești); 110, catalogue nos. 285–286 (Micăsasa); 172–173, catalogue nos. 464–466 (Romula).

⁹⁰ Protase *et al.* 1983; Protase *et al.* 1997; Gaiu 2002.

⁹¹ Isac 1997.

⁹² Chirilă *et al.* 1972; Petruț 2016.

These concentrations of pottery workshops can be explained by the massive presence of military units and urban centres, decisive for the demand of pottery products. The state of archaeological research which has focused more on forts and cities than on rural settlements is another element that can explain this situation. This is why the image provided by the types of sites where workshops have been discovered shows a high focus in towns, forts, and *vici militares*. Still, there are a few workshops located in the rural area, such as those in Micăsasa, Cristești, and Gârla Mare⁹³ that supplied the forts and settlements from the vicinity with pottery⁹⁴.

On the other hand, data provided by epigraphic sources attest to both the existence of pottery workshop owners in Dacia — *C(aius) Iulius Pro(culus)* in Ampelum, *Claudius Claudianus et Aurelius* in Porolissum — and names of craftsmen such as *Felix* in Cristești, *Aelius* and *Rustikus* in Napoca, *(N)epos* and *(N)igrinus* in Gilău, *Myrinus* at Micăsasa etc. These pieces of information allow for the construction of an image of the organization of pottery workshops in the province of Dacia, where there were owners who were also potters⁹⁵, or where owners and potters became associated. At the same time, most of the province's large workshops — those in Apulum, Romula etc. — revealed no epigraphic clues on the identity of their owners or workers. The phenomenon is not typical for Dacia alone, as one can find the same situation regarding the epigraphic evidence for pottery workshops in provinces neighbouring Dacia (Pannonia, the Moesias).

Concerning the agreement between the epigraphic indications of *officinae* and potters from the province of Dacia on the one hand, and the archaeological evidence of their pottery production on the other, from the data we currently hold, potters' names are attested on 10 sites⁹⁶, while the archaeological discoveries prove the existence of at least 30 ceramic workshops. An in-depth research considering all the epigraphic and archaeological evidence available from the entire province will be able to add further information about the way the pottery production was organised in Roman Dacia. Once a fuller picture becomes available, specialists will certainly identify the connections between Dacia and the neighbouring areas with respect to the production and use of Roman pottery.

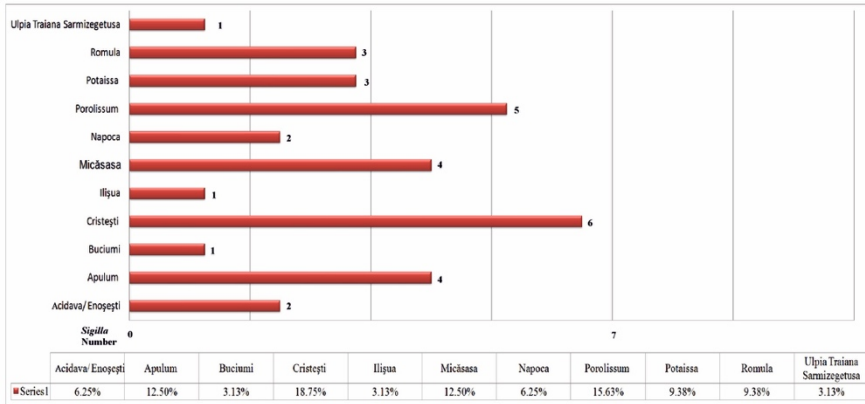
⁹³ Rural settlement from the territory of Drobeta, with a diverse pottery production, known due to the recent archaeological excavation — Stîngă 1997; Stîngă 1998; Stîngă 2005.

⁹⁴ Rusu-Bolindeț 2011, 114–115.

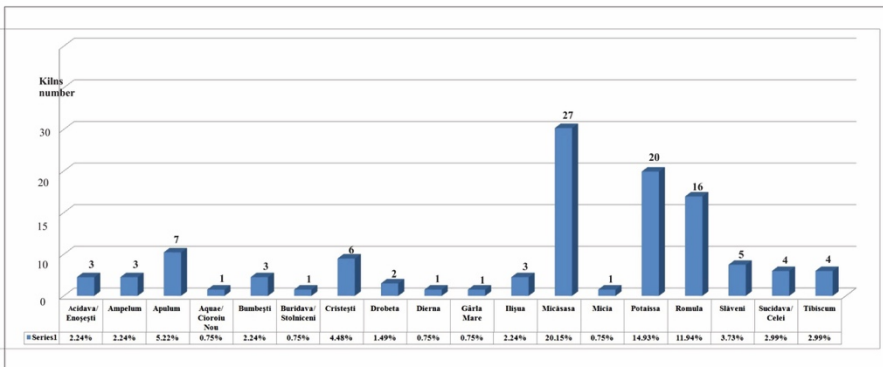
⁹⁵ A situation often encountered in the case of small workshops on the level of the Roman Empire — see OCK 15.

⁹⁶ Only the stamps and the *graffiti* displayed by ceramic ware and lamps were taken into account, leaving out those appearing on construction materials produced by private/civilian brickyards.

DIAGRAMS



Ratio of potters' tool in Roman Dacia



Ratio of pottery kilns in Roman Dacia

Diagram 1. Ratio of potters' tools in Roman Dacia.

Diagram 2. Ratio of pottery kilns in Roman Dacia.

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MIRJANA SANADER

Diokletians langer Weg nach Carnuntum*

Der römische Herrscher Diokletian, der das Reich von 284 bis 305 regierte, gilt heute als einer der bedeutendsten römischen Herrscher.¹ Obwohl wir noch nicht den genauen Ort seiner Geburt wissen, sind sich die Forscher einig, dass er aus Dalmatien, wahrscheinlich aus der Nähe von Salona, stammt. Der Kaiser dankte am 1. Mai 305 in Nicomedia ab, von wo er als *Senior Augustus* nach Dalmatien reiste. Zu dieser Zeit zog er endlich in die Residenz ein, in der er dann die letzten Jahre seines Lebens verbrachte.² Diokletian sah nicht voraus, dass die Auflösung des Regierungssystems der Tetrarchie, das er zum Wohle des Reiches eingerichtet und für das er auch seine Macht freiwillig abgegeben hatte, in dem Moment begann, als er sich in Richtung Salona begab.³ Um den Verfall der Tetrarchie zu verhindern, reiste er 308 von Split nach Carnuntum, wo das Treffen mehrerer Kaiser, wie in den Quellen belegt, stattfand.⁴

Über diese kaiserliche Konferenz in Carnuntum haben die Wissenschaftler des Öfteren geschrieben, sowohl über die Gründe für ihre Einberufung, wie über die Wahl von Carnuntum als Treffpunkt, aber auch in Bezug auf das genaue Datum der Konferenz.⁵ Bei dieser Gelegenheit wird versucht, das Itinerar der Diokletian-Reise vom

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¹ Die Bibliographie über Diokletian ist beeindruckend, und es ist nicht möglich, bei dieser Gelegenheit alle Arbeiten aufzuzählen. Siehe daher z. B. Bibliographien bei: Barnes 1982; Williams 1985; Mommsen 1992; Kuhoff 2001; Demandt 2004; Rees 2012.

² Die Forscher sind sich einig, dass Diokletian in seinem Palast in Split starb, aber sind nicht einer Meinung darüber, in welchem Jahr genau, 311, 312 oder sogar 316.

³ Über die wissenschaftliche Debatte, ob die Tetrarchie als Staatsform existiert hat, siehe zusammengefasst: Kolb 1987, 1–9.

⁴ Über die Ereignisse bei dem Treffen in Carnuntum (das auch Reichskonferenz genannt wird), haben mehrere antike Quellen berichtet, darunter Lactant. *de mort. pers.* 29.2, und Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* VII 13.15. Siehe auch: Aur. Vict. *de Caes.* 40.8, Eutr. X 4.1, *Origo Const.* 3.8, 5.13, Oros. VII 28.11, Zonaras XII 34. In Carnuntum ist auch eine Altarinschrift (CIL III 4413 = ILS 659) erhalten, die um die Zeit der Versammlung entstanden sein sollte.

⁵ Siehe besonders Kuhoff 2001, 833, der in der recht ausführlichen Diskussion über die Dauer der Konferenz, auch die Reise der Anwesenden sporadisch erwähnt: „... und wird wegen der langen Anreise für die Beteiligten etwa am Monatsanfang begonnen haben und kurz nach der Zeremonie beendet worden sein ...“. Es wird vermutet, dass Carnuntum deshalb als Ort des Treffens gewählt wurde, da es in der relativen Nähe zu Salona (807 km), wo Diokletian weilte, und zu Serdica (1019 km), wo Galerius im Oktober dieses Jahres weilte, befand. Carnuntum war den römischen Kaisern nicht unbekannt. Schon Marcus Aurelius hatte hier drei Jahre verbracht (169–172). Es scheint, dass diese Stadt alle Voraussetzungen besaß, die für einen sicheren Aufenthalt

Palast in Split bis nach Carnuntum zu rekonstruieren. Dazu werden Informationen über seine Krankheit, die sich zu dieser Zeit auf seinen körperlichen Zustand hätten auswirken können, in Betracht bezogen und überprüft. Es werden auch die klimatischen Bedingungen berücksichtigt, unter denen die Reise stattgefunden hat. Den bekannten Informationen aus den geschichtlichen Quellen werden neue archäologische Daten sowie Informationen aus der historischen Medizin und Paläoklimatologie hinzugefügt. Mit dieser Methode werden wir versuchen, nicht nur das Itinerar seiner Reise nachzuvollziehen, sondern auch die Dauer, wobei Land- wie auch Seewege in Betracht genommen und berücksichtigt werden, zu ermitteln. Mit einem solchen Ansatz wird der allgemein geltenden Annahme gefolgt, dass der Erfolg einer Reise, die in diesem Fall etwa 800 Kilometer lang war, nicht nur von der Straßeninfrastruktur und Logistik abhing, sondern auch vom Gesundheitszustand der Passagiere sowie von den klimatischen Bedingungen, unter denen die Reise stattfand.

Die Krankheit Diokletians

Die meisten Details über Diokletians Krankheit überliefert uns Lactantius in dem Werk *De mortibus persecutorum* 17.9. Obwohl er nicht die genaue Bezeichnung der Krankheit nennt, deutet er an, dass sie nicht nur körperliche, sondern auch psychische Nachwirkungen hatte.⁶ Medizinhistoriker versuchten herauszufinden, um welche Körperschwäche es sich eigentlich handelte.⁷ Zuerst beschäftige ich mich mit den Quellenangaben über des Kaisers Erkrankung, ohne die diversen Kommentare einzubeziehen.

Das gesundheitliche Problem des Kaisers, so die Quellen, erschien nach einer plötzlichen Unterbrechung der *vicennalia*, die in Rom gefeiert wurden.⁸ Er verließ Rom am 19. beziehungsweise 20. Dezember 303, um nach Ravenna zu gelangen, wo er bis zum Beginn seines neuen, des neunten Konsulats blieb.⁹ Trotz der Krankheit verreiste er mitten im Winter mit Hilfe einer Sänfte in Richtung Donau und dann weiter nach Nicomedia, wo er erst viele Monate später, am Ende des Sommers, ankam. Dort verschlechtert sich seine Gesundheit, aber trotzdem konnte er am 20. November bei der Weihe des neuen Zirkus erscheinen. Im Dezember wurde die Nachricht von seinem angeblichen Tod verbreitet, weshalb Diokletian sich wiederum in der Öffentlichkeit zeigte. Seine abgemagerte, kranke, fast unkenntliche Erscheinung erschütterte diese tief. In der Folge veränderte sich weder sein Gesundheitszustand noch die Gerüchte über seinen schlechten Zustand, sodass er sich am 1. März 305 wieder in der Öffentlichkeit zeigen musste. Zwei Monate später, am 1. Mai 305, dankte Diokletian schließlich ab und begab sich nach Split.

Bei der Analyse dieser Nachrichten über die gesundheitlichen Schwierigkeiten des Kaisers sind zwei auf den ersten Blick kontroverse Informationen zu erkennen.

eines Kaisers notwendig waren, vor allem die Stärke des militärischen Personals. Siehe: Stroh 1998, 2–11; Humer 2004.

⁶ Seine psychische Erkrankung erwähnt auch Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* VIII 13.11).

⁷ Köbler 1959, 52–54.

⁸ Lact., *de mort. pers.* 17.2 f. wie auch Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* VIII 13.11.

⁹ Über den Tag der Abreise siehe Kuhoff 2001, Anm. 786.

Die erste bezieht sich auf die Nachricht, dass sich der Kaiser, trotz des plötzlichen Auftretens seiner Krankheit, entschlossen habe, und zwar mitten im Winter, von Ravenna nach Nicomedia zu reisen. Die Tatsache, dass er die Reise in der Sänfte verbrachte, verstärkt die Merkwürdigkeit dieser Entscheidung.

Ohne die Glaubwürdigkeit der Quellen anzuzweifeln, muss man sich fragen, warum Diokletian die Reise trotz seines gesundheitlichen Zustands fortsetzte. Es bieten sich zwei Antworten an. Die eine ist, dass er vom Erscheinen gesundheitlicher Probleme nicht überrascht war, da diese ihm möglicherweise bereits bekannt waren. Daher konnte er vermuten, wie die Krankheit sich weiter entwickeln werde und deshalb sich auch entschließen, diese mühsame Landreise nach Nicomedia zu unternehmen. Zur Bekräftigung dieser Annahme einer Krankheit, die beim Kaiser längst vor den *vicennalia* in Erscheinung trat, kann die Tatsache herangezogen werden, dass die unmittelbare Umgebung der Kaiserresidenz in Split, die zu diesem Zeitpunkt bereits gebaut wurde, mit vielen heilsamen Schwefelquellen angefüllt war.¹⁰ Während der archäologischen Ausgrabungen der westlichen, sogenannten kaiserlichen Privatbäder, wurden Proben des noch immer vorhandenen Schlammes, den starker Harz- und Jodgeruch charakterisiert, entnommen. Die Analyse hat gezeigt, dass es sich um einen Heilschlamm mit den gleichen chemischen Eigenschaften handelt wie es sie in anderen Vorkommen aus der Umgebung des Palastes gibt.¹¹

Um die Überlegungen weiter zu führen, ist ein alter Artikel von F. Bulić zu berücksichtigen. Er hatte 1910 vorgeschlagen, dass Diokletian, wegen der schweren gesundheitlichen Schäden und widrigen Bedingungen auf den winterlichen Straßen von Ravenna auch zu Schiff nach Nicomedia gelangen konnte.¹² Obwohl Bulićs Vorschlag in der wissenschaftlichen Literatur unbeachtet blieb, möchte ich unterstreichen, dass eine Schiffsreise immer komfortabler als eine Landreise war, besonders für jemanden, der sich in einem schlechten Gesundheitszustand befand.¹³

Die zweite Information betrifft die Nachricht, dass der Kaiser nur zwei Monate, nachdem die Öffentlichkeit wegen seines schlechten Gesundheitszustandes sogar seinen Tod annahm, im Mai 305 von Nicomedia nach Split reiste.

Über diese Reise haben wir, außer dass sie im Frühjahr begann, keine weiteren Informationen. Es scheint aber unter Berücksichtigung der Erkrankung, wegen der er vor kurzem fast gestorben wäre, viel sicherer, bequemer und einfacher gewesen zu sein,

¹⁰ Mirošević 1954, 712. Diese Mineralwasserquelle ist hypothermal (21,3 °C), hoch mineralisch (28,67 mg/kg) und gekennzeichnet durch eine Wasserstoffsulfidmenge (20 mg/L), die Haut, Lymphknoten, Lunge, periphere Nerven, Atemwegserkrankungen, Bauchwand, Stütz- und Bewegungsapparat, Rheuma und Quecksilbervergiftung heilen sollte. Diese Schwefel-Mineral-Radio-Jod-Brom-Litium Mineralwasserquelle soll die beste in Europa sein, da sie über mehr Jod verfügt als jede bisher bekannte Quelle. Siehe Buljan 1955, 23; Cambi 2010, 169–194.

¹¹ Ivanović 1981, 95–104, Anm. 34.

¹² Bulić 1910, 88–102; Pascini 1911, 274–278.

¹³ Es sei denn, man leidet stark unter Seekrankheit.

diese Reise zu Schiff zu unternehmen.¹⁴ Dazu kommt die Tatsache, dass, trotz der damaligen Beschränkungen in Schiffstechnologie und Navigation und trotz der Unbeständigkeit der Wetterbedingungen, Schiffsverkehr im Reich sehr intensiv und üblich war im Sinne des Dictums: *Navigare necesse est*, das die Antike der Nachwelt hinterlassen hat.¹⁵

Für die nächsten dreieinhalb Jahre, während sich Diokletian in seinem Palast aufhielt, wurde nichts über seine Krankheit berichtet, ausgenommen die bekannte, amüsante Episode über seinen Kohlanbau.¹⁶ Man kann davon ausgehen, dass der ehemalige aktive Kaiser sich mittlerweile gut erholt hatte, weil er sich sonst nicht bei bevorstehendem Winter auf eine etwa 800 km lange Reise nach Carnuntum begeben hätte. Man darf annehmen, dass er wegen der schweren Krankheit, die er fünf Jahre zuvor überlebt hatte, versucht hat, diese Reise so einfach und angenehm wie nur möglich zu gestalten.

Die Reise

Den Reisen der römischen Kaiser hat sich besonders H. Halfmann gewidmet.¹⁷ Obwohl seine Forschungen nicht in die Spätantike reichen, sind sie von großem Nutzen, da sie wichtige Informationen über die Umstände dieser Reisen liefern. Es ist anzunehmen, dass die Protokolle der Kaiserreisen auch zum Zeitpunkt, als Diokletian nach Carnuntum reiste, die gleichen blieben, bzw. sich nicht viel verändert haben. Dafür konnte er zudem als amtierender Konsul wie ein Kaiser nach Carnuntum reisen.¹⁸

Diokletian konnte von seinem Wohnsitz in Split über zwei Wege nach Carnuntum gelangen, entweder über die Reichsstraßen, oder er konnte kombinieren, nämlich die Reise mit dem Schiff beginnen und über Land beenden. Falls er den ganzen Weg über Land wählte, darf man annehmen, dass er über kräftige Pferde und über einen Wagen von höchster Qualität verfügte. Man muss zudem davon ausgehen, dass er, um sein Ziel möglichst schnell zu erreichen, auf den besten Straßen fuhr.

¹⁴ Dass die Fahrten in antiken Reisewagen sicher nicht komfortabel waren, bezeugen gezielt durchgeführte wissenschaftliche Experimente zu den Strapazen im antiken Straßenverkehr. Dabei wurde der rekonstruierte römische Reisewagen des APX mit neuester Technik versehen, um Lärmbelästigung und Stoßwirkung zu messen. Mit Sensoren im Wagen wollten die Experten die Vibrationen während der Fahrt ermitteln. Stoßdämpfer und Polstersitze gab es im Römerreich noch nicht. Und auch die Reifen waren nicht mit Federn und Gummi versehen, sondern mit unachgiebigem Eisenbeschlägen, was jeden noch so kleinen Stoß direkt auf die Reisenden übertrug. Das permanente Hin- und Herschwenken des Wagenrumpfes machte die Fahrt für Reisende mit empfindlichem Magen nicht gerade angenehmer (<http://www.rp-online.de/nrw/staedte/xanten/schaeden-der-reisenden-roemer-aid-1.1327864> [letzter Zugriff am 27.10.2019]).

¹⁵ Eine Wagenreise von Nicomedia nach Salona wäre 1475 km lang und würde 22 Tage dauern, eine Schiffsreise wäre hingegen zwar 2542 km lang, würde aber nur 19 ½ Tage (präzise 19,7 Tage) dauern. Siehe ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World (<http://orbis.stanford.edu>).

¹⁶ Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39.6.

¹⁷ Halfmann 1986.

¹⁸ Über Diokletians Konsulat siehe: Kuhoff 2001, 827.

Das Studium der römischen Straßen ist seit Jahrzehnten Gegenstand von topographischen, bautechnischen und epigraphischen Forschungen. Zahlreiche Meilensteine und Straßenüberreste erlauben uns heute eine glaubwürdige Rekonstruktion des Verlaufs vieler Reichsstraßen wie auch der Straßen der Provinzen Dalmatien und Pannonien.¹⁹ In Salona begann eine bekannte Reichsstraße, die durch die Ortschaften Čitluk (*Aequum*), durch das Vrbastal und über Banja Luka (*Castra*) zu Bosanska Gradiška (*Servitium*) führte.²⁰ Dieser Weg könnte für Diokletians Reise gewählt worden sein, weil es der schnellste (12 ½ Tage) und nächste Weg (834 km) war. Diese Route führte den Reisenden von Salona nach Servitium am Fluss Save über 209 km, und dauerte etwas länger als drei Tage, für den Weg weiter nach Siscia brauchte man 91 km, etwa anderthalb Tage. Von Siscia bis zum 297 km entfernten Poetovio dauerte die Reise 4 ½ Tage. Um schließlich Carnuntum von Poetovio zu erreichen, brauchte man weitere 237 km und 3 ½ Tage.²¹ Es kann nicht bezweifelt werden, dass Diokletian alle Vorteile nutzte, die der *cursus publicus* zur Verfügung stellte. Auch ist anzunehmen, dass für seine Reise bestimmte Unterstützung aus der Staatskasse bereitgestellt worden war. Die Kaiserreisen wurden sorgfältig geplant, so dass man zunächst die Route auswählte, dann die Städte, in deren Zuständigkeitsbereich sich die Straße befand, auf der sich die Reisegesellschaft bewegte. Sie versorgten dann, unter der Aufsicht des Gouverneurs, alle *mansiones* oder *stationes*, die sich am Weg befanden, mit dem für die Reisenden Nötigen. Man denkt dabei an die Dokumente aus dem Archiv des Strategos von Panopolis (P.Panop. Beatty I), die im September 289 geschrieben wurden und über die Planung des Diokletiansbesuchs in Ägypten berichten.²²

Diese Vorbereitungen bezogen sich auf die Bereitstellung von Schiffen, auf Transport und Lagerung von Lebensmitteln für die Soldaten des kaiserlichen Gefolges, auf den Bau von Unterkünften für die Reisenden als auch auf die Ernennung der Person, die ein Opfertier vorbereiten sollte. Die genauen Quellen bekräftigen die Annahme, dass Diokletians Reise nach Carnuntum sorgfältig vorbereitet wurde. Er ging selbstverständlich auf die Reise mit einem Gefolge, das aus Soldaten, den Mitgliedern seines Büros, aus Küchen- und Stallpersonal (*stablesiani*) zusammengesetzt war. Er hatte höchstwahrscheinlich auch medizinisches Personal um sich. Der Pferdenachschub, die Übernachtung und das Essen mussten auch organisiert sein.²³ Für diese Reise brauchte man mehrere Wagen, wie auch Pferde für diese und berittene Soldaten. Ob Diokletian seinen eigenen Pferdestall und vielleicht auch eine Sammlung von Kutschen im Palast hatte, bleibt ungewiss, wie auch die Antwort auf die Frage, ob im Palasthafen ein eigenes Schiff zur Verfügung stand.

¹⁹ Bojanovski 1974; Mikl Curk 1978, 35–37; Soproni 1980, 207–218; Sermenyi / Toth 1982, 283–290; Pahič 1983, 247–287; Miletić 1992/1993, 117–150; Kiss 2007.

²⁰ ORBIS (s. Anm. 15).

²¹ Die jeweilige Reisedauer wird hier rein rechnerisch angegeben.

²² Skeat 1961, 194–199; Lewis 1991, 163–178; Lewis 2001, 89–96; Mitthof 2001; Lewis 2003, 221–228; Adams 2010.

²³ Kolb 2000, 248–257.

Wetterverhältnisse

Für den Fall, dass sich Diokletian für eine Landreise nach Carnuntum entschloss, würde er bereits von Anfang November mit der Reise begonnen haben. Da November klimatisch das Ende des Herbsts und den Anfang des Winters markiert, darf man annehmen, dass der Reisewagen von höchster Qualität und gegen Niederschläge, Kälte und alle anderen Unannehmlichkeiten geschützt war.

Nach den Berichten der Österreichischen Zentralanstalt für Meteorologie und Geodynamik und des kroatischen Hydrometeorologischen Staatsdienstes für den Zeitraum von 1981 bis 2010 ist das Wetter im November oftmals grau, nasskalt, trüb und nicht selten fällt schon der erste Schnee. Durchschnittlich fallen 55 Liter Regen. Die gesammelten Daten zeigen auch, dass in den letzten Jahrzehnten die durchschnittliche Temperatur im November zwischen 3 und 8 Grad betrug und an der Adria bis zu 13 Grad.²⁴

Dank der Bemühungen der Paläoklimatologen erfährt man Einiges über das antike Klima, wenn auch nicht, wie das Wetter im November Anno Domini 308 war. Dendrochronologische Untersuchungen zur Rekonstruktion der Niederschlagsschwankungen in Westeuropa während der römischen Zeit haben gezeigt, dass es von etwa 280 bis 420/430 stetig trocken war.²⁵ Obwohl selten, kann man in den Quellen Beschreibungen von Wetterbedingungen finden, wie beispielsweise über die Reise eines römischen Kaisers aus Pannonien nach Italien, als Soldaten wie auch Pferde wegen der Kälte und Lawinen in den Julischen Alpen verunglückten.²⁶ Aber diese Reise, die im *Corpus Hippiatricorum* durch den griechischen Arzt Theomnestos überliefert wurde, geschah im Februar eines unbekanntes Jahres und kann uns nichts über die Klimabedingungen im November 308 vermitteln.

Das Schiff

Archäologische Ausgrabungen, die vor der südlichen Fassade des Diokletianspalastes 2006/2007 durchgeführt wurden, haben gezeigt, dass sich entlang des ganzen Palastes eine Pier in der Länge von 160 Metern befand, ganz ähnlich wie es Fischer von Erlach am Anfang des 18. Jh. zeichnete. Die Pier hatte eine lange Kaimauer und im Süden eine leicht abfallende Plattform.²⁷ Von dieser Hafenkonstruktion haben sich noch Fundamente der südlichen Mauer erhalten, die sich auf Meeresklippen stützen. Diese Mauer ist von der südlichen Fassade des Palastes 12,40 Meter entfernt. Der Palasthafen diente vermutlich praktischen Zwecken wie zum Beispiel der Warenentladung und auch zum Zustieg von Schiffspassagieren.

Diokletian hätte daher aus dem Palast an Bord eines Schiffes steigen und zu einem der Adriaehäfen segeln können, der gute Verkehrsanbindung mit dem Landesinneren

²⁴ Zentralanstalt für Meteorologie und Geodynamik Österreich (<http://www.zamg.ac.at>); Državni hidrometeorološki zavod Kroatien (<http://www.dhmz.htnet.hr>).

²⁵ Schmidt / Gruhle 2003, 421–426.

²⁶ CHG I 183.

²⁷ Delonga 2007; Čerina 2009, 43–58.

hatte, um von dort seine Reise fortzusetzen. Mir scheint Aquileia die beste Wahl gewesen zu sein. Die Stadt ist vom Palast in Split etwas mehr als 431 km entfernt und bei geeigneten Wetterumständen konnte man ihren Hafen in etwa 3 Tagen erreichen. Von Aquileia führte die Reichstraße 467 km lang nach Carnuntum, und um dies zu bewältigen, brauchte man mindestens 7 Tage. Dies bedeutet, dass diese gesamte Reise von 898 km bei günstigen Wetterbedingungen in 10 Tagen zu schaffen gewesen wäre, also zwei Tage weniger als die Reise durch das Landesinnere.²⁸

Falls sich Diokletian zu dieser kombinierten Reise entschloss, konnten zur angegebenen Zeit, im November, die Wetterumstände als einziges Problem erscheinen. Es wurde ja festgestellt, dass die Temperaturen an der Adria zu dieser Zeit rund 13 Grad betragen. Das Wetter sollte daher keine größeren Schwierigkeiten bereiten, da heutzutage in November zahlreiche Segelschiffsregatten an der Adria, auch im offenen Meer, stattfinden.²⁹

Zusammenfassung

Wenn man die Information berücksichtigt, dass am 18. November 308 Licinius in Carnuntum zum Augustus des Westens ernannt wurde, könnte man annehmen, dass die Konferenz, die wahrscheinlich ein paar Tage zuvor begonnen hatte, an diesem Tag endete. Wie man gesehen hat, benötigte Diokletian, abhängig von der Art seiner Reise, 10 bis 12 Tage, um von Split aus die Donau und das Ziel zu erreichen. Zwar kann man nicht mit Gewissheit behaupten, auf welchem Weg er dort ankam, da es dazu keine Informationen gibt, aber unter Berücksichtigung seines Zustands und auch der Wetterbedingungen ist nicht auszuschließen, dass er einen Teil seiner Reise zu Schiff absolvierte und den Rest mit dem Wagen durch das Landesinnere.

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²⁸ ORBIS (s. Anm. 15).

²⁹ Die legendäre Adria-Regatta zur Außeninsel Jabuka für Segelboote, die mehr als 10 Meter lang sind, findet immer Mitte November statt. Die Regatta beträgt 110 Meilen und dauert mindestens 13 Stunden. Siehe: http://www.tijat.adriatica.biz/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=156&Itemid=1 [letzter Zugriff am 27.10.2019].

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ALESSANDRO TEATINI

Marmi di Costantinopoli nella *provincia Scythia*
al tempo di Giustiniano: i dati degli arredi architettonici
della basilica cristiana di *Ibida*

Tavole 55–60

“Eine völlige Freilegung der ganzen Anlage, auf welcher tiefer Schutt liegt, wäre natürlich sehr wünschenswert”, auspicava l’Arcivescovo di Bucarest Raymund Netzhammer a proposito della grande basilica cristiana di *Ibida*, descrivendo nel 1918 “Die Christlichen Altertümer der Dobrudscha” per un volume che avrebbe visto l’edizione di lì a poco¹. L’avvio nel 2001 di ricerche sistematiche nella grande città fortificata, la più estesa di tutta la *provincia Scythia* (Tav. 55, Fig. 1), ha permesso di conoscere molteplici aspetti dell’insediamento all’interno del quale si trova l’edificio (Tav. 56, Fig. 2), ma non ha reso possibile alcuna indagine nel settore specifico della basilica (Tav. 56, Fig. 3), al presente in terreni di proprietà privata, rendendo ancora attuale l’auspicio del Netzhammer. Ai lavori nell’odierna località di Slava Rusă, coordinati dai colleghi dell’Istituto di Ricerche Eco–Museali di Tulcea, partecipa dal 2013 anche l’Università di Sassari²: tra le varie attività di questo gruppo di ricerca si pone lo studio della decorazione architettonica della basilica³.

L’edificio fu individuato poco prima della menzionata ricognizione del Netzhammer: nel corso della prima guerra mondiale venne eseguito uno scavo ad opera di militari bulgari, in seguito al quale furono messe in luce tre absidi affiancate corrispondenti alle tre navate, permettendo così al Netzhammer di verificare la larghezza della basilica, quantificata in 22 metri. In base alle poche informazioni disponibili non sembra che l’edificio sia stato scavato integralmente e nemmeno sembra che l’indagine sia giunta in profondità in tutta l’area: è stato infatti recuperato un solo frammento del mosaico pavimentale⁴. Il Netzhammer posizionò la struttura nella pianta della città e recuperò altresì un fusto di colonna integro in marmo bianco con venature blu, probabilmente proconnesio (dimensioni: altezza cm 365, diametro all’imoscapo cm 55, diametro al

¹ Netzhammer 1918, 156.

² I lavori della missione archeologica italiana in Romania, diretta dallo scrivente, sono sostenuti dal Ministero degli Affari Esteri e della Cooperazione Internazionale.

³ Un saggio recente ha attirato l’attenzione su tale lotto di materiali (Paraschiv / Iațcu 2013, 239–252): si intende approfondire qui alcuni degli aspetti ivi trattati.

⁴ Informazioni riportate in Netzhammer 1918, 156.

sommoscapo cm 49). Gli unici elementi di ragionamento riguardo questa grande basilica sono dunque offerti dalla struttura a tre absidi, peraltro al momento non verificabile mancando una planimetria dell'edificio, e da alcuni elementi della sua decorazione architettonica in marmo venuti in luce nel corso di indagini condotte nel 1926, delle quali, ancora una volta, ci restano solo scarsissime notizie indirette riportate in studi ampiamente successivi⁵: si tratta dei voluminosi frammenti di cinque capitelli ionici ad imposta, uno solo dei quali trovato recentemente (nel 2001) nella stessa area della basilica ma nel terreno superficiale, esposti ora al Museo Archeologico di Tulcea. Insieme a questi vi sono pochi frammenti di ridotte dimensioni degli elementi di una recinzione o di un ciborio⁶, un fusto di colonna verosimilmente in marmo proconnesio e conservato attualmente al Museo di Costanza⁷, che non sembra quello recuperato dal Netzhammer in quanto di dimensioni leggermente inferiori (altezza cm 350, diametro all'imoscapo cm 50), e due basi di colonna⁸, una di tipo attico-romano e una di tipo semplificato con un "mason's mark": su queste ultime, in virtù delle loro caratteristiche, sarà parimenti utile soffermarsi dopo l'analisi dei capitelli.

I cinque capitelli ionici ad imposta sono agilmente inquadrabili all'interno della seriazione tipologica scaturita dai vari studi che hanno riguardato questa classe di elementi architettonici⁹, creata in età protobizantina come adattamento ai nuovi carichi determinati dall'abbandono degli architravi a favore delle serie di arcate. I nostri pezzi sono raggruppabili in tre diverse tipologie. Alla prima di queste ascriviamo due esemplari con il medesimo apparato decorativo, di ciascuno dei quali si conserva circa una metà: il primo (Tav. 57, Fig. 4) (capitello nr. 1, dimensioni: altezza cm 42, larghezza superiore — ricostruibile — cm 74) restituisce in maniera abbastanza completa l'ornato¹⁰, caratterizzato da due fogliette sull'echino della zona ionica (restava quella trilobata prossima alla voluta di sinistra, ora non conservatasi e visibile solo in una fotografia degli anni Cinquanta, Tav. 57, Fig. 5) e, sul lato anteriore dell'imposta, da una croce liscia ad estremità leggermente patenti; nel secondo (Tav. 57, Fig. 6) (capitello nr. 2, dimensioni: altezza cm 37) l'echino non si è conservato integralmente ma ne resta una piccola porzione dell'estremità sinistra¹¹, ove si intravede uno dei lobi di una foglietta che doveva decorarlo, oltre la quale si conserva la voluta e, al di sopra, l'imposta con l'estremità del braccio orizzontale di una croce sul lato anteriore. La seconda tipologia è quella individuata da un voluminoso frammento recuperato di recente (Tav. 57, Fig. 7) (capitello nr. 3, altezza cm 37, larghezza superiore — ricostruibile — cm 79,

⁵ Vulpe 1930, 125; Barnea 1958, 347; Barnea 1977, 217; Iacob *et al.* 2015, 564–565.

⁶ Paraschiv / Iațcu 2013, 242–243, nr. 10–13.

⁷ Covacef / Pașca 1991, 173, nr. 48: la descrizione del marmo come bianco con venature viola indirizza verso questa interpretazione; cfr. anche Paraschiv / Iațcu 2013, 242, nr. 9.

⁸ In Paraschiv / Iațcu 2013, 242, nr. 7 si attribuisce alla basilica anche una base di colonna in calcare proveniente da Slava Rusă, per la quale non si dispone tuttavia di informazioni più precise circa il luogo di ritrovamento, come si evince in Baumann 1984, 220, nr. 21.

⁹ Kautzsch 1936, 165–182; Betsch 1979, 239–243; Zollt 1994, 9–46.

¹⁰ Paraschiv / Iațcu 2013, 240, nr. 1.

¹¹ Paraschiv / Iațcu 2013, 241, nr. 2.

spessore superiore — ricostruibile — cm 104, diametro inferiore cm 52)¹², ove della zona ionica sul lato anteriore resta solo la voluta di sinistra, ma si conserva pressoché integralmente la decorazione dell'imposta, con una croce liscia ad estremità leggermente patenti dalla cui base fuoriescono due racemi che si contrappongono terminando in due fogliette trilobate; a questo si accosta un esemplare di cui rimane la metà destra (Tav. 58, Fig. 8) (capitello nr. 4, altezza massima cm 33, larghezza superiore — ricostruibile — cm 70)¹³, con parte della corrispondente voluta della zona ionica e la sovrastante imposta, ornata sul lato anteriore dalla stessa croce con racemi del pezzo precedente. Infine la terza tipologia è definita da un unico esemplare (Tav. 58, Fig. 9) (capitello nr. 5, altezza massima cm 29, larghezza superiore cm 72) con la zona ionica quasi completamente spezzata (salvo un piccolo segmento della voluta di sinistra)¹⁴, contraddistinto dall'imposta decorata sul lato anteriore da un disco liscio, evidentemente un medaglione destinato a ricevere un monogramma, rimasto tuttavia privo della rifinitura ad intaglio.

Caratteri comuni a questo piccolo lotto di capitelli sono la semplicità dei tipi, ovvero con l'imposta liscia eccetto che per la decorazione con una croce o un clipeo, insieme alla stessa imposta assai espansa in rapporto alla sottostante zona ionica, zona che in più si schematizza nella sua definizione contraendosi dimensionalmente: è questo un parametro compositivo che rimanda alle produzioni della fine del V secolo e della prima metà del VI; l'echino viene inoltre scolpito con piccoli elementi vegetali, individuati in un paio dei nostri esemplari da due fogliette, le quali costituiscono una vera e propria cifra stilistica dei capitelli ionici ad imposta costantinopolitani. Precisamente in questo contesto, soprattutto nei prodotti delle botteghe di età giustiniana, talora impegnate con la committenza della casa imperiale, è infatti possibile trovare riscontri molto puntuali (si tratta del capitello tipo Kautsch VI)¹⁵; si segnalano inoltre vari capitelli in marmo proconnesio dall'Asia Minore dovuti ugualmente ad officine di Costantinopoli¹⁶, tra i quali un esemplare a Efeso dalla via Arcadiana¹⁷, oppure l'analogo pezzo ritrovato nella chiesa paleocristiana costruita nell'*Artemision* efesino¹⁸, così come numerosi esemplari degli ordini interni della basilica di San Giovanni, ancora ad Efeso, con l'imposta decorata da croci oppure dai monogrammi di Giustiniano o Teodora (Tav. 58, Fig. 10), per i quali, nonostante la committenza imperiale e gli indubbi legami con la produzione metropolitana, è stata tuttavia rimarcata la realizzazione da parte di maestranze efesine¹⁹.

¹² Paraschiv / Iațcu 2013, 241, nr. 5.

¹³ Paraschiv / Iațcu 2013, 241, nr. 3.

¹⁴ Paraschiv / Iațcu 2013, 241, nr. 4.

¹⁵ Kautsch 1936, 176–178; Zollt 1994, 25–45.

¹⁶ Un elenco è in Barsanti 1989, 168–170.

¹⁷ Russo 1999, 42.

¹⁸ Bammer 1993, 167–168; Bammer 1999, 86–87; Russo 1999, 42.

¹⁹ Deichmann 1974, 561–564; Russo 1999, 40–43. Un'ampia disamina di questi materiali è nel recente Thiel 2005, 55–58.

La base di tipo semplificato (altezza cm 24, lato plinto cm 59, diametro superiore cm 45), ugualmente in marmo (Tav. 59, Fig. 11), è integra²⁰: non disponiamo di analisi utili a certificare il marmo utilizzato per scolpire questo pezzo, che ad un esame autotopico sembra tuttavia riconoscibile quale proconnesio. Come di consueto il profilo corrisponde, a livello semilavorato, a quello delle basi di tipo attico-romano, con la successione della scozia tra due tori al di sopra di un plinto, che si traduce, nella forma semplificata, in un tronco di cono sormontato da un basso cilindro; sulle superfici, rimaste prive di politura, sono visibili le tracce della gradina. Su un lato del plinto è presente il marchio $\omega\tau$, costituito dalle due lettere omega onciale e tau rovesciata (Tav. 59, Fig. 12). Questo tipo di base è ampiamente diffuso nelle province orientali²¹, ove evidentemente veniva messo in opera pure con le sole caratteristiche della semilavorazione che aveva in origine, appena uscito dall'officina: le attestazioni sono numerose dall'area balcanica all'Asia Minore, comprese le isole dell'Egeo e Creta²²; meno frequente in Occidente è comunque presente a Ostia²³ e, con parecchi esemplari, nel relitto di Marzamemi²⁴.

L'interesse primario del pezzo è dunque nella documentazione di un marchio inscritto, perfettamente inquadrabile nell'ambito della categoria dei "masons' marks": si tratta di sigle di marmorari la cui esegesi generale è assai complessa, a causa del loro carattere polisemantico²⁵, e che sui marmi di provenienza orientale sono tuttavia quasi sempre costituite da lettere greche (fino ad un massimo di cinque), sovente con grafie differenti o rovesciate, oppure dai più rari monogrammi. L'ampia casistica dei marchi è legata alle diverse fasi che interessavano la lavorazione dei blocchi di marmo, coinvolgendo così sfere professionali disparate dell'ambito non solo tecnico, ma anche amministrativo: si va infatti dalle sigle di controllo dei pezzi realizzati nella cava, a quelle relative all'assemblaggio, per il quale dovevano costituire una guida, fino ai "marchi di identità", decisamente i più numerosi, destinati a definire il lavoro delle singole unità artigianali, indicando, appunto, l'identità del responsabile tramite l'abbreviazione del suo nome. Si possono aggiungere a queste categorie i marchi di stoccaggio e di spedizione degli elementi, il cui uso sembra tuttavia cessare dopo il V secolo. La posizione

²⁰ Paraschiv / Iațcu 2013, 242, nr. 6: questo pezzo, estremamente interessante sotto molteplici punti di vista, viene purtroppo solo brevemente schedato nell'unico lavoro ove sia stato preso in considerazione; nemmeno il marchio è citato.

²¹ Sodini 1989, 170; Sodini 2000, 426.

²² Rassegne sono in Kramer 1970, 273–274 e in Kolokotsas / Sodini 1984, 32–34. Cfr. anche Pensabene 2002a, 330.

²³ Herrmann / Sodini 1977, 485–487.

²⁴ Kapitän 1980, 78–79; si veda anche la recente sintesi in Castagnino Berlinghieri / Paribeni 2011, 68–70.

²⁵ Quadri d'insieme sulla questione, oggetto di un ampio dibattito scientifico soprattutto dopo la raccolta di dati dovuta a F. W. Deichmann (Deichmann 1976, 206–230), sono in Sodini 1989, 168–169; Pensabene 2002a, 328–334; Marsili 2014, 181–187; Marsili 2015, 369–376. In Paribeni 2004, 649–734 viene ampiamente analizzato, in rapporto alle sigle sugli elementi architettonici, il contesto della Santa Sofia a Costantinopoli, con considerazioni di carattere anche più generale.

del nostro “mason’s mark”, ben visibile sul lato del plinto come nella maggior parte delle basi di colonna con marchi²⁶, permette di interpretarlo come un “marchio di identità”, funzionale all’individuazione in primo luogo del responsabile di un gruppo di marmorari e, in secondo luogo, tanto dei frutti del loro lavoro quanto della relativa stima: le sigle sul plinto di analoghe basi semilavorate segnalate a Durazzo e a Tartūs sono state così interpretate²⁷. Successivamente alla messa in opera dell’elemento, per contro, la posizione dell’iscrizione molto in basso, prossima al pavimento, l’avrebbe fatta passare inosservata. In particolare il marchio $\omega\perp$ ricorre altrove, seppure con la diversa grafia $T\omega$, cioè con la tau diritta e spostata orizzontalmente nella sigla: si trova su due pezzi in marmo proconnesio nella Santa Sofia a Costantinopoli, ovvero su uno stilobate e due volte su una stessa lastra. Si noti che le variazioni grafiche, pure di questo tipo, sono frequenti e che un unico artigiano poteva lavorare manufatti tra loro diversi²⁸; ritengo dunque ipotizzabile che il nostro marchio identifichi un’unità di scalpellini che realizzò la base, probabilmente nella stessa cava di origine del marmo nell’isola di Proconneso, mentre mi sembra più difficile tradurre il legame epigrafico tra la base di *Ibida* e i pezzi della Santa Sofia nel riferimento all’attività del medesimo *atelier*²⁹: tale legame è peraltro impreciso, non tanto per la variazione nella posizione delle lettere, quanto per il loro *ductus*, decisamente diverso nelle due attestazioni³⁰ (Tav. 59, Fig. 13).

Del resto le caratteristiche stesse della base, semplificata a livello di un elemento semilavorato, si prestavano ottimamente ad una produzione di tipo seriale, propria dei sistemi di coltivazione delle cave nella tarda antichità, quando alcune varietà di membrature architettoniche venivano prefabbricate fino a diversi gradi di rifinitura in officine organizzate direttamente presso le cave stesse³¹; questo tipo di base semplificata, per quanto già prodotto tanto a Carrara quanto a Proconneso nel corso della media età imperiale, si diffuse soprattutto nella tarda antichità e fu tra i prodotti ampiamente realizzati proprio nelle cave di Proconneso, da dove veniva direttamente esportato verso i centri di destinazione per essere messo in opera sia dopo la rifinitura delle modanature, sia semplicemente nello stesso grado di lavorazione con cui era uscito dalla cava³².

²⁶ Marsili 2015, 370.

²⁷ Pensabene 2002a, 329–330; Paribeni 2004, 663–670, ove si affronta pure la questione della funzione di queste sigle, enucleando le teorie che le vedono legate al pagamento delle maestranze, oppure all’organizzazione di un cantiere o anche al suo controllo. Per le basi semilavorate del foro circolare di Durazzo, dell’età di Anastasio, si vedano infine Hoti *et al.* 2008, 367–369, 374, 380–382, 394–395 e Marano 2016, 124–125.

²⁸ Pensabene 2002a, 329; Paribeni 2004, 667, 677, 681–682, 730.

²⁹ Questi legami sono a volte di difficile interpretazione, anche in presenza di marchi identici: Paribeni 2004, 696–702.

³⁰ Ringrazio Andrea Paribeni per i preziosi consigli su questo tema.

³¹ Considerazioni generali sono in Paribeni 2010, 119–120.

³² La produzione di questi elementi è analizzata specificamente in Kramer 1970, 271–278 e in Asgari 1992, 75.

La base di tipo attico-romano (Tav. 59, Fig. 14), completamente rifinita, è conservata solo per metà e risultano spezzati anche gli angoli del plinto e il profilo del toro superiore (altezza cm 29, lato plinto cm 73, diametro superiore cm 51)³³. V. H. Baumann ne sostiene la realizzazione in marmo proconnesio³⁴, ma l'esame autoptico tende ad escludere questa eventualità, favorendo piuttosto la provenienza del marmo da *Thasos*. Particolarità di questo pezzo sono il toro superiore poco estroflesso e dall'altezza ridotta, il toro inferiore che si rigonfia all'attacco del plinto e dal profilo prossimo al quarto di cerchio, i due listelli posti ad isolare la scozia dai tori superiore ed inferiore che risultano segnati da trattini paralleli, e i due elementi aggettanti, ampiamente spezzati, che attraversano in verticale la scozia alle due opposte estremità del diametro, unendo così i due tori. Non molto diversa dalle basi di tipo attico-romano dell'età imperiale, questa si contraddistingue tuttavia per la struttura dei due tori, tipica della produzione tardoantica, e rappresenta lo stato di lavorazione completamente rifinito della base di tipo semplificato³⁵.

Se la fabbricazione di carattere seriale e la successiva esportazione si adattano alla perfezione alla produzione e alla circolazione delle basi di tipo semplificato, più complessa è la questione dei capitelli ionici ad imposta; almeno a Proconneso, ove sono state condotte ricognizioni sistematiche³⁶, non c'è tra gli abbondantissimi scarti alcuna traccia della semilavorazione di capitelli di questo tipo, così come di altri voluminosi elementi architettonici tanto diffusi nelle grandi chiese del periodo di Giustiniano: tale produzione estremamente specializzata sembra dunque che esulasse dalle competenze delle maestranze operanti presso le cave dell'isola nella Propontide e che fosse invece appannaggio delle officine metropolitane, dove giungevano evidentemente i semplici blocchi sbazzati di marmo proconnesio destinati alla lavorazione³⁷. Diverso è tuttavia il caso di *Thasos*, ove esemplari semilavorati prodotti palesemente sul posto nel marmo locale sono presenti nella Basilica Sud³⁸; questa attestazione integra il dato della relativa frequenza in area egea e balcanica nel corso del VI secolo dei capitelli ionici ad imposta non rifiniti, in alcuni casi certamente in marmo di Alikì³⁹, forse sintomo della necessità di aumentare considerevolmente il volume produttivo impostando nelle officine un sistema di lavoro di tipo seriale, che demandasse dunque ai luoghi di destinazione dei materiali l'ultima rifinitura degli stessi, sempre ove tale rifinitura venisse considerata necessaria: un interessante lotto di tali materiali non rifiniti si trova proprio in Dobrugia⁴⁰.

In ogni caso ad una produzione specializzata, legata talora ad una committenza di livello elevato, sembra rimandare direttamente il nostro esemplare con il disco liscio sull'imposta (capitello nr. 5), rifinito salvo che nell'intaglio del medaglione, adibito

³³ Paraschiv / Iațcu 2013, 279, nr. 8.

³⁴ Baumann 1984, 221, nr. 23.

³⁵ Kramer 1970, 272–275.

³⁶ Asgari 1995, 273–275.

³⁷ Paribeni 2010, 122; Marsili 2015, 372–373.

³⁸ Kolokotsas / Sodini 1984, 65–69.

³⁹ Per gli esemplari di Salonicco si veda Mentzos *et al.* 2002, 320–321.

⁴⁰ Barsanti 1989, 169–170.

evidentemente a ricevere un monogramma: la sua lavorazione è avvenuta a Costantinopoli, ove il pezzo doveva essere destinato ad un importante edificio religioso, per quanto non venne poi utilizzato e rimase a disposizione per il reimpiego e l'esportazione. Insieme ad esso subirono la stessa sorte anche capitelli di altre tipologie prodotti nella metropoli e, forse, altre membrature architettoniche ed elementi di arredo liturgico, trasportati infine in *Scythia* per trovare collocazione nella grande basilica cristiana di *Ibida*: le notevoli differenze dimensionali tra tutti i capitelli rimasti sembrano infatti qualificarli come un lotto disomogeneo, quasi l'esito di un accumulo di pezzi non utilizzati per i cantieri originariamente previsti e dunque esportati in questo contesto provinciale. Del resto tale circostanza troverebbe conforto nelle modalità di approvvigionamento e di stoccaggio dei marmi destinati al reimpiego nella tarda antichità, quali si evincono dalle fonti letterarie e papiracee⁴¹: queste paiono confermare quanto già ipotizzato anche a proposito della scultura architettonica nel complesso paleocristiano di Eufrazio a Parenzo, la cui evidente eterogeneità sembrerebbe dipendere proprio dalla grande varietà dei materiali custoditi nei depositi di Ravenna e utilizzati per rifornire i cantieri edilizi della regione altoadriatica, con il concorso in parallelo dei prodotti usciti da botteghe operanti a livello locale e regionale⁴².

Invero per chiarire meglio alcuni aspetti della questione sin qui sviluppata si possono rivelare utili anche talune indicazioni sulla natura dei marmi di tre dei nostri capitelli, quali sono scaturite da analisi di laboratorio eseguite su di essi una ventina d'anni or sono utilizzando criteri di tipo petrografico e isotopico⁴³: va notato che a queste categorie di analisi non venne aggiunta quella spettroscopica, ritenuta ormai indispensabile per l'identificazione dei marmi thasio e proconnesio⁴⁴. I pezzi analizzati sono entrambi quelli della prima tipologia da noi enucleata (capitelli nr. 1–2) ed uno della seconda (capitello nr. 4): i risultati diedero il marmo di un esemplare (capitello nr. 1) come proconnesio a livello altamente probabile, mentre l'esame autoptico induce piuttosto a suggerirne l'interpretazione come marmo di *Thasos*; per l'altro esemplare di analoga tipologia (capitello nr. 2) il marmo proconnesio fu ritenuto solo probabile, ma l'esame autoptico sembra confermare in pieno questa attribuzione; per l'ultimo pezzo (capitello nr. 4) i margini di incertezza in sede di analisi di laboratorio aumentarono⁴⁵,

⁴¹ Castagnino Berlinghieri / Paribeni 2015, 396.

⁴² Terry 1988, 57–59; *contra* Russo 1991, 271–274, secondo il quale la decorazione della basilica eufraziana è semplicemente importata da Costantinopoli oppure è dovuta a maestranze costantinopolitane operanti direttamente a Parenzo. La discussione sull'effettiva esistenza di depositi a Ravenna è discussa in Marano 2016, 128–129, ove si propende invece per la presenza di depositi solo presso le cave del marmo.

⁴³ Penția *et al.* 1999, 157–164: si tratta degli esemplari indicati come 22, 23 e 24.

⁴⁴ Attanasio *et al.* 2008, 1041–1042, 1047–1048. Risultati molto più sicuri sono stati infatti ottenuti nelle recenti analisi di un lotto di marmi di arredo architettonico protobizantino da Sozopol, in Bulgaria, che hanno attribuito con sicurezza a Proconneso la quasi totalità dei campioni: tra questi era compreso anche un capitello ionico ad imposta da *Naulochos* assai simile ai nostri esemplari 1 e 2 (Vanderheyde / Prochaska 2011, 351–375).

⁴⁵ Penția *et al.* 1999, 158, 162–164.

tuttavia la probabilità maggiore andava nella direzione del marmo thasio (come riferì l'analisi isotopica), riconoscibile con buona approssimazione anche ora a livello autopatico. Si tenderebbe per quest'ultimo pezzo ad escludere la possibilità alternativa, avanzata dagli analisti su base petrografica, di riferirne l'origine alle cave di *Aphrodisias*, dal momento che tale marmo conobbe una diffusione a carattere soltanto provinciale⁴⁶, mentre gli elementi di decorazione architettonica in marmo thasio godettero di un'amplessima circolazione, specie nel periodo qui in esame⁴⁷. Infine per il capitello nr. 3, tipologicamente analogo al precedente ma mai oggetto di analisi, il riconoscimento visivo orienta con grande verosimiglianza verso il marmo proconnesio, così come per l'unico pezzo con il disco liscio sull'imposta (capitello nr. 5), parimenti mai analizzato in laboratorio. In sintesi i due esemplari di ciascuna tipologia sono stati scolpiti a Costantinopoli in due marmi probabilmente diversi, ma tale risultato pare del tutto ammissibile alla luce della disomogeneità, sopra ricordata, dei capitelli del nostro lotto: il proconnesio e il thasio sono peraltro i due tipi di marmo più utilizzati tra il IV e il VI secolo per la realizzazione di materiali architettonici.

Si consideri, ancora a proposito degli esiti delle analisi di laboratorio, che il marmo di *Thasos*, a cristalli molto grossi e di tonalità grigia con tenui venature grigio scure, non si differenzia molto da altri delle isole greche o dell'Asia Minore, pure a livello di tecniche analitiche sofisticate, tanto che, come si è detto, sono sempre necessarie verifiche multiple e metodi avanzati⁴⁸. Anche nelle cave di Alikì a *Thasos* in età paleobizantina erano attive officine che producevano per l'esportazione materiali architettonici per lo più semirifiniti destinati ad essere terminati a destinazione: basi di tipo semplificato quali quella analizzata poc'anzi erano infatti prodotte anche ad Alikì⁴⁹. Proprio nel campo dell'esportazione è forte la concorrenza esercitata in questo periodo da Alikì sulle realizzazioni di Proconneso, il cui repertorio era probabilmente imitato dagli scapellini di *Thasos* mediante la fabbricazione di pezzi a diversi gradi di rifinitura, anche pressoché pronti per la messa in opera, come testimoniano alcuni elementi di produzione seriale dal marcato gusto costantinopolitano rinvenuti in aree provinciali, ove difficilmente potevano essere rifiniti secondo una cifra stilistica metropolitana con tale

⁴⁶ Pensabene 2002b, 217–219. Questi risultati vengono invece parzialmente fraintesi in Paraschiv / Iațcu 2013, 240–241, nr. 1–3; 244, sopravvalutando il riferimento ad *Aphrodisias* rispetto alle risultanze che rimandano a *Thasos*.

⁴⁷ Pensabene 2002b, 208–212. La presenza in Dobrugia di capitelli ionici ad imposta in marmo thasio è del resto già adombrata in Kolokotsas / Sodini 1984, 68, nt. 198.

⁴⁸ Herrmann *et al.* 1999, 75–76; Pensabene 2002b, 208–212; Attanasio *et al.* 2008, 1041–1042, 1044.

⁴⁹ Herrmann / Sodini 1977, 485–487.

precisione⁵⁰: emblematiche risultano in quest'ottica le lastre di recinzione di origine thasia delle due basiliche paleocristiane di Latrun (Tav. 60, Fig. 15), in Cirenaica⁵¹.

Futuri scavi nel sito di *Ibida* porteranno verosimilmente a nuovi ritrovamenti che potrebbero consentire una parziale ricostruzione degli elementi del decoro: appare invero già da ora la sussistenza di un rapporto dimensionale che collega la base rifinita di tipo attico-romano (diametro superiore cm 51) con uno dei due fusti di colonna in marmo forse proconnesio, conservato al Museo di Costanza (diametro all'imoscapo cm 50), insieme alla vicinanza nell'altezza di questo stesso fusto (cm 350) con quelli trasportati dal relitto di Marzamemi (circa cm 340), parimenti in proconnesio e destinati alla navata centrale della chiesa il cui arredo era costituito dal carico⁵².

La serie giustiniana alla quale riferiamo i cinque capitelli ionici ad imposta di *Ibida* presenta una diffusione abbastanza capillare nelle regioni del Mar Nero, con particolare densità nelle province della costa occidentale: esemplari molto simili sono infatti attestati in *Moesia Secunda* a *Durostorum*⁵³, *Naulochos* e *Odessos*, ma anche a *Mesembria* e nella stessa *Scythia* a *Tropaeum Traiani* (Tav. 60, Fig. 16), *Callatis*, *Stratonis*, *Tomis* e, appunto, ad *Ibida*⁵⁴. Tutti questi ritrovamenti sono un riflesso assai evidente del programma edilizio di ampio respiro impostato nella regione da Anastasio, proseguito da Giustino I e ulteriormente sviluppato da Giustiniano⁵⁵, finalizzato alla rivitalizzazione dei centri gravitanti nell'orbita del *limes* bassodanubiano, messo a dura prova soprattutto dalle ripetute incursioni degli Unni di Attila negli anni tra il 441 e il 448⁵⁶: se gli interventi del primo imperatore sono altrimenti certificati, tra le testimonianze archeologiche, dalla nota serie dei mattoni bollati con il suo nome⁵⁷ — diffusi nella *provincia Scythia* a *Histria*, *Dinogetia*, *Noviodunum* e *Tomis* (Tav. 60, Fig. 17) — gli esiti dell'attività edilizia del periodo giustiniano sono rispecchiati dal resoconto di Procopio, per quanto non privo di esagerazioni⁵⁸, che include anche i centri fortificati della linea del Danubio⁵⁹, fra i quali riconosciamo alcune località ove sono stati rinvenuti capitelli del tipo qui esaminato. Nel quadro di tale programma edilizio di matrice imperiale, seppure

⁵⁰ Herrmann *et al.* 1999, 79–80. Per il caso di Delfi, ove sono stati riconosciuti elementi architettonici protobizantini provenienti da *Thasos* grazie ad analisi di laboratorio, cfr. Déroche *et al.* 1989, 407–409.

⁵¹ Widrig 1978, 94–131; le analisi dei marmi, assai precise, sono discusse in Atanasio *et al.* 2008, 1040–1048.

⁵² Kapitän 1980, 78; Castagnino Berlinghieri / Paribeni 2011, 69.

⁵³ Atanasov 2009, 216–217.

⁵⁴ Una rassegna di tali attestazioni è in Barsanti 1989, 165–168, ove già si segnalano i ritrovamenti di *Ibida*.

⁵⁵ Barnea 1960, 365–374; Barsanti 1989, 209–213; Haarer 2006, 109–114; Liebeschuetz 2007, 105–108; Sarantis 2016, 161–198.

⁵⁶ Liebeschuetz 2007, 104–105; cfr. anche l'approfondita sintesi in Madgearu 2010a, 176–180.

⁵⁷ Barnea 1960, 365–367; Barnea 1967, 355–356; Haarer 2006, 109–112.

⁵⁸ Sul problema dell'attendibilità di Procopio con particolare riferimento all'area balcanica si veda Cameron 1985, 219–221; Poulter 2007, 9–11 e Sarantis 2016, 163–167.

⁵⁹ Cfr. lo sguardo d'insieme in Mansuelli 1984, 13–35 e in Liebeschuetz 2007, 105–110.

alle volte solo da questo stimulate, poniamo dunque anche un gruppo di imprese architettoniche di grande impegno, organizzate nelle regioni che si affacciano sul Mar Nero, tra le quali la basilica cristiana di *Ibida* con il suo apparato decorativo occupa senz'altro un posto di primo piano.

Certamente stride il raffronto tra queste testimonianze dal forte impatto architettonico e le strutture della fase più tarda che stanno venendo in luce in seguito agli scavi sistematici attualmente in corso in vari settori dell'abitato, costituite da piccoli muri realizzati con spezzoni lapidei rozzamente legati con fango: la città postattilana, riorganizzata forse proprio grazie all'impulso della casa imperiale nei decenni tra Anastasio e Giustiniano, sembra si sia dunque sviluppata sui livelli di distruzione causati dalle invasioni degli Unni concentrando la monumentalità soltanto sugli edifici rappresentativi del suo ruolo di *polis*, secondo la definizione di Procopio⁶⁰, in base a modalità registrate sovente nei contesti urbani della tarda antichità⁶¹. Fra tali edifici ne annoveriamo certamente alcuni di carattere pubblico, sia religioso che civile e militare⁶², i quali costituivano gli elementi tipici del modello concettuale di città diffuso nell'Oriente bizantino di VI secolo e che probabilmente erano tra loro interconnessi a formare un *continuum* urbanistico ormai focalizzato su pochi nuclei edilizi privilegiati, come è il caso in particolare delle città di nuova fondazione del VI secolo⁶³: la nostra basilica cristiana, un impianto termale costruito *ex novo* presso le mura a nord-est dell'edificio di culto⁶⁴ e il ripristino del lunghissimo circuito murario sono sfortunatamente ad ora le uniche seppur eloquenti testimonianze monumentali di questa rinascita della *polis* di *Ibida* nel periodo compreso fra Anastasio e Giustiniano. Non è dunque un caso che proprio negli stessi decenni abbia ripreso vigore nella città anche la circolazione monetale, dopo la contrazione della seconda metà del V secolo, come risulta dalle accurate ricerche condotte sul tema da Mihaela Iacob⁶⁵.

È difficile decifrare tali dati dalla valenza meramente architettonica in informazioni utili all'interpretazione della lista, riportata nella *Notitia Episcopatum*, delle sedi episcopali legate alla metropoli di *Tomis*: non tutte le località ivi citate sono riconoscibili con assoluta sicurezza e la stessa presenza della città di *Ibida* appare assai incerta⁶⁶. "The church in the final period of the late Roman Danubian provinces", secondo le parole del titolo di un recente studio⁶⁷, potrà nondimeno trovare nuovi importanti tasselli della sua storia proprio nelle vicende architettoniche delle basiliche cristiane delle città nella *provincia Scythia*, tra le quali *Ibida* riveste indubbiamente un ruolo di primaria importanza.

⁶⁰ Procop. *Aed.* IV 7, 19.

⁶¹ Dey 2014, 13–15.

⁶² Zanini 2003, 197–201, 214–220; Liebeschuetz 2007, 108–110.

⁶³ Zanini 2003, 196–223; Dey 2014, 103–108.

⁶⁴ Nuțu *et al.* 2009, 198–199.

⁶⁵ Iacob 2009, 65–70.

⁶⁶ Si vedano i recenti Madgearu 2010b, 145–146 e De Salvo 2015, 642–645.

⁶⁷ Madgearu 2010b, 145–153.

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Inscriptions and religion

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La stele di Orfeo.
Il monumento funerario in marmo di età imperiale da
Poetovio (Ptuj, Slovenia)

Tavole 61–72

Il mito di Orfeo, attestato nelle fonti letterarie greche a partire dal VI sec. a.C., conobbe un'eccezionale fortuna e diffusione nell'antichità, dando luogo alla nascita di un culto nel quale si assommarono forti spinte filosofiche e misteriche di stampo salvifico¹.

La vicenda del cantore trace, che si esplica attraverso un complesso percorso che va dal viaggio con gli Argonauti alla conquista del vello d'Oro alla storia d'amore e morte con la sposa Euridice, dalla magica vena artistica nella musica e nel canto con cui ammansiva animali e natura alla creazione di una nuova religiosità salvifica, si conclude con la sua uccisione per smembramento e con la testa rimasta viva e ancora capace di cantare e dare responsi oracolari.

Nel contempo, Orfeo è considerato l'iniziatore di uno stile di vita ascetico e il fondatore di un vero e proprio credo a sfondo misterico in cui confluiscono elementi dionisiaci e sciamanici, assicurando agli adepti un destino privilegiato nell'aldilà.

Come è facile immaginare, data la notorietà della storia di Orfeo e per la vasta portata dell'Orfismo con le annesse connotazioni filosofico-religiose e artistiche perdurate nel pensiero occidentale sino all'età contemporanea², le sue vicissitudini divennero — a partire dal VI secolo a.C. sino al V secolo d.C. — un tema iconografico di straordinario successo, riprodotto su molteplici classi di materiali³.

La raffigurazione preferita da artisti e committenti riguardo "Orfeo" fu quella incentrata sul canto che ammalia gli animali, riprodotta su vasellame, lastre, affreschi, mosaici, monete, gemme, stoffe, composizioni statuarie. L'episodio di Orfeo tra gli animali, di grande forza evocativa, si diffonde in età ellenistica per poi conoscere

¹ Vastissima è la bibliografia su Orfeo, menzionato per la prima volta in un frammento di Ibico di Reggio, del VI sec. a.C. (Garezou 1994). Per una sintesi generale si vedano: Roessli 2000; Bernabé 2005; Brisson 2005; Roessli 2009.

² Sul mito e la sua recezione in età moderna Huss 2008.

³ Tra gli altri si vedano Rinuy 1986; Salvadori 2002, 346.

grande fortuna nel mondo romano tra II secolo a.C. e il V secolo d.C. (Tav. 61, Fig. 1)⁴. Il tema compare con frequenza anche in ambito funerario, dalle stele e sarcofagi sino agli affreschi in catacombe paleocristiane, che testimoniano l'importante collegamento tra Orfeo e Gesù Redentore quale Buon Pastore dal verbo salvifico, passando per gli ambiti figurativi giudaici che lo avvicinano al re David, anch'egli prodigioso citarista e poeta⁵.

Poetovio

Gli episodi incentrati sul canto tra gli animali e la discesa agli Inferi costituiscono il tema principale del "Monumento di Orfeo", simbolo di Ptuj, cittadina sulla Drava nella parte nord-est della Slovenia (Tav. 61, Fig. 2).

Il sito, inserito nel regno del Norico, era originariamente abitato da un gruppo celtico, con buona probabilità Taurisci⁶. In età augustea fu sede di un accampamento legionario (legione VIII Augusta e con Claudio legione XIII Gemina) che doveva essere denominato *Poetovio*, nome indigeno di origine preceltica menzionato per la prima volta da Tacito (*Historiae*, 3.1) in relazione alle vicende che portarono Vespasiano, nel 69 d.C., al soglio imperiale⁷.

Con Traiano il centro della *Pannonia Superior* fu elevato al rango di *Colonia Ulpia Traiana Poetovio*, attribuito alla tribù *Papiria* e contraddistinto da una forte presenza di veterani della guerra dacica.

La città fiorì rapidamente nel corso del II secolo, data l'ubicazione strategica lungo la Via dell'ambra e presso l'attraversamento della Drava, percorso che univa le rotte commerciali tra il Baltico e il mare Adriatico; la posizione centrale vi veicolava i traffici che da Aquileia raggiungevano la Pannonia (*Itin. Ant.* 129)⁸. Fu sede del *tabularium* della *Pannonia Superior* e delle dogane dell'Illirico e tra i magistrati sono nominati *duumviri* e *triumviri iure dicundo*, prefetti, questori e decurioni⁹. Dal IV secolo *Poetovio* rientrò nel *Noricum Mediterraneum* e fu teatro di importanti eventi: Costanzo II vi arrestò Costanzo Gallo, poi ucciso a Pola nel 354, e nel 388 Magno

⁴ Stern 1980; Gareizou 1994, 102; Jesnick 1997; Salvadori 2002, 346; Vendries 2006; Toso 2007.

⁵ Su questo tema si vedano soprattutto: Stern 1974; Murray 1977; Corby Finney 1978; Daniel 2000; Daniel 2001; Roessli 2003; Vieillefon 2003; Baldini 2011.

⁶ La bibliografia su Ptuj è vasta e dettagliata: CIL III 4015–4121, 1746, 10868–10894, 15184–15186; Conze 1875; Abramič 1914 e 1925; Schober 1923 e 1955, 65, fig. 67; Hoffiller / Saria 1938; Klemenc / Saria 1939; Diez 1948 e 1965; Klemenc, 1950; Saria 1952; Mikl 1963; Luther 2008, in part. 58. Una completa e più recente rassegna sull'evoluzione di *Poetovio* e le sue emergenze archeologiche è in Horvat *et al.* 2003 e Šašel Kos 2014, 139–165, con ampia bibliografia generale. Una carta archeologica di Ptuj è in *Poetovio* (Ptuj) 1976.

⁷ Šašel 1979, 1–7.

⁸ Per *Poetovio* come centro commerciale e per i resti della città antica: Horvat *et al.* 2003; Vomer Gojkovič 2003 e 2004; Šašel Kos 2014, 139.

⁹ Šašel Kos 2014, 147.

Massimo venne sconfitto nella battaglia nei campi di *Poetovio* condotta da Teodosio¹⁰.

La popolazione romanizzata mantenne comunque una forte componente cosmopolita dal punto di vista sociale e religioso, rispecchiata dai nomi personali e dalla molteplicità dei culti, nei quali il sostrato locale illirico-celtico si intrecciò profondamente con quello greco-romano e orientale.

Gli scavi non hanno localizzato il campo militare, che va supposto sulla riva destra della Drava, mentre sono stati invece identificati edifici e quartieri di grande rilevanza, tra i quali la zona industriale, quella residenziale, gli *horrea*, almeno cinque mitrei, templi per divinità locali come le *Nutrices Augustae*, un *sacrarium* per Vulcano e Venere, resti di un ponte sulla Drava di età adrianea, cimiteri militari e civili, iscrizioni nonché numerose ville rustiche nel territorio¹¹. La rocca doveva certamente svolgere un ruolo difensivo, ma non ne resta traccia per la costruzione del castello, oggi sede del Museo Nazionale Ptuj-Ormož, che ha obliterato le eventuali preesistenze (Tav. 62, Fig. 3).

La stele di Orfeo

La stele di Orfeo¹², l'esempio più imponente di stele romana non solo di questa zona ma anche della Pannonia e del Norico¹³, si trova nel cuore di Ptuj, sulla *Slovenski trg*, la piazza principale accanto alla Torre Civica (*Mestni stolp*) dove tradizionalmente si svolgeva il mercato cittadino¹⁴. Nota in letteratura anche con il nome tedesco di *Pranger* (berlina), si innalza probabilmente ancora nella sua posizione originaria o molto vicino, dato che qui vi era un sepolcreto romano¹⁵. Nel *Catasto di Salisburgo* del 1322 è menzionato a Ptuj-Pettau un *lapis Triglaw* (tre teste), corrispondente al nome della divinità slava Triglaw e per il quale è stata proposta l'identificazione con la Stele di Orfeo per il suo coronamento formato dalla testa maschile tra due leoni, i quali potrebbero sembrare a forma antropomorfa e ricondurre a un'immagine tricefala¹⁶.

Da sempre la stele ha contraddistinto la piazza di Ptuj rimanendo in loco sino a oggi e divenendo nel corso dei secoli simbolo civico e luogo della giustizia cittadina, dato che fin dal Medioevo fu utilizzata come pubblica berlina alla quale i malfattori

¹⁰ Diez 1965, 258.

¹¹ Horvat *et al.* 2003, 165, 166; Vomer Gojkovič 2003.

¹² Nr. inv. RL 769/MS.

¹³ Šašel Kos 1993a, 230–231 (riassunto in inglese); Horvat *et al.* 2003, 165; Šašel Kos 2014, 155.

¹⁴ Lamut 1993; Mikuž / Calcagno 1997; Mikuž 1999b.

¹⁵ Šašel Kos 1993a.

¹⁶ Triglaw è il supremo dio slavo, contraddistinto da tre teste. Otorepec 1997, 137; Pleterški 2001, 37: nelle fonti sono qui citati, relativamente alla Stele di Orfeo, M. Kos, *Srednjeveški urbarji za Slovenijo 1: Urbarji salzburške nadškofije* (Viri za zgodovino Slovencev 1), Ljubljana 1939, str. 104.

venivano legati tramite anelli di ferro apposti nella parte inferiore della stele, nel campo epigrafico (Tav. 62, Fig. 4)¹⁷.

A partire dal 1830 la stele divenne parte integrante del lapidario di Ptuj a opera dell'ecclesiastico e storico locale Simon Povoden (1753–1841), il quale creò il museo all'aperto, ancora oggi attivo, che prese da lui il nome di *Povodnov Muzej*¹⁸. Dal 2008 è divenuta monumento nazionale (Tav. 63, Fig. 5)¹⁹.

La stele (altezza 4,94 m; larghezza 1,82 m; spessore 0,39 m) è in marmo bianco locale, che gli studi di regola indicano come proveniente dal monte Pohorje²⁰, mentre recenti analisi petrografiche ancora inedite hanno invece dimostrato trattarsi di marmo dalla cava di Gummern (in Carinzia, Alpi Orientali), usato a *Poetovio* a partire dall'ultimo quarto del I secolo–primo quarto del II secolo d.C.²¹.

Il monumento è tradizionalmente attribuito, sulla base della lettura epigrafica proposta da G. Alföldy, a Marco Valerio Vero, decurione e duoviro di *Poetovio*. I *Valeri*, insieme agli *Aelii*, erano una delle famiglie eminenti della municipalità urbana, nella quale rivestirono importanti ruoli pubblici (Tav. 63, Fig. 6)²².

Importante sarebbe oggi riscontrare con strumentazioni moderne ciò che resta effettivamente leggibile nel campo epigrafico per verificare ipotesi e supposizioni sul destinatario della stele, al momento non ancora identificabile con certezza e sempre che ciò sia ancora possibile, data la pessima conservazione di questa parte del monumento.

La cronologia del monumento è stata ricondotta da gran parte della letteratura all'inizio o nell'ambito della prima metà del II secolo d.C. sulla base dei dati epigrafici, storici e stilistici²³. Confronti con i sarcofagi decorati con rilievi a carattere dionisiaco della zona norico-pannonica hanno portato a proporre, per i lati della stele con

¹⁷ Si veda il disegno anonimo datato al 1711 che parrebbe fuori contesto in un Codice alla Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Wien, Cod. 12589, 310, in corso di studio da parte di chi scrive.

¹⁸ Lamut 1996; Mikuž / Calcagno 1997, 121.

¹⁹ Documento in www.giskd2s.situla.org/rkd/Opis.asp?Esd=7754 (ultimo accesso 26 febbraio 2018).

²⁰ Il massiccio del Pohorje, nella parte orientale prealpina, si trova nel nord-est della Slovenia e si estende tra il fiume Drava nel nord e il campo di Drava-Ptuj a sud. Da qui proviene il materiale lapideo usato per numerosi manufatti romani (Jarc *et al.* 2010). I marmi dalle cave del Pohorje e da Gummern erano usati contemporaneamente a *Poetovio*: Djurić 2008, 160; Šašel Kos 2014, 142.

²¹ Comunicazione personale del prof. Bojan Djurić, che qui si ringrazia. I marmi dalle cave del Pohorje e di Gummern giungevano a *Poetovio* attraverso la via fluviale della Drava: Djurić 2005; Djurić 2008, 164; Djurić / Müller 2009; Pochmarski 2012. Va rilevato che i marmi di Gummern e del Pohorje sono di difficile distinzione: Djurić / Müller 2009, 3.

²² Alföldy 1964–1965, con integrazione del nome; Šašel Kos 1993, 238–239; Šašel Kos 1993a.

²³ La bibliografia precedente conferma questa datazione, tra cui: Schober 1923, 67; Alföldy 1964–1965, 101, che menziona specificatamente l'età traiana; Horvat *et al.* 2003, 165.

Menadi e Satiri danzanti, una collocazione tra la seconda metà del II e il primo quarto del III secolo d.C.²⁴.

Ricapitolando, le datazioni fornite sono le seguenti:

- Alföldy²⁵ opta per l'età traianea, inizio–prima metà del II secolo;
- Horvat²⁶ e Šašel Kos²⁷ datano il monumento all'inizio del II secolo;
- Diez²⁸ colloca la stele nella prima metà del II secolo;
- Schober²⁹ data il monumento nella prima metà del II secolo;
- Pochmarski-Nagele³⁰ propone una data tra la seconda metà del II e il primo quarto del III secolo.

La datazione più affidabile parrebbe essere quella che pone la stele di Orfeo all'inizio del II secolo, dato che il marmo dalla cava di Gummern è usato a *Poetovio* a partire dall'ultimo quarto del I secolo–primo quarto del II secolo³¹.

I disegni della stele

Il monumento è menzionato da Karl Peutinger nel 1500³² e la prima rappresentazione che se ne ha, a oggi, si deve all'erudito francese Jean-Jacques Boissard (1528–1602) (Tav. 63, Fig. 7)³³; segue la rappresentazione della stele come la berlina pubblica del Codice viennese citato a nota 17 con annotato “*Das Pranger zu Pettau 1711*” (Tav. 62, Fig. 4); quindi Bernard de Montfaucon nel 1724 riprese l'immagine del Boissard (Tav. 64, Fig. 8)³⁴. Fecero seguito i disegni editi nel 1844 nella *Storia del Ducato di Stiria* di Albert Anton von Muchar, uno nel controfrontespizio e l'altro nel testo (Tav. 64, Figg. 9–10)³⁵: l'immagine in apertura del volume offre un'idea realistica di come doveva essere la stele all'epoca nella piazza del mercato di Pettau-Ptuj, con la base del monumento adoperata per sedersi. La tavola seconda del von Muchar, non aderente al vero, fu ripresa nella prima monografia dedicata a Ptuj nel 1858 da

²⁴ Pochmarski-Nagele 1992, Typus III, 110–112, Abb. 21. Anche in Mikuž 1999a, 121, la stele è datata all'inizio del III sec. d.C., senza motivazione.

²⁵ Vd. sopra nota 22.

²⁶ Horvat *et al.* 2003, 165.

²⁷ Šašel Kos 1993a, 222–223: *M. Valerius Verus* era *decurio* e *duoviro* probabilmente all'inizio del II secolo.

²⁸ Diez 1989, 340, Abb. 2, considera la stele di Ptuj la prima a essere usata come modello per le immagini di Orfeo.

²⁹ Schober 1923, 67.

³⁰ Pochmarski-Nagele 1992, sulla base di confronti tra i rilievi di Menadi danzanti sui lati della stele con sarcofagi con analoghi modelli figurativi di tipo dionisiaco.

³¹ Djurić 2008, 160, 162, 164; Djurić / Müller 2009, 9–10.

³² Cod. H 24 Fol. 58, da Mikuž 1999a, 122, nt. 5; CIL III 1987.

³³ Conze 1875, 4; J.-J. Boissard in Cod. Graz 1007 e Cod. Paris (St. Germain) 1078: si veda Mikuž / Calcagno 1997, in part. 14–15 relativamente a J.-J. Boissard, per quest'ultimo vd. Marth 1998; Mikuž 1999a, 122, nt. 3–4.

³⁴ De Montfaucon 1724, Suppl. 1, Pl. LXXXIV.

³⁵ von Muchar 1844, controfrontespizio e Taf. 1.

Ferdinand Raisp³⁶, membro della Società Storica di Stiria e Conservatore onorario della Commissione centrale per la Protezione dei Monumenti con sede a Vienna (Tav. 64, Fig. 11).

Nel 1873 Theodor Mommsen inserì la stele nel CIL III, dando la sua lettura dell'epigrafe superstite e riportando anche quelle precedenti (Tav. 65, Fig. 12)³⁷.

La prima pubblicazione scientifica del monumento si deve nel 1875 all'archeologo tedesco Alexander Christian Leopold Conze, il quale giudica le precedenti illustrazioni fallaci e in alcuni casi puramente fantasiose, e accompagna il disegno da una dettagliata analisi critica, stilistica ed epigrafica, ricca di preziose e puntuali annotazioni. Nell'articolo menziona il disegno effettuato dall'artista e restauratore prof. Victor Jasper nel 1871, che confronta e convalida attraverso la propria visione autoptica del monumento (Tav. 65, Figg. 13a–b)³⁸.

Seguono i disegni realistici di Hugo Charlemont (Tav. 65, Fig. 14)³⁹ e di Salomon Reinach (Tav. 66, Fig. 15)⁴⁰, pubblicati in volumi a carattere enciclopedico che descrivono in generale reperti dell'impero austro-ungarico.

Ricapitolando, i disegni pubblicati sono dunque nell'ordine:

- Boissard (XVI sec.), poi ripreso in de Mountfaucon 1724;
- autore sconosciuto 1711;
- von Muchar 1844;
- Raisp 1858;
- Conze 1875;
- Charlemont 1887;
- Reinach 1912 (ripreso in Garezou 1994).

In seguito il monumento si ritrova in pochi altri disegni effettuati con intento artistico, come l'acquerello del pittore austriaco Friederich Loos dipinto alla fine dell'800 (Tav. 66, Fig. 16)⁴¹ e l'incisione a colori del celebre artista locale Luigi Kasimir (1881–1962) (Tav. 66, Fig. 17), mentre ricorre in alcune cartoline fotografiche del XX secolo, importanti per confrontare le modalità di conservazione del monumento e il suo stato rispetto a quello attuale (Tav. 66, Fig. 18). Manca a oggi l'edizione di rilievi accurati che documentino lo stato odierno dell'opera.

La stele è stata restaurata nel 1993–1997⁴², ma urge un immediato nuovo intervento protettivo che ne fermi il costante e rapido degrado dovuto principalmente agli agenti atmosferici e all'inquinamento, evidente nelle colature nere che attualmente la

³⁶ Raisp 1858, 5, ripresa dal von Muchar.

³⁷ CIL III 4069.

³⁸ Conze 1875, Bd. 2, Taff. V–VI, 1–10, dove è discussa anche la reale corrispondenza al monumento fornita dai disegni dei precedenti editori.

³⁹ Disegno a penna di H. Charlemont, in Kronprinzenwerk 1890, 85.

⁴⁰ Reinach 1912, 130, 2; poi ripreso in Garezou 1994, 81–105.

⁴¹ F. Loos (1797–1890), particolare da *A view of Maribor, the Roman monument in Pettau, Oberpettau castle* (vendita Vienna Dorotheum 2015).

⁴² Una sintesi degli studi sulla stele e sui restauri effettuati negli anni 1993–97 è in Mikuž 1999a e b, con bibliografia.

ricoprono (Tav. 67, Fig. 19). Sarebbe a tal proposito opportuno quantomeno riposizionare una tettoia che in passato la riparava e provvedere a una nuova ripulitura e protezione⁴³.

Il mito di Orfeo

La stele di *Poetovio* è detta di Orfeo per il principale tema iconografico che la contraddistingue.

La storia eccezionale di Orfeo inizia dalla nascita, avvenuta secondo alcune fonti da Pimpleia⁴⁴, figlio del re trace Eagro (o di Apollo) e di una Musa (in genere Calliope)⁴⁵. Le sue origini sono dunque regali e/o divine, e da subito manifesta straordinarie capacità ammalianti nel canto e nel suono della lira, simbolo apollineo, in grado di affascinare la natura con tutti gli esseri, comprese le divinità legate al mondo infero. La patria trace risalta nell'abito tipico di Orfeo così come nello spirito sciamanico e magico-religioso che lo caratterizza, tipico di quella popolazione, esplicito attraverso le facoltà incantatrici e la fondazione di una nuova religiosità, dove Orfeo è teologo, iniziatore di una religione misterica con uno specifico stile di vita e autore di testi divenuti sacri. Dilaniato dalla furia delle Menadi o dalle donne di Tracia, la sua sola testa, capace ancora di cantare, giunse insieme con la lira (divenuta la costellazione omonima) a Lesbo, dove furono custodite e venerate rispettivamente nei templi di Dioniso e di Apollo, dando origine alla rinomata produzione poetico-musicale dell'isola⁴⁶.

La scena più celebre e riprodotta della storia di Orfeo è certo quella in cui canta e suona la lira ammaliando gli animali che lo circondano pacifici, immersi in un ambiente naturale che può definirsi paradisiaco⁴⁷, immagine che ricorre con frequenza anche nel territorio danubiano e usata come si vedrà in contesti funerari.

⁴³ Nelle immagini in <http://www.limc-france.fr>, la scena centrale con Orfeo musicista è priva delle colature di smog che oggi ricoprono la statua (Corpus LIMC-France: LIMCicon ID 7335 [N. Icard] URL: <http://www.limc-france.fr/objet/7335>. Creazione: 07/05/2004. Modifica: 13/05/2015 (ultimo accesso 26 febbraio 2018); si veda anche la bibliografia allegata. Le foto risalgono al 1977; si ringrazia per l'informazione Pascale Linant de Bellefonds e Noëlle Icard, équipe LIMC.

⁴⁴ Strab. VII 330, 18.

⁴⁵ Gareizou 1994.

⁴⁶ Per Orfeo in generale si veda la bibliografia a nota 1. Pausania nella sua *Periegesi della Grecia* parla di supposte sepolture con le ossa di Orfeo a Libetra e a Dio, presso il Monte Olimpo (IX 30, 7–11),

⁴⁷ Andrisano 2009; Ercoles 2009, 59.

La decorazione della stele

La stele di Orfeo è di forma rettangolare, suddivisa in fasce figurate e con campo epigrafico per l'iscrizione dedicatoria. Le due fasce laterali sono anch'esse decorate, mentre il retro è liscio; il tutto è concluso in alto da un fastigio scolpito (Tav. 63, Fig. 6)⁴⁸.

Anche se non vi sono tracce di pigmenti, si può supporre che la stele fosse originariamente colorata, dando così forte risalto alle scene. Se effettivamente la stele è in sito, occorre pensare a un allestimento funerario più complesso, che comprendesse un qualche apparato anche relativo al lato retrostante liscio (Tav. 67, Fig. 20).

I temi prescelti per istoriare la stele non riguardano solo Orfeo, ma anche altri episodi del mito antico (mito per noi, realtà religiose per i fruitori dell'epoca) legati all'amore, al dolore per la morte e al distacco traumatico tra amanti, temi ai quali si unisce la speranza di una vita beata nell'oltretomba tramite l'adesione a culti salvifici, connotando di una religiosità a carattere iniziatico tutto il monumento.

La stele è coronata da un fastigio, ora mutilo, composto da una testa maschile barbata dai caratteri enfaticizzati e con un elemento sopra il capo quasi illeggibile (un *modius*? una *cista*?), affiancata ai lati da due leoni accovacciati, forse con un ariete tra le fauci (Tav. 68, Fig. 21).

Il volto è stato identificato con Serapis, divinità sincretica greco-egiziana in cui confluiscono caratteristiche di più dèi: il toro sacro Apis-Osiride, Zeus, Asclepio, Plutone e Dioniso, tutti comunque contraddistinti da una valenza infera e salvifica⁴⁹. La testa è stata anche avvicinata a quella di Giove Ammone o a quella di un dio infernale anonimo, e ricorre su altri monumenti della regione, sempre tra due leoni⁵⁰. In un'altra stele da Popovac (*Pannonia Inferior*, Croazia), con analogo coronamento, la testa centrale è quella di Medusa con cesto⁵¹. Ancora, tra i due leoni può esserci solo un cesto, forse la cista mistica dionisiaca, come in una stele da *Mursa* (*Pannonia Inferior*, Croazia)⁵².

⁴⁸ Fondamentale la documentazione del monumento nella piattaforma internet *Ubi erat lupa*. Bilddatenbank zu antiken Steindenkmälern di F. e O. Harl (<http://lupa.at>), da ora "LUPA". Cfr. LUPA 3106 (riprese del 2012, Ortolf Harl). Repertorio fotografico completo, tranne che per il retro, in <http://lupa.at/3106> (ultimo accesso 26 febbraio 2018).

⁴⁹ Clerc / Leclant 1994.

⁵⁰ La testa maschile barbata tra due leoni si ritrova come diffuso coronamento di monumenti funerari dell'area pannonica, come nella stele da *Sirmium* (Srijemska Mitrovica, Serbia), nel Museo Archeologico di Zagabria (Cambi 2005, 13–30, in part 21–23. Va detto che qui compare la stele di Ptuj — p. 21, fig. 12 — nel disegno da Conze 1875 ma per errore riprodotto in maniera speculare). Si veda anche il coronamento a Szombathely in LUPA 3391, e il frammento con testa di Serapide tra due leoni a Zagabria, Museo Archeologico (LIMC VII 2 [1994] nr. 110f).

⁵¹ LUPA 4282.

⁵² LUPA 5700. Il Conze vede nel *modius* sopra la testa barbata una cista e propone un'allusione al culto di Cibele: Conze 1875, 9.

La coppia di amanti

Sottostante a questo gruppo vi è un timpano con ai lati due geni in volo con torce sollevate, chiara allusione alla sfera funeraria⁵³; nel frontone vi è un uomo a torso nudo disteso frontale con il braccio sinistro dietro la testa appoggiata a un cuscino e accanto una donna seminuda vista di spalle (Tav. 68, Fig. 22). Gli studi vi hanno visto varie coppie di amanti, Venere e Adone⁵⁴ o Arianna e Dioniso⁵⁵; lo schema iconografico ricorda anche quello di Piramo e Tisbe⁵⁶. Attualmente si ritiene ritragga Selene-Luna che contempla l'amato Endimione, immerso per sua volontà in un sonno eterno che, simile alla morte, ne mantiene intatta l'eterna giovinezza⁵⁷.

Uno schema iconografico pressoché identico si ritrova nella stele frammentaria di *Aurelius Calandinus* a Šmartno na Pohorju, a circa 30 km da Ptuj (fine II–inizi III d.C.⁵⁸), murata nella parete della chiesa locale, che come si vedrà di seguito riprende, seppure in forma minore, il modello iconografico della stele di Orfeo (Tav. 68, Fig. 23)⁵⁹.

Un altro monumento funerario di età severiana a Savaria in *Pannonia Superior* (Szombathely, in Ungheria) con analogo tema conferma l'identificazione dei personaggi della stele di Ptuj, dato che la donna ha una mezzaluna sulla testa, classico attributo di Selene⁶⁰, e così ancora un frammento di stele funerarie da Starše (Slovenia)⁶¹. Va rilevato che di regola Selene è rappresentata gradiente o in volo verso Endimione, mentre il suo distendersi a lui accanto è una particolarità dei rilievi danubiani⁶². Comunque sia da leggersi la coppia, eccettuando l'ipotesi Arianna-Dioniso, si tratta di un racconto mitico incentrato sull'immortalità dell'amore, divenuto infelice per la dipartita anzitempo dell'amato.

⁵³ Goddard King 1933, 69, vi riconosce Espero.

⁵⁴ Strong 1911, 18.

⁵⁵ Diez 1954–57, 135–136, che ricollega la scena al corteggio dionisiaco raffigurato sui lati stretti della stele.

⁵⁶ Si confronti l'iconografia per esempio con l'affresco pompeiano dalla Casa c.d. di *Lo-reius Tiburtinus* o da quella di Lucrezio Frontone, I sec. d.C. Repertorio in www.iconos.it/le-metamorfofi-di-ovidio/libro-iv/piramo-e-tisbe/immagini (ultimo accesso 26 febbraio 2018).

⁵⁷ Diez 1989, che cambia la sua precedente interpretazione e ricollega le figure di Luna ed Endimione ad analoghe rappresentazioni a Savaria e in *Pannonia Superior*.

⁵⁸ In Šašel Kos 1993a, 230, la stele di *Aurelius Calandinus*, veterano della *cohors I Asturum* si propone sia da datarsi 70 o 100 anni dopo quella di M. Valerio Vero, quindi probabilmente agli inizi del III sec. d.C.

⁵⁹ LUPA 3107.

⁶⁰ Diez 1989; Kiskajd, *Pannonia Superior*, Savaria Múzeum, LUPA 3330.

⁶¹ Ptuj, Museo Povoden (inv. no. RL 807/MS), LUPA 3108.

⁶² Bianchi 1994, 321.

Orfeo tra gli animali

Nel pannello centrale, il più importante a livello visivo, campeggia Orfeo musicista tra gli animali, posto tra due fregi che inquadrano la scena: nel fregio superiore si riconoscono sei volatili: due anatre, un gallo, un cigno, un pavone e altro uccello; in quello sottostante cinque quadrupedi in corsa, fra cui forse una capra, un orso, un toro.

La scena si svolge entro un anfratto immerso in un ambiente silvestre incorniciato tra quelli che paiono due tronchi d'albero con corteccia in rilievo, simile a quella delle palme⁶³: Orfeo — leggermente decentrato e volto a destra rispetto all'osservatore — è seduto su una pietra e suona la lira o una cetra con il plectro. Del suo abbigliamento sono ben distinguibili solo il berretto frigio e il manto che ricade sulla gamba destra. Va rilevato che nei rilievi funerari della zona — e non solo — Orfeo è sempre completamente vestito e calzato, ed è quindi probabile che anche qui lo sia, piuttosto che ipotizzare soltanto la presenza del mantello e del copricapo⁶⁴.

Il cantore è attorniato dagli animali, disposti su più piani e tutti rivolti verso di lui; il cattivo stato di conservazione non consente di identificarli con certezza ma sono complessivamente in numero di 16 (Tav. 69, Fig. 24).

A destra dentro l'anfratto si riconoscono 6 animali: toro, antilope o cervo (comunque animale con corna), gatto (?), leone, elefante e altro quadrupede accanto all'elefante. Sul bordo dell'anfratto si intravedono 3 animali: una scimmia e due uccelli; a sinistra, dentro l'anfratto 4 animali: cammello, cinghiale (?), cane (?), ovino (?); sul bordo sinistro dell'anfratto 3 animali: due uccelli e un serpente.

Questa stessa composizione si ritrova, derivata dalla stele di Ptuj e in forma semplificata date le minori dimensioni (alt. 1,65), nella già citata stele del veterano *Aurelius Calandinus* riutilizzata nella parete della chiesa di Šmartno na Pohorju, con Seleno e Endimione nel timpano e Orfeo tra gli animali nella zona centrale (Tav. 68, Fig. 23)⁶⁵. Lo stato di conservazione di quest'ultima stele, relativamente protetta dal muro in cui il frammento è inserito, è migliore rispetto alla stele di Ptuj e vi si riconoscono 10 animali, 5 a destra di chi guarda: toro, cervo (?), elefante, leone, pantera; 5 a sinistra: cammello, cinghiale, cane e sopra la grotta uccello e serpente. La veste indossata da Orfeo è quella frigia, e ben delineato nei suoi componenti è lo strumento che suona con il plectro, che parrebbe una lira a 5 corde, poggiata sulla gamba destra tramite un peduccio di sostegno, più piccola rispetto allo strumento sul monumento di Ptuj. La

⁶³ La presenza dell'albero può solo qualificare l'ambiente naturale, ma può anch'esso essere soggetto dell'incantamento, dato che Orfeo aveva il potere di affascinare anche gli alberi: Filostrato Minore, Immagini, 6,2, vd. Toso 2007, 110, nt. 486.

⁶⁴ Stern 1955 ha operato una fondamentale distinzione tra i due tipi vestimentari: Tipo I "alla greca", a capo scoperto o coronato d'alloro, nudo, o con manto, o con veste da citaredo; Tipo 2 a-c, "alla frigia" con berretto frigio, vari tipi di indumenti e gli stivaletti. Vd. anche Salvadori 2002, 346, nt. 13.

⁶⁵ Hoffiller / Saria 1938, n. 101; LUPA 3107; Šašel Kos 2014, 155-156.

frammentarietà della stele di *Aurelius* non dà risposte riguardo all'eventuale presenza di un altro pannello sotto il campo epigrafico.

Il modello figurativo relativo a Orfeo è diffuso nella regione tra il II e il III sec. d.C. e ricorre su altre stele funerarie del *Noricum* e della *Pannonia Inferior* (Enns-Linz, Austria⁶⁶; Intercisa-Dunaújváros, Ungheria⁶⁷; Ulcisia Castra, Szentendre, Ungheria⁶⁸), le quali dal punto di vista stilistico si inquadrano nel filone nell'arte popolare⁶⁹, mentre sul piano artistico quelle di Ptuj e Šmartno na Pohorju sono senz'altro di fattura più alta e denotano una conoscenza ben assimilata di modelli analoghi diffusi nel mondo romano, sia in contesti funerari che abitativi⁷⁰.

L'iscrizione

L'iscrizione dedicatoria è posta entro una cornice rettangolare modanata decorata sul bordo superiore da un motivo a volute sinusoidali tipicamente norico-pannonico⁷¹ ed è fortemente rovinata da una notevole abrasione che ha cancellato larga parte del campo epigrafico, lasciando oggi leggibili solo alcune lettere, peraltro variamente interpretate (Tav. 69, Fig. 25)⁷². Si riporta di seguito la lettura di Geza Alföldy⁷³, che come già accennato non dà certezze riguardo il nome del defunto (Tav. 69, Fig. 26):

M(arco) V[al]er[i]o C(ai) F(ilio)
 P[ap]iria tribu ? Vero?] DEC(urioni)
 [C(oloniae) U(lpiae) T(raianae) P(oetovionensium) II V]IR(o) I(ure) D(icundo).

Nel campo epigrafico, come detto quasi completamente scomparso, vi sono ancora i fori relativi all'uso della stele come gogna (Tav. 62, Fig. 4): tre regolari nella parte centrale e forse altri due irregolari sottostanti. Si notano anche alcune incisioni leggere, tra cui una croce, che potrebbero risalire sempre all'uso della stele quale luogo di punizione e anche come base per sedersi nel mercato (Tav. 70, Fig. 27).

⁶⁶ Kremer 2001, 60, Nr. 81, Taf. 29; Orfeo musico con gli animali, LUPA 517 e 518, III secolo.

⁶⁷ Orfeo con Euridice, LUPA 3938; Orfeo musico con gli animali, LUPA 3942, seconda metà del II secolo.

⁶⁸ Orfeo musico con animali, Lupa 6003.

⁶⁹ Kremer 2001, 59–60 per i frammenti da Enns.

⁷⁰ In Pochmarski 2014, 355, nota 25, viene posta la domanda se per la stele di *Aurelius Calandinus* e quella di *Marcus Valerius Verus* possa supporre un'unica officina.

⁷¹ *Tabulae* epigrafiche ornate nella cornice da motivi a sinusoidi, benché diversi dalla stele di Orfeo, si ritrovano per esempio nei sarcofagi, come a *Mursa* e Györköny in *Pannonia Inferior* (LUPA 26312 e 823) e a Tatabánya in *Pannonia Superior* (LUPA 663). Lo stesso motivo ricorre anche in altri monumenti funerari di *Poetovio* (inv. nn.: RL 969, RL 448, RL 463, RL 494, RL 546, RL 711, RL 546).

⁷² CIL III 4069; Goddard King 1933, 69, con lettura proposta irreal: *dec(urio)... Verus h(eres) p(osuit)*; Šašel Kos 1993a, 222; LUPA 3106.

⁷³ Alföldy 1965, 99–101, nr. 1.

Orfeo agli Inferi

L'ultimo pannello figurato della stele è in pessimo stato di conservazione e quindi per la lettura occorre basarsi sui disegni dei secoli precedenti, i quali però presentano spesso, come già accennato, ricostruzioni di fantasia. Aderenti al vero sono le riproduzioni più recenti (Conze 1875 e Reinach 1912, ripresa in Gareizou 1994), che vi leggono la discesa agli Inferi con 6 personaggi: Orfeo al cospetto di Ade e Persefone in trono, dietro ai quali si trova Hermes con caduceo. Sul lato sinistro si intravedono altri due personaggi, non identificabili: quello sul bordo del riquadro, che pare posto entro una nicchia a sesto acuto e forse con un lungo abito (Euridice?) e accanto un altro maschile⁷⁴, ma potrebbe trattarsi di altri esseri collegati al mondo infero (Tav. 70–71, Fig. 28a–d) così come la porta, che potrebbe riferirsi all'ingresso nell'Ade.

Non vi sono confronti puntuali per questa composizione, che può ricordare concettualmente l'affresco nel colombario di *Decimus Folius Mela* a Ostia, dove si riconoscono Cerbero e un guardiano chiamato *Ianitor*, Orfeo ed Euridice, Plutone, un giovane (*Oknos?*) e forse un'asina, databile intorno alla metà del II secolo d.C.⁷⁵, e la decorazione del mausoleo romano di El Amrouni in Tunisia, di fine I–inizi II secolo d.C., dove i grandi bassorilievi a tema mitico raffigurano Orfeo tra gli animali, Orfeo con Euridice che sta per varcare la soglia dell'Ade con i suoi abitanti, e Alceste ed Ercole⁷⁶.

Le figure sui lati della stele

I due lati della stele presentano sei formelle ciascuno; quattro con Baccanti e Satiri in atteggiamento di danza con cimbali, racchiusi in edicole con timpano acuto per le figure femminili e nicchia arcuata per quelle maschili (Tav. 72, Fig. 29a–b). Tra di essi, due riquadri con un grifone e una pantera/leopardo. Tale composizione unisce all'aspetto squisitamente decorativo, ispirato a similari schemi ellenistici, il meta-significato religioso collegato a Dioniso e ai suoi misteri. In particolare, il motivo della Menade danzante con cembali compare eguale ma invertito sui due lati della stele.

Simili personaggi, sempre entro nicchie a varia terminazione, si ritrovano in edifici funerari e sarcofagi del Norico⁷⁷, sia come tipi singoli⁷⁸ (Satiri o Menadi danzanti), che in coppia (Satiro e Menade danzanti)⁷⁹. Il motivo delle danze è un chiaro rimando al mondo dionisiaco e all'estasi orgiastica intesa quale ebbrezza mistica che celebra la rinascita di Dioniso e quindi, attraverso l'iniziazione, anche dell'adepto, che si assicura così un destino migliore e privilegiato nell'oltretomba. Queste decorazioni sono

⁷⁴ Conze 1875, 5–6, ne dà accurata lettura dopo un esame autoptico da lui effettuato al “chiar di luna” per meglio cogliere i particolari del rilievo e confrontarlo con il disegno eseguito da V. Jasper.

⁷⁵ Valeri 2015, che propone questa datazione rispetto a quella anche proposta nel III secolo.

⁷⁶ Ferchiou 1989, 75, figg. 8–10.

⁷⁷ Pochmarski-Nagele 1992, 110.

⁷⁸ LUPA 1026–1042; 5929.

⁷⁹ LUPA 1283 e 4303: Stele da *Mursa* (*Pannonia Inferior*, Croazia).

state anche datate tra la fine del II secolo e il primo quarto del III secolo sulla base di confronti con tipi analoghi ricorrenti su sarcofagi a tema dionisiaco del *Noricum*⁸⁰.

La stele di Orfeo di Ptuj

La stele di *Poetovio* rappresenta certo, nella regione pannonica, la più alta espressione di questo tipo di monumento funerario d'età imperiale, sia per quanto riguarda la posizione sociale del committente che per le grandi dimensioni e il complesso e raffinato programma iconografico. Anche dal poco che ne rimane oggi, si riscontra la mano di un artista che doveva ben conoscere i vari modelli di riferimento in uso nella parte greco-romana dell'Impero, in ambito funerario come nelle decorazioni musive e negli affreschi parietali di abitazioni e ancora in altre classi di materiali, tra cui le monete provinciali⁸¹.

La tematica funeraria complessiva è incentrata su *topoi* mitici legati all'amore e al desiderio di immortalarlo, così come alla speranza di una vita ultraterrena dell'anima, propria delle religioni a sfondo salvifico: la testa virile tra i leoni sul culmine della stele legata al mondo infero, Selene e Endimione uniti per sempre oltre la morte, il racconto di Orfeo tra gli animali e quindi agli Inferi davanti ai signori dell'aldilà, le gioiose figure danzanti alternate con animali tutti parte del corteggio di Dioniso, divinità la cui centralità nel culto orfico è acclarata (Tav. 71, Fig. 30)⁸².

Non si può dire se il defunto fosse o meno un iniziato sulla sola base delle raffigurazioni prescelte per la stele, dato che queste iconografie, da sole o associate (tranne che per la scena quasi consunta di Orfeo agli Inferi), ricorrono con frequenza in Pannonia e nel Norico. Certo è però che esse erano considerate adatte a decorare monumenti funerari e sarcofagi con funzione beneaugurante per il defunto, ispirandosi a modelli e schemi ben noti e apprezzati in queste regioni dell'impero romano.

Chi commissionò e scelse le decorazioni del monumento funebre di *Poetovio* volle celebrare la gloria dell'uomo pubblico attraverso i suoi titoli e le proporzioni del monumento funerario, evidenziando nel contempo nel programma iconografico l'amore e nostalgia per il defunto.

E forse volle soprattutto sottolineare la speranza, rappresentata da Orfeo e Dioniso, in un destino felice e beato anche oltre la morte.

⁸⁰ Pochmarski-Nagele 1992, 110, Typ III.

⁸¹ Jesnick 1997.

⁸² Si vedano, tra gli altri, Tortorelli Ghidini 2013 e Sfameni Gasparro 2013.

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MARIA FEDERICA PETRACCIA

Asclepius, Hygeia, and the Numinous Virtues of Water

Water, especially from springs and rivers insofar as a basic element of nature and fertilizer of the earth, has always been looked on as playing a fairly important role for all human communities, from the earliest times and in all geographical contexts. This is because not only did it represent an all-important resource of water supply and nourishment on a physical level, as well as a key factor for the choice of location of settlements, but also because it was felt to be a generally positive and vital symbol of fertility and rebirth, of purification and recovery.

Inscriptions and reliefs provide proof of the fact that Asclepius, a leading divinity within this salutary setting, is very often accompanied by a female figure with whom he shares the followers' gratitude: Hygeia.

The personification of the concept of good health, physical equilibrium, and the well-being this generates, the figure of Hygeia is, just like Asclepius, a relatively late creation of religion, lacking a role in Greek mythology. The only setting within which she has an identity is that of Asclepius' family supplanting very quickly Epione, the God's unreliable wife, and his other healer daughters. Worshipped and depicted in the Greco-Roman world for a lengthy period of time stretching from the end of the 5th century BC to the start of the 5th century AD, Hygeia is still a figure whose origins generate a certain embarrassment among scholars¹.

Epigraphical documentation recalling Asclepius and Hygeia testifies to the devotion of numerous everyday folk, belonging to the military ranks but also local notables who appealed to them inasmuch as guarantors of their own and their families' good health. Interaction with the thaumaturgic power of water is also stressed at times in the texts: for example, an *ex-voto* dating from the first half of the 2nd century AD (AD 101–150) found at the *Ad Mediam* thermal baths (today's Băile Herculane) in Dacia², expresses gratitude to Asclepius and Hygeia who, thanks also to the numinous virtues of water, cured *Iunia Cyrilla* after a long period of illness³. This is a marble votive altar (73 x 37 x 30 cm) which is now housed in Băile Herculane Museum. The text is as follows:

Aesculap(io) / et Hygiae / pro salute Iuniae / Cyrillae quod a / longa infirmitate / virtute aquarum numinis sui / revocaverunt / TBA eius votum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

¹ Rigato 2013, 57.

² Musial 1992; Benseddik 2010, 49–50. Cfr. Boda / Szabó 2014.

³ CIL III 1561 = IDR III/1, 55 = ILS 3846 = AE 1962, 233.

Before studying the wording of this ex-voto in detail, it must be pointed out, as observed by Danuta Musial in his work *Le développement du culte d'Esculape au monde romain*⁴, that most of the locations where the inscriptions to Asclepius come from were famous in ancient times for their thermal springs, as is the case of Băile Herculane in Dacia⁵. In the scholar's opinion, the inscription she looked at boast a specific characteristic of importance: indeed, the wording inscribed contains the reason for the inscription *longa infirmitate virtute aquarum numinis sui revocaverunt*.

Mommsen (CIL III) and Dessau (ILS) regarded the abbreviation *TBA* as single letters of unclear meaning (*litterae singulares significationis obscurae*). When Russu republished the inscription in 1977 (IDR III/1) he hypothesised that the abbreviation *TBA* stood for the name of a man, probably the husband of Iunia Cyrilla: *T(itus) B(---) A(---)*.

Clearly Russu was not familiar with the work of Killeen who in 1960, suggested that the abbreviation *TBA* stood for *t(utor) b(onis) a(dministrandis)* maintaining that the expressions *bona administrare* and *bonorum administratio* are frequently found in *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, especially in the chapter entitled *De administratione* (D. 26.7.3.1–9; the passage is from Ulpian's commentary '*Ad edictum*') from which it was inferred that "only one of the guardians appointed by a parent in his will had charge of the administration: *ille solus administraret. Ceteri igitur tutores non administrabunt, sed erunt hi, quos vulgo honorarios appellamus*. The expression *tutor bonis administrandis* could have been modelled on forms like *praetor iuri dicundo*"⁶. So, according to Killeen's interpretation, the wording of the inscription was as follows:

*Aesculap(io) / et Hygiae / pro salute Iuniae / Cyrillae quod a / longa infirmitate virtute aqua/rum numinis sui / revocaverunt / t(utor) b(onis) a(dministrandis) eius v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*⁷.

It must be noted that there are thirteen (hence not very many) occurrences in the Digest related to the expressions singled out by Killeen, but on no occasion is there a *tutor bonis administrandis*⁸.

⁴ Musial 1992, 92.

⁵ Musial 1992, 86–88, asserts that the two towns in Dacia with the highest number of inscriptions related to Asclepius and Hygeia are: Sarmizegetusa and Apulum.

⁶ Killeen 1960, 309.

⁷ Killeen 1960, 309.

⁸ The sources Killeen refers to (making inaccurate mention of them) are the following and, quite frankly, a certain degree of imagination is required in order to reach these conclusions: *Si parens vel pater qui in potestate habet destinaverit testamento, quis tutorum tutelam gerat, illum debere gerere praetor putavit, meritoque parentis statur voluntati, qui utique recte filio prospexit. Tantundem praetor facit et de his, quos parens destinavit testamento, ipse autem confirmavit, ut, si parens declaravit, quem velit tutelam administrare, ille solus administret* (D. 26.7.3.1 Ulp. 35 ad ed.); *Ceteri igitur tutores non administrabunt, sed erunt hi, quos vulgo honorarios appellamus. nec quisquam putet ad hos periculum nullum redundare: constat enim hos quoque, excussis prius facultatibus eius qui gesserit, conveniri oportere: dati sunt enim quasi observatores actus eius et custodes, imputabiturque eis quandoque, cur, si male eum conversari videbant, suspectum eum non fecerunt. adsidue igitur et rationem ab eo exigere eos oportet et sollicito curare, qualiter*

Nor can any mention be found of a *tutor bonis administrandis* in the *Corpus Iuris*: it would be an ‘hapax legomenon’, because — also in light of the treatises in this regard — it does not appear among the ordinary tutelages, nor among the special ones⁹. It is true that a tutor, once he had taken up office, could not wait to cease his duties (and right from the very start looked for all the *excusationes* possible in order to be exempted): therefore, the theory that he took a vow of speedy recovery for his charge and was happy for this could also make sense but, according to Roberto Scevola, it does not seem at all possible to go beyond this ‘legal sociology’ observation.

A third theory, even much less probable, is that which sees a cryptic reference to generic sacred entities in the abbreviation TBA: something like *t(utores) b(onae) a(nimae) eius*; in this case, the offeror would be Iunia Cyrilla herself. The difficulty in accepting this theory is related to both the period our inscription is attributed to and to the fact that, also in this case, it would be a *hapax*¹⁰ as regards the proposed interpretation.

However, out of intellectual correctness, it is considered useful to provide a transcription of the document following said interpretation:

Aesculap(io) / et Hygiae / pro salute Iuniae / Cyrillae quod a / longa infirmita/te virtute aqua/rum numinis sui / revocaverunt / T(utores) b(onae) a(nimae) eius v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

Therefore, if we are to exclude the second and third theories for the aforementioned reasons, the only theory left is the first which sees TBA as standing for the name of the offeror (husband? son of Iunia Cyrilla?) who wishes to remain anonymous.

As regards anonymity in sacred inscriptions, even if limited to the northern Italic region, it is worthwhile recalling a work by Alfredo Buonopane which stresses the fairly common tendency in this type of document for followers to want to maintain their anonymity. This is an aspect worthy of attention given that it seems to be in contradiction with the aims of mass communication and ostentation that are often considered specific to the epigraphical message¹¹.

In the scholar’s opinion, this phenomenon can take at least four different forms¹²: family name in full and surname abbreviated in part or in full; — family name abbreviated in part or in full and surname in full; — family and surname abbreviated in part or in full, this can only be explained by the desire to maintain anonymity in

conversetur, et si pecunia sit, quae deponi possit, curare, ut deponatur ad praediorum comparationem: blandiuntur enim sibi, qui putant honorarios tutores omnino non teneri: tenentur enim secundum ea quae supra ostendimus (D. 26.7.3.2 Ulp. 35 ad ed.).

⁹ I would like to thank my colleague and jurist Roberto Scevola, who informed me that a *Corpus Iuris* database was created by Viennese Roman Law specialists in 2014 called *Amanuensis*; it does not contain any mention of *tutor bonis administrandis*.

¹⁰ *Tutor* is never found with the specification *animae bonae* in epigraphical databases such as Heidelberg, Clauss and EDR.

¹¹ Susini 1982, 13–21; Sartori 1995, 423–426; Buonopane 2001, 348–351.

¹² Cfr. Mitthof 2012, 231–233.

order to make it difficult to identify the offeror within a rather small community; — total absence of name elements referring to the offeror.

The relationship that bound man to the divinity was often experienced as an intimate relationship, that had no need for ostentation. For example, Seneca, in a well-known passage¹³, states that *deum colit qui novit*. (Adoring the divinity means knowing it). *Vetemus lintea et strigiles Iovi ferre et speculum tenere Iunoni: non quaerit ministros deus... Audiat licet quem modum servare in sacrificiis debeat, quam procul resilire a molestis superstitionibus, numquam satis profectum erit nisi qualem debet deum mente conceperit, omnia habentem, omnia tribuentem, beneficum gratis*¹⁴.

In light of these considerations, the hypothesis proposed by Russu seems to be the most probable to date. Therefore the abbreviation TBA found in the last line of the text stands for *T(itus) B(...) A(...)*, the offeror that wishes to remain anonymous and dissolves the vow of Iunia Cyrilla. The possessive *sui* in line 7 is thought to refer to Asclepius and Hygeia, while *eius* found in the last line is thought to refer to the woman:

Aesculap(io) / et Hygiae / pro salute Iuniae / Cyrillae quod a / longa infirmitate / virtute aquarum numinis sui / revocaverunt / T(itus) B(---) A(---) eius v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito). The translation of the Băile Herculane inscription would be as follows: “To Asclepius and Hygeia for the healing of Iunia Cyrilla, since they allowed her to recover from a long illness with the virtue of the waters consecrated to them, Titus B(- - -) A(- - -) willingly and deservedly dissolves the vow she made”.

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¹³ Sen. Ep. XV 95, 47–48.

¹⁴ Buonopane 2001, 351.

PAOLO VITELLOZZI

Un amuleto magico di età imperiale e il culto delle divinità equestri danubiane

Tavola 73

Fra i documenti che attestano la venerazione di quelle che sono note con il nome di divinità equestri danubiane, le gemme incise costituiscono un gruppo particolarmente significativo.¹ Ci si è chiesto in che misura esse possano contribuire alla conoscenza di un culto noto solo attraverso testimonianze iconografiche; se è vero che l'abbinamento di immagini riconducibili al repertorio delle cosiddette "gemme magiche"² poco può dirci sull'origine remota di questo culto, si ritiene però che esse possano contribuire a comprenderne l'aspetto nel momento del suo pieno sviluppo.³

La collezione Guardabassi nel Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria a Perugia⁴ comprende un ben noto diaspro raffigurante le divinità in questione⁵ (Tav. 73, Fig. 1a-b); la recente riedizione di questo manufatto, sulla cui provenienza purtroppo nulla si sa, offre però lo spunto per tentare di ricostruire il contesto sociale e religioso di cui la gemma, che negli anni passati fu già oggetto di studio, è espressione.

¹ Sulle gemme magiche con cavalieri danubiani v. di recente: SGG I 354–356; Michel 2004, 92–94, 263, nr. 13; Pedroni 2007; Zwierlein-Diehl 2010.

² Sulle gemme magiche in generale v. Bonner 1950; Zazoff 1983, 349–362; SGG I; SGG II; Michel 2004; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, 210–231; Gordon 2011.

³ È difficile ovviamente fornire una bibliografia completa sul culto delle divinità equestri danubiane, tuttavia sull'argomento v. in particolare: Fromols 1958; Neumann 1959; Tudor 1961; Wenzel 1967; Ochsenschlager 1971; CMRED; Zotović 1978; Giacchero 1981; Oppermann 1981; Giacchero 1983; Gschwantler 1983–1984; Mladenova 1984; Mackintosh 1995; Bíró 1996; Ertl 1996; Zotović 1998; Carbó García 2003; Tsarov 2004; Barnea 2006; Hadiji 2006; Hadiji 2007; Iconomu / Chiriac 2007; Boteva 2011; Nemeti / Nemeti 2011; Plemić 2013; Ertl 2013–2014; Ibarra 2014; Nemeti 2015.

⁴ Vitellozzi 2010a.

⁵ Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, Collezione Guardabassi, inv. nr. 1250 = Giglioli 1951, 200, tav. 49.2; CMRED II 1976, 20, nr. 228, tav. 11; 178–180; Add. LIMC 6 (1992), s.v. *Heros Equitans*, 1051, nr. 440; SGG II 108–109, nr. Pe 14, tav. 31; Vitellozzi 2010a, 415–416, nr. 515; Vitellozzi 2010b, 78–81, nr. A32; Zwierlein-Diehl 2010, 854–855, fig. 8. Desidero anche in questa sede ringraziare il Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, e nella fattispecie la direttrice dott.ssa Luana Cencioli, per aver consentito lo studio dei materiali e la pubblicazione delle fotografie, realizzate dallo scrivente.

L'amuleto, databile al III sec. d.C., è realizzato in un diaspro verde con venature di rosso, un minerale spesso associato a iconografie pertinenti al tema della rigenerazione e del rinnovamento.⁶ Eccezionale per dimensioni (mm 34,8 x 36,3 x 4,6), l'amuleto è più grande di almeno quattro volte rispetto a una normale gemma da anello; ne consegue che esso difficilmente poté essere realizzato senza un destinatario e uno scopo ben precisi, ed anzi la complessa iconografia della faccia superiore, che si ritiene non essere la semplice ripetizione di motivi non compresi, suggerisce l'ipotesi che il possessore potesse rivestire un ruolo di rilievo all'interno del culto cui si fa riferimento.

Al dritto, la pietra raffigura la triade delle divinità danubiane: due cavalieri, uno a destra, l'altro a sinistra, porgono omaggio alla dea, il tutto all'interno di quello che sembra essere un tempio, esattamente come avviene nei rilievi in forma di *aedicula*.

Frutto della predilezione delle popolazioni tracio-getiche per le divinità equestri, il culto dei cavalieri danubiani è la ripresa di una religiosità arcaica in ambiente romanizzato; quale fosse la forma originaria del culto non è certo, ma sembra evidente che in età imperiale esso prese una nuova e più complessa fisionomia per influsso del mitraismo, al quale in certi ambienti giunse forse addirittura a contrapporsi.⁷

Si discute su quale fosse l'epicentro di questo culto, attestato dopo la conquista della Dacia e particolarmente diffuso in ambiente militare: l'idea di Dumitru Tudor, che indicava la Dacia stessa come luogo d'origine, è oggi posta in discussione da alcuni studiosi che hanno optato in favore della Moesia,⁸ ma ciò non muta di troppo il dato in nostro possesso, dal momento che i ritrovamenti archeologici si concentrano nel cuore dell'area danubiana in mezzo a quattro province (Dacia, Moesia, Dalmazia, e Pannonia). Di certo però, come avvenne per il mitraismo, questa religiosità arcaica subì in età imperiale profonde trasformazioni ponendosi al centro di speculazioni teologiche che produssero un sistema ben diverso da quello originario. I viaggi dei soldati e le esperienze religiose dei fedeli, sempre più a stretto contatto con i culti sotterrici del mondo greco-romano (mitraismo, orfismo, misteri di Samotracia), assieme con l'influenza delle filosofie ellenistiche e dello gnosticismo, contribuirono in modo determinante a modificare l'aspetto di una religione che traeva origine da culti antichissimi dell'area danubiana. Questo dato storico giustifica, sul piano metodologico, il ricorso ipotetico a concetti religiosi propri del mitraismo e dello gnosticismo per spiegare i possibili significati sottesi alla fabbricazione di questi amuleti: se la relazione tra gemme magiche e mitraismo è fenomeno chiaro e ampiamente indagato,⁹ un simile rapporto si potrà postulare, per proprietà transitiva, anche per le gemme pertinenti al culto dei cavalieri danubiani.¹⁰

⁶ Cf. Michel 2004, 225. V. anche Mastrocinque 2011.

⁷ Cf. Michel 2004, 93.

⁸ V. ad es. Nemeti 2015.

⁹ Mastrocinque 1998.

¹⁰ A tale proposito v. Michel 2004, 92–93.

Sebbene sia stata abbandonata la teoria dell'identificazione *ab origine* con i Dioscuri, sembra altrettanto vero che questi ultimi dovettero esercitare un notevole influsso nella formazione del repertorio iconografico e non solo. Inoltre, si procedette progressivamente all'assimilazione della dea panteistica che compare al centro di rilievi e gemme con le grandi divinità femminili dei culti misterici (Grande Madre, Cibele, Hekate-Selene, Atargatis, Anahitis, Dea Syria), oltre che con la stessa Elena la quale, nel trattato gnostico *Esegesi dell'anima*, è in qualche modo identificata proprio con l'anima.¹¹ Recenti studi hanno inoltre sottolineato la somiglianza con divinità femminili di altre società in cui è preponderante il ruolo delle aristocrazie equestri, come la celtica Epona.¹² Il carattere lunare della dea che compare assieme ai cavalieri, opportunamente evidenziato dagli storici della religione,¹³ è confermato in pieno dalla documentazione delle gemme magiche: un amuleto del British Museum ad esempio, che mostra al dritto la triade danubiana, reca al rovescio l'immagine del dio Men che sacrifica di fronte ad Artemide.¹⁴ La centralità della figura della dea, che può forse richiamare anche riti a carattere ierogamico, non deve però far dimenticare l'importanza dei cavalieri, con cui molto probabilmente dovevano identificarsi i fedeli uomini; il mito arcaico, in cui è centrale il ruolo della figura equestre e che riflette certamente la presenza di riti di iniziazione maschile, è arricchito da numerosi elementi provenienti da più direzioni. Se è vero, come da molti è stato detto,¹⁵ che queste divinità non possono essere identificate con i Cabiri, si dovrà però ammettere che, almeno in età imperiale, i misteri di Samotraccia abbiano esercitato una decisa influenza sull'organizzazione cultuale.¹⁶

All'eredità della tradizione locale e del paganesimo greco-romano si affiancano suggestioni provenienti dalla cultura ebraico-cristiana, dal mitraismo e dal pensiero gnostico, il tutto mediato attraverso le categorie della filosofia ellenistica nel tentativo di raggiungere una visione coerente e onnicomprensiva del divino.

Tutto ciò emerge chiaramente se si analizzano gli elementi iconografici presenti sull'amuleto, che rivelano i contenuti cui il committente intende fare riferimento: all'esterno l'immagine che si intende mostrare, all'interno quella il cui messaggio si vuole tener segreto.

Faccia superiore: teofania delle divinità equestri danubiane

Nella faccia superiore (Tav. 73, Fig. 1a), il campo è suddiviso in tre registri correlati alle tre sfere del *kósmos* (urania, ctonia e catactonia), nonché a tre diversi

¹¹ *Esegesi dell'Anima* (NH II 6), 130–137. A questo proposito v. anche Michel 2004, 93, nt. 481.

¹² Plemić 2013; Ertl 2013–2014, 107.

¹³ Mastrocinque 1998, 155 (l'Autore accosta queste gemme al grado iniziatico del *Perses*); Zotović 1998.

¹⁴ Inv. G 244 (EA 56244) = Michel 2001, 190–192, nr. 300, tav. 45; CBd nr. 686.

¹⁵ V. da ultimo Nemeti 2015, 129.

¹⁶ Sui Cabiri e i misteri di Samotraccia v. da ultimo Cruccas 2014.

momenti che corrispondono, già nell'esegesi di Dumitru Tudor, ad altrettanti passi che scandivano il percorso spirituale dell'iniziato.

Una lettura dal basso verso l'alto è certamente utile per cogliere il significato sottinteso nella raffigurazione, che sembra essere percepito dall'incisore e di conseguenza dal committente.

Il registro inferiore raffigura gli strumenti del rito: da sinistra a destra vi sono un cranio di ariete, un galletto,¹⁷ un *monopodium* con una lucerna, quattro pani,¹⁸ la *trapeza* con il pesce, un vaso anforoide e tre oggetti in lacuna, in cui forse si devono riconoscere dei calici. Il tutto è sormontato da un pugnale sacrificale, posto tra un leone e un uomo distesi a terra, calpestati dai due cavalli. Sugli oggetti posti a sinistra (cranio di ariete, galletto, lucerna) sembra aleggiare l'atmosfera di un rituale notturno, e quindi verosimilmente di quei δρώμενα che si svolgevano in segreto; quelli a destra richiamano invece il pasto di purificazione, come indica la presenza dei pani e del pesce (alimento dei puri sia nella tradizione pagana che in quella cristiana)¹⁹ uniti all'anfora. Il pugnale, che simboleggia il sacrificio, è forse raffigurato più in alto per introdurre il registro superiore: dopo il rito, la rivelazione.

Questa consiste nella vittoria delle divinità sulle forze del male e della morte ed è riservata ai soli iniziati, come lasciano intendere le due figure femminili (Nemesi) poste ai lati che, portando il dito indice sulle labbra, indicano il silenzio del *mystes*;²⁰ l'abbinamento tra la figura di Nemesi e quella del Cavaliere, posti in antitesi sui due lati di uno stesso amuleto, è presente ad esempio su un celeberrimo eliotropio viennese.²¹

Servitori e compagni²² di una grande dea madre che impersona la pienezza della vita e il trionfo della natura,²³ forse con un rimando astrologico al momento equinoziale della primavera, i cavalieri sono qui con tutta probabilità assimilati ai

¹⁷ Più esattamente si tratta di un semplice pollo, verosimilmente destinato al sacrificio (sulle tracce archeozoologiche relative al consumo di pollame nel mitreo della *Crypta Balbi* a Roma v. De Grossi Mazzorin 2004, 179–181). Sul ruolo e la funzione del gallo nei rilievi pertinenti al culto delle divinità equestri danubiane cf. CMRED II 216–219.

¹⁸ L'ipotesi di Tudor (CMRED II 272) che riconosce dei pani negli oggetti circolari raffigurati sulla gemma, appare ancor più convincente se si considera l'uso di pani di forma analoga (ovvero circolari, con incisione a croce) nel rituale mitraico. V. ad es. le pagnotte raffigurate nella parte centrale del noto rilievo di Konjic: Merkelbach 1984, 381, fig. 148 = Hatter 2013 (ed.), 256, nt. 171.

¹⁹ Alcuni rilievi raffiguranti le divinità equestri danubiane si caratterizzano per la presenza di un pescatore, che prelude a un banchetto rituale a base di pesce. Il pesce pescato assume, come nel cristianesimo e forse attraverso la sua influenza, il significato del passaggio a una condizione superiore: sull'argomento, in generale cf. Dölger I–V.

²⁰ Cf. in proposito CMRED II 130–137 e Michel 2004, 92.

²¹ Kunsthistorisches Museum, SK 448 Nr. 1205 = AGWien III 154–155, nr. 2187, tav. 91.

²² Sul rapporto che lega le figure dei cavalieri alla divinità femminile v. di recente Bíró 1996.

²³ La dea nutre i cavalli dalle proprie mani: cf. CMRED II 99–109.

Dioscuri, come indicano le due stelle poste accanto:²⁴ l'assimilazione non è certo solo su base iconografica, poiché i Dioscuri, venerati già in Grecia come eroici cavalieri e perciò da sempre legati al ceto equestre, poterono essere senza dubbio messi in relazione con queste divinità.²⁵ I due cavalieri danubiani recano però attributi che li differenziano dai gemelli Castore e Polluce: essi infatti sono di norma barbati e brandiscono bipenni, e sempre portano armature. I busti di Helios e Selene, posti accanto alle colonne del grande padiglione che ospita la scena, forniscono una chiara indicazione sui due cavalieri: essi simboleggiano rispettivamente l'alba e il tramonto, *Phosphoros* e *Hesperos*, *Cautes* e *Cautopates*. I cavalieri divengono dunque le due metà di quell'Uno cosmico rappresentato dal serpente *Ouroboros*; le insegne a forma di drago che essi impugnano infatti, oltre a rappresentare quelle gerarchie militari che verosimilmente praticavano i misteri,²⁶ si caricano di questa ulteriore valenza metaforica, che risulta evidente in un'altra gemma, conservata al British Museum di Londra, in cui le insegne si prolungano fino a divenire le spire di due grandi serpenti.²⁷

I corpi senza vita posti sotto i cavalli celano infatti un duplice significato: da un lato rappresentano le forze del male contrastate e vinte dai cavalieri, dall'altro simboleggiano la morte rituale dell'iniziato, che attraverso l'esperienza misterica rinasce a nuova vita.²⁸ Certamente il repertorio iconografico romano conosce numerose raffigurazioni di guerrieri a cavallo che travolgono nemici uccisi, ma nella tradizione greco-latina la divinità che più spesso è raffigurata (a partire dal tardo ellenismo) con un cadavere o una testa umana sotto il piede è Nemesis, che in questa postura simboleggia la propria vittoria sugli uomini tracotanti. Tale motivo iconografico, che è un tratto tipico della tradizione egiziana di Nemesis, si rifaceva probabilmente a modelli di epoca faraonica. Alcune gemme raffigurano poi un grifone che tiene un cadavere sotto le zampe, altre un leone che calpesta una testa di toro, metafora questa della vittoria di Horus su Seth;²⁹ altre ancora mostrano Helios trionfante, a cavallo di un leone che calpesta uno scheletro umano.³⁰ Pertanto sembra

²⁴ Ciò è evidente nelle stelle che brillano sopra di essi: cf. Chapouthier 1935; CMRED II 109–118; Michel 2004, 92–94.

²⁵ Va detto tra l'altro che una divinità equestre molto simile a quella tracciata era venerata anche ad Alessandria, con il nome di Heron, e tale figura è anche menzionata in PGM V 251 ssg.: v. in proposito Michel 2004, 94, nt. 486; Zwierlein-Diehl 2010, 856. Inoltre, la figura dell'eroe equestre (*Heros Equitans*), che molto ha in comune con le divinità equestri di area danubiana, è stata messa in relazione con Reso (Liapis 2011).

²⁶ Queste insegne, impiegate dalla cavalleria romana di stanza in Dacia, compaiono anche sui rilievi della Colonna Traiana: cf. CMRED II 113–118.

²⁷ Inv. G 117 (EA 56117) = Michel 2001, 192, nr. 301, tav. 45 = CBd nr. 687.

²⁸ Non a caso, al di sotto di uno dei cavalli è talvolta raffigurato il pesce, tradizionalmente legato al passaggio da uno stato all'altro dell'esistenza umana: cf. ad es. CMRED I 38–39, nr. 68 tav. 34.

²⁹ Sull'argomento cf. Mastrocinque 2007.

³⁰ V. ad es. Michel 2004, 354, tav. 41.1–2.

evidente che i due corpi sotto le zampe dei cavalli simboleggino la sconfitta dell'elemento negativo e la vittoria, non certo indolore, del bene.

Questo simbolismo si arricchisce nella nostra gemma, che raffigura a sinistra non un uomo, ma un leone. Se è noto che il culto delle divinità equestri danubiane poteva annoverare tra i suoi gradi iniziatici un corrispettivo del mitraico *Leo*,³¹ non si può negare che fosse percepito il duplice significato simbolico dell'immagine di questo animale, da un lato emblema della forza e del sole, dall'altro immagine della collera divina, della voracità della morte, della furia smisurata, della tracotanza senza freni.³² Inoltre il leone, che si credeva nascere già morto e risorgere dopo tre giorni,³³ risulta in qualche modo legato al tema della rinascita. Se la maggior parte dei documenti raffigura, in perfetto accordo con la tradizione mitraica, il leone come alleato dei cavalieri, mentre azzanna l'uomo disteso a terra,³⁴ nel diaspro di Perugia il felino non ruggisce né attacca, ma è disteso senza vita: nell'area dominata dalla notte, il figlio del sole è reso inerme.

Questa variante così rara simboleggia di certo il superamento della prova iniziatica, e potrebbe essere forse meglio compresa, nei suoi significati allegorici, servendosi dell'Apocrifo di Tommaso (*Apocr. Thomas* 1,7) che riporta il seguente detto: "Beato il leone che l'uomo mangia, cosicché il leone diventi uomo, e sventurato l'uomo che il leone mangia, cosicché l'uomo diventi leone".³⁵ Il significato metaforico di questo detto, e cioè beato l'uomo fisico (leone), se l'uomo spirituale lo domina e lo annulla, potrebbe servire a spiegare il significato del motivo iconografico, e appare probabile che la speculazione teologica gnosticizzante posta alla base di questo motto potesse essere ben percepita dal possessore dell'amuleto.³⁶

Nel registro superiore campeggia un timpano che, con le due colonne poste ai lati, forma una vera e propria struttura, quasi a enfatizzare la funzione di "tempio portatile" dell'amuleto; al centro vi è un gallo, che forse costituisce un ulteriore riferimento astrologico³⁷ al pianeta sole e alla divinità che lo domina, Helios.

L'acroterio centrale è l'aquila di Giove (o più probabilmente *Iuppiter Dolichenus*) e delle insegne imperiali, a destra vola una Vittoria. Non si è certi della figura rappresentata in lacuna a sinistra, ma i suoi attributi inducono a pensare che si tratti di un pescatore che ha appena concluso la sua pesca; anche in questo caso si tratta di una figura ricorrente nei rilievi, che rinvia a uno dei momenti del rituale di iniziazione, ossia la pesca con la conseguente preparazione del pescato per il pasto rituale. In questa prassi sono presenti tutti i significati simbolici attribuiti al pesce e alla pesca

³¹ Cf. CMRED II 249–255.

³² Cf. CCAG VI App., 84. Inoltre Jackson 1985, 28; Mastrocinque 2003, 90.

³³ Ps. Epiph. *Phys.* 2 = PG 43, 53; Origen. *In Num.* 17,6 = SC 442, 304.

³⁴ Cf. CMRED I 10–11, nt. 18, tav. 8. Ciò si vede anche in uno degli affreschi del mitreo di Hawarte, su cui v. da ultimo Gawlikowski 2007.

³⁵ Tr. it. M. Craveri [Torino, Einaudi, 1969 e 1990].

³⁶ Sul tema v. Jackson 1985.

³⁷ Cf. a questo proposito CMRED II 217–219.

nelle religioni orientali e il richiamo alla cultura scitica e trace si pone come sfondo su cui si innestano nuove idee religiose.

Sicuramente, anche per influenza del cristianesimo delle origini e dello gnosticismo, se non addirittura della tradizione orfica, la figura del pescatore, la cui presenza nei rilievi è relegata quasi sempre nel registro inferiore,³⁸ si carica in questa scena di significati allegorici. Qui la pesca appare conclusa, e l'iniziazione è quindi raggiunta.

Considerati tutti gli elementi, la faccia esterna dell'amuleto si configura come tripartita sia dall'alto verso il basso (sfera urania, ctonia e catactonia, ma anche rito, rivelazione, esaltazione mistica), sia rispetto ai lati: a destra infatti, nel dominio di Helios, sono raffigurati gli elementi essoterici (pani, *trapeza* con pesce, anfora e calici, uomo sotto il cavaliere, Vittoria), a sinistra quelli esoterici, protetti dalla notte e da Selene (capro, pollo, lucerna, leone sotto il cavaliere, pescatore). Al centro restano il pugnale, la dea, il gallo di Helios e l'aquila di Giove, in cui è facile riconoscere l'asse portante del sistema. Il pugnale è infatti l'arma di cui viene insignito l'iniziato e ciò ben si vede in un amuleto proveniente da una collezione privata, di recente edito da Erika Zwierlein-Diehl,³⁹ in cui è la dea stessa a porgere l'arma a ciascun cavaliere; il gallo è per eccellenza il simbolo dell'iniziazione maschile, mentre la dea è il referente mitico del percorso rituale. Nell'aquila di Giove, onnipresente sulle insegne dei legionari, si può anche leggere un messaggio di fedeltà all'esercito, nelle cui fila dovevano aver prestato servizio gran parte dei devoti di questo culto.⁴⁰

Faccia inferiore: divinità anguipede con testa di gallo⁴¹

La faccia inferiore di una gemma-amuleto (rovescio), più nascosta e "segreta" di quanto non sia la superiore (dritto), è funzionale alla comunicazione di quello che vuole essere il contenuto più profondo dal punto di vista religioso; di norma è qui che si cela, nella mentalità dei fruitori, la vera fonte dell'efficacia demiurgica dell'oggetto, la quale risiede nell'essenza (οὐσία) della divinità. Non è infatti raro trovare, sul rovescio di una gemma magica, *voces* o caratteri pseudo-grafici: essi dovevano esprimere, secondo un modo di pensare che si rifà alla dottrina giudaica del *lógos* come mediatore tra Dio e il mondo, l'essenza della divinità ancor meglio che la semplice immagine. È significativo, in questo contesto, il passo dell'*Incredulo*⁴² in cui Luciano narra la vicenda di un personaggio al quale sarebbe apparsa una Hekate dalla testa di Medusa; questi dice di averla respinta capovolgendo la pietra del proprio

³⁸ Cf. CMRED II 234–236.

³⁹ Zwierlein-Diehl 2010, 848, fig. 1.

⁴⁰ Se è improbabile che i devoti del culto fossero esclusivamente dei militari, di certo questi ultimi ebbero un ruolo preponderante nella sua costituzione e diffusione: v. ad es. Giaccheri 1981; Ibarra 2014.

⁴¹ Parte della sezione che segue è pubblicata, in forma pressoché identica, in Vitellozzi 2015.

⁴² Lucian. *Philopseud.* 24.

anello, forse per mostrarle il nome segreto o il simbolo di qualche dio. Come spiega Attilio Mastrocinque, “possedere una gemma magica era, per certi aspetti, come gestire in privato un tempio portatile, e ciò permetteva di ottenere favori personali dagli dèi, attraverso preghiere e riti”;⁴³ estendendo questa similitudine, si può forse dire che il rovescio di una gemma-amuleto poteva essere talvolta considerato come la parte più interna di questo tempio, accessibile a chi con la divinità ha un rapporto privilegiato. Se questa concezione si cela quasi sempre anche dietro la fabbricazione degli amuleti più comuni, ancor più probabilmente essa doveva essere presente nella mente di chi commissionò la realizzazione di un manufatto complesso come il diaspro di Perugia.

Sul rovescio (Tav. 73, Fig. 1b), la pietra appartenuta al collezionista umbro Mariano Guardabassi mostra quello che in assoluto è il soggetto più comune nel repertorio iconografico delle gemme magiche, ossia la divinità anguipede con testa di gallo;⁴⁴ questa figura, che ricorre in circa il 12% degli amuleti su gemma oggi conosciuti, non ha paralleli nell’arte greca o romana, né nella tradizione egiziana. Nonostante vi sia scetticismo in merito anche da parte di studiosi autorevoli,⁴⁵ risulta ampiamente condivisa l’opinione che vede nascere questa figura in un contesto di sincretismo religioso fortemente influenzato dall’ebraismo.⁴⁶ La lunga discussione sull’argomento, iniziata da Armand Delatte,⁴⁷ è proseguita fino a oggi con il risultato di riconoscere nell’anguipede una rappresentazione del dio biblico o dei suoi angeli; prodotto della mistione fra la religiosità di matrice ebraica e la tradizione ellenistico-romana, questa figura sarebbe stata creata con un procedimento simbolico⁴⁸ a partire dall’interpretazione dei testi della Genesi e dei Salmi.

Si deve ad Árpád M. Nagy⁴⁹ l’individuazione di una chiave di lettura che, sulla base di una geniale intuizione di Campbell Bonner,⁵⁰ sintetizza e approfondisce le teorie precedenti. Tutto nasce dall’analisi degli elementi che costituiscono la figura dell’anguipede, ovvero la testa di gallo, il busto loricato, gli arti inferiori serpentiformi, gli attributi della frusta e dello scudo (sul quale compare in moltissimi casi il nome magico $\iota\alpha\omega$); è apparso infatti subito evidente che la compresenza di questi elementi doveva essere funzionale all’espressione di determinate caratteristiche. Del resto, la presenza di *Mischwesen* è tutt’altro che rara nell’arte

⁴³ Mastrocinque 2003, 56–57.

⁴⁴ Sull’iconografia del gallo anguipede, con approfondito esame della storia degli studi: Nagy 2002; Mastrocinque 2003, 84–90; Michel 2004, 106–113; Cosentino 2013; Nagy 2014.

⁴⁵ V. ad es. Bohak 2008, 197, nt. 152: “There have been repeated attempts [...] to find a Jewish ‘iconographical etymology’ for the cock-headed snake-legged god, who appears on hundreds of magical gems. But while the origins of this image remain obscure, the search for a Jewish explanation says more about the ingenuity of modern scholars than about the iconography of ancient Jewish magic”.

⁴⁶ A. Mastrocinque, in SGG I 84–90; Nagy 2002; Michel 2004, 106–113.

⁴⁷ Delatte 1914, 30–33.

⁴⁸ Árpád M. Nagy (Nagy 2002, 169) parla di un “‘paronomastic’ principle”.

⁴⁹ Nagy 2002.

⁵⁰ Bonner 1950, 128.

greca e romana, la quale conosce una intera tipologia di composizioni allegoriche fatte di maschere e figure animali; tali composizioni, da una certa tradizione dette *Grylloi*,⁵¹ celano dietro l'apparente giustapposizione di immagini, significati allegorici non sempre ricostruibili con esattezza. Un procedimento simile a quello che ha condotto alla creazione di quel tipo di immagini si cela probabilmente anche dietro la raffigurazione dell'anguipede. Il punto di partenza per l'interpretazione è dato dagli arti inferiori serpentiformi, che molto hanno in comune con l'iconografia dei giganti della tradizione ellenistica. Nel tentativo di spiegare l'origine di questo soggetto, Bonner notò che il sostantivo greco γίγας ("gigante") è impiegato nella Bibbia dei Settanta per tradurre l'ebraico גִּבּוֹר (√gbr, lege «gibbôr»): tale termine indica un eroe, un "uomo forte",⁵² ed è riferito al sole nel Salmo 19.⁵³ Di qui scaturì l'intuizione che alcuni gruppi di Ebrei ellenizzati (e quindi non ortodossi) avessero potuto concepire l'immagine del gallo anguipede sulla base della traduzione della bibbia in greco. A proposito del termine גִּבּוֹר, Alphonse Barb⁵⁴ rilevò che in Gen. 6,4 esso designa i figli avuti dalle donne unitesi con gli angeli, a loro volta figli di Yahweh, ed ipotizzò quindi che l'anguipede potesse essere l'immagine di un uomo primordiale, formato a somiglianza degli angeli di Dio. Dopo gli studi di Andreas Alföldi,⁵⁵ Martin P. Nilsson⁵⁶ e Henri Stern,⁵⁷ il problema fu nuovamente affrontato da Erwin R. Goodenough,⁵⁸ egli, notando che lo scudo reca iscritto il più delle volte il nome ιαω (Yahweh), dedusse che esso non sarebbe altro che un tentativo di raffigurare il dio di Israele e la sua potenza da parte di gruppi estranei sia al paganesimo greco e romano sia alla tradizione egiziana, che grande peso ha nel pensiero dei filosofi-maghi di età imperiale. Questa soluzione, a lungo ignorata e per alcuni non condivisibile, sembra però plausibile se si pensa ai passi biblici in cui Dio è invocato come forza e scudo dell'uomo, come ad esempio *Psalm.* 27, 23; è altresì significativo, come ha notato poi Erika Zwierlein-Diehl,⁵⁹ che per esprimere questo concetto la versione dei Settanta usi, anziché la metafora, il termine ὑπερασπιστής "difensore armato di scudo". Dopo l'analisi di Goodenough, altri studi sono stati dedicati all'argomento da Marc

⁵¹ Su questo genere di composizioni: Roes 1935; Bonner 1950, 319, nr. 387; Binsfeld 1956; AGDS III K, 217–218, nr. 85 (bibliografia); Guiraud 1974; Vollenweider 1979, 346–350, nrr. 388–389; Gesztelyi 1993; Lapatin 2011.

⁵² O meglio "potente", (cf. Ingl. mighty). L'ebraico גִּבּוֹר implica infatti una idea di potenza, non solamente fisica, che è anche valentia, vigore, baldanza. Cf. Driver / Briggs 1907, 150 s.v. *gvurah*, 3.

⁵³ *Psalm.* 19,5 (19,6): וְהוּא בְּתֵתוֹ יֵצֵא מִתְּהִי יֵשִׁיב לְרִיזֵי אֲרָחַי (w-hû k-chathân yatza' mechuppâto yasîs k-gibbôr larûtz 'orach); LXX 18,6: "καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς νυμφίος ἐκπορευόμενος ἐκ παστοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἀγαλλιάσεται ὡς γίγας δραμεῖν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ"; Tr. it. CEI: "che esce come sposo dalla stanza nuziale: esulta come un prode che percorre la via".

⁵⁴ Barb 1957, 76–79.

⁵⁵ Alföldi 1949–1950.

⁵⁶ Nilsson 1951.

⁵⁷ Stern 1952.

⁵⁸ Goodenough 1953, vol. 2, 249–251.

⁵⁹ Zwierlein-Diehl 1992, 31, con passi citati al nr. 86.

Philonenko,⁶⁰ Paul Post⁶¹ e dalla stessa Zwierlein-Diehl,⁶² fra il 2002 e il 2003, la lunga discussione è stata chiarita nei fondamentali lavori di Attilio Mastrocinque⁶³ e Árpád M. Nagy.⁶⁴ Secondo quest'ultimo, l'intera immagine dell'anguipede sarebbe una trasposizione iconica, operata dai filosofi-maghi dell'antichità su base etimologica e con più livelli di simbolismo, della radice ebraica גבר e delle parole da essa derivate: con questo procedimento, che si basa sul noto principio di affinità ontologica (συσμάρθεια) fra ὄνομα e οὐσία, gli gnostici e i *magi* dell'antichità avrebbero voluto dar forma all'essenza del dio biblico senza pronunciarne il nome ineffabile e senza infrangere pienamente il divieto di raffigurarlo. Tutti gli elementi iconografici, gli arti serpentiformi, l'armatura e il volto di gallo, hanno il preciso intento di tradurre in immagine quell'unico termine che racchiuderebbe in sé l'essenza di Dio.

Dalla radice גבר (\sqrt{gbr}) deriva infatti, come si è detto, il nome *gibbôr* che indica un eroe, un valoroso guerriero, ed è riferito al dio di Israele e alle creature nate dai suoi angeli. La radice גבר conta fra le sue derivazioni il sostantivo *gvurâh*, che significa forza, potenza, ma anche valore (in guerra) o potenza divina: esso è presente nell'appellativo *ha-gvurâh* ("il potente") riferito al dio di Israele nel *Talmud* babilonese.⁶⁵ Vi è poi la forma verbale *gâvar* ("essere un eroe, essere potente, trionfare"). La stessa radice è infine presente nel termine *g^ever* (gallo) e nel nome *Gabriel*, ("Dio è potente", ma anche "gallo di Dio"). La traduzione greca γύγας, data dai Settanta, determina l'analogia con i giganti della tradizione ellenistica, evidente negli arti inferiori serpentiformi; il nome *gibbôr* spiega invece la presenza della *lorica*, la quale deriva dal fatto che il dio ebraico e i suoi angeli erano concepiti come guerrieri a capo di schiere e invocati come signori degli eserciti. È di estremo interesse, come osserva Attilio Mastrocinque,⁶⁶ il fatto che Dio sia detto "uomo in guerra" in *Ex.* 15.3 (יהוה איש מלחמה / *YHWH iš milhamâh*); tuttavia, conclude lo studioso, questo passo della Bibbia massoretica è reso, nel Pentateuco samaritano, con l'espressione יהוה גבור מלחמה (*YHWH gibbôr milhamâh*): non è infine un caso che questo sia uno dei passi più comuni nell'epigrafia di quell'area.

L'impiego del termine con riferimento al sole giustifica l'assimilazione a Helios, e quindi anche l'attributo della sferza, mentre lo scudo è diretta trasposizione del passo che recita "*Il Signore è la mia forza e il mio scudo*".⁶⁷ È più difficoltoso spiegare perché la testa del gigante anguipede fosse di gallo, sebbene il rimando al termine

⁶⁰ Philonenko 1979.

⁶¹ Post 1979, soprattutto 202 e 204.

⁶² Zwierlein Diehl 1992.

⁶³ Mastrocinque 2003, 84–90.

⁶⁴ Nagy 2002.

⁶⁵ Cf. NCWTM, 297 s.v. *gvurâh*; cf. anche Nagy 2002, 165, con nt. 41.

⁶⁶ Mastrocinque 2003, 87.

⁶⁷ Psalm. 27,23.

g^ever possa già suggerire un punto di partenza.⁶⁸ È comunque noto che il gallo, oltre a essere una tradizionale icona di potenza e vigore⁶⁹ è un simbolo solare, e Michele Psello⁷⁰ sostiene che i demoni solari avevano testa di gatto o forma di gallo, mentre già nella tradizione del medio oriente pagano erano presenti divinità con questo aspetto; fra queste vi era Nergal, un dio che peraltro era spesso invocato con l'epiteto di *dšhpt*, che significava forse "comandante delle schiere".⁷¹ Esiste poi una tradizione rabbinica, come ricorda Mastrocinque,⁷² secondo cui i Samaritani, pur avendo accettato la venerazione di Yahweh, conservarono anche i propri culti tradizionali, tra cui quello di divinità a forma di gallina (Samaritani di Babilonia) o di gallo (Kuthei passati in Samaria, devoti a Nergal).

Sinossi: possibili significati dell'abbinamento dei due temi iconografici

L'abbinamento dei soggetti incisi sulle due facce di un amuleto non mai è casuale, ed è ragionevole ritenere che debba esserlo meno che mai nel nostro caso. Per quanto riguarda le gemme magiche con divinità equestri danubiane, l'associazione dritto-rovescio, spesso di forte impatto iconico, è quasi sempre immediatamente comprensibile. Oltre al già citato caso della gemma britannica recante sulla faccia minore Men, controparte maschile della grande dea che guida i cavalieri⁷³, si ha un altro amuleto, noto solo da un disegno⁷⁴, con sul rovescio Hekate e Nemese che calpestano un corpo umano; ancora Nemese compare, ritta in groppa a un leone, sulla già citata gemma viennese che augura la vittoria al possessore⁷⁵. Al tema della vittoria militare fa probabilmente riferimento la Venere Vincitrice posta sul *verso* di un eliotropio dell'Ashmolean Museum di Oxford⁷⁶, che si pone quasi come sintesi delle caratteristiche simboleggiate dalla triade danubiana. Altre volte, il rovescio ospita iscrizioni inneggianti alla somma divinità solare⁷⁷, oppure leggende dal significato non sempre chiaro, ma che possono essere messe in relazione, sulla base della

⁶⁸ È stato anche ipotizzato che la testa di gallo fosse collegata con la grafia greca che indicava il *tetragrammaton* ebraico: ΠΙΠΙ (da יהוה: YHWH), perché in demotico *ppj* indicava il gallo (Philonenko 1979, 297–303); può però trattarsi solamente di una interpretazione secondaria, poiché l'operazione è puramente grafica ed è del tutto estranea alla tradizione biblica.

⁶⁹ Sull'argomento v. di recente Csapo 1993.

⁷⁰ Psell. *Theologica* 51, 197 Gautier.

⁷¹ von Weiher 1971, 106; v. anche Mastrocinque 2003, 88, nt. 266.

⁷² Sanhedrin 63b (*The Babylonian Talmud*, tr. I. Epstein, London 1935, Nezikin V Sanhedrin I 434). In proposito v. Mastrocinque 2003, 88 nt. 266.

⁷³ Cf. nt. 14.

⁷⁴ Zwierlein-Diehl 2010, 854, fig. 7.

⁷⁵ Cf. nt. 21.

⁷⁶ Henig / MacGregor 2004, 124, nt. 13.14 = CBd nr. 1162.

⁷⁷ V. Zwierlein-Diehl 2010, figg. 1–2, con lunga iscrizione che inneggia al dio biblico come somma divinità.

testimonianza dei Papiri Magici, con determinate entità planetarie⁷⁸; una di queste *voces*, TAYAGE, compare tre volte⁷⁹, delle quali due in associazione al leone, una con luna e stelle. Al momento, la gemma di Perugia è l'unica che mostri la triade danubiana assieme al demone anguipede.

Ora, se il gallo anguipede è di gran lunga il più frequente tra i soggetti raffigurati sulle gemme magiche, la sua associazione a divinità provenienti da altre tradizioni è sempre funzionale a esprimere contenuti ben precisi. Quando compare assieme al persiano Mithra, ad esempio, il riferimento è alla comune natura solare delle due divinità, esattamente come avviene quando lo si trova a fianco di numi egiziani come Arpocrate e Osiride. Sono anche frequenti gli abbinamenti con divinità femminili, come Afrodite e le Charites, Athena e soprattutto Hekate, che nella sua veste di dea lunare si pone come corrispettivo “femminile” dell'anguipede. Inoltre, questo dio è innanzitutto un guerriero, così come lo sono i due cavalieri e probabilmente molti adepti del culto, che dal dio potevano sperare di ricevere vittoria in guerra.

Il gallo anguipede potrebbe essere stato raffigurato in ragione dei suoi significati solari (evidenti in ragione della presenza delle stelle), e dunque posto semplicemente come *alter ego* “maschile” della divinità femminile (e lunare) raffigurata al dritto; la dualità che vediamo sui due lati della faccia esterna (Helios vs Selene, ovvero giorno vs notte), si ripeterebbe quindi anche sui due lati dell'amuleto. Inoltre, la figura dell'anguipede potrebbe contenere un rimando alla figura del titano Iperione, padre di Helios e sposo della propria sorella Theia, cosa, questa, che ben si inserirebbe in un contesto legato a riti ierogamici.⁸⁰

Potrebbe però esservi di più. Se infatti il legame del gallo col sole e con l'arrivo del giorno risulta evidente sia nelle fonti antiche che negli studi moderni, è altresì noto che in oriente questo animale veniva spesso posto in relazione con la luna; ben si conosce ad esempio la sua correlazione con Men, nume lunare e maschile, che spesso è raffigurato come un adolescente in groppa a un gallo di dimensioni mastodontiche. Infine, la stretta relazione che fin dall'arcaismo greco collega il gallo ai rituali di iniziazione maschile ed efebica assume forme metaforiche nell'ambito del culto misterico di Samotraccia, fino a fare dell'animale un vero e proprio simbolo del passaggio da una condizione all'altra dell'esistenza umana, come ben si vede nel

⁷⁸ È il caso, ad esempio, della vox ΘΟΥΠΙΒΗΑ di Michel 2001, 192–193, tav. 45 nr. 302 (CbD nr. 688), variante di quel Thouriél che compare in PGM IV 1814–1820 e che potrebbe riferirsi all'entità planetaria del cielo della Luna. Cf. anche Zwierlein-Diehl 2010, 854.

⁷⁹ Michel 2001, 192, tav. 45 nr. 301; SGG II 62–63, tav. XVII, nr. Fi 74; Zwierlein-Diehl 2010, 853, fig. 6. Su TAYAGE v. Zwierlein-Diehl 2010, 852–853: la vox potrebbe essere messa in relazione con il nome ταυα[v] di PGM XIXa.8, anch'esso parte di una estesa epiclesi al sommo dio solare.

⁸⁰ V. tra l'altro Ertl 2013–2014, 104, nt. 1.7.1.2.

celebre discorso pronunciato da Socrate in punto di morte,⁸¹ in cui il filosofo ritiene di dover sacrificare un gallo ad Asclepio che lo aveva guarito dal male di vivere.⁸²

La compresenza di questi significati, assieme a quelli provenienti dalla tradizione ebraico-cristiana, fa quindi pensare che il possessore abbia scelto l'immagine del gallo anguiforme come simbolo, dalle alte valenze misteriosofiche, dell'avvenuto passaggio dalla notte della non conoscenza al giorno dell'avvenuta iniziazione alle cose divine. Infine, sappiamo da Proclo⁸³ che il gallo, secondo le dottrine dei sapienti orientali,⁸⁴ aveva il potere di respingere il leone, e quindi di sottomettere gli dèi solari dal volto leonino; qualora anche questo significato fosse stato presente nella mente del committente, ciò costituirebbe un ulteriore *pendant* con l'immagine del leone schiacciato dal cavaliere che si vede al dritto, quasi a significare l'avvenuto superamento della furia senza controllo simboleggiata da questo animale, se non addirittura una contrapposizione a chi in quell'animale voleva riconoscersi.

Come già intui Tudor, è molto probabile che alcuni di questi manufatti fossero utilizzati dai fedeli nell'ambito del proprio percorso iniziatico, e ciò non impedisce di ritenere che si tratti, al pari delle laminette metalliche, di oggetti votivi;⁸⁵ infatti, molti degli amuleti riferibili ai culti misteriosofici celebrano, spesso senza ricorrere a messaggi scritti, il passaggio verso un determinato grado di iniziazione. Benché vi sia accordo unanime sul fatto che il culto danubiano abbia mutuato molti elementi sia dal mitraismo che dal culto di Cibele, il numero effettivo dei gradi iniziatici resta incerto, essendo esso ipotizzabile solo sulla base dell'esegesi iconologica; nella ricostruzione di Tudor si teorizza la presenza di tre gradi di iniziazione, il più alto dei quali sarebbe il corrispettivo diretto del mitraico *Leo*,⁸⁶ ma questa ipotesi è messa in dubbio da quanti ipotizzano la presenza di sette gradi,⁸⁷ alla stregua di ciò che accade nel mitraismo.

Alla luce di quanto si è detto, sembra più che lecito ipotizzare che il possessore della nostra gemma, con tutta probabilità non privo di dottrina, intendesse esprimere il proprio *status* di adepto di un culto misteriosofico che sappiamo ruotare intorno alle figure della grande dea lunare e dei suoi cavalieri; inoltre, nell'esprimere la sua religiosità, egli volle riferirsi a concetti appartenenti a quella *koiné* culturale che per convenzione oggi associamo alla magia di età imperiale. Questo perché,

⁸¹ Pl. *Phd.* 118. V. anche Stafford 2008, 210–211.

⁸² Tra l'altro la figura della divinità equestre trace, che ha molto in comune con quelle di cui ora si discute, fu oggetto di un processo di sincretismo che condusse alla sua assimilazione ad Asclepio (v. Dontcheva 2002).

⁸³ Proclo, in Psell. *Theologica* 51 (p. 197 Gautier, ed. Teubner; cf. Bidez, *Cat. des manusc. alchim. Grecs* 7.150). Cf. anche Mastrocinque 2003, 89–90, con nt. 280 e 281.

⁸⁴ V. anche Plin. *HN* 8,52; *Geoponica* 15,1.9.

⁸⁵ Sulle gemme votive v. Mastrocinque 2009.

⁸⁶ Non è forse un caso che ben tre gemme con divinità equestri danubiane rechino sul rovescio l'immagine di un leone: CMRED I 108–109, nrr. 191–192, tav. LXXXVII; SGG II 62–63, tav. XVII, nr. Fi 74.

⁸⁷ Zotović 1998, 1370, nt. 9.

evidentemente, nel momento storico in cui l'amuleto fu concepito, l'originario culto arcaico aveva da tempo perduto la sua forma primitiva, arricchendosi e mutando forma attraverso il contatto con il mitraismo e i culti misterici greci, non senza l'apporto della tradizione ebraico-cristiana e della filosofia ellenistica; ciò che sembra di vedere, al pari di quanto avviene nei diversi amuleti ascrivibili a questa serie, non è quindi una semplice giustapposizione, ma una vera e propria reinterpretazione che riflette aspetti reali del culto. Più che di mistione tra "pensiero magico" e culti misteriosofici, concetto questo che implicherebbe una dicotomia teoretica fra magia e religione nella quale fondamentalmente non si crede, si può piuttosto parlare di una forma di devozione che rinnova una tradizione antichissima contaminandola con elementi provenienti da un più esteso orizzonte culturale: in breve, nulla di diverso dal fenomeno convenzionalmente conosciuto come sincretismo.

La gemma fin qui osservata dunque, allo stesso modo degli esemplari simili, non deve essere trattata diversamente dagli altri documenti in nostro possesso per il fatto di presentare elementi che la tradizione accademica associa al contesto della magia ellenistico-romana, anche perché, come molti recenti studi vanno ora dimostrando,⁸⁸ il *discrimen* che differenzia una gemma incisa con soggetti a carattere religioso e un amuleto magico non è sempre così netto come spesso si è creduto.

Al contrario, questo intaglio può essere considerato significativo al pari di ogni altro manufatto al fine di comprendere questa silenziosa religione di cui nessuna fonte ci parla,⁸⁹ e anzi sono proprio i tentativi di interpretazione fatti dai devoti in età imperiale che possono rivelarci quegli aspetti che essi considerarono di maggiore importanza. Come del resto è evidente per il mitraismo, che trae origine dalla Persia ma si sviluppa nella forma in cui lo conosciamo nel mondo greco-romano per opera di filosofi-maghi fortemente ellenizzati, così dovremmo pensare che anche il culto delle divinità equestri danubiane, che vide i suoi albori in età arcaica lungo il corso del Danubio, possa essersi evoluto, attraverso l'esperienza di vita dei propri fedeli, nel contesto cosmopolita delle città dell'impero.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ In particolare, sul problema della definizione v. Nagy 2012, 87–106.

⁸⁹ A tale proposito, va detto che le gemme sono in quest'ambito un documento particolarmente "parlante", in quanto recano spesso iscrizioni, pur trattandosi in molti casi di formule magiche di senso non chiaro. Al contrario, le placchette plumbee sono quasi sempre prive di testi iscritti; fa eccezione l'esemplare descritto in Claus 2006.

⁹⁰ V. in proposito Zwierlein-Diehl 2010.

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Ethnicity and language

DILYANA BOTEVA

Society and Myths: How was the Name of Moesia Invented?

*To the loving memory of my mother,
Mariya St. Boteva (2.12.1926–13.12.2016),
a constant unconditional source of wisdom,
fortitude, inspiration, and support.*

The name of the Danubian province of Moesia is a puzzle and still in need of a plausible solution based on stable ancient evidence. The prevailing opinion is that it appeared after the name of a tribe (whose territory is located somewhere else)¹ which was conquered by Rome in the Danubian region.² Such a view is, however, not supported by the contemporary Roman literature, where military activities against the supposed *Moesians* are actually missing.³ One should additionally stress the fact that the ethnonym *Mysi/Moesians* remains unattested in the region under discussion also by the pre-Roman literary tradition. Campaigns against *Mysi/Moesians* in the Danube region are reported only by much later authors such as Appian in the 2nd century AD,⁴ Cassius Dio in the 3rd century,⁵ and Festus in the 4th century.⁶ This late evidence is not reliable when trying to find out what actually happened along the Lower Danube during the Roman conquest in the last decades of the 1st century BC.

On another occasion I have already offered a strict chronological synopsis of the ancient evidence dated within the period of the mid-1st century BC to the mid-1st century AD.⁷ This was in fact the crucial time for the Roman conquest of the region, where the province of Moesia was organized sometime between 27 BC and AD 15.⁸ Here, I am offering an extended version of the synopsis (Table 1), which clearly proves that Roman generals did not wage wars against any *Mysi/Moesians* in the area of the Lower Danube and never subdued a tribe there with such a name. The notion of *Mysi/Moesians* appears in the ancient literary tradition on the Lower Danubian region only after Augustus's death in August AD 14 and is reported by only three authors:

¹ See e.g. Šašel Kos 2005, 224–225, fig. 49 and 504, fig. 121.

² Mócsy 2014, 1–2, 17; Šašel Kos 2005, 502–504; Lica 2000, 53 (“the tribe of the *Moesians*”); Gerov 1988, 13; Šašel Kos 1986, 148; Danov 1979, 116–117; Papazoglu 1978, 391–416; Zlatkovskaya 1951, 7–8. See also Lica 2000, 48 with the literature in fn. 39.

³ Syme 1934, 122–123.

⁴ App. Ill. 1, 6; 5, 30 (*Mysi/Mysia*) — see Šašel Kos 2005, 58 and 78.

⁵ Cass. Dio 38, 10.3 (*Mysia*); 51, 23.3–27.3 (*Mysi/Mysia*).

⁶ Festus, Brev. 7, 5 (*Moesi*).

⁷ Boteva 2012.

⁸ Lica 2000, 147. See also Syme 1934, 123–124 with earlier literature.

Ovid in his “To Graecianus”⁹ dated to early AD 16 (Table 1, no. 15.5), Strabo in “Geography” book 7 composed most probably in late AD 17/early AD 18 (Table 1, no. 17),¹⁰ and Livy in his (summarized in the *Periocha*) book 134 (Table 1, no. 16.3), which is one of the books said to have been issued after Augustus’s death (*qui editus post excessum Augusti dicitur*¹¹). All three of these sources form a chronological ring, which appears after August AD 14 and includes the following three to four years. It is unclear when/how long an interest in the notion of the *Moesians*/Moesia became a question of current interest in the Roman society during this period. It did, however, disappear for a while and is missing in the writings dated to AD 30 as testified by Velleius’ text where no reference to *Moesians*/Moesia is to be found (Table 1, no. 18.1–4).

The available information indicates that although the territory in question came under Roman control already in around 8 BC,¹² the province of Moesia was established as an administrative unit with this debatable name only during the initial months of Tiberius’ rule, in any case prior to the early AD 16, as Ovid’s “To Graecianus” testifies (Table 1, no. 15.5). The debatable nature of the name *Moesians*/Moesia in connection with the Lower Danubian region at that time is attested by Strabo who emotionally defends — obviously as a part of a current public debate — the existence of the “*Mysians* (sic) in Thrace” though using illogical and controversial arguments. Only as such can one understand Strabo’s attempt to convince that there were “*Mysians* (sic) in Thrace” by reporting that “in our own times Aelius Catus transplanted from the country on the far side of the Istros into Thrace fifty thousand persons from among the Getae” who “live there in Thrace now and are called *Moesians* (sic)”.¹³ As a matter of fact, the information given by Strabo and quoted above proves that the so called “*Moesians* in Thrace” were a relatively new construct which postdated the presence of Aelius Catus in the region and the latter’s activity on transplanting fifty thousand Getae “from the country on the far side of the Istros into Thrace”, dated to “either earlier or later than AD 4”.¹⁴ A further proof that these *Moesians* were a late construct is the complete lack of references in Strabo’s “Geography” to historical events connected with them in contrast to the *Getae* and the *Triballi*, who must have been neighbours of the *Moesians* if Strabo is correct. Very indicative is also the spelling *Moesi*: Ovid was obviously not aware of it; Strabo is aware of the spelling and repeatedly uses the traditional spelling *Mysoi* in connection with the Lower Danubian region, a spelling which actually connects the ethnonym with Asia Minor. The new spelling appears in Livy’s *Periocha* of book 134 but this might be due to the 4th century A.D. author for whom the spelling *Moesians*/Moesia was already firmly

⁹ Ov. Pont. IV 9.

¹⁰ Potheary 2002, 401–402 with fn. 45.

¹¹ See Hirst 1926, 138–139; Syme 1959, 38–41.

¹² Eck 2010, 30.

¹³ Strabo VII 3.10. English translation by H. L. Jones — cf. Jones 1924, 209.

¹⁴ Oliver 1965, 52. See also Bowman 1996, 350; Syme 1934, 126–128, 130–131.

fixed. Most significantly, even the 2nd century Appian and the 3rd century Cassius Dio are speaking about *Mysi* when referring to the region along the Danube;¹⁵ it is again an author of the 4th century — Festus — who spells the respective ethnonym as *Moesi*.¹⁶

* * *

The obvious discrepancy between the ethnonymic reality to the south of the Lower Danube prior to the Roman conquest and the toponymic picture created by Rome after the establishment of the province of Moesia was noticed long ago.¹⁷ However, the reason for this discrepancy is still unclear despite the long lasting discussion of the issue. While most of the researchers neglected the facts and insist on a presence of a Thracian tribe named *Mysians/Moesians* in the region here under discussion, an attempt at explaining the actual case has also been made.¹⁸ However, it is not logical why the Romans chose to connect precisely the discussed ethnonym with the lands situated to the north of the province of Macedonia.

The strict chronological synopsis of the contemporary information (Table 1) could, in my opinion, help find a plausible solution as it shows not only when the name of the *Mysians/Moesians* appeared in the region. Thanks to this synopsis it becomes also evident that a local ethnonym surprisingly disappeared despite being widely popular in the ancient writings (including those reporting the military operations of the provincial governors of Macedonia during the first half of the 1st century BC and shortly after the mid-1st century BC). I am speaking about the *Dardani*, whose name has gone through a dramatic metamorphosis in the Roman literature: up to the mid-1st century BC they are known mostly as antagonists of the Roman army (Table 1, nos. 3, 4, 8.4 and 8.5). The very last military confrontation between Roman soldiers and the Dardanians dates to ca. 39 BC. According to the much later Appian. He reports that Mark Antony, intended to pass the winter by himself in Athens but “desiring to enrich as well as to exercise the soldiers, who were to go with him into winter quarters”, sent some of them against the *Partheni* (the Illyrian tribe near Epidamnus), and “others against the *Dardani*, another Illyrian tribe, who were forever making incursions into Macedonia”.¹⁹

At a certain point the ethnonym of the *Dardani* vanished from the contemporary literature of the late 1st century BC. After a short hiatus it re-appeared in the texts of Roman intellectuals as a synonym for Trojans and accordingly as an element of the Roman genealogy which starts with the Trojan Aeneas. The earliest attested mention of the *Dardani* as a synonym for Trojans is in *Carmina* of Horace, book 1, where the

¹⁵ See footnotes 4 and 5 above.

¹⁶ See footnote 6 above.

¹⁷ Syme 1934, 122–123.

¹⁸ Tacheva 2005.

¹⁹ App. B. Civ. V 75. English translation by Horace White — cf. White 1913, 507. See also Wilkes 2006, 549.

poet, quoting the prophecy of Nereus on Troy's fate, speaks about *Dardanae gens*.²⁰ The text is supposed to have been created in ca. 26 BC;²¹ an alternative date of this evidence is 23 BC, when the first three books of the *Carmina* were published together.²² Almost synchronous is another Roman writing — Ovid's *Heroides* — in which the city and the people of Troy are identified several times with the *ethnikon* Dardanian; the earliest supposed dating of this text is within the period 25–16 BC.²³ The narration that firmly fixed the idea of the Trojan, respectively the Dardanian, origin of the Romans is Virgil's unfinished *Aeneid*, published post-mortem in 19 BC.²⁴ As is well known, this epic was created following a personal order of Augustus.²⁵ Due to the *Aeneid*, the glorious summit of the Roman literature, speaking about the *Dardani* as Roman antagonists turned to be unthinkable at least until the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty in AD 68.

If this reasoning is correct, it allows a very important conclusion concerning the dating of Livy's tenth decade. It includes, as attested by the *Periochae*, at least two accounts of the military “campaigns waged by proconsul Curio in Thrace against the *Dardani*”. One of these reports is in book 92 with events dated to 76–75 BC and the second one — in book 95 with events of 73 BC, when “in Thrace proconsul Gaius Curio subdued the *Dardani*”. Accordingly, Livy must have finished the work on his books 92 and 95 — surprisingly but still undoubtedly — prior to 19 BC, when due to the *Aeneid* the Dardanians were codified as Roman predecessors. The lack of any connection between Aeneas, Troy, and the Dardanians in *Ab Urbe Condita Libri* is noteworthy which could explain Livy's repeated information about Roman campaigns against the *Dardani* “in Thracia”. One further conclusion appears here: this lack of connection between Aeneas, Troy, and the Dardanians in Livy's text testifies that in the Latin speaking world the synonymy Trojans/Dardanians was introduced relatively late, despite its explicit presence already in the *Iliad*.²⁶

In this context a further source is of a considerable importance as it introduces the Samothracian story about Dardanus, a son of Zeus and Electra. Namely, he “was the first to make his way across to Asia (...), founded at the outset a city called Dardanus, organized the kingdom which lay about the city which was called Troy at a later time, and called the peoples Dardanians after himself. ... the *Dardani* who dwell beyond Thrace were colonists sent forth by him”.²⁷ The quotation is from the “Historical Library” of Diodorus Siculus supposedly created after 36 BC but certainly prior to 30 BC,²⁸ i.e. it predates the first book of *Carmina* of Horace by just a couple of years.

²⁰ Hor. Carm. I. XV. 10.

²¹ Hutchinson 2002, 523, 528.

²² Hutchinson 2002, 528.

²³ Syme 1978, 7 with fn. 5.

²⁴ Rose 2005, 23; see also Avery 1957, 226.

²⁵ Avery 1957, 227.

²⁶ Hom. Il. XX 215–218; XX 304–306.

²⁷ Diod. V 48, 3. English translation by C. H. Oldfather — cf. Oldfather 1939, 231–233.

²⁸ Oldfather 1933, pp. ix–x.

Because of this it would be highly possible that precisely the text of Diodorus contributed decisively to the change of the public speaking in Rome on the ethnonymic situation in the central part of the Balkan Peninsula where the Roman legions had been fighting the *Dardani* for several decades in the first half of the 1st century BC.

Rome's unwillingness to speak about the Balkan *Dardani* as Roman enemies is attested for the time postdating 19 BC (but most probably actually predating 19 BC by several years), needed an adequate substitute for the politically unfitting ethnonym. In my opinion the choice fell on the *Mysi/Moesi* and on the toponym Mysia/Moesia due to the topographic situation in NW Asia Minor which was a key territory for the Roman genealogy. It is well known that ancient Troy was situated exactly in that location. The respective region was known as Troad, and was neighboured by, or even located in, the area called Mysia.²⁹ There the Trojans, referred to also as *Dardani*, were neighbours of the *Mysi*. Thus, in my opinion, the name Mysia/Moesia appeared in the Lower Danubian region most probably as a result of the myths, introduced dominantly into the Roman society under Augustus due to his personal persistent involvement in imposing the myth of Aeneas as an ancestor of the Romans.

In this context it is necessary to try to find out who and when substituted the troubled ethnonym of the Balkan *Dardani* with the *Mysi/Moesi*. The chronological synopsis of the ancient evidence from the period of mid-1st century BC to mid-1st century AD shows convincingly that this was an initiative of the emperor Tiberius realized in the months (maximum the year) that followed Augustus's death. Tiberius' engagement with this case is logical as he was in fact the Roman military commander with the longest presence in the Balkan Danubian region, and with significant contribution to the Roman conquest of the northwestern part of the Balkan Peninsula. Undoubtedly, the military successes of the future *Augustus* in the region in question brought the need of a politically correct name for the newly conquered territory, including the land of the *Dardani*, "who were forever making incursions into Macedonia" as stated by Appian.³⁰ It seems that for around two to three decades the troubled ethnonym of the Balkan *Dardani* was "covered" under the names of the neighbouring tribes. Despite this, the remembrance of the confrontation between them and the Roman Republic during the 1st century BC was persistent in the Roman tradition in the centuries to come as clearly seen by Appian's statement cited above.

The decision — made almost certainly by Tiberius, — to label the lands of the Balkan *Dardani* with the name Mysia/Moesia could be explained by the fact that the legendary *Dardani* were connected with Troas in Mysia in Asia Minor which was part of the eastern territories ruled or dominated by Rome; the same was true also for the Balkan *Dardani* who occupied lands lying relatively close to Asia Minor. Obviously, the orthographic differentiation between Mysia in Asia Minor and Moesia to the north

²⁹ Mela I 90; Plin. NH V 32–33. See also Ruge 1939, 526–527 and Schmitz 1857, 389 with the relevant sources. On Mysia without explicit reference to Troas see Schwertheim 2000. Earlier literature on Mysia and Troas is summarized by Pekáry 1980, 613–617.

³⁰ App. B. Civ. V 75. English translation by Horace White — cf. White 1913, 507.

of Macedonia on the Balkan Peninsula came later as clearly indicated by Ovid (Table 1, no. 15.5), and by the lack of consistency in the way Strabo refers to the Danubian province (Table 1, no. 17). The difference in the orthography between the names of the two regions, attested by some sources (but not kept strictly by all of them!) is of course a problem of high importance. Its explanation could be of help when searching for pros and cons for the idea reasoned here above. Here below I am offering — with deepest gratitude — the view of the highly esteemed expert in Latin, emer. Prof. Dr. Ekkehard Weber (University of Vienna), who sent it to me in a personal letter dated to November 16th, 2015:

“The problem is as far as I see not so difficult to explain. Greek Y was reproduced in Latin by V (U), until the times of Augustus, cf. e.g. CIL VI 701 and 702 = 30815, Dessau 91 (AEGVPTO, 9 BC), until they (I think the grammarian Verrius Flaccus) added the letters Y and Z to the Latin alphabet. Even the coin struck after the defeat of Egypt has the name of the country this way, RIC I(2) 138.

On the other hand, in a certain period (first half of 1st century BC) in official texts the long vowel U was written OE (*coeravit* instead of *curavit*), e.g. CIL I 751 = VI 1305 (p. 4676, 4771), Dessau 5892, about 62 BC. Easily to understand, in Augustan times, when they took a people’s name of an archaic, mythologic origin (to avoid the hostile *Dardani*), they wrote it in this somewhat obsolete way. Later on, the name was pronounced according to writing (even *Mesi*), and the connection to the *Mysi* got lost.”

This explanation of the orthography of the name *Mysi/Moesi* is clear enough to not need further comment. I dare see it as firm support in favour of the hypothesis here presented. Thus, one further step of high importance seems possible: If my conjecture concerning the mechanism of the appearance of the toponym Moesia in the Balkan milieu is correct, it could point at a more precise answer to the question of the initial territory of the province of Moesia. As is well known, there is a heated debate on this problem with three main opinions presented so far. According to some researchers following its establishment, the province of Moesia reached westwards of the Morava River and eastwards — the rivers Osăm and Vit (*Asamus* and *Utus*),³¹ i.e. it occupied the western part of the later Lower Moesia and the eastern part of the later Upper Moesia; others insist that “originally Moesia contained only what would later be broadly referred to as Moesia Superior”.³² There is also a third possibility argued in the modern literature, namely that the early province of Moesia “auf den östlichen Teil des späteren Mösien (...) begrenzt war; die Westgrenze von Mösien könnte am Timok-Fluß gesucht werden”;³³ i.e. mainly Moesia Inferior and only the eastern most part of Moesia Superior.

Now, having in mind all the above said, I am inclined to insist that the Romans introduced the name of Mysia/Moesia into the Balkans initially in order to define the

³¹ Most recently this opinion was presented by Ivanov 1999, 478 with literature.

³² Lica 2000, 147.

³³ Mirković 2008, 258.

territory of the Dardanians (who were the immediate northern neighbours of the province of Macedonia), and the adjacent lands to the north as far as the Danube (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1

This would mean that the initial territory of the province of Moesia coincided more or less with the later Moesia Superior as some researchers have already insisted. If this conjecture is correct, it would help find a meaningful explanation for the evidence handed down to us by Claudius Ptolemy, who speaks about “Ratiaria of the *Mysi*”.³⁴ Though it might sound surprising, I would not be at all surprised if it comes out that namely Ratiaria was chosen to function as the seat of the provincial governor of the newly established province of Mysia/Moesia.

To summarize: A strict chronological synopsis of the contemporary information indicates that the name Moesia appeared most probably as a result of the myths, advertised persistently within the Roman society under Augustus. The need to choose an acceptable name for the region in question was actually faced by Tiberius, who had to

³⁴ Ptol. Geog. III 9, 4 — cf. Nobbe 1843, 181. Ptolemy’s “Oescus of the Triballi” (Ptol. Geog. III 10, 10 — cf. Nobbe 1843, 185) seems to be easier for understanding the ancient evidence about the tribes along the Lower Danube and especially in the ancient literary tradition about the tribal territory of the Triballi.

find out how to cover the politically incorrect ethnonym of the *Dardani*, who were both a traditional enemy of the Roman governors of Macedonia in the Balkan-Danubian region, but also considered to be identical with the Trojans, the Roman predecessors in Asia Minor. Thus, emperor Tiberius introduced on the Balkans a toponym from northwestern Asia Minor, Mysia/Moesia, first attested in the Lower Danubian lands only in early AD 16. Accordingly, the initial territory of the province of Moesia covered the lands of the Balkan *Dardani* and the adjacent region to the north as far as the Danube. Most probably the seat of the provincial governors of the early province was situated in Ratiaria.

Table 1: Synopsis of the contemporary written evidence on the ethnonymic situation in Thrace and on the Lower Danube during the period of mid-1st century BC to mid-1st century AD.

No.	Date of the composing of the respective evidence	Evidence	Ethnonyms/Toponyms
1.	55 BC	Cic. Pis. 34.84	<i>Bessi</i> <i>Denseletae</i>
2.	49 BC	Cic. Att. IX 10.3	<i>Getae</i>
<u>3.</u>	48–47 BC	Caes. BCiv. III 4.5–6	<u><i>Dardani</i></u> <i>Bessi</i>
<u>4.</u>	ca. 39 – ca. 35 BC	Sall. Hist. II 60 [2.80]	<u><i>Dardania</i></u>
5.	early 24 BC	Hor. Carm. II 16.5	<i>Thracia</i>
6.	early 23 BC	Hor. Carm. III 8.18	<i>Daci</i>
7.	between May/June 19 BC and 26 th June 18 BC / 25 th June 17 BC	Fasti Triumphales	<i>ex Thraecia et Geteis</i>
8.1.	prior to 19 BC [?/ 4 th CAD]	Livy, Per. 81.3	<i>Thracians</i>
8.2.	prior to 19 BC [?/ 4 th CAD]	Livy, Per. 82.5	<i>Thracians</i>
8.3.	prior to 19 BC [?/ 4 th CAD]	Livy, Per. 83.3	<i>Thracians</i>
<u>8.4.</u>	prior to 19 BC [?/ 4 th CAD]	Livy, Per. 92.4	<u><i>Dardani</i></u> <i>Thracia</i>
<u>8.5.</u>	prior to 19 BC [?/ 4 th CAD]	Livy, Per. 95.1	<u><i>Dardani</i></u> <i>Thracia</i>
8.6.	probably prior to 19 BC [?/ 4 th CAD]	Livy, Per. 97.4	<i>Thracians</i>
8.7.	ca. 20 BC / ca. AD 10 [?/ 4 th CAD]	Livy, Per. 103.8	<i>Thracia</i>
9.1.	ca. 9 BC – Aug. AD 14	Res Gestae Divi Augusti, 28	<i>Macedonia</i>
9.2.	ca. 9 BC – Aug. AD 14	Res Gestae Divi Augusti, 29	<i>Dalmatae</i>
9.3.	ca. 9 BC – Aug. AD 14	Res Gestae Divi Augusti, 30	<i>Pannoniorum gentes</i> <i>Illyricum</i> <i>Daci / Dacorum gentes</i>
9.4.	ca. 9 BC – Aug. AD 14	Res Gestae Divi Augusti, 31	<i>Bastarnae</i> <i>Scythians</i> <i>Sarmatians</i>

10.1.	AD 9	Ov. Tr. II 198	<i>Basternae</i> <i>Sauromatae</i>
10.2.	AD 9	Ov. Tr. II 225–226	<i>Pannonia</i> <i>Illyria</i> <i>Raetia</i> <i>Thracia</i>
11.1.	AD 9–10	Ov. Tr. III 10	<i>Bessi</i> <i>Getae</i> <i>Sauromatae</i>
11.2.	AD 9–10	Ov. Tr. III 14	<i>Threicia sic</i> <i>Scythia</i> <i>Getae</i>
12.1.	AD 10–11	Ov. Tr. IV 1	<i>Bessi</i> , <i>Getae</i> , <i>Sarmatians</i>
12.2.	AD 10–11	Ov. Tr. IV 6	<i>Scythians</i> <i>Getae</i>
12.3.	AD 10–11	Ov. Tr. IV 10	<i>Sarmatians</i> <i>Getae</i>
12.4.	AD 11–12	Ov. Tr. V 3	<i>Getae</i>
12.5.	AD 11–12	Ov. Tr. V 7	<i>Getae</i> <i>Sarmatians</i>
13.1.	AD 12–13	Ov. Pont. I 2	<i>Getae</i> <i>Sarmatians</i> <i>Iazyges</i> <i>Bistoni</i>
13.2.	AD 12–13	Ov. Pont. I 3	<i>Bistoni</i> <i>Sarmatians</i>
13.3.	AD 12–13	Ov. Pont. I 7	<i>Getae</i> <i>Scythians</i>
13.4.	AD 12–13	Ov. Pont. I 8	<i>Getae</i> <i>Odrysians</i>
14.1.	AD 12–13	Ov. Pont. II 1	<i>Getae</i>
14.2.	AD 12–13	Ov. Pont. II 2	<i>Getae</i> <i>Paeonia =Pannonia</i> <i>Dalmatia</i> <i>Illyria</i>
14.3.	AD 12–13	Ov. Pont. II 7	<i>Getae</i>
14.4.	AD 12–13	Ov. Pont. II 8	<i>Coralli</i> <i>Getae</i>
15.1.	AD 13–16	Ov. Pont. IV 2	<i>Getae</i> <i>Coralli</i>
15.2.	AD 13–16	Ov. Pont. IV 7	<i>Iazyges</i> <i>Getae</i> <i>Sithoni</i>
15.3.	AD 13–16	Ov. Pont. IV 8	<i>Coralli</i> <i>Getae</i>
15.4.	AD 14	Ov. Pont. IV 5	<i>Bistoni</i>

15.5.	summer 14 – winter 14/15	Ov. Pont. IV 10	<i>Cimmerians</i> <i>Getae</i>
15.5.	early AD 16	Ov. Pont. IV 9.77	<i>Mysiae gentes</i>
16.1.	after August AD 14 – /?/ 17 [/?/ 4 th CAD]	Livy, Per. 122.1	<i>Thracians</i>
16.2.	after August AD 14 – /?/ 17 [/?/ 4 th CAD]	Livy, Per. 132.1	<i>Dalmatians in Illyricum</i>
16.3.	after August AD 14 – /?/ 17 [/?/ 4 th CAD]	Livy, Per. 134.8	<i>Moesi</i> <i>Bastarnae</i>
17.	late AD 17 – early AD 18	Strabo 7.3; 7.5.	<i>Mysoi/Moisoi</i> <i>Getai</i> <i>Daci</i> <i>Thracians</i> <i>Iazygian Sarmatians</i> <i>Illyri</i> <i>Scordisci</i> <i>Dalmatians</i> <i>Coralloi</i> <i>Bessoi</i> <i>Medi</i> <i>Dantheletae</i>
18.1.	AD 30	Vell. Pat. II 39.3	<i>Pannonia</i> <i>Scordisci</i>
18.2.	AD 30	Vell. Pat. II 59.4	<i>Getae</i>
18.3.	AD 30	Vell. Pat. II 78.2	<i>Illyricum</i> <i>Delmatia</i>
18.4.	AD 30	Vell. Pat. II 98	<i>Thracia</i>

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JOHN WILKES

Bilingual and Mixed-Language Epitaphs from the Greek and Roman Balkans

Plates 74–80

The harvest of Greek and Latin inscriptions, now systematically collected and published for more than a century, has illuminated almost every facet of life in the ancient Greek and Roman World. Surviving texts include inscribed public enactments, religious dedications and personal memorials but also many inscriptions on portable objects used in daily life (*instrumenta*). These contemporary records have proved to be of special value in the Central and Eastern Balkans (the early Roman imperial provinces of Epirus, Macedonia, Thracia, Moesia Inferior and Superior) across which ran a boundary zone between the Latin-speaking West and the Greek East, between the southern Adriatic and the Black Sea Danube Delta. The notion of a ‘language frontier’ (‘Sprachgrenze’) was first outlined by Constantin Jireček in 1902, and from time to time has been referred to as the ‘Jireček Line’.¹ More recently, the line, or rather a zone of division, has been traced on the ground with references to the local epigraphic evidence by the Bulgarian scholar Boris Gerov, and appears to coincide more or less with the provincial boundary between, on the one hand, Epirus, Macedonia and Thracia, and, on the other, Moesia Inferior and Moesia Superior (Pl. 74, Fig. 1)².

Here three examples, chosen at random, can serve to illustrate the continuity of Latin in the Lower Danube region: the epitaph of the freedman of a legionary centurion at Oescus, probably from the early first century AD (Pl. 74, Fig. 2; Appendix no. 34); a monument at Philippopolis to Basiliscus, consul in AD 471 and brother-in-law of the emperor Zeno, inscribed above an earlier Greek civic text (Pl. 75, Fig. 3; Appendix no. 27); a gate lintel from Ratiaria on the Danube inscribed with the title of the early Byzantine emperor Anastasius (Pl. 75, Fig. 4; Appendix no. 51)

There are Latin texts of all categories and dates recorded from the ‘Greek zone’ of the Balkans, but many fewer Greek from the ‘Latin zone’. In the former there is evidence that in some locations Greek and Latin existed side by side but the nature of any social or political divide this might reflect remains problematic. One example is the continuing use of Greek and Latin at Dyrrachium on the Adriatic by what appear to be separate communities, Greek by the existing Greco-Illyrian and Latin by the Roman

¹ Jireček 1902, 13.

² Gerov 1980.

settlers, following the imposition of a Roman military colony after Actium³. Yet this use of the two languages together in the same context remains an exception. Here the evidence of epitaphs may prove instructive, where the presence of the two languages, either in parallel or in combination, is ostensibly the result of personal or family choice, including testamentary instruction. In a register of around sixty-five epitaphs (noted in the Appendix) where Greek and Latin are in one fashion or another combined, the majority of texts occur in the 'Greek' zone (Epirus 2, Macedonia 18, Thrace 12 and Moesia Inferior 8). Few of these come from places where there was a significant Roman colonial implant, although some appear in Greek-speaking communities where a Roman provincial administration was based, for example Perinthus in Thrace (Appendix nos. 30–33). Within Moesia Inferior along the Lower Danube only four examples are recorded from the 'Latin' zone, while six appear in the ancient Greek cities on the Black Sea coast, that were also included in the province, and most of these are from Tomi (Appendix nos. 41–46), seat of the Roman imperial administration.

Turning now to the texts themselves there are a number of early bilingual epitaphs in the Greek zone where the Latin text appears to be secondary to the Greek, on a memorial stele that is otherwise thoroughly Greek. Around a dozen can be placed in this category and, where enough of the text survives, it seems that the majority of the deceased were freedmen and date from the first centuries BC and AD, for example the two fine monumental stelai at Thessalonica (Pl. 76, Figs. 5 & 6; Appendix nos. 11 & 12). Given the fashion of the time for brevity in the epitaph, there seem no obvious grounds for the bilingual choice. One possibility may relate to the legal status of the deceased, from whom the next generation may claim full Roman citizenship, then still a privileged status that would in due course have to be registered with the Roman authorities in the province. It may be that in these cases the recording of the name in Latin was legally significant, even though the entire world of the family was Greek.

A second group exhibits what may be termed a functional mixture of the two languages, for example at Odessos (Pl. 77, Fig. 7; Appendix no. 39), where a Latin epitaph, by an imperial official for his deceased spouse, in a Greek-speaking community has the warning against violation of the tomb inscribed in Greek, for which fines of 2500 denarii, payable to both the imperial treasury and to the city of Odessos, would be incurred. For the latter such fines appear to have been a significant element in municipal finances. Similar injunctions appear on monuments to officials in the provincial centres Perinthus and Tomi, noted above. The small number of bilingual epitaphs on memorials to Roman military personnel at the same places dating from the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD may also be explained by the need for a formal record in Latin of military service, where that might carry financial privileges, along with family's desire for a memorial that was also locally intelligible.

Returning to the Greek zone, two early epitaphs of soldiers in the northwest of Upper Macedonia are fully bilingual. The imposing monument at Stobi for Sentius

³ Wilkes 2004.

Saturninus, veteran of the *legio III Scythica*, and for his son of the same name serving in the praetorian guard at Rome (Pl. 77, Fig. 8; Appendix no. 15), is the earliest known record of the Sentii, a leading family in Stobi, the ancient capital of Paeonia and a Roman municipium of the early empire⁴. Since the legion had left the Danube for the East by the middle years of Nero, the epitaph can hardly be later than the third quarter of the 1st century AD. The monument was evidently designed locally by the family since a formal military record would normally include filiation, voting-tribe and, when appropriate, his origin. Sentius senior may have been recruited from Italy to the legion, originally an Antonian formation and stationed in the Balkans probably from 30 BC, and could possibly have been one of the Antonian soldiers ejected from their lands in Italy by Augustus and allowed to settle in Macedonia. If, as is more likely, the service of Sentius was later then he may have been recruited from a family already settled in Stobi. In this case his son's recruitment to the guard in Rome, at this period drawn exclusively from Italy, may be explained by Stobi's enjoyment of the Italian Right (*ius Italicum*), a privilege that seems to have been granted to places in Macedonia where Antonian veterans had been compulsorily relocated⁵.

The second bilingual monument from Upper Macedonia is that of the serving auxiliary soldier T. Flavius Capiton erected by his freedman Flavius Hermas (Pl. 78, Fig. 9; Appendix no. 14). The memorial is entirely Greek in character, is dated to AD 112/113 by the provincial era (in Greek only) and bears the familiar funerary relief of the Thracian Horseman. By this date service in a Spanish regiment is no guide to origin and he could conceivably be a local recruit but a stronger possibility is a military context. In the period of Trajan's conquest of Dacia auxiliary units are known to have been stationed in Macedonia, in this instance probably nearby at Stobi, where a local workshop could have produced a memorial in the local tradition for a soldier who had died at the age of twenty-five after only two years' service.

From around the same era two monuments record Thracians, of apparently noble origin, already advancing through military service in the equestrian order. At Perinthus T. Flavius Mikkalus, son of Mikkalus, of the voting-tribe Quirina, is recorded in a Greek epitaph as having held local civic offices and to be advancing in the Roman equestrian military career, including a legionary tribunate (Appendix no. 30). The ornate relief on the façade evidently dates the monument to late in the 1st century AD, while a Latin text, rather awkwardly inscribed on the geison of the upper moulding, records that the monument was erected by Claudia Mac[...], presumably his widow, in accordance with the terms of his will⁶. Both texts are too fragmentary to allow conjecture regarding the mixture of languages but some legal consideration relating to the will may be the explanation.

⁴ Wiseman 1984.

⁵ On the Augustan re-settlement of Antonian veterans in Macedonia see Cass. Dio LI 4.6; a citation in the Digest (L.xv.8.8) of the jurist Paulus lists the Roman colonial settlements in Macedonia with *Ius Italicum*: *in provincia Macedonia Dyrracheni, Cassandrenses, Philippenses, Dienses, Stobenses iuris Italici sunt*.

⁶ For an account of this monument see Kramer 1994.

The other record of a Thracian of a high social status is the bilingual epitaph inscribed on a marble plaque from the vicinity of Heraclea (modern Bitola) but which is now lost (Appendix no. 13). Both texts record that Iulius Teres, formerly centurion in a cohort of Bessi, created this for himself while still living, for his spouse Valeria Artemis, his son Iulius Iulianus, a Roman equestrian, and for his daughter Iulia Artemis. The inscription was dated, by those who recorded it in the 1970s, to the first half of the 2nd century AD. The name Teres has royal Thracian associations, while other records of probable members of the same family in Philippi indicate that by a generation later they had already advanced to membership the Roman Senate⁷. In both cases this progression of the possible descendants of a Hellenistic dynasty into the imperial hierarchy was recorded in their traditional Greek but in the case of the centurion Iulius Teres a secondary version was added in Latin.

No such pattern can be detected for the three other bilingual epitaphs for military personnel in the region. In Thrace the tradition of tumulus burial continued into the Roman era, often now with a monument portal framing the entrance to the burial chamber. At Kabyle in northern Thrace in the 3rd century the veteran centurion C. Avillius Valens records on the monumental entrance that he had created the tumulus for himself and for his wife Satria Marcia (Appendix no. 23). The Latin version of the epitaph of a cavalryman erected by a soldier from a different unit in northern Thrace (Appendix no. 24) may have been required under the terms of his will. The serving member of the praetorian guard who died in western Thrace near the Balkan Highway during the reign of Caracalla (Appendix no. 29) may have been a member of the force escorting the emperor on his journey to the East through the area in AD 214. In one case is there an obvious reason for a private bilingual epitaph. In the Latin zone close to the Danube we learn, though only from the Greek text, that the deceased Agathodorus came from Nicaea in Bithynia (Appendix no. 36).

Thus, except for those cases where the use of Greek has a functional role, as in the case of recording the municipal fine for tomb violation in Greek, the Latin version on a bilingual monument appears to have been secondary to the Greek, and there is not one example where the reverse can be shown to be the case. Away from the coasts, where the long-established Greek cities retained their cultural dominance, the epigraphic habit only spread to inland Thrace after the 2nd century AD. Then the Greek on inscriptions that became widespread emanated from the dozen or so cities organized on Greek lines by the emperor Trajan.

It appears that texts in Latin could be inscribed to a satisfactory standard throughout the Greek zone in almost all the major centres. An exception may have been in the extensive territory of the colony of Philippi, in the area between the rivers Strymon and Nestus. Here the use of Latin spread among the Thracian villages around the plain of Drama, most likely through military service, and continued in use, while in historic

⁷ At Philippi C. Iulius Teres was responsible for the honorific monument to his brother Mucianus, promoted to the Roman Senate under Antoninus Pius, Pilhofer (see Abbreviations) 240 (AÉ 1939, 184).

Macedonia the Latin of the other Roman colonial settlements gradually faded. Yet around Philippi while Latin continued to be spoken, it seems that in some places the production of Latin texts was disappearing from the epigraphic habit. Such a conclusion may be drawn from the two examples where Latin epitaphs were inscribed in Greek characters (Pl. 78, Fig. 10; Appendix nos. 17 & 18). A comparable but somewhat puzzling example of the same phenomenon comes from Senia on the Dalmatia coast of the northern Adriatic. Here the Latin epitaph of Aurelius Dionysius from Judaea is rendered literally in Greek characters, in which he proudly claims that he possesses the right of a father of three children (Pl. 78, Fig. 11; Appendix no. 68).

The production of good quality inscribed Latin was either an acquired facility in the workshops of major Greek cities or else was confined to the military and colonial workshops in the frontier regions, sustained by the needs of the state and the soldiers' burial associations. When a Latin community developed away from these two environments the epigraphic habit is much less in evidence, if indeed it was ever there at all, and when it does appear the result are far from impressive, even in the major settlements. Late in the 1st century AD a colony of Roman veterans was settled in Moesia Superior at Scupi (*Skopje*) in Dardania. Its extensive territory included the upper basin of the river Vardar (ancient Axios) and the southern border formed the provincial boundary with Macedonia. In the 4th century AD it was the principal city in the province of Dardania and the seat of a bishop⁸.

Around two hundred inscribed stones are known from the city and its territory, of which a significant proportion belong to the settler families and their descendants who dwelt in the surrounding villages. Catalogues (*laterculi*) of discharged soldiers from the frontier camps show that the city was the origin of many recruits to the Danube legions⁹. Yet than standard of epigraphy in Scupi can only be described as abysmal, a situation highlighted by András Mócsy in his 1970 study of the population and society of the province¹⁰. A lack of marble or high quality limestone may be a part of the explanation but cannot account for the examples of confusion and muddle that appear in the inscribed texts.

Thus, the epitaph of Ulpia Domitia begins with the familiar Latin formula *D(is) m(anibus)* but continues in Greek only to return later to Latin but in Greek characters (Appendix no. 62). The fine stele of P. Aelius Posidonius, who died having lived sixteen years, nine months and nine days, was erected by his grandmother Antonia Saturnina (Pl. 79, Fig. 12; Appendix no. 56). An ornate border and a Thracian horseman relief enclose an epitaph that was carved by a hand clearly more at ease with Greek than Latin. In the small space below the last line are added, though by a different hand, three lines in Greek from Menander's 'Double Deceiver', 'Those whom the gods love die

⁸ On the history and territory of the colony of Scupi, see B. Dragojević-Josifovska, *IMS VI* (see Appendix abbreviations), p. 20–40.

⁹ A register of legionaries of *legio VII Claudia* at Viminacium, recruited in AD 169 and discharged in 195, records Scupi as the origin of 33 out of a total of 120, *CIL III* 14507 and p. 2328.

¹⁰ See the discussion in Mócsy 1970, 221–223.

young'. While the execution of this monument, probably around the middle of the 2nd century AD, was at least satisfactory, the same cannot be said for a monument that must have been created at least a century earlier.

The stele bears a military epitaph, with full style of nomenclature and details of service copied from the official record, and records L. Valerius Luci filius Galenus of the voting-tribe Galeria whose origin was Lucus Augusti (Lugo) in northwest Spain (Pl. 79, Fig. 13; Appendix no. 54). A veteran of the *legio IIII Macedonica*, he lived 55 years and served 28 years, and the monument was erected by his (unnamed) heir. The legion, named after early service in Macedonia, was stationed in Spain until AD 43 but was disbanded in AD 69 following the civil war and reformed as *IIII Flavia felix*¹¹. The monument cannot be later than the early Flavian era and Valerius may have been an original settler of the colony. Yet the contrast between the precise record in the epitaph and the execution on the stone is striking. Perhaps he was an outcast among the dominant group of veterans from *legio VII Claudia*, the Moesian legion that was in the forefront of the Flavian victory over the army of Vitellius at Cremona in AD 69 that included at least some of *legio IIII Macedonica*. This is speculation but the state of the stele remains a fact, testimony that the epigraphic deficiency at Scupi was not a product of later decline but already a fact at the time of its foundation.

We may conclude this brief survey below Mount Olympus, where Dium was a major Macedonian settlement and later a flourishing Roman colony, from which a few Latin texts, along with many more in Greek, are recorded. The sole example of an epitaph with a mixture of the two on the same stone, assigned to the first half of the 2nd century AD, has some unusual features. The funeral altar of M. Domitius Pylampes records his Roman name and his death at the age of 23 in Latin at the head of the text, and in Greek at the foot (Pl. 80, Fig. 14; Appendix no. 4). Most of the front face bears a Greek epigram whose letters are arranged in vertical columns, while on the left side there is a curse against anyone who moves or adds to the monument. In the verse the deceased speaks in the first person: 'Loved the hunt, harmed no one, and one whom the Macedonian earth snatched without pity. If you speak my name, greetings when you call me Pylampes, who lived the live the life of a doomed, unmarried youth'¹². No other person or agency is recorded on the stone but he is likely to have belonged to the family of Domitii who held civic office in the colony. Here the combination of Latin and Greek in the same epitaph, apparently unique at Dium, may be the least puzzling feature of this monument.

In conclusion some different explanations can be offered for a duplication of text in the two languages or their combination within a single memorial. In the early Roman era it may have been desirable for the name of the deceased to be recorded in Latin as an affirmation of legal status that, in the case of freedmen, might include an entitlement to Roman citizenship in a time when that was far from being widespread. A Latin record might also be significant for claiming the financial privileges that service in the Roman

¹¹ On the history of this legion see Gómez-Pantoja 2000, and on the text at Scupi, p. 112 note 38.

¹² On this remarkable monument see Horsley 1994, also AÉ 1994, 1558.

army might bring after completion of service. Another purpose may have been served when a warning of penalties for tomb violation was appended in the Greek of the local community to the text of a Latin memorial. In several other cases it appears that the abilities and practices of local workshops may account for Latin epitaphs being rendered in Greek characters or the insertions of expressions more familiar in their Greek form with a Latin memorial

While the language boundary drawn across the Balkans by Constantin Jireček more than a century ago, and refined by Boris Gerov, may retain some territorial validity, the spread of the Latin epigraphic habit remained in general superficial, more of an external import than that of the Greek which, across large areas of the Balkans, had, as a spoken language, appears already to have put down deep roots before its appearance on inscriptions, a development that would seem to have originated only with the urbanization of Thrace by Trajan in the 2nd century AD. That at least appears the picture we have at the personal and family level through the medium of epitaphs.

Appendix

Epirus Provincia

1. *Levkas, GRE* (Leucas). Bilingual epitaph of A. Cossinius Philocrates from Puteoli, II/Ia. (IG IX 1.4, 1451) — 2. *Palio-Preveza, GRE* (Actia Nicopolis). Bilingual epitaph for Sextus Popillius Agathon, Ia/Ip. (ILGr 161).

Macedonia Provincia (Thessalia)

3. *Larisa, GRE* (Larisa). Epitaph (L) of P. Ramius P. I. Nic(e)p(h)or(u)s, with Greek name Damokrata, Ia? (Greek text, IV/IIIa?) (CIL III 7314; IG IX 2, 858).

Macedonia Provincia

4. *Dion, GRE* (Dion). Epigram with letters in columns (G) for M. Domitius Pyrilampes (named in L & G), c. AD 150 or end Ip/early IIp. (Horsley 1994, 209; SEG XLIV 525; AÉ 1994, 1558) — 5. *Veria, GRE* (Beroia). Bilingual epitaph for ten-year old daughter Secunda (frg.), II/IIIp. (I.Beroia 417) — 6. *Pella, GRE* (Pella). Bilingual epitaph for Athenodorus Leontus f. Heracleotes ex Italia, Ia (?). (ILGr 200) — 7. *Pella, GRE* (Pella). Bilingual epitaph for Marcia P. f., Ia (?). (ILGr 202) — 7a. *Thessaloniki, GRE* (Thessalonica). Bilingual epitaph for Rubria M. I. Regilla, IIp (?). (IG X 2.1, 380) — 8. *Thessaloniki, GRE* (Thessalonica). Bilingual epitaph for 6-year old Spenis by parents Primitivus and Sotira, II/IIIp. (CIL III 7331; IG X 2.1, 666) — 9. *Thessaloniki, GRE* (Thessalonica). Bilingual epitaph for L. Avius L. I. Thyrsus by Zosimus a freedman, also for himself and his mother Avia L. I. Salvia, and for Septimia Zosime his wife, II/IIIp. (IG X 2.1, 723) — 10. *Thessaloniki, GRE* (Thessalonica). Bilingual epitaph for Agilleia M. I. Euporia, Ip. (IG X 2.1, 878) — 11. *Thessaloniki, GRE* (Thessalonica). Bilingual epitaph for C. Popillius, c. 50 BC. (ILGr 221; SEG XLVII 969; AÉ 1972, 563) — 12. *Thessaloniki, GRE* (Thessalonica). Bilingual epitaph for L. Cornelius L. I. Neon by P. Tetrinius P. I. Amphio, c. 50a. (ILGr 220; SEG XLVII 970; AÉ 1997, 1354 (AÉ 1980, 845) — 13. *Gorno Srpci, W of Bitola, MAK* (Nicaea). Bilingual monument for himself by Iulius Teres, centurion of auxiliary cohort, his spouse Valeria Artemis, his son Iulius Iulianus, eques Romanus, and daughter Iulia Artemis, IIp. (IG X 2.2, 45) — 14. *Pašino Ruvci, MAK* (in Derriopus). Bilingual epitaph for T. Flavius Capiton, miles of coh. Hispanensis XIII, by freedman T. Flavius Hermas, dated by provincial era, AD 112/113. (IG X 2.2, 309) — 15. *Gradsko, MAK* (Stobi). Bilingual monument by C. Sentius Saturninus, vet. leg. IIII Scythicae, for himself and son C. Sentius Saturninus, mil. coh. IIII praetoriae, eques, and spouse Gavia Iulia and liberta Sentia Zosime, mid/late Ip. (I.Stobi 50) — 16. *Amphipolis, GRE* (Amphipolis). Bilingual epitaph for Alpha T..., IIp. (SEG LI 793) — 17.

Philippoi, GRE (Philippi). Latin epitaph of Aliupaibes in Greek characters, AD 41 (?). (Pilhofer 48) — 18. *Moustheni*, GRE (Philippi). Latin epitaph for brother of Caius in Greek characters, I/IIp (?). (Pilhofer 614).

Macedonia Provincia (Illyris)

19. *Ploça*, ALB (Amantia). Endowment of municipal Grain store (G), with municipal penalty (L) (Patsch 1904, col. 199–200 fig. 180; LIA 231).

Thracia Provincia

20. *Maroneia*, GRE (Maroneia). Bilingual epitaph (frg), Ip (?). (I.Thrac.Aeg. 337; AÉ 2005, 1359) — 21. *Kjustendil*, BLG (Pautalia). Greek and Latin epigram for Alexander (?), II/IIIp. (CIL III 7417, 14207³⁰; IGBulg 2090) — 22. *Didymoteichon*, GRE (Plotinopolis). Bilingual epitaph by freedman for patronus (?), I/IIp. (I.Thrac.Aeg. 473; AÉ 2005, 1366) — 23. *Kabile*, BLG (Kabyle). Bilingual epitaph on epistyle and tumulus created by C. Avillius Valens, ex (cent.) vet(e)ranus, for himself and spouse Satria Marcia, IIIp. (IGBulg 1777 = 5635) — 24. *Šipka nr. Kazanlak*, BLG. Bilingual epitaph of Celsus Marius, eques coh. II Bracaraugustanorum, in accordance with his will, by Marcus Traidaki f., eques coh. II Numidarum, IIp. (IGBulg 1741bis = 5615) — 25. *Plovdiv*, BLG (Philippopolis). Mixed language, Christian prayer (?), Vp. (Beševliev 217) — 26. *Plovdiv*, BLG (Philippopolis). Bilingual epitaph for Ti. Claudius [...] f. Pal. Martialis, by brother Ti. Claudius Primigenianus and mother Salvia Primigenia, late Ip/IIp. (CIL III 7410; IGBulg 1006 = 5446) — 27. *Plovdiv*, BLG (Philippopolis). Latin eulogy for magister militum Basilicus, after AD 471, inscribed on erased Greek text (IIIa?), of which only the initial formula Agathe Tyche survives. (Beševliev 206) — 28. *Belozem*, E of Plovdiv, BLG (Parembole). Bilingual epitaph of brothers Iulius Frontinus and Iulius Rogatus, IIp. (AÉ 2007, 1257) — 29. *Junacite*, BLG. Parallel Latin and Greek texts on the monument for Iulius Iulianus, miles coh. III praetoriae, by Aurelius Mucianus, his brother (soldier?), c. AD 214. (CIL III 7414; IGBulg 1075) — 30. *Marmara Ereğlisi*, TKY (Perinthus). Monument with relief sculpture and bilingual or mixed-language text (?) for T. Flavius Mikkalus, a Roman equestrian officer, by Claudia Mac[...], in accordance with his will, Ip. (I.Perinthus 72; Kramer 1994, 99) — 31. *Marmara Ereğlisi*, TKY (Perinthus). Latin epitaph for Aur. Mucianus, centurio deputatus, by freedman, with initial Greek formula (Theois Katachthoniois), IIIp. (I.Perinthus 78) — 32. *Marmara Ereğlisi*, TKY (Perinthus). Bilingual epitaph on sarcophagus for Iulia Archidia, by husband Ulpus Valerianus, eques Romanus, with fine for violation, I/IIp. (I.Perinthus 108) — 33. *Marmara Ereğlisi*, TKY (Perinthus). Bilingual epitaph of Ti. Claudius Silvanus, Ip. (C III 7399; I.Perinthus 128).

Moesia Inferior Provincia

34. *Gigen*, BLG (Oescus). Latin epitaph of [...] Resius Chronius, freedman of [...] Resius Chronius, centurion of Legio V Macedonica, Augustan. (ILBulg 47) — 35. *Svištov*, BLG (Novae). Bilingual epigram for youth Basileus, by Kyzikios and Secunda, II/IIIp. (IGLN 107; IGBulg 5262; ILBulg 325; SEG XLVII 1153) — 36. *Nedan/Butovo*, BLG. Bilingual epitaph by Agathodorus son of Diophanis from Nicaea, while still living. Inalienable. II/IIIp. (IGBulg 600; ILBulg 428) — 37. *Gornja Orjahovica*, BLG. Bilingual epitaph for Hosia, daughter of Flavius Abascantus, by parents Flavius Abascantus and Primigenia, end IIp/early IIIp. (SEG XLIV 640; LII 717; AÉ 1999, 1386; 2002, 1259) — 38. *Tabačka cave, Červen near Ruse*, BLG (Sexaginta Prista). Names of individuals, including veterans and an evocatus, inscribed in Greek and Latin on walls of cave, II/IIIp? (CIL III 441; IGBulg 51; AÉ 2007, 1223a–d) — 39. *Varna*, BLG (Odessus). Mixed-language memorial, with Latin epitaph for Antistia Firmine by spouse Malius Secundus, bf. cos., with civic penalty for violation of tomb in Greek, IIIp. (CIL III 14458¹; IGBulg 218) — 40. *Devnja*, BLG (Marcianopolis). Bilingual memorial for himself by C. Valerius Alexander, II/IIIp. (CIL III 761, p. 1349; IGBulg 819) — 41. *Constanța*, ROM (Tomi). Bilingual memorial set up for himself and his own family by C. Antonius Fronto, vet. leg. XIII Gemina, ex

bf. cos., IIIp. (I.Tomi 190) — 42. *Constanța, ROM* (Tomi). Bilingual memorial by parents for brothers Ser. Sulpicius Priscinus and Ser. Sulpicius Festus, IIp. (I.Tomi 194) — 43. *Constanța, ROM* (Tomi). Mixed language family memorial, for Cornelia Fortunata, otherwise named Doutouros, wife of Stabilio, by Timotheus, son of Nonius, and with epigram (G), with the same epitaph in Latin but in reverse order, IIp. (I.Tomi 195) — 44. *Constanța, ROM* (Tomi). Latin epitaph of Valerius Valens, vet. cl(assis) Fl(avia) Moesica, for himself and spouse (name lost), with fine for violation in Greek, II/IIIp. (I.Tomi 199) — 45. *Constanța, ROM* (Tomi). Bilingual memorial for Metrodorus, freedman of Iulius Fronto, by brother Hermes, late IIp/early IIIp. (I.Tomi 261) — 46. *Constanța, ROM* (Tomi). Bilingual epithet for ‘virginus’ Valerius Felix, princeps officii) pr(a)esidis, by Aurelia Aemilia, III/IVp. (CIL III 7459; I.Tomi 373; Popescu 5) — 47. *Histria, ROM* (Istros/Histria). Bilingual epitaph for Aelius Victor, bf. cos. leg. I Italiae, by brother Aelius Severianus, d(ecurio) m(unicipii) Durosteri, II/IIIp. (I.Histria 302).

Moesia Superior Provincia

48. *Tresija S of Belgrade, SRB* (Singidunum). Greek epigram, with Latin initial formula D(is) m(anibus), II/IIIp (?). (IMS I 150) — 49. *Kostolac, SRB* (Viminacium). Bilingual epigram by Valerius for his (child) Theodoulos, Christian? (IMS II 219) — 50. *Ravna, SRB* (Timacum Minus). Greek epitaph with Latin initial formula D(is) m(anibus), for Flavius Gaianus Agathonicus, tribune (chiliarchos), from Bithynia, IIIp. (IMS III/2, 54; SEG XLV 948) — 51. *Arčar, BLG* (Ratiaria). Latin text from above city gate, ‘Anastasiona Ratiaria semper floreat’, AD 491/518 (AÉ 1985, 723).

Bilingual, mixed language and other texts from Skopje and area, upper Vardar basin

52. *Skopje (Ljuboten), MAK* (Scupi). Latin votive to Deus Liber by Mar(cus) Ulp(ius) Iulianus, ‘ob immunitatem’, with freedmen Marcianus and Varid(i)us, II/IIIp. (IMS VI 11) — 53. *Skopje, MAK* (Scupi). Greek votive text (frg.), erected by Gerontius, II/IIIp. (IMS VI 20) — 54. *Skopje (Sopište), MAK* (Scupi). Latin epitaph, in irregular characters, of L. Valeri(us) L. f. Gal. Galenus from Lucus (Augusti), veteranus leg. IIII Mac(edonicae), who lived 55 years, served 28 years, (set up) by his heir, Ip. (IMS VI 39) — 55. *Skopje (Bardovci), MAK* (Scupi). Greek epitaph (by parents?) for eldest son M. Fabius Iulianus and M. Fabius Calpurnianus, a soldier who died after nine years’ service, IIIp. (IMS VI 61) — 56. *Skopje (Dobri Dol), MAK* (Scupi). P. Aelius P. fil. Posidonius, by grandmother Antonia Saturnina, with Greek quotation from Menander, ‘Double Deceiver’, IIp. (IMS VI 81) — 57. *Skopje (Dobri Dol), MAK* (Scupi). Latin epitaph of Afrodisia, by spouse Numerius, IIp. (IMS VI 82) — 58. *Skopje (Rašće), MAK* (Scupi). Latin Epitaph in divided columns: a) for Cocceia Marcel(l)ina, by Claudia Octavia for her mother; b) for Tib. Claudius Aelianus, by Claudia Octavia for her brother, IIp. (IMS VI 106) — 59. *Skopje (Ljuboten), MAK* (Scupi). Latin epitaph for Flavia Tyche, freedwoman of Parthenope, by Flavia Parthenope for her freedwoman and wet nurse (nutricula), IIp. (IMS VI 116) — 60. *Skopje (Sredno Konjare), MAK* (Scupi). Latin epitaph by Mestylas, for spouse Momonio (?), II/IIIp (IMS VI 133) — 61. *Skopje (Volkovo), MAK* (Scupi). Bilingual epigram frg. relating to death caused by jealousy, II/IIIp. (IMS VI 177) — 62. *Skopje (Sredno Konjare), MAK* (Scupi). Greek epitaph of Ulpia Domitia by Aurelius Dionysus, partly in Latin but incised in Greek characters, and with initial Latin formula D(is) m(anibus), IIIp. (IMS VI 178) — 63. *Skopje (Bardovci), MAK* (Scupi). Greek epitaph of Atia Kleonike and spouse and spouse Fabius Iulianus, II/IIIp. (IMS VI 179) — 64. *Skopje, MAK* (Scupi). Greek epitaph by Iulia Olympias, for herself and her children, II/IIIp. (IMS VI 180) — 65. *Skopje (Dolno Vodno), MAK* (Scupi). Greek epitaph of Lucius Crescent(i)us by spouse Atia Kale, II/IIIp (IMS VI 181) — 66. *Skopje (Nerezi), MAK* (Scupi). Re-used decorated plaque with Greek greeting, ‘[Ch]airete Galatai’ (?). (IMS VI 187) — 67. *Lopate, Kumanovo, MAK*. Altar with Latin votive for IOM Dolichenus, Caracalla and Iulia Domna, by their slave Achilleus, with consular date 1st Nov. AD 216 (IMS VI 208).

Dalmatia Provincia (Liburnia)

68. *Senj*, CRO (Senia). Epitaph of Aurelius Dionysius from Tiberias in Judaea, IIIp; Latin in Greek characters (CIL III 10055; Patsch 1900, col. 100 fig. 44).

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Epigraphic research

ATTILIO MASTINO

L'Epigrafia latina nelle province danubiane negli ultimi anni (2000–2015)*

1. L'epigrafia provinciale. 2. Lo specifico epigrafico. 3. La lunga conquista. 4. Questa rassegna. 5. Storia degli studi. 6. Nuove acquisizioni sui governi provinciali. 7. La storia: novità sui viaggi imperiali. 8. Recenti acquisizioni sui fasti provinciali. 9. La municipalizzazione. 10. Alcuni *populi e nationes*. 11. Gli immigrati. 12. Opere pubbliche. 13. L'esercito: legioni, coorti, *alae*, flotta. 14. Miniere e dogane. 15. La vita religiosa. 16. Le articolazioni e le festività del culto imperiale. 17. Conclusioni

1. L'epigrafia provinciale

Dopo Ferrara e Cento, L. Zerbini mi ha nuovamente coinvolto chiedendomi di intervenire a questa 3rd *International Conference on the Roman Danubian Provinces (Society and Economy)*, prevalentemente dedicata all'epigrafia, promossa dal Laboratorio della sua Università d'intesa con l'Institut für Alte Geschichte und Altertumskunde, Papyrologie und Epigraphik dell'Università di Vienna (Fritz Mitthof e Theresia Pantzer). Allora lasciatemi dire la gratitudine per l'onore che mi viene fatto e l'ammirazione per il lavoro portato avanti in questi anni dal "Laboratorio sulle province danubiane di Ferrara", che in qualche modo collabora in parallelo con il nostro "Centro di studi interdisciplinari sulle province romane" dell'Università di Sassari fondato 25 anni fa, con attenzione al tema delle specificità regionali e locali nel quadro del generale fenomeno della romanizzazione, coordinando gruppi di studiosi e proponendo una cooperazione interdisciplinare e internazionale sulla cultura, l'urbanizzazione, l'economia, la vita religiosa di un impero mediterraneo divenuto spazio di contatto, di cooperazione, di integrazione fra popoli differenti. Negli ultimi anni il Laboratorio di Ferrara, in una linea di continuità con antichi indirizzi di studi dell'Università di Bologna, è riuscito sempre più a porsi progressivamente come punto di riferimento per la cooperazione scientifica internazionale, tra archeologia, epigrafia, numismatica, storia delle religioni; è diventato un prezioso strumento per allargare l'indagine in ambito continentale e per costruire nuove reti di ricercatori¹. Il volume del II Convegno internazionale dedicato a *Culti e religiosità nelle province danubiane*,

* Testo letto da Angela Donati. Ringrazio Livio Zerbini e Nelu Zugravu per i numerosi suggerimenti.

¹ A. Mastino, *Conclusioni*, in: L. Zerbini (ed.), *Roma e le province del Danubio. Atti del I Convegno Internazionale, Ferrara-Cento, 15–17 ottobre 2009*, Catanzaro 2010, 489–495 (vd. anche 11–18 e AE 2010, 1106).

pubblicato nel 2015 dal Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici dell'Università degli Studi di Ferrara, si concentra sulla vita religiosa attraverso i contributi di alcuni dei più autorevoli ricercatori del mondo danubiano in età romana, provenienti da quindici Paesi. Gli esiti delle ultime ricerche mettono sempre più in evidenza che il mondo provinciale danubiano non costituisce un organismo uniforme e omogeneo, in quanto ogni provincia è caratterizzata da una propria identità che è andata maturando nel tempo, i cui tratti specifici meritano di essere ulteriormente indagati e studiati².

L'esigenza di distinguere la storia delle province dalla storia di Roma, le sue fonti, i suoi orizzonti, le sue relazioni, è dovuta alla necessità di far emergere le specificità regionali, le persistenze indigene, gli apporti originali che le differenti realtà nazionali e locali hanno espresso all'interno dell'impero romano. Questo tipo di analisi, che nel rapporto tra centro e periferia valorizza gli apporti specifici delle diverse province e supera il tema dell'egemonia e dell'imperialismo rilevando il ruolo fondamentale della geografia nella storia, è stata definita già in occasione del Colloquio di Cluj-Napoca del settembre–ottobre 2006. Ho potuto rileggere lo splendido volume degli Atti che mi è stato donato *animo grato* da Ioan Piso, per conto del Centrul de Studii Romane dell'Universitatea "Babeş-Bolyai" e del Muzeul Național de istorie a Transilvaniei³: un volume di sintesi che poneva il tema della flessibilità romana nella creazione di nuove province e insieme si soffermava ad analizzare aspetti specifici relativi alla storia provinciale romana. Per quanto ci riguarda in questa sede, con riferimento alla Rezia (C. Sebastian Sommer), al Norico (Ekkehard Weber), all'Illirico (Péter Kovács), alla Mesia (Miroslava Mirković, Costantin C. Petolescu, Florian Matei-Popescu), alla pianura della Dobrugia tra le attuali Romania e Bulgaria alla foce del Danubio (Alexandru Suceveanu), alle Pannonie (Eduard Nemeth), soprattutto alla Dacia (Gelu Florea, Paul Puppeză, Viorica Rusu-Bolindeț, Barnabás Lőrincz, Ioan Piso), tutti studiosi che hanno animato il fervido dibattito storiografico sull'epigrafia e sulla storia delle province danubiane fino ad oggi. È particolarmente la Dacia la provincia per la quale in questi ultimi anni viene rapidamente colmato un ritardo storico di conoscenze e di dati, anche per merito dei nostri colleghi italiani⁴. Nel frattempo abbiamo maturato una coscienza nuova sul tema della diversità delle società provinciali, delle distinte identità e appartenenze, dell'assoluta inadeguatezza di formule astratte e di categorie

² L. Zerbini (ed.), *Culti e religiosità nelle province danubiane. Atti del II Convegno internazionale* (Ferrara, 20–22 novembre 2013), Bologna 2015. Sul tema, vd. I. Lazar (ed.), *Religion in public and private sphere: Acta of the 4th International Colloquium "The Autonomous Towns of Noricum and Pannonia"*, Koper 2011.

³ I. Piso (ed.), *Die römischen Provinzen. Begriff und Gründung* (Colloquium Cluj-Napoca, 28. September–1. Oktober 2006), Cluj-Napoca 2008.

⁴ Una prima sintesi in R. Ardevan / L. Zerbini, *La Dacia romana*, Catanzaro 2007; vd. poi C. C. Petolescu, *Dacia. Un mileniu de istorie*, București 2010. Ma dovremmo citare molti altri; per tutti desidero ricordare il volume donatomi in un'occasione ufficiale da M. Munteanu, *Provincia Dacia: istorie politică și numismatică*, Cluj-Napoca 2010. Particolarmente significativi gli scavi condotti da alcune università italiane: lasciatemi citare l'accordo di collaborazione tra l'Istituto di Ricerche Eco-Museali di Tulcea e l'Università di Sassari per la città romana di *Ibida* o *Libida* in Scizia Minore.

interpretative capaci di definire nel tempo e nello spazio processi che hanno determinato eterogenee trasformazioni politiche, economiche, sociali, culturali, fortemente condizionate dalla geografia, dalla distanza, dall'impegno di Roma in una provincia. Del resto è nostro dovere evitare di ingabbiare in schemi precostituiti una realtà complessa, vivace, articolata, che va molto al di là delle formule e che aderisce a situazioni locali ancorate a tradizioni, ad ambienti culturali e territoriali, all'evoluzione diacronica sempre in rapporto con l'ambiente circostante. Non ci sono formule semplici per definire realtà complesse. Evidente eredità dell'ellenismo è il progressivo affermarsi di una realtà culturale nuova che attraversa tutto l'impero, una "Romanitas" che oggi appare assai differenziata, fondata soprattutto nelle regioni di frontiera su un controllo militare che si innestò con il processo di urbanizzazione⁵ e le promozioni giuridiche di intere comunità peregrine a livello municipale⁶, il coinvolgimento delle popolazioni locali, la scelta strategica di stabilizzare i territori⁷, la promozione dell'evergetismo cittadino⁸; il controllo militare fu incardinato su singoli avamposti che controllavano i flussi di uomini, animali, merci da e per l'impero. Sullo sfondo rimangono i temi ambientali che emergono con prepotenza, il paesaggio, la flora, la fauna, come da ultimo a proposito della caccia al bisonte d'Europa sui Balcani documentato dall'iscrizione di Montana in Mesia Inferiore⁹. Quindi gli aspetti amministrativi legati alla conquista e alla provincializzazione, il governo, gli avvenimenti storici riflessi sulle pietre.

Partecipano ai nostri lavori alcuni maestri, molti giovani ricercatori, molti studiosi provenienti da numerose università europee, che ci condurranno per mano a ricostruire i paesaggi antichi delle province danubiane, con relazioni che investiranno aspetti storici, epigrafici, archeologici, topografici di un'area vasta che si affaccia sul grande fiume, alla quale guardiamo con rinnovato interesse, alla ricerca delle origini della cultura europea, ritrovando radici comuni e percorsi storici convergenti. Il nostro mestiere di storici del mondo antico deve sempre di più renderci consapevoli dell'importanza e della vitalità dell'eredità dell'antico nel mondo che viviamo e insieme deve farci cogliere il senso della responsabilità di un impegno di ricerca che si

⁵ Vd. I. Piso, *L'urbanisation des provinces danubiennes*, in: M. Reddé et al. (edd.), *La naissance de la ville dans l'antiquité* (De l'archéologie à l'histoire), Paris 2003, 285–298. Per l'area del basso Danubio: AE 2010, 1107 (D. Aparaschivei).

⁶ Vd. R. Cîrjan, *Statute citadine privilegiate în provinciile dunărene ale Imperiului Roman (sec. 1–3 p. Chr.)* (Bibliotheca Ephemeris Napocensis 7), Cluj-Napoca 2010. Vd. ora R. Varga, *The Peregrini of Roman Dacia (106–212)*, Cluj-Napoca 2014, soprattutto i capitoli III (*Population studies and epigraphic representativeness* 47–58), IV (*Overview of the peregrines from Dacia* 59–86), V (*Military peregrines* 87–98), VI (*Peregrine communities* 99–113).

⁷ Un quadro generale del rapporto tra esercito e urbanizzazione nell'insieme delle province danubiane è stato presentato in occasione del colloquio svoltosi ad Alba Iulia tra l'8 e il 10 ottobre 1999: H. Ciugudean / V. Moga (edd.), *Army and Urban Development in the Danubian Provinces of the Roman Empire* (Bibliotheca Musei Apulensis 15), Alba Iulia 2000.

⁸ Ad es. in Mesia Superiore, vd. AE 2011, 1101 (D. Mladenović). Vd. già E. Mancini, *L'evergetismo municipale in Dacia*, in: Zerbini (ed.), *Roma e le province del Danubio* (vd. sopra nt. 1), 331–342.

⁹ AE 1987, 867. Vd. ora AE 2011, 844 e 1120 (J. Kolendo).

proietti nella costruzione di un futuro comune. I nostri lavori consentiranno di colmare fossati, di abbattere steccati antichi e muri moderni e di trovare una strada insieme, soprattutto promettono uno sviluppo di rapporti tra Paesi diversi, tra Università, tra scuole, tra metodi di indagine, nella direzione che porta verso il consolidamento di una rete di relazioni che immaginiamo intensa e vitale, capace di avviare un fortissimo rinnovamento di metodi e di modelli culturali su un'area vasta, complessa, piena di fermenti nuovi.

Proprio lungo le frontiere danubiane la cultura politica romana produsse efficaci modelli di organizzazione civica: fondazioni di colonie, istituzioni municipali, governi per territori con specifiche identità etno-culturali ed economiche mentre «l'urbanizzazione fece passi considerevoli, anche con l'affiancamento di nuove città ad impianti castrensi, specie sul *limes*». Parlando al convegno sul *limes* svoltosi nel 1989 a Svishtov, l'antica *Novae*, alla vigilia della caduta del muro di Berlino che segnava la fine di quella che era stata la cortina di ferro del secondo dopoguerra, Giancarlo Susini volle ribadire che il *limes* romano non fu soltanto una barriera, ma anche una soglia, un liminare da varcare per entrare di là, e una strada di terra e magari di fiume, che raccordava "a valle" singoli entroterra per farli comunicare, una via maestra, insomma, che tale si potrebbe definire perché tramite primario dei transiti e delle conoscenze, e perché straordinario fattore di omologazione tra le culture che, dai lati della via, vi confluivano¹⁰. Oggi tante cose sono più chiare, intorno alle funzioni diverse che il *limes* ha svolto nel tempo, all'attività di legioni, coorti, *alae*, numeri, alla edificazione di *castra* e di fortificazioni come *burgi* e *praesidia* militari, ad esempio come quelli in Pannonia Inferiore per iniziativa del prefetto del pretorio *Tigidius Perennis*, nell'età di Commodo¹¹; o quelli sul basso Danubio in età tardo antica presentati nella sintesi di D. Bondoc¹².

Sono ora disponibili numerosi lavori sull'archeologia e l'epigrafia delle province danubiane in atti di convegni, come quello bulgaro di Veliko Tŕrnovo del luglio 2000 per il centenario degli scavi di *Nicopolis*, con particolare attenzione anche per *Novae*¹³; il volume udinese *Roma sul Danubio* del 2002¹⁴; la Giornata di studio del settembre 2008 a Ratisbona¹⁵. Consentitemi di citare infine il volume di D. Boteva-Boyanova, L. Mihăilescu-Bîrliba e O. Bounegru, pubblicato nel 2012, *Pax Romana*, dedicata alla

¹⁰ *Premessa*, in: G. Susini (ed.), *Limes*, Bologna 1994, 5–6.

¹¹ AE 2008, 1115 (P. Kovács). Per il *limes* della Pannonia inferiore vd. ora il quadro complessivo fornito da N. Gudea, AE 2013, 1250.

¹² AE 2009, 968.

¹³ L. Ruseva-Slokoska / V. Dinchev (edd.), *The Roman and Late Roman City: the International Conference, Veliko Tŕrnovo 26–30 July 2000*, Sofia 2002.

¹⁴ M. Buora / W. Jobst (edd.), *Roma sul Danubio. Da Aquileia a Carnuntum lungo la via dell'ambra*, Udine / Roma 2002.

¹⁵ P. Herz / P. Schmidt / O. Stoll (edd.), *Zwischen Region und Reich. Das Gebiet der oberen Donau im Imperium Romanum* (Region im Umbruch 3), Berlin 2010.

cultura e all'economia nelle province danubiane, con gli Atti del Convegno di Varna e Tulcea del 2008¹⁶.

Ma anche questo terzo convegno viennese appare ricchissimo soprattutto per la parte epigrafica. Proprio per questa ragione ci siamo dedicati a raccogliere un quadro, per quanto rapido e *per saltus*, delle scoperte e riscoperte epigrafiche effettuate dal 2000 ad oggi nelle province danubiane: un periodo di 15 anni, lungo, ricco di novità e di risultati, in relazione ai numerosi scavi archeologici che si stanno conducendo per iniziativa di soggetti diversi in dieci Paesi, con una forte componente internazionale e con un progressivo ampliarsi dei soggetti coinvolti, con il prodigioso riemergere di intere collezioni e il riordino dei lapidari di antichi musei. L'impressione generale che ne abbiamo tratto è quella di un forte rinnovamento degli studi, del passaggio di testimone tra due generazioni di studiosi, di una nuova vivacità della ricerca archeologica ed epigrafica, di un interesse crescente per i risultati scientifici che toccano territori tanto diversi, che hanno vissuto il fenomeno della romanizzazione in modi e forme davvero originali¹⁷.

Ora che nuove porte si aprono in Europa e che nuovi muri purtroppo si innalzano, abbiamo un'opportunità ed un'occasione storica, che è quella di ritrovare una dimensione perduta, quella di ricostruire una rete di rapporti, di relazioni e di amicizie che rafforzi la comprensione tra i popoli, affermi valori comuni, definisca un quadro di stabilità e di pace, in un'Europa più consapevole delle proprie radici comuni, più capace di individuare quelle complesse e radicate esperienze culturali che da gran tempo compongono i suoi fondamenti. Eppure nulla come l'esodo di intere popolazioni attraverso nuove strade e nuovi percorsi di terra, di mare e di fiume che osserviamo in questi ultimi mesi ci può far capire quella che fu nella sostanza la fragilità e la crisi del mondo antico.

Noi oggi possiamo articolare nel tempo e nello spazio i flussi migratori che hanno investito le province danubiane dall'Italia o da altre aree del Mediterraneo; soprattutto possiamo apprezzare il ruolo delle élites locali, attratte dai vantaggi economici, giuridici e politici offerti da Roma, interessate ad adottare volontariamente usi e costumi di una comunità nuova, talvolta, come ricordava G. Alföldy, con un gusto quasi antiquario nell'illusione di essere i veri discendenti di Roma, i soli custodi di valori comuni¹⁸. Possiamo allora ribaltare la prospettiva e sostenere il ruolo fondamentale della geografia nella storia: in età imperiale nacquero diverse società provinciali, che

¹⁶ D. Boteva-Boyanova / L. Mihăilescu-Bîrliba / O. Bounegru (edd.), *Pax Romana: Kulturaustausch und Wirtschaftsbeziehungen in den Donauprovinzen des römischen Kaiserreiches*, Kaiserlautern 2012.

¹⁷ Sul dibattito in corso da un decennio, vd. F. Buscemi, *Processi di contatto e interazione culturale nel mondo romano, per un riesame delle posizioni teoriche*, in: P. Militello / M. Camera (edd.), *Ricerche e attività del corso internazionalizzato di archeologia, Catania, Varsavia, Konya 2009–2012* (Syndesmoi 2), Palermo 2012, 141–151. Restano convincenti le posizioni di G. A. Ceccconi, *Romanizzazione, diversità culturale, politicamente corretto*, MEFRA 118.1 (2006) 81–94.

¹⁸ AE 2005, 1137; AE 2011, 947.

ideologicamente si richiamavano a Roma ma che nella pratica, senza contraddizioni con l'identità romana, erano peculiari di un determinato territorio giacché della cultura italica avevano recepito solo alcuni elementi, quelli che meglio si adattavano alla società locale e che preservavano numerosi tratti della tradizione pre-romana; su questa base si innestavano poi gli influssi divergenti, dovuti ai tanti funzionari, militari e coloni provenienti da altre province che esportavano la specifica concezione di "cultura romana". Senza contare l'apporto ininterrotto proveniente da quelle popolazioni stanziata nel *Barbaricum* oltre il *limes* rappresentato dal grande fiume simboleggiato dal *Neptunus Danuvius* dell'iscrizione di Stepperg in Baviera, pubblicata nel 2012¹⁹, una linea che in realtà è stata costantemente attraversata, se non altro per consentire ai giovani peregrini di svolgere il servizio militare all'interno dei reparti ausiliari romani, come dimostrano tanti diplomi²⁰. La divinizzazione del grande fiume *Danuvius* (allo stesso modo in Pannonia il *Dravus*, il *Savus*²¹, il *Colapis*, il *Bathinus*) testimonia il suo ruolo nell'immaginario collettivo e l'importanza del traffico fluviale²². Analogamente parliamo del *Fluvius Acaunus* pater della dea *Salacia* (la sposa di Nettuno) a Vienna²³. A Salzburg-*Iuvavum* nel Norico la personificazione del fiume Salzach onorato da un *navicularius* comparirebbe nella spettacolare base decorata con un'aquila, dedicata insieme *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et Iuvavo pro salute Mari Aniceti* e per il suo successo commerciale, *negotiationi eius*²⁴. A Vranjske Njive presso Podgorica in Montenegro (*Doclea*) ci rimane la dedica studiata da D. Grbić che richiama i pericoli della navigazione fluviale e marittima sull'Adriatico: un commerciante italico offre un altare a Nettuno con un epiteto davvero inconsueto, *Neptuno sacrum periculorum absolutori*²⁵.

In questo contesto, il tema della provincializzazione delle province danubiane e in particolare della Dalmazia è da affrontare alla luce di un doppio orizzonte culturale, quello del processo di integrazione e unificazione di popoli tanto diversi nell'ambito della *communis patria Roma* (attraverso la religione ufficiale, il culto imperiale, l'urbanistica, le iscrizioni pubbliche), ma anche quello, generato dalle delimitazioni

¹⁹ AE 2012, 1054.

²⁰ Ad es. AE 2007, 1211, Ucraina (A. Ivantchik / O. Pogorelets / R. Savvov); AE 2012, 1188, Sándorfalva, comitato di Csongrád (G. Lassányi).

²¹ AE 2010, 1239, *Andautonia* in Pannonia Superiore (I. Knezović). Vd. anche AE 2010, 1141 (M. Šašel Kos) e AE 2008, 1080 (F. Marco Simón / I. Rodà De Llanza).

²² AE 2012, 1122 (A. Rendić-Miočević).

²³ AE 2011, 1007. Per le divinità fluviali in Rezia e nel Norico, vd. AE 2013, 1165 (A. Forster).

²⁴ AE 2009, 988 (C. Farka) = AE 2010, 1142 (G. E. Thüry) = 2012, 1076 (M. Hainzmann / P. De Bernardo Stempel). L'ultimo commento è di E. M. Ruprechtsberger, *Archaeologische Forschungen (1983–2014) im Nordwesten der Provinz Noricum*, Linz 2015. M. Hainzmann e P. De Bernardo Stempel pensano ad una divinità fluviale (*Iuvavus*) associata a Giove, che ricalca il nome della città (*Iuvavum*), nella seconda metà del II secolo: analogo appare l'attuale rapporto oggi tra il toponimo della città di Salzburg e il nome del fiume Salzach. Per la toponomastica in *Dacia Porolissensis*, con specifico riferimento ai fiumi, vd. AE 2013, 1276 (D.-A. Deac).

²⁵ AE 2009, 1002.

cittadine e provinciali, che ha determinato profonde differenze tra popoli e province, con i presupposti della successiva frammentazione diocleziana²⁶; fino a giungere all'estremità orientale del territorio, come ad *Odessos* (oggi Varna) in Mesia Inferiore, dove quattro *termini* indicano nella seconda metà del I secolo d.C. il percorso della frontiera amministrativa della provincia e della città: *[F(ines) te]rr(ae) [T]hraciae, [F(ines) terr(ae)] Ode[ss(itanorum)]*²⁷.

2. Lo specifico epigrafico

In questo quadro emerge uno specifico, nello studio delle scritture antiche, latine soprattutto e greche, quello dei metodi utilizzati dalle diverse epigrafie, le paleografie come il lavoro di Mrozewicz per 230 iscrizioni di *Novae*²⁸, i graffiti²⁹, i *tituli picti* anche per il restauro di monumenti³⁰, gli strumenti officinali³¹, le officine lapidarie³², le

²⁶ Vd. G. Alföldy, *Die 'illyrischen' Provinzen Roms: von der Vielfalt zu der Einheit*, in: G. Urso (ed.), *Dall'Adriatico al Danubio, L'Illirico nell'età greca e romana. Atti del Convegno internazionale Cividale del Friuli 25–27 settembre 2003* (I convegni della Fondazione Niccolò Canussio 3), Pisa 2004, 207–220.

²⁷ AE 2002, 1250.

²⁸ L. Mrozewicz, *Palaeography of Latin Inscriptions from Novae (Lower Moesia)* (Coll. The Poznań Society for the Advancement of the Arts and Sciences, Section of History and Social Sciences, Publications of the Historical Committee 67), Poznań 2010. Vd. AE 2009, 1199, partendo da ILGNovae di J. Kolendo del 1997 (AE 1999, 1338); AE 2010, 1408–1410.

²⁹ Ad es. a *Brigetio* in AE 2004, 1126 (L. Borhy), in *Rezia* in AE 2005, 1144 (C. Flügel / T. Schmidt, ma già A. U. Stylow), nel *Magdalensberg* in *Norico* in AE 2005, 1161–1162 (G. Piccottini / H. Graßl); a *Linz (Lentia)* ancora nel *Norico* in AE 2005, 1180 (E. M. Ruprechtsberger); AE 2008, 993 (R. Wedenig); a *Iuvavum* in AE 2007, 1083 (A. Krammer), a *Rannersdorf* in AE 2007, 1080 (B. Schrettle / S. Tsironi) e a *Frauenberg* in *Stiria* in AE 2008, 1013 (I. Kitz); a *Schlögen* in *Alta Austria* in AE 2005, 1181 (E. Herzog); vd. anche AE 2006, 1059–1071 a *Carnuntum*; AE 2008, 1027, *Lauriacum* in *Norico* (H. Nowak); AE 2002, 1077–1079 = AE 2011, 847 e AE 2002, 1077 = AE 2011, 848, in *Rezia* (M. Scholz); sempre in *Rezia*, a *Pförring* in *Baviera*: AE 2012, 855 (H. Wolff).

³⁰ AE 2008, 1184, *Novae* in *Mesia Inferiore*: si tratta del restauro effettuato da Marco Aurelio e Commodo di un tempio *[ve]tustate conlabsu[m]* per iniziativa del governatore e del legato legionario (E. Bunsch / L. Mrozewicz). Per altri esempi di *tituli picti* sull'*instrumentum*, vd. ad es. AE 2007, 1082, *Iuvavum* in *Norico* (G. E. Thüry); AE 2008, 1077, *Buckneudorf* in *Pannonia Superiore* (H. Zabehlicky). Per *Novae*: AE 2002, 1245.

³¹ Ad es. in AE 2006, 947 (M. Vomer Gojković / V. Perko).

³² Ad es. quelle di *Carnuntum*: AE 2012, 1131 (I. Weber-Hiden / E. Weber); quelle di *Scupi* in *Mesia Superiore*: M. Šašel Kos, *A Glimpse into Stonecutters' Workshops in Scupi, Upper Moesia*, in: A. Donati / G. Poma (edd.), *L'officina epigrafica romana: in ricordo di Giancarlo Susini* (Epigrafia e antichità, 30), Faenza 2012, 507–524. Per le *arae* e i cippi della *Liburnia*: AE 2010, 1150 e 1151 (A. Kurilić).

*damnationes*³³ e le successive re-incisioni³⁴, le provenienze dei marmi epigrafici³⁵, i marchi di artisti e artigiani³⁶, i bolli sui vasi, mattoni, importati o fabbricati localmente anche da *figlinae* imperiali nelle province danubiane³⁷; le scritte sulle corazze militari³⁸

³³ Un caso davvero straordinario è quello studiato da P. Kovács, da *Aquincum*, dove conosciamo un *Clodius Celsinus*, che effettua una dedica *Marti Gradivo* in occasione del suo viaggio presso la *legio VII Cl(audia)* effettuato ad *eradendum nomen saevissimae dominationis* degli *h(ostes) p(ublici)*, probabilmente Filippo l'Arabo e suo figlio nel 249, AE 2008, 1145; e l'erasione doveva essere effettuata *[de vexillis et can]tabris*. Per l'erasione su 11 iscrizioni di *Novae*, vd. AE 2010, 1411 (L. Mrozewicz). Un'erasione del nome del senatore *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Augur* è documentata tra il 9 e il 6 a.C. a *Callatis* in Mesia Inferiore, AE 2013, 1341 (A. Avram / M. Ionescu).

³⁴ Ad es. ad *Intercisa* in Pannonia Inferiore, AE 2010, 1274, con inesattezze nella titolatura di *Commodo* e in quella di *Caracalla* (Z. Mráv).

³⁵ Ad es. in Dacia: H. W. Müller *et al.* (edd.), *Der Marmor im Römischen Dakien*, Cluj-Napoca 2012.

³⁶ AE 2003, 1536 (T. Ivanov), per il territorio della Mesia Inferiore.

³⁷ AE 2005, 1198 (D. Gabler / A. Márton). Per le Mesie: AE 2005, 1309. Vd. anche il lavoro di M. Matuszewska sui mattoni di *Novae* in Mesia Inferiore (AE 2006, 1204). Per la ceramica sigillata di importazione, in particolare vasi arretini ed italici, vd. Shkodra in Dalmazia in AE 2007, 1091 (B. Lahi). Per le *figlinae* imperiali in Pannonia, AE 2007, 1134, 1146–47 (B. Lőrincz). Per Faviana nel Norico: AE 2008, 1024 (I. Hackhofer). Per *Locus Felicis* oggi Wallsee in Bassa Austria conosciamo un soldato della *cohors I Aureli(a) Brit(tonum) magister [fi]gulinae Loco [Felice] Sabiniana*, in AE 2008, 1026 (H. Ubl). Per i bolli sui mattori delle fortificazioni della *Dacia Ripensis* vd. AE 2009, 969 (N. Gudea). Naturalmente imponente è il capitolo relativo ai bolli legionari, come a *Lauriacum* nel Norico per la *legio II Italica*, AE 2009, 992 (H. Ubl); in Dalmazia per la *legio VII Claudia Pia Fidelis* dopo il 42 d.C., AE 2011, 888 (D. Tončinić); a *Trimammium* in Mesia Inferiore per la *legio I Italica*, AE 2010, 1414 (S. Torbatov); oppure a *Novae* in AE 2011, 1122 (M. Duch), 1123 (P. Dyczek), 1124 (J. Kolendo / T. Kowal).

Si può passare alle *lucernae*: ad es. AE 2006, 1055, *Carnuntum* (I. Žundálek / B. Žundálekova); AE 2007, 1157, dal campo legionario di *Carnuntum* (G. Musil / C. Gugl / R. M. Mosser); da *Vindobona* in Pannonia Superiore in AE 2007, 1160–1161, dell'età di Nerone e di Galba (B. Lőrincz). Per la Dacia: AE 2006, 1120 (D. Benea); per la Mesia Superiore: AE 2006, 1183 (A. N. Crnobrnja); per la Mesia Inferiore: AE 2009, 1195 (L. Oța). Per il Norico: AE 2007, 1081 (A. Puhm / S. Tiefengraber). E poi i vetri, ad es. AE 2007, 1066, *Rezia* (A. Rottloff); le anfore: ad es. AE 2007, 1075, *Rezia* (P. Gamper); AE 2000, 1154–68 (G. Piccottini) e AE 2008, 1009 nel *Magdalensberg* in Norico (H. Dolenz): *[o]lei Histric[fi] flos*; AE 2011, 892, *Lissos* in Dalmazia (B. Lahi). I mortai: ad es. AE 2007, 1135 in Pannonia (R. Mladoniczi). Le gemme e i cammei: ad es. a *Lauriacum* nel Norico AE 2001, 1626 (A. Kovács), a *Brigetio* in Pannonia Superiore, AE 2007, 1150–1151; nel Museo di *Carnuntum* AE 2011, 1002 (G. Dembski); a *Intercisa* AE 2013, 1270a–c (T. Gesztelyi); infine in Dacia AE 2002, 1220 (S. Nemeti); gli anelli: ad es. AE 2007, 1150–1153, *Brigetio* in Pannonia Superiore (L. Borhy). Per gli anelli, ad es. quelli conservati al Museo Nazionale Ungherese, vd. AE 2011, 950 (A. Szabó). Solo il terzo volume dei *TitAq* curato da B. Fehér (B. Fehér, *Tituli Aquincenses. 3. Tituli instrumenti domestici*, Budapest 2011) contiene mezzo migliaio di bolli da *Aquincum*, vd. AE 2011, 1020–1058 e cfr AE 2013, 1261.

³⁸ AE 2000, 1868 = AE 2013, 1168 (S. F. Pfahl), *Vallatum* in *Rezia*.

o su anelli³⁹; le *tesserae nummulariae* della Carinzia⁴⁰; in generale l'*instrumentum* come nei *Testimonia epigraphica Norica*⁴¹ o gli ex voto religiosi, come quelli dedicati alle divinità dalle terme salutari di *Aquae Iasae* in territorio di *Poetovio* in Pannonia Superiore⁴². E poi i *tituli picti*⁴³, le tavolette di cera dalla Dacia⁴⁴, la decorazione iconografica⁴⁵, le tipologie monumentali⁴⁶, gli errori del lapidista⁴⁷, il reimpiego ad es. dei miliari⁴⁸, i falsi⁴⁹, i “doppi epigrafici”⁵⁰, il *ductus*⁵¹, il formulario⁵², la *damnatio memoriae*⁵³, la poesia epigrafica studiata da Paolo Cugusi e Maria Teresa Sblendorio Cugusi⁵⁴, con varie reminiscenze ovidiane che da Tomi riemergono nei *carmina*

³⁹ Ad es. AE 2013, 1183, *Ovilava* in Norico (G. E. Thüry): *veni cito amica pia*. Alcuni anelli hanno dediche a divinità, come nel caso della dedica *Sil(vano) sanc(to) v(otum) PVT* di AE 2013, 1222, *Scarbantia* (Z. Mráv); analogo il caso di AE 1979, 478.

⁴⁰ AE 2013, 1174a–c (G. Piccottini), *Magdalensberg*, età di Tiberio.

⁴¹ M. Hainzmann / R. Wedenig, *Testimonia Epigraphica Norica (TENOR), Instrumentum domesticum Austriae Superioris, Indices*, Graz 2002; vd. AE 2002, 1997 e AE 2007, 1073. Vd. ora il *magnum opus* sulle 1123 *tesserae* iscritte di piombo provenienti da Siscia (Sisak in Croatia) in Pannonia superiore: I. Radman-Livaja, *Tesere iz Siska. Olovne tesere iz Siscije / Tesserae Sisciensiae : les plombs inscrits de Siscia* (Musei Arch. Zagrabienis Catalogi et Monographiae 9/1 e 9/2), Zagreb 2014.

⁴² AE 2013, 1207 (L. Lučić).

⁴³ Ad es. AE 2004, 1555–56, *Augusta Vindelicum* in Rezia (U. Ehmgig / B. Liou / L. Long).

⁴⁴ AE 2004, 1206, *Alburnus Maior* (I. Piso).

⁴⁵ Ad es. AE 2005, 1188, *Salona* (N. Gauthier), 1196 (M. T. Boatwright), Pannonia; AE 2006, 964, Norico (E. Pochmarski); AE 2009, 1182 (C. Ciongradi), per 110 monumenti funerari iscritti di *Alburnus Maior* in Dacia. Per *Novae* in Mesia inferiore vd. AE 2011, 1121 (J. Kolendo).

⁴⁶ Ad es. in Rezia, in Norico, nella Pannonia Superiore (AE 2007, 1061), in Alta Austria AE 2008, 996 (C. Hemmers / S. Traxler), in Dacia, a *Sarmizegetusa*, AE 2005, 1297 (M. Mărgineanu-Cârstoiu / V. Apostol / Ș. Balici / C. Meșter).

⁴⁷ Ad es. a *Celeia* in AE 2007, 1079 (J. Visočnik).

⁴⁸ Vd. oltre i miliari di Settimio Severo del 201 riutilizzati da Caracalla nel 214, AE 2004, 1085 (M. Lovenjak).

⁴⁹ Ad es. AE 2004, 1130; AE 2005, 1227 e AE 2008, 1092; AE 2011, 842 e 1003, *Carnuntum*; AE 2012, 1082, *Traismauer (Augustianis)*, secondo E. Weber; AE 2008, 1092, *Carnuntum*, secondo P. Scherrer.

⁵⁰ A. Ștefănescu: doppi epigrafici in Dacia (*Alburnus Maior, Samum, Micia, Apulum*); vd. però V. Rădeanu in AE 2006, 1105.

⁵¹ Ad es. L. Zerbini, *Scritture latine nella Dacia romana. Status quaestionis e proposte di ricerca*, in: Donati / Poma, *L'officina epigrafica romana* (vd. sopra nt 32), 525–531.

⁵² Ad es. *h(ic) i(ille ?) s(itus) e(st)*, in AE 2003, 1344, in Pannonia (P. Kruschwitz).

⁵³ AE 2005, 1276 (D. Benea / I. Hica).

⁵⁴ P. Cugusi / M. T. Sblendorio Cugusi (edd.), *Studi sui carmi epigrafici: Carmina latina epigraphica Pannonica*, Bologna 2007 (adde H. Graßl, AE 2010, 1263–1264); P. Cugusi / M. T. Sblendorio Cugusi (edd.), *Carmina Latina Epigraphica Moesica, Carmina latina epigraphica Thraciae*, Bologna 2008; P. Cugusi / M. T. Sblendorio Cugusi (edd.), *Carmina Latina Epigraphica non-bücheleriani di Dalmatia (CLEDaln), Edizione e commento, con osservazioni sui carmi bücheleriani della provincia* (Epigrafia e antichità 36), Faenza 2015. Vd. anche diversi interventi su singoli testi, come per l'epigramma di *Noviodunum* in Mesia Inferiore (P. Cugusi, *Recupero di una 'perla' epigrafica. Per l'esegesi degli epigrammi di Noviodunum*, Res Publica

epigrafici, come a Sarmizegetusa (*heroides*, 21,91)⁵⁵, oppure come a Transmarisca, secondo D. Adameşteanu, dai *Tristia* di Ovidio, *hic ego qui iaceo tenerorum lusor amorum* (III 3, 73 s.)⁵⁶. Sulla stessa linea a *Melta* (oggi Lăžane in Bulgaria), un carne funerario racconta della lunga malattia della defunta quattordicenne, con riprese dal mito di Atlante nelle *Metamorfosi* di Ovidio (X 689–690)⁵⁷: temi che ci riportano alle radici della cultura latina di età augustea, in ambiente danubiano. Infine l'epigrafia rupestre tanto cara a Lidio Gasperini: in Bulgaria, a Pleven, R. Ivanov ha rivisto l'iscrizione rupestre di Somovit⁵⁸. Come dimenticare che dieci anni fa Miroslava Mirković attraverso le iscrizioni rupestri del Djerdap nelle emozionanti gole del Danubio (già note al Marsigli) ha ricostruito la politica imperiale romana tra Tiberio e Adriano in territorio mesico⁵⁹. Ma l'epigrafia è capace di far riemergere tradizioni, riti, miti di un passato lontanissimo da noi⁶⁰; fa scorgere il tema dell'assenza, la disperazione, il cordoglio, il pianto di fronte alla morte, ben al di là degli stereotipati formulari epigrafici legati al rimpianto da parte degli eredi⁶¹; suscita emozioni e contiene indicazioni erotiche⁶²; oppure ci informa sugli aspetti sociali come a proposito

Litterarum. Studies in the Classical Tradition 23 (2000) (In memory of Scevola Mariotti) 73–103; il poema di Ratisbona (*Castra Regina* in Rezia) studiato da W. Pfaffel, in AE 2005, 1148 = AE 2006, 961 (P. Cugusi / M. T. Sblendorio Cugusi); vd. ora AE 2007, 1070 (O. Raith). Infine il poema della via delle tombe di *Carnuntum* in Pannonia Superiore, rivisto da H. Graßl, che ritiene riguardi un defunto di origine italica, un *lixa* (valletto dell'esercito), con il rammarico espresso a suo nome dai fratelli per la morte lontana dalla patria, nei primi tempi dell'occupazione romana (AE 2008, 1099 = AE 2009, 1049): *O utinam Italiae potius mea fata dedissent / quam premeret cineres barbara terra meos.*

⁵⁵ AE 2008, 1168 = AE 1993, 1345 (J. Velaza).

⁵⁶ AE 2004, 1266 (S. Conrad).

⁵⁷ AE 2009, 1201 (V. Nedeljković).

⁵⁸ AE 2001, 1732.

⁵⁹ M. Mirković, *Les inscriptions du Djerdap et la politique romaine sur le Danube de Tibère à Trajan*, in Zerbini (ed.), *Roma e le province del Danubio* (vd. sopra nt. 1), 175–195.

⁶⁰ Ad es. M. Bărbulescu (ed.), *Funeraria dacoromana: arheologia funerară a Daciei Romane*, Cluj-Napoca 2003.

⁶¹ Ad es. in Pannonia Inferiore, AE 2004, 1159 (Vereb, Comitato di Fejér): *cui vita parva, mors valde citata fuit, quem flentes doleunt miserique parentes*, per la morte dei tre piccoli figli di *Septimia Decorata*.

⁶² Particolarmente acuta l'analisi di R. Selinger sul vocabolario erotico in Pannonia Superiore: l'aggettivo *Fututor* di un epitafio di *Carnuntum* non sarebbe un indizio di rapporti omosessuali tra il medico defunto *L. Iulius Optatus* e il dedicante *L. Iulius Faustus*: forse solo un cognome, AE 2006, 1058. Viceversa esplicito contenuto erotico hanno le iscrizioni di Solva (oggi Esztergom in Pannonia Superiore), dove ci restano numerosi graffiti con l'espressione dal contenuto erotico: *Pidico qui tacunt*, AE 2008, 1083 (B. Lőrincz); analoga espressione da Dunakeszi (Pannonia Inferiore), raccolta da Z. Mráv: *[Q]ui ta[gunt ?] pidi[co ?]*, AE 2011, 1059, IV secolo. A *Lentia* nel Norico conosciamo un *[do]minus fartor*, un allevatore che ingrassava i volatili, in un'epigrafe dal contenuto erotico, AE 2004, 1092 (G. E. Thüry). Infine l'espressione *Dizzo Ebctasiaque atamo del valetudinarium* del campo militare di *Novae* in Mesia Inferiore andrebbe intesa come una dichiarazione d'amore di un trace (*Dizzo*) verso una donna con nome greco (*Euctasia*), dove *atamo* è da intendersi *adamo* (sono innamorato), AE 2011, 1125 (T. Płóciennik / J. Żelazowski). Per il Norico, vd. la fibula di Wels (*Ovilava*) in AE 2013, 1184

dell'applicazione in Mesia delle leggi matrimoniali di Augusto dopo la recente scoperta effettuata nel 2003 delle due tavole bronzee contenenti la *Lex Municipii Troesmensium* dell'età di Marco Aurelio e Commodo⁶³; oppure sui rapporti di parentela come a proposito dell'utilizzo del termine *amita* o del termine *nepos/neptia* in Dacia⁶⁴.

Significativi passi in avanti sono stati compiuti sui fenomeni linguistici caratteristici del latino parlato in provincia, in particolare in Pannonia, a causa dei rapporti transfrontalieri e della varietà di provenienze della componente militare, per quanto assistiamo sul piano geografico a una progressiva riduzione della "densità epigrafica" dopo l'età dei Severi⁶⁵; è stata studiata da B. Fehér la sintassi delle frasi complesse nel latino della Pannonia e la coesistenza tra lingue differenti⁶⁶; in Mesia Superiore a Naissus V. Nedeljković ha studiato l'evoluzione del volgare in età tardo-antica⁶⁷; la lingua latina sulle iscrizioni daciche è stata studiata da Eugenia Beu-Dachin⁶⁸; per non parlare della prosopografia⁶⁹, della situazione sociale e del ruolo degli schiavi e dei liberti imperiali⁷⁰: l'applicazione della *lex Aelia Sentia*, che secondo L. Mihăilescu-Bîrliba in Dalmazia, Pannonia, Mesia e Dacia testimonia che gli schiavi erano liberati molto giovani, a meno di 30 anni di età⁷¹. La vita familiare in particolare dei liberti nell'*Illyricum*⁷² oppure in Dacia⁷³; ma anche la condizione femminile⁷⁴, l'età del

(*S[pe]s [a]more si m[e am]as*), con un repertorio delle iscrizioni analoghe della Rezia e delle Pannonie (G. E. Thüry). In Dalmazia, vd. le rappresentazioni di un fallo in un'iscrizione funeraria, ad es. in AE 2013, 1194a–c, *Salona* (N. Cambi / I. Matijević).

⁶³ Un'anticipazione è in W. Eck, *La loi municipale de Troesmis, Données juridiques et politiques d'une inscription récemment découverte*, *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 91.2 (2013) 199–213. Vd. ora Id., *Das leben römisch Gestalten. Ein Stadtgesetz für das municipium Troesmis aus den Jahren 177-180 n. Chr.*, in: G. De Kleijn / S. Benoist (edd.), *Integration in Rome and in the Roman World. Proceedings of the Tenth Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Lille, June 23–25, 2011)*, Leyda / Boston 2014, 75–88; vd. AE 2013, 1345.

⁶⁴ AE 2013, 1307, *Apulum* (S. Armani). Per *nepos/neptia*, vd. AE 2007, 1201 = AE 2008, 1167 = AE 2013, 1311, *Alburnus Maior* (N. Mathieu).

⁶⁵ Vd. G. Németh / I. Piso (edd.), *Epigraphica II. Mensa rotunda epigraphiae dacicae panonicaeque. Papers of the 4th Hungarian Epigraphic Roundtable, Sarmizegetusa 24–26 ottobre 2003* (Hungarian Polis Studies 11), Debrecen 2004.

⁶⁶ AE 2005, 1199; AE 2007, 1137 e 1139.

⁶⁷ AE 2013, 1321.

⁶⁸ E. Beu-Dachin, *The Latin Language in the Inscriptions of Roman Dacia*, Cluj-Napoca 2014.

⁶⁹ Ad es. in Scizia Minore, AE 2005 (A. Barnea) oppure in area pontica, AE 2012, 1279 e 2013, 1329 (A. Avram); per una prosopografia al femminile in Mesia Inferiore, AE 2013, 1330 (R.-G. Curcă).

⁷⁰ AE 2006, 945 (L. Mihăilescu-Bîrliba); AE 2013, 1162 (I. Weber-Hiden).

⁷¹ AE 2008, 986.

⁷² AE 2004, 1048 (L. Mihăilescu-Bîrliba).

⁷³ AE 2002, 1217.

⁷⁴ AE 2006, 1141 (F. Beutler).

matrimonio, lo *ius hereditatum* in Dacia⁷⁵, l'onomastica specie in ambiente militare⁷⁶, i gentilizi imperiali, gli pseudogentilizi⁷⁷, la vita religiosa, l'organizzazione del culto imperiale a livello municipale e provinciale⁷⁸, le tradizioni legate al mondo della magia⁷⁹, della religione o della medicina ufficiale nelle loro interrelazioni⁸⁰; le minacciose *defixiones*⁸¹; con attenzione per tanti aspetti sociali, come l'età media o la speranza di vita⁸²; ancora le nuove possibilità offerte dall'epigrafia alla delimitazione

⁷⁵ AE 2004, 1186 (A. Stănescu).

⁷⁶ Vd. ad es. per il Norico A. Kakoschke, *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Noricum* (Alfa-Omega, Reihe A, 262), Hildesheim / Zurich / New York 2012. Per l'onomastica greca in Dacia, vd. AE 2013, 1275 (M. Dragostin).

⁷⁷ Ad es. in Dacia, AE 2005, 1281 (D. Dana); AE 2007, 1183 (R. Varga); in Mesia Inferiore, AE 2006, 1197 (R. G. Curcă); S. Loma ritiene che in Mesia Superiore l'onomastica sia prevalentemente dalmato-pannonica: AE 2010, 1395. Per la trasmissione dei gentilizi in Rezia, nel Norico e nelle Pannonie: AE 2006, 944 (N. G. Brancato). I nomi preromani in Norico: Kakoschke, *Personennamen* (vd. sopra nt. 76); vd. AE 2004, 1090 (J. Stern). Per la Rezia, vd. AE 2010, 1113 (A. Kakoschke). Per i nomi celtici: AE 2005, 1195 (W. Meid); integrazioni di G. Alföldy in AE 2002, 11745. Vd. anche AE 2004, 1120 (D. Stifter), AE 2012, 1192 (M. Dragostin). Per la Dalmazia sud-orientale e la Dardania, vd. AE 2007, 1060 (M. Mirković). Per il *conventus Naronitanus* in Dalmazia, vd. AE 2011, 920 (R. Comes). Per l'onomastica femminile in Liburnia, AE 2008, 1032 (A. Kurilić). Naturalmente sono state studiate singole città, come *Celeia*, AE 2010, 1140 (J. Visočník). Mi piace citare in questa sede il rarissimo cognome *Matera*: *Aur(elia) Matera* di AE 2004, 1169 documentato a Várpalota in *agro Poetovionensi*, da avvicinare alla *Ulp(ia) Matera* di ILJug. 164 da Prijedor in Bosnia e alla *Matera* di *Turris Libisonis* in Sardegna (AE 2002, 632 [F. Manconi]; AE 2005, 689 [A. Mastino]; P. Ruggeri, *Intervento sulla relazione di Danilo Mazzoleni*, in: R. Martorelli / A. Piras / P. G. Spanu (edd.), *Isole e terraferma nel primo cristianesimo, XI Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Cristiana*, Roma 2015, 529). I nomi geografici in Pannonia: P. Anreiter, *Die vorrömischen Namen Pannoniens* (Archaeolingua, Serie Minor 16), Budapest 2001.

⁷⁸ Vd. AE 2011, 843 (B. Rossignol).

⁷⁹ Per le gemme magiche della Dacia, vd. AE 2002, 1220 (S. Nemeti); altri testi magici dalla Dacia e dalla Mesia Inferiore in AE 2013, 1277 (S. Nemeti); vd. anche AE 2013, 1260, *Aquincum* (B. Fehér).

⁸⁰ Ad es. in Pannonia: AE 2007, 1136 (P. Zsidi / G. Németh). Ad *Aquincum* conosciamo in età severiana una *Marc(ius ?) Marcellus, medicus*, in una dedica di un *ex voto* ad Esculapio ed Hygia, AE 2008, 1123 (Á. Szabó); vd. anche AE 2009, 1169. Per i medici della Mesia Inferiore, vd. AE 2010, 1407 (D. Aparaschivei) e AE 2013, 1322 (D. Grbić / S. Drča): quest'ultima ricorda un medico della *cohors I Dardanorum* in una dedica *Asclepio Hygia(e)* in età severiana (si noti la rara reincisione di titoli imperiali di Caracalla sul nome di Geta eraso). Per la Dacia vedi la dedica di Ilişua ripresa da Dan Dana con il rapporto tra un soldato dell'*ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana* e gli dei tutelari della medicina e della Salute (Esculapio, Hygia, Apollo): «*Orientaux*» en *Dacie romaine. Réédition d'une dédicace grecque d'Arcobada/Ilişua* (SEG LVII 683 = AE, 2006, 1131), *Classica et Christiana* 9.1 (2014) 85–95.

⁸¹ Ad es. AE 2009, 1169, *Aquincum* (A. Barta / G. Lassányi); ad *Abusina* in Rezia, AE 2011, 860 (B. Steidl); ad *Apulum* in Dacia, AE 2013, 1308 (G. V. Bounegru / G. Németh / S. Nemeti). È stata effettuata una revisione di una complessa *defixio* proveniente da Sisak in Pannonia Superiore, riferibile all'età di Traiano, dove si invoca il dio-fiume *Savus*, assieme a *Muta Tagita*, certamente la più nota *Tacita Muta* della tradizione laziale, con l'invito a ridurre al silenzio gli avversari odiati (AE 2008, 1080 [F. Marco Simón / I. Rodà De Llanza]).

⁸² Ad es. AE 2008, 1181, per la popolazione femminile della Mesia Inferiore (V. Piftor).

dei territori delle città e delle province, come ad *Histria (civitas libera et immunis)*, dove un editto del governatore della Mesia Inferiore nei primi anni di Traiano, *Manius Laberius Maximus*, fissava i limiti territoriali della città, alla base di successive controversie che giunsero fino all'età dei Severi⁸³; oppure ad esempio alla conoscenza delle professioni⁸⁴ o alla navigazione fluviale e all'attività di *mercatores* e dei *corpora naviculariorum*⁸⁵; alla realizzazione di opere pubbliche⁸⁶ e di edifici da spettacolo, come gli anfiteatri, in Dalmazia presso il campo legionario di *Burnum (Ivoševci)*⁸⁷ e *Salona*⁸⁸, in Pannonia a *Brigetio* (oggi Komárom)⁸⁹, a *Carnuntum* già nell'età di Vespasiano⁹⁰, ad *Aquincum*⁹¹ e nella Dacia romana⁹².

⁸³ AE 2009, 1212 (O. Bounegru). Vd. ora F. Matei-Popescu, *Statutul juridic și teritoriul Histriei în epoca romană I*, in: F. Panait-Bîrzescu / I. Bîrzescu / F. Matei-Popescu / A. Robu (edd.), *Poleis în Marea Neagră. Relații interpontice și producții locale, Acti del colloquio di Bucarest del 27–28 settembre 2012* (Pontica et Mediterranea 1), București 2013, 202–233.

⁸⁴ Ad es. nel Norico, a Feldkirchen an der Saalach, AE 2006, 991 (G. E. Thüry): un *tinctor*.

⁸⁵ Ad es. sul Danubio, AE 2006, 946 (O. Bounegru); sul fiume Mureș in Dacia in AE 2006, 1121 (C. Timoc). Lietta De Salvo ha saputo ricostruire un mondo complesso, per la parte fluviale intorno ai *nautae*, ai *naukleroi*, agli *utricularii* dei porti fino al Mar Nero, con i loro culti, le loro concezioni religiose, le loro abilità tecniche, le loro barche, i loro contatti culturali con le popolazioni barbariche (L. De Salvo, *Circolazione e commercio per via d'acqua nelle province danubiane*, in: Zerbini [ed.], *Roma e le province del Danubio* [vd. sopra nt. 1], 79–94). I traffici commerciali potevano usufruire di alcune importanti vie d'acqua: il basso Danubio come via di comunicazione, la navigazione sui grandi fiumi dei Balcani, le navi, i *corpora naviculariorum*, gli armatori, i marinai, i trafficanti, il loro rapporto col potere nel libro di O. Bounegru (*Trafiqants et navigateurs sur le Bas Danube et dans le Pont Gauche à l'époque romaine*, Wiesbaden 2006).

⁸⁶ Ad es. a *Carnuntum* nell'età dei Severi, AE 2006, 1057 (M. Kandler).

⁸⁷ AE 2009, 1032 = AE 2012, 1108 (M. Buovac). La *legio XX* era però presente dall'età di Augusto, AE 2010, 1228 (S. Bekavac).

⁸⁸ AE 2005, 1182 (Z. Buljević). S. Pastor studia 13 urne di gladiatori rinvenute a nord dell'anfiteatro di *Salona*, una con il nome di *Leo secu[tor]* (AE 2011, 928–929).

⁸⁹ Il duoviro quinquennale del *municipium Brigetionensium L. Veratius Iulianus* realizza per l'anfiteatro il *podium cum suis spectaculis p(edum) LXX leg(ioni) I Adi(utrici) p(iae) f(fideli) Sever(ianae)*. Dunque sotto Severo Alessandro uno dei duoviri del municipio fa costruire la parte dell'anfiteatro lunga 70 piedi (21 metri) con i posti prestigiosi riservati ai militari della legione. Conosciamo altri interventi che vanno collocati nell'epoca dei Severi: un *vet(eranus) leg(ionis) I Ad(iutricis)* è citato in un epitafio posto da un *dec(urio) mun(icipii) Brig(etionensium)*, AE 2006, 1049 (L. Borhy).

⁹⁰ AE 2013, 1243 (F. Beutler).

⁹¹ AE 2013, 1264 (L. Borhy).

⁹² AE 2000, 1240; AE 2004, 1207.

Infine, il rapporto tra culture religiose differenti, la presenza ebraica come a *Brigetio*⁹³ o ad *Aquincum*⁹⁴ o nelle province daciche⁹⁵; la fase cristiana è testimoniata ad esempio dalle citazioni della Bibbia⁹⁶. L'insieme dei documenti è ora studiato anche con riferimento alla collocazione cronologica, attraverso i formulari, le caratteristiche tecniche, la paleografia⁹⁷, la scrittura corsiva⁹⁸.

Già il nostro compianto G. Alföldy si interrogava nel volume degli atti della Conferenza sul Danubio svoltasi a Belgrado nel 2003 ed edito da M. Mirković⁹⁹ sulla concreta possibilità di ricondurre ad un discorso unitario il processo di sviluppo della “cultura epigrafica” nelle province danubiane, a causa dei variegati processi di urbanizzazione e municipalizzazione nello spazio danubiano, dal momento che dobbiamo registrare ritmi differenti di un discorso articolato per province tanto diverse tra loro. In alcune aree, specie nel settore illirico, la “cultura epigrafica” si affaccia già a partire da Augusto; Pannonia e Mesia hanno ospitato reparti legionari, mentre altri territori, come la Rezia e il Norico, sono stati controllati solo da guarnigioni ausiliarie; in molte province, a maggior ragione in Dacia, si può parlare di cultura epigrafica solo dopo la prima metà del II secolo d.C., a causa della “bassa densità epigrafica” per tutto il I secolo d.C. (e ci troviamo di fronte prevalentemente a iscrizioni funerarie). Di conseguenza mi sono interrogato a lungo se proporre con questa relazione un quadro unitario per l'insieme dell'area balcanico-danubiana oppure, più correttamente, un ragionamento articolato per settori e per province. Ovviamente mi riservo in futuro di raggiungere un livello maggiore di dettaglio e di approfondimento.

3. La lunga conquista

Sembra opportuno partire ancora una volta dalla “*regina inscriptionum*”, le *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, con le parole di Augusto evocate da W. Eck al nostro primo convegno di Ferrara: *Pannoniorum gentes quas ante me principem populi Romani exercitus numquam adiit...imperio populi Romani subieci protulique fines Illyrici ad*

⁹³ Molto animata la discussione su una iscrizione che secondo I. Tóth e T. Grüll sarebbe ebraica, dedicata *Deo M[agno] Aeter[no]*, che potrebbe ricordare una *[synago]ga* col titolo di *pr[oseucha]*, AE 2008, 1089–90; *contra*: D. Gáspár e L. Berger (vd. AE 2005, 12).

⁹⁴ Ad *Aquincum* in Pannonia Inferiore la popolazione di origine siriana ed ebraica è studiata da T. Budai Balogh: i primi orientali sarebbero giunti con la *legio II Adiutrix* nel corso delle spedizioni partiche di Traiano e Lucio Vero, poi durante la guerra marcomannica di Marco Aurelio, inviati in Pannonia Inferiore (AE 2011, 1017).

⁹⁵ AE 2001, 1701 (N. Gudea).

⁹⁶ AE 2009, 970 (A. E. Felle).

⁹⁷ Ad es. a *Novae* in Mesia Inferiore, AE 2006, 1203 (J. Kolendo).

⁹⁸ AE 2008, 1162 (A. Vološciuc).

⁹⁹ G. Alföldy, *Die Anfänge der epigraphischen Kultur der Römer an der Donaugrenze im 1. Jahrhundert n. Chr.*, in: M. Mirković (ed.), *Römische Städte und Festungen an der Donau. Akten der regionalen Konferenz, Beograd, 16–19 Oktober 2003*, Beograd 2005, 23–38. Ma vd. una sintesi dell'intero volume in AE 2005, 1137.

*ripam fluminis Danuvi*¹⁰⁰. Le recenti riflessioni di H. Graßl e di K. Strobel hanno portato a rivalutare l'azione di Augusto e ad arrivare ad una sintesi sulle nuove teorie sulla provincializzazione di Rezia, Norico e Pannonia¹⁰¹. Anche il recente lavoro di D. Grbić sulla conquista romana alla luce dei monumenti trionfali (partendo dalle statue che rappresentano i popoli balcanici provenienti dall'Augusteo di Afrodisia), ha chiarito i contenuti delle campagne militari di Ottaviano Augusto, segnando le tappe della conquista dell'Ilirico e delle regioni danubiane¹⁰².

Augusto costituì definitivamente la provincia dell'Ilirico solo nel 27 a.C., considerandola pacificata e lasciandola nelle mani del Senato, che vi inviò dei proconsoli. Qualche anno dopo, a seguito di una nuova rivolta di Dalmati, la provincia fu dichiarata imperiale, allargata fino a comprendere parte della Pannonia e della Mesia e, tolta al Senato; a partire dall'11 a.C. ospitò un presidio legionario che aveva sede a *Salona*, sotto il comando di un legato di rango consolare (il primo fu il figliastro Tiberio). Gli ultimi studi hanno chiarito molti aspetti della grande rivolta pannonica del 6 d.C.: Sirmio (Sremska Mitrovica in Serbia) sulla Sava fu a lungo assediata da Tiberio, indebolita da carestie e pestilenze, come ha dimostrato D. Gabler dell'Università di Budapest¹⁰³. La Pannonia, ormai quasi spopolata, fu allora sottoposta ad una dura occupazione militare ed affidata inizialmente col nome di *Illyricum Inferius* ad un autonomo legato, così come ora precisato da M. Šašel Kos, M. Emilio Lepido nel 9 d.C. e alla morte di Augusto Quinto Giulio Bleso¹⁰⁴. È possibile ricostruire l'attività delle legioni e dei reparti ausiliari, impegnati a costruire strade, canali, accampamenti. L'esercito è presente con i suoi *castra* legionari e ausiliari affiancati dalle *canabae*. Le regioni adriatiche della Dalmazia venivano definitivamente scorporate dalla Pannonia e costituivano una provincia distinta. I recenti lavori di J. Fitz hanno spostato nel tempo la bipartizione della provincia di Illiria. La divisione non sarebbe avvenuta come fin qui sostenuto tra il 9 e il 20 d.C. ma solo sotto Claudio tra il 46 e il 49. Dopo aver fatto parte del Norico, *Carnuntum* appartiene alla Pannonia dal 50. Savaria ha ottenuto il titolo di colonia allo stesso tempo delle città del Norico con un perfetto sincronismo. La prima menzione di un governatore in Pannonia è del 50, di Dalmazia del 65¹⁰⁵.

¹⁰⁰ *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 30. W. Eck, *Die Donau als Ziel römischer Politik: Augustus und die Eroberung des Balkan*, in Zerbini (ed.), *Roma e le province del Danubio* (vd. sopra nt. 1), 19–33; adde: M. Šašel Kos, *Appian and Illyricum* (Situla 43), Ljubljana 2005, con un dettagliato commentario della conquista di Illirico (Dalmazia, 393–471), Rezia e Norico (473–488), Mesia (489–516).

¹⁰¹ AE 2008, 984.

¹⁰² AE 2011, 837.

¹⁰³ D. Gabler, *La campagna progettata contro Maroboduo e le sue conseguenze*, in: Zerbini (ed.), *Roma e le province danubiane* (vd. sopra nt. 1), 125–152.

¹⁰⁴ AE 2010, 1237. Vd. ora la importante sintesi di P. Kovács, *A History of Pannonia during the Principate* (Antiquitas I 65), Bonn 2014.

¹⁰⁵ AE 2000, 1182. Per la nascita della Pannonia solo sotto Vespasiano, vd. AE 2010, 1237 (M. Šašel Kos).

Già in età augustea si sviluppa una forte immigrazione di artigiani, come i *Barbii* recentemente studiati da G. Piccottini¹⁰⁶; a questi anni può forse essere riferita l'iscrizione incisa sulla gamba della celebre statua del giovane atleta di Helenberg che si data alla seconda metà del I secolo a.C. (dunque all'inizio dell'età augustea secondo Wohlmayr) e su uno scudo perduto, sempre dal Magdalensberg, con i nomi *M. Gallicinus Vindili f. L. Barbius L. l. Philotaerus procurator, Craxantus Barbi P. servus*¹⁰⁷. Infine ad officine di inizio di età augustea viene riferita la dedica effettuata alle calende di maggio alle divinità ctonie con 25 misure di vino per libagioni da *A. Poblucios D. l. Antiochus*¹⁰⁸.

4. Questa rassegna

Naturalmente la nostra ricerca è partita da *L'Année épigraphique* che a questi primi 13 anni (l'ultimo numero del 2012 è uscito in questi giorni) riserva oltre 500 schede, e da numerose altre riviste (*Arheološki Vestnik*, il cui nr. 66 sulla tarda antichità, dedicato a Slavko Ciglenečki, è arrivato al 2015) e altri repertori, tra i quali *l'Annona epigraphica Austriaca*, curata da E. Weber e a partire dal XV volume da un gruppo di studiosi: K. Böhm, V. Hofmann, M. Holzner, M. Pesditschek, R. Selinger, I. Weber-Hiden, fino a F. Beutler dal numero 2014–2015; una rassegna che raccoglie articoli spesso difficili da trovare, accompagnata da un commento epigrafico, indici e lista di concordanze¹⁰⁹. Ormai possediamo anche numerosi repertori bibliografici, come quelli sulla religione in Dacia curato da Cs. Szabó e I. Boda, uscito nel 2014.

Ma questi sono gli anni della pubblicazione di diversi nuovi volumi del *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, relativi ad alcune province e ad alcune categorie di iscrizioni, come i 572 nuovi miliari. Quelli della Rezia e del Norico sono stati studiati nel volume XVII, Pars IV del CIL (*Illyricum et provinciae Europae Graecae*, fasc. I, *miliaria provinciarum Raetiae et Norici*) da A. Kolb, dal compianto G. Walser e da G. Winkler (Berlino / New York 2005), pubblicato a cura di M. G. Schmidt e U. Jansen per conto dell'*Academia Scientiarum Berolinensis et Brandenburgensis*. Nel nuovo fascicolo (CIL XVII, IV, 1), si raccolgono 73 miliari delle sette vie della Rezia e 155 miliari lungo dieci vie del Norico: citerò almeno la *via a Vindobona per Cetium Lauriacum Ovilavis ad Aenum flumen* in Norico¹¹⁰ e la via sulla riva destra del Danubio (*via secundum amnem Danuvium*) in Rezia, tra *Guntia, Augusta Vindelicorum, Castra Regina, Boiodurum* (in totale 229 nuovi testi o riedizioni con significative rettifiche)¹¹¹.

¹⁰⁶ AE 2008, 1010.

¹⁰⁷ AE 2000, 1152.

¹⁰⁸ AE 2000, 1153.

¹⁰⁹ Vd. AE 2013, 1159. Gran parte della serie è apparsa su "Tyche", ma alcuni numeri sono su "Römisches Österreich", ad es. 37–38 (2014–2015) 195–208 (per gli anni 2013–14) e 209–217 (per l'anno 2015) o in atti di convegni: cfr *Annona epigraphica Austriaca 1993–1998*, in: H. Tauer (ed.), *Akten des 7. Österreichischen Althistorikertages*, Wien 2001, 49–127.

¹¹⁰ I miliari di *Cetium* in Norico sono in AE 2008, 1024 (R. Risy).

¹¹¹ AE 2005, 1138 (G. Winkler); AE 2006, 948 (E. Weber). Per il campo di *Boiodurum* in Baviera (oggi Passau), vd. AE 2013, 1170 (M. Boier). Sulle strade romane della Rezia e del

Al 2012 risale il secondo fascicolo CIL XVII, IV, 2, relativo ai milari della Dalmazia (edd. A. Kolb / G. Walser, nel frattempo deceduto, adiuvante U. Jansen), con 342 *miliaria provinciae Dalmatiae* e gli indici dei fascicoli 1 e 2 curati da A. Fassbender¹¹². L'opera permette di identificare almeno 11 strade della provincia, tra le quali la strada costiera settentrionale che si originava da Aquileia: *via ex Italia per Tarsaticam, Seniam, Burnum ad Salonas*; ma la messe più significativa di nuovi documenti è quella relativa ai quasi cento milari delle due strade meridionali lungo la costa: le *viae a Salona Naronam* e *a Narona Scodram*.

L'impresa della riedizione di CIL III per le iscrizioni pannoniche (in particolare di *Carnuntum*) presentata a Ferrara da Ekkehard Weber rende bene la difficoltà di un impegno internazionale di ricerca che però rappresenta una speranza per il futuro. Siamo certi che accanto alla individuazione di nuovi falsi, alla riedizione di testi già noti e alla riorganizzazione dei dati, la nuova edizione di CIL III presenterà rilevantissime novità e numerosi inediti¹¹³.

Le iscrizioni della Pannonia sono state già ampiamente discusse nei cinque fascicoli degli *Studia Epigraphica Pannonica (SEP)*, curato dal gruppo di lavoro ungherese che prepara il nuovo volume di CIL III, seconda edizione consacrato alla Pannonia (l'ultimo a cura di P. Kovács / B. Fehér), con attenzione per *Aquincum, Brigetio, Scarbantia*, e la revisione delle epigrafi, in particolare le false di *Carnuntum*; un capitolo significativo è dedicato agli umanisti alla corte del re Matthias Corvin¹¹⁴. Rare (37 in tutto) le nuove iscrizioni greche della Pannonia studiate da P. Kovács, 11 delle quali bilingui, a testimonianza di specifiche componenti sociali (soldati, *negotiatores*, cristiani)¹¹⁵. Proprio P. Kovács ha curato la terza edizione accresciuta del *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum Pannonicarum* nelle due province di Pannonia e nella contigua regione del *Barbaricum*, con osservazioni sull'influenza del greco sul latino della regione e la confusione tra alfabeti diversi¹¹⁶. Non mancano le iscrizioni ebraiche, una delle quali in lingua greca conserva un versetto del Deuteronomio (6,4), proveniente dalla Pannonia Superiore, il più antico testimonia ebraico in suolo austriaco, risalente al II secolo¹¹⁷.

Norico, vd. J. Stern, *Römerräder in Rätien und Noricum. Unterwegs auf römischen Pfaden* (RÖ 25), Wien 2002.

¹¹² 572 in AE 2012, 1083.

¹¹³ E. Weber, *I lavori di riedizione del CIL III (Pannonia): problemi e risultati*, in: Zerbini (ed.), *Roma e le province del Danubio* (vd. sopra nt. 1), 197–208; vd. AE 2010, 1236.

¹¹⁴ P. Kovács / B. Fehér / Á. Szabó (edd.), *Studia Epigraphica Pannonica (SEP) 3*, Budapest 2011; P. Kovács / B. Fehér (edd.), *Studia Epigraphica Pannonica (SEP) 4. In memoriam Barnabás Lőrincz*, Budapest 2012; P. Kovács / B. Fehér (edd.), *Studia Epigraphica Pannonica (SEP) 5*, Budapest 2013. Vd. anche AE 2008, 1072; AE 2009, 1038; AE 2011, 948; AE 2013, 1200.

¹¹⁵ AE 2007, 1127–1128.

¹¹⁶ AE 2007, 1128; P. Kovács, *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum Pannonicarum (CIGP), Editio III Aucta* (Hungarian Polis Studies 15), Debrecen / Budapest 2007; per la seconda edizione del 2001, vd. AE 2001, 1626.

¹¹⁷ AE 2008, 1077 (A. Lange / H. Taeuber).

Al 2011 risale il *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum et Graecarum Montenegri*, di J. Martinović: in totale 347 iscrizioni latine e 8 greche scoperte nel Montenegro, quasi tutte già note, riedite con non poche imprecisioni¹¹⁸.

Le iscrizioni latine dell'Albania sono state presentate in due volumi usciti a pochi anni di distanza, rispettivamente nel 2009 e nel 2012: il primo è opera di S. Anamali, H. Ceka, É. Deniaux (*Corpus des inscriptions latines d'Albanie*), il secondo di U. Ehmgig e di R. Haensch (*Die lateinischen Inschriften aus Albanien*)¹¹⁹.

Naturalmente per i nostri territori sono molto significativi i recenti dati relativi a nuovi diplomi militari (pubblicati da W. Eck e dai suoi colleghi)¹²⁰ e gli aggiornamenti a CIL XVI. Un incredibile numero di nuovi diplomi (una sessantina) pubblicati su "Chiron" da P. Weiss, W. Eck, A. Pangerl provengono dalla Mesia: di essi 26 sono riferiti alla Mesia Superiore, 25 alla Mesia Inferiore¹²¹. Un significativo aggiornamento dei RMD con precisazioni e rettifiche sulla consistenza dell'esercito del Norico è stato effettuato dopo le scoperte di *Lauriacum*, Porgstall an der Erlauf in Bassa Austria¹²². Sono venuti alla luce dodici nuovi diplomi relativi all'esercito della Pannonia, 5 *alae* e 13 coorti. Un diploma (da Bakonycsernye) è relativo ad un *C. Iulius C. fil. Ael(ia) Passar* della *legio II Adiutrix a Brigetio*, poi trasferito da Settimio Severo alla X coorte pretoria *pia vindex*, e congedato il 22 febbraio 206: egli era originario *Mogionibus*, forse un popolo, i *Mogiones*, da avvicinare al vicino *municipium Aelium Mogentiana* affiliato alla pseudo-tribù *Aelia*¹²³. Ci sono molti altri casi che andrebbero richiamati,

¹¹⁸ J. Martinović, *Antički natpisi u Crnoj Gori. Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum et Graecarum Montenegri*, Kotor 2011, con le osservazioni di AE 2011, 883. Vd. ulteriori sette iscrizioni greche (apparentemente arrivate nella baia di Kotor, Boka Kotorska, Montenegro, durante la dominazione veneziana) in: A. Lajtar / J. J. Martinović, *Greek Inscriptions in the Bay of Kotor*, Palamedes 76 (2012) 81–107; AE 2012, 1084. Per la storia delle scoperte a *Risinium*, *Butua*, *Catharum*, *Antibarium*, *Olcinium*, vd. ancora J. Martinović (AE 2011, 890 e AE 2013, 1188).

¹¹⁹ S. Anamali / H. Ceka / É. Deniaux, *Corpus des inscriptions latines d'Albanie* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome 410), Roma 2009; U. Ehmgig / R. Haensch, *Die lateinischen Inschriften aus Albanien (LIA)*, Bonn 2012. Il punto di partenza sono evidentemente *Le iscrizioni latine di Albania* di P. C. Sestieri, Roma 1943.

¹²⁰ Un elenco in questa sede è impossibile, vd. RMD V: ad es. AE 2000, 1213 (*Sirmium*); AE 2001, 1725 = RMD II 106 (*Novae*); AE 2004, 1256 (R. Petrovszky per il diploma di Ruse datato al 13 marzo 105, relativo al congedo di un *gregalis* dell'*ala II Hispanorum et Aruacorum*; allo stesso reparto è riferito il beneficiario del diploma frammentario del 138–140 d.C. di *Carnuntum* [AE 2013, 1246], pubblicato da F. Beutler); AE 2004, 1259 (*Abrittus*: diploma datato sotto Tito, 8 settembre 79, relativo a un *gregalis* dell'*ala I Thracum* stanziata del Norico); AE 2009, 993–995 da Stein, nel Norico (H. Ubl); AE 2008, 1195 (da Slava Rusă, *Ibida*, diploma del 14 agosto 99, studiato da L. Mihăilescu-Bîrliba, che ci informa sull'esercito della Mesia Inferiore sotto Traiano); AE 2008, 1116 = AE 2009, 1075, Putinci in Serbia; AE 2009, 1185 (Mesia); AE 2010, 1262 da *Carnuntum* in Pannonia Superiore (F. Beutler); AE 2010, 1272, Siófok in Pannonia Inferiore (Z. Mráv / I. Vida; W. Eck / A. Pangerl).

¹²¹ AE 2008, 1172.

¹²² AE 2003, 1324.

¹²³ RMD IV 303 = AE 2002, 1182 (nella edizione di Z. Visy). Altre pseudo-tribù: ad es. *Fl(avia)* attribuita ad un veterano della *legio II Adiutrix* in AE 2010, 1285, da *Aquincum* in

come quello di un diploma di *Cornacum* concesso all'ex gregale (un marinaio della flotta) *Priscinus Prisci f. Priscus ex Pan. Inf. Iatumentianis* e ai figli, che ricorda due consoli fin qui sconosciuti: *Euphrata et Romano coss.*, un 7 settembre tra il 192 ed il 206. *Priscinus* era originario di un villaggio sconosciuto della Pannonia Inferiore, *Iatumentianae*¹²⁴.

Sono state studiate varie collezioni, come quella Matijević di *Salona*, ora presentata in *Varia Salonitana* di D. Maršić e M. Matijević¹²⁵. Gli ultimi anni sono stati animati dalle ricerche che hanno portato alla monumentale edizione delle iscrizioni cristiane di *Salona* (E. Marin / N. Gauthier / F. Prévot [edd.], *Salona IV, Inscriptions de Salone chrétienne, IV^e–VII^e siècles* [Collection de l'École Française de Rome 194,4], Roma / Split 2010): 825 iscrizioni, di cui 742 latine e 84 greche, databili tra il IV e il VII secolo e conservate in prevalenza a Split, utili anche per definire i rapporti di parentela¹²⁶. L'opera è stata più volte annunciata negli anni precedenti da E. Marin, che aveva segnalato le datazioni consolari della *pars Occidentis*, perché la Dalmazia non fu aggregata alla *pars Orientis*¹²⁷ e da N. Gautier, che invece pensava ad un'epigrafia di frontiera tra Roma e Costantinopoli e segnalava l'alto numero di iscrizioni in lingua greca, in relazione ai numerosi immigrati¹²⁸. Anche F. Prévot nella *Miscellanea Emilio Marin* ha presentato una brillante sintesi sulle iscrizioni di *Salona* cristiana, con particolare attenzione per le relazioni familiari¹²⁹. In un epitafio che contiene le istruzioni per la tomba, conosciamo nel V secolo per la prima volta un *[p]rocura[t]or Eccl[es]ia[e] Salon[ia]nae*, un titolo che richiama la struttura dell'amministrazione imperiale¹³⁰.

In conseguenza delle nuove scoperte è cambiata profondamente la prospettiva storica, ad esempio sulla storia della Pannonia, come testimonia l'ampio articolo di G. Alföldy in "Rivista Storica dell'Antichità" 41 (2011), sintesi rinnovata attraverso le fonti letterarie, epigrafiche e iconografiche, con rettifiche rispetto al volume di P. Kovács / B. Fehér, pubblicato a Budapest nel 2005 in inglese (dal 54 al 166 d.C.)¹³¹. La storia della Pannonia tra il 235 e il 284 durante l'anarchia militare è stata studiata da P. Kovács¹³².

Pannonia Inferiore. Altri pretoriani congedati sono noti, come uno originario di *Mursa*, conosciuto dal diploma del 7 gennaio 245 da Sremska Mitrovica in Pannonia Inferiore (AE 2013, 1252b), (Z. Mráv / I. Vida); vd. i Salonitani di AE 2013, 1189 (D. Demicheli).

¹²⁴ AE 2000, 1214.

¹²⁵ AE 2001, 1606–1621.

¹²⁶ AE 2010, 1168–1215; AE 2011, 924; AE 2012, 1095.

¹²⁷ AE 2006, 1007.

¹²⁸ Vd. già la sintesi di N. Gauthier al XIV Congresso internazionale di archeologia cristiana di Vienna, in AE 2006, 1006.

¹²⁹ AE 2011, 924. Le iscrizioni cristiane di *Salona* erano state già studiate da J. Janssens e J. Dukić, vd. AE 2008, 1039.

¹³⁰ AE 2010, 1189.

¹³¹ AE 2005, 1194.

¹³² AE 2008, 1073.

Se ci soffermiamo sulla Panonia Inferiore (più orientale), emerge l'edizione di nuovi volumi del *RIU* e la costante revisione dei volumi precedenti: J. Fitz, A. Mócsy, S. Soproni hanno presentato il volume: *Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns 6: Das Territorium von Aquincum, die Civitas Eraviscorum und die Limes-Strecke Matrica-Annamatia und das Territorium von Gorsium*, Budapest / Bonn 2001, che comprende i territori di *Aquincum*, di *Gorsium*, della *civitas Eraviscorum* e il *limes* tra *Matrica* e *Annamatia*. L'opera è stata ampiamente commentata su *AE* e recensita da Alföldy e Lőrincz su "ZPE"¹³³.

Numerosi inediti da *Aquincum* sono presenti nei primi due volumi dei *Tituli Aquincenses*, curati da P. Kovács e Á. Szabó, usciti a Budapest tra il 2009 e il 2010, che raccolgono oltre 650 iscrizioni, in particolare quelle relative ad opere pubbliche, onorarie, sacre e sepolcrali¹³⁴. A B. Fehér si deve il III volume dei *Tituli Aquincenses* uscito a Budapest nel 2011 e dedicato a 523 bolli su *instrumentum domesticum*¹³⁵.

Le ricerche epigrafiche in Ungheria tra il 1994 e il 2005 sono sintetizzate da B. Lőrincz partendo dal *RIU*¹³⁶. Un buon supplemento al *RIU* è quello dedicato a oltre duecento iscrizioni ungheresi, 49 delle quali trovate nel *Barbaricum Sarmaticum*: P. Kovács, *Tituli Romani in Hungaria reperti (TRH), Supplementum*, Budapest / Bonn 2005, con 47 inediti¹³⁷. Una particolarità delle Pannonie sembra essere la ricchezza della decorazione dei monumenti funerari¹³⁸, come ora testimoniato dal volume di C. Ertel del *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani, Ungarn IX*¹³⁹. B. Fehér ha presentato un supplemento al *Lexicon epigraphicum Pannonicum (LEP)*, con riferimento alle scoperte effettuate tra il 1989 e il 2003¹⁴⁰. Altri studi sono dedicati all'*instrumentum*, con le più diverse provenienze.

Davvero straordinari appaiono i risultati del progetto iniziato e sviluppato da F. e O. Harl www.ubi-erat-lupa.org (Bilddatenbank zu antiken Steindenkmälern), oggi lupa.at (Römische Steindenkmäler) in collaborazione con EAGLE (European network

¹³³ AE 2001, 1298–1561b; AE 2002, 1175; AE 2003, 1132 (B. Lőrincz), 1133 (G. Alföldy).

¹³⁴ P. Kovács / Á. Szabó (edd.), *Tituli Aquincenses (TitAq) I: Tituli operum publicorum et honorari et sacri*, Budapest 2009; *II: Tituli sepulcrales et alii Budapestini reperti*, Budapest 2010.

¹³⁵ AE 2011, 1020–1058.

¹³⁶ AE 2006, 1024.

¹³⁷ Vd. già AE 2000, 1224–1231.

¹³⁸ AE 2005, 1192–1193.

¹³⁹ Budapest 2010. Vd. AE 2011, 1011. Il supplemento del *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani* dedicato a *Carnuntum*, edito nel 2012 a firma di G. Kremer, presenta 772 monumenti utili per conoscere il rapporto tra esercito e vita religiosa: G. Kremer *et al.*, *Götterdastellungen Kult- und Weihedenkmäler aus Carnuntum* (*Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani*. Österreich. Suppl. Carnuntum, 1), Wien 2012. Vd. anche sui monumenti funerari del Norico: G. Kremer, *Antike Grabbauten in Noricum. Katalog und Auswertung von Werkstücken als Beitrag zu Rekonstruktion und Typologie* (ÖAI Sonderschriften 36), Wien 2001. Per i 71 monumenti funerari di *Lauriacum* e *Lentia* ancora nel Norico vd. AE 2009, 990 (S. Traxler).

¹⁴⁰ AE 2007, 1138; per il primo volume vd. AE 1997, 1233.

of Ancient Greek and Latin Epigraphy), con oltre 26000 monumenti fin qui schedati e quasi 50000 immagini.

Numerose sono le raccolte di iscrizioni dei Musei Nazionali, come il Lapidario Romano del Museo Nazionale Ungherese studiato da M. Nagy, con i suoi specifici problemi di classificazione dei monumenti per epoche o per argomenti; le iscrizioni in totale sono 116¹⁴¹. Oppure il museo epigrafico del bastione della fortezza di Komárno (con epigrafi prevalentemente da *Brigetio*)¹⁴². Per *Brigetio* L. Borhy presenta un catalogo di 256 monumenti del lapidario del forte di Igmánd, tra questi 73 iscrizioni, di cui 8 inedite¹⁴³. Il nuovo lapidario nella città di Memesvámos-Balácapusza (Comitato di Veszprém in Ungheria) è studiato da S. Palágyi¹⁴⁴. La piccola collezione lapidaria del Museo di Hamság di Mosonmagyaróvár (*Ad Flexum*) è stata presentata da E. T. Szőnyi; alcuni testi provengono da Bruckneudorf in Austria¹⁴⁵. Ad E. Tóth dobbiamo l'edizione del *Lapidarium Savariense*, con ben 238 testi ritrovati a Savaria in Pannonia Superiore, oggi Szombathely in Ungheria, con molti inediti¹⁴⁶. A *Carnuntum*, 31 iscrizioni del parco archeologico e del museo carnuntino studiate da K. Genser riguardano essenzialmente soldati della *legione XIV Gemina Martia Victrix* e della *legio XV Apollinaris* o membri della loro famiglia, talora con riferimento alle *canabae*¹⁴⁷.

Se passiamo alle Mesie, a Belgrado aspettiamo il III/1 volume delle *Inscriptions de la Mésie supérieure (région des Portes de fer)* che sarà pubblicato dal Centre d'Études Épigraphiques et Numismatiques "Fanula Papazoglou", ma possediamo nuovi dati dal *Catalogul expoziției The Romans in the Left Pontus during the Principate, Exhibition Catalog, Aegyssus 2000* (Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale Tulcea, Muzeul de Istorie și Arheologie [ICEM]), Tulcea 2012. Sono stati inaugurati nuovi musei come a *Capidava*, anche se le iscrizioni vengono regolarmente trasferite nei lapidari dei musei nazionali, a Bucarest e Costanza.

Il nuovo *corpus* delle iscrizioni di Dacia, a valle dei *Cronica epigrafică* della Romania dedicato alla Dacia ed alla Scizia Minore (cioè alla parte rumena della Mesia Inferiore), si deve a C. C. Petolescu, con l'opera *Inscriptiile latine din Dacia (ILD)* uscito a Bucarest nel 2005, con 805 iscrizioni, in parte riprese dalla rassegna annuale *SCIVA*, arrivata al 65° fascicolo nel 2014¹⁴⁸, soprattutto con le nuove nuove iscrizioni, non incluse nei volumi IDR, già pubblicati: il numero dei diplomi della Dacia (50) appare

¹⁴¹ AE 2007, 1129.

¹⁴² B. Lőrincz / O. Harl, *Führer zum römischen Lapidarium Bastion VI Komárno*, Wien 2002.

¹⁴³ AE 2006, 1043.

¹⁴⁴ AE 2004, 119.

¹⁴⁵ AE 2007, 1140.

¹⁴⁶ E. Tóth, *Lapidarium Savariense. Savaria római feliratos köemlékei (LapSav)* (Savaria 34,2), Szombathely 2011.

¹⁴⁷ AE 2006, 1054. Vd. anche AE 2013, 1239 (I. Weber-Hiden), un veterano originario di Verona.

¹⁴⁸ AE 2013, 1271; AE 2012, 1189. Vd. ad es. AE 2004, 1178.

davvero ragguardevole¹⁴⁹. Lo stesso autore ha presentato il manuale *Epigrafia latină*, București 2001, commentando un centinaio di testi prevalentemente dalla Dacia e a lui dobbiamo fuori collana rispetto ad IDR i due volumi (l'ultimo dei quali pubblicato nel 2000) *Inscriptions de la Dacie romaine. Inscriptions externes concernant l'histoire de la Dacie (I^{er}-III^e siècles). II : Zones du CIL III et du CIL VIII*, București 2000, dalle province danubiane e balcaniche, Asia Minore, Africa¹⁵⁰. Entro le IDR III/5, I. Piso presenta le 724 *Inscriptions d'Apulum, Inscriptions de la Dacie romaine III/5* (Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres 24), Paris 2001, con alcune inedite. L. Ruscu ha raccolto i 152 testi del *Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum Dacicarum* (Hungarian Polis Studies 10), Debrecen 2003.

Il catalogo delle iscrizioni del museo rumeno di Caracal in Dacia è presentato da D. Bondoc e D. R. Dincă¹⁵¹. Lo stesso D. Bondoc pubblica una nuova raccolta delle iscrizioni lapidarie del Museo di Craiova provenienti dalla Dacia Inferiore¹⁵². Le iscrizioni di *Micia* (oggi Vețel) raccolte nella collezione del Museo Nazionale di storia di Transilvania a Cluj vengono riedite da D. Alicu¹⁵³. Per il territorio di *Sarmizegetusa, Apulum* e *Micia* in Dacia Superiore, significativo è il corpus di 216 monumenti funerari iscritti curato da C. Ciongradi¹⁵⁴. I. Piso ha presentato nel 2006 le cento straordinarie iscrizioni dal *forum vetus* di Sarmizegetusa¹⁵⁵.

Per la parte rumena della Mesia Inferiore è stato pubblicato lo studio epigrafico postumo di N. Gostar sul grande monumento funerario del c.d. *tropaeum Traiani* (2008, ma scritto 40 anni fa), ora commentato da A. S. Ștefan, per il quale si tratterebbe di un *tropaeum Domitiani*, decisamente più antico¹⁵⁶. Infine, è appena uscito il IV volume delle *Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris: Tropaeum-Durostorum-Axiopolis* (2015) di Emilian Popescu.

5. Storia degli studi

L'attività dei precursori dell'epigrafia e la storia degli studi epigrafici partono con il bel contributo di X. Espluga sugli umanisti del XV secolo: Ciriaco di Ancona, Giorgio Begna, Pietro Donato e Giovanni Marcanova, interessati all'epigrafia di Split e *Salona* in Dalmazia¹⁵⁷. In Croazia nel XVIII secolo agisce Frane Radman, studiato da V.

¹⁴⁹ AE 2005, 1275.

¹⁵⁰ AE 2000, 1232.

¹⁵¹ D. Bondoc / D. R. Dincă, *Inscripții și piese sculpturale. Muzeul Romanătiului Caracal*, Craiova 2002.

¹⁵² AE 2004, 1179 (D. Bondoc).

¹⁵³ AE 2004, 1208. Vd. *Monumente din piatră de la Micia în colecțiile Muzeului Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei*, in: M. Crînguș / S. Regep-Vlascici / A. Ștefănescu (edd.), *Studia Historica et Archaeologica in honorern Magistrae Doina Benea*, Timișoara 2004, 9–19.

¹⁵⁴ AE 2007, 1189.

¹⁵⁵ I. Piso (ed.), *Le forum vetus de Sarmizegetusa I.1*, (Colonia Dacica Sarmizegetusa 1), București 2006.

¹⁵⁶ AE 2009, 1205.

¹⁵⁷ AE 2011, 884.

Kapitanović¹⁵⁸. A Sisak (*Siscia* in Pannonia Superiore) nella seconda metà del XIX secolo, le figure di Mijat Sabljar e Ivan Tkalčić sono presentate da V. Vukelić¹⁵⁹; a Seggauberg nel territorio di *Flavia Solva* nel Norico è stata ricostruita la storia delle ricerche epigrafiche effettuate da Richard Pococke nel Settecento¹⁶⁰. In Dacia particolarmente rilevanti le figure di Stephanus Taurinus e Georg Reichsdorffer, umanisti del XVI secolo, attraverso i manoscritti dai quali possiamo ricostruire una ventina di iscrizioni¹⁶¹.

Una storia degli scavi e delle scoperte nel Norico in età romana è stata pubblicata a cura di J. Leskovar, C. Schwanzar, G. Winkler, con attenzione specifica per *Ovilava*, *Lentia*, *Celeia*¹⁶².

Una difficoltà è rappresentata dall'incrociarsi delle raccolte organizzate per provincia e quelle invece promosse all'interno dei nuovi confini "nazionali", in Austria¹⁶³, in Ungheria, in Romania, in Bulgaria, perfino nella Germania bavarese e in Svizzera, nell'Albania settentrionale e nella ex Jugoslavia, non sempre all'interno dell'Unione Europea (sono entrate Croazia e Slovenia; non sono nell'U.E. Bosnia, Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia, Kosovo). Alla rovescia, alcune province vengono frammentate sulla base dei moderni confini nazionali: nel Norico, S. Djura Jelenco e J. Visočnik presentano il catalogo delle iscrizioni lapidarie della Carinzia slovena¹⁶⁴. E. Weber presenta un quadro dell'epigrafia delle Alpi orientali e in particolare delle regioni meridionali dell'Austria¹⁶⁵. M. Huber ci presenta una storia degli studi epigrafici nel Tirolo, riprendendo le iscrizioni pubblicate nel 1756 da Anton Roschmann, con uno sguardo storico e archeologico¹⁶⁶. S. Loma ha effettuato una revisione di epigrafi sul corso superiore del Lim, a nord-est del Montenegro¹⁶⁷. Ma ci sono altri musei internazionali, come quello di Monaco, che contengono collezioni che ci riguardano, come ha dimostrato R. Gebhard per i 125 anni del Museo, con una collezione lapidaria che comprende anche iscrizioni dalla Rezia e dal Norico.

Carattere ampio e interprovinciale hanno diversi volumi in onore di valenti studiosi, come quelli per I. Piso¹⁶⁸, Em. Marin¹⁶⁹, A. Suceveanu¹⁷⁰, D. Benea¹⁷¹, M.

¹⁵⁸ AE 2011, 885.

¹⁵⁹ AE 2009, 1040.

¹⁶⁰ AE 2011, 873 (S. Karl / G. Wrolli).

¹⁶¹ AE 2004, 1182 (P. Forisek).

¹⁶² AE 2003, 1293.

¹⁶³ Vd. ad es. per la Bassa Austria e in particolare per *Carnuntum* AE 2008, 985, con gli atti del convegno di Tulln an der Donau del 5–8 luglio 2004.

¹⁶⁴ AE 2006, 962.

¹⁶⁵ AE 2007, 1071.

¹⁶⁶ AE 2008, 995; AE 2009, 975.

¹⁶⁷ AE 2007, 1092–1095.

¹⁶⁸ AE 2004, 22 e 1181.

¹⁶⁹ AE 2011, 22.

¹⁷⁰ AE 2010, 1104.

¹⁷¹ AE 2004, 1180.

Bărbulescu¹⁷², D. Alicu¹⁷³, R. Ardevan¹⁷⁴, G. Németh¹⁷⁵; anche S. Sanie, D. Protase, L. Țeposu Marinescu. Per altri, come G. Alföldy¹⁷⁶, A. V. Matei¹⁷⁷ e V. Lica, si tratta di volumi in memoria. Raccolte di *scripta varia* sono state edite, come ad esempio per M. Bărbulescu¹⁷⁸, A. Suceveanu sulla Dobrugia romana¹⁷⁹, B. Lőrincz¹⁸⁰, G. Winkler¹⁸¹.

6. Nuove acquisizioni sui governi provinciali

In Dalmazia possiamo distinguere tre circoscrizioni giudiziarie (*conventus*), con i capoluoghi *Scardona* per la Liburnia a nord, *Salona* al centro, *Narona* per i territori meridionali. Il *legatus Augusti propraetore* di rango consolare, assistito da un procuratore equestre per l'amministrazione finanziaria, risiedeva nella capitale *Salona*, mentre il *concilium provinciae*, l'assemblea che organizzava il culto imperiale almeno per le comunità liburniche, aveva sede a *Scardona*¹⁸².

Alcune delle più recenti scoperte epigrafiche hanno riguardato i primi governatori. Un'iscrizione di *Iader* ricorda il patrono *Cn. (Baebius?) Tamphilus Vala (Numonianus?)*, forse il primo proconsole di Illiria al momento della creazione della provincia da parte di Augusto, il che spiegherebbe la frequenza dei *Baebii* in Dalmazia¹⁸³. Più informazioni possediamo ora per il legato Dolabella, grazie ai lavori di S. Mesihović¹⁸⁴ e alle nuove scoperte di *Epidaurum* (oggi Cavtat), relative all'amministrazione della città, all'attività del legato, ai magistrati cittadini¹⁸⁵. Furono i primi legati di Dalmazia all'epoca di Tiberio *P. Cornelius Dolabella* e *L. Volusius Saturninus* ad organizzare il culto imperiale in Liburnia in particolare a *Scardona*. Gianfranco Paci ha studiato a *Narona* la dedica di Dolabella ad Augusto *divus*, dopo la *consecratio* voluta da Tiberio¹⁸⁶. L'attività di Dolabella è documentata anche sul territorio, con la *terminatio* tra *Asser(iates)* e *C[or(nienses)]* studiata da Sl. Čače: da Podgaje (*Asseria*) proviene il *terminus* posto ex [*dec(reto) P. Corn(eli)i Dol(abellae)*

¹⁷² AE 2007, 1181.

¹⁷³ AE 2010, 1356.

¹⁷⁴ AE 2011, 1061.

¹⁷⁵ Á. Szabó (ed.), *From Polites to Magos, Studia György Németh sexagenario dedicata*, Budapest / Debrecen 2016.

¹⁷⁶ W. Eck / B. Fehér / P. Kovács (edd.), *Studia epigraphica in memoriam Géza Alföldy (Antiquitas I 61)*, Bonn 2013.

¹⁷⁷ AE 2011, 1062.

¹⁷⁸ AE 2009, 1173.

¹⁷⁹ AE 2009, 1193.

¹⁸⁰ AE 2010, 1103; per il secondo volume con 23 contributi dedicati ai soprannomi imperiali delle unità, ai diplomi militari, bolli e alla prosopografia vd. AE 2011, 839.

¹⁸¹ AE 2010, 1118.

¹⁸² AE 2008, 1031 (I. Jadrić).

¹⁸³ AE 2000, 1181.

¹⁸⁴ AE 2010, 1148. Per i governatori dell'Illirico Superiore tra il 42 e il 68 d.C., vd. AE 2011, 886.

¹⁸⁵ AE 2008, 1035 (M. Glavičić).

¹⁸⁶ AE 2011, 921.

*leg(at)i pr(o) [pr(aetore)] det(erminavit) C. Titius Geminus (centurio) legionis VII inter Asser(iates) et C[or(nienses)]*¹⁸⁷. Di grande interesse le operazioni di delimitazione catastale, iniziate come si è visto già con Augusto: proprio ad *Asseria* in Dalmazia conosciamo cinque *iudices dati a M. Pom[peio] Silvano leg(ato) Aug(ust)i propr(etore)*, i quali *inter r(em) p(ublicam) Asseriatium et inter rem p(ublicam) Alve[ritarum] in re praesenti per sententiam [suam] determinaverunt*, documento analogo ad altri termini già noti¹⁸⁸. In questo ambito, Dolabella ha provveduto ad una totale progettazione della rete stradale in Dalmazia, come ora dimostra il lavoro di M. G. Schmidt, sulle 500 miglia delle strade dell'Ilirico con partenza da *Salona* nelle *tabulae Dolabellae: ad fines provinciae Illirici inferioris, ad Batinum*¹⁸⁹.

I Fasti della provincia, con una lista aggiornata dei procuratori governatori e finanziari del Norico si deve a G. Winkler¹⁹⁰, con le osservazioni di S. Demougin e S. Lefebvre e soprattutto di A. Magioncalda, in occasione del XII Congresso AIEGL¹⁹¹.

I governatori della provincia dell'*Illyricum Superius* dal 42 (rivolta di *Scribonianus*) al 68 sono studiati da S. Mesihović¹⁹². L'antica unità della Dalmazia, della Mesia e della Pannonia fu mantenuta nel distretto doganale, dove veniva riscosso in modo unitario il *publicum portorii Illyrici* (con le precisazioni ora di L. Radulova, in questo volume). La separazione dell'Ilirico in più province, l'epoca e le forme della divisione delle Pannonie, delle Mesie, delle Dacie sono stati oggetto di ampi studi. Fitz ha definito i confini della *Pannonia Inferior* e *Superior* dopo il 213: fu Caracalla, nel corso della guerra contro gli Alamanni, ad aggregare la legione di Brigezio (sulla riva del Danubio, ad est del lago Balaton) e il suo territorio alla Pannonia Inferiore¹⁹³. I miliari della Pannonia Inferiore che ricordano *Pontius Pontianus* e *Aelius Triccianus* presso Ménfosanak confermano che la frontiera coincideva con la linea del fiume *Arrabo*. Ciò consente di aggregare alla Pannonia Inferiore i territori a nord e a sud del lago Balaton.

L'annessione del Norico (nel 15 a.C.) non abolì inizialmente l'antico regno alpino fino alla costituzione della provincia (sotto Claudio), che mantenne qualche autonomia e sopravvisse oltre il principato di Tiberio, a testimonianza forse di un'occupazione pacifica ottenuta per via diplomatica: un vincolo federale univa le tribù celtiche degli Alauni, degli Ambisonti e dei Taurisci, che riconoscevano un unico re. Più tardi, dopo la costituzione della provincia del Norico, sul Magdalensberg sorse il tempio del *Divus Augustus* e della *Dea Roma*, centro federale del culto imperiale, ricco punto terminale

¹⁸⁷ AE 2003, 1332.

¹⁸⁸ AE 2003, 1333, Čalići (Brgud in Dalmazia). Carattere differente ha il cippo dell'isola di Brač in Dalmazia in AE 2013, 1197, con una delimitazione, *deter(minavit)* di un'area sacra ad Ercole (N. Cambi).

¹⁸⁹ AE 2006, 1004.

¹⁹⁰ AE 2005, 1155.

¹⁹¹ S. Demougin / S. Lefebvre, *Un nouveau procureur du Norique?*, *Revue des Études Anciennes* 104 (2002) 185–209; AE 2007, 1072.

¹⁹² AE 2011, 886.

¹⁹³ AE 2000, 1182.

delle importazioni di vino, olio, *garum*¹⁹⁴, persino di metalli dalla penisola iberica¹⁹⁵. Fu già Augusto ad esentare dalle imposte *C. Iulius Vepo*¹⁹⁶. Il territorio provinciale fu sottoposto inizialmente all'autorità di un procuratore equestre (*procurator regni Norici*), di rango ducenario, dotato di *ius gladii*; una vera e propria riorganizzazione territoriale si dovette all'imperatore Claudio, protagonista con il procuratore *C. Baebius Atticus* (originario di *Iulium Carnicum*) di un'intensa opera di romanizzazione, testimoniata dalla realizzazione dell'intera rete stradale in direzione del Brennero e della valle dell'Isonzo fino ad Aquileia, tra la Rezia e la Pannonia e da una vivace politica di municipalizzazione, con l'assegnazione dello *Ius Latii* e la promozione ad esempio di Celeia di cinque importanti *oppida* celtici: *Celeia*, *Virunum*, *Teurnia*, *Aguntum* e *Iuvavum* al rango di municipio (*municipia Claudia*).¹⁹⁷

La presenza romana nel Norico ebbe come immediata conseguenza l'intervento militare nella vicina Rezia (a cavallo tra Svizzera ed Austria), voluto da Augusto per proteggere il *limes* danubiano e per estendere il controllo sui valichi alpini. Furono Druso e Tiberio a comandare la spedizione che con due distinte colonne raggiunse oltre i valichi alpini il *Pons Aeni* (Innsbruck, *Veldidena*)¹⁹⁸ attraverso le vallate dell'Adige, dell'Isarco e dell'Inn e il lago di Costanza presso le sorgenti del Danubio. Come è noto la vittoria fu consacrata sul trofeo alpino di Monaco e il nome delle *civitates Raeticae* e *Vindelices* sottomesse compare nell'elenco di Plinio il vecchio¹⁹⁹.

Dopo la conquista, la *Raetia-Vindelicia et Vallis Poenina* fu affidata inizialmente ad un *praefectus civitatum*, come *[S]ex. Pedius Sex(ti filio) An(iensi) Lusianus Hirrutus*, originario di *Interpromium*, *pr[ae]f[ectus] Raetis Vindolicis vallis Poeninae*²⁰⁰. A. Schaub e R. Rollinger hanno studiato il governo della provincia in età augustea e tiberiana: *Q. Octavius Sagitta* fu procuratore sotto Tiberio; conosciamo *Q. Caecilius Cisiacus Septicius Pica Caecilianus* governatore della Rezia, Vindelicia, Vallis Poenina tra Tiberio-Caligola e Claudio, per quanto D. Faoro neghi l'esistenza di una provincia autonoma ancora nei primi anni di Tiberio e spostò il secondo al II

¹⁹⁴ G. Piccottini, *Neues zum Wein- und Lebensmittelimport in die Stadt auf dem Magdalensberg, Kärnten*, *Archaeologia Austriaca* 84–85 (2000–2001) 373–385.

¹⁹⁵ AE 2004, 1082, piombo da Cartagena (C. Domergue / G. Piccottini).

¹⁹⁶ AE 2001, 1592a, Celje.

¹⁹⁷ Vd. M. Šašel Kos, *The early urbanization of Noricum and Pannonia*, in: Zerbini (ed.), *Roma e le province del Danubio* (vd. sopra nt. 1), 209–230.

¹⁹⁸ AE 2008, 985 (J. Rageth). Vd. poi il miliario del 201 da *Veldidena* di Settimio Severo, Caracalla e Geta, con il nome del fratello minore eraso e quello del fratello maggiore parzialmente re-inciso *in rasura* dopo il 212: *[S]everus pius pate[r] (patris)*: non fondate le perplessità di R. Frei-Stolba in AE 2002, 1085.

¹⁹⁹ Quattro tribù preromane della Rezia sono documentate anche sui diplomi militari: *Runicates*, *Cattenates*, *Licates*, *Calucones*, vd. AE 2004, 1053–1054 (K. Dietz). Un *Vindel(icus)* in AE 2006, 960, *Celeusum* in Rezia (B. Steidl).

²⁰⁰ CIL IX 3044.

secolo²⁰¹. I confini della provincia furono tracciati più volte e raggiunsero il Danubio a nord, mentre la confluenza con l'Inn segnava il confine orientale. Successivamente, con gli Antonini, il territorio perse l'area della *Vallis Poenina* che divenne provincia a sé stante lungo l'alta vallata del Rodano. Anche la valle dell'Adige e l'attuale provincia di Trento furono presto sottratte all'autorità del prefetto provinciale ed inserite nelle regioni X e XI della penisola: la popolazione tribale fu allora aggregata (*adtributa*) ai vicini municipi della Cisalpina, con una sorta di subordinazione testimoniata dalla *tabula Clesiana*.

Per la Pannonia, la lista dei governatori curata da B. Lórinz è in *Fontes Pannoniae Antiquae in aetate Severorum*, edito da P. Kovács (Budapest 2007)²⁰².

R. Ivanov pubblica l'iscrizione da Gigen, in Mesia Inferiore, che ricorda il fratello di Settimio Severo con una base dedicata *P. Septimio Getae leg(ato) Augg(ustorum) pr(o) pr(aetore) patronus col(oniae)*, onorato dai *coloni* di *Oescus*, come governatore provinciale nominato da due Augusti diversi, forse prima Commodo nel 192, poi Pertinace nel 193²⁰³; la questione fa davvero difficoltà, ma del resto a *Lepcis Magna* Geta è ricordato anche come legato di tre Augusti, dunque anche Severo nel 194, prima di diventare nel 195 governatore della Dacia²⁰⁴.

In Mesia, la Tavola di *Durostorum*, che proviene dall'accampamento della legione *XI Claudia Pia Fidelis*²⁰⁵, analoga a quella di *Brigetio*²⁰⁶, contiene nell'edizione di N. Sharankov le *sacrae litterae* del solo Licinio, datate al 10 giugno 311 ed è indirizzata ad un *Tertius dux* oppure *praeses della Moesia secunda* con benefici per veterani, mogli e soldati ammalati.

La creazione della provincia Dacia è affrontata nel ricco volume miscelaneo *Dacia Augusti provincia: crearea provinciei*, con gli Atti del Convegno di Bucarest dell'ottobre 2006 curati da E. S. Teodor ed O. Țentea²⁰⁷, dove compaiono gli importanti contributi di C. C. Petolescu sull'organizzazione della provincia e di L. Petculescu sull'esercito in Dacia durante l'età di Traiano²⁰⁸. In parallelo, per i 1900 anni dopo l'integrazione della Dacia nell'impero romano, D. Benea ha curato l'edizione degli atti del convegno di Timișoara del marzo 2006, *Simpozionul Internațional "Daci și Romani"*²⁰⁹.

²⁰¹ D. Faoro, Praefectus, procurator, praeses. *Genesi delle cariche presidiali equestri nell'Alto Impero Romano*, Firenze 2011, 91 nr. 2; sui fasti provinciali della Rezia, vd. anche AE 2005, 1142 (B. Steidl) e AE 2007, 1065 e AE 2008, 988 (D. Faoro).

²⁰² AE 2007, 1131.

²⁰³ AE 2004, 1242.

²⁰⁴ IRTrip 541.

²⁰⁵ AE 2007 1224 (L. Fezzi).

²⁰⁶ AE 1937, 232 e 158.

²⁰⁷ AE 2006, 1105.

²⁰⁸ AE 2006, 1106.

²⁰⁹ AE 2006, 1107.

7. La storia: novità sui viaggi imperiali

I numerosi viaggi di alcuni imperatori attraverso le province danubiane sono spesso documentati epigraficamente.

Dobbiamo partire con le campagne militari di Ottaviano che si svolsero in Dalmazia dopo la guerra contro Sesto Pompeo. Si segnalano numerose novità dal Magdalensberg anche sui *populi* o meglio sulle otto *civitates* del regno del Norico (*N[orici, Ambilinei], Amb[idr(avi), Uperaci, Saev(ates)], Laian[ci, Ambisontes], [(H)e]lv[eti]*), che, in età augustea, forse attorno al 10–9 a.C. in occasione di una visita di Augusto ad Aquileia, effettuano le quattro dediche alla famiglia imperiale Livia, Giulia, Giulia minor, oltre che Augusto²¹⁰.

Le iscrizioni ci forniscono particolari su alcune campagne militari, come quella di Domiziano in Dacia (a Dolno Rjahovo, la *cohors I miliaria Batavorum* partecipa alle guerre di Domiziano contro i Daci tra l'89 e il 92, costruendo un fortino in legno poi abbandonato)²¹¹ e di Marco Aurelio contro i Marcomanni in Pannonia; quest'ultima è studiata da P. Kovács, che ha curato una raccolta di fonti sulla Pannonia tra 166 e 192²¹². Un tema che ha suscitato molte curiosità partendo dalla colonna Aurelia è il c.d. miracolo della pioggia, attribuito a Marco Aurelio forse l'11 giugno, una data che probabilmente veniva ricordata annualmente nel tempio di Giove Ottimo Massimo di *Carnuntum*²¹³.

Se partiamo dalla prima acclamazione imperiale di Settimio Severo effettuata dai legionari di *Viminacium*, una specifica attenzione per le città delle Pannonie, con vaste promozioni municipali è ben nota ed è stata studiata da Z. Mráv²¹⁴. Un'iscrizione del *Lapidarium Savariense* dedicata nel 198 *pro salute* di Severo e della *domus divina* ripresa da E. Tóth ricorda il duoviro di *Lugdunum Iun(ius) Q.f. Marcia(nus) Lugu(dunensis)*, partigiano di Severo, fuggito all'arrivo di Clodio Albino nel 196, assieme al governatore *T. Flavius Secundus Philippianus*, rifugiatosi a *Savaria*, in Pannonia, alla vigilia della battaglia di *Lugdunum*²¹⁵. Alla spedizione siriana di Settimio Severo contro Pescennio Nigro sembra alludere l'iscrizione di Budapest che ricorda un

²¹⁰ AE 2005, 1163–1164 (G. Piccottini), vd. ILLPRON 234–236.

²¹¹ AE 2004, 1267.

²¹² AE 2007, 1130.

²¹³ S. Perea Yébenes, *La legión XII y el prodigio de la lluvia en época del emperador Marco Aurelio*, Madrid 2002. Vd. anche AE 2005, 1196; AE 2006, 1025; AE 2008, 1074 (P. Kovács).

²¹⁴ AE 2006, 1026 (*Cibalae*); AE 2009, 1039. Per la realizzazione di acquedotti nell'età di Settimio Severo, vd. AE 2006, 1092 = AE 2013, 1253, *Cibalae* in Pannonia Inferiore (Z. Mráv): [*extruxerunt bal]ne[um et] Cib[alensi]bus aquam per[duxerunt]*; per inciso è improbabile che la titolatura di Caracalla non avesse l'indicazione della terza potestà tribunitia; analoga la dedica AE 2004, 1135 = AE 2013, 1254: [*Ci]ba[le]nsibus aquam per]dux[er]unt. Sulla politica di Settimio Severo nel medio Danubio, vd. Z. Mráv, *Septimius Severus and the cities of the middle Danubian province*, in: Eck / Fehér / Kovács (edd.), *Studia epigraphica* (vd. sopra nt. 176), 205–240; AE 2013, 1160 e 1199 (per la politica edilizia di Severo in Pannonia ad *Aquincum, Brigetio, Cibalae*, in rapporto alle promozioni istituzionali).*

²¹⁵ AE 2011, 961.

miles rientrato dalla Siria nel 194, che consacra una dedica a Giove Ottimo Massimo: *ab expedit[ione] Suriat(ica) rev[ersus]*²¹⁶; tra i sopravvissuti della seconda spedizione partica di Settimio Severo possiamo considerare *L. Sep(timius) Veranus vet(eranus) leg(ionis) II Ad(iutricis)* apparentemente ferito in *ex[p]editio[n]e Parthica*, congedato con una *missio causaria*, poi guarito e rientrato in Pannonia Inferiore nel 205 (Székesfehérvár)²¹⁷; mentre *C. Iul(ius) Sabinus civ(is) Campanus domo Capua* ha forse preso parte all'*expeditio urbica* della *legio II Adiutrix* nell'epoca dei Severi in qualità di contabile, *adiu(tor) officii rat(ionum)*²¹⁸. Al ritorno di Settimio Severo nelle province danubiane nel 202 d.C. è riferita l'iscrizione di *Lauriacum* in Norico, che ricorda significativi lavori nel campo legionario ad iniziativa del legato *M. Iuventius Surus Proculus*, per quanto nella nuova lettura di G. Winkler il numero delle potestà tribunicie di Settimio Severo (dieci) non si concilia con le quattro eventuali potestà tribunicie di Caracalla²¹⁹. Conosciamo anche miliari sloveni dell'anno precedente; al 201 risale il miliario di Söchtenau in Baviera con Settimio Severo (con la dodicesima acclamazione che non si lega alla nona potestà tribunizia), Caracalla (con la quarta) e Geta Cesare²²⁰. Sicuramente da emendare i due miliari di Murau nella Stiria, Lorch e Celje che rimanderebbero al passaggio di Settimio Severo nel 201 o 202 (VIII o X potestà tribunizia) e più tardi di Caracalla nel 214 (XVII potestà tribunizia), lungo il percorso ad *Aquileia, Celeia, Virunum* e *Ovilava: miliaria vetustate corrupta restitui iusserunt*²²¹; perplessità rimangono sull'assenza di *Britt(annicus) max(imus)* tra i *cognomina ex virtute* di Caracalla [*P]art(hicus) max(imus)* e [*Germ(anicus) max(imus)*] su un miliario di *Ad Pontem* (Unzmarkt in Stiria), a 46 miglia da *Virunum*²²². Singolare che Caracalla abbia mantenuto il testo del miliario di Settimio Severo, ma perplessità rimangono sul fatto che nel 201 si tacerebbe il nome di Geta e del governatore provinciale. A *Cibalae* in Croazia, nella Pannonia Inferiore, la dedica di un tempio effettuata da Settimio Severo, Caracalla e Geta ha fatto ipotizzare una visita conclusasi con la dedica di un tempio alla triade capitolina nel 202 d.C.²²³. È nota la partecipazione di truppe pannoniche alle guerre partiche di Settimio Severo e Caracalla (Z. Mráv)²²⁴. Nell'età dei Severi numerose opere pubbliche furono realizzate in Pannonia, per compensare l'economia locale indebolita a causa dell'assenza delle truppe impegnate in altre province. Fu Caracalla a promuovere la revisione delle frontiere tra le due Pannonie: alla sua spedizione germanica si riferisce il noto epitafio

²¹⁶ AE 2008, 1126 (Á. Szabó).

²¹⁷ AE 2007, 1170 (Z. Mráv).

²¹⁸ AE 2004, 1141 = AE 2009, 1168 (O. Láng / Z. Mráv); AE 2010, 1276 (L. Chioffi). Vd. anche AE 2010, 1282, che ricorda un *M. Aemilius Ter(etina) C<a>mpanus domo Viminaci(o), adiutor princi(pis) praetori(i)* della *legio II Adiutrix ad Aquincum*.

²¹⁹ AE 2006, 1001.

²²⁰ AE 2003, 1325 (F. Steffan).

²²¹ AE 2004, 1085 (M. Lovenjak).

²²² CIL XVII 4, 155a, vd. AE 2005, 1167.

²²³ AE 2004, 1136.

²²⁴ AE 2007, 1133.

di *Aquincum* in Pannonia Inferiore; conosciamo un soldato della *legio II Adiutrix* morto di morte naturale a *Lauriacum* durante la spedizione contro gli Alemanni: *defu(n)c(tus) exp(editione) Germ(anica) Lauri(aco) mort(e) sua*; il defunto era *aquilifer* e *vexillarius*; il corpo è stato rimpatriato dopo la *victoria Germanica*²²⁵. Alla visita di Caracalla nel 213 è stata collegata l'epigrafe di *Ad Statuas*, in Pannonia posta per la ricostruzione del tempio del *Deus invictus Sarapis [pro] salute et victoria* di Caracalla e Giulia Domna: dopo la vittoria del 213 la *legio I Adiutrix* stanziata a *Brigetio* fu dunque inclusa nella Pannonia Inferiore. La titolatura di Giulia Domna proposta da Z. Mráv è errata²²⁶.

Come è noto P. Kovács ha ripreso le fonti relative all'età di Caracalla, ridimensionando il numero delle iscrizioni che secondo la vecchia tesi di J. Fitz potrebbero conservare riferimenti al viaggio²²⁷. Si veda in particolare *Fontes Pannoniae Antiquae in aetate Severorum*, edito da P. Kovács (Budapest 2007)²²⁸. A questo periodo (più probabilmente alla fine dell'età severiana) dovremmo riferire il liberto imperiale *Aurelius Phaon, praeposit(us) lecticariorum*, morto nel corso di una visita imperiale ad *Aquincum*, di cui a Budapest ci rimane il sarcofago²²⁹.

Nel Norico citerai almeno i viaggi dei Severi ed in particolare ancora di Caracalla alla vigilia della campagna del 213 contro gli Alamanni, apparentemente nella XV potestà tribunitia ad Engelhartzell in Baviera, lungo il Danubio, a 15 miglia da *Boiodorum*: *Viam iuxta amnem Danuvium fieri iussit a Boi{ }odur(o) in [---] m.p. XV*²³⁰.

Le sei visite di Settimio Severo, Caracalla e Geta in Mesia Inferiore tra il 193 e il 211 sono state studiate da D. Boteva²³¹. Le *vexillationes* dell'esercito del Danubio che dalla Mesia Inferiore hanno accompagnato Severo Alessandro nella spedizione contro i Parti fino ad Antiochia (Herod. VI 4), sono citate in un *ex voto* collocato da un *praepositus* riconoscente, appena rientrato in Oltenia²³².

Gallieno è ricordato per le guerre contro i Marcomanni, ma P. Kovács ha raccolto le allusioni epigrafiche alla peste Antonina del 182 (*lues*)²³³; un caso ripreso da F. Steffan è quello di *Bedaïum* nel Norico, con una famiglia travolta dalla peste²³⁴.

²²⁵ AE 2004, 1143 Budaörs, *Aquincum* (Z. Mráv / K. Ottományi); AE 2005, 1264; AE 2006, 1100 (H. Ubl).

²²⁶ Z. Mráv, *Der Besuch Caracallas und der Deus Invictus Serapis-Kult in Pannonien*, *Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae* 20 (2000) 67–97.

²²⁷ J. Fitz, *Il soggiorno di Caracalla in Pannonia nel 214*, *Accademia d'Ungheria in Roma*, *Quaderni di documentazione* 2 (1961) 5–21. Vd. ora P. Kovács, *Der Besuch von Caracalla in Pannonien*, *Acta Archaeologica Hungarica* 63 (2012) 383–394.

²²⁸ AE 2007, 1131.

²²⁹ AE 2010, 1288 = AE 2013, 1263 (M. Németh).

²³⁰ G. Winkler, in AE 2002, 1113 (per *IBavariae Romanae* 484).

²³¹ Zerbini (ed.), *Roma e le province del Danubio* (vd. sopra nt. 1), 231–248.

²³² AE 2008, 1200 (F. Matei-Popescu).

²³³ AE 2008, 1076. Per la *lues*, la peste del 182, vd. CIL III 5567 *Mauerkirchen* in Baviera (M. G. Schmidt). Vd. anche AE 2000, 3 (un falso per W. Hameter); AE 1994, 1334.

²³⁴ AE 2008, 1018.

Per Piliscsaba in Pannonia Inferiore, G. Alföldy commenta la dedica *Adventui* [[[d(ominorum) n(ostorum) Philipporum] Aug(ustorum duorum)]] effettuata nel 247 dagli ausiliari *Cretenses* della *Cohors I Cretum* o della *cohors II Cretensis* in Mesia Superiore²³⁵.

In Pannonia a Bölcske un'iscrizione dedicata a Giove *Teutanus* l'11 giugno 251, [*di]vis Deccis co(n)s(ulibus)*, per la salvezza di Treboniano Gallo (*invictus Aug(ustus)*) e Ostiliano (*Aug(ustus)*) permetterebbe di datare tra il 27 maggio e il 1° giugno la battaglia di *Abrittus*, che si concluse con la vittoria dei Goti e la morte di Decio e Erennio Etrusco (Cesare tra maggio–giugno 250)²³⁶. All'anno successivo (ancora all'11 giugno) collochiamo la dedica *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Teutano et dis deabusq(ue) omnib(us)* per la salvezza di Treboniano Gallo e Volusiano consoli²³⁷.

Nella Pannonia Superiore è stata rivista da G. Alföldy la straordinaria dedica di Vienna rinvenuta negli scavi del 1899 alla confluenza della Wienfluss col Danubio; si tratta di un altare militare della serie che ricorda il *Fluvius Acaunus*: [*I.]O.M. Neptuno [Aug(usto) S]alaceae Nymph[is Fluv]io Acauno dis [deabus]q(ue) omnibus*, dove *Salacia* è la sposa di Nettuno; *Acaunus* è l'antico nome del fiume Wien, che sarebbe stato difeso da un attacco di barbari. La *vexillatio* della *legio VIII Augusta* da Strasburgo, fu trasferita verso il 260 in Illirico a *Sirmium* contro Ingenuo e Regaliano, poi fu attiva nel *Bellum Serdicense* contro i due Macriani. Da *Sirmium* la *vexillatio* fu trattenuta a Vindobona dal 260 dopo l'usurpazione di Postumo che ne impediva il rientro. Solo nell'aprile–maggio 268, al momento della partenza da Vindobona, fu posto l'altare, prima che la *vexillatio* partisse per *Lauriacum* in Norico dove avrebbe dovuto sostenere l'impegno della *legio II Italica*²³⁸. L'ara conserva un rilievo di Nettuno con tridente e delfino e di Eracle che trionfa su Acheloo, dio di un fiume in Etolia²³⁹.

Presso *Sirmium* in Pannonia Inferiore, nella villa imperiale di *Turris Ferrata*, l'imperatore Probo fu ucciso dai soldati in rivolta²⁴⁰. Conosciamo inoltre una dedica a Caro, in occasione della marcia dell'imperatore attraverso la Rezia e il Norico verso *Sirmium*²⁴¹; partendo dalle circostanze della morte di Carino, P. Kovács ha studiato le province della Pannonia nella I tetrarchia in *Fontes Pannoniae Antiquae (FPA VI) in*

²³⁵ RIU VI 1301; AE 2002, 1186, vd. l'articolo di V. P. Petrović, in questo volume.

²³⁶ AE 2003, 1455 *Aquincum* (A. R. Facsády). Treboniano Gallo adottò poi il figlio cadetto di Decio Ostiliano e lo nominò Cesare ante il 9 giugno (anche se nel nostro testo compare come Augusto). A Roma la notizia della morte arrivò tra il 9 e il 23 giugno. Il Senato innalzò Ostiliano ad Augusto, divinizzò Decio ed Erennio Etrusco, che il 24 giugno compaiono certamente come *divi*. Dopo il 23 giugno Treboniano adottò Volusiano come Cesare. Dopo la morte per peste di Ostiliano, Volusiano fu nominato Augusto e dispose la *damnatio* dei due Deci. La doppia erasione risale per Ostiliano a dopo la morte del 251; per Treboniano Gallo a dopo l'uccisione nell'agosto 253, vd. AE 2003, 1415.

²³⁷ AE 2003, 1416, Museo di Szekszárd (Z. Mráv).

²³⁸ Vd. H. Petrovitsch, *Legio II Italica*, Linz 2006.

²³⁹ AE 2011, 1007.

²⁴⁰ AE 2010, 1268 (P. Kovács).

²⁴¹ AE 2001, 1592c.

aetate Tetrarcharum I, 2011 con attenzione per le iscrizioni di portata storica, i diplomi, le iscrizioni su medaglie²⁴². Più di recente nel 2013 è stato pubblicato il volume *Fontes Pannoniae Antiquae in aetate Constantini*, con l'incontro degli imperatori a Carnuntum, la divisione della Pannonia, il *bellum Cibalense* tra Costantino e Licinio, le guerre sarmatiche, la cristianizzazione²⁴³. Secondo E. Tóth i numerosi anelli ritrovati ad *Ad Iovia* in Pannonia Inferiore potrebbero essere collegati alla visita di Costantino II a Sirmio nel 337²⁴⁴.

8. Recenti acquisizioni sui fasti provinciali

Dopo i lavori di B. Lőrincz conosciamo il governo provinciale della Pannonia e più in dettaglio i fasti della provincia, come il nuovo legato tra il 133 e il 136 *M. Nonius Mucianus*. Viene corretta la cronologia di sei governatori equestri dopo Gallieno, il primo dei quali è in carica nel 267 d.C. *T. Clementius Silvius*²⁴⁵. P. Kovács e B. Fehér hanno presentato a Budapest nel 2005 una storia della Pannonia, mentre B. Lőrincz propone la lista dei governatori²⁴⁶.

Meno chiara la documentazione sulla Mesia Superiore, pure raccolta nel 2007 nel volume di M. Mirković: *Moesia Superior: eine Provinz an der mittleren Donau*. Per il periodo fino all'86 d.C., i governatori della Mesia sono studiati da L. Mrozewicz oltre che da B. E. Thomasson²⁴⁷. W. Eck e A. Pangerl hanno rivisto la lista dei legati della Mesia Superiore dal 100 al 132, partendo da C. *Cilnius Proculus*²⁴⁸. La lista è stata arricchita da C. C. Petolescu su "Pontica" del 2012, fino a Diocleziano. Da Nevsa, territorio di *Marcianopolis*, proviene l'iscrizione di *T. Flavius Longinus Q. Marcius Turbo*, legato di Mesia Inferiore nel 155: *per fines civitat[is Mar]cianopolitano[rum] regione Gelegetio[rum] in propi[n]quo phruri n(umero) [---]*, dove il termine traslitterato dal greco *phrurium* indica il posto di guardia²⁴⁹.

J. Żelazowski ha studiato l'attività giudiziaria, amministrativa, religiosa ed edilizia documentata da iscrizioni onorarie di 58 legati della Mesia Inferiore tra 86 e 275 d.C.²⁵⁰;

²⁴² AE 2011, 948.

²⁴³ P. Kovács (ed.), *Fontes Pannoniae Antiquae in aetate Constantini*, Budapest 2012 (in ungherese); 2013 (in tedesco).

²⁴⁴ AE 2005, 1194.

²⁴⁵ AE 2008, 1143 (Á. Szabó).

²⁴⁶ AE 2008, 1073; vd. AE 2004, 1134, per i governatori della Pannonia Inferiore tra 106 e 213 (B. Lőrincz). Per il periodo 54–166 d.C., vd. AE 2004, 1118.

²⁴⁷ AE 2007, 1212.

²⁴⁸ AE 2008, 1174.

²⁴⁹ D. Bojadjev, *Les relations ethno-linguistiques en Thrace et en Mésie pendant l'époque romaine*, Sofia 2000, 134 s. n° 63; AE 2000, 1268.

²⁵⁰ AE 2009, 1194. Ulteriori legati in AE 2012, 1259 (C. C. Petolescu).

recentissimi gli studi di R.-G. Curcă e I. Piso²⁵¹. I *duces* della *Moesia secunda* e della *Scythia Minor* tra III e VII secolo sono stati studiati da J. Wiewiorowski²⁵².

Nell'interpretazione di G. Alföldy, M. Cornelio Nigrino Curiatio Materno console sotto Domiziano dedica un tempio ad *Oescus* come *leg(atus) Aug(usti) pr(o)pr(aetore) provinciae Moesiae Inferioris*, dopo la divisione della Mesia. I dedicanti anonimi dell'86–89 sono membri di un collegio cultuale²⁵³.

I. Piso presenta la lista dei governatori di Dacia, partendo da Traiano²⁵⁴. A. Barnea ha studiato la prosopografia della Scizia Minore a partire da Diocleziano, fino all'VIII secolo, anche alla luce delle nuove iscrizioni di *Tomis*²⁵⁵.

9. La municipalizzazione

Un tema particolarmente sviluppato è quello della municipalizzazione, che ha favorito il consolidarsi delle aristocrazie cittadine: la Rezia appare in età imperiale abbastanza arretrata, povera, spopolata, poco romanizzata, con un impressionante sviluppo del latifondo imperiale; di conseguenza la municipalizzazione fu contenuta. In particolare nell'area retica (a sud) non c'è traccia di municipi romani fino all'età dei Severi, ma solo di *vici* indigeni. L'area celtica della *Vindelicia* appare più urbanizzata, con gli *oppida* celtici di *Brigantium* (Bregenz), *Cambodunum* (Kempten) e *Augusta Vindelicum* (capitale provinciale della Rezia dall'età flavia)²⁵⁶, che divennero municipi di cittadini romani, ma con qualche ritardo. Uno statuto municipale ottennero anche gli insediamenti civili collocati a ridosso degli accampamenti militari di *Castra Regina* (Ratisbona) e di *Castra Batava* (Passau). Un grande impulso ebbe la realizzazione di strade di collegamento lungo i valichi alpini, in direzione del Danubio e trasversalmente da *Brigantium* a *Cambodunum* e a *Castra Batava*, per il controllo delle tribù retiche e vindelicie²⁵⁷.

In Dalmazia la politica di municipalizzazione romana sembra iniziare con Cesare, cui si attribuisce la colonia di *Narona*: conosciamo le colonie di *Iader*, di *Salona* (però *colonia Martia Augusta*), di *Epidauro* (Ragusa-Cavtat). Approfondimenti si sono svolti sulla politica di municipalizzazione, come per *Municipium Magnum* (Balina Gravica)

²⁵¹ R.-G. Curcă, *La terminologia del potere nello spazio ellenofono della Mesia Inferiore*, *Classica et Christiana* 10 (2015) 129–136; I. Piso, *La siège du gouverneur de Mésie inférieure*, in: V. Cojocaru / A. Coşkun / M. Dana (edd.), *Interconnectivity in the Mediterranean and Pontic World during the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, Cluj-Napoca 2014, 489–504: la capitale della provincia era a *Durostorum* (oggi Silistra, Bulgaria), soprattutto alla luce dell'epigrafia.

²⁵² AE 2007, 1217; l'opera fa seguito ad un analogo lavoro dello stesso autore del 2001.

²⁵³ AE 2004, 1239, Gigen, vd. IGBulg 13.

²⁵⁴ AE 2004, 1184. Vd. anche C. C. Petolescu, *Notes prosopographiques (VI)*, *Dacia* 43–45 (1999–2001) 231–233. Inoltre, per l'epigrafia della Dacia, in particolare per gli ufficiali equestri vd. I. Piso, *Fasti provinciae Daciae II: Die ritterlichen Amtsträger* (*Antiquitas* I 60), Bonn 2013, vd. AE 2013, 1273 (il primo volume: AE 1993, 1318).

²⁵⁵ AE 2005, 1318.

²⁵⁶ AE 2004, 1052.

²⁵⁷ AE 2004, 1053 (K. Dietz).

sotto i Flavi²⁵⁸ o *Lopsica* (Senj in Croazia) già sotto i giulio-claudi²⁵⁹; ancora ai Flavi si attribuisce il municipio di *Scardona*. Da Krivoglavci presso Sarajevo abbiamo ora la documentazione (però di età Antonina) della concessione dello statuto municipale ad *Aquae S(---)*²⁶⁰. Per il *municipium S(polistarum)* sono stati fatti importanti passi avanti dopo l'edizione dell'iscrizione di Pljevlje presso Komini in Montenegro da parte di S. Loma e dopo l'intervento di P. Le Roux: *Sextus Aur(elius) Lupianus Lupi filius princeps(s municipii)*, onorato nella seconda metà del II secolo dai *decuriones collegae et populares et peregrini incolae*. Il testo pone il problema dello statuto ufficiale per cittadini locali *populares* e notabili *decuriones collegae* e testimonia il funzionamento delle istituzioni cittadine nella seconda metà del II secolo. Per Loma si tratta invece di un cittadino romano di prima generazione *princeps* dei *peregrini incolae*²⁶¹, *adtributi* al municipio di *Splonum* (Komini), secondo quanto recentemente confermato da M. Mirković²⁶². Più convincente la posizione di P. Le Roux per il quale *Lupianus, princeps* del municipio, si sarebbe adoperato presso i cittadini locali (*populares*) e i notabili (*decuriones collegae*) per assegnare agli stranieri residenti a *Splonum* (*peregrini incolae*) uno statuto ufficiale riconosciuto dalla comunità municipale²⁶³.

Per la colonia di *Salona* un nuovo studio complessivo si deve a E. Marin (ed.), *Longae Salonae*, 2 voll., Split 2002, con studi onomastici, gentilizi, cognomi. Conosciamo nuovi *quattuorviri* di *Salona*, auguri e decurioni²⁶⁴. Molto dubbia appare l'edizione del testo dell'epigrafe di Teodosio II e Valentiniano III nella prima metà del V secolo, sulla porta "Andetria" (*porta suburbia*) e sulle mura di *Salona* edita da J. Jeličić-Radonić²⁶⁵.

Altri inediti provengono da un sito per noi oggi particolarmente significativo, Skelani, Srebrenica, nella Repubblica Srbska di Bosnia Erzegovina: qui il *Municipium Malve(n)sitatium* fondato ben prima del 158 d.C. ci ha restituito alcuni *clarissimi, equites*, tribuni, centurioni, soldati della coorte *I Delmatarum* ed esponenti dell'aristocrazia cittadina, in particolare un *IIvir q(uin)[q(uennalis)]*²⁶⁶.

Per il *Municipium Magnum* (Balina Glavica) G. F. Paci ha presentato un *IIIvir iure dicundo e aedilis*; la municipalizzazione sarebbe da collocarsi in età flavia per Glavaš, che ha studiato la *statio* dei *beneficiarii*²⁶⁷.

²⁵⁸ AE 2012, 1106 (I. Glavaš).

²⁵⁹ AE 2012, 1109 (M. Glavičić).

²⁶⁰ AE 2006, 1022 (V. Paškvalin).

²⁶¹ In AE 2002, 1115.

²⁶² M. Mirković, *Municipium S(---). A Roman Town in the Central Balkans, Komini near Pljevlja, Montenegro*, Oxford 2012; Ead., *Municipium S. Rimski grad u Kominima kod Pljevalja*, Belgrado 2012.

²⁶³ AE 2005, 1183.

²⁶⁴ AE 2002, 1117.

²⁶⁵ AE 2007, 1099.

²⁶⁶ AE 2010, 1153–63 (S. Loma).

²⁶⁷ AE 2010 1217 e 2012, 1106 (I. Glavaš).

Il capitolo sulla municipalizzazione del Norico si apre con particolare riguardo al tema delle autonomie municipali nei volumi *The Autonomous Town of Noricum and Pannonia*, con gli atti del colloquio di Brdo in Slovenia: si tratta di una sintesi sulle città del Norico: *Celeia, Virunum, Teurnia, Aguntum*²⁶⁸, *Iuvavum, Flavia Solva, Cetium, Ovilava e Lauriacum*. P. Scherrer in particolare presenta uno studio approfondito sull'urbanizzazione della provincia, antroponomi e teonimi²⁶⁹. Tra i documenti principali emerge ora il *Fragmentum Lauriacense* rinvenuto a Lorch studiato da H. Graßl, che propone un parallelo tra i paragrafi frammentari della legge municipale di *Lauriacum* e documenti analoghi provenienti da Italia e Penisola Iberica, in particolare la *lex Irnitana*²⁷⁰. Recentemente è stato proposto un confronto del *Fragmentum Lauriacense* con la tavola di Eraclea, con una proposta di restituzione del testo²⁷¹. Proprio partendo dagli ultimi studi G. Winkler ha tracciato la storia di *Lauriacum* anche attraverso le iscrizioni²⁷².

E. Weber ha studiato ad *Ovilava* nel Norico la dedica effettuata a Diocleziano nel 285 dall'*ordo col(oniae) Ovil(avensium) devotus numini maiestatis(ue) eius*²⁷³. Altri studi sono stati dedicati a *Flavia Solva*, a *Celeia* e al *municipium Aelium Cetium*, partendo anche dall'epitafio di Nussdorf ob der Traisen che ricorda un *C. Ausonius Sergia Silvinus*, dove *Sergia* è la tribù del municipio²⁷⁴. In Bassa Austria, a St. Leonhard am Forst, Winkler presenta la larga famiglia di *M. Sextius Vettonianus, aedilis municipii Aelii Cettii*, morto a 70 anni; la famiglia, composta di immigrati, viene seguita per più generazioni, all'interno del municipio di Adriano²⁷⁵.

Le autonomie municipali della Pannonia sono studiate nel II volume dei citati Atti del convegno di Brdo, con una sintesi sulle città pannoniche: Vol. I *Savaria, Scarbantia, Noviodunum, Andautonia, Siscia, Poetovio, Salla*; Vol. II *Carnuntum, Vindobona, Mogetiana, Mursella, Municipium Iasorum (Aquae Balissae), civitas Iovia, Sirmium, Mursa, Cibalae, Gorsium, Aquincum, Brigetio, Bassianae, Sopianae*²⁷⁶. Per *Poetovio, Sarmizegetusa* e altre città traianee vd. ora I. Piso / R. Varga (edd.), *Trajan und seine Städte*, Cluj-Napoca 2014²⁷⁷. In particolare Z. Mráv ha studiato la politica di

²⁶⁸ Le iscrizioni del Museo e del parco archeologico di *Aguntum* sono studiate da E. Walde / G. Grabherr, vd. AE 2008, 997–1000.

²⁶⁹ M. Šašel Kos / P. Scherrer (edd.), *The Autonomous Town of Noricum and Pannonia [Die autonomen Städte in Noricum und Pannonien] I* (Situla, 40), Ljubljana 2002; *II* (Situla 41–42), Ljubljana 2003–2004. AE 2002, 1088; AE 2003, 1345; AE 2005, 1233–1234.

²⁷⁰ AE 1997, 1209 (R. Wedenig); AE 2003, 1322 (H. Graßl).

²⁷¹ AE 2003, 1323 (H. Graßl).

²⁷² AE 2006, 998.

²⁷³ AE 2004, 1093.

²⁷⁴ AE 2001, 1597.

²⁷⁵ AE 2003, 1320.

²⁷⁶ AE 2005, 1233–1234.

²⁷⁷ Tra gli altri, vd. anche in I. Piso / R. Varga (edd.), *Trajan und seine Städte. Colloquium Cluj-Napoca, 29. September–2. Oktober 2013*, Cluj-Napoca, 2014; M. Šašel-Kos, *Poetovio before the Marcomannic Wars: from Legionary Camp to Colonia Ulpia*, 139–165; K. Stoev, *Ratiaria: Grundzüge der Stadtgeschichte und Gesellschaftsentwicklung (1.–3. Jh.)*, 167–179; G.

Settimio Severo e le città della Pannonia: fondazioni, cambi di statuto, costruzioni imperiali. Le iscrizioni ci consentono di osservare il passaggio del municipio di *Aquincum* fondato da Adriano²⁷⁸ e promosso da Settimio Severo a colonia nel 194: prima di questa data conosciamo *P. Aelius Perpetuus decurio municipi Aquincensium* e *M. Fouiacius Verus Iunior decurio canabiarum decurio municipii Aquincensium augur*²⁷⁹. Più tardi un decurione della *colonia Aquincensium* ricostruisce una *schola* ad *Aquincum*. Conosciamo diversi *sexviri, decuriones coloniae Aquincensium, aediles, flaminici*.

A Törökbálint in Pannonia Inferiore, una dedica a Giunone è posta da *M. Aur(elius) Epigonus dec(urio) col(oniae) Aq(uincensium)* originario dell'oriente greco, come lo era gran parte dell'élite municipale di *Aquincum* alla metà del III secolo d.C.²⁸⁰.

Il *municipium Spontend(ium ?)* della Pannonia Inferiore (in una località collocata a sud-est della provincia, forse Ušće, presso Obrenovac) è menzionato in un'iscrizione di *Bassianae* (oggi presso Donji Petrovci in Serbia, studiata da S. Dušanić ed ora da A. Crnobrnja²⁸¹; *Bassianae* fu municipio di Adriano e colonia di Caracalla: conosciamo un *P. Aelius Ce(n)sorinus d(ecurio) col(oniae) Bas(sianensium) ex voto posuit*, sicuramente appartenente ad una famiglia del municipio antonino²⁸². Altre iscrizioni ricordano la *c(olonia) M(ursensium)*²⁸³.

Il ruolo di Traiano nell'urbanizzazione della Pannonia è evidente a *Poetovio*, dove Mráv studia la realizzazione del foro della *Colonia Ulpia Traiana Poetovionensium*²⁸⁴ attorno al 106; conosciamo casi analoghi a *Sarmizegetusa* e *Vindobona* tra il 103 e il 106; in Numidia a *Thamugadi*.

Nel tempio di Giove [*depu]lsor* di Savaria viene realizzato un *po[rticum cum aeto]na, [pro salute Savariensium]*, per iniziativa di un *de[c(urio)] c(oloniae) U(lpiae) T(raianae) Savar(iensium)*²⁸⁵. Conosciamo il monumento di Carnuntum-Petronell studiato da W. Jobst e M. Kandler. Alla fondazione traiana tra il 106 e il 111 allude anche l'epigrafe su placca metallica ritrovata tra i *principia* e il *praetorium*

Kabakchieva, *Oescus under Emperor Trajan's Rule – from Legionary Camp to Roman Colony*, 181–193; D. Boteva, *Trajan and his Cities in Thrace: Focusing on the two Nicopolis*, 195–204; F. Matei-Popescu, *Tropaeum Traiani*, 205–223; F. Mitthof, *Sarmizegetusa? Zu den Varianten eines dakischen Toponyms in den lateinischen und griechischen Quellen*, 233–244; I. Piso, *Die Trajansfüra: Politische Botschaft*, 255–273.

²⁷⁸ Il municipio è attestato ancora nell'ultimo anno di Commodo, *R[omanus Hercules]*, vd. AE 2013, 1267, Budakalász (Á. Szabó), completamente da rettificare.

²⁷⁹ AE 2003, 1445.

²⁸⁰ RIU VI 1340 = AE 2002, 1204.

²⁸¹ AE 2011, 1012.

²⁸² AE 2005, 1240.

²⁸³ AE 2010, 1270 (M. Bulat).

²⁸⁴ AE 2000, 1190; AE 2011, 964.

²⁸⁵ AE 2011, 964 (E. Tóth). A proposito di *aetona*, vd. anche la dedica effettuata da un sacerdote provinciale, un cavaliere, sempre a *Savaria* in AE 2011, 962 (E. Tóth): *arcum aeto[namque marmore]am valvis et co[lumnis]*.

dell'accampamento della *legio XV Apollinaris* di *Carnuntum*, riletta da Z. Mráv²⁸⁶. A *Brigetio* un'iscrizione conferma che Settimio Severo fondò il municipio nella terza potestà tribunizia, nel 195, dopo la partenza della *legio I Adiutrix*²⁸⁷. Tra i Severi, si ricorderà la rara dedica a Fulvia Plautilla, *sponsa* di Caracalla, effettuata all'inizio del 202 dalla *res [pu]blica Ia[s(orum)]*, poi *Aquae Balissae*, oggi Daruvar in Croazia²⁸⁸. Un'analoga dedica effettuata dalla *res publ(ica) Siscianorum* proviene da Sisak²⁸⁹.

Il *vicus* di *Carnuntum* fu promosso da Adriano *municipium Aelium*: G. Alföldy ha studiato le iscrizioni del *tumulus* della grande villa romana a 10 km dal lago Balaton, che ricordano tre diverse generazioni: emerge un cavaliere [*decurio c]oloniae Cl(audiae) S(avariae) [omnib(us) honor(ibus)] funct(o) [in mun(icipio) Ael(io) Ca]rn(unto)*²⁹⁰; conosciamo almeno un figlio che è stato *decurione* del municipio fondato da Adriano²⁹¹. *Carnuntum* più tardi diviene colonia. Nell'età di Marco Aurelio la famiglia sembra estinguersi e nei primi anni dell'età dei Severi i nuovi proprietari hanno ulteriormente esteso la villa lasciando però intatto il tumulo²⁹².

A Savaria, in Pannonia Superiore, l'onomastica dei notabili indigeni dimostra secondo E. Szabó l'attribuzione dello *ius Latii*, ben prima della fondazione della colonia di Claudio²⁹³.

Attraverso l'antroponomastica degli Azali, D. Grbić ritiene che la *civitas Azaliorum* sia stata costituita per volontà imperiale con il trasferimento di popolazione prevalentemente celtica o celto-pannonica, non illirica²⁹⁴. Il *municipium* adrianeo di *Mogetiana* oggi Túskevár, nel territorio sottratto alla *civitas Azaliorum*, è localizzato sulla strada da Savaria ad *Aquincum*²⁹⁵: un'iscrizione funeraria *municipii Mog(etianae)* ricorda un *quaestorius, decurio municipi*. Possediamo nel foro anche la base di una statua di Filippo l'Arabo nella sua seconda potestà tribunizia (a. 245), dedicata dall'*ordo Mog(ionensium)*²⁹⁶.

²⁸⁶ AE 2007, 1158. Vd. anche AE 2013, 1219, *Scarbantia* (Z. Mráv), un epitafio di *Q. Lurius Q. f. Pup(inia) Maxumus vet(eranus) leg(ionis) XV*, originario da *Tergeste*, morto prima del 43 d.C.

²⁸⁷ RIU II 502; vd. AE 2009, 1047 e AE 2013, 1199 (Z. Mráv).

²⁸⁸ AE 2007, 1144 (Z. Mráv).

²⁸⁹ AE 2008, 1079 (M. Buzov). Un *Aug(ustalis) col(oniae) Sept(imiae) Sisci(ianorum)* è in AE 2013, 1205 (P. Prohaszka).

²⁹⁰ AE 2003, 1352.

²⁹¹ AE 2003, 1354 (G. Alföldy). Il numero totale delle *arae* funerarie non è noto: 7 *Tiberi Claudii*, 4 donne, una figlia di un *Claudius*.

²⁹² AE 2003, 1362.

²⁹³ AE 2006, 1038. Per l'onomastica della Pannonia meridionale, vd. ora I. Radman-Livaja, *A Review of South-Pannonian Indigenous Anthroponymy*, in B. Migotti (ed.), *The Archaeology of Roman Southern Pannonia. The state of research and selected problems in the Croatian part of the Roman province of Pannonia*, Oxford 2012, 137–158.

²⁹⁴ AE 2013, 1204.

²⁹⁵ AE 2003, 1349 (E. Tóth).

²⁹⁶ AE 2003, 1375, Környe (Z. Mráv).

Per la Pannonia Superiore citeremo il manuale di M. Kronberger sugli spazi funerari e le sepolture delle *canabae* di *Vindobona*, con gli aspetti legati alla cronologia e all'evoluzione, sulla base di numerose iscrizioni lapidarie e sull'*instrumentum*²⁹⁷. La recente pubblicazione della tesi di H. Ubl sui monumenti funerari si estende al Norico e alle Pannonie, con attenzione all'armamento e alle uniformi dei soldati dell'esercito imperiale²⁹⁸. Significativa la rilettura dell'iscrizione metrica di *Scarbantia*, con un quadro complesso di relazioni familiari²⁹⁹. Numerose informazioni possediamo sui *pagi* rurali della Pannonia³⁰⁰, così come sui *vici* con un proprio *territorium* e le *civitates peregrine*³⁰¹.

Il tema dell'urbanizzazione dell'Oltrenia (nella Dacia sud-occidentale) è trattato da C. C. Petolescu con riferimento alla *Colonia Malvensis* a Cioroiu Nou; a *Romula* municipio dopo Adriano, colonia di Severo; ad *Ampelum* e *Sucidava* municipi di Severo³⁰²; D. Benea ha studiato *Tibiscum* e *Dierna*³⁰³. Per C. C. Petolescu la menzione a Celeia di *curial(es) territ(orii) Suc(idavensis)* dimostrerebbe che *Sucidava* ha ricevuto lo statuto di municipio³⁰⁴.

Per la Dacia è stata studiata l'urbanizzazione, la municipalizzazione, le colonie, le fortezze, le città e le *regiones* del patrimonio imperiale (*metalla, praedia*), i villaggi, i *pagi*, i *vici*, le *canabae*, sempre con un'interazione con il mondo militare in ambito rurale³⁰⁵; i *vici militares* nella Dacia romana, specie *Tibiscum*, sono stati illustrati da D. Benea³⁰⁶. Il rapporto tra *cives Romani, verna*e e *peregrini* ad Arcobadara è ora studiato da S. Nemeti³⁰⁷.

I nuovi frammenti del trofeo di Traiano dal *forum vetus* di *Sarmizegetusa* ricordano la titolatura della [*colonia Ulpia Traiana Aug(usta) D]acica Sa[rmizegetusa], che dedica [condit]o[ri] s[uo] tra il 116 e il 117³⁰⁸. Gli scavi nel *forum vetus* fondato da Traiano³⁰⁹, hanno riportato alla luce ben 106 iscrizioni, studiate nel citato volume*

²⁹⁷ M. Kronberger, *Siedlungschronologische Forschungen zu den canabae legionis von Vindobona. Die Gräberfelder* (Monografien der Stadtarchäologie 1), Wien 2005.

²⁹⁸ H. Ubl, *Waffen und Uniformen des römischen Heeres der Prinzipatsepoche nach den Grabreliefs Noricums und Pannoniens* (Austria Antiqua 3), Wien 2013; AE 2013, 1161.

²⁹⁹ AE 2004, 1125 (H. Belloc / P. Moreau).

³⁰⁰ Vd. ad es. AE 2005, 1265.

³⁰¹ AE 2013, 1201 (P. Kovács).

³⁰² AE 2011, 1063.

³⁰³ AE 2013, 1272.

³⁰⁴ AE 2008, 1171; AE 2010, 1389.

³⁰⁵ Ad es. in Pannonia e Mesia: AE 2004, 1049 (M. Mirković).

³⁰⁶ AE 2003, 1462.

³⁰⁷ S. Nemeti, *Finding Arcobadara. Essay on the Geography and Administration of Roman Dacia*, Cluj-Napoca, 2014: Si parte dalla iscrizione ILD 800 che menziona il *Genius territorii Arcobadarensis* (pp. 13–19); la conclusione: «Arcobadara or Arcobara is a rural settlement with an indigenous Dacian name, with a certain degree of autonomy, with its own territory, inhabited by *cives Romani*, veterans and peregrines» (p. 146).

³⁰⁸ AE 2003, 1515 (R. Étienne / I. Piso / A. Diaconescu); vd. già IDR III/2, 135.

³⁰⁹ Tra il 111 e il 114 in AE 2006, 1139, dove A. Diaconescu esclude che l'epigrafe AE 1998, 1084 faccia riferimento alla data di fondazione della colonia; ma si vedano le osservazioni

curato da I. Piso (cfr. sopra nt. 155), tra le quali quella che contiene l'espressione *condita colonia [Ul pia Traiana Augusta] Dacica [Sarmizegetusa]*, per l'intervento del legato: *per [D. Terent]um Scaurianum*: secondo I. Piso si tratterebbe di un monumento commemorativo analogo a quello, famosissimo, di *Uchi Maius* in Africa Proconsolare sotto Severo Alessandro³¹⁰. Sorprende il numero delle dediche effettuate nell'età di Traiano; la successiva dedica ad Adriano *consul III* fu reimpiegata nel pavimento del *forum vetus* della *Colonia Dacica Sarmizegetusa*, con i *Ilviri* della fine del regno di Traiano³¹¹. Infine si ricorda il monumento a divinità ignota per la salvezza di Marco Aurelio tra il 172 e il 175³¹²; nello stesso periodo (o nei primi anni di Commodo) sarebbe stata costruita l'*aedes Augustalibus* a spese del *flamen col(oniae) M. Proc(ilius) M.f. Pap(iria) Niceta*³¹³; sappiamo che lo stesso edificio fu allora decorato *ope[re] tect[or]io et picturis item sc[al]is sigi[ll]is et linteis*; senza dimenticare i *[can]delabra aerea duo*³¹⁴. Conosciamo numerosi monumenti studiati da Piso, come quello di *Opellius Adiutor, decurio coloniae Ilvir iuris dicundi praefectus collegii fabrum*, che si data attorno al 150, dopo la costruzione del *forum novum*.

Dopo la morte di Lucio Vero si pone nel 172 la dedica a M. Aurelio da parte della *colonia Ul(pia) Traian(a) Aug(usta) Dac(ica) [Sarmizegetusa] ancipiti periculo virtutib(us) restituta*, con allusione all'invasione dei Marcomanni del 170 e alle virtù dell'imperatore, associato ad una divinità incerta³¹⁵. *Pro salute* di Commodo possediamo numerose dediche poste dai *patroni* del *coll(egium) fabr(um)*, dagli *Aug(ustales) col(oniae)*, dai decurioni appartenenti all'ordine equestre³¹⁶.

A partire dalla più antica attestazione relativa ad una città (*Mesembria*) di quella che sarebbe diventata la Mesia di inizio I secolo a.C., in relazione alle guerre contro Mitridate³¹⁷, Mladenović ha studiato l'evergetismo e la munificenza nelle città della provincia³¹⁸. Dal *Municipium Dardanorum* in Kosovo (Mesia Superiore) proviene la dedica *M. N(ovellio) M.f. Quirina Montan(o)* un cavaliere procuratore di Commodo, effettuata da *M. Novel(lius) Eros pri(n)ceps m(unicipii) D(ar)[d(anorum)]*, apparentemente originario di *Scupi*. M. Novellio Montano potrebbe essere il patrono del dedicante, forse *procurator metallorum* sotto Commodo; è noto che verso la fine del II secolo la *civitas Dardanorum* diviene municipio. Il titolo di *princeps* alluderebbe per P. Le Roux al primo dei decurioni del municipio, senza un rapporto con

contrarie di I. Piso anche in AE 2007, 1203. Per Sarmizegetusa vd. Mitthof, *Sarmizegetusa?* (vd. sopra nt. 277).

³¹⁰ AE 2006, 1140; vd. AE 2006, 1688 = A. Ibba, *Iscrizioni imperiali*, in: *Uchi Maius II*, 147-149 nr. 44.

³¹¹ AE 2006, 1142.

³¹² AE 2006, 1144.

³¹³ AE 2006, 1152.

³¹⁴ AE 2006, 1154.

³¹⁵ AE 2003, 1516.

³¹⁶ AE 2003, 1517-1520.

³¹⁷ IGBulg I 320.

³¹⁸ AE 2011, 1101.

l'amministrazione delle miniere come immaginato da Dušanić³¹⁹. Da Sočanica (*Municipium Dardanorum* in Mesia Superiore) proviene la dedica effettuata tra il 136 e il 137 di un tempio per ricordare l'eroe Antinoo, su disposizione di Adriano e L. Elio Cesare: *Antinoo Hefroi aedem ?*], con l'intervento dei *coloni arg[entariarum Dardanicarum] curante Thelesph[oro]*, un liberto imperiale³²⁰.

A *Viminacium* un epitafo è dedicato a *T. Baeb(io) Eytychi Aug(ustali) mun(icipii) Ael(i) Vim(inacii)* e a sua moglie, anch'essa patrona del municipio, per iniziativa del liberto *T. Baeb(ius) Abascantus*³²¹.

I. Piso ha studiato i *forenses* di *Brigetio*, che sarebbero gli abitanti di un *vicus* distante due km dal campo legionario, arrivato alla condizione di municipio sotto Settimio Severo³²².

All'inizio del II secolo in Mesia Inferiore ad *Oescus* conosciamo un *M. Iulius Felix decurio coloniae*: nessuna'altra città della provincia ha avuto la condizione di colonia prima del II secolo³²³.

Ad *Oescus* (oggi Gigen) abbiamo in età severiana la testimonianza della organizzazione dei *saltus* cittadini: conosciamo un cavaliere romano *flam(en) et Hviral(is) col(oniae) praef(ectus) salt(us)*, una funzione sicuramente municipale³²⁴, poi *patronus colleg(ii) fabr(orum) coloniar(um) Oesc(ensium) et Apul(ensium) patronus col(oniae) Ulpiae Oescensium bonus civis et amator rei p(ublicae)*, onorato dall'*ordo*³²⁵.

L'organizzazione dei villaggi della Dobrugia romana è studiata da A. Suceveanu, con attenzione all'organizzazione amministrativa, alle strutture sociali, al regime del suolo, alle attività economiche, alla vita religiosa dei *vici* attraverso le iscrizioni³²⁶. Alla Mesia Inferiore e alla Tracia è riferito il catalogo epigrafico di A. Băltăc³²⁷. Le iscrizioni rinvenute durante gli scavi del periodo 1981–1992 a Murighiol in Mesia Inferiore (*Halmyris*) sono state studiate nel 2003; tra esse segnalerei quella posta dai [*c(ives) R(omani) c(onsistentes) vic]o class(icorum)* nell'età di Commodo³²⁸ e riprese da M. Zahariade e C.-G. Alexandrescu, nel catalogo *Greek and Latin inscriptions from Halmyris. Inscriptions on stone, signa, and instrumenta found between 1981 and 2010*,

³¹⁹ AE 2004, 1226 = ILJug II 511, Sočanica.

³²⁰ AE 2009, 1188 (M. Šašel Kos). Vd. il culto di Antinoo anche a *Carnuntum*, AE 1994, 1396.

³²¹ AE 2010, 1107 (F. Feraudi-Gruénais / D. Spasić-Đurić).

³²² AE 2010, 1255; nulla a che fare con *Forum Hadriani* in Germania Superiore, come supposto da A. Mócsy.

³²³ AE 2005 1324.

³²⁴ Incarico già documentato in ILBulg 16.

³²⁵ AE 2005, 1325 (R. Ivanov). Vd. AE 2008, 1182 (J. Bartels).

³²⁶ A. Suceveanu, *Contribuții la cunoașterea satului dobrogean în epoca romană*, SCIVA 52–53 (2001–2002) 157–172.

³²⁷ *Lumea rurală în provinciile Moesia Inferior și Thracia (secolele I–III p. Chr.)*, București 2011, 235–292.

³²⁸ A. Suceveanu et al., *Halmyris I. Monografie arheologică*, Cluj-Napoca 2003, 115–126; AE 2003, 1550–1551.

Oxford 2011³²⁹. Il fortino costantiniano di Mihai Bravu nel distretto di Tulcea in Romania ci ha restituito l'iscrizione del *Vicus Bad(---)* presentata da A. Ibba e L. Mihăilescu Bîrliba in questo volume. Da Silistra in Mesia Inferiore, una dedica *Iovi Opt[i]mo Maximo* ci consente di localizzare il *vicus Gravidin(a)* ad Ostrov presso il *municipium Aurelium Durostorum*³³⁰.

Da Sacidava in Mesia Inferiore proviene l'iscrizione funeraria di un militare trace, *Diozenus Rigozi (filius)*, con l'inedito titolo di *subte(serarius) bur(gariorum)*; conosciamo invece i *burgarii* in Dobrugia, a *Tropaeum* e *Sucidava*³³¹; uno studio frontale sul *Municipium Traianum Tropaeum* fondato nel 109 d.C. come Sarmizegetusa è ora di E. Popescu³³². I monumenti epigrafici del *municipium Montanensium* in Mesia Inferiore sono raccolti da V. Veljov e G. Aleksandrov³³³.

I primi pontarchi ad *Histria* e *Callatis*, nel Ponto della metà del II secolo, sono studiati da A. Avram, M. Bărbulescu, M. Ionescu³³⁴. La pentapoli del *koinon* del Ponto, con la dubbia posizione di Mesembria assegnata in seguito alla Tracia, è studiata da M. Tačeva³³⁵.

Da *Abrittus* (oggi Razgrad) in Mesia Inferiore abbiamo due dediche effettuate dai *Vet(erani) et c(ives) R(omani) [co]nsistentes Abritto*, una delle due sotto Elagabalo nel 222 d.C.³³⁶. Infine la storia della città di Tomi, capitale della provincia *Moesia Inferior* dall'origine fino alla fine dell'antichità dal punto di vista archeologico, numismatico, epigrafico è ora disponibile nel volume di L. Buzoianu e M. Bărbulescu³³⁷.

10. Alcuni *populi* e *nationes*

Moltissime novità sono state raccolte negli ultimi decenni sui confini tra *populi* differenti, ad esempio tra *Isarci* della Rezia e i *Saevates* del Norico, lungo la vallata dell'Eisack, che segnava la frontiera tra Norico e Rezia, in rapporto alla *regio X*, con la sicura localizzazione a Kollman di *Sublavio*³³⁸.

Estremamente significativa è la nuova documentazione relativa alla *civitas Eraviscorum* nella grande ansa del Danubio, che fa perno attorno a Budapest, l'antica *Aquincum*: E. Szabó rifiuta l'ipotesi che la *civitas Eraviscoum* sia stata attribuita al municipio di *Aquincum*. Il fatto che due decurioni siano notabili di un *municipium Aelium Aquincensium* e della *civitas Eraviscoum* non significa che la *civitas* fosse

³²⁹ AE 2011, 1140.

³³⁰ AE 2011, 1137 (G. Atanasov).

³³¹ AE 2011, 1138 (M. Bărbulescu / L. Buzoianu / T. Cliante).

³³² AE 2013, 1339.

³³³ AE 2012, 1262.

³³⁴ AE 2004, 1231, vd. IScM I 2207 e III 99–100.

³³⁵ AE 2007, 1218.

³³⁶ AE 2010, 1421 (G. Radoslavova / G. Dzanev).

³³⁷ *Tomis. Comentariu istoric și arheologic/ Historical and archaeological commentary*, Constanța 2012.

³³⁸ AE 2011, 838 (B. Steidl).

adtributa al *municipium*³³⁹. A proposito della frontiera tra *Aquincum* e la *civitas Eraviscorum* J. Fitz, studiando le iscrizioni del comitato di Fejér, distingue le località a nord della via *Aquileia-Gorsium-Aquincum* (pienamente aggregate al municipio) e quelle a sud (rimaste autonome, comunque entro la *civitas*). Dopo la sconfitta di Valeriano ad Edessa nel 260, in occasione dell'attacco dei Sarmati, molti monumenti di *Gorsium* e delle località travolte dai barbari furono trasportati a *Intercisa*, utilizzati per ricostruire le fortificazioni del *limes*. Sono 38 i monumenti epigrafici repertoriati nel territorio di *Aquincum*³⁴⁰. I limiti occidentali e meridionali della *civitas Eraviscorum* e del territorio di *Aquincum* arrivavano fino al lago Balaton (ad occidente) e Vajta (a mezzogiorno). La principale divinità eravisca a *Gorsium* era *Iupiter*, invocato *pro salute* degli imperatori *et pro incolumitate civitatis Eraviscorum*. J. Fitz ha studiato la dedica *De[fo] T[eu]tano p[ro] s[al]ute templ[ensium]* effettuata da un tribuno della coorte *III B(atavorum)*. Come è noto all'XI secolo risale lo smantellamento della fortificazione, trasferita a Székesfehérvár da *Gorsium* e non da *Aquincum*³⁴¹. Allo stesso dio sono dedicate le iscrizioni di Bölske (Komitat Tolna), sulla riva destra del Danubio: sono stati ritrovati ben 39 altari votivi e due funerari, i più antichi della Pannonia Inferiore, alcuni da *Aquincum*, *Campona*, *Vetus Salina*, dedicati per la salvezza degli imperatori del II e del III secolo, oltre che come si è detto *pro salute civitatis Eraviscorum*. Tutti gli altari dedicati a *I(upiter) O(ptimus) M(aximus) Teutanus* (associato talora a Giunone Regina), collocati dai magistrati cittadini, hanno la data dell'11 giugno (festa di *Mater Matuta*), come per *I.O.M. Karnuntinus a Carnuntum*³⁴², si tratta più probabilmente di una festa religiosa indigena oppure in tale data ricorre l'anniversario del giorno del citato miracolo della pioggia per M. Aurelio³⁴³. Per Piso l'11 giugno è data del primo sacrificio *I.O.M.* in Pannonia; la data è stata mantenuta anche dopo la divisione provinciale. Non sembra fondata di conseguenza l'ipotesi di P. Scherrer che ora collega la data dell'11 giugno (sulle dediche a *Iupiter Optimus Maximus Teutanus* e *K(arnuntinus)* ad *Aquincum* e *Carnuntum*) al reclutamento militare effettuato attraverso l'organizzazione dei *collegia iuvenum*³⁴⁴.

Gli *Anartii*, una tribù imparentata con gli *Eravisci*, ricordati a *Tusculum* per esser stati sconfitti dal legato [*M(arcus) Vinu]ciu[s P(ubli) f(ilius)]* già nell'età di Augusto (*Anartifos sub potestatem Imp(eratoris) Caesaris A]ugusti [et p(opuli) R(omani) redegit]*)³⁴⁵ sono documentati a Budapest (*Aquincum*), in uno dei primi esempi di assegnazione della *civitas* alla Pannonia del nord-est: la tribù era precedentemente

³³⁹ E. Szabó, *Epigraphica I, Studies on Epigraphy* (Hungarian Polis Studies 6), Debrecen 2000, 131–149 (a proposito di RIU V 1066), vd. AE 2000, 1222.

³⁴⁰ AE 2002, 1176 (J. Fitz).

³⁴¹ AE 2001, 1692. Vd. la dedica a *Intercisa* in Pannonia Inferiore [*Genio] templ[ensium]* da parte di un soldato della III coorte di Batavi, *sacerd(os) tem[pli] divi Marci* effettuata il 1° maggio 211. AE 2009, 1087 (G. Alföldy).

³⁴² AE 2003, 1408–52 (J. Beszédes / Z. Mráv / E. Tóth); 2005, 1241 e 1251 (P. Kovács).

³⁴³ AE 2003, 1408–52.

³⁴⁴ AE 2013, 1163, con le osservazioni di I. Piso.

³⁴⁵ IIt XIII/3, 91.

collocata all'esterno delle frontiere dell'impero³⁴⁶. In epoca flavia conosciamo una *Iulia Uta Epponis f. Florina natione Anartia*³⁴⁷. Un *vicus* della tribù degli *Anar[tii]* della pianura ungherese è tra i dedicanti di un altare ad Ercole a *Pagus Herculus* a Budaörs in Pannonia Inferiore³⁴⁸.

A Baden (*Aquae*, in Pannonia Superiore), abbiamo un diploma di Antonino Pio relativo ad un *ex gregale* della flotta di Miseno *Boius ex Pannon(ia)*, originario della tribù dei Boi, congedato il 26 ottobre 145³⁴⁹.

Se passiamo al *Barbaricum*, da Dunàntul e dalle regioni transdanubiane dell'Ungheria, più precisamente dal territorio degli Azali (tra il Danubio e il lago Balaton) proviene il diploma studiato da Lőrincz dell'*ex pedite* della *cohors II Alpinorum Terius Dasentis filius Azalus*, veterano evidentemente tornato in patria³⁵⁰. Un marinaio *ex gregale* era *Niger Siusi f. Azalus*, del diploma di *Arrabona*, che si è spostato nel 161 dopo il congedo³⁵¹. Si segnala la clausola a favore dei *liberi decurionum et centurionum item caligatorum quos antequam in castra irent procreatos*, dunque nati prima che il padre *caligatus* (soldato semplice) prendesse servizio.

L'espressione generale *natione Pannonius* o *Pannonicus* riferita non esattamente ad un popolo ma ad un'*origo*³⁵² dalla Pannonia ricorre una ventina di volte nell'impero per militari e civili, in particolare a *Salona*³⁵³, *Hardomilje* in Bosnia³⁵⁴, ma anche in Siria, in Cilicia, in Gallia, in Germania, a Ravenna e a Roma³⁵⁵. Analoga diffusione ha l'espressione *natione Noricus* a *Salona*³⁵⁶, *Aquincum*³⁵⁷, *Mogontiacum*³⁵⁸, Roma³⁵⁹,

³⁴⁶ AE 2004, 1153.

³⁴⁷ AE 2005, 1250. Vd. anche 1265, *Aquincum*.

³⁴⁸ AE 2005, 1265.

³⁴⁹ AE 2008, 1111.

³⁵⁰ AE 2002, 1148.

³⁵¹ AE 2001, 1640.

³⁵² Vd. A. Mastino, *Natione Sardus. Unus color, una vox, una natio*, Archivio Storico Sardo 50 (2015) 141–181. Vd. ora M. A. Speidel, *Natione Ponticus: Roman Navy Soldiers and the Black Sea*, in *Advances in Ancient Black Sea Studies: Historiography, Archeology and Religion*, V. Cojocaru / L. Ruscu / Th. Castelli / A.-I. Pázsint (Pontica et Mediterranea, VIII), Cluj-Napoca 2019, 133–142.

³⁵³ AE 2012, 1086.

³⁵⁴ ILJug III 1924.

³⁵⁵ Apamea di Siria: AE 2008, 1523; Anazarba in Cilicia: AE 2006, 1553; Adana in Cilicia: AE 1991, 1555; Roma: CIL VI 2746, 2758, 2673, 3156–3157, 3184, 3214, 3300, 3289, 37224; AE 1954, 79 e 81; AE 1983, 48; Ravenna: CIL XI 39; *Nemausus*: CIL XII 3020; *Mogontiacum*: CIL XIII 7247.

³⁵⁶ CIL III 8730.

³⁵⁷ TitAq II 682

³⁵⁸ CIL XIII 11869.

³⁵⁹ CIL VI 3295, 32805, 32814, 32822, 33036; AE 1948, 68; AE 1993, 165; AE 2011, 140; M. P. Speidel, *Die Denkmäler der Kaiserreiter. Equites singulares Augusti*, Köln 1994, 118 nr. 89.

Caesarea di Mauretania³⁶⁰; più rari sono i documenti relativi a *natione Dalmata* o *Dalmaticus*, abitualmente marinai della flotta di Ravenna³⁶¹ ed a *natione Raetus* a Roma³⁶²; si veda anche *natione Moesia inf(eriore) civitate Oesci* di un epitafo romano³⁶³. Numerosi Salonitani hanno servito a Roma nelle coorti pretorie³⁶⁴.

I Sarmati sono ancora all'epoca di Commodo considerati *latrunculi* e non *hostes*, tra *Aquincum* e *Intercisa*³⁶⁵. M. F. Petracchia ha studiato la presenza di *latrones* a Drobeta³⁶⁶, da non confondere con gli *stationarii* assassini di *Timacum Minus*³⁶⁷; a *Naissus* V. Nedeljković rivede parzialmente l'edizione di un'iscrizione funeraria di un *iuvenis qui (i)nnocuus vi[x(it) a(nnos) X]X dilectus: qui[i] miserand[us a] pessimam gentem, quu[et]us] dum restaret per[em]tus*, forse ucciso dai *latrones*³⁶⁸.

11. Gli immigrati

Le immigrazioni di Italici e da altre province, in particolare dalla Siria, dalla Numidia e dalla Mauretania, dalla Penisola Iberica, sono state ampiamente studiate³⁶⁹. Le regioni di origine dei militari, la sistemazione dei veterani attraverso i *tituli veteranorum* delle province danubiane sono sintetizzati da K. Królczyk³⁷⁰; per il Norico specificamente disponiamo dei due lavori di J. Visočnik³⁷¹. B. Fehér ha studiato i molti nomi siriaci in Pannonia Inferiore dopo le guerre marcomanniche a *Ulcisia* e *Intercisa*, segnalando la persistenza dell'onomastica siriana e giudaico-siriana³⁷². Ma nel 2012 è uscito il volume sulle unità siriane sul Danubio di O. Tentea, *Ex Oriente ad Danubium. The Syrian units on the Danube frontier of the Roman Empire*, Cluj-Napoca 2012, con alcuni problemi di traduzione.

Per *Viminacium* in Mesia Superiore Weber ha affrontato il tema degli immigrati dall'Oriente: *Eusebius filiu[s] Antianu civis Germaniceu<s> ex vico Abdarmisu* (IV

³⁶⁰ CIL VIII 9391.

³⁶¹ Ravenna: CIL XI 71; provincia incerta: AE 1988, 1138; Napoli: AE 1892, 140; *Prusia ad Hypium* in Ponto-Bitinia AE 1954, 231.

³⁶² CIL VI 3224, 32480, AE 1973, 52.

³⁶³ CIL VI 13233.

³⁶⁴ AE 2013, 1189 (D. Demicheli).

³⁶⁵ AE 2008, 1115 (P. Kovács).

³⁶⁶ AE 2007, 1205 (M. F. Petracchia).

³⁶⁷ AE 2001, 1728 (M. F. Petracchia).

³⁶⁸ AE 2008, 1179, vd. IMS IV 39 e CLEMOes 54.

³⁶⁹ AE 2010, 1283, *Aquincum*, un centurione originario da *Lucus Aug(usti)*, forse Lugo in *Hispania Citerior* più che Luc-en-Diois in Narbonense (II secolo).

³⁷⁰ K. Królczyk, *Tituli veteranorum. Veteraneninschriften aus den Donauprovinzen des römischen Reiches (1.–3. Jh. n. Chr.)* (Xenia Posnaniensia, Monografie 6), Poznań 2005. AE 2005, 1140 e AE 2008, 967.

³⁷¹ *Foreigners in the area of Celeia*, *Classica et Christiana* 9.1 (2014) 275–298 e *Celeiens attested across the Roman Empire*, *Classica et Christiana* 10 (2015) 509–533, con specifici dossiers epigrafici.

³⁷² AE 2009, 1074. Per *Intercisa*, N. Agócs ha studiato l'origine orientale di militari e civili, vd. AE 2013, 1268.

secolo), originario di Germanicia in Commagene, villaggio di *Abdarmisus* qui citato per la prima volta³⁷³.

Per quanto riguarda gli immigrati, richiamerei alcuni casi particolarmente significativi: a Višegrad in Bosnia, un personaggio *domo Hadrumeto* arrivato dall'Africa Proconsolare³⁷⁴, a *Poetovio* in Pannonia Superiore *ex region(e) Dolich(e) a vico Arpuartura* nell'età di Valeriano e Gallieno³⁷⁵, a *Savaria* un *cives Surus ex regione Zeugma*³⁷⁶; nel *municipium* di Troesmis sono documentate alcune famiglie di *Ancyra*³⁷⁷.

L'immigrazione di Carpi in Pannonia nell'età di Diocleziano studiata da P. Kovács³⁷⁸ è documentata dall'incredibile carriera di un personaggio, (*Flavius*) *Maximinus*, originario del popolo dei Carpi trasferiti nella *Valeria* ma ammessi ai gradi più alti dell'impero, come documentano, oltre che il 28° libro delle Storie di Ammiano Marcellino, soprattutto i miliari stradali della *Sardinia* nell'età di Valentiniano I, Valente e Graziano fino al 371 e al prestigiosissimo incarico di prefetto del pretorio per le Gallie, con l'improvvisa disgrazia e la condanna a morte nel 376 per volontà di Graziano. L'episodio testimonia in modo sorprendente la mobilità sociale e la possibilità per una famiglia proveniente dal *Barbaricum* occupato dai Carpi di innalzarsi nell'aristocrazia della provincia e nell'impero, pur mantenendo una cultura fondata su tradizioni ancestrali legate al mondo della magia³⁷⁹.

Tra gli immigrati in Dacia si segnala il libro di L. Mihăilescu-Bîrliiba, *Ex toto orbe Romano: Immigration into Roman Dacia. With Prosopographical Observations on the Population of Dacia*, Leuven / Paris / Walpole 2011³⁸⁰. Recentemente G. Cupcea ha stampato nel Regno Unito la sua tesi dottorale sulle carriere dei militari semplici nella Dacia romana (*Professional ranks in the Roman army of Dacia*, Oxford 2014).

In generale sorprende la varietà delle immigrazioni in Dacia, in particolare a livello di aristocrazie cittadine: nomi illirici dall'area dalmato pannonica³⁸¹; altri immigrati

³⁷³ AE 2000, 1262.

³⁷⁴ AE 2005, 1218. Vd. anche le due dediche a Giove per la salvezza di Settimio Severo nel 197, che ricordano il prefetto dell'*ala I Thracum veterana M. Gongius Paternus Nestorianus domo Sufibus ex Africa*, nato a *Sufes* in Proconsolare (AE 2003, 1432). Vd. la revisione di I. Piso di AE 2003, 1433 in AE 2013, 1256 (198–199).

³⁷⁵ AE 2010, 1240 (M. Lubšina Tušek).

³⁷⁶ AE 2011, 957.

³⁷⁷ AE 2005, 1319.

³⁷⁸ SEP III 2011, 31–38. Vd. anche FPA VI, 164–191; AE 2011, 948.

³⁷⁹ A. Mastino / T. Pinna, *Negromanzia, divinazione, malefici nel passaggio tra paganesimo e cristianesimo in Sardegna: gli strani amici del preside Flavio Massimino*, in F. Cenerini / P. Ruggeri (edd.), *Epigrafia romana in Sardegna. Atti del I Convegno di studio, Sant'Antioco, 14–15 luglio 2007* (Incontri insulari 1), Roma 2008, 41–83.

³⁸⁰ Vd. già AE 2010, 1357, soprattutto sulle origini geografiche dei rappresentanti dell'élite municipale della Dacia.

³⁸¹ 2004, 1205 (R. Ardevan); AE 2008, 1154 (E. Dobruna-Salih).

dalla penisola italiana, dalla Tracia³⁸², dal Norico³⁸³, dalla Gallia celtica (L. Mihăilescu-Bîrliba), dall'Asia Minore³⁸⁴.

12. Opere pubbliche

La viabilità stradale balcanica è stata rapidamente ricostruita da R. Zucca e B. Sanna in rapporto alle *tabernae* e ai *praetoria*, infrastrutture che costituivano un sistema al servizio del governo provinciale e dell'esercito, come in Mesia, già con la prima occupazione ma soprattutto in età tarda come testimoniano le fonti agiografiche ora rivisitate³⁸⁵. In sintesi si può rinviare al lavoro sul sistema stradale della Dacia di F. Fodorean, con la presentazione delle più recenti scoperte di nuovi miliari³⁸⁶. Il ponte di Drobeta (in Dacia Superiore, non Inferiore come supposto da D. Benea)³⁸⁷ costruito da Traiano, fu abbandonato temporaneamente, poi restaurato da Adriano. La ricostruzione della strada tra *Remesiana* e *Naissus* in Mesia Superiore potrebbe esser collegata alla guerra persiana di Severo Alessandro³⁸⁸.

Le iscrizioni ci conservano il ricordo della realizzazione di numerosissime opere pubbliche, basiliche, templi, edifici di spettacolo, in ambito cittadino o castrense. Solo un esempio: nell'età di Commodo nell'estate 185 la *cohors I Aurelia Antonina milliaria Hemesenorum* con il legato *L. Cornelius Felix Plotianus* è impegnata nella realizzazione delle porte del campo militare di *Intercisa*, in Pannonia Inferiore³⁸⁹; qui potrebbe essere localizzata una *statio*, di cui conosciamo 15 *beneficarii*³⁹⁰.

Le fortificazioni romane tra Belgrado (*Singidunum*) e Prahova (*ad Aquas*) nella Mesia Superiore sono studiate nel volume di M. Mirković³⁹¹. In Mesia Inferiore ad *Halmyris* è molto nota la costruzione sotto Diocleziano e Massimiano della fortezza destinata a durare in eterno: *post debellatas hostium gentes profuturum in aeternum rei publicae constituerunt presidium*: il tempo in rapporto allo spazio universale³⁹².

³⁸² AE 2008, 1155 (C. Onofrei).

³⁸³ AE 2008, 1156 (C. H. Opreanu).

³⁸⁴ AE 2008, 1164 (C. Onofrei), per Napoca.

³⁸⁵ Vd. B. Sanna / R. Zucca, *I praetoria del cursus publicus nelle province danubiane*, in: Zerbinì (ed.), *Roma e le province danubiane* (vd. sopra nt. 1), 95–111.

³⁸⁶ AE 2002, 1221; AE 2006, 1126.

³⁸⁷ AE 2012, 1247.

³⁸⁸ AE 2013, 1323 (V. P. Petrović).

³⁸⁹ AE 2008, 118–119 (Z. Mráv).

³⁹⁰ AE 2013, 1269 (Z. Visy), diversamente J. Fitz.

³⁹¹ AE 2003, 1529, vd. M. Mirković, *Römer an der mittleren Donau. Römische Straßen und Festungen von Singidunum bis Aquae*, Beograd 2003.

³⁹² AE 2010, 1426.

13. L'esercito: legioni, coorti, *alae*, flotta

Molto complesso è il capitolo sull'esercito in area danubiana, che in questa sede può essere solo accennato, con riferimento ai *castra* legionari, ai campi ausiliari delle coorti e delle *alae*, alla flotta. In Rezia inizialmente operavano soprattutto unità ausiliarie³⁹³, come presso le *Aquae Phoebianae*, *Biriciana*, *Mediana*, *Vetoniana*³⁹⁴, a Windisch è documentata la *legio XXI* dal 45 al 69 d.C., sostituita poi dal 70 al 101 d.C. dalla *Legio XI Claudia Pia Fidelis*, di cui ci rimangono i bolli della guarnigione. Più incerta la presenza della *legio III Italica* ad *Augusta Vindelicorum* e non a Ratisbona sotto Commodo: la metropoli provinciale (per Tacito *splendidissima Raetiae colonia*) Augsburg in Baviera in precedenza, nel I secolo, aveva accolto nell'accampamento una *vexillatio* legionaria e un'ala di cavalleria³⁹⁵ e sappiamo che ospitava il governatore e la stazione doganale della *quadragesima Galliarum*. G. Alföldy presenta la dedica a Mercurio³⁹⁶ posta nell'età di Commodo da *Appius Cl(audius) Lateranus co(n)s(ul) design(atus) leg(atus) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) leg(ionis) III Ital(icae)*, che però non sarebbe il governatore della Rezia, ma solo il comandante legionario nel 188 d.C. durante l'*expeditio Germanica tertia*³⁹⁷. *Lateranus*, terminata la missione, designato al consolato, dedica un altare ad Augsburg. Rimangono le perplessità di R. Haensch, che non si spiega la ragione per la quale un comandante legionario abbia elevato il monumento ad Augsburg, la capitale, e non a Ratisbona dove si trovava la legione. Eppure gli altri governatori sono chiamati *legatus Augusti propretore provinciae Raetiae*.

I principali campi di ausiliari recentemente studiati sono quelli di Heidenheim (il campo dell'*ala II Flavia miliaria*) e di Gnotzheim per la *III cohors Thracum*: si discute su *Q. Gavius Fulvius Proculus*, prefetto della coorte, cavaliere originario di *Caiatia* a nord di Capua, come testimonia la dedica a Diana³⁹⁸. Il campo di Eining-Untersfeld

³⁹³ Vd. i diplomi di età adrianea da Pfatter in Baviera AE 2005, 1149–1150 (B. Steidl) o quello da Straubing in AE 2005, 1153, Straubing (H. Wolff). Eppure la *l(egio) III*, la *l(egio) X* e la *l(egio) XII (Fulminata)* sono menzionate alla fine dell'età repubblicana sui proiettili di fionda in piombo in Rezia (AE 2003, 1286a–c; AE 2007, 1067–1069; AE 2008, 987; AE 2009, 971a–b (J. Rageth); AE 2011, 845 (J. Rageth / W. Zanier / S. Klein).

³⁹⁴ AE 2003, 1290 (A. Kolb). *Aquae Phoebianae* e non *Castra Phoebiana*, vd. AE 2009, 973, Faimingen in Rezia (H. U. Nuber / G. Seitz).

³⁹⁵ AE 2011, 849 (L. Bakker).

³⁹⁶ Per il culto di Mercurio *Caisoni* in Rezia, importato dalla Germania Superiore, vd. AE 2009, 972 (G. Zahlhaas). Con maggiore approfondimento, a proposito dei numerosi aspetti del culto del Mercurio gallo-romano, vd. anche AE 2013, 1165 (A. Forster).

³⁹⁷ CIL III 5793, vd. G. Alföldy, *Probleme rätischer Inschriften. Zur Methode der epigraphisch-historischen Forschung*, in: P. Barceló / V. Rosenberger (edd.), *Humanitas. Beiträge zur antiken Kulturgeschichte. Festschrift für Gunther Gottlieb zum 65. Geburtstag*, München 2001, 9–27; dubbi di AE 2001, 1560.

³⁹⁸ AE 2001, 1567.

(*Abusina*) in Baviera e il suo *vicus* hanno restituito recentemente diplomi³⁹⁹ e preziose testimonianze della *cohors III Britannorum equitata*⁴⁰⁰. Le fortificazioni collocate a nord del Danubio sarebbero state distrutte e abbandonate nel corso dell'anarchia militare del III secolo, e rioccupate da Diocleziano⁴⁰¹.

Nel Norico conosciamo legioni, reparti ausiliari, ufficiali, soldati e veterani. A Lorch è documentata alla fine del II secolo la *legio II Italica* anche nella dedica di *Faustinus cohortis I pilus posterior*⁴⁰². Ma la legione arriva ben oltre Valeriano, affiancata dalla *legio I Noricorum* creata da Diocleziano per difendere il *Noricum Ripense*: conosciamo le officine legionarie, *figulinas i(u)vensianas leg(ionis) primae Nor(icorum)*⁴⁰³.

La caratteristica militare del territorio della Dalmazia (che con Augusto era controllato da ben sei legioni) andò sfumando nel tempo, tanto che a partire dall'età di Vespasiano la Dalmazia appare controllata ormai solo da reparti ausiliari e in particolare da coorti di Dalmati, impiegati ampiamente anche nella flotta da guerra che aveva la base principale a Ravenna, come testimonia ad esempio il diploma del 5 aprile 71 d.C. dell'età di Vespasiano, con il nome di un *tessera[rius] Tarsa Duzi f. [Bessus]* e di suo figlio *Macedo*⁴⁰⁴: ciò spiega anche la rapida municipalizzazione in età flavia. Una rilettura di un epitafio del museo di Split consente di ricostruire il nome di un *T. Ti[turius] domo Fab[ia Brixia] spec(ulator) leg(ionis) X[I C(laudiae) p.f.]* nel corso del I secolo⁴⁰⁵. La *cohors VIII voluntariorum*, di guarnigione a *Tilurium*, ora documentata a *Salona*⁴⁰⁶, è nota da almeno 409 iscrizioni in Dalmazia: per I. Matijević si tratta dell'unica unità stazionata ininterrottamente in Dalmazia durante tutto il principato⁴⁰⁷. La *legio X Gemina pia fidelis* è ugualmente ben documentata: recentemente I. Matijević ha studiato i *beneficiarii consularis* della stessa legione a *Salona* in Dalmazia⁴⁰⁸. J. Jeličić Radonić ha affrontato il tema delle promozioni degli *equites singulares Augusti* sotto Adriano sempre a *Salona*, seguendo la dettagliatissima carriera di *T. Fl(avius) T.f. Pol(lia) castr(is) Lucilius*, figlio di un peregrino, la cui *origo* è *castr(is)*, un *vexillarius* che ha svolto una brillante carriera militare, arrivando al grado di centurione nella VIII coorte di *vol(untarii)*, di stanza in Dalmazia; infine congedato

³⁹⁹ Ad. es. H. Wolff, *Ein Militärdiplomfragment aus Einig-Untersfeld, Stadt Neustadt, Ldkrs. Kelheim von 157-161 n. Chr.*, *Ostbairische Grenzmarken* 43 (2001) 9–12; AE 2001, 1568 (156–161 d.C.).

⁴⁰⁰ AE 2012, 1062a–b (S. F. Pfahl). Vd. anche AE 2013, 1169 (K. Matijević), Caracalla e Geta il 1° dicembre 211.

⁴⁰¹ AE 2007, 1064 (M. Reuter).

⁴⁰² AE 2006, 999 (H. Petrovitsch).

⁴⁰³ AE 2000, 1150.

⁴⁰⁴ AE 2007, 1232 (C. C. Petolescu / A.-T. Popescu). Per un diploma di Antonino Pio ottenuto tra il 145 e il 147 da un soldato della Mesia Inferiore, vd. AE 2007, 1233.

⁴⁰⁵ AE 2006, 1009 (S. Ivčević).

⁴⁰⁶ AE 2013, 1193 (I. Matijević).

⁴⁰⁷ AE 2012, 1085.

⁴⁰⁸ AE 2012, 1094.

nell'età di Adriano. Il testo è stato recentemente rettificato da P. Faure⁴⁰⁹. Un centurione primo pilo della *IV Flavia* creata da Vespasiano in Dalmazia è di stanza tra il 70 e il 85 a *Burnum*, poi in Mesia dalla fine I secolo⁴¹⁰.

Sull'epigrafia militare della Pannonia sono fondamentali i volumi di B. Lőrincz su molti aspetti relativi alle unità ausiliarie, storia, campi, spostamenti, monumenti posti dai militari, carriere ufficiali, centurioni, decurioni, catalogo dei documenti⁴¹¹.

Ad *Aquincum* è documentata la legione *II Adiutrix*, con effettivi provenienti anche da *Amastris* in Paflagonia o da *Arelate* in Narbonense a partire dall'età di Traiano: un'imponente documentazione è relativa a legati, *praefecti legionis*, centurioni, *optiones*⁴¹², *cornicularii*⁴¹³, *custodes armorum*⁴¹⁴, *stratores*⁴¹⁵, *aquiliferi*, *signiferi*⁴¹⁶, *vexillarii*⁴¹⁷, *capsarii*⁴¹⁸, *veterani*, medici militari⁴¹⁹, *candidati*⁴²⁰.

A Bölske Z. Mráv studia il primipilo della legione *II Adiutrix* di *Aquincum* alla testa della *ala I Thracum*, forse a seguito della morte o improvvisa malattia del prefetto dell'ala arrivata da *Campona*⁴²¹.

A Bécsi, in Pannonia Inferiore, nel corso degli scavi è venuto alla luce l'epitafio di *Fl(avius) Ursus biarcus ex numero equites Dalmatas degentium Cirpi*, un soldato graduato dell'esercito di Costantino, tra i soldati accantonati a Cirpi, oggi *Dunabogdány*, nel Comitato di Pest⁴²².

A Visegrád – Lapence, entro la provincia Valeria, nell'età di Valentiniano, Valente e Graziano (371 d.C.) conosciamo un *Foscianus p(rae)p(ositus) legionis prim[ae Mar]tiorum*, agli ordini di un *Equitius utriusque militiae magister per Illyricum* incaricato da Valentiniano I di fortificare il Danubio⁴²³.

⁴⁰⁹ AE 2006, 1013 = AE 2010, 1167.

⁴¹⁰ AE 2001, 1727.

⁴¹¹ B. Lőrincz, *Die römischen Hilfstruppen in Pannonia während der Prinzipatszeit I: Die Inschriften* (Wiener Archäologische Studien 3), Wien 2001. Un ulteriore catalogo dello stesso autore riguarda l'*instrumentum*.

⁴¹² AE 2013, 1258 (J. Beszédes).

⁴¹³ Ad es. AE 2013, 1206, Odra, presso Zagabria in Pannonia Superiore (A. Rendić-Miočević): *ve[te](aranus) emeritus coh(ortis) I[I] Va[r](cianorum)*.

⁴¹⁴ Ad es. un *c(ustos) a(rmorum) leg(ionis) s(upra) s(criptae)* nel II secolo, in AE 2016, 1294 ad *Aquincum*.

⁴¹⁵ Ad es. AE 2004, 1167 per la Pannonia Inferiore.

⁴¹⁶ Alcuni soldati erano originari dell'area, come il *signifer domo Mur(sa)* nell'età di Elagabalo AE 2008, 1139.

⁴¹⁷ Il titolo compare anche nelle *alae*, ad es. a *Napoca* in Dacia, AE 2013, 1293 (I. Piso / T. Tecar).

⁴¹⁸ AE 2000, 1217.

⁴¹⁹ AE 2012, 1260 (D. Aparaschivei, per la Mesia Inferiore).

⁴²⁰ AE 2010, 1287.

⁴²¹ AE 2003, 1431 = AE 2005, 1242.

⁴²² AE 2010, 1299b.

⁴²³ AE 2000, 1223.

Inoltre la *cohors I Lusitanorum* doveva essere accampata a *Cornacum* (oggi Sotin) in Pannonia Inferiore; conosciamo un veterano *ex c(enturione) M. Aurel(ius) Serenus, domo Bass(ianis)*⁴²⁴.

Ben documentata negli ultimi anni è anche la *legio XV Apollinaris* a *Vindobona* e poi a *Carnuntum*⁴²⁵.

Gli ultimi studi sui campi militari hanno dimostrato che l'accampamento di *Vindobona* ospitava la *legio XIII Gemina*, almeno a partire dal 68 all'epoca di Galba. Proprio per *Vindobona* possediamo lo studio di M. Mosser sulle origini dell'accampamento della *legio XV Apollinaris*, dove vengono raccolte tutte le iscrizioni provenienti dal muro sud-orientale del campo legionario⁴²⁶: possediamo gli epitafi più antichi (anche del I secolo) riutilizzati nella fortificazione del III secolo, con tracce del precedente campo legionario in legno. Già sotto Traiano la *legio XIV Gemina Martia Victrix* era a *Vindobona* (sostituita dalla *legio X Gemina Severiana*), poi a *Carnuntum*: proprio dalla Pannonia Inferiore conosciamo alcuni *beneficarii*⁴²⁷. Particolarmente significativa la menzione dei *navalia* della *legio XIV Gemina* presso il porto fluviale di *Carnuntum*, dove ci sono noti nel II secolo d.C. un *vet(eranus) ex magistr(o) navalior(um) leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae)*, con tutta probabilità in origine un marinaio o comunque un ausiliario trasferito nella legione, come sembrerebbe testimoniato dall'utilizzo dell'espressione *nation(e) Hispan(us) Tarraconensis*⁴²⁸.

Per *Canuntum* ci rimangono numerose stele funerarie dei militari della *legio XV Apollinaris*, con tribuni come *L. Cossutius L.f. Sabatina Costa*, originario d'Italia, nell'epoca di Claudio⁴²⁹; *milites, equites, missicii*; un *veteranus, L. Varius Secundus*, è arrivato all'età di 108 anni⁴³⁰.

Oltre che nelle *canabae* di *Carnuntum*, la legione, assente tra Nerone e i primi anni di Vespasiano come testimoniano i bolli, è documentata a *Scarbantia*⁴³¹ e a *Savaria*: Á. Szabó ha presentato il caso del veterano della legione *XV Apollinaris Sex. Utti[e]dius C.f. Celer* della tribù *Claudia* a Szombathely, che ha partecipato all'installazione della

⁴²⁴ AE 2009, 1078 (A. Rendić-Miočević).

⁴²⁵ Ad es. AE 2002, 1168–1172 (*Vindobona*); AE 2002, 1150–1156; 1159–1160; 1161 (*Carnuntum*), ecc. Vd. AE 2011, 949 (S. Ferjančić). Per l'*origo* dei suoi soldati, prevalentemente dalle Pannonie ma non solo, vd. AE 2013, 1202, vd. I. Acrudoae, *The prosopography of the militaries from Pannonia in legio XV Apollinaris*, *Classica et Christiana* 8.2 (2013) 377–393.

⁴²⁶ M. Mosser, *Die Steindenkmäler der legio XV Apollinaris*, Wien 2003. M. Mosser et al., *Die römischen Kasernen in Legionslager Vindobona. Die Ausgrabungen am Judenplatz in Wien in den Jahren 1995–1998* (Monografien der Stadtarchäologie Wien 5), Wien 2010.

⁴²⁷ AE 2000, 1206.

⁴²⁸ AE 2010, 1261 = AE 2013, 1244 (E. Weber), vd. G. Alföldy in *CIL* II², 14, 2, E 4.

⁴²⁹ AE 2002, 1150.

⁴³⁰ AE 2009, 1050.

⁴³¹ Per un veterano della *legio III F(lavia) F(elix)* originario di Vienna in Narbonense alla fine del I secolo d.C., vd. AE 2013, 1214 (Z. Mráv); la legione è ben documentata in Dacia, vd. AE 2013, 1274 (G. Cupcea).

colonia Claudia Savaria nel I secolo d.C.; tra i parenti forse una *Valenti(na) Prov[i]nciae l(ibera)*⁴³².

Altri sigilli in piombo ci ricordano i privilegi doganali dei prodotti destinati alla *legio I Adiutrix ex Belg(ica)*, che lascia Magonza al più tardi nell'86 per il Danubio ed è a *Brigetio* ben prima del 97; non è accertata una presenza della legione a *Carnuntum*, dove forse è solo passata o ha spedito i suoi prodotti. Lo spostamento di legione sarebbe avvenuto dalla Belgica alla Pannonia Superiore prima della creazione delle province germaniche⁴³³. La legione fu comunque stanziata a lungo a *Brigetio*, come dimostrano l'*instrumentum* (Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna) e numerosi epitafi del II e III secolo: un *eques legionis I Adiutricis piae fidelis*, un *Iulius Nigellio (domo) Sep(timia) Flavia Sisc(ia) b(ene)ff(iciarius) trib(uni) mil(itum) leg(ionis) I Ad(iutricis) Ant(oniniana)*⁴³⁴; un *tes(serarius) leg(ionis) I Ad(iutricis) p(iae) ff(idelis)* del sarcofago di età severiana posto dal fratello *cu(stos) ar(morum)* della stessa legione e un *b(ene)ficarius leg(ati) leg(ionis) I Ad(iutricis)* alla metà del III secolo ancora a Komárom-Szöny (*Brigetio*)⁴³⁵.

Le truppe ausiliarie della Pannonia sono state studiate da B. Lőrincz⁴³⁶, a cui rimandiamo per brevità. Da *Solva* in Pannonia Superiore (Esztergom) conosciamo diverse attestazioni della *cohors I Ulpia Pannoniorum equitata*, accasermata sul monte Várhegy tra Traiano e il III secolo: ci rimangono i nomi di almeno nove tribuni ricordati non nei *principia*, ma nel tempio di Giove per le dediche *ex voto* su altari recentemente studiate da P. Kovács e B. Lőrincz, con significativi dati in relazione alle città di origine: tra essi *P. Ael(ius) Aelia dom(o) Roma P.f. Mamianus trib(unus) coh(ortis) [I] Pan(noniorum) eq(uitatae)* attorno al 210 d.C. (si noti la pseudo-tribù *Aelia*)⁴³⁷; inoltre un *M. Fl(avius) M.f. Flavia Impetratus trib(unus) domo Saldas ex Mauret(ania) Caes(ariensi)*, di origine africana, dall'attuale Béjaïa (si noti la pseudo-tribù *Flavia*)⁴³⁸. Altri casi sono noti sotto Caracalla⁴³⁹ o Gordiano⁴⁴⁰, oppure Aureliano o Probo, come nel caso della dedica effettuata da *M. A[fra]nius Hannibalian(us) t(ribunus) coh(ortis) I Ulp(iae) Pan(noniorum) Vict(ricis) ter (?)*⁴⁴¹.

⁴³² AE 2003, 1366.

⁴³³ K. Dietz, *Vom Rhein zur Donau: Die legio I Adiutrix auf Bleisiegel aus Carnuntum*, in: K. Kuzmová / K. Pieta / J. Rajtár (edd.), *Zwischen Rom und dem Barbaricum. Festschrift für Titus Kolník zum 70. Geburtstag* (Archaeologica Slovaca 5, Communicationes), Nitra 2002, 79–83.

⁴³⁴ AE 2008, 1086 (L. Borhy / E. Számadó).

⁴³⁵ AE 2013, 1234 (P. Kovács / S. Petényi) e 1233 (P. Kovács). Della stessa legione conosciamo sempre in Pannonia Superiore a Győr-Ménfőcsanak, una dedica a Giove effettuata da un *b(ene)ff(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis)*, AE 2013, 1235 (Á. Szabó).

⁴³⁶ B. Lőrincz, *Die römischen Hilfstruppen in Pannonien während der Prinzipatszeit I: Die Inschriften*, Wien 2001; vd. Id., in AE 2005, 1200 (con numerose novità).

⁴³⁷ AE 2011, 972 e 984, quest'ultima dell'età di Caracalla (P. Kovács / B. Lőrincz).

⁴³⁸ AE 2011, 977 e 986.

⁴³⁹ AE 2011, 981.

⁴⁴⁰ AE 2011, 989.

⁴⁴¹ AE 2011, 990.

Un quadro sulle 12 iscrizioni provenienti dall'accampamento dei cavalieri ausiliari di *Carnuntum* e sui monumenti funerari del Lapidarium di Petronell si deve a M. Kandler⁴⁴². Le fonti archeologiche ed epigrafiche relative ai veterani e ai soldati di stanza nel I secolo d.C. lungo la Via dell'Ambrà tra *Poetovio* e *Carnuntum* in Pannonia Superiore sono ora studiate da Z. Mráv⁴⁴³. Alcuni campi militari di *alae* sono stati scavati recentemente: ad *Odiavum* o *Azaum* in Pannonia Superiore (oggi Almásfüzitő) un'iscrizione dedicata ad Antonino Pio fu collocata per la costruzione del campo in pietra tra il 150 e il 156 d.C. per iniziativa del legato *C. Cl(audius) Maxi[mus]*, ad opera dell'[*ala III*] *Aug(usta) Thr(acum) [sag(ittariorum)]*⁴⁴⁴. All'epoca di Diocleziano e Massimiano conosciamo nella stessa località un *Vitalis tr[i]bun(us) p(rae)p(ositus) lanci[a(riorum)]*⁴⁴⁵.

In Mesia a *Viminacium* è ben studiata la *legio VII Claudia*⁴⁴⁶, di cui conosciamo i *cana[barii]* in età severiana⁴⁴⁷, la *legio XI Claudia Pia Fidelis*, la *legio V Macedonica*. Ci resta da dire della *legio I Iovia Scythica* accantonata nel forte del *municipium Aurelium Antoninum Aug(ustum) Troesmism(ensium)* sotto Licinio, poi sostituita sotto Costantino dalla *legio II Herculeiana* a *Noviodunum*. Secondo Ștefan solo dopo Costantino sono state spostate nei nuovi campi citati nella *Notitia Dignitatum*⁴⁴⁸.

Dal campo legionario della *legio VII Claudia* di *Viminacium* proviene un nuovo frammento di *CIL* III 14597 con un elenco su due colonne di nomi di legionari congedati nel 195: nella colonna di destra le coorti VII e VIII; nella colonna di sinistra le coorti IX e X. Alcune provenienze di soldati sono curiose: *Cybira*, forse *Remesiana* o *Ratiaria*; *Margum*. Su 280 legionari congedati, conosciamo 244 nomi: 8 *stratores*, 5 *cornicularii*, 3 *optiones*, 2 *imaginiferi*, 3 *equites*, 13 decorati *donis donati*. Il numero dei soldati congedati appare elevato rispetto all'insieme dei legionari. La gran parte dei soldati arruolati nel 169 erano originari della Mesia Superiore⁴⁴⁹.

A *Scupi* in Macedonia (Skopje) L. Jovanova presenta un *dec(urio) coh(ortis) II Aur(eliae) Dard(anorum) interfectus a Costobocos (!)*, attorno al 170 d.C.: un testo che testimonia un attacco dei Costoboci nello spazio danubiano e balcanico, prima che *Scupi* costruisse le sue fortificazioni volute da Marco Aurelio⁴⁵⁰.

Segnalerei proprio a Kostolac, *Viminacium*, in Serbia, il diploma di Commodo con la XVIII potestà tribunizia, l'ottava acclamazione e il settimo consolato, relativo a 5 *alae* e 10 coorti in Pannonia Inferiore sotto il governatore C. Pomponio Basso

⁴⁴² AE 2008, 1097.

⁴⁴³ AE 2013, 1203.

⁴⁴⁴ AE 2010, 1243 (P. Kovács / B. Lőrincz).

⁴⁴⁵ AE 2010, 1246 (P. Kovács / B. Lőrincz).

⁴⁴⁶ AE 2013, 1319, *Viminacium* (B. Milovanović).

⁴⁴⁷ AE 2013, 1320 (Z. Mráv).

⁴⁴⁸ A. Ștefan, *La « Legio I Iovia Scythica » a Troesmis. A propos de « CIL » III, 6174*, in: *Romanité et cité chrétienne. Permanences et mutations, intégration et exclusion du I^{er} au VI^e siècle. Mélanges en l'honneur d'Yvette Duval*, Paris 2000, 33–54.

⁴⁴⁹ AE 2004, 1223 (M. Mirković).

⁴⁵⁰ AE 2005, 1315.

(Terenziano), in precedenza governatore di Licia e Pamfilia, datato da B. Pferdehirt all'11 agosto 193⁴⁵¹. La data è ovviamente da rettificare così come per gli altri due diplomi studiati da Eck, che fissa ovviamente il *terminus* del 31 dicembre 192 anche per il congedo dell'*ex pedite cohortis I Montanorum equitatae* originario di *Bassiana* (municipio poi colonia tra Sirmio e *Taurunum*). I consoli *L. Iulius Messalla Rutilianus* e *C. Aemilius Severus Cantabrinus* non sono datati; per Eck è possibile che il diploma sia stato emesso in ritardo.

F. Matei-Popescu ha studiato le truppe ausiliarie della Mesia, con attenzione alle provenienze nel corso dell'età imperiale degli ausiliari delle coorti e delle *alae* e al ruolo della flotta del Danubio⁴⁵². Lo stesso autore si è occupato specificamente dell'esercito della Mesia Inferiore, le legioni *V Macedonica* a *Troesmis* (a *Oescus* dopo l'abbandono della Dacia e la nascita della *Dacia ripensis*, fine III–IV secolo), *I Italica*, *XI Claudia* a *Oescus* e *Durostorum*, 10 *alae*, 32 coorti, 4 numeri e la *classis Flavia Moesica*⁴⁵³: conosciamo avvenimenti militari, *vexillationes*, legati, tribuni, tribuni ausiliari, centurioni, *signiferi veterani*⁴⁵⁴, *cornicularii praefecti*, *immunes*⁴⁵⁵, *imag(iniferi)*⁴⁵⁶, *militēs*⁴⁵⁷, *salariari* e un *discens mensor*⁴⁵⁸. Un riesame dell'origine dei soldati e dei veterani della *legio I Italica* in Mesia si deve ora a L. Mihăilescu-Bîrliba⁴⁵⁹.

Tra i campi legionari, si segnala la presenza ad *Oescus* già sotto Augusto della *legio XX Valeria Victrix* prima di essere trasferita nel 4 d.C. in Illirico e Pannonia, sostituita dalla *legio V Macedonica* nel 44⁴⁶⁰; il villaggio abitato dalle famiglie dei legionari poi fu promosso *Colonia Ulpia Oescensium*, costruito da Augusto, ricostruito nel 71, occupato fino al 106 con *canabae* e *vicus*. La costruzione dell'accampamento di *Porolissum* non è più attribuita ad Antonino Pio, ma ad Adriano⁴⁶¹.

⁴⁵¹ B. Pferdehirt, *Römische Militärdiplome und Entlassungsurkunden in der Sammlung des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums*, Mainz 2004, 126–131; AE 2002, 1237; vd. 2003, 1534.

⁴⁵² F. Matei-Popescu, *The Roman Auxiliary Units of Moesia*, *Il Mar Nero* 8 (2010–2011), 207–230, cfr. AE 2011, 1100.

⁴⁵³ F. Matei-Popescu, *The Roman Army in Moesia Inferior* (CRMS 7), București 2010; vd. AE 2010, 1404–1405 (L. Mihăilescu-Bîrliba). Vd. già AE 2002, 1239 (F. Matei-Popescu); ora AE 2012, 1249 (N. Ferri).

⁴⁵⁴ Ad es. AE 2013, 1301 da Turda in Dacia (I. Piso).

⁴⁵⁵ AE 2002, 1240 (R. Ivanov).

⁴⁵⁶ AE 2013, 1287, Gherla (I. Piso): *ala II [P]annon[i]orum*.

⁴⁵⁷ AE 2013, 1306, Turda (I. Piso): *mil(es) leg(ionis) V M(acedonicae) Gor(dianae)*.

⁴⁵⁸ AE 2012, 1239–1240 (D. Benea) = AE 2013, 1310, *Apulum* in Dacia.

⁴⁵⁹ *Mobilität und Politik der Rekrutierung in der römischen Armee. Der Fall der Soldaten und der Veteranen der Legio I Italica*, *Classica et Christiana* 8.2 (2013) 527–533.

⁴⁶⁰ Diversamente K. Strobel, *Zur Geschichte der Legiones V (Macedonica) und VII (Claudia pia fidelis) in der frühen Kaiserzeit und zur Stellung der Provinz Galatia in der augusteischen Heeresgeschichte*, in: Y. Le Bohec / C. Wolff (edd.), *Les légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire*, Lyon 2000, 515–528.

⁴⁶¹ AE 2013, 1279 (I. Piso).

Possediamo ora una storia delle ricerche archeologiche ed epigrafiche nell'accampamento legionario di *Novae* (oggi Svišov) a partire dal 1700 fino ai giorni nostri, con numerosi articoli di T. Derda, P. Dyczek e J. Kolendo: il campo fu distrutto sotto Teodosio nel 392 (*legio I Italica* di *Novae*)⁴⁶². Sono state recentemente pubblicate le are del *valetudinarium*, l'ospedale militare, costruito in occasione della I campagna militare di Traiano contro i Daci con la *legio I Italica* e abbandonato verso il 230; il *sacellum* ha funzionato fino ad Aureliano⁴⁶³; sono attestate anche la *legio I Minervia p.f.* e la *legio XI Claudia p.f.*. Possediamo una lista di ufficiali e sottufficiali della *legio I Italica* distaccata dal 68 all'età di Gallieno a *Novae*. Ancora a *Novae* nei *principia* del campo vengono ricordate le statue imperiali dedicate a Gordiano III il 13 agosto 241⁴⁶⁴ e quelle *in vultu Dionisi* tra il 428 e il 431, opera dei *primipilares* civili *ex provincia Elisponto* oppure *ex pro[v(incia)] Insulanea*: si tratta di statue di Teodosio II, della sua sposa Eudocia e di sua sorella Pulcheria, erette secondo T. Sarnowski di fronte ad un personaggio di nome *Dionysus*, forse *Flavius Dionysus*, console del 429, poi *comes et magister utriusque militiae per Orientem*⁴⁶⁵; Z. Gočeva pensa ora più correttamente al dio Dioniso, sulla base di una nuova dedica greca, più esplicita, della prima metà del IV secolo⁴⁶⁶.

Per la Dacia, numerose le novità su *Apulum* e la legione *XIII Gemina*, grazie alle ricerche di R. Ota e I. Oprea⁴⁶⁷, per le truppe ausiliarie dobbiamo rinviare all'opera di C. C. Petolescu, *Auxilia Daciae. Contribuție la istoria militară a Daciei romane*, București 2002, che calcola 15 *alae*, 46 *cohortes*, 16 *numeri*. Per *Potaissa* in particolare vd. ora il catalogo sulle iscrizioni del campo legionario curata da M. Bărbulescu, con un centinaio di iscrizioni relative all'accampamento della *legio V Macedonica* a Turda⁴⁶⁸. A. Onițiu ha recentemente fornito l'elenco dei militari caduti in Dacia sul campo di battaglia, di cui ci rimangono gli epitafi⁴⁶⁹. Tra le coorti della Dacia va espunta la *cohors III Dacorum* e sostituita con la *cohors III Campestris*, di stanza a Pomet presso *Porolissum* a partire dall'età dei Severi⁴⁷⁰. Tra le *alae*, ad *Arcobadara* in

⁴⁶² AE 2009, 1197. Vd. anche AE 2002, 1247 e AE 2008, 1189 (D. Dragoev). Sul reclutamento all'esterno della provincia: AE 2013, 1328 (L. Mihăilescu-Birliba). Sui *primipilares* di fine IV secolo d.C., vd. AE 2013, 1335 (A. Łajtar).

⁴⁶³ AE 2009, 1199 (J. Reclaw / J. Żelazowski).

⁴⁶⁴ AE 2013, 1336a (T. Sarnowski).

⁴⁶⁵ AE 2005, 1328–1330 (T. Sarnowski).

⁴⁶⁶ AE 2013, 1337b.

⁴⁶⁷ R. Ota, *De la canabele legiunii a XIII-a Gemina la municipium Septimium Apulense*, Alba Iulia 2012; I. Oprea, *Noi tipuri de ștampile tegulare descoperite în principia castrului legiunii a XIII-a Gemina de la Apulum*, *Classica et Christiana* 9.2 (2014) 485–495; Id., *Publius Aelius Ter(entius, -entianus). O nouă inscripție tegulară a antreprenorului civil apulens*, *Classica et Christiana* 9.1 (2014) 195–200 (vide IDR III/6, 247, 296–302).

⁴⁶⁸ M. Bărbulescu, *Inscriptions from the legionary camp at Potaissa*, București 2014. Vd. già in rumeno in AE 2012, 1202–1236.

⁴⁶⁹ AE 2013, 1278.

⁴⁷⁰ AE 2013, 1280, vd. 2011, 1070 (I. Piso, *contra* N. Gudea); vd. ora 2013, 1291, una dedica a *Iupiter Conservator* da Napoca in Dacia (I. Piso).

Dacia è stata ripresa la dedica a Filippo l'Arabo da parte dell'*ala Fr[onto]nian[us] Philippia[na]*⁴⁷¹.

L'esercito danubiano partecipò a numerose *expeditiones* anche in terre lontane. Sotto Vespasiano, un personaggio che ha partecipato alla guerra civile in Italia *L. Cassius Cl(udia) Maximus (centurio) legionis VI Ferratae*, pone al rientro le dediche postume dal castello inferiore di Celje con un nuovo frammento inedito studiato da M. Lovenjak: una base associa a *Diana* la *diva Iulia* la figlia di Tito⁴⁷²; una seconda è posta a *Domitia Augusta*, la sposa di Domiziano⁴⁷³. Agli stessi anni risalgono a Seggau le decorazioni militari per la conquista di Gerusalemme assegnate a *T. Cassius Secundus*⁴⁷⁴. Un diploma rinvenuto nella Dobrugia meridionale ricorda nel 156 d.C. i distaccamenti trasferiti dalla Mesia Inferiore (governata da *T. Pomponius Vitrasius Pollio*) in *exp[editio]ne Mauretaniae Tin]gitan(ae)* nell'età di Antonino Pio⁴⁷⁵. Un personaggio di altissimo livello originario di *Celeia* onorato più volte è *T. Varius Clemens*, che ha guidato la spedizione in Mauretania Cesariense⁴⁷⁶, ricordato a *Celeia* da *amici* della provincia africana, in relazione alla procuratela del 151, arrivato al livello di *ab epistulis* e infine entrato in senato; già nella *Tabula Banasitana* compare come membro del *consilium principis* nel 154 d.C.⁴⁷⁷. La sua carriera è riportata in vari diplomi degli stessi anni⁴⁷⁸.

Ora ben conosciuto è il caso del *[M.] Mulviu[s---] domo Iudaeus [ne]gotians*, grossista o banchiere, con cinque altri familiari o liberti che secondo F. Beutler e A. Konecny hanno seguito dopo la I guerra ebraica la *legio XV Apollinaris a Carnuntum*⁴⁷⁹: si tratta di un'espressione che non indica un'identità religiosa o etnica, ma semplicemente un'*origo*, una provenienza geografica, dalla Giudea a *Carnuntum*⁴⁸⁰.

Negli studi in onore di Mihai Bărbulescu si ricostruiscono le campagne di Traiano in Dacia, che, per G. Cupcea e F. Marcu, avrebbero coinvolto 30.000 effettivi⁴⁸¹. È stata studiata la partecipazione di truppe ausiliarie dalla Mesia alle guerre daciche. Conosciamo il reclutamento di Daci nell'esercito di Traiano⁴⁸² e la partecipazione di

⁴⁷¹ AE 2006, 1127 = AE 2013, 1284 (I. Piso). Vd. anche AE 2013, 1285.

⁴⁷² Vd. anche AE 2003, 1305b (*Iulia Cn. filia Procilla*).

⁴⁷³ AE 2001, 1593a–b.

⁴⁷⁴ AE 2001, 1100.

⁴⁷⁵ AE 2006, 1213 (C. Chiriac / L. Mihăilescu-Bîrliba / I. Matei).

⁴⁷⁶ AE 2006, 1184, *Viminacium*.

⁴⁷⁷ AE 2003, 1306–1307.

⁴⁷⁸ Ad es. AE 2001, 1568, Neustadt. Vd. anche il diploma di *Viminacium* che ricorderebbe la spedizione in Mauretania Cesariense di alcuni reparti della Mesia Inferiore, AE 2006, 1184 (P. Holder).

⁴⁷⁹ AE 2009, 1051. Vd. AE 2013, 1240 (F. Beutler / G. Kremer), *Carnuntum* e F. Beutler, *Grabdenkmäler für eine römische Wasserleitung*, Acta Carnuntina 5.2 (2015) 42: due defunti della *gens Aemilia do(mo) Iud(a)ei*, alla fine del I secolo d.C.

⁴⁸⁰ D. R. Schwartz, *Judeans and Jews. Four Faces of Dichotomy in Ancient Jewish History*, Toronto 2014.

⁴⁸¹ AE 2006, 1109.

⁴⁸² AE 2006, 1112 (D. Dana / F. Matei-Popescu).

truppe della Dacia alla spedizione di Traiano contro i Parti: *legio I Adiutrix, vexillatio della legio XIII Gemina*, tre *alae*, una coorte⁴⁸³.

Un diploma del 1° marzo 152 rinvenuto a Wels (*Ovilava* nel Norico) ci informa su tre *alae* dell'esercito del Norico che hanno partecipato con singole *vexillationes* alle operazioni di Antonino Pio contro i Mauri⁴⁸⁴.

Un *praepositus vexillationis* dell'esercito della Mesia sembra esser stato a capo del contingente che accompagnò Severo Alessandro dal Danubio contro i Persiani nel 233⁴⁸⁵; l'esercito della Dacia ha poi partecipato alle campagne di Gordiano III e di Valeriano in Oriente⁴⁸⁶.

Per Preslav in Mesia C. C. Petolescu presenta un nuovo ampio commento dell'epigrafe che ricorda un *tiro*, arruolato nel 210 per il *bellum Bosporanum*, sano e salvo, *multis periculis in barbarico liberatus*, forse con riferimento alle razzie di Goti sconfitti dagli eserciti romani assieme a Rescuporide III alla foce del Danubio⁴⁸⁷.

L'aspetto più significativo è rappresentato dall'*origo* orientale di molti soldati. La testimonianza più antica (25 d.C.) da Hardomilje in Dalmazia è studiata da R. Dodig e riguarda un *Valerius ve(teranus) leg(ionis) VII, domo Icon(io)*, oggi Konya in Turchia⁴⁸⁸ o un *veteranus domo Sinope* dal Ponto⁴⁸⁹: nella legione VII tra le altre dieci iscrizioni di soldati fin qui note, ben sette ricordano legionari dalle province orientali. Wilkes ha affrontato il tema delle origini e relazioni familiari dei veterani installati in Dalmazia in epoca giulio-claudia⁴⁹⁰.

Se passiamo alle altre coorti ausiliarie, a *Salona*, I. Matijević pubblica l'epitafio di *C. Iulius Mara veter(anus) coh(ortis) II Cyrrestar(um), domo Berea*, originario di *Berea in Siria* alla metà del I secolo⁴⁹¹, come il commilitone di *Burnum*⁴⁹². La coorte reclutata da Augusto fu inviata durante la rivolta in Illirico.

Da Sotin (*Cornacum*) proviene il diploma del 6 dicembre 157 concesso all'*ex [ped]ite Valerius Mar[c]i f. Fronto, Anaz(arbo)*, originario dalla Cilicia⁴⁹³.

J. Beszédés presenta il reclutamento della *legio X Gemina* di stanza a *Carnuntum* alla metà del I secolo d.C., a proposito del *dilectus* citato da Tacito (Ann., 16, 13) in Gallia Narbonense; altri soldati sembrano arruolati nel 65 in Illiria, Africa e Asia⁴⁹⁴.

⁴⁸³ AE 2008, 1153 (D. Benea).

⁴⁸⁴ AE 2012, 1079 (H. Ubl). Vd. B. Pferdehirt, *Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum – Forschungsinstitut für Archäologie*, 32 e 33; AE 1975, 951.

⁴⁸⁵ AE 2008, 1200.

⁴⁸⁶ D. Dana / S. Nemeti, *La Dacie dans les Res Gestae Divi Saporis*, *Acta Musei Napocensis* 38 (2001) 239–257.

⁴⁸⁷ AE 1991, 1378. Vd. AE 2011, 1142.

⁴⁸⁸ AE 2003, 1330.

⁴⁸⁹ AE 2000, 1174.

⁴⁹⁰ AE 2000, 1171.

⁴⁹¹ AE 2009, 1015.

⁴⁹² AE 2009, 1034.

⁴⁹³ AE 2009, 1079 (M. Ilkić).

⁴⁹⁴ AE 2006, 1056.

Conosciamo la politica di Settimio Severo che portò all'aumento del numero degli *equites singulares*; il beneficiario del diploma del 13 marzo 205 rinvenuto in Mesia, a Storgosia (Pelovo) è *l'equus singularis C. Valerius Dolentis fil. Valens* originario di *Serdica* in Tracia⁴⁹⁵. Due anni dopo, il 20 ottobre 207, viene congedato un altro *equus singularis M. Valerius M. fil. Apolli[naris] Antiochia ex Syria*⁴⁹⁶. Ancora da località incerta della Mesia Inferiore (tra i fiumi Iskar e Ogosta) provengono due altri diplomi relativi ad ausiliari⁴⁹⁷; al 14 giugno 92 risale il diploma di Cataloi (dipartimento di Tulcea) dell'età di Domiziano, relativo ad un eques della *cohors VII Gallorum, Macrionus Acresionis f. Apamen(us)*, con i figli *Macer, Saturninus e Augusta*⁴⁹⁸.

J. Kolendo ha pubblicato l'epitafio da *Novae*, oggi Svišhtov, di un soldato di origine ispana da *Chunia*, ora studiato da S. Perea Yébenes, che legge: *legio I I(talica) F. R.*, con una titolatura inconsueta nel corso della guerra civile successiva alla morte di Nerone⁴⁹⁹. Si tratta della stele di un soldato che ha servito in una coorte ausiliaria prima di essere attribuito alla *legio I Italica*. Segue l'elenco degli ausiliari di *Chunia* e sul trasferimento dagli *auxilia* in legione nella guerra civile del 68–69.

14. Miniere e dogane

In Dalmazia a partire dall'età augustea le miniere d'oro e di ferro e le saline, controllate da procuratori imperiali, risultano in piena attività. La riscossione dell'imposta fondiaria (il *tributum soli*) era affidata al locale *procurator fisci*. L'imposta doganale era riscossa nell'ambito delle stazioni adriatiche del *publicum portorii Illyrici*, che comprendeva un distretto molto ampio, fino al Norico, alla Pannonia, alla Mesia e alla Tracia. L'unitarietà del territorio balcanico emerge dai lavori di C. Zaccaria indirizzati a ricostruire il sistema doganale romano, il complesso sviluppo dei *portoria* (da Aquileia all'*Illyricum*), fondati su *stationes*, sui *portitores*, sui porti⁵⁰⁰. Cinque iscrizioni studiate da M. Hainzmann ci fanno conoscere lo schiavo *Fortunatus*, poi liberto, incaricato della riscossione dei diritti doganali alle frontiere del Norico come *contrascriptor* e *vilicus* per 15 anni sotto M. Aurelio: il personaggio appare alle dipendenze del *conductor publici portorii*, del *conductor ferrariarum*, del *praefectus vehiculorum et conductor publici portorii*, e di altri funzionari imperiali, a meno che non si tratti di persone diverse⁵⁰¹.

⁴⁹⁵ AE 2003, 1543, con varie irregolarità nella titolatura imperiale di Severo, Caracalla e Geta.

⁴⁹⁶ AE 2003, 1544.

⁴⁹⁷ AE 2003, 1546–1547.

⁴⁹⁸ AE 2003, 1548 (C. C. Petolescu / A.-T. Popescu).

⁴⁹⁹ S. Perea Yébenes, *Un soldado chuniense en la legión I Italica en Novae (Mesia)*, *Aquila legionis* 2 (2002) 93–99 (vd. AE 1999, 1333; AE 2001, 1735; AE 2002, 1246).

⁵⁰⁰ C. Zaccaria, *Dall' 'Aquileiense portorium' al 'publicum portorii Illyrici': revisione e aggiornamento della documentazione epigrafica*, in: Zerbini (ed.), *Roma e le province del Danubio* (vd. sopra nt. 1), 53–78.

⁵⁰¹ AE 2008, 994.

Da un punto di vista fiscale il Norico rientrava nel *publicum portorii Illyrici*, una circoscrizione doganale che terminava al confine con la Rezia, dove si iniziava a riscuotere la *quadragesima Galliarum*. Proprio Zaccaria ha di recente commentato la dedica a Mitra da Camporosso in Valcanale (Saifnitz im Kanaltal) effettuata *ex voto* da un *Telesphorus C. Antoni Rufi servus, publici portorii vilicus*; proprio a Camporosso si ipotizza una stazione del *publicum portorii Illyrici*, la *statio Bilachiniensis*. Il patrono di *Telesphorus, C. Antonius Rufus, conductor* della circoscrizione doganale, poi *procurator publici portorii Illyrici* verso il 174 d.C., *praefectus vehiculorum*, è ben conosciuto⁵⁰². La *statio Enensis* (a Mühltal am Inn) del *publicum portorii Illyrici* in Norico sulla riva destra dell'Inn è nota anche per la dedica alla metà del II secolo di un Mitreo, con iscrizioni collocate da schiavi *vic(arii)* di un *conductor* e di un *vil(icus)* imperiale⁵⁰³. Ad *Aquincum* in Pannonia Inferiore è stato ritrovato cinquant'anni fa un sigillo in bronzo che attesta il pagamento della tassa sulla liberazione degli schiavi, con l'indicazione della circoscrizione territoriale: *P(ublicum) XX lib(ertatis) (per) Raet(iam) Nor(icum) Dalm(atiam) Pan(n)oni(as) II, Concord(iam) Aq(uileiam) Histr(iam) Lib(urniam) anno III*⁵⁰⁴.

Emerge un mondo di scambi e di commerci animato da tanti protagonisti; è documentata una notevole presenza di *negotiatores*, impegnati in vivaci scambi commerciali verso Aquileia da un lato e con i territori transdanubiani dall'altro. Tutto ciò determinò una profonda romanizzazione delle città del Norico, dove sono attestati immigrati dalla penisola italiana⁵⁰⁵, mentre le campagne ed in particolare le vallate dell'interno mantennero tradizioni locali ed una cultura ancestrale, che sopravvisse per tutta l'età imperiale e che ebbe specifiche manifestazioni nella sfera religiosa. L'interesse del territorio, oltre che militare, fu soprattutto economico, legato allo sviluppo dell'attività mineraria (ferro, piombo, salgemma) affidata ad un procuratore apposito, che controllava le società di *conductores*. Conosciamo a Tiffen in Carinzia un *immunis* e un *frumentarius* impiegati nell'amministrazione delle miniere tra Caracalla e Massimino il Trace (211–235 d.C.)⁵⁰⁶ ed uno schiavo del *conductor ferrariarum Noricarum*⁵⁰⁷.

Possediamo alcune novità sulle miniere in Pannonia: a Bölske *T. Karinius Iuliacen[sis] domo] Arelate ex provin[cia] Narbonensi b(ene)ff(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) leg. II Ad(iutricis) p(iae) f(idelis)* il 23 maggio 191 dichiara orgogliosamente il suo *cursus honorum*, a cavallo tra funzioni amministrative e funzioni militari nel campo di *Acimincum*, che sembra iniziare con la responsabilità sugli *argentaria Pannonica et Delmatica: sta[ti]ones habui arg(entariarum) Pan(nonicarum) et Del(maticarum)*⁵⁰⁸.

⁵⁰² AE 2013, 1257, *Aquincum* (I. Piso).

⁵⁰³ AE 2008, 1020 e 1019 (B. Steidl).

⁵⁰⁴ AE 2013, 1262 (H. Havas).

⁵⁰⁵ Ad es. AE 2010, 1136 (G. Piccottini): *P. Lepidius P.f. Priscus domo Vicetia*.

⁵⁰⁶ AE 2004, 1069.

⁵⁰⁷ AE 2010, 1124 (G. Piccottini).

⁵⁰⁸ AE 2003, 1426 (G. Alföldy / S. Dušanić).

S. Dušanić presenta un altare dedicato a Giove trovato presso il ponte sul fiume *Dravus*, ad Osijek, dove si menziona la *statio* del procuratore delle miniere unite e non di due *stationes* distinte: si tratta di una dedica *I.O.M. [p]ro salute C. Iul(ii) Agathop(i) c(onductoris) f(erro)riarum Pannoniar(um) itemq(ue) provinciar(um) transmarinar(um)*, posta dall'*ark(arius) Gamicus*, intendendosi per province trasmarine quelle del Ponto e della Bitinia⁵⁰⁹.

Dopo la pubblicazione del volume di S. Dušanić sull'esercito e le miniere in Mesia Superiore⁵¹⁰, sappiamo dell'importazione nella stessa provincia a *Viminacium* di pesi in piombo dal Ponto e dalla Bitinia nel 236 nell'età di Massimino il Trace, sotto il governatore *L. Ranius Optatus*⁵¹¹. Le legioni di *Singidunum* e *Viminacium* erano incaricate di proteggere i distretti minerari. A *Scupi* (Skopje in Macedonia) conosciamo un *coactor argentarius* agli inizi del III secolo⁵¹²; in un epitafio è citato un *Ennius Silo proc(urator) vilicus argentariarum Dardanicarum*⁵¹³.

Compresa nel *publicum portorii Illyrici*, la Pannonia (come la Mesia e la Dalmazia e più tardi anche la Dacia) poteva contare su una serie di stazioni doganali che immettevano in Italia partendo dal Danubio. Il distretto doganale si estese poi in Dacia: da *Porolissum* proviene l'altare dedicato *I.O.M. pro salute* di M. Aurelio e Commodo *et Genio p(ublici) p(ortorii) vectigal(is) Illyr(ici) procurante Pompeio Longo proc(uratore) Aug(usti)* per opera di un *vilicus*, tra il 175 e il 177⁵¹⁴; analogo il caso dei *vilici* di *Ampelum*, studiato da I. Piso⁵¹⁵.

Da *Ad Mediam* L. Mihăilescu-Bîrliba ha studiato la dedica effettuata il 10 dicembre 157 ad Ercole Augusto da un *Felix*, schiavo di un *Iulius Saturninus c(onductor) p(ublici) p(ortorii) t(ertiae) p(artis) ex priv(atis) stationis Tsiernen(sis)*⁵¹⁶.

In Dacia le miniere aurifere del bacino di *Alburnus Maior* (Roșia Montană) sono ora meglio conosciute grazie alle sette iscrizioni pubblicate da R. Ardevan e C. Crăciun che ricordano i *Sardiates* di Dalmazia, riuniti in un *collegium Sardiatarum* tra Traiano e Caracalla⁵¹⁷. Dobbiamo a P. Damian il recente bilancio sulle ricerche nelle gallerie⁵¹⁸, che per L. Zerbini sembrano rimaste in piena attività ben oltre le guerre contro i Marcomanni, almeno fino a Gordiano III⁵¹⁹. Come è noto, C. Timoc aveva ipotizzato

⁵⁰⁹ AE 2006, 1094.

⁵¹⁰ S. Dušanić, *Army and Mining in Moesia superior*, in: G. Alföldy / B. Dobson / W. Eck (edd.), *Kaiser, Heer und Gesellschaft in der römischen Kaiserzeit. Gedenkschrift für Eric Birley*, Stuttgart 2000, 343–363.

⁵¹¹ AE 2005, 1314 (M. Mirković / R. Haensch / P. Weiss).

⁵¹² AE 2002, 1238.

⁵¹³ AE 2006, 1189.

⁵¹⁴ AE 2005, 1289 (I. Piso).

⁵¹⁵ AE 2013, 1313: il servo imperiale sembra essere un *procurator publici portorii* e non un *procurator aurariarum*.

⁵¹⁶ AE 2010, 1385.

⁵¹⁷ AE 2003, 1478.

⁵¹⁸ AE 2003, 1480.

⁵¹⁹ L. Zerbini, *Le miniere d'oro della Dacia: appunti sulla loro cronologia*, *Apulum* 47.1 (2010) 241–247.

significative ripercussioni delle guerre marcomanniche, sulla base dell'ara di *Ampelum* dedicata alla *[V]ictoria Commodi*⁵²⁰. Sulla vita religiosa dei minatori, sempre ad *Alburnus Maior*, è utile la dedica *Apollini Piruneno*, epiclesi del fuoco delle miniere Apollo che protegge le *aurariae* nel II secolo⁵²¹; ci sono noti diversi procuratori e *praepositi* delle *aurariae*, come quelli residenti ad *Ampelum* nell'età di Commodo⁵²².

Abbiamo vari documenti relativi all'importazione di metalli in Dacia: a Sarmizegetusa gli scavi del 1994 nel *forum vetus* hanno restituito lingotti studiati da I. Piso, con la scritta *Imp(eratoris) Tra(iani) me(talla) Ulp(iana) e C(oloniae) Ulp(iae) D(acicae) S(armizegetusae)*⁵²³. Si tratta di un'importazione dai *metalla Ulpiana* della Mesia Superiore, di proprietà di Traiano. Proprio in Mesia Superiore, a Sočanica (*Municipium Dardanorum*), conosciamo i *coloni arg[entariarum Dardanicarum] curante Thelesph[oro]*, un liberto imperiale che tra il 136 e il 137 fa ricordare l'eroe Antinoo⁵²⁴.

L'amministrazione delle saline in Dacia è studiata da D. Benea, con attenzione per il ruolo dell'esercito e l'organizzazione degli appaltatori, i *conductores pasculi et salinarum*⁵²⁵; informazioni ulteriori possediamo ora su *Ursio servus actor verna*, che ci è noto per la statua posta in onore del *conductor salinarum*, impegnato a *Micia* nelle miniere di sale in Dacia⁵²⁶.

15. La vita religiosa

Nelle province danubiane appare davvero pervasivo il culto di Giove (associato a Giunone Regina, Minerva e altri dei), i suoi riti (*l'epulum Iovis*) e con le dediche *Iovi Optimo Maximo*⁵²⁷, con vari attributi: *Aeterno*, *Cohortali*⁵²⁸, *Conservatori*⁵²⁹,

⁵²⁰ AE 2007, 1182.

⁵²¹ AE 2003, 1502 (C. Crăciun / A. Sion).

⁵²² AE 2013, 1314–1315 (I. Piso).

⁵²³ AE 2005, 1300 rispettivamente a-b e c-d.

⁵²⁴ AE 2009, 1188 (M. Šašel Kos). Vd. il culto di Antinoo anche a *Carnuntum*, AE 1994, 1396.

⁵²⁵ CIL III 1549 = IDR III/1 145 (*Tibiscum*). Per *Porolissum*, vd. ora AE 2008, 1157 (D. Benea) e AE 2013, 1281, età di Commodo (I. Piso).

⁵²⁶ AE 2005, 1296. Il *salariarius* di *Apulum* in Dacia non ha nulla a che fare con le saline, ma si tratta di un militare congedato che riceve il *salarium*: AE 2012, 1239–1240 (D. Benea) = AE 2013, 1310.

⁵²⁷ AE 2001, 1604 (R. Zotović), Prijepolje e Plevlja in Serbia; AE 2013, 1235–1236, Győr-Ménfőcsanak in Pannonia Superiore (Á. Szabó).

⁵²⁸ Vd. ad es. AE 2009, 1007, Seljane in Serbia (S. Loma).

⁵²⁹ Vd. ad es. AE 2013, 1291, *Napoca* (I. Piso).

*Paterno*⁵³⁰, *Propulsori*⁵³¹, *Depulsori*⁵³², forse *Bussu[m]ario*⁵³³. A Crkvina in Serbia occidentale è stata effettuata la recente scoperta di un altare dedicato il 4 settembre di un anno del III secolo *I.O.M. Ful(guratori)*, *Ful(minali)* oppure *Ful(minatori)*; la data coincide con l'inizio dei *Ludi Romani*⁵³⁴. Nella Mesia Superiore a *Ratiaria* (Arčar, Vidin) ricorrono dediche *I.O.M. Fulgurali*⁵³⁵. In Dacia possediamo un quadro generale della religione romana ad opera di I. Boda e C. Szabó⁵³⁶; nello specifico R. Ardevan riesamina l'altare perduto, segnalato alla metà del XVI secolo presso Sarmizegetusa, con la dedica *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) [F]u[lg]ur[a]tor[i]*, offerto il 6 giugno 237 da due *decuriones coloniae Aequi*, uno dei quali è *flam(en) aedil(is)*⁵³⁷. Nel *Lapidarium Savariense* è conservato il puteale con l'espressione *F(ulgur) d(ivum) c(onditum)* del II secolo, ritrovato presso l'*agger* delle mura meridionale di Savaria, connesso con il culto di Giove⁵³⁸. L'attributo *Culminalis* a Petronell ha fatto pensare ad un dedicante originario del sud del Norico⁵³⁹. Da *Varvaria* (oggi Bribirska Glavica) in Dalmazia, ci rimane la dedica di inizio I secolo d.C. *Iovi Tan(aro)*, con epiclesi celtica⁵⁴⁰. Un importante studio di I. Piso è dedicato al santuario di Pfaffenberg presso *Carnuntum* e al culto di *I(upiter) O(ptimus) M(aximus) Karnuntinus*; significativa la data della prima inaugurazione del primo *capitolium* in Pannonia, un 11 giugno, giorno che coincide con la festività di Giove *Teutanus* del colle di Gellért ad *Aquincum*. Da Piso sono affrontati i temi dello statuto delle *canabae intra leugam*, cioè a breve distanza dal campo legionario, del collegio dei *magistri montis*, addetti al culto imperiale e di Giove

⁵³⁰ Vd. ad es. AE 2013, 1324, *Timacum Minus* in Mesia Superiore (S. Petrović / B. Ilijčić).

⁵³¹ AE 2009, 1189, Sremska Mitrovica.

⁵³² AE 2004, 1067 (M. Hainzmann); anche in Dacia: AE 2003, 1467 (I. Nemeti / S. Nemeti). Ad un dio locale del Danubio attestato anche in Africa pensa ora A. Hilali, *Hommes et dieux du Danube dans la légion IIIe Augusta. Le culte de Iupiter Depulsor*, in: Zerbini (ed.), *Roma e le province Danubiane* (vd. sopra nt. 1), 461–468. Il dio è attestato anche a Savaria in Pannonia Superiore, vd. AE 2011, 963 e 964 (E. Tóth).

⁵³³ AE 2013, 1249, Vindobona (M. Mosser), vd. CIL III 13215, 15 = IDR III, 5, 1 206, Tomi: si tratterebbe di una divinità introdotta nel Norico e nella Pannonia dalla Gallia, ma vd. le perplessità di E. Weber, che pensa ad un epitafio di un *Bussumar(i)us* di origine celtica, cfr. AE 1996, 1990, Aguntum.

⁵³⁴ AE 2006, 1005 e AE 2009, 1010 (S. Ferjančić / O. Pelcer / M. Babić).

⁵³⁵ AE 2008, 1166 (K. Karadimitrova). Vd. a *Gorsium* in Pannonia Inferiore la dedica [*I.O.M. Fu]lgeral[i]*; AE 2009, 1089 (G. Alföldy).

⁵³⁶ *The Bibliography of Roman Religion in Dacia*, Cluj-Napoca, 2014. Vd. anche S. Nemeti, *Dialoguri păgâne. Formule votive și limbaj figurat în Dacia romană*, Iași 2012.

⁵³⁷ AE 2004, 1211.

⁵³⁸ AE 2011, 953 (E. Tóth). Per analoghe dediche africane, M. Khanoussi / A. Mastino, *Nouvelles découvertes archéologiques et épigraphiques à Uchi Maius (Henchir ed-Douâmis, Tunisie)*, Comptes Rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres, 2000, 1312-1323.

⁵³⁹ Vd. anche AE 2012, 1142 (G. Kremer) e la dedica AE 2009, 1084 da Rácalmás in Pannonia Inferiore: *I.O.M. Cul(minali) et G[e]nio h(uius) loci* (A. Buza / T. Keszi). Vd. ora le puntuali osservazioni di M. Hainzmann, che non pensa a una divinità del pantheon celtico preromano (AE 2013, 1164).

⁵⁴⁰ AE 2010, 1225 (M. Sinobad).

Karnuntinus; dei *cives* delle *canabae* hanno un'associazione con al vertice quattro *magistri montis*⁵⁴¹. Le dediche arrivano all'età di Giulia Domna, con l'incerta titolatura di [*mater A*]ug(*ustorum*) e di mat[er] cast[rorum], con il nome di Plautilla Augusta eraso⁵⁴². Il tempio II di Pfaffenberg per M. Kandler in realtà sarebbe dedicato non alla triade capitolina, ma a *Iupiter Dolichenus*⁵⁴³. Ancora a *Carnuntum* in Pannonia Superiore, Giove è venerato di frequente con l'attributo di *Heliopol(itanus) Aug(ustus)*⁵⁴⁴. Più precisamente a Bad Deutsch-Altenburg, nella parte orientale delle *canabae*, è stato individuato il *temenos* di *Iupiter Optimus Maximus Heliopolitanus*, con l'*ex voto* di un centurione della legione *XIII G(emina) M(artia) V(ictrix)*⁵⁴⁵.

Un dio particolarmente venerato è poi *Silvanus* nelle varie epiclesi di *Domesticus*⁵⁴⁶, *Custos*, *Antecessor* (in quanto precede le *Silvanae*), *Silvester*, talora associato a *Magula* o alle *Silvanae* come a *Carnuntum* e a Siscia⁵⁴⁷; proprio a *Carnuntum* in Pannonia Superiore, il piccolo santuario del Tiergarten secondo H. Stiglitz ha restituito nove altari, sei iscritti con *ex voto* a Giove e inoltre *Silvano Domestico sacrum, Deo invicto, Dibus et Deabus, [Qua]drub(i)s et Silvani[s]*⁵⁴⁸. Da *Aquincum* provengono le dediche *Silvano Sancto Pant(h)e[fo]*⁵⁴⁹ o *Teo Silvano Domestico*⁵⁵⁰. Per una visione di sintesi sul culto di Silvano nelle province danubiane, possediamo ora il recente volume di M. L. Dészpa⁵⁵¹. I. Piso ha ripreso la dedica *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et Silvano ceterisque dieis deab(us)q(ue) Conservator(ibus)* effettuata nella *colonia Aurelia Napoca* da un procuratore finanziario⁵⁵². In parallelo si svolge il culto per le *Matronae*.

L'*oppidum* celtico di *Lentia* nel Norico (Linz) fu invece la sede del culto, ora studiato da T. Lobüscher⁵⁵³, della dea *Epona*, presente anche in Pannonia Inferiore ad *Aquincum (Epon[ae] sacrum o Eponae Reginae)*⁵⁵⁴, ma che ritroviamo raramente in Dacia. Altre divinità celtiche, come *Taranis* e *Vocretanus*, sono documentate nel Norico (ma anche in Pannonia)⁵⁵⁵; forse allo stesso ambito appartiene l'*Ollodeuos* di

⁵⁴¹ I. Piso, *Das Heiligtum des Jupiter Optimus Maximus auf dem Pfaffenberg/Carnuntum I: Die Inschriften*, Wien 2003. AE 2003, 1381–1400.

⁵⁴² AE 2003, 1389.

⁵⁴³ AE 2004, 1131.

⁵⁴⁴ AE 2003, 1401 (M. Kandler).

⁵⁴⁵ AE 2005, 1233 (M. Kandler).

⁵⁴⁶ Anche in Dacia, a *Napoca*: AE 2003, 1469 = AE 2013, 1292 (I. Piso).

⁵⁴⁷ AE 2005, 1232 (M. Kandler / H. Zabehlicky); AE 2011, 999.

⁵⁴⁸ AE 2008, 1100–1105.

⁵⁴⁹ AE 2011, 1019 (B. Fehér).

⁵⁵⁰ AE 2009, 1129.

⁵⁵¹ M. L. Dészpa, *Peripherie-Denken. Transformation und Adaptation des Gottes Silvanus in den Donauprovinzen (1.–4. Jahrhundert n. Chr.)*, Stuttgart 2012. Per i 160 documenti del culto di Silvano in Dalmazia, vd. AE 2012, 1087 (D. Džino). Vd. anche AE 2007, 1090 (A. Rendić-Miočević).

⁵⁵² AE 2013, 1289.

⁵⁵³ AE 2001, 1703 (T. Lobüscher).

⁵⁵⁴ AE 2008, 1141, vd. TitAq 993. AE 2009, 1110–1111.

⁵⁵⁵ AE 2004, 1051 (P. Scherrer).

Virunum in Norico⁵⁵⁶. Ma sui culti gallo-romani in Rezia e in Norico abbiamo ora l'ampio censimento di A. Forster⁵⁵⁷.

Da *Tragurium* in Dalmazia (oggi Trogir) proviene la rara dedica *Salaciae Aug(ustae)*, l'arcaica dea delle acque, studiata da D. Demicheli; uno studio frontale sulla dea, che andrebbe avvicinata al dio *Salaecus* di Cartagena⁵⁵⁸ e testimonierebbe un impegno diretto degli imperatori del III secolo per una rivitalizzazione dei culti più arcaici in Illirico, si deve a G. Alföldy⁵⁵⁹.

Un altare fu eretto ad Ercole, eponimo del *Pagus Herculi* a Budaörs in Pannonia Inferiore, da parte degli abitanti di alcuni *vici*, tra i quali quello degli *Anar[ti]* della pianura ungherese⁵⁶⁰; analoga una dedica *Terr(a)e Matri* per la salvezza dei Filippi tra il 247 e il 248⁵⁶¹. Proprio a Budaörs Z. Mráv ha studiato la nuova dedica *Herculi Aug(usto)* da parte di un *Ilvir coloniae Aquincensium*⁵⁶², che conoscevamo per un'altra dedica a *Terra Mater*⁵⁶³. In Pannonia Superiore a *Scarbantia* una dedica *Herculi Aug(usto)* fu effettuata da un *M. Sat(ellius) Eros*, con un raro gentilizio che compare anche in un altare ancora inedito⁵⁶⁴. In Dacia a Gherla, è il legato provinciale dell'età di Commodo *Marc(us) Veracilius Verus* a effettuare una dedica *Herculi sancto*, per iniziativa di *Tannon(ius) Maximus pr(a)ef(ectus) eq(uitum)*⁵⁶⁵; ad ambiente militare rimanda la dedica *Herculi* di Gilău, effettuata dall'*eq(ues) Apro*⁵⁶⁶. Sempre in Dacia, ad Alba Iulia, a breve distanza dalle mura della *Colonia Aurelia Apulensis* fu consacrata all'inizio del III secolo l'ara *Terrae matr(i)* da un liberto *Augustalis* che aveva ottenuto gli *ornamenta dec(urionalia) col(oniae Apul(ensis))*⁵⁶⁷; lo stesso personaggio compare con una seconda ara nel santuario di Asclepio⁵⁶⁸.

Il contatto con il culto imperiale è ampiamente documentato ad es. dalle dediche *dis deabusq(ue) Genioque loci*, come quella per la salvezza di Gallieno *in[v]ictus* per iniziativa del legato della Pannonia Inferiore *M. Aur(elius) Valentinianus*⁵⁶⁹. Á. Szabó e B. Lőrincz presentano la dedica effettuata ad *Aquincum* da un legato imperiale ad un dio Augusto *ceterisque dis huisque loci*⁵⁷⁰.

Ad *Aquincum* esisteva un tempio di Ercole, restaurato *a fundamentis* nel corso del 216, come risulta dalla dedica *He[rculi Aug(usto)]*, invocato per la salvezza e

⁵⁵⁶ AE 2007, 1077 (M. Hainzmann / P. De Bernardo Stempel).

⁵⁵⁷ AE 2013, 1165.

⁵⁵⁸ AE 2010, 754.

⁵⁵⁹ AE 2007, 1103; AE 2011, 1007 (per la posizione di G. Alföldy, vd. AE 2011, 840).

⁵⁶⁰ AE 2005, 1265.

⁵⁶¹ AE 2005, 1265 (Z. Mráv).

⁵⁶² AE 2005, 1266.

⁵⁶³ AE 1962, 26.

⁵⁶⁴ AE 2009, 1045 = AE 2013, 1212 (Z. Mráv).

⁵⁶⁵ AE 2013, 1286 (I. Piso).

⁵⁶⁶ AE 2005, 1292 = AE 2013, 1298 (I. Piso).

⁵⁶⁷ AE 2004, 1201 (V. Moga / R. Ciobanu).

⁵⁶⁸ IDR III/5, 199.

⁵⁶⁹ AE 2008, 1142 (Á. Szabó).

⁵⁷⁰ AE 2008, 1135.

l'incolumità di Caracalla (con il cognome di *Severus*) e Giulia Domna. E come è noto Ercole è il *genius loci* di *Leptis Magna* assieme a *Liber Pater*⁵⁷¹.

Non è possibile citare per esteso le altre divinità: *Liber Pater*⁵⁷², *Libera*, *Venus*, Nettuno, Ade, Persefone, Proserpina, Plutone⁵⁷³, Giano Gemino, Mercurio con i suoi *cultores*⁵⁷⁴, *Fortuna Respiciens*, Marte *Gradivus* e *Ultor*: ad *Aquincum Mars Ultor* è associato al *Genius Augusti*⁵⁷⁵; i *m(agistri) m(artiales)* sono frequenti in Dalmazia, a Vid-Narona, secondo M. Mayer, assieme ai *Viviri Aug(ustales)*⁵⁷⁶. Si veda anche la dedica *Marti, Victoriae, Fortunae Red(uci)* posta dal legato della Pannonia Inferiore per la salvezza dei Filippi durante la spedizione del 247 contro i Carpi⁵⁷⁷. Le dediche a Marte di difficile interpretazione, come quella in un *ex voto* di Seggauberg nel Norico (*Flavia Solva*) con i dativi *Marti Latobio Marmogio Sinati Toutati Mog[et]io* sono state discusse da M. Hainzmann. Non si tratterebbe propriamente di sei distinti teonimi, ma di alcune divinità (con i loro rari epiteti) associate con possibili diverse varianti⁵⁷⁸. Il culto del Marte celtico in Dacia è studiato in un articolo di R. Ciobanu⁵⁷⁹. L'unica dedica *Marti Toutatico* conosciuta in Dacia è stata effettuata *ex voto* nel *municipium Aurelium Apulense* (colonia di Commodo, oggi Alba Iulia) da *C. Valerius Hermes*⁵⁸⁰. Infine un *Mars Campester* di origine celtica associato ad *Epona* è venerato in Mesia Superiore⁵⁸¹.

Il ruolo del santuario di Apollo e Diana a Montana in Mesia Inferiore appare nella singolare dedica effettuata nel 161 d.C. dal legato della legione *I Italica*, con un riferimento all'*insula vagans*, l'isola sacra di Delos⁵⁸². A *Potaissa* (oggi Turda) è significativo il complesso monumento dedicato forse a *Deo For[ti Phoebio Apollini Parthico]* per la salvezza dell'imperatore e di un *sacerdos III Daciarum*: S. Nemeti ha avvicinato il dio a quell'*Azizos*, il cui tempio fu inaugurato proprio a *Potaissa* attorno al 257: ancora una volta si sottolinea il contatto con il culto imperiale organizzato in un *concilium provinciae* che appare perfettamente vitale nella seconda metà del III secolo⁵⁸³. In Mesia Inferiore a Krivina (*Iatrus*) segnalerei l'ara con dedica *Apollini Auluzelo* effettuata da *T. Salvius Chresimus ex imperi(o) p(osuit)*, con la raffigurazione di un cavaliere trace; l'epigrafe è a destra e sinistra della gamba del cavallo. Non

⁵⁷¹ AE 2008, 1146 (B. Lőrincz).

⁵⁷² Ad es. AE 2013, 1336b, *Novae* in Mesia Inferiore: [*Cons*]ervator *Augg(ustoum) et [Cae]ss(arum) nn(ostrorum)*, dedica effettuata da un *primipilarius [ex p]rov(incia) Foenice* dopo il 293 d.C. (T. Sarnowski).

⁵⁷³ AE 2009, 1128, *Aquincum*.

⁵⁷⁴ AE 2009, 981 = CIL III 5196 (M. Kandler).

⁵⁷⁵ AE 2007, 1171.

⁵⁷⁶ AE 2004, 1096; AE 2010, 1164.

⁵⁷⁷ AE 2008, 1129 (Á. Szabó).

⁵⁷⁸ AE 2006, 986 = AE 2011, 881.

⁵⁷⁹ AE 2006, 1122.

⁵⁸⁰ AE 2004, 1204, Drâmbar (R. Ciobanu).

⁵⁸¹ AE 2013, 1325, *Timacum Minus* (V. P. Petrović).

⁵⁸² AE 2012, 1262.

⁵⁸³ AE 2007, 1194.

sappiamo come intendere l'epiteto *Apollo Aulezelus*, davvero un *unicum*, da confrontare con *Aulusademus*, *Aulosades*, *Aularchenus*⁵⁸⁴.

La dedica *quattuor ventis et Bono Ev[er]nt(ui)* in Mesia Inferiore è stata studiata da P. Lungarova⁵⁸⁵, che ha descritto il variegato culto dei *Genii* in Bulgaria, con riferimento al *Genius provinciae*, ai *Genii* delle unità militari, ai *Genii loci*⁵⁸⁶. A Szombathely è stata rinvenuta la rara dedica *Diis itin[erariis]* meglio *itine[ris] utriusque viae*, nel senso di andata (*itus*) e ritorno (*reditus*)⁵⁸⁷.

Nella regione danubiana sono frequenti le dediche *Domino*, connesse con il culto di una dea lunare e di un dio o eroe solare illirico vicino al cavaliere danubiano⁵⁸⁸. Il cavaliere trace con la lira compare spesso in Dacia: non si tratta di un culto indigeno, ma introdotto da coloni arrivati dalla riva destra del Danubio; vedi Oppermann, con omissioni⁵⁸⁹. A Szombathely si trova una dedica *Ituno e[st] Itunae, ex voto* di un *Quartus* e di una *Fl(avia) Iulia*⁵⁹⁰. A Parndorf nel Burgenland in Pannonia Superiore, sulla c.d. Via dell'Ambrà, abbiamo la dedica *Nutri[ci(bus)]* finora attestate solo a *Poetovio*⁵⁹¹.

In quello che è il primo documento di *Belenus* in Slovenia, conosciamo questo dio onorato a *Celeia* (Spodnji Grad) nel Norico da *L. Sentius Forensis* di Aquileia⁵⁹². Un dio locale potrebbe essere il *Mibricus* evocato dall'*ala I Scu(b)ulorum* a Wildbald Einöd, in Stiria⁵⁹³. Unica è la dedica alla dea greca *Ananca* per un voto effettuato dal padre per la salute del figlio *Val(erius) Licinianus* a *Doclea* in Montenegro⁵⁹⁴. Ercole Augusto (*Herculi Aug.*) è menzionato a Sankt Michael am Zollfeld, in una dedica effettuata da *Gemellus Biraconi(s.f.)*⁵⁹⁵.

A Tiffen nel distretto di Feldkirchen in Carinzia, alla fine dell'età severiana possediamo la prima attestazione delle dee *Senae*, divinità collettive analoghe a divinità femminili della Britannia: la dedica *Sena[bos] Aug(ustis)* è stata effettuata nella prima metà del III secolo da *C. [---] Firmi[nus] imm(unis) li[br(arius) leg(ionis)] II Ital(icae) [p(iae) f(idelis) Sev(eriana)] et Cl(audius) Se[cundus fr]um(entarius)*, impiegati nell'amministrazione delle miniere del Norico⁵⁹⁶.

Il tempio di *Fortuna* nella colonia di *Oescus* in Mesia Inferiore (oggi Gigen) è stato scavato da T. Ivanov⁵⁹⁷. Da Topusko in Croazia proviene la dedica di un altare alla

⁵⁸⁴ AE 2003, 1538 (Z. Gočeva).

⁵⁸⁵ AE 2005, 1320.

⁵⁸⁶ AE 2006, 1200.

⁵⁸⁷ AE 2000, 1191.

⁵⁸⁸ Ad es. AE 2006, 1052, *Quadrata*, in Pannonia Superiore (E. Szónyi / P. Tomka).

⁵⁸⁹ AE 2000, 1238 (S. Nemeti); vd. anche AE 2006, 1123 (M. Oppermann).

⁵⁹⁰ AE 2000, 1192.

⁵⁹¹ AE 2006, 1075.

⁵⁹² AE 2003, 1303.

⁵⁹³ AE 2013, 1175–1176 (J. Eitler, con il commento di F. Glaser).

⁵⁹⁴ AE 2013, 1187 (M. Šašel Kos).

⁵⁹⁵ AE 2010, 1132 (H. Dolenz).

⁵⁹⁶ AE 2004, 1069 (H. Dolenz / P. De Bernardo Stempel).

⁵⁹⁷ AE 2006, 1202.

Fortun(a) Aug(usta), effettuata da *Domitia Pusilla*, forse liberta di un militare originario della Mesia Inferiore, imparentato con il centurione della *legio XIV Gemina* noto per aver innalzato un tempio alla stessa dea ad *Aquae Iasae*⁵⁹⁸.

Da Glamnik, in Kosovo proviene la dedica *Deae Dard(anicae)*, posta da un *b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) leg(ionis) IIII Fl[aviae]* nel corso del III secolo⁵⁹⁹. Per la salvezza dei Severi sono collocate le are *Dis deabusque Campestribus*⁶⁰⁰.

Se passiamo alla vita religiosa, nel Norico⁶⁰¹, arricchita dal recente studio di R. Wedenig sui graffiti su oggetti di culto che menzionano dediche alle divinità⁶⁰², la dea madre che personificava la provincia è rappresentata da *Noreia*, studiata da P. Scherrer⁶⁰³; importanti risultati provengono dagli scavi nel santuario di Iside Noreia ad Hohenstein in Carinzia e dagli scavi effettuati da H. Dolenz nel territorio di *Virunum* in Norico, presso l'anfiteatro di St. Michael am Zollfeld, Maria Saal, nel riempimento costantiniano, che hanno messo in luce il santuario di Nemesi entro l'anfiteatro costruito da Adriano, restaurato da Commodo, rifatto dopo un incendio da Settimio Severo⁶⁰⁴. Ci rimane il ricordo dei lavori di restauro e le dediche *pro salute* dei Severi da parte di *C. Mar(ius) Luc[ani]us Max[imianus Ilvir] i(ure) d(icundo) muros amp[hiteatri] tectorio oper[e renovavit] et picturis [exornavit]*, con una rara erasione del nome di Caracalla⁶⁰⁵. Egli ha fatto rifare l'*opus tectorium*, il rivestimento in stucco dei muri dell'anfiteatro con pitture murali tra il 198 e il 199, lavori ripetuti verso il 230⁶⁰⁶. Conosciamo pure il padre *Priscus*, anch'egli un *Ilvir* e la madre *Cominia Q.f. Celsinio*⁶⁰⁷. Il 15 marzo 237 *C. Cassius Honoratus* dedica per la salvezza di Massimino il Trace e di suo figlio le opere effettuate: *murum longitudinis p(edum) XXXX ruina conlapsum a solo restituit et podium amphit(h)eatr(i) opere tectorio cum pictura muneris sui exornavit et portam novam fecit*⁶⁰⁸. Sempre dal *Nemeseum* di *Virunum* provengono gli altari di fine II secolo *Nemesi Augustae sacrum* collocati da parte di un *[Mar]tialis*

⁵⁹⁸ AE 2008, 1078 (B. Migotti).

⁵⁹⁹ AE 2011, 1113 (E. Dobruna-Salih).

⁶⁰⁰ AE 2003, 1434 (B. Lőrincz).

⁶⁰¹ E. Hudeczek, *Die Römersteinsammlung des Landesmuseums Joanneum*, Graz 2004; S. Groh / H. Sedlmayer (edd.), *Forschungen im römischen Heiligtum am Burgstall bei St. Margarethen im Lavanttal (Noricum)*, Wien 2011.

⁶⁰² R. Wedenig, *Instrumenta inscripta der Austria Romana mit kultischem Charakter*, in: G. Baratta / S. M. Marengo (edd.), *Instrumenta inscripta III: Manufatti iscritti e vita dei santuari in età romana*, Macerata 2012, 289–307.

⁶⁰³ AE 2007, 1074.

⁶⁰⁴ H. Dolenz, *Die Inschriften aus dem Amphitheater von Virunum*, in: R. Jernej / C. Gugl (edd.), *Virunum: Das römische Amphitheater. Die Grabungen 1998–2001*, Klagenfurt 2004, 269–322. Vd. anche AE 2006, 963 (M. Hainzmann). Un altro incendio sotto Settimio Severo durante la legazione di *P. Catius Sabinus* in Norico è ricordato a *Iuvavum* in AE 2013, 1179 (Z. Mráv).

⁶⁰⁵ AE 2001, 1587; AE 2002, 1094. Per l'erasione di *Caracalla*: AE 2004, 1070.

⁶⁰⁶ AE 2004, 1071.

⁶⁰⁷ ILLPRON 436.

⁶⁰⁸ AE 2004, 1072.

[ve]nator, cacciatore nell'ambito delle *venationes*⁶⁰⁹. Al secolo successivo si riferiscono le dediche *Nemesi Reginae Augustae* e agli dei *Campestres*, divinità protettrici degli *equites singulares* e dei cavalieri dell'*ala I Thracum*⁶¹⁰. Gli altari del santuario di Nemesi furono salvati, nascosti in età costantiniana, protetti e coperti di terra⁶¹¹. Possediamo ora una lista di I. Weber-Hiden delle dediche a *Diana Nemesi Augusta* a *Carnuntum*⁶¹².

Ancora per *Virunum*, H. Dolenz ha pubblicato le iscrizioni del santuario di Ercole Augusto, che ricordano offerte anche alla dea Rosmerta⁶¹³. Sulla riva destra della Sava presso Podkraj nel Norico, rimangono i resti del santuario delle divinità fluviali *Savus* e *Adsalluta*, che M. Šašel Kos ha collegato al culto della *Magna Mater*⁶¹⁴.

Da *Bedaium* in Baviera M. Hainzmann presenta undici altari votivi del dio *Bedaios*, talora associato alle *Alounae*, dee madri, nel corso del II–III secolo d.C, culti apparentemente introdotti nel Norico dai Romani⁶¹⁵. Il dio *Aesus* è documentato nell'iscrizione votiva di Dellach in Carinzia su una statuetta di bronzo offerta a *Aesus* da *Adginnos Vercombogi filius*⁶¹⁶.

A *Ratiaria* in Mesia Superiore, una dedica *Deae Placidiae* fu effettuata nel II secolo da un *Ael(ius) Heculanus lapida(rius)*⁶¹⁷.

A *Sarmizegetusa* in Dacia esisteva un tempio dedicato *Dis Maiorib(us) Domno et Domnae*, distrutto nell'età di Marco Aurelio, durante l'attacco di Sarmati⁶¹⁸.

Se lasciamo da parte i numerosi culti salutari di Diana (pure invocata come dea degli inferi)⁶¹⁹, Asclepio, Hygia, Ninfe⁶²⁰, e ci concentriamo sui culti orientali, abbiamo numerose dediche *Deo invicto Mithrae*, come quella da Akmačići, regione di Zlatar in Serbia occidentale: *Invicto S(oli) M(itrhae) O(mnipotenti)*⁶²¹. Il culto di Mitra in

⁶⁰⁹ AE 2004, 1073–1074.

⁶¹⁰ AE 2004, 1075–1079.

⁶¹¹ Per il culto di Nemesi nelle province balcaniche e danubiane, vd. AE 2011, 841 (S. Pastor).

⁶¹² AE 2008, 1096.

⁶¹³ AE 2005, 1157–1160.

⁶¹⁴ AE 2010, 1141.

⁶¹⁵ AE 2006, 992.

⁶¹⁶ AE 2002, 1090 = 1997, 1210.

⁶¹⁷ AE 2010, 1393.

⁶¹⁸ AE 2010, 1383 (M. Fiedler / C. Hoepken).

⁶¹⁹ Nel 292 sotto Diocleziano e Massimiano ad *Aquincum* una *schola in ruin[a collapsa]* fu reintegrata, come sede del *collegium funeraticium* che comprendeva anche tombe femminili a cura di *Lic(inius) Gaudentius Papi[as]* devoto di Diana originario della colonia apula di *Lypiae* (oggi Lecce): AE 2008, 1150 = AE 2009, 1165 (P. Kovács / M. Németh). Una nuova dedica da Rattenberg in Stiria (Norico) è in AE 2013, 1177 (E. Steigberger). Per il culto di Diana e di *Diana Nemorensis* in Dalmazia e un riferimento all'altare sull'Aventino vd. AE 2013, 1186 (K. A. Giunio).

⁶²⁰ Vd. ad es. AE 2013, 1208 e 1209 a, *Aquae Iasae* presso *Poetovio* in Pannonia Superiore (L. Lučić).

⁶²¹ AE 2012, 1111 (S. Loma). Una dedica *D(eo) M(itrhae)* è ora segnalata in Carinzia a St. Kathrein da R. Wedenig (AE 2013, 1173, P. Gleirscher).

Pannonia è stato studiato frontalmente da I. Tóth⁶²², che si sofferma sulle sue origini e specificità, sull'iconografia e sui sacerdoti *mystes* di *Intercisa*. Lo stesso autore ha presentato il Mitreo di Fertőrákos nel territorio di *Scarbantia* (oggi Sopron)⁶²³. Il culto di Mitra in Mesia Inferiore è affrontato da V. Bottez, con riferimento ai *mithraea* e ai gradi d'iniziazione⁶²⁴.

Iside in Dalmazia è studiata da L. Bricault, in RICIS⁶²⁵, associata talora a *Serapis Magnus*⁶²⁶. A *Scarbantia* ci rimane una rarissima dedica ad Osiride che si accompagna al culto di Iside all'inizio del II secolo: è recente la pubblicazione effettuata da G. Gabrieli di un'epigrafe incisa su una lastra di calcare scoperta a Sopron nel corso degli scavi del 1996 (*[Os]iri Aug(usto)*) effettuata dall'*[Isi]dis sacerd(os) [P. ?] Domatius Ingen(u)s*)⁶²⁷: si tratta di un commerciante originario della Dalmazia con interessi a Cipro, che praticava il rarissimo culto di Osiride tra il I e il II secolo, con rapporti col mondo egiziano⁶²⁸. Possediamo un unico altro confronto nell'impero, a Colonia, in un testo dedicato *Deo Osiri*, pubblicato nel 1987⁶²⁹. Estremamente sporadico nelle province danubiane e nell'impero⁶³⁰ è anche il culto della dea egizia *Bubastis*, come ancora a Sopron (*Scarbantia*)⁶³¹, testimoniato dalle epigrafi del santuario di Iside⁶³². A Smiljanovac in Dalmazia un bambino di nove anni, *Aur(elius) Satrius* (sepolto assieme alla sorella di sei anni *Aur(elia) Maxima*), è rappresentato sull'acrotorio di un coperchio di un sarcofago mentre riceve l'iniziazione isiacca⁶³³. M. Bărbulescu ha studiato complessivamente i culti egizi a *Potaissa* in Dacia, oggi Turda, attraverso i monumenti e le iscrizioni⁶³⁴. Dubbio è il caso della dedica al dio egizio Toth (*Deo Totovitioni*) effettuata da un soldato della *legio III Fl(avia) catara(tarum) stationis Dianae* in Mesia superiore, forse con l'evocazione di un dio della Tracia⁶³⁵.

⁶²² I. Tóth, *Mithras Pannonicus* (Specimina nova Universitatis Quinqueecclesiensis, prima pars 17), Budapest / Pécs 2004.

⁶²³ AE 2007, 1148.

⁶²⁴ AE 2006, 1201.

⁶²⁵ L. Bricault, *Recueil des inscriptions concernant les cultes Isiaques (RICIS)*, Paris 2005.

⁶²⁶ Dalla Dardania del Kosovo (regione di Peć) proviene la dedica *Magno numini et conservatori Serapi* per un *ex voto*; Serapide è attestato a Suvi Lukavac come *conservator*, a Dresnik con l'attributo *invictus*, AE 2011, 1115 (N. Ferri).

⁶²⁷ AE 2006, 1041 (G. Gabrieli) = AE 2011, 970 (Z. Mráv / G. Gabrieli).

⁶²⁸ RICIS 613/0602.

⁶²⁹ RICIS 610/0112.

⁶³⁰ Ma vd. la più antica attestazione in RICIS 519/0302 del 35 d.C., *Turris Libisonis* in Sardegna.

⁶³¹ RICIS 613/0601.

⁶³² AE 2008, 1082 (G. Gabrieli). Dal municipio flavio di *Scarbantia* conosciamo anche alcune dediche di statue di divinità dal *Capitolium*, AE 2013, 1210 (Á. Szabó); vd. anche AE 2013, 1211 per il *[cha]lcid[icum]*. Per la condizione di municipio flavio, vd. anche AE 2013, 1218 (A. Mráv).

⁶³³ AE 2006, 1010 (S. Ivčević).

⁶³⁴ AE 2006, 1137.

⁶³⁵ AE 2003, 1531 = AE 2013, 1318, Karataš (D. Grbić).

Tra le divinità orientali si segnala a *Salona* nella collezione Matijević, in *Varia Salonitana* Arheološka zbirka Marka Matijevića u Solinu, di D. Maršić e M. Matijević (Salona 2000) la dedica di un tempio *Matri deum Magnae: aedem cognatio fecit ex nummis conlatis solo suo*⁶³⁶. La vita religiosa in Mesia Inferiore si è arricchita con la scoperta a Balčik (*Dionysopolis*) nel 2007 della dedica *Matri deum* da parte dell'imperatore Licinio, nel tempio della *Meter Theon Pontia: quod ex donariis in templo eius repertum est simulacrum argenteum numini eius in libris septem et uncis octo fieri iussit et consecrari*, con l'intervento del *praeses* della Scizia il perfettissimo *Aurelius Speratianus*, che si occupò materialmente della realizzazione della nuova statua argentea, che doveva sostituire quella perduta a seguito di un'incursione⁶³⁷. Nella stessa provincia sorprende la vitalità dei culti geto-daci riflessi dall'onomastica studiata da D. Dana⁶³⁸.

I culti orientali in Dacia sono studiati da J. R. Carbó García, che presenta un catalogo di ben 322 iscrizioni, riferite a 52 diverse divinità, con una prevalenza di dediche mitraiche⁶³⁹. I culti orientali in Dardania in età imperiale sono illustrati nell'articolo di Z. Mirdita⁶⁴⁰.

Di grande interesse storico è la dedica rinvenuta a Székesfehérvár in Ungheria e proveniente da *Gorsium* piuttosto che dal *castellum* di *Intercisa* in Pannonia Inferiore (odierna Dunaújváros) al [*Deo So*]li *Elagab[alo sac]r(um)* per la salvezza di Settimio Severo, Caracalla e Geta Cesare, da parte dei [*mil*]ites *cohort(is) I [(milliariae) Antonin(ae)] Hemesenorum*⁶⁴¹, che anticipa al 198–199 sotto il governo in Pannonia Inferiore del legato *Tiberius Claudius Claudianus* l'arrivo da Emesa del culto del Dio Sole Elagabalo, ben prima delle numerose attestazioni del culto a *Intercisa*, successive alla visita della famiglia imperiale nelle province pannoniche nel 202 (HA, Sept. 15–17): solo in quella data il tribuno *Q. Mod(ius) Q. f(ilius) Quirina Ru<f>inus* edificò proprio ad *Intercisa* il tempio *Deo [So]li Aelagabalo*⁶⁴²; più tardi possediamo la dedica del 23 agosto 214, effettuata *deo patrio Soli Elagabalo* dopo la vittoria germanica di Caracalla⁶⁴³. Solo sotto il principato di Antonino Elagabalo i soldati della *legio I Adiutrix* pongono a *Brigetio* in Pannonia Inferiore la dedica *Deo Soli Alagabalo*

⁶³⁶ AE 2001, 1606.

⁶³⁷ AE 2010, 2442.

⁶³⁸ AE 2013, 1332.

⁶³⁹ J. R. Carbó García, *Los cultos orientales en la Dacia romana. Formas de difusión, integración y control social e ideológico* (Colección Vitor 265), Salamanca 2010.

⁶⁴⁰ AE 2001, 1724.

⁶⁴¹ AE 2009, 1085. Vd. ora l'articolo di E. Badaracco, *Il culto del Deus Sol Elagabalus presso il castellum di Intercisa: la devozione degli ausiliari della cohors Hemesenorum*, in: Zerbini (ed.), *Culti e religiosità* (vd. sopra nt. 2), 235–245, con l'ipotesi di un "ponte" culturale con *Calceus Herculis* in Numidia.

⁶⁴² RIU V 1104. Vd. anche 1106, 1107, 1230.

⁶⁴³ RIU V 1139. La coorte degli Hemeseni compare ad es. con Commodus (AE 2010, 1274) e poi, nel 216 (AE 2010, 1273), con la titolatura di Caracalla gravemente lacunosa e alcune inesattezze di edizione anche nel nome del reparto.

Ammudati, con un epiteto davvero singolare⁶⁴⁴. Ad *Aquincum* abbiamo varie dediche *Soli Deo*, *Soli Soccio*, *Soli Socio sacrum* per la salvezza di Elagabalo⁶⁴⁵. A Sarmizegetusa è significativa la dedica [*Deo So*]li inv[ic]to Belo ---]? Mal[a]gbel(i) Hie[ro]bolo deis Palmyrenis? per la salvezza di Severo Alessandro e Mamea tra il 222 ed il 235⁶⁴⁶; allo stesso periodo potrebbe risalire l'elenco dei *cultfores dei Solis?* Ma]lagb[eli]⁶⁴⁷. I. Piso ha studiato il *forum vetus* di Sarmizegetusa, con l'epigrafe che ricorda il tempio dei [*Solis Ierh*]abolis posta da un tribuno, per ricordare il dio di Palmira⁶⁴⁸. Occorre sottolineare la prossimità del tempio al foro nuovo, dove si sono svolti gli scavi del primo Campidoglio della provincia Dacia costruito alla metà del II secolo⁶⁴⁹. Il contatto tra la Dacia e Palmira passa ovviamente attraverso le truppe, come testimoniano anche alcune iscrizioni bilingue (palmireno-latino) di *Tibiscum*⁶⁵⁰.

A Svištov (*Novae*) N. Markov ha richiamato l'attenzione su una dedica *I.O.M. Dolicheno ubi ferrum nascitur*, una formula abituale per indicare il dio commageno, invocato nell'età di Adriano dal siriano *P. Aelius Benivulus dec(urio) alae Commagenorum*⁶⁵¹. La prima menzione dell'ala nel campo di Tulln sul Danubio in Norico risale e all'età di Traiano, al 104, anche se sulla pietra il reparto riceve sotto Caracalla l'epiteto di *Antoniniana (Comagenis)*⁶⁵². A Karataš (*Cataractarum Diana*) ci rimane la dedica *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Dolicheno* per la salvezza di Caracalla e Giulia Domna posta da *L. Marius Perpetuus (Aurelianus) c(onsularis)*, governatore della Mesia Superiore sotto Caracalla tra il 212 e il 213⁶⁵³. Nella stessa provincia a *Viminacium*, V. P. Petrović ha studiato la dedica *I.O.M. D(olicheno)* effettuata nella prima metà del III secolo da *Aur(elius) Iulianus Iuliani (filius) sac(erdos) eiusdem dei ex pr(ovincia) Syr(ia) Coel(e) reg(ione) Cyrr(h)ens(i) vico Capersina*⁶⁵⁴. Secondo M. Popescu, il culto di Giove Dolicheno (documentato in Dacia presso le miniere nell'età di Settimio Severo)⁶⁵⁵, sarebbe rinato sotto Gordiano, come testimoniano le iscrizioni di *Ampelum*, *Samum*, *Certiae*, *Porolissum*⁶⁵⁶. C. C. Petolescu ha studiato in particolare il rapporto tra i sacerdoti di *Iupiter Dolichenus* e l'esercito di Dacia a *Drobeta*, *Apulum*,

⁶⁴⁴ RIU II 473.

⁶⁴⁵ AE 2009, 1140–1142.

⁶⁴⁶ AE 2011, 1084 (I. Piso / O. Țentea).

⁶⁴⁷ AE 2011, 1085 (I. Piso / O. Țentea).

⁶⁴⁸ AE 2004, 1216; I vd. I. Piso, *Le dieu Yarhibôl à Sarmizegetusa*, in: M. Crânguș / S. Regep-Vlascici / A. Ștefănescu (edd.), *Studia Historica et Archaeologica in honorem Magistrae Doina Benea*, Timișoara 2004, 299–303; per *Yarhibol*, vd. ora I. Piso / R. Ardevan / C. Fenechiu / E. Beu-Dachin / Ș. Lalu, *Lexicon epigraphicum Daciae*, Cluj-Napoca 2016, 667.

⁶⁴⁹ AE 2012, 1245. Un *epulum Iovis* è citato in IDR III/2 242.

⁶⁵⁰ AE 2004, 1218 (T. Kaizer).

⁶⁵¹ AE 2008, 1187.

⁶⁵² AE 2003, 1318 (H. Ubl).

⁶⁵³ AE 2003, 1532 (M. Mirković).

⁶⁵⁴ AE 2005, 1313. *Capersana* è un villaggio citato da Ammiano (XVIII 8,1).

⁶⁵⁵ AE 2008, 1160.

⁶⁵⁶ AE 2006, 1124.

*Ampelum, Porolissum*⁶⁵⁷. Proprio a *Porolissum* I. Piso ha riesaminato le iscrizioni del tempio di Giove Dolicheno: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) [D(olicheno)] pro salute et [incolu]mitate* di Gordiano III *et coh(ortis) III Camp(estris)* da parte di un *IIIvir m(unicipii) S(eptimii) P(orolissensis)*, di un veterano e di un decurione *vegesi[m]a[r(ius)]*, percettore dell'imposta del 5%, la *vigesima hereditatum*, del municipio: *[t]emp[lu(m) cum] tabernis (a)ere suo feceru[n]t*⁶⁵⁸.

In Mesia Inferiore, a Novačene (Pleven) è documentato il culto del *Draco*, più precisamente a *Glycon* di Abonuteichos, nel corso del III secolo⁶⁵⁹.

Ancora a *Salona* in Croazia dalla chiesa S. Nicola proviene un testo apparentemente neutro, che ripropone la regola aurea comune a tutte le tradizioni religiose, il rispetto per la sepoltura e la garanzia di *securitas* per il defunto: chi voglia violare questa tomba abbia la vendetta degli dei, *[sepultu]ram si qui[s de]asciare voluerit, habe[at ir]ata numina*: chiunque venerino, romani, giudei o cristiani, rispettino i *Mani*, in un periodo che va collocato nella prima metà del IV secolo⁶⁶⁰.

A *Salona* un sarcofago del diacono (*zaconus*) *Flavius Iulius* e di sua moglie *Aurelia Ianuaria*, datato con anno consolare al 2 novembre 358, ricorda la *Aeclesia Salon(itana)*, beneficiaria dei possibili proventi derivanti dai violatori della tomba: *si quis post nostram pausationem hoc sarcofagum aprire voluerit inferit aeclesiae Salon(itanae) argenti libras quinquaginta*⁶⁶¹.

Per il cristianesimo, a Veliki Krčimir in Mesia Superiore ci rimangono brani di citazioni bibliche ed evangeliche in una lunga versione latina, inoltre un salmo (nella versione di Girolamo), un brano dalla Lettera ai Filippesi e dal Vangelo di Matteo; il documento è stato collegato da V. Nedeljković alla costruzione della vicina basilica⁶⁶².

16. Le articolazioni e le festività del culto imperiale

Come si è osservato in tutte le province romane il culto imperiale sembra procedere in simbiosi con i culti locali: così ad esempio in Rezia, dove a Lauingen (Baviera) il legato imperiale *[- Statil(ius) Dio]nysius* dedica il *[sigillum d]ei Apollinis Granni* in onore di Elagabalo, sicuramente in connessione con le precedenti politiche del *divus Magnus Antoninus*⁶⁶³.

Il culto di Roma e di Augusto in Dalmazia, nei tre *conventus* di *Scardona*, *Salona* e *Narona*, già a partire dall'età di Tiberio è studiato da I. Jadrić-Kučan: il culto del *Divus Iulius* ha incluso il culto della *Dea Roma* e poi si è travasato nel culto imperiale, con

⁶⁵⁷ AE 2006, 1125. Vd. anche AE 2001, 1707, *Porolissum*; 2004, 1222, *Drobeta* (C. C. Petolescu); 2012, 1196–1197 (I. Boda).

⁶⁵⁸ AE 2001, 1707 (N. Gudea / D. Tamba).

⁶⁵⁹ AE 2008, 1183 (V. Gerasimova).

⁶⁶⁰ AE 2005, 1187 (F. Prévot).

⁶⁶¹ CIL III 2654 e 8652 = AE 2009, 1016a–b (D. Demicheli).

⁶⁶² AE 2004, 1225.

⁶⁶³ AE 2008, 989 (F. Speckhardt). Ad *Aquincum* in Pannonia Inferiore ci rimane una dedica *Iovi Gran(no) Apollini*, effettuata da un *optio* della *legio II Adiutrix* nel 190 d.C. (AE 2009, 1108).

testimonianze monumentali molto risalenti a Pola, *Oneum, Aequum, municipium Bistuensium, Doclea*⁶⁶⁴.

Gli ultimi tempi hanno visto un approfondito studio del culto imperiale in Dalmazia nel suo sviluppo fino alla piena età severiana, come dimostrato nel recentissimo volume sull' *Augusteum di Narona*, con gli Atti del Convegno promosso da C. Bearzot e da A. Giardina presso l'Istituto Italiano per la Storia Antica a Roma il 31 maggio 2013⁶⁶⁵. Il culto imperiale a *Salona* è stato studiato da J. Jeličić-Radonić⁶⁶⁶. È da rettificare l'edizione della dedica cosmocratica di Klis, in territorio di *Salona* a Giuliano [*vic]tori ac [trium]fatori t[otius]q(ue) orbis [Augusto]*], datata da D. Demicheli agli anni 361–363⁶⁶⁷. Molti *seviri augustales* compaiono nel catalogo di 40 iscrizioni di Narona, pubblicato da I. Rodá.⁶⁶⁸ L'ultimo lavoro sul culto imperiale in Dalmazia è di M. Buzov⁶⁶⁹.

Ad *Epidaurum* in Croazia (oggi Cavtat) *P. Aelius Osillianus* ottiene la cittadinanza da Adriano ed è onorato con statua con un decreto dell'*ordo* dei decurioni, pagata dalla madre e dalla nonna, che nell'occasione offrono *sportulae* ai decurioni, *Augustales* e *seviri* con uno spettacolo di pugilato, *pugilum spectaculo*⁶⁷⁰.

La vita religiosa in Pannonia è studiata nel volume di Á. Szabó, che elenca la documentazione relativa a *sacerdotes, artistes, augures, flamines, pontifices*, con attenzione per il culto imperiale e le assemblee provinciali⁶⁷¹; a Szombathely ad esempio una rilettura del basamento della statua di Traiano, ha consentito di dimostrare che la dedica fu effettuata nell'ambito del culto imperiale dai [*pont(ifices) a]ugur(es) sacer[dot(es) f]l(amine) (?) ex colonia [S]avaria*⁶⁷². Conosciamo auguri cittadini, ad esempio a *Mursa* in Croazia⁶⁷³. Il culto della *Dea Roma* secondo Á. Szabó sarebbe stato introdotto in Pannonia Inferiore molto tardi, nell'età di Caracalla, ad opera del *XVvir sacris faciundis L. Cassius Marcellinus*⁶⁷⁴. H. Zabeňlický ha studiato i santuari privati nelle Pannonie specie a *Carnuntum*⁶⁷⁵.

⁶⁶⁴ AE 2011, 889 e AE 2012, 1088.

⁶⁶⁵ G. Zecchini, *L'Augusteum di Narona. Atti della giornata di studi. Roma, 31 maggio 2013* (Centro ricerche e documentazione sull'antichità classica, Monografie 17), Roma 2015. In particolare l'articolo di M. Mayer, *La epigrafia y el Augusteum de Narona*, 19–41. Vd. già M. Mayer in AE 2004, 1097. Vd. ora P. Gros / E. Marin / M. Zink (edd.), *Auguste, son époque et l'Augusteum de Narona* (Actes du colloque organisé par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres et l'Université catholique de Croatie, Zagreb), Paris 2015.

⁶⁶⁶ AE 2007, 1098.

⁶⁶⁷ AE 2009, 1018a.

⁶⁶⁸ AE 2011, 919.

⁶⁶⁹ *The imperial cult in Dalmatia*, *Classica et Christiana* 10 (2015) 67–96.

⁶⁷⁰ AE 2009, 1011 (M. Glavičić).

⁶⁷¹ Á. Szabó, *Pannoniciani sacerdotes*, Pécs 2006, vd. AE 2006, 1028.

⁶⁷² AE 2006, 1040.

⁶⁷³ AE 2006, 1093 (Á. Szabó).

⁶⁷⁴ AE 2006, 1088.

⁶⁷⁵ AE 2008, 1075.

Z. Mráv si è occupato dell'uso di innalzare statue in onore degli imperatori, i patroni e le divinità, di cui ci rimangono le basi iscritte⁶⁷⁶; frequente l'associazione del culto imperiale e del culto di *Iupiter*, come nella dedica di Budakalász in Pannonia Inferiore, studiata da Á. Szabó, da riferire a Caracalla e Geta nel 211–212 d.C.⁶⁷⁷

Il culto imperiale nella Pannonia Inferiore è legato alla sede dell'*Ara Augusti* ad *Aquincum*-Budapest e non a *Gorsium*: proprio ad *Aquincum* conosciamo *sacerdotes* e *sacerdotales*. D. Fishwick presenta un nuovo commento per la dedica dell'età di Caracalla che ricorda un *dec(urio) col(oniae) Aquin(ci) it(em) dec(urio) m(unicipi) [Sin]g(idun)i Ilvir flam(en) sacerdos arae Aug(ust)i n(ostri) p(rovinciae) P(annoniae) Infer(ioris) nymp(haeum) pec(unia) sua fecit et aquam induxit*⁶⁷⁸.

A Savaria conosciamo molte feste e appuntamenti del culto imperiale, durante i quali avveniva un'ampia distribuzione di *crustula*⁶⁷⁹. Proprio a Szombathely è attestato, forse durante il regno congiunto di Caracalla e Geta, un *dec(urio) [c(oloniae) C(laudiae) Sav(ariae)] (?)*, contemporaneamente [*dec(urio?) c(oloniae) S(eptimiae)] Karn(unti) [Ilvir equo p]ublic(o) [sacerdos ar]ae Aug(ustorum duorum)*, onorato a quanto pare con una statua equestre dal [*conc(ilium) provinc]iae P(annoniae) s(uperioris)*: ne risulta che il sacerdozio provinciale era tenuto da cavalieri, con il titolo di *sacerdos provinciae* e poi di *sacerdos arae Augusti* dopo Settimio Severo⁶⁸⁰.

La dedica di *Aquincum Concordiae Augg. feliciter*, normalmente riferita a Marco Aurelio e Lucio Vero (161–169), va più probabilmente attribuita a Caracalla e Geta tra il 211 e il 212⁶⁸¹.

Il culto imperiale nelle Mesie è stato studiato da D. Aparaschivei, con attenzione ai flamine municipali⁶⁸², come a *Viminacium*, *Oescus*, *Troesmis* (municipio di Marco Aurelio e Commodo); anche assieme a *sacerdotes provinciae* e *flaminicae*⁶⁸³. Vd. anche V. Bottez, che ha studiato il culto imperiale in Mesia Inferiore durante i primi tre secoli⁶⁸⁴.

⁶⁷⁶ Sul culto imperiale in Pannonia Inferiore, a Vinkovci, *Cibalae*: AE 2004, 1137a–b (L. Leleković); a Sopron, AE 2009, 1046 = AE 2010, 1242 (Á. Szabó): una dedica [*Divo*] *Commodo* del 195 d.C., da rettificare.

⁶⁷⁷ AE 2013, 1266, l'edizione va emendata.

⁶⁷⁸ CIL III 10496, vd. ora AE 2000, 1220 (D. Fishwick); AE 2004, 1139.

⁶⁷⁹ Ad es. AE 2004, 1137.

⁶⁸⁰ AE 2001, 1696 e AE 2003, 1367 (Á. Szabó).

⁶⁸¹ AE 2010, 1277, vd. A. Mastino, *L'erosione del nome di Geta dalle iscrizioni nel quadro della propaganda politica alla corte di Caracalla*, *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia*, Univ. Cagliari 2 = 39 (1978–1979) [1981] 47–81.

⁶⁸² AE 2006, 1181.

⁶⁸³ AE 2007, 1213. Per *Oescus* in Mesia Inferiore, sede del concilio provinciale fino al termine del II secolo, AE 2007, 1220.

⁶⁸⁴ AE 2009, 1196. Vd. già AE 2007, 1219. Da ultimo ancora V. Bottez, *Implementing Roman rule in Greek cities on the western Black Sea coast. The role of the imperial cult*, *Classica et Christiana* 10 (2015) 51–66.

Il culto imperiale è documentato a *Ratiaria* dall'epitafio di *C. Iulius Tib. [f.] Saturnin[us], Ilviral(is) col(loniae) Ra[ti(ariae)], flamine prim[o] municip(i) Aelian(i)* sotto Adriano, quindi flamine anche nel municipio di *Viminacium*⁶⁸⁵.

Gli *Augustales* della Pannonia e della Dacia sono studiati da L. Mihăilescu-Bîrliba, con riferimento specifico allo stato giuridico, prevalentemente libertino⁶⁸⁶. In particolare in Dacia conosciamo 119 *Augustales*, tutti immigrati; solo una decina di loro potrebbero essere nati in Dacia⁶⁸⁷.

17. Conclusioni

Consentitemi in chiusura di esprimere l'ammirazione per le tante imprese internazionali in corso, per gli scavi e le indagini dalle quali ci aspettiamo veramente nuova luce su un mondo che amiamo davvero, fin dai tempi lontani del IX congresso AIEGL di Sofia nel 1987, in una Bulgaria tanto diversa da quella di oggi.

Concludendo vorrei per un attimo tornare indietro a due secoli fa e richiamare la colorita vicenda delle 17 iscrizioni della Dacia perdute nel 1723, sommerse nel Tibisco in piena, a Seghedino, l'attuale Szeged in Ungheria al confine con la Serbia, nell'età di Carlo VI: una vicenda che qualche anno fa è stata ricostruita per noi da Gian Paolo Marchi e da Alfredo Buonopane, partendo dagli scavi di Weissenburg in Transilvania e dall'attività del capitano Giuseppe Ariosti, utilizzando il Codice dedicato *Carolo VI, restitutori Daciarum e restauratori Pannoniae*. Attraverso Ludovico Antonio Muratori e Scipione Maffei sappiamo in dettaglio della "disgrazia della barca affondata" e del salvataggio delle altre 46 lapidi, conservate oggi a Vienna nella Prunksaal dell'Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. La drammatica vicenda del naufragio nel fiume in piena ci racconta moltissimo della fragilità dei monumenti antichi, del rischio continuo di perdite irreparabili, della responsabilità di tutti noi, dell'impegno che dobbiamo garantire per la salvaguardia del patrimonio⁶⁸⁸.

⁶⁸⁵ AE 2010, 1391 (K. Karadimitrova).

⁶⁸⁶ AE 2007, 1059 (dove sono trattati anche i *seviri* delle Pannonie).

⁶⁸⁷ AE 2008, 1159 (L. Mihăilescu-Bîrliba). Vd. anche S. Nemeti, *Vota pro salute imperatoris in Dacia*, *Classica et Christiana* 10 (2015) 251–262.

⁶⁸⁸ G. P. Marchi, *Iscrizioni di Transilvania postillate da Scipione Maffei nel codice CCLXVII della Biblioteca Capitolare di Verona*, in: Zerbini (ed.), *Roma e le province del Danubio* (vd. sopra nt. 1), 343–348; A. Buonopane, *Giuseppe Ariosti e le iscrizioni di Transilvania. Alcune considerazioni in margine al codice CCLXVII della Biblioteca Capitolare di Verona*, in: Zerbini (ed.), *Roma e le province del Danubio* (vd. sopra nt. 1), 349–373.

Plates



Fig. 1: Localisation de Mihai Bravu (dessin adapté par S. Ganga).



Fig. 2 : Le fort de Mihai Bravu (photo Archive Dip. Scienze Umanistiche e Sociali – Uniss).

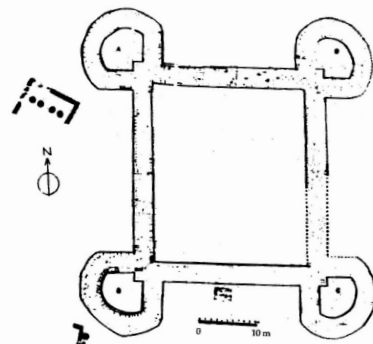


Fig. 3 : Le *quadriburgium* et ses annexes (dessin de Opaï 2004, 109).



Fig. 4 : T1, la dédicace de *vicus Bad[---]* (photo Archive Dip. Scienze Umanistiche e Sociali – Uniss).



Fig. 5 (à gauche) : T1, la dédicace de *vicus Bad[---]*, proposition de intégration 1 (dessin de S. Ganga)

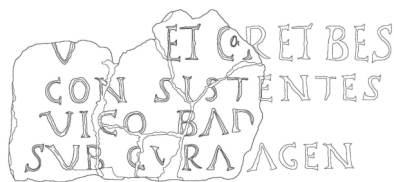


Fig. 6 (à droite) : T1, la dédicace de *vicus Bad[---]*, proposition de intégration 2, avec *Romani* et *Bessi* (dessin de S. Ganga).



Fig. 7 (à gauche) : T3, le diplôme militaire du *tesserarius Tarsa, extrinsecus* (de Chiriac *et al.* 2004, 269 Abb. 3).



Fig. 8 (à droite) : T3, le diplôme militaire du *tesserarius Tarsa, intus* (de Chiriac *et al.* 2004, 269 Abb. 2).



Fig. 9 : T4, *ex voto* de *T. Caelius Cato* (photo de F. Matei-Popescu https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:AE_1985,_725.JPG).



Fig. 10 (à gauche) : T6, la dédicace de *Atidius* (photo Archive Dip. Scienze Umanistiche e Sociali – Uniss).



Fig. 11 (à droite) : T6, la dédicace de *Atidius*, côté droit (photo Archive Dip. Scienze Umanistiche e Sociali – Uniss).



Fig. 12 (à gauche) : T7, la dédicace avec une couple consulaire (photo Archive Dip. Scienze Umanistiche e Sociali – Uniss).

Fig. 13 (à droite) : T7, la dédicace avec une couple consulaire, particulier du champ épigraphique (photo Archive Dip. Scienze Umanistiche e Sociali – Uniss).



Fig. 15 (à gauche) : T9, épitaphe de [Claudius] (?) Fuscus (photo Archive Dip. Scienze Umanistiche e Sociali – Uniss).

Fig. 16 (à droite) : T9, épitaphe de [Claudius] (?) Fuscus, relief (snapshot Archive Dip. Storia, Scienze dell'Uomo e della Formazione – Uniss).



Fig. 14 (à gauche) : T8, l'inscription de *Rammius* (photo Archive Dip. Scienze Umanistiche e Sociali – Uniss).

Fig. 17 (à droite) : T10, épitaphe de *Ka[---]* (photo Archive Dip. Scienze Umanistiche e Sociali – Uniss).



Fig. 18 (à gauche) : T11, épitaphe endommagée (photo Archive Dip. Scienze Umanistiche e Sociali – Uniss).

Fig. 19 (à droite) : T12, épitaphe de *Iul. Silvanus* (photo de O. Harl, lupa.at/21003).



Fig. 20 (à gauche) : T13, épitaphe de *Iul. Epiphanes* (ph. Archive Dip. Scienze Umanistiche e Sociali – Uniss).

Fig. 21 (à droite) : T14, fragment (photo Archive Dip. Scienze Umanistiche e Sociali – Uniss).

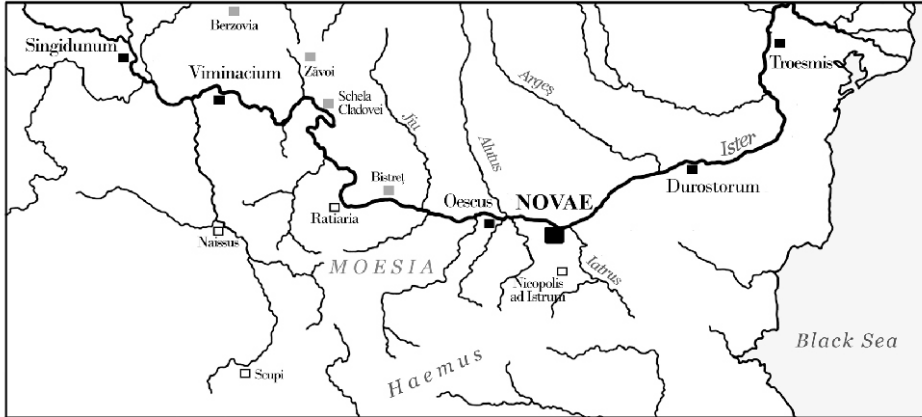


Fig. 1: Novae at Lower Danube.

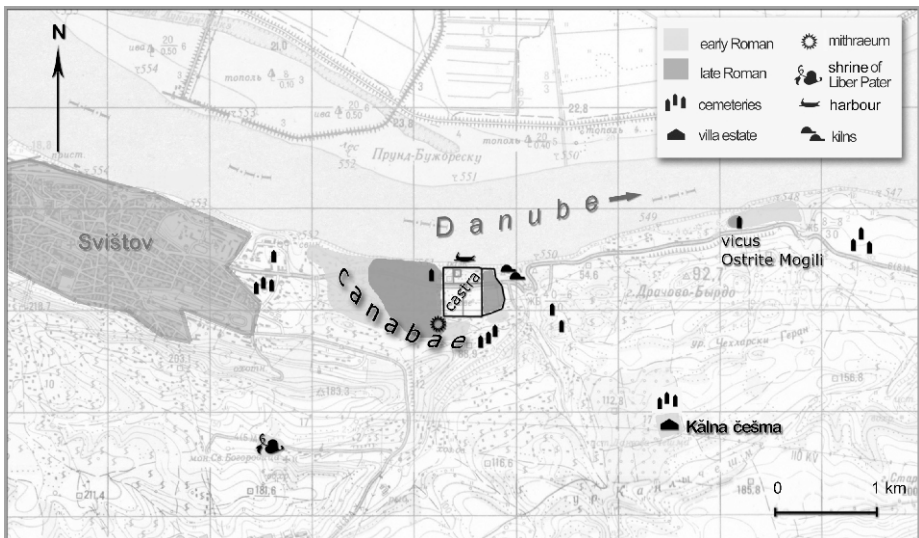


Fig. 2: Novae, civil settlement.

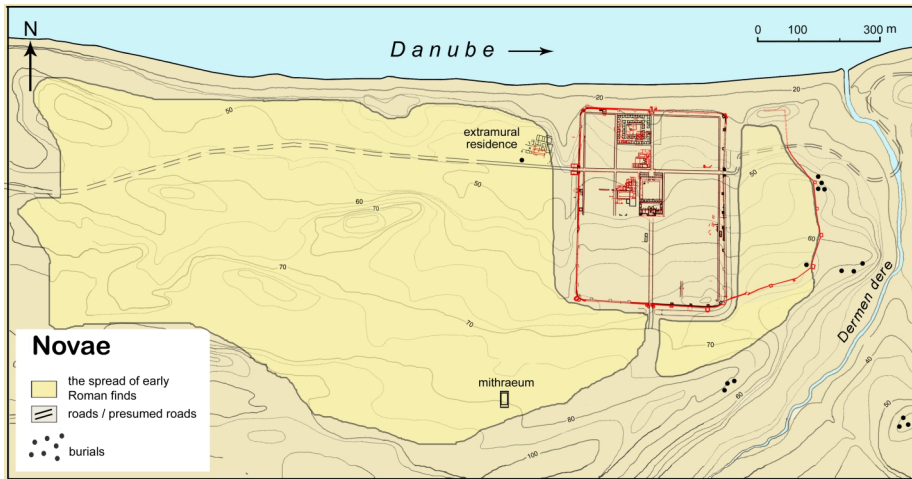


Fig. 3: Novae, canabae (Tomas 2015).



Fig. 4: Tombstone of Valeria Elphis set up by her husband C. Annius Fuscus, cornicen.

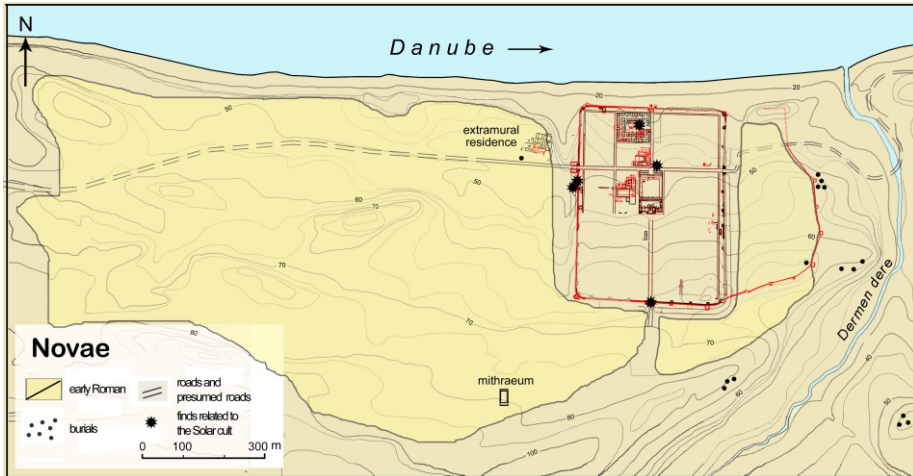


Fig. 5: *Mithraeum* and mapping Solar cult.

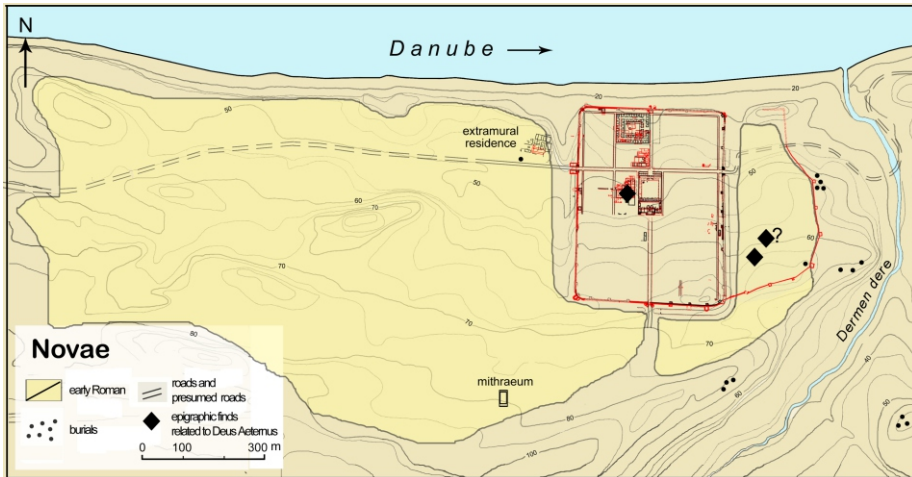


Fig. 6: Mapping *Deo Aeternus* cult.



Fig. 1 (left): The tombstone of an unknown *centurio*, brother of *C. Trebius Valerianus*.

Fig. 3 (right): The obscure object presented on the tombstone.



Fig. 2: The funeral epitaph of the tombstone.

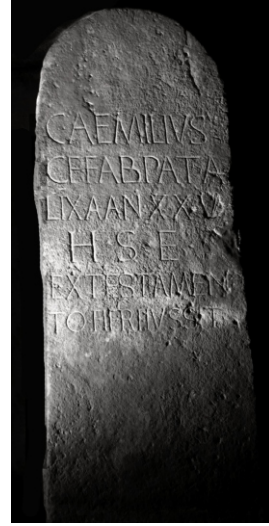


Abb. 1 (links): Grabstele des *L. Cossutius Costa* (Photo: I. Weber-Hiden).

Abb. 2 (rechts): Grabstele des *C. Aemilius* (Photo: I. Weber-Hiden).



Abb. 3 (links): Grabstele des *Reuso* (Photo: I. Weber-Hiden).

Abb. 4 (rechts): Grabstele des *M. Cassius* (Photo: I. Weber-Hiden).



Abb. 5 (links): Grabstele des *Anluiccus* (Photo: I. Weber-Hiden).

Abb. 6 (rechts): Grabstele des *Atpomarus* (Photo: O. Harl).

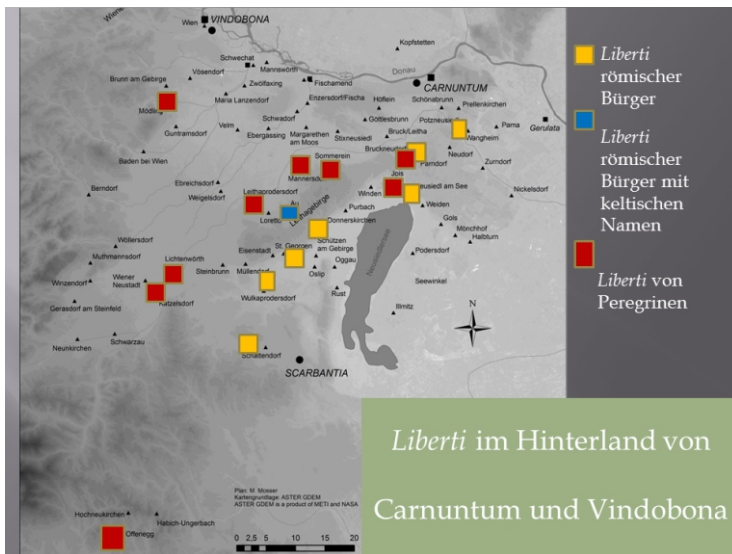


Abb. 7: Karte der Fundorte von M. Mosser.



Fig. 1: *Principia* of the fortress of the *Legio Italica* in Novae after completion of the visualisation project in 2014 (Photo: Michał Pisz).



Fig. 3 (left): Slab with dedication of a statue of *Dionysos* by *Theodoros* and *Palladios*, *primipilarii* of the province of Hellespont, bottom side (Photo: Tadeusz Sarnowski).

Fig. 4 (right): Slab with dedication of a statue of *Dionysos* by *Theodoros* and *Palladios*.

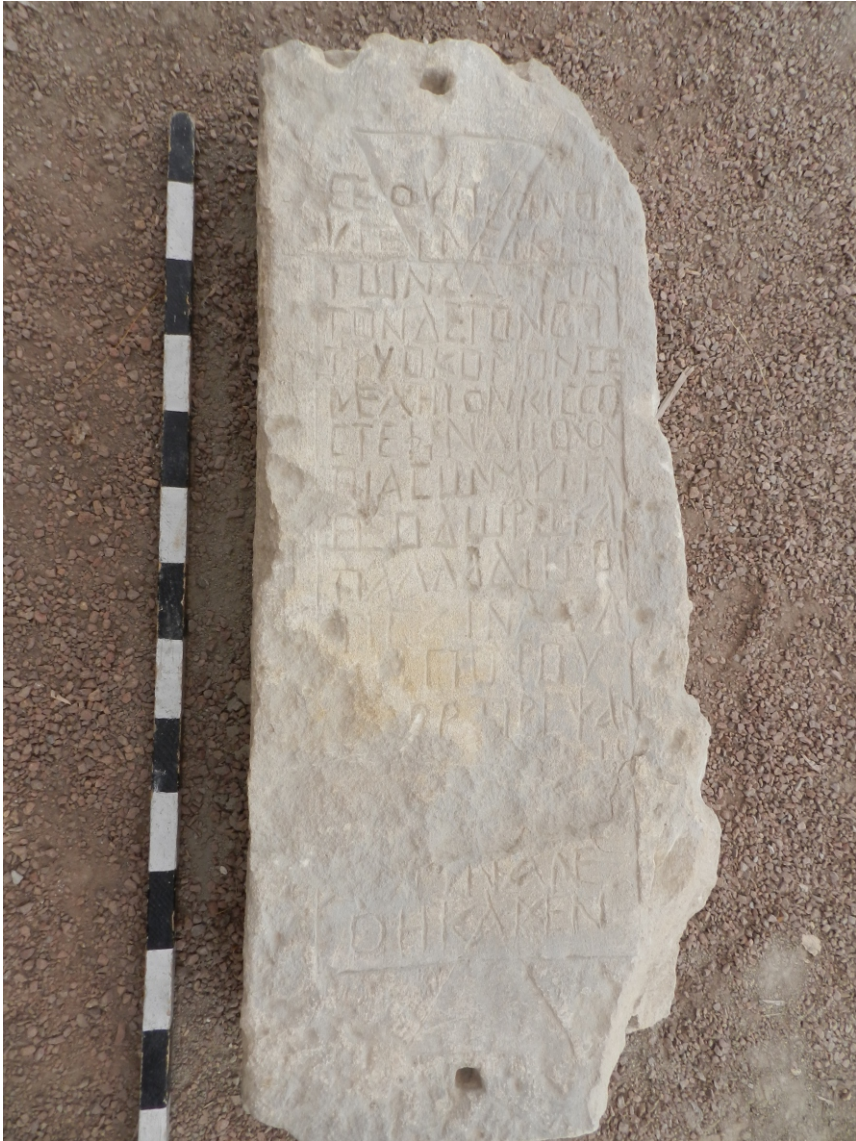


Fig. 2: Slab with dedication of a statue of *Dionysos* by *Theodoros* and *Palladios*, *primipilarii* of the province of Hellepont, front face (Photo: Tadeusz Sarnowski).



Fig. 5: Base of a statue dedicated by *Avianius* (Photo: Tadeusz Sarnowski).



Fig. 6: Line 1 of the dedication by *Avianius* (Photo: Tadeusz Sarnowski).



Fig. 7: Lines 2–6 of the dedication by *Avianius* (Photo: Tadeusz Sarnowski).



Fig. 1: Epitaffio dell'*eques singularis Augusti T. Aurelius Primus* (Carnuntum: immagine tratta da lupa.at/1804).

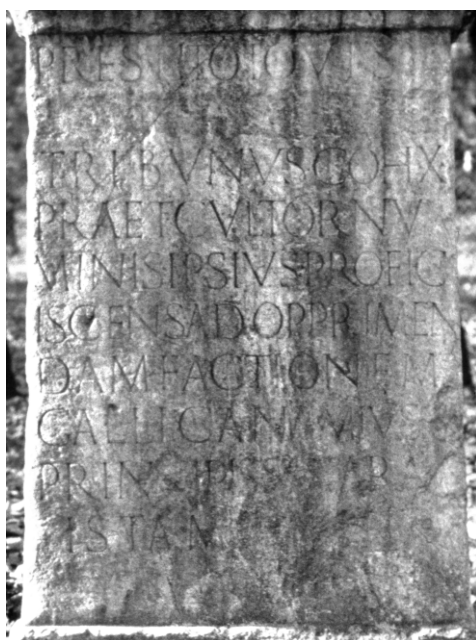


Fig. 2: Dedicà a Giove posta da un ignoto tribuno pretoriano (Poetovio: immagine tratta da lupa.at/4962).

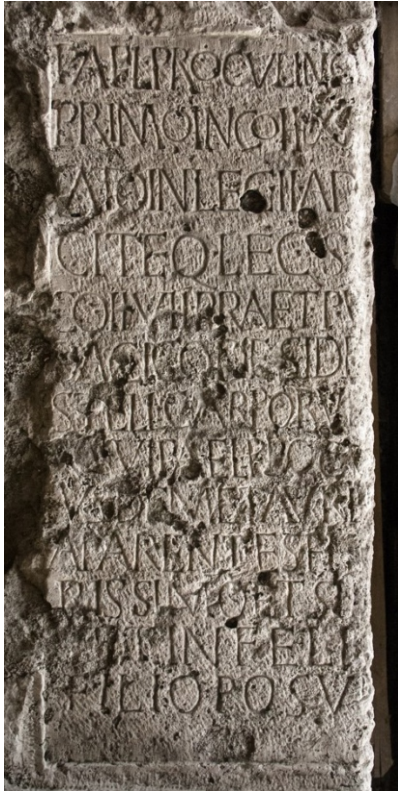


Fig. 3: Epitaffio dell'ufficiale pretoriano *P. Aelius Proculus* (Intercisa: immagine tratta da lupa.at/3515).



Fig. 4: Dedicà a Giove Dolicheno posta dal centurione *Atilius Primus* (Carnuntum, foto di N. Gail. State of Lower Austria – Archaeological Park Carnuntum, Bad Deutsch-Altenburg).



Abb. 1: Mit schwalbenschwanzförmigen Schlitzten versehene Blöcke am Turm von „La Vămi“ – Costești-Blidaru. Foto von E. Pescaru (nach Pescaru *et al.* 2014, 16, Abb. 2).



Abb. 2: Spuren des Holzbalkensystems am Turm von „Poiana lui Mihiu“ – Costești-Blidaru. Foto von R. Mateescu (nach Pescaru *et al.* 2014, 8, Abb. 7).



Abb. 3: Gut erhaltenes Mauersegment am Turm von „Poiana lui Mihaieștii“ – Costești-Blidaru. Foto von R. Mateescu (nach Pescaru *et al.* 2014, 22, Abb. 1).



Abb. 4: Abschnitt der Befestigungsmauer von Blidaru. Foto von R. Mateescu (nach Pescaru *et al.* 2014, 13, Abb. 2).

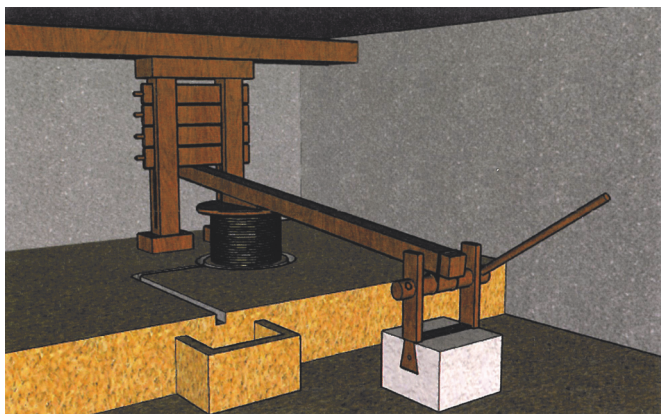
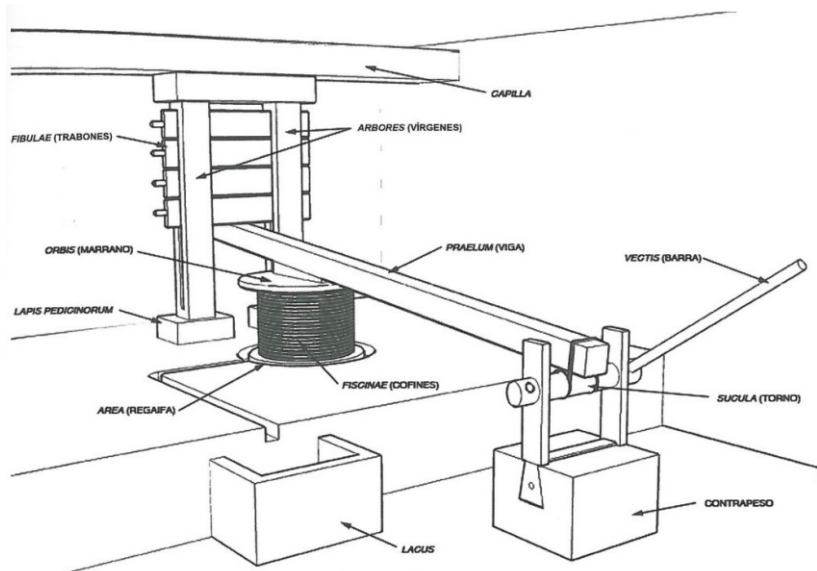
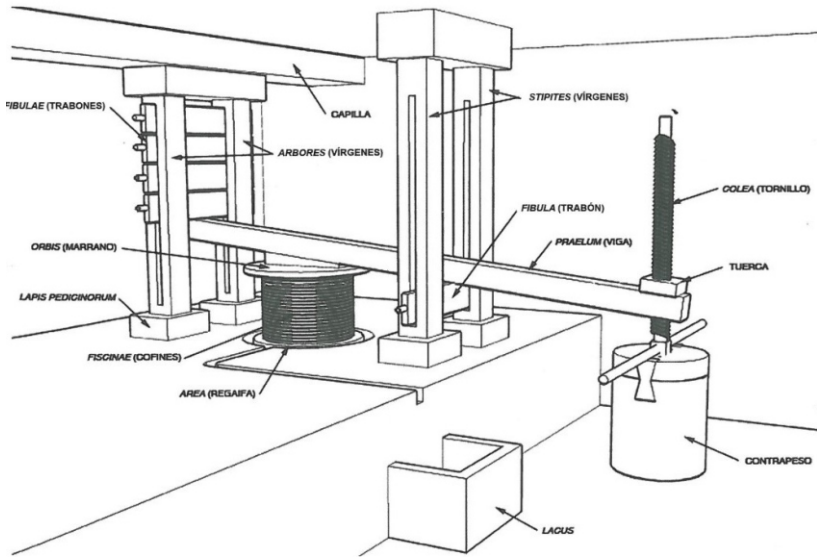


Abb. 5: Rekonstruktion einer Baumkeltteranlage (nach Peña Cervantes 2010, 52, Abb. 5).



Prensa de tornillo



Prensa de tornillo

Abb. 6: Graphische Darstellung des Aufbaus einer Baumkelteranlage (oben) und einer Spindelkelteranlage (unten; nach Peña Cervantes 2010, 53, Abb. 7).



Abb. 7: Gegengewichte mit schwalbenschwanzförmigem Schlitz aus Vila de Frades, Sao Cucufate – Portugal (nach Peña Cervantes 2010, 143, Abb. 49).



Abb. 8: Runde Gegengewichte von Spindelkeltern aus Vila de Frades, Sao Cucufate – Portugal (nach Peña Cervantes 2010, S. 143, Abb. 49).

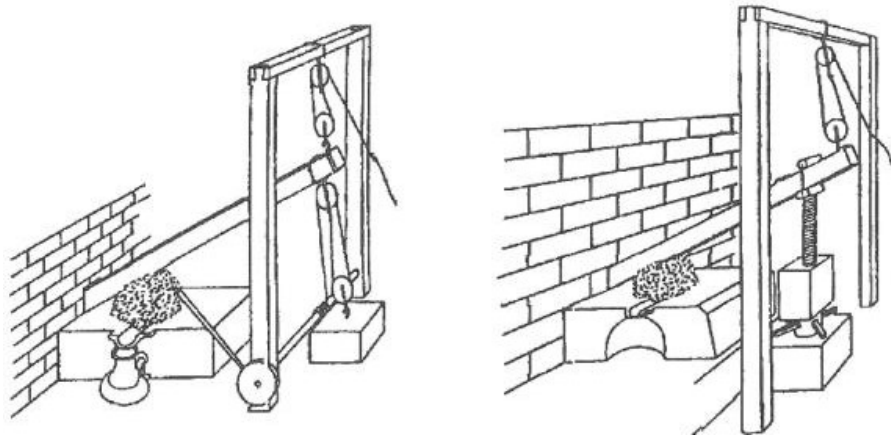


Abb. 9: Graphische Darstellung der Baumkeller des Heron von Alexandria (nach Baratta 2005, Taf. 6, Abb. 7–8).

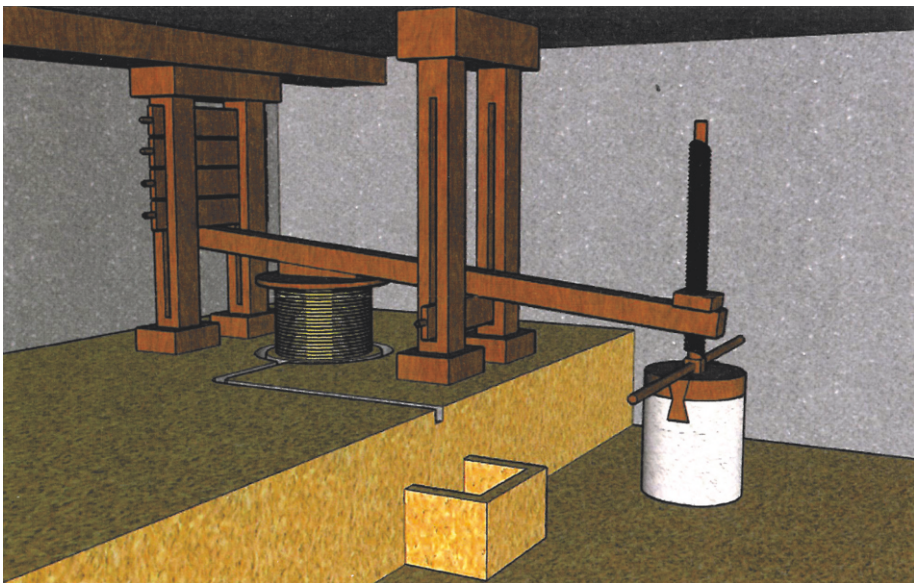
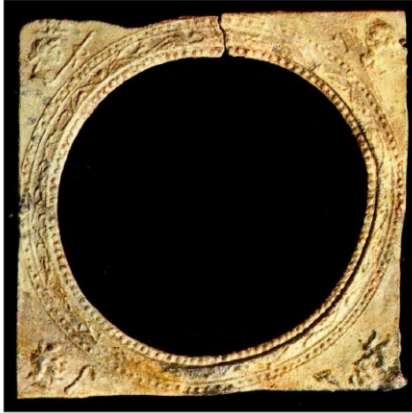
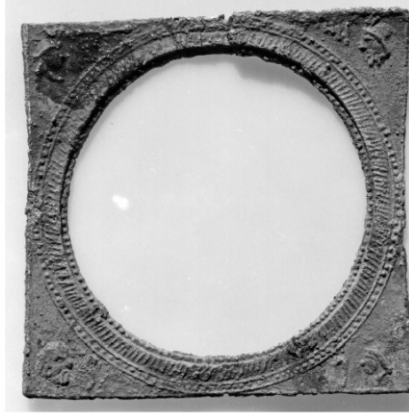


Abb. 10: Rekonstruktion einer Spindelkelleranlage (nach Peña Cervantes 2010, 52, Abb. 6).



1



2



3



4

Fig. I.1–4: 1. Cornice dalla tomba n. 135 di *Gerulata* (da Pichlerová 1981); 2. Cornice da *Nevidunum*, Mus. Naz. Lubiana, inv. n. 36.675 (archivio Narodni Muzej); 3. Cornice da Roma, Vigna Pia (da Grossi 2006); 4. Cornice da Visegrad-Lepence, tomba n. 24.

Fascia centrale con linee radiali

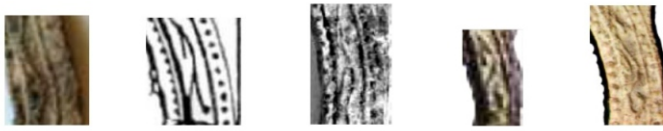


1. Roma, Vigna Pia 2. Calderara di Reno 3. *Callatis* 4. *Durostorum* 5. Motto



6. Aquileia 7. *Aquincum* 8. *Neviodunum* 9. Auch 10. Nagykanisza t. 35

Fascia centrale con elementi vegetali



10. Motto 11. Ostia 1914 12. Aquileia 13. Visegrad 14. *Gerulata*



15. Mus. Pushkin 16. Palmira 17. *Aelium Cetium* 18. Salamina 19. *Neviodunum* 20. Coscogno

Fig. II.1–20: Tipi di fascia circolare intorno alla parte riflettente, con trattini radiali e con elementi vegetali.



































Tipo di decor.	In alto a sin.	In alto a dx.	In basso a sin.	In basso a dx	Località	Misure	Cornice
I					Aquileia, n. 94.956	5,5 x 5,9	II
					Motto di Massa Finalese 2		II
II					Visegrad-Lepence t.23, <i>Carnuntum</i> , Auch, Ostia n. 4227, <i>Tomis</i> , Mus. Pushkin, Izmir?, Artezian?		II
					<i>Aelium Cetium</i>		II
					Motto di Massa Finalese 1		II
					Ravenna	6,4 (?)	II
III					Palmira	5,9x5,8	II
IV					Roma, vigna Pia, Calderara di Reno	5,7	I
V					<i>Aquincum</i> , <i>Durostorum</i> , <i>Callatis</i>	5,7 – 5,9	I
VI					Olbia	5,5	II
					Ostia 1914	5,6	II
VII					<i>Neviodunum</i>	5,6x5,7	II

Fig. III: Tipi di teste.

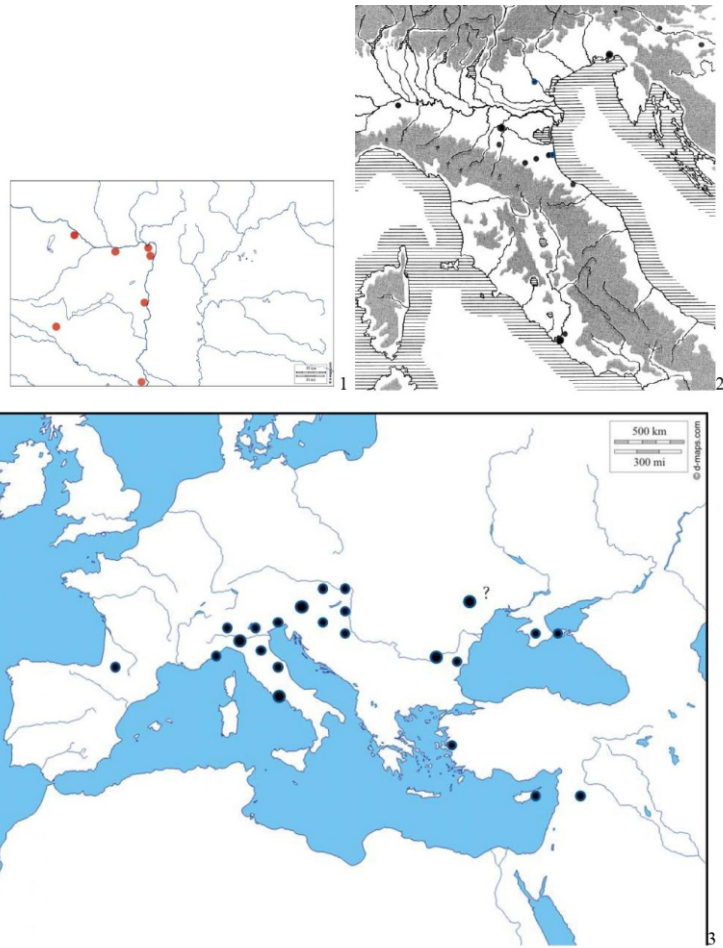
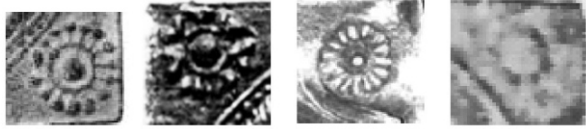
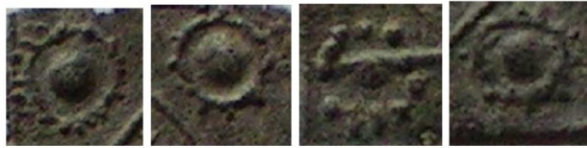


Fig. IV.1–3: Distribuzione delle cornici con quattro teste agli angoli: 1. In Pannonia; 2. In Italia centrosettentrionale e in Slovenia; 3. Nel Mediterraneo.



1. Aquileia 2. *Panticapaeum* 3. Mus. Budapest 4. *Intercisa*



Cornice della tomba 24 di Visegrad-Lepence



Fig. V: Diffusione delle cornici con quattro fioroni agli angoli.

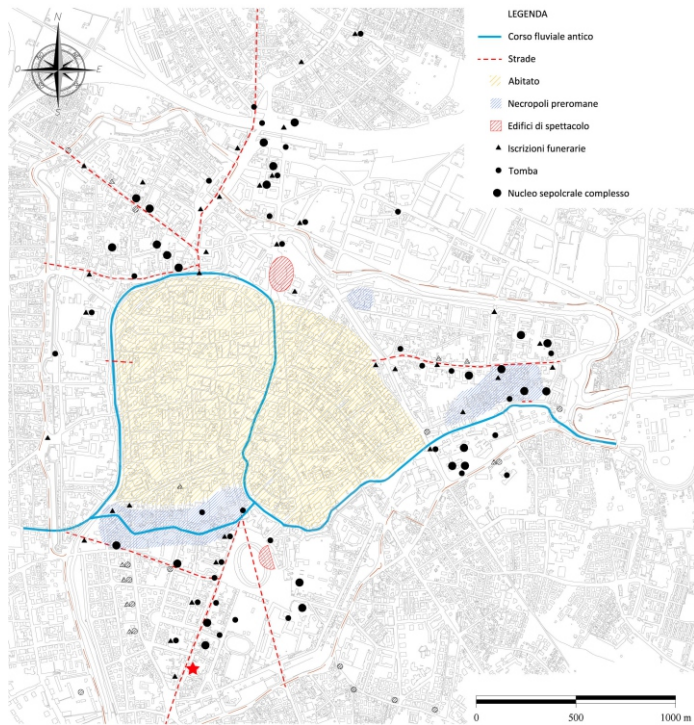


Fig. 1: Padova. Localizzazione dello scavo (PRG aerofotogrammetrico comunale; elaborazione grafica: C. Rossi).



Fig. 2: La tomba in fase di scavo. Dettaglio del corredo (Archivio SABAP – Padova; foto SAP srl.).

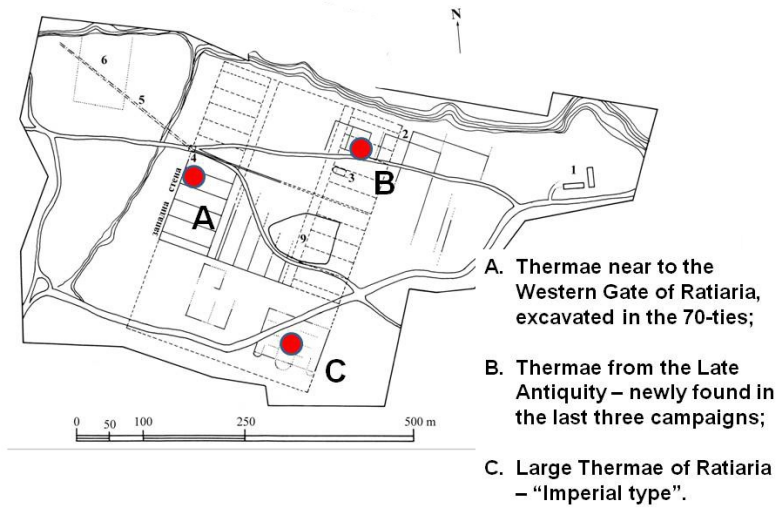


Fig. 1: Hypothetical plan of *Ratiaria* after the Bulgarian-Italian excavations from the 80's (Giorgetti 1987, Tav. A) – here with the positions of the thermal complexes, updated in the year 2015 (Author: Z. Dimitrov).

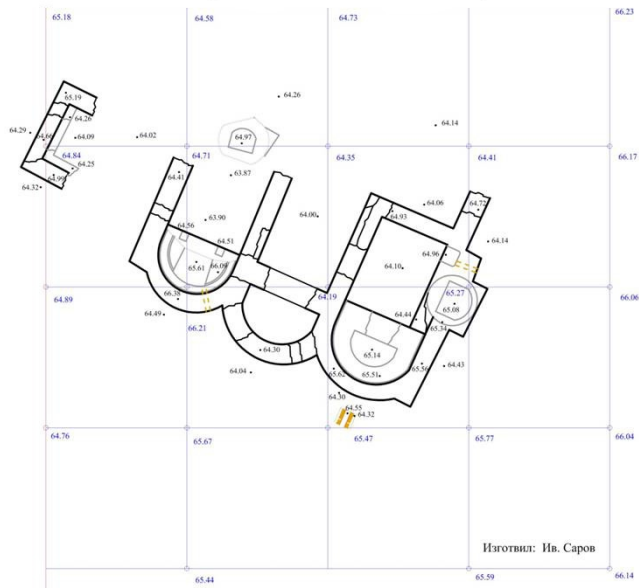


Fig. 2: General plan of the late antique *thermae* after the excavations (Graphics: I. Sarov).



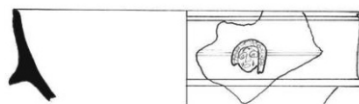
Fig. 3: Late antique *thermae* – detail of the *suspensura* in the room Nr. 1 (Photo: Z. Dimitrov).



Fig. 4: Late antique *thermae* – detail of the room Nr. 3 with *piscina* in the outer wall (Photo: Z. Dimitrov).

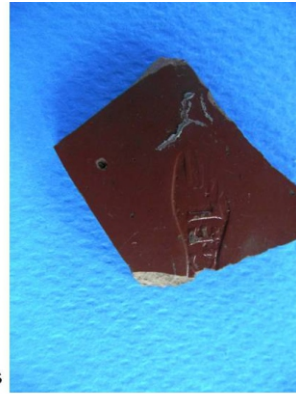


Fig. 5: Late antique *thermae* – detail of the ventilation tubes (Photo: Z. Dimitrov).



0 1 sm

Fig. 6: Late antique *thermae* – *terra sigillata* (D 24/25), decoration with images of *Medusa* (Photo and graphics: N. Rusev).



Terra sigillata of Italian manufacturers

Lucius Gellius

Stamps: L. GE and GEL

Tiberian-Claudian times

Fig. 7: Late antique *thermae* – *terra sigillata* of Italian manufacturers (plain *terra sigillata* – arretine ware), from earlier period (1st c. AD), before the construction of the baths. Stamps in form of *planta pedis* of LVCIVS GELLIVS (Photo: Z. Dimitrov).

Pottery lamps

Nr. 1-2. Glazed pottery lamps: second half of the IV – V-th c. AD

Nr. 3 – lamp from the VI-th c. AD

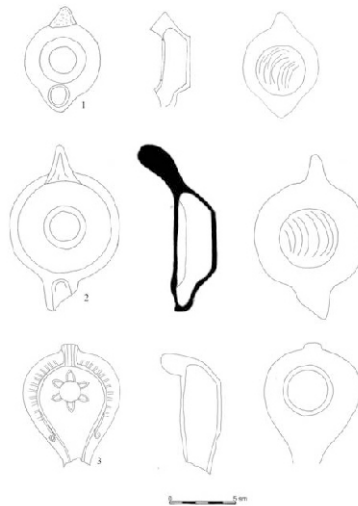


Fig. 8: Late antique *thermae* – pottery lamps (Graphics: N. Rusev).

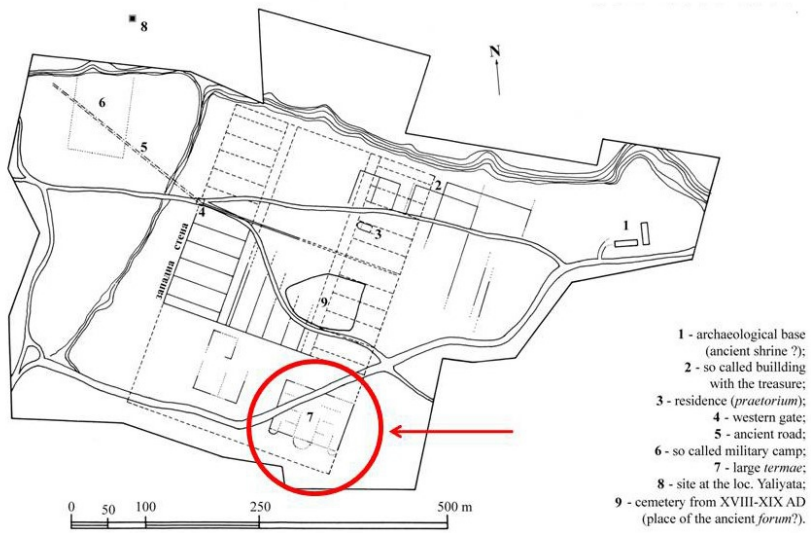


Fig. 9: Large *thermae* in *Ratiaria* – position on the general plan (Graphic: Giorgetti 1987, Tav. A).

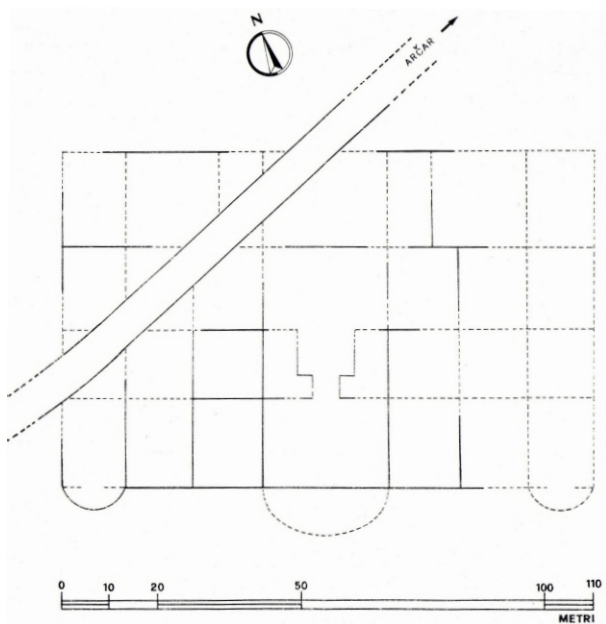


Fig. 9a: Large *thermae* in *Ratiaria* – hypothetical plan of the whole complex (Graphic: Giorgetti 1987, Tav. B).



Fig. 10: Three Corinthian capitals found in the area of the large *Ratiaria thermae* (Photo: Z. Dimitrov).



Fig. 11: Two new inscriptions from *Ratiaria*, dedicated to the goddess Diana, 2nd c. AD (Photo: Z. Dimitrov).



Fig. 12 (left): Hexagonal mosaic fragments from the late antique bath north of the Residence (Photo: Z. Dimitrov).

Fig. 13 (right): Round-shape and arch-shaped mosaic fragments from the late antique bath north of the Residence (Photo: Z. Dimitrov).



Fig. 14. Wall tubes from the heating system of the bath – found in the destructions of the thermal complex. Excavations 2013–2015 (Photo: Z. Dimitrov).

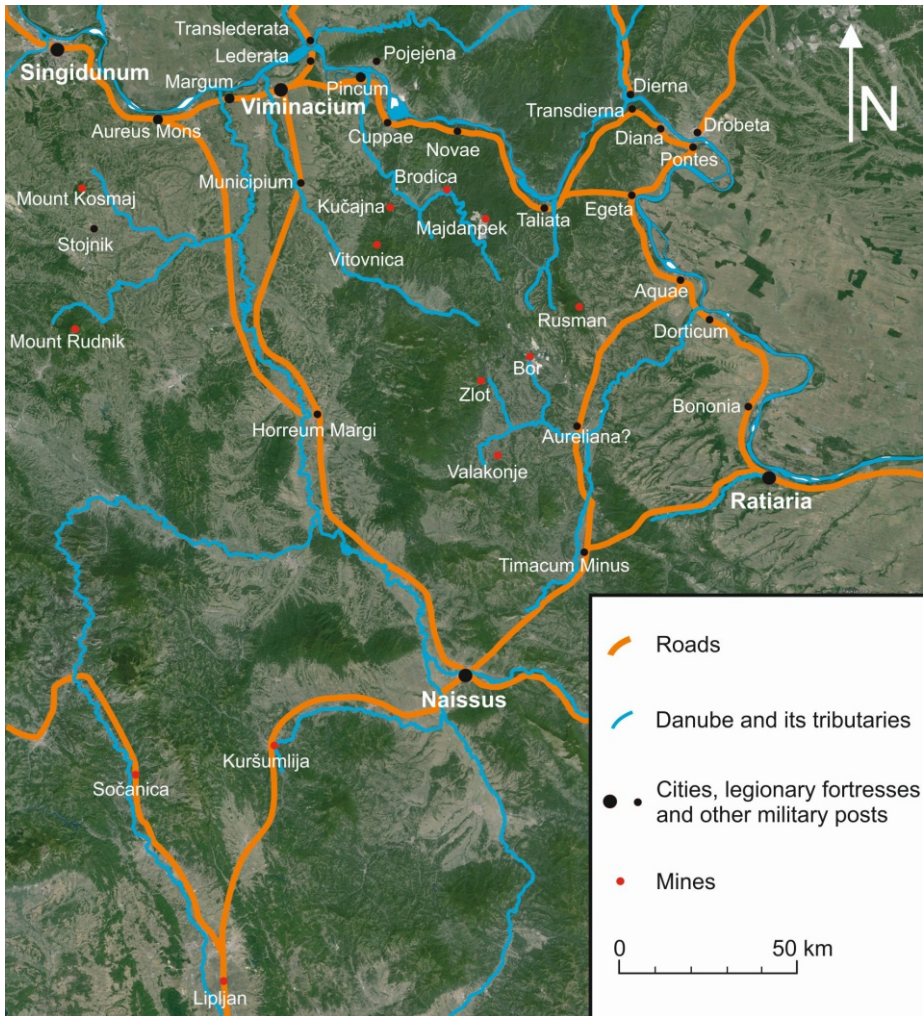


Fig. 1: Upper Moesian limes area and interior of the province (AD 106–270). Cities, fortifications, roads, mines and tributaries of the Danube.



Fig. 2: View on the dig in Siscia (Ulica Pavla i Stjepana Radića 28) with exposed layers dated in the 1st century (Ph. T. Leleković).



Fig. 3: Approximate distribution map of local burial customs in the Central Danubian basin. (violet – Norico-Pannonian *tumuli*; blue – *tumuli* with wagon burials; red – *Busta*) (T. Leleković).

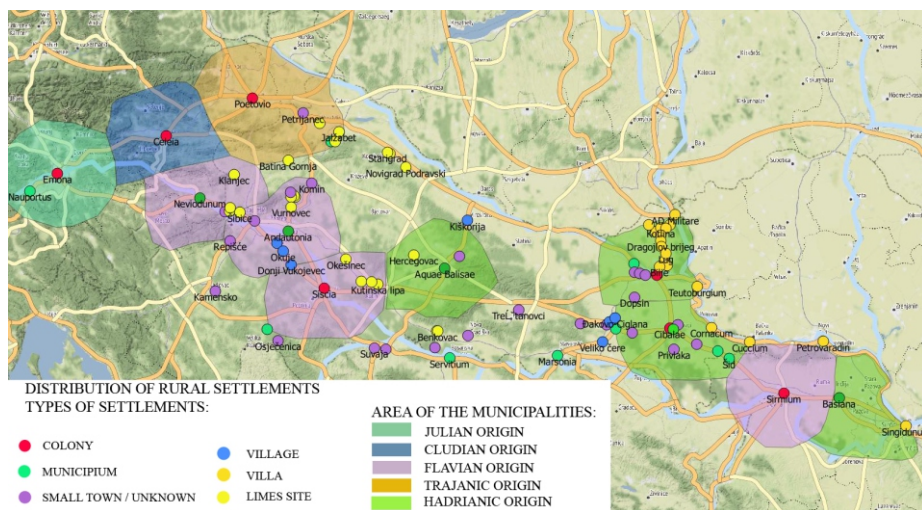


Fig. 4: Distribution of rural settlements in Southern Pannonia (T. Leleković).



Fig. 5: Orthographic areal figure of the eastern part of excavated area on the site Ivandvor (GEOMJER d.o.o.).



Fig. 6: Map of the Roman colony *Aelia Mursa*. Graphical presentation of the diachronical development of the town (red – area of the original colony; pink – suburbs; yellow – cemeteries) (T. Leleković).

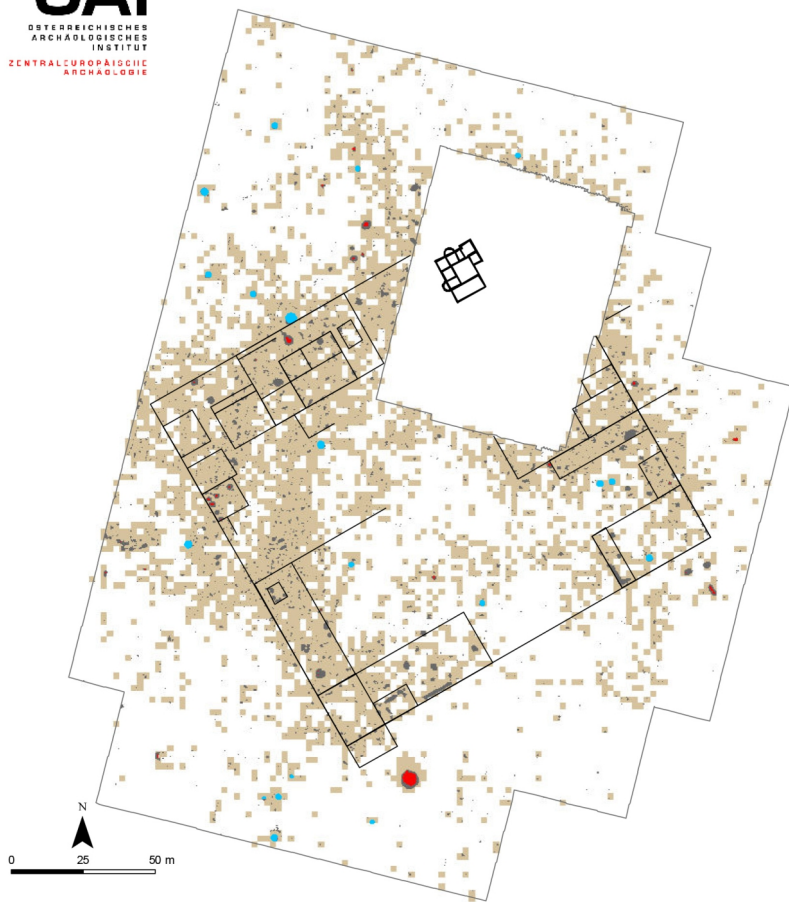


Fig. 7: Graphical presentation of the geophysical survey of the site Ciglenice in Osekovo (Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut 2012).



Abb. 1



Abb. 3



Abb. 5a



Abb. 5c



Abb. 7

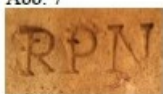


Abb. 9



Abb. 11



Abb. 13



Abb. 15



Abb. 2



Abb. 4



Abb. 5b



Abb. 6



Abb. 8



Abb. 10



Abb. 12



Abb. 14



Abb. 16



Fig. I: The pottery workshops from Roman Dacia (after Rusu-Bolindeț 2016, pl. XVII).

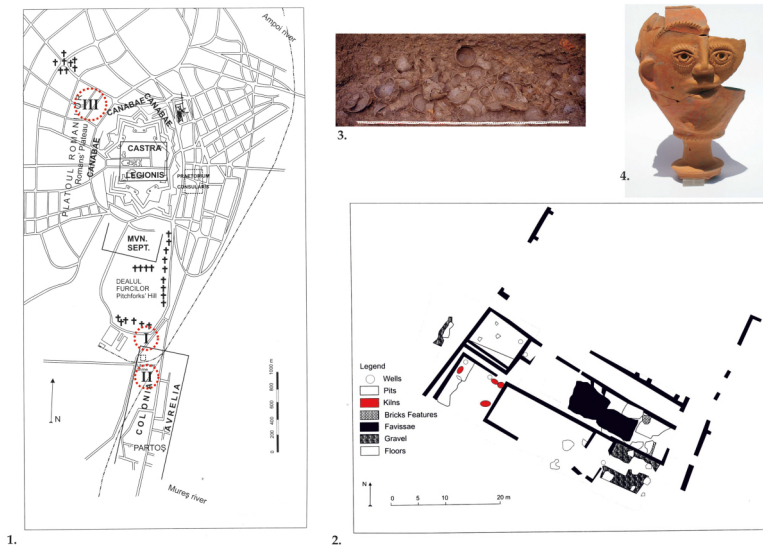


Fig. II.1–4: Apulum. 1. General plan of the Roman settlement with the location of pottery workshops (after Găzdac *et al.* 2009, map 7); 2. The shrine of Liber Pater, with the evidence of pottery kilns discovered in the area (after Găzdac *et al.* 2009, map 11); 3–4. Pottery from *favissae* from Liber Pater shrine's area (after Fiedler 2014, Abb. 1, 6).

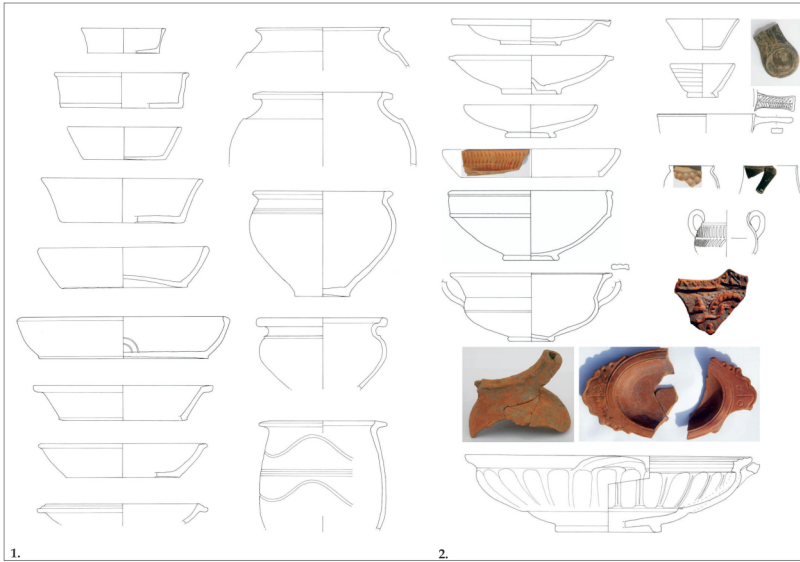


Fig. III.1–2: Apulum. Pottery from *favissae* from Liber Pater shrine's area (after Fiedler 2014, Abb. 9-10).

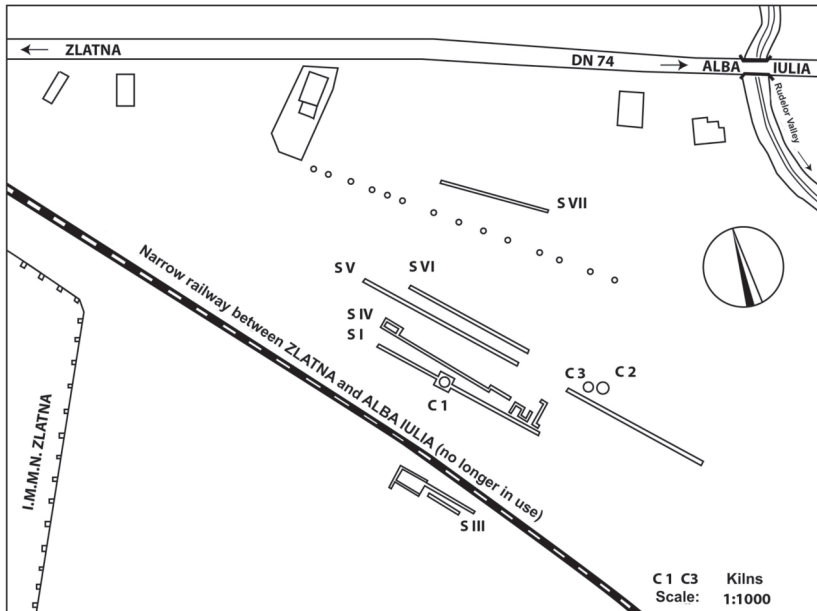


Fig. VII: Ampelum. General plan of the excavation, with the location of pottery workshop (after Lipovan 1983–1984, fig. 1).

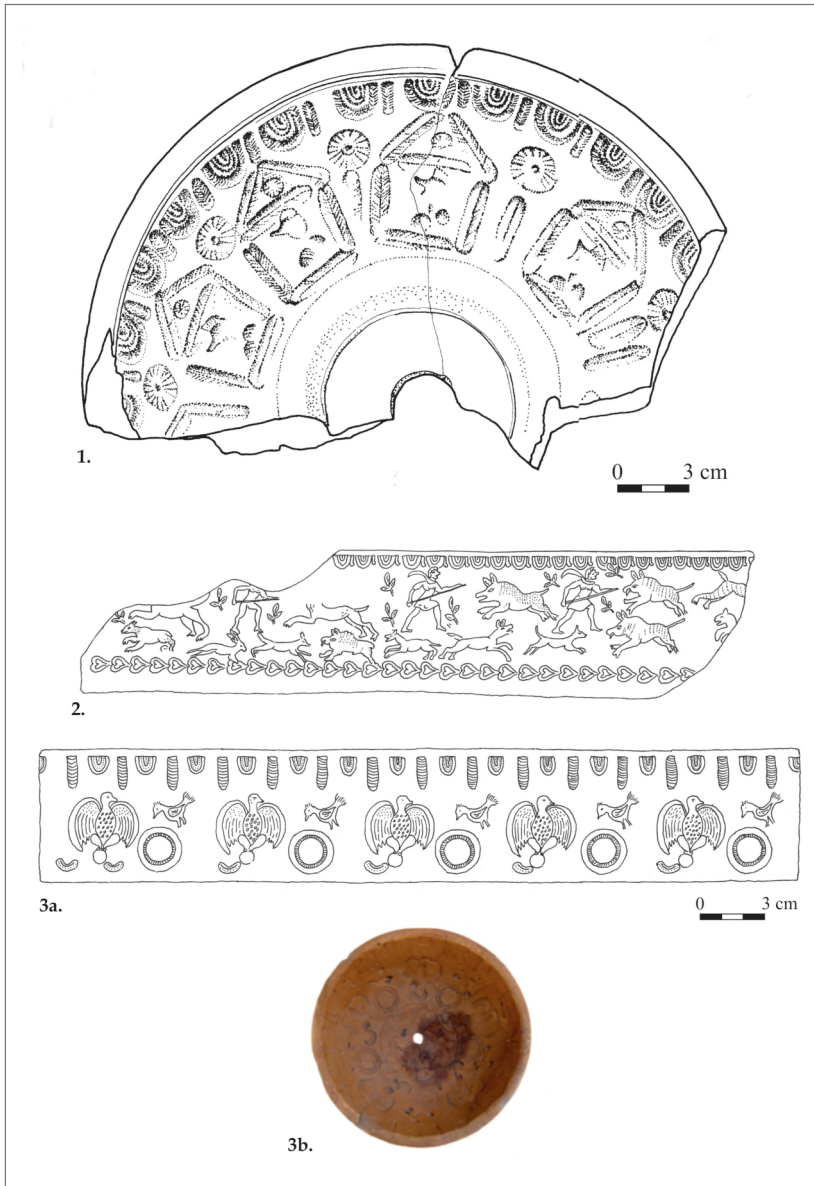


Fig. IV.1–3: Apulum. Moulds of local Samian ware (based on Rusu-Bolindeț 2016, pl. XII (© Photo MNUAI – Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia).

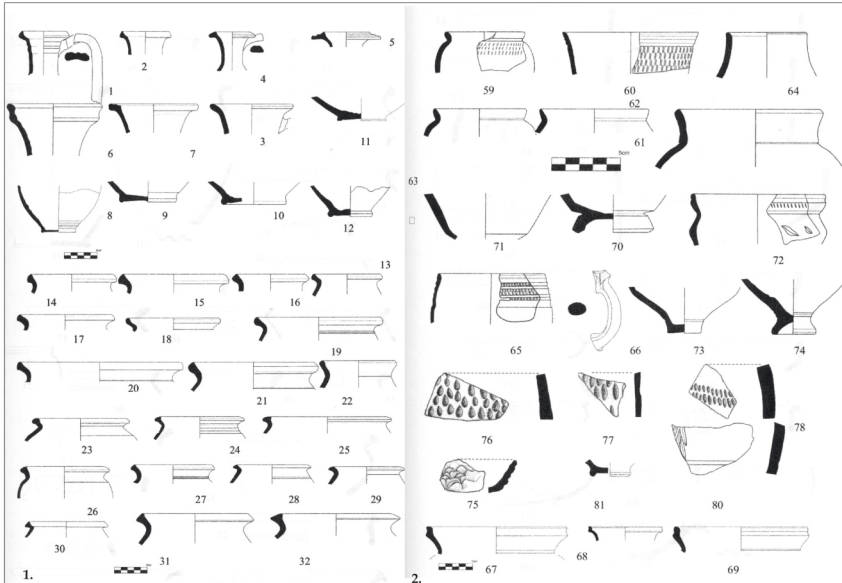


Fig. V.1–2: Apulum. “Legionary ware” (after Ciușescu 2006, pls. 1; 3).

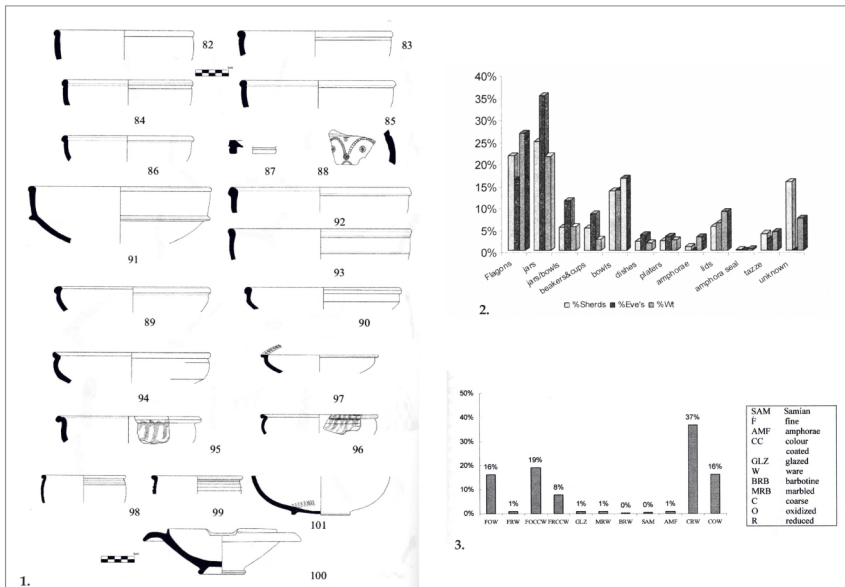


Fig. VI.1–3: Apulum. “Legionary ware” (after Ciușescu 2006, pl. 4, graphs 1, 3).

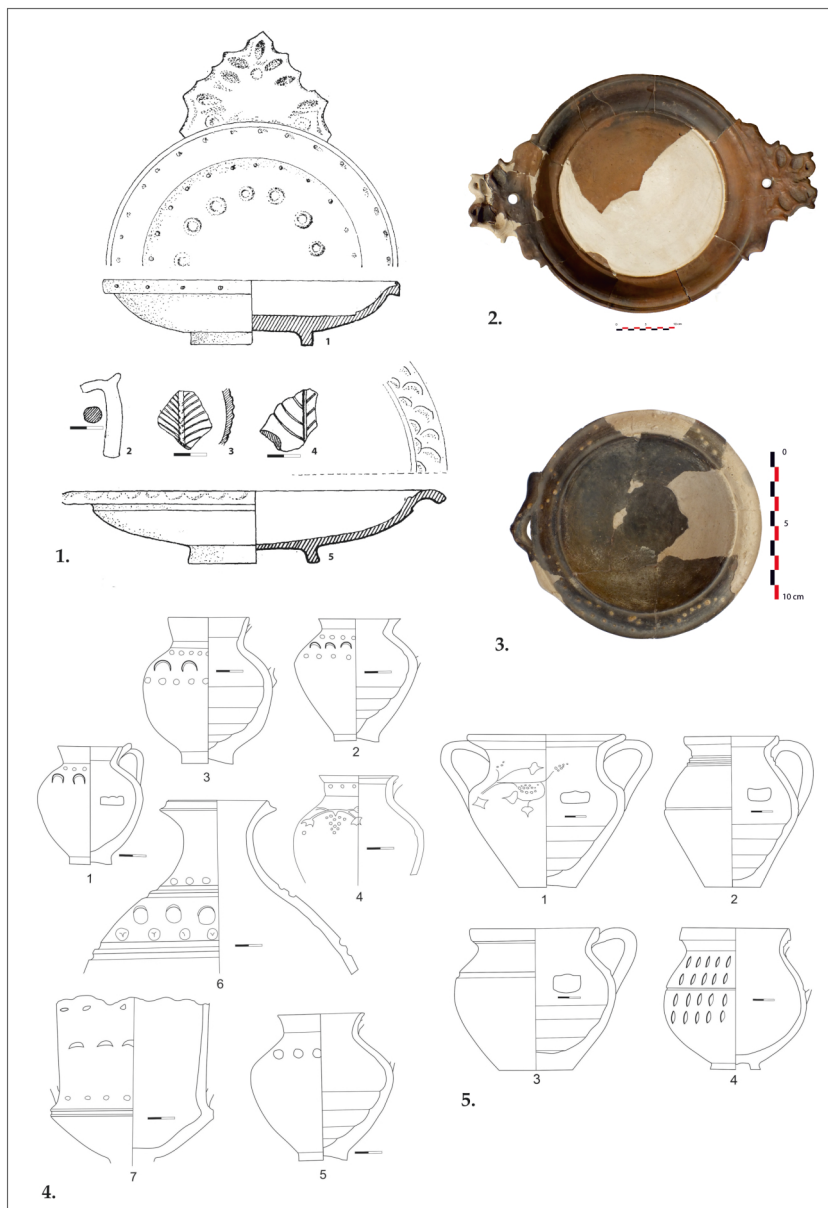


Fig. VIII.1-5: Ampelum. 1, 4-5. Pottery decorated with barbotine (based on Lipovan 1983-1984, pls. VI-VII); 2-3. Glazed pottery (© Photo MNUAI - Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia).



Fig. IX.1-6: Ampelum. 1-4. Terracottas; 5-6. Glazed pottery (© Photo MNUAI – Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia).

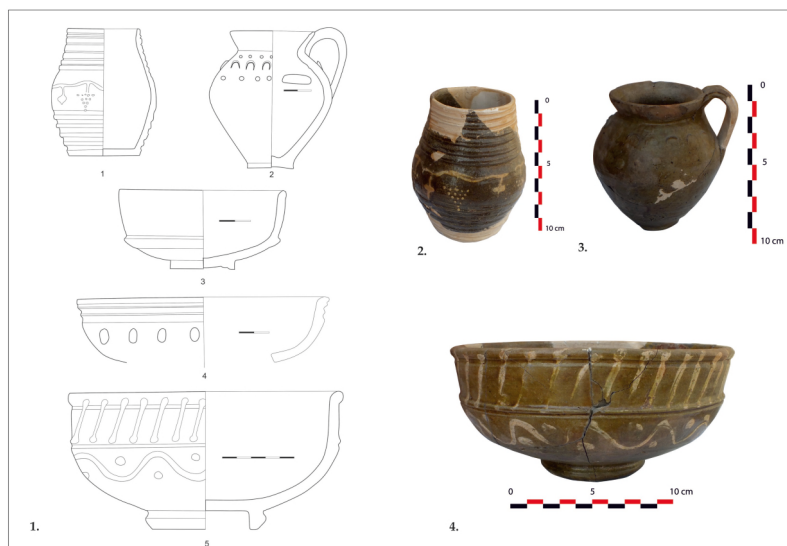


Fig. X.1–4: Ampelum. 1. Glazed pottery (based on Lipovan 1990, fig. 7).

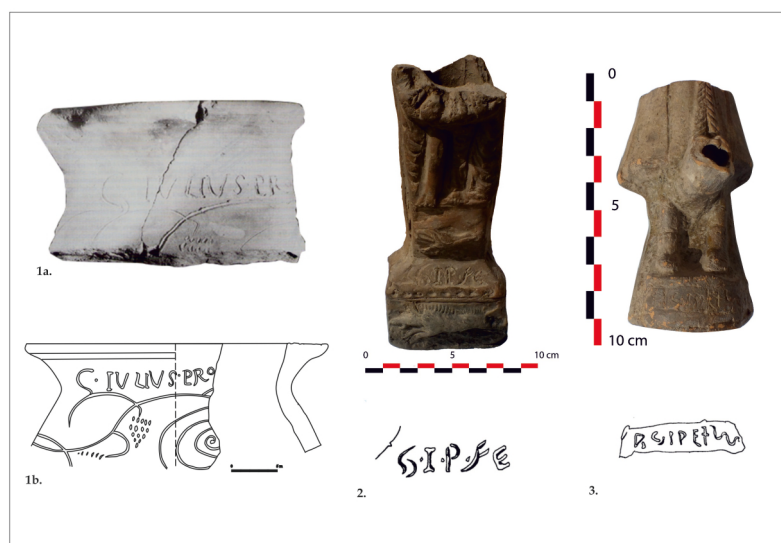


Fig. XI.1–3: Ampelum. Attested name of *C(aius) Iul(ius) Pro(clus, -culus)* or *G(aius) Iul(ius) P(roculus)* on: 1a–b. Common ware (1a. after Moga 1996, fig. 3; 1b. based on Lipovan 1983–1984, pl. III/8); 2–3. Terracottas (© Photos MNUAI – Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia, drawings based on Moga 1996, fig. 4).

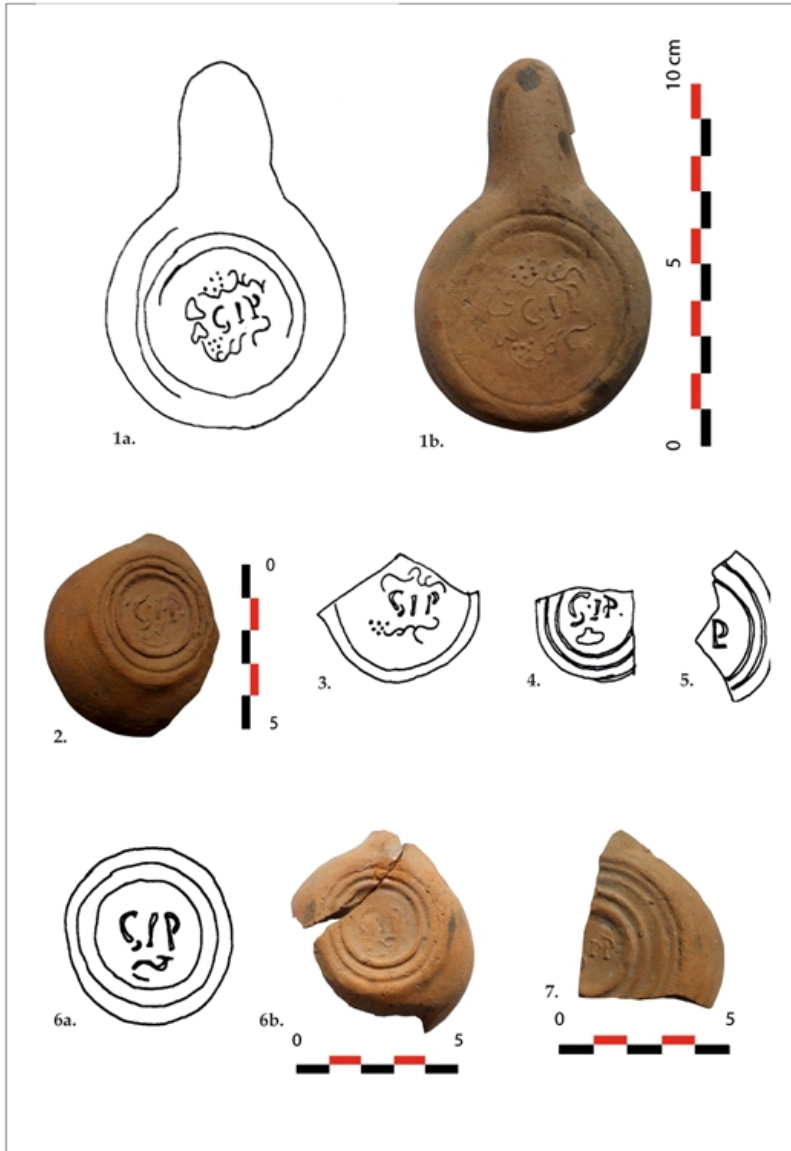


Fig. XII.1–7. Ampelum. 1–7. Attested name of *C(aius) I(ulius) Pro(clus, -culus)* on lamps (© Photos MNUAI – Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia; drawings based on Moga 1996, fig. 5b).

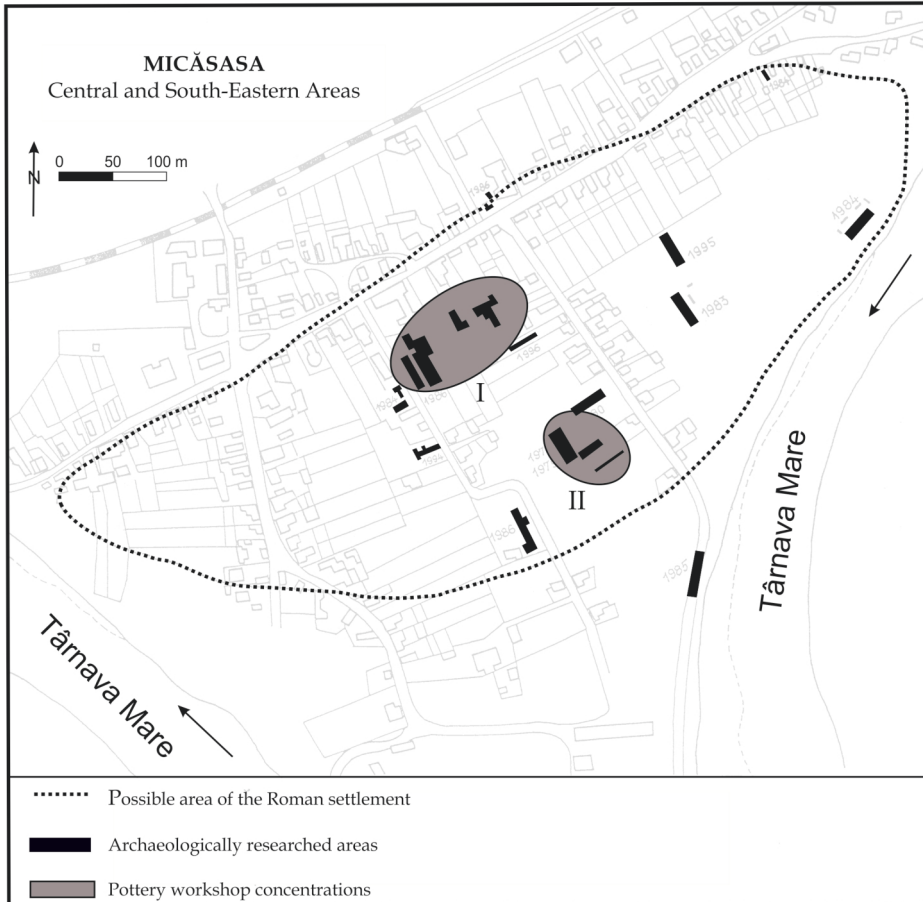


Fig. XIII: Micăsasa. General plan of the settlement, with the location of the pottery workshops.

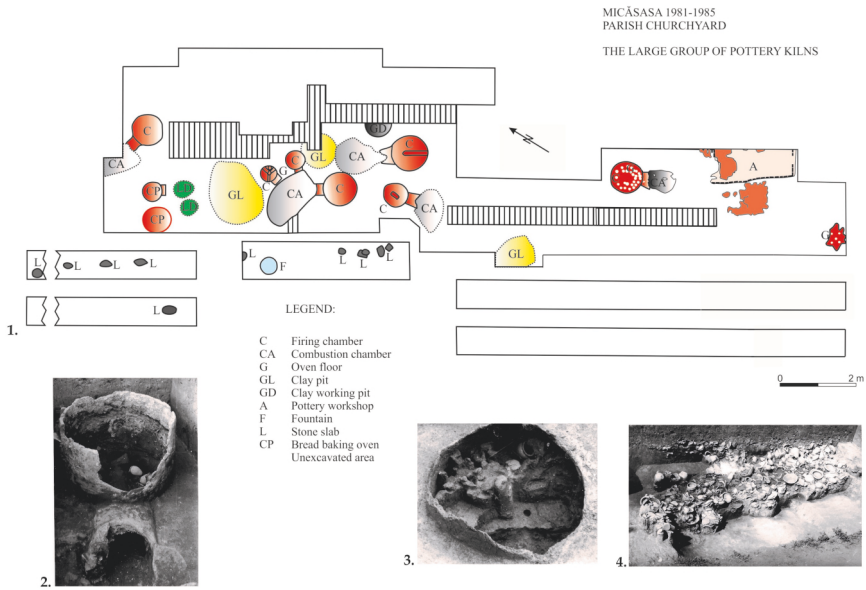


Fig. XIV.1–3: Micăsasa. 1. The 1st large group of pottery kilns from the Parish churchyard (based on Rusu-Bolindeț 2011, fig. 4.1). 2–3. Pottery kilns; 4. The large refuse pit (© Photos MNIT – Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei).

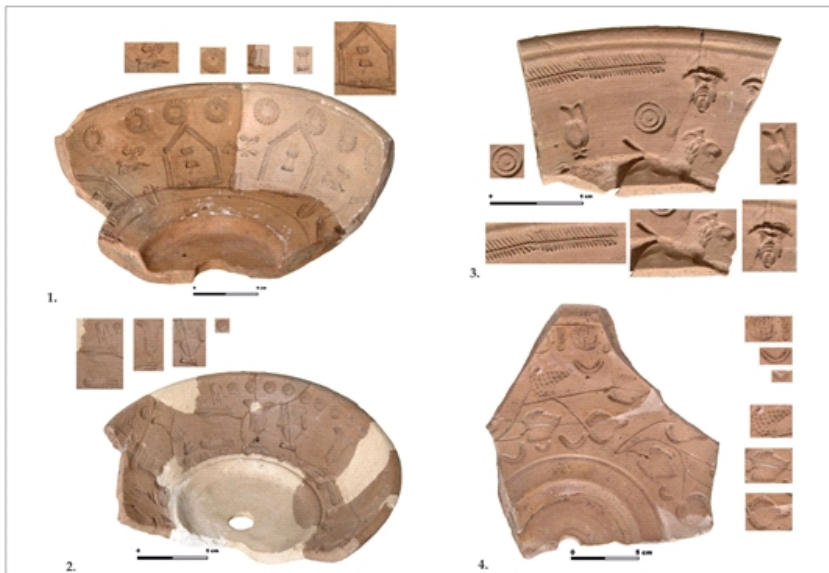


Fig. XVI.1–4: Micăsasa. The decorative motives on terra sigillata moulds (© Photos MNIT – Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca).

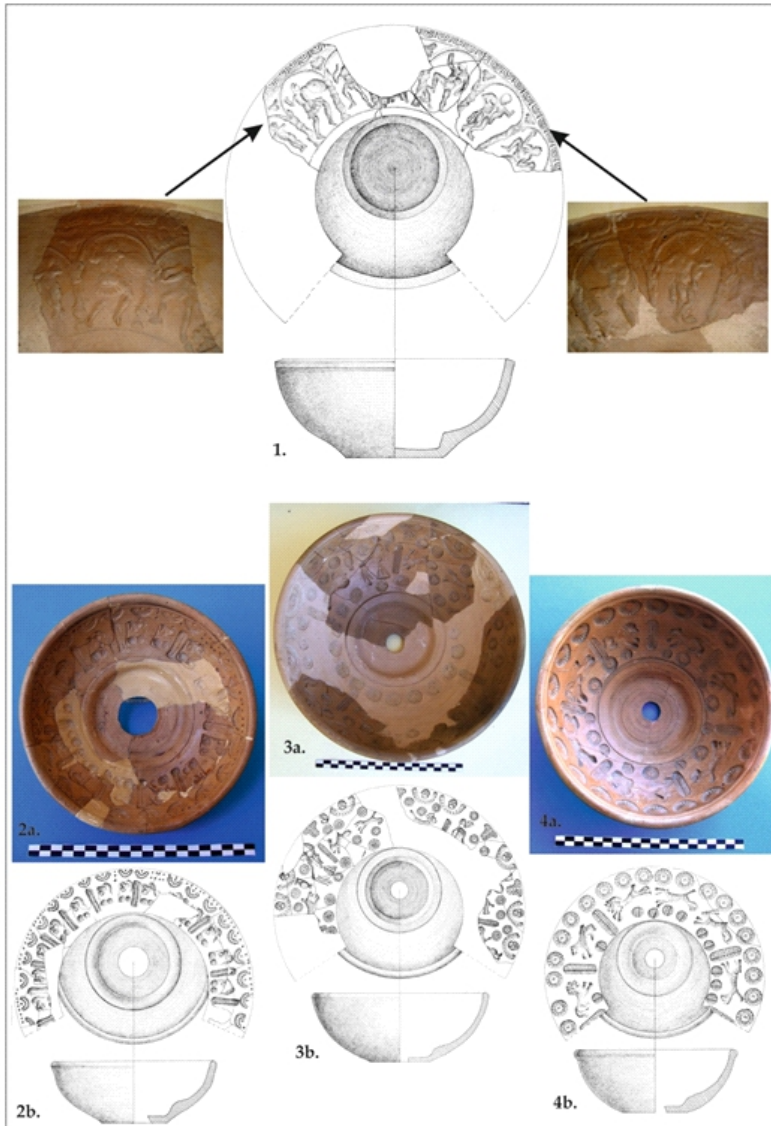


Fig. XV.1–4: Micăsasa. Moulds of *terra sigillata*: 1. Copy after the products of Lezoux; 2–4. Original moulds (© Photos MNIT – Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca).

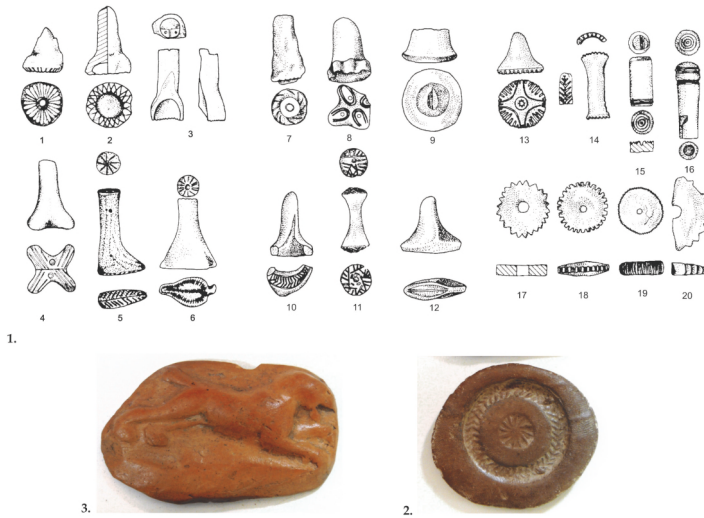


Fig. XVII.1–2: Micăsasa. 1–2. Moulds of applied medallions with potter's name (© Photos MNIT – Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca).



Fig. XIX.1–3: Potter's tools from Roman Dacia (based on Cociș 1996, pls. II–IV); 2. Potter's tool from Cristești pottery workshop (© Photos MJM – Muzeul Județean Mureș, Târgu Mureș).

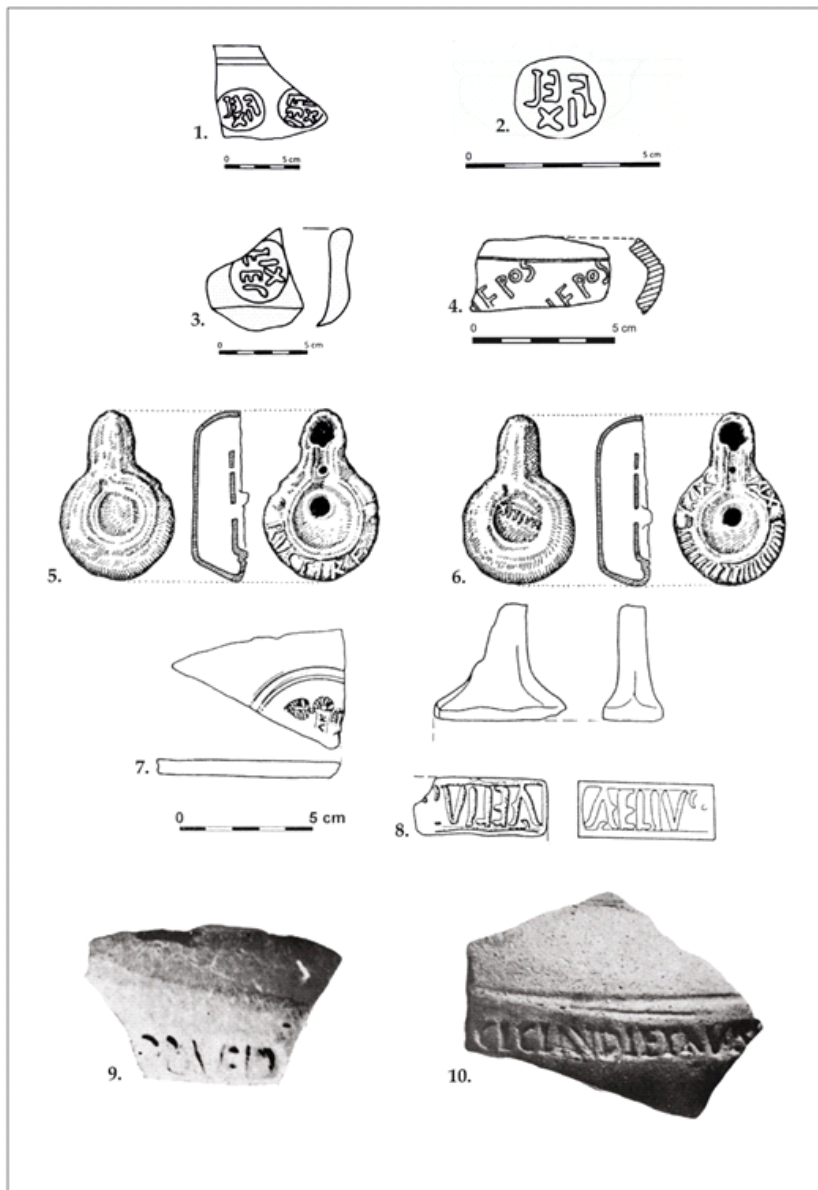


Fig. XVIII.1–10: Potter's name on local pottery: 1–3. Cristești (based on Man 2011, pls. XLVIII/127; LXXXI/207; LX/193); 4. Gilău (after Isac 2001, pl. IV/28); 5–8. Napoca (after Rusu-Bolindeț 2007, pl. XIII/2–5); 9–10. Porolissum (after Gudea 1980, fig. 1).

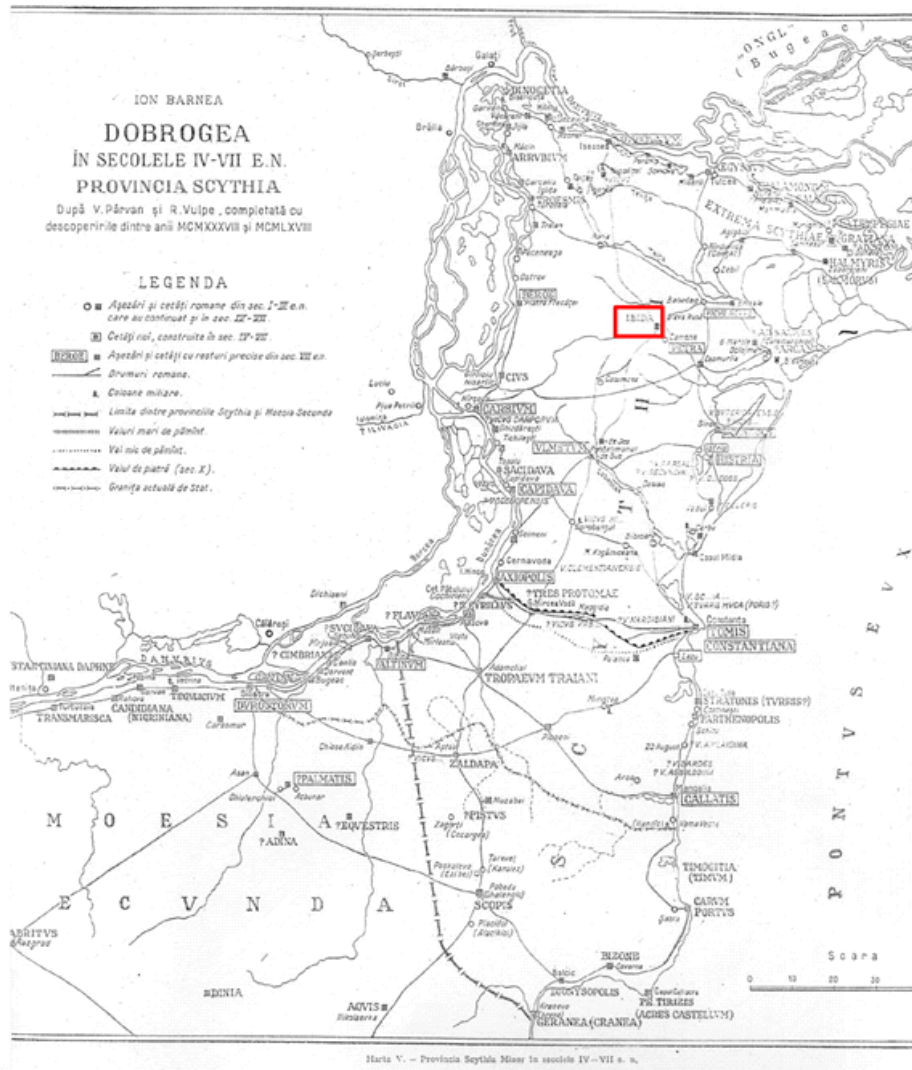


Fig. 1: La Provincia Scythia: in evidența *Ibida* (da R. Vulpe / I. Barnea, *Din istoria Dobrogei. Vol. II. Romanii la Dunărea de Jos*, Bucurest, 1968, Tav. V).

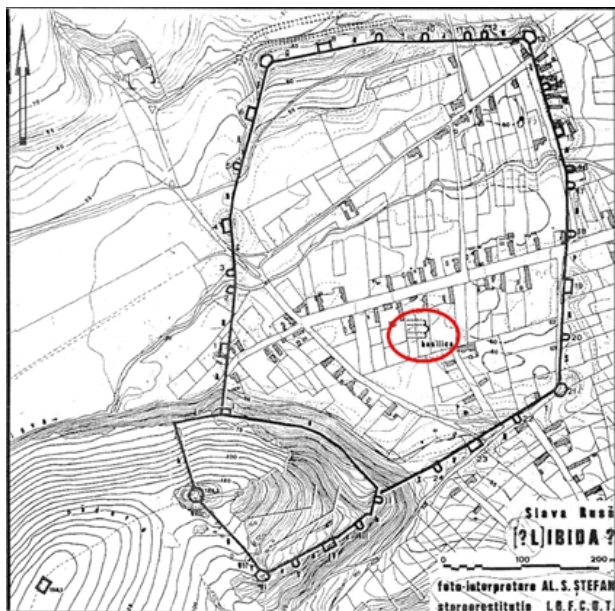


Fig. 2: La basilica cristiana nella pianta della città (da Al. S. Ștefan, *Cetatea romană de la Slava Rusă (Libida?)*). *Cercetările aerofotografice și apărarea patrimoniului arheologic*, Revista muzeelor și monumentelor – Monumente istorice și de artă 46 [1977], fig. 13).



Fig. 3: Il settore della basilica in una fotografia aerea della città (foto drone Phantom 3 Advanced).



Fig. 4: Il capitello ionico ad imposta nr. 1 (foto Autore).



Fig. 5: Il capitello nr. 1 in una fotografia degli anni Cinquanta (da Barnea 1958, fig. 12, 1).



Fig. 6: Il capitello nr. 2 (foto Autore).



Fig. 7: Il capitello nr. 3 (foto Autore).



Fig. 8: Il capitello nr. 4 (foto Autore).



Fig. 9: Il capitello nr. 5 (foto Autore).



Fig. 10: Capitello ionico ad imposta in marmo proconnesio nella basilica di San Giovanni ad Efeso (da http://www.glisicritti.it/gallery3/index.php/album_055/turchia-2008-i-112).



Fig. 11: La base di tipo semplificato (foto Autore).



Fig. 12: Il “mason's mark” su un lato del plinto della base di tipo semplificato (foto Autore).



Fig. 13: Il “mason's mark” su uno stilobate e su una lastra in marmo proconnesio nella basilica di Santa Sofia a Costantinopoli (da Paribeni 2004, fig. 391).



Fig. 14: La base di tipo attico-romano (foto Autore).



Fig. 15: La basilica A di Latrun in Cirenaica (foto S. Giralt).



Fig. 16: Capitello ionico ad imposta in marmo da *Tropaeum Traiani* (foto Autore).



Fig. 17: Mattone bollato con il nome di Anastasio da *Tomis* (foto Autore).



Fig. 1: Turris Libisonis (Porto Torres, Sardegna, Italia): Domus di Orfeo, il mosaico di Orfeo, II–III sec. d.C.



Fig. 2: Poetovio nella Pannonia Superior (realizzazione grafica di Andrej Preložnik).

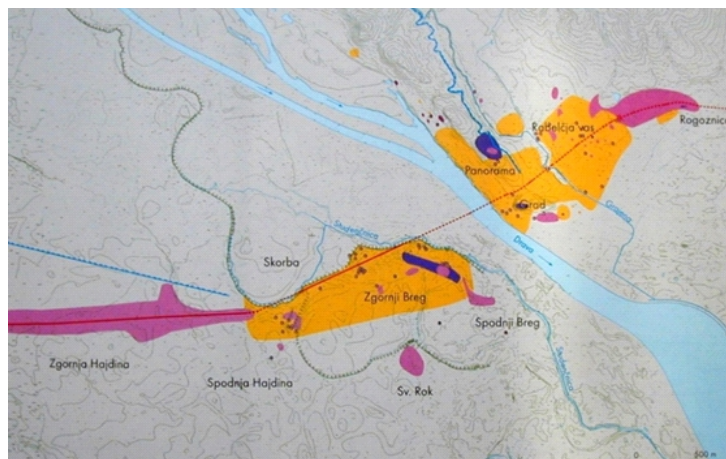


Fig. 3: Topografia di *Poetovio*, da Horvat *et al.* 2003.



Fig. 4: La berlina in un disegno anonimo del 1711, con annotato “Der Pranger zu Pettau 1711”, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Wien, Cod. 12589, 310.



Fig. 5: Francobollo dedicato alla Stele di Orfeo per l'anniversario dei 900 anni di Ptuj, 1969.



Fig. 6: La Stele di Orfeo a Ptuj dopo il restauro 1993–1997 (© Archivio Museo Regionale Ptuj-Ormož).



Fig. 7: Stele di Orfeo, disegno di J.-J. Boissard (metà XVI sec.), *Codex Paris* (da Mikuž/Calcagno 1997, 24).

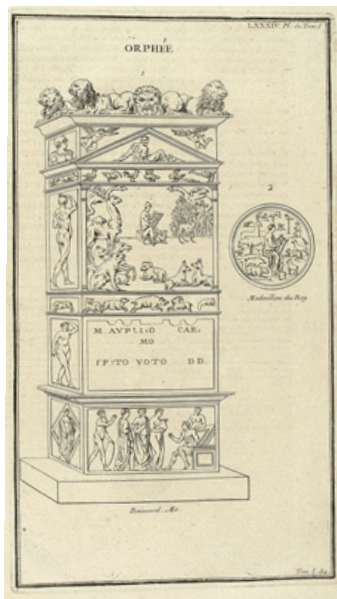


Fig. 8 (sinistra): Stele di Orfeo, disegno di J.-J. Boissard (metà XVI sec.) in Montfaucon 1724.
 Fig. 9 (destra): Stele di Orfeo, disegno nel controfrontespizio in von Muchar 1844.



Fig. 10 (sinistra): Stele di Orfeo, in von Muchar 1844, Tav. XVIII.
 Fig. 11 (destra): Stele di Orfeo, in Raisp 1858, da von Muchar 1844.

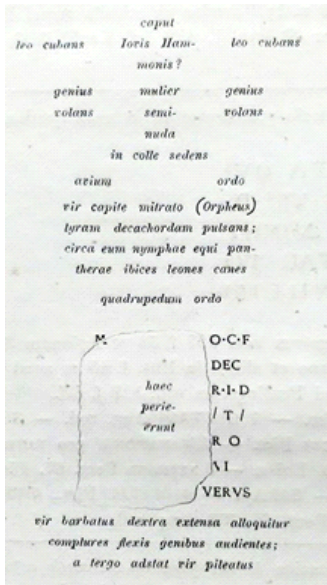


Fig. 12 (sinistra): L'epigrafe della stele trascritta da Th. Mommsen in *CIL* III, I, 1873, 517, nr. 4069.
Fig. 14 (destra): Stele di Orfeo, disegno a penna di H. Charlemont, in *Kronprinzenwerk* 1890, 85.



Fig. 13a: Stele di Orfeo, in Conze 1875.



Fig. 13b: Stele di Orfeo, visione laterale, in Conze 1875.



Fig. 15 (sinistra): Stele di Orfeo, disegno a penna in Reinach 1912 e ripreso in Garezou 1994.
Fig. 16 (destra): *Stele di Orfeo*, acquerello di F. Loos (1797–1890).



Fig. 17 (sinistra): Luigi Kasimir (1881–1962), *La piazza principale di Pttau*, incisione a colori.

Fig. 18 (destra): Ptuj, Il Monumento di Orfeo in *Slovenski trg*, cartolina della prima metà del XX secolo (© Archivio Museo Regionale Ptuj-Ormož. *Slovenski Etnografski Muzej*, 1927–1948).



Fig. 19: Stele di Orfeo, colature da inquinamento causato dallo smog (foto F. Ceci, 2014).



Fig. 20: Stele di Orfeo, lato posteriore (© Archivio Museo Regionale Ptuj-Ormož).



Fig. 21: Stele di Orfeo, fastigio (© Archivio Museo Regionale Ptuj-Ormož).



Fig. 22: Stele di Orfeo, timpano (© Archivio Museo Regionale Ptuj-Ormož).



Fig. 23. Stele di *Aurelius Calandinus* a Šmartno na Pohorju (Slovenia), II/III sec. d.C. (© lupa.at/3107).



Fig. 24: Stele di Orfeo, riquadro con Orfeo e gli animali. Dopo il restauro 1993–1997 (© Archivio Museo Regionale Ptuj-Ormož).



Fig. 25: Stele di Orfeo, iscrizione dedicatoria (© Archivio Museo Regionale Ptuj-Ormož).

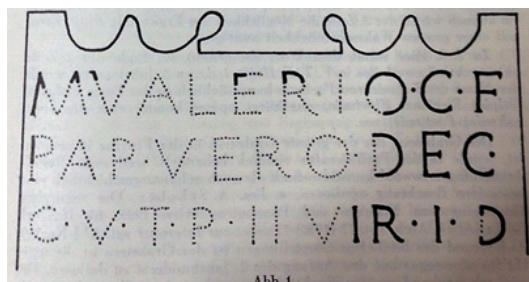


Fig. 26: Stele di Orfeo, riquadro dell'iscrizione con fori e incisioni (foto F. Ceci, 2014).



Fig. 27: Stele di Orfeo, riquadro dell'iscrizione con fori e incisioni (foto F. Ceci, 2014).



Fig. 28a: Stele di Orfeo, pannello con Orfeo agli Inferi (foto F. Ceci, 2014).



Fig. 28b: Stele di Orfeo, il pannello dopo il restauro (© Archivio Museo Regionale Ptuj-Ormož).



Fig. 28c: Stele di Orfeo, l'ultimo pannello in Conze 1875.

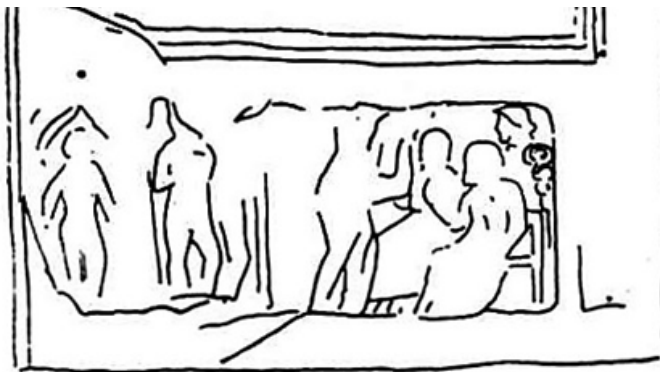


Fig. 28d: Stele di Orfeo, l'ultimo pannello in Reinach 1912 e Garezu 1994.

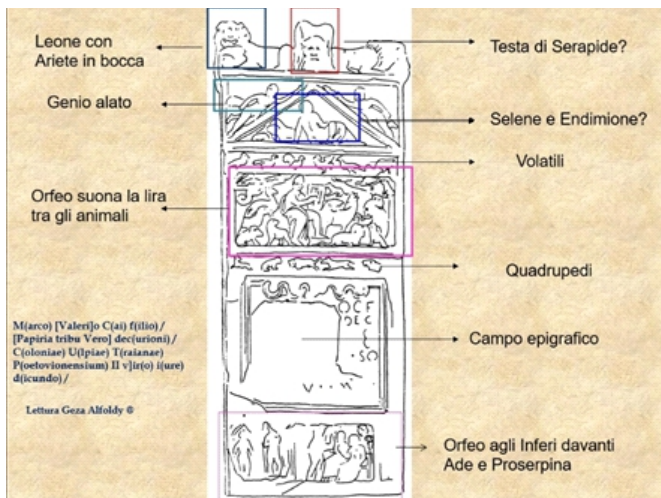


Fig. 30: Stele di Orfeo, da Garezu 1994 (rielaborazione F. Ceci).



Fig. 29a (sinistra): Stele di Orfeo, lato destro (© Archivio Museo Regionale Ptuj-Ormož).
Fig. 29b (destra): Stele di Orfeo, lato sinistro (© Archivio Museo Regionale Ptuj-Ormož).



Fig. 1a: Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, collezione Guardabassi. Amuleto in diaspro (III sec. d.C.). Faccia superiore con divinità equestri danubiane (Foto P. Vitellozzi).



Fig. 1b: *Id.* Faccia inferiore con anguipede alectriocefalo (Foto P. Vitellozzi).



Fig. 1: Map of Greek/Latin Divide in Gerov 1964, 149, fig. 1.



Fig. 2: Epitaph of Resius Chronius from Oescus (Appendix no. 34). Photo: JJW.



Fig. 3: Elogium of Basiliscus at Philippopolis (Appendix no. 27). Photo: JJW.



Fig. 4: Gate lintel of Ratiaria with inscription of Anastasius (Appendix no. 51). Photo: JJW.



Fig. 5: Monument of Popillius at Thessalonica (Appendix no. 11).



Fig. 6: Monument of Cornelius Neon at Thessalonica (Appendix no. 12).



Fig. 9: Monument of T. Flavius Capiton in Derriopus (Appendix no. 14). Photo: IG X.



Fig. 10 (left): Latin epitaph of Aliupaibes in Greek characters, Philippi (Appendix no. 17). Photo: P. Collart, *Philippes* (1937) pl. 36.3.

Fig. 11 (right): Epitaph of Aurelius Dionysius from Tiberias, at Senia (Appendix no. 68). Photo: Patsch, *Lika* (1900) fig. 44.



Fig. 12 (left): Monument of P. Aelius Posidonius at Scupi (Appendix no 56). Photo: IMS.

Fig. 13 (right): Monument of L. Valerius Galenus at Scupi (Appendix no. 54). Photo: IMS.



Fig. 14. Monument of M. Domitius Pyrilampes at Dium (Appendix no. 4).
Photo: Chiron 24 (1994) 219.

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